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Chapter 1

Translingual Quoting in Journalism:
Behind the Scenes of Swiss Television Newsrooms

Lauri Haapanen and Daniel Perrin

Abstract: This chapter focuses on *translingual quoting* (TQ), i.e. the sub-process of news-writing by which utterances from sources are both quoted and translated. Analyses of journalists' mental and material activities suggest conceptualizing TQ as a complex and dynamic activity in which journalists' individual and collective (e.g., institutional) language awareness, knowledge, and practices interact with multi-layered contexts of text production. Based on this empirically and theoretically grounded concept of TQ, the chapter presents a two-part typology of TQ: In sequential TQ, ready-made media items or interview materials are translated into another language; in parallel TQ, interviews and/or texts for media items are produced in different languages by one and the same journalist.

Keywords: translingual quoting, quoting, text production, news-writing, progression analysis

1. Introduction

As empirical studies in newsrooms have shown, it is commonplace for journalists to select material from various sources and then weave these snippets into an independent and unique storyline (e.g. Bell 1991; Perrin 2013). If this source material happens to be in foreign languages, which is increasingly the case with global news flows and social media, it needs to be translated in one way or another. Therefore, there are good reasons to consider newsrooms social settings for interlingual activities. In fact, this state of affairs has stimulated an increasing amount of news translation research over the past few decades (for on overview, see Valdeón 2015), which can be categorized into four groups: research oriented toward didactic ends, research about translation problems or strategies, research about the definition of translation and ethnographic research (Davier 2014: 54–55).

In a nutshell, the findings from news translation research reflect the principles of *functional translation* (e.g. Munday 2001: chapter 5). By focusing on pragmatic, situational, and functional aspects of translation, these findings provide evidence of translation strategies by which the source texts are modified according to factors such as anticipated expectations and needs of the audience, constraints of the target medium, as well as conditions of the socio-cultural and ideological context in which a translated news item is meant to be published (e.g. Bani 2006; Bielsa and Bassnett

2009; Chen 2009; Davies 2006; Hernández Guerrero 2010; Kang 2007; Kuo and Nakamura 2005).

Field research in newsrooms has revealed that news translation is actually based primarily on individuals' language awareness and implicit and tacit knowledge, not on explicit organizational knowledge (Perrin and Ehrensberger-Dow 2012). This hands-on translation practice is reflected in journalists' metadiscourse: On a regular basis, journalists take on the translation task themselves (e.g. Károly 2013:390), but to refer to their work as straightforward *translating* is "almost a taboo" among journalist-as-translators (Gambier 2010:16) because they see their work as something more complex and demanding. For example, one of the journalists under ethnographic investigation explained his decision to alter a quotation in a voice-over translation as follows:

> [I]t makes no sense just to translate it / this could be done by a translator / who simply translates / I have to understand what he [the text agent] means / otherwise the audience won't understand either. (Perrin and Ehrensberger-Dow 2012:364; see also Davier 2014:61–62)

Such findings show that investigating quotation and practices of quoting in the context of multilingualism and translation in the newsroom is promising from both theoretical and practical perspectives. In this article,

we do so by focusing on *translingual quoting*[1], the process of newswriting in which the original discourse is translated during quoting.

In Section 2, we first characterize the distinctive nature of quoting within journalistic activities and, thus, demonstrate the value that the term *translingual quoting* could add to theoretical and practical discourse about newswriting. Section 3 presents the review of research literature that points to translingual quoting without yet coining the term. Based on Perrin and Ehrensberger-Dow's (2012) finding that translation is involved in every aspect of news production, in Section 4, we take an ethnographic look behind the scenes of Swiss television newsrooms.

This specific setting exemplifies news production in multilingual contexts. By analyzing journalists' mental and material activities we are able to explain what journalists actually do and why they do it when they engage in translingual quoting. To this aim, we apply extended progression analysis, a multimethod approach that combines ethnography with in-depth analysis of writing processes and workplace conversations (Perrin 2003, 2013). Based on both theoretical and practical insight—i.e. our analyses as well as similar case studies, existing literature, and our own experience as journalists—it becomes apparent that there are two types of translingual

[1] The term was initially coined by Lauri Haapanen in his presentation entitled "'Translingual quoting' in written journalism," given at the 14th International Pragmatics Conference held in Antwerp, Belgium, in July 2015.

quoting. As explained in Section 4.4, they differ depending on the context in which they take place.

In Section 5, we conclude by presenting the added value of such a typology for both theory and practice. By conceptualizing the term *translingual quoting* and shedding light on its realization in newsrooms, we hope to provide starting points for broader investigation and practical improvement in everyday journalistic work.

2. Quoting with a translational aspect

Direct quotation is a common, distinctive, and essential phenomenon in journalism. However, how it materializes varies according to the medium in which it occurs. In television and radio, the statements drawn from interviews are embedded as sound bites into a media item. In print publications, selected quotes-to-be are rendered as quotations. (For an overview of the research on quoting in media, see Haapanen and Perrin 2017).

Quotes perform important functions in journalistic narration: they enhance the reliability, credibility and objectivity of an article and characterize the person quoted, to mention but a few. Often these functions rest upon the idea that readers are directly in touch with the quoted person's original discourse. In other words, the use of this marking generates the

assumption that the marked section of a text is a fairly exact reproduction of what someone else has said—if not word-for-word, then at least in a "meaning-for-meaning" way (Haapanen and Perrin 2017: sec. 4.2).

However, recent research has revealed that the relationship between original and target discourse is much more complex. To summarize the findings, which are quite consistent both in the fields of written and audio-visual media, journalists primarily aim to execute their preliminary idea of what the emerging story should and could look like, and to produce quotes that fulfil their function in the storyline accordingly. Providing faithful reproductions of original utterances and intentions is less important (e.g. Clayman 1995; Haapanen 2017; Nylund 2003, 2006).

In today's convergent and multilingual mediascape, where global news is reported locally and local news is reported globally and where material from one platform is converted for another, the contexts and practices of quoting get even more complicated. This is because the process of quoting often harbours a translational aspect: whenever interviews and published articles involve different languages, the original discourse on which the quote is based is translated during quoting. We have labelled this process *translingual quoting*. This phenomenon has long been approached without being defined or labelled.

3. Existing research pointing to translingual quoting

Academic interest in the phenomenon labelled here as *translingual quoting* has focused mainly on the ideological underpinnings of quoting (e.g. Vuorinen 1999; Sidiropoulou 2004). Chen's (2009) case study investigated how three Taiwanese newspapers with different ideological orientations utilized the same foreign sources by both translating readily published quotes and by pulling quotes from the original foreign body text. She found that the way quotes from English source texts are reproduced as direct or indirect quotes in Taiwanese target texts "can be attributed to the newspapers' intentions to enhance the newsworthiness of their stories and to promote the transmission of their political ideologies to their audience" (Chen 2009:228). The same applies to the motivation for translating and/or selecting the reporting verbs.

In many studies, quotes are just one object of analysis among many and hence not investigated exhaustively. For example, Hautanen (2008) investigated the work practices of a Finnish correspondent in France and also touched upon quoting. As her data showed, sometimes quotes were verbatim translations, sometimes just approximate translations or even summaries of the content of the original interview discourse. Van Rooyen (2011) analyzed how quotes in written English-language news were converted into indirect speech in one or more of the official languages of South Africa to be broadcasted in radio news. Kuo and Nakamura (2005)

analyzed the news coverage of Taiwan's First Lady Wu Shu-chen in two ideologically opposed Taiwanese newspapers. The coverage was based on the same English source texts. Findings show that the two newspapers exploited quotes to present Wu Shu-chen in either a favourable or an unfavourable light, depending on their political stances.

Another example of a study in which translated media quotes play a certain role is presented by Hernández Guerrero (2010). She investigated journalistic interview articles that the Spanish *El Mundo* had translated from foreign sources. The findings show how the newspaper systematically replaced original headlines to follow the applicable Spanish conventions, according to which the headline is a direct quote that communicates the most newsworthy and striking opinions or ideas. In addition, there are also research articles in which source and target texts including quotes are compared without analyzing quoting practices per se, leaving readers to draw their own conclusions from the data presented (e.g. Al Ali 2011; Károly 2013; Kontos and Sidiropoulou 2012).

All these studies have approached translingual quotes and quoting by analyzing the *text products* of journalistic news production, rather than the *production* itself. However, such product-oriented approaches "fall short of explaining newswriting" (Perrin 2013:56) and are "bound to generate weak hypotheses" (NewsTalk&Text Research Group 2011:5–6). For example, Chen has stated that the main reason for presenting the headline of the source news article (a) (below) as a quotation in the headline of the target

news article (b) is “to increase the newsworthiness” because these news sources “are regarded as elite groups” (Chen 2009:217):

> a) in *The Washington Post*: China’s anti-secession law backfiring
>
> b) in *China Times*: The U.S. media: China’s anti-secession law backfiring

This sounds like a plausible explanation from an external perspective, but the data and the method applied—text-product analysis only—do not provide evidence of the journalist’s intentions and illocutions, as implied in Chen’s analysis.

To mitigate this shortcoming, prominent voices in media linguistics have recently been advocating for the systematic adoption of the process-oriented perspective in investigations of newswriting (NewsTalk&Text Research Group 2011). In translingual quoting studies, some steps have been taken in this direction.

Davier (2017) investigated, inter alia, quoting between press releases and news articles and between multiple news articles. Besides comparing the source and target languages, she also interviewed journalists about their translation practices. As she found out, the quotes often reproduced almost all of the original discourse’s content, and furthermore, also followed the original wording and sentence structure. However, her findings emphasize

the role of selection. To avoid the difficulties of translating complex syntax or ambiguous expressions, journalists in some cases quoted only an eloquent word or two while reformulating the surrounding text more freely.

Haapanen (2010; 2011) has conducted a series of semi-structured interviews with newspaper and magazine journalists. The findings show that there are two types of problems relating to translingual quoting: translating ready-made quotes and conducting interviews in foreign languages.

Firstly, the journalists explained that, when translating ready-made articles, they often modify their quotes into relatively standardized language and a more simple form. In their view, it is especially challenging to handle cultural and regional aspects (e.g. idioms, proverbs and exclamations) as well as geographical references when translating quotes. Journalists said that, at best, they can try to replace a problematic word or phrase with a synonymous expression from the target language. However, they considered it inappropriate to add words or explanations to the quote. For example, adding an adverbial such as “on the south-west coast of the United States of America” after “here” in a quote is not appropriate, as a sub-editor of the Finnish version of *Readers’ Digest* explains (Haapanen 2010:107). It is worth mentioning that Davier (2014: 66) revealed a different approach to the adaptation of ready-made news material in her case study: frequently, rather than translate quotes, journalists opt to replace them with a quote from a source who speaks the target language.

Secondly, the journalists consulted said that if the language of the interview is not the first language of all the interlocutors, nuances may be lost. Quotes translated from such interview material are likely to be vague and, therefore, as the journalists explained, are used less often and with less weighty narrational functions than simple monolingual quotes. The journalists' solutions to both problems—if a ready-made quote or a selected-to-be-quoted utterance cannot be translated comprehensibly—is to enhance intelligibility with a leading reporting verb, to add explanations to a reporting clause, or to convert a direct quote into an indirect quote or running text. All in all, despite the obvious challenges, all of the journalists interviewed by Haapanen said they had no problems with the idea of using foreign language interview material as a source for direct quotes written in another language.

Matsushita (2016) investigated how President Barack Obama's victory and inauguration speeches in 2012 were "directly quoted by means of translation"—her term for translingual quoting—in six Japanese newspapers. Firstly, she compared speeches and 45 news articles containing a total of 150 direct quotes from President Obama and found that *omission* was the dominant translation strategy, used more readily than *substitution* and *addition*. In 53% (N=80) of deviations between the source and target texts, something—be it a single word, short phrase or several sentences—was omitted, while substitution and addition took place in 31% (N=47) and 10% (N=15) of deviations respectively.

Secondly, Matsushita applied the concept of risk management to explain these findings, and—because "the findings would remain mere speculation if not corroborated empirically" (Matsushita 2016:130–131)—she then cross-examined her deductions by interviewing eight journalist-translators. In practice, the interviewees were asked to look at the various samples of the text analysis and to give possible explanations for the deviations between source and target texts. Some were asked about their own translations, while others, who were not part of the team of reporters that covered the 2012 U.S. presidential election, were asked to provide their own opinions regarding the translations.

Matsushita concludes that Japanese journalist-translators clearly understood that misquoting President Obama could have serious consequences (i.e. that it was high-impact in terms of risk). However, they considered the probability, proximity, and immediacy of this "source-oriented risk" (Matsushita 2016:56) to be relatively low given the fact that President Obama or his representatives would be unlikely to meticulously check for any mistranslation by the Japanese media. Somewhat on the contrary, journalist-translators felt more concerned that Japanese readers might complain or even cancel their subscription if the words they used in quotes were too difficult, the phrasing too complicated, or the context too foreign. In order to manage this "target-oriented risk" (Matsushita 2016:56), journalist-translators seemed to have opted not only for omission, but also

for other translation strategies requiring greater effort, such as addition and substitution.

In sum, Matsushita's findings show that translating direct quotes is a balancing act between target-oriented and source-oriented risks. Furthermore, the motive for retaining quotation marks even after significant manipulations of the texts could also be explained by the relationship of reward and risk-taking (Matsushita 2016:182–183): in newspaper writing, using direct quotes can bring value such as authenticity and liveliness (see also Haapanen and Perrin 2017: sec. 26.4.2), and because of these rewards, journalist-translators tend to keep quotation marks even in cases where the words of the original speaker have been noticeably changed.

The research frameworks presented above mainly grant access to what journalists *say* they do.[2] Perrin and Ehrensberger-Dow (2012) have strived for an answer to what journalists actually *do* when translating the news. Their research into television news production is characterized by the use of innovative and non-invasive methods to reveal and explain journalists´ writing strategies, conscious writing practices and their language awareness. By illustrating their findings through the process of quoting, Perrin and

[2] There is also some methodologically ambitious research on press releases that has revealed the abundant and diverse manipulation that (pseudo)quotes are subjected to when they are transferred from one language version to another (e.g. Tesseur 2014). This is worth mentioning because the raison d'être of the press release is to be picked up and reproduced as such by newspapers.

Ehrensberger-Dow (2012:359–367) suggested that the process of translation happens at collaborative workplaces, in processes of:

- goal setting (e.g. whether sources from other linguistic communities are given a voice or not)
- planning (e.g. decisions about voice-over translation or subtitling audio)
- formulating (e.g. focusing on the gist in translation)
- revising (e.g. having questionable translations re-translated)

In other words, what they found in their research is that "rather than being a separate process, translation is ubiquitous and interacts with newswriting at all levels and stages" (Perrin and Ehrensberger-Dow 2012:367; similarly, see Bielsa 2007; Bielsa and Bassnett 2009). Furthermore, these translation strategies and practices were shown to be based on:

- the availability of external linguistic resources (e.g. machine translation, an interpreter, a colleague with language skills)
- the journalists' linguistic awareness (e.g. whether they could activate appropriate registers and/or dialects in their translations)

• experienced journalists' elaborated tacit knowledge (e.g. how to involve friends who happen to be speakers of the source language as translators in the text production process)

All in all, studies so far have shown that, in journalism, there must be something such as a dense interplay of translation and quoting practices. The more international newsflows and newsroom workflows get, the more relevant this interplay is—from both the theoretical and the practical perspective. This is why the concept of *translingual quoting* promises to be so relevant in future media-linguistic analyses. In the next section, we explain this relevance and key aspects of the new concept.

4. The study: Translingual quoting in Swiss television newsrooms

In this section, we analyze translingual quoting as a situated activity in Swiss television newsrooms. In other words, we aim to explain what journalists do and why they do it when they engage in translingual quoting.

The study is a continuation of a series of transdisciplinary research projects which the second author of this chapter, Daniel Perrin, has worked on for more than two decades (Perrin 2013:D). It is based on the finding that "translation is involved in every aspect of news production, including how journalists handle their source materials, their target texts, and their social

environment" (Perrin and Ehrensberger-Dow 2012:352). Therefore, to achieve this kind of multidimensional approach in one distinctive area of news translation, i.e. translingual quoting, we make use of a vast Swiss corpus of newswriting production processes and extended progression analysis as our methodology (Perrin 2003; 2013).

The data (the Idée Suisse corpus) was collected in Switzerland between 2006 and 2007 to investigate the interplay of language policy, organizational norms, and journalistic practices of the Swiss public service broadcasting company. Following principles of grounded theory and theoretical sampling (Perrin 2013:181–188), 15 journalists working in three newsrooms and based in two linguistic regions of Switzerland were selected to be tracked during one week each. Tracking included video and keystroke recordings of their writing behavior as well as video recordings of their collaboration with their social environment such as sources, camera women, anchormen, peers and superiors. This observational data is complemented by ethnographic observation and interviews. The data corpus contains 3 editorial policy documents; 20 interviews with media managers and 15 professional biography interviews with journalists; recordings of 103 editorial conferences and 28 workplace discussions; ethnographic observation in newsrooms; 15 cue-based retrospective verbal protocols. It is worth mentioning, however, that the most recent innovations in translingual quoting, brought about by the convergent media turn, were not yet fully in

use back then and, therefore, are not all-inclusively present in our corpus (for further discussion, see sec. 5).

In 2017, we re-analyzed this data, together with recent data, by focusing specifically on translingual quoting processes in newsrooms. As research on quoting has shown (Haapanen forthcoming), the process of quoting and the processes that lead to it affect, and are affected by, the entire production of a news item. Therefore, our analytical focus is not only on inscription and on editing but also encompasses various practices preceding them, such as searching for background information, negotiating between colleagues as well as planning and performing interviews.

We have used a combination of methods, i.e. extended progression analysis to triangulate ethnographic observations, interviews, and recordings of workplace conversations; version analysis; computer logging and screenshot recordings; and cue-based retrospective verbalizations (for data and methodology, see Perrin 2003, 2013).

In the following subsections, a selection of cases from our corpus is presented to illustrate how translingually quoted segments have been formulated. At the same time, these case studies introduce the above-mentioned methods and their capability to gather data related to contextual and linguistic levels of newswriting, as well as journalists' linguistic awareness.

4.1 Clarifying and updating quotes (the ELEC case)

The first news item used to explain the process of translingual quoting was broadcasted by the German-speaking division of Swiss national television (Schweizer Fernsehen) in their news programme *Tagesschau*. The item is about the election of a non-permanent member to the United Nations Security Council (hereafter referred to as the ELEC case).

By focusing on the changes of speakers, the macro-structure of the ELEC news item can be considered relatively simple; five structural elements can be distinguished in the 99-second-long item (see Table 1).

	Anchor's introduction (30 seconds)
Block A:	Journalist voiceover (29 s)
Block B:	Translingual quote from the US ambassador for the UN (16 s)
Block C:	Journalist's voiceover (9 s)
Block D:	Translingual quote from President of Venezuela Hugo Chavez (15 s)

Table 1. Macro structure of the ELEC item

The item itself is preceded by the anchor's introduction, in which the anchor presents the basic information about the deadlock: neither of the candidates

to the UN Security Council, Guatemala and Venezuela, has been able to achieve the necessary two-third majority in the ballots. After this introduction, in the first block of the item, the journalist's voiceover elaborates on the election events (Block A). This block is followed by a quote from the US ambassador for the UN. In his sound-bite quote in English, which can be heard in the background and is translated in a German voiceover, the ambassador states that normally in such situations, the weaker country withdraws (Block B). As we learn from a cue-based retrospective verbal protocol (this method will be introduced later in this section), the manuscript for the voiceover was translated by the journalist himself from the audio track.

Finally, after a short transition (Block C), the president of Venezuela, Hugo Chavez, is quoted as saying that Venezuela will not withdraw its candidacy (Block D). This statement is positioned in the news item as an answer to the ambassador, as the journalist told researchers in a cue-based retrospective verbal protocol. Thus, the journalist performed and renewed a common practice of de- and re-contextualizing quotes from their original discursive context (e.g. as answers to the journalists' questions) and positioning them in a way that best serves the storyline of the emerging media item (e.g. Ekström 2001). This quote from Mr. Chavez was, in turn, translated by the journalist's colleague, because the journalist himself does not speak Spanish.

Despite this seemingly clear structure, the writing process of the ELEC item and its quotes was far from straightforward. Using a keylogging programme that runs in the background of the journalist's text editor, we were able to document the writing process and then visualize it in several ways, for example as a progression graph (see Figure 1).

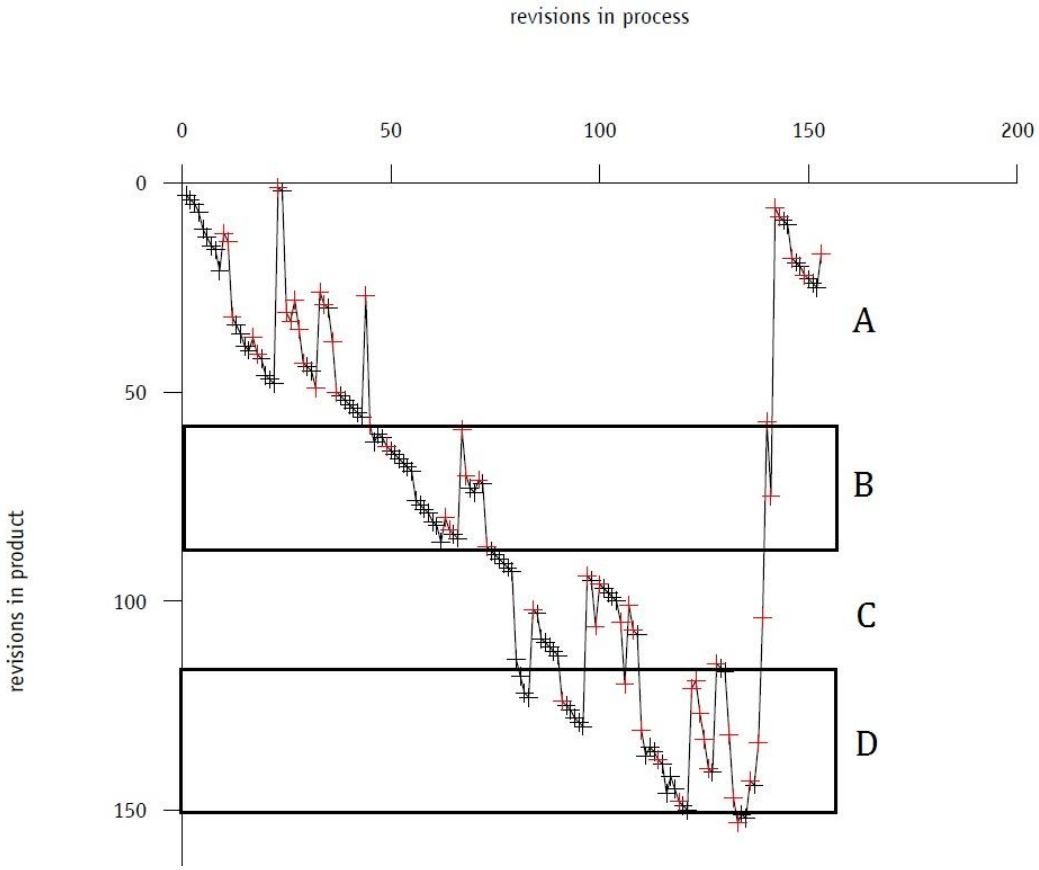

Figure 1. Progression graph from the ELEC case (excluding the part of the anchor)

Progression graphs indicate how writers revise their emerging texts. The temporal sequence of revisions (i.e. insertions and deletions) in the writing process is represented on the ordinal scale of the horizontal axis, and the spatial sequence of revisions in the text product is shown on the vertical axis, also ordinal. So, if a writer writes his or her text quite linearly in one single writing phase from the beginning to the end with only casual corrections of typographical errors, the line would intersect the graph diagonally from the upper left to the lower right (about writing phases, see Fürer, 2018). However, that was not the case with the writing process of the item in question.

The progression graph of the ELEC case (see Figure 1) shows the four blocks of the news item. Block B is the quote of the ambassador; first, the journalist wrote the beginning of the quote block quite linearly. Then, he jumped down to write the end of the quote and—after a big leap in the beginning of the quote—he finished the mid-section. Later, during the last revisions, he again returned to work on this first quote. The second quote was produced in an even more fragmentary process, as shows in Block D: it contains a great deal of jumping back and forth within the emerging quote text.

In terms of writing phase typology (Fürer, 2018), the writing process of the ELEC case can be described as *dancing*; the writer proceeds mainly from top to bottom, but often jumps back to revise parts of the newly written text. When focusing especially on translingual quoting (Blocks B and D),

the progression graph shows clearly that these processes are much more complex than simply converting one language into the other (the ambassador's quote) or asking a colleague to translate the quote and copy-pasting the translated text into the item (the Chavez quote).

To learn more about the translingual quoting process, we visualized the same keylogging data again, this time by the means of S-notation. S-notation is a method of representing a writing process that indicates the successive text editing actions (Severinson-Eklundh and Kollberg 1996). Example 1 is an excerpt from the S-notation of the ELEC writing session.

^{80}<u>{</u>0.^{128}{55}^{128}|$_{129}$ Quote Chavez}^{80}|$_{81}$^{129}{0.57}^{129}|$_{130}$
^{130}[^{81}{“^{123}[Ich sage ^{106}{es }^{106}|$_{107}$^{122}[das]^{122}|$_{123}$der ganzen
^{82}[w]^{82}|$_{83}$^{83}{^{91}[E]^{91}|$_{92}$}^{83}|$_{84}$^{92}{W}^{92}|$_{93}$elt:|$_{82}$]^{123}|$_{124}$}^{81,93}{^{124}[ ]^{124}|$_{125}$Venezuela
wi^{94}[ll |$_{94}$]^{94}rd diesen Kampf w^{95}[ie]^{95}|$_{96}$^{96}{ei}^{96}|$_{97}$ter
führen.|$_{95}$}^{93}]^{130}|$_{131}$^{110}{^{131}[^{125}{Ich sage es der ganzen Welt:
}^{125}|$_{126}$]^{131}|$_{132}$^{138}{“}^{138}|$_{139}$<u>Venezue</u>^{112}[al]^{112}|$_{113}$^{113}{<u>la</u>}^{113} <u>bl</u>^{111}[iebt
|$_{111}$]^{111}<u>eibt</u>|$_{112}$ <u>Kandidat, sie sollen uns besiegen, aber im Kampf</u>^{114}[
.|$_{114}$]^{114,115}[,|$_{115}$]^{115,126}[.]^{126}|$_{127}$^{127}{,}^{127}|$_{128}$ ^{117}{<u>wir werden nicht verhandeln</u>.^{136}[
]^{136}|$_{137}$}^{117}|$_{118}$^{137}{“}^{137}|$_{138}$^{118}[es gibt keine
Verh^{116}[qand|$_{116}$]^{116}andlungen.|$_{117}$]^{118}|$_{119}$}^{110}

Example 1. Excerpt from the S-notation of the ELEC case.

Whenever a journalist interrupts the flow of text production to delete something in the text (e.g., with a backspace delete, or cut command) or to insert something somewhere else, S-notation indicates this with a numbered break symbol in the text. Deleted text is indicated in [square brackets], and insertions in {curly braces}. The order of any interruption is provided by a subscript to the right of the break symbol $|_n$ and by matching superscript on either side of the brackets $^n[\ ]^n$ or braces $^n\{\ \}^n$. The <u>underlining</u> indicates the text that appears in the final version.

The S-notation presented in Example 1 shows that the journalist made several considerable changes during the writing process.

> a. The clause *Venezuela wird diesen Kampf weiter führen* [‘Venezuela will continue this struggle’], which is a very literal translation of the original Spanish utterance, is replaced with the more approximate clause *Venezuela bleibt Kandidat, sie sollen uns besiegen, aber im Kampf* [‘Venezuela remains a candidate, they might defeat us, but in fight’].
>
> b. Similarly, *es gibt keine Verhandlungen* [‘there are no negotiations’] is replaced with *wir werden nicht verhandeln* [‘We will not negotiate’].

c. The clause *Ich sage es der ganzen Welt* [‘I tell this to the whole world’] is deleted in revision number 131.

While the progression graph shows that translingual quoting is not a simple and linear process, but complex and often fragmented, the S-notation describes in more detail the stages the quotes go through to reach their final formulation. However, these two methods do not manage to explain the modifications presented above; what are the translingual quoting strategies the journalist used and what was his awareness of them?

In order to “open a window into the mind of the writer” (Perrin 2003:915), we then used a method called cue-based retrospective verbal protocol (RVP). In this method, the screenshot recording of the writing process is shown to the journalist right after the writing is completed and s/he is asked to continuously comment on what his or her intentions and writing strategies were while writing.

The RVP of the ELEC case offered insights into the writing process of the Chavez quote (Block D in Figure 1; Example 1). The journalist told the researcher that changes (a) and (b) stemmed from the fact that he felt suspicious about the correctness and clarity of his colleague’s translation. Therefore, he first tried to understand the meaning of the quote and then re-formulate the quoted text so that it becomes more intelligible—not only for himself, but also for the audience. In other words, he decided not to stick to the verbatim translation, but tried to convey the gist and alter the

translingual quotes respectively. At the same time, the translation needed to be formulated in a way that it could be easily spoken aloud—this is something he also experimented while writing—and that it was short enough for the original voice to remain audible before and after the voiceover. The change (c) was, in turn, performed due to the time restrictions of the news item: in order to meet the timeframe allocated to this item, he had to cut off what was least necessary to convey the core message. In addition to language skills and linguistic awareness, the process of translingual quoting in such audio-visual settings also requires visual and technical expertise in video editing. For example, in the quote at hand, a pause within Chavez's utterance was cut out to make both his delivery and the news item as a whole more fluent.

As regards the other translingual quote in this news item (the US ambassador for the UN), the journalist acknowledged that it was not a verbatim translation either. First of all, the ambassador spoke so fast that the translation had to be shortened. The journalist also simplified the syntax to improve its comprehensibility. Furthermore, he adjusted the quote to update it: the ambassador said in her statement that there will be "six more votes," but at the time when the news item was published, these votes had already been cast and the journalist translated the quote as *Sechs Abstimmungen, Sechs Niederlagen für Venezuela* ['six votes, six defeats for Venezuela']. However, the journalist pondered in the RVP that such a procedure is uncommon and also problematic, especially because the audience can hear

the original voice in the background of the voiceover. According to him, this is particularly problematic when the translingual quoting is based on a language widely known among the audience. As an example, the journalist mentioned English—in contrast to Russian—in the case of a Swiss audience (cf. the LEBA case analyzed in the next subsection, in which an Arabic original is [mis]translated into French).

4.2 Misinterpreting a metaphoric expression in a quote (the LEBA case)

The second news item we will use to explain the process of translingual quoting was broadcasted by Télévision Suisse Romande in their news programme *Téléjournal*. The 80-second item is about demonstrations in Beirut, the capital of Lebanon (the LEBA case). The news item consists of two quotes, and the quote we are focusing on in this section is by a female demonstrator. The segment quoted was originally delivered in Arabic, as can be heard in the item, but in the Téléjournal news item, it was translated and presented as a French voice-over.

In the 9:30 morning conference, journalist R.G. was chosen as the writer for the LEBA item because he was familiar with the political situation in Lebanon. He received a fair amount of video material with crowds of people holding placards, and, in addition, video recordings of two interviews with demonstrators: one of the Arabic-speaking female demonstrator, and one of an English-speaking male demonstrator. The video

material was shot by Lebanese television and made available by an international news service which also sent a ready-made English translation/transcripts of both interviews. R.G. started working immediately, considering a tight deadline—there were only two hours left until the noon edition.

After selecting the most interesting segments from both interviews, R.G. translated them into French himself, based on the English transcripts, as he told the researcher (RES) in the RVP (Example 2: lines 0246–0247). Although he considered his translation strategy more or less consistent (0248–0249), he acknowledged that translations are "certainly already adaptations" (0251). Moreover, because he does not speak or understand Arabic, he was "obliged to rely on" (0256) the ready-made English transcripts, leading to an inevitably "more approximate" result (0257) compared to the segment with the male demonstrator interviewed in English.

0246	RES:	*là tu traduis en fait*
		'there you actually translate'
0247	R.G.:	*oui je traduis*
		'yes, I translate'
0248		*je traduis avec le même esprit en étant-*
		'I translate in the same vein by being-'
0249		*bon là ça correspond-*
		'okay there it matches-'
0250		*il arrive parfois que les traductions*

		‘it sometimes happens that translations’
0251		*qui sont déjà certainement des adaptations-*
		‘which are certainly already adaptations-’
0252		*lui il est en anglais, eh, l’original l’interviewé*
		‘with him, it is in English, er, the original interview’
0253		*mais elle est en arabe*
		‘but with her [it] is in Arabic’
0254		*et moi je ne peux pas contrôler donc*
		‘and so I cannot control [it]’
0255	RES:	*d’accord*
		‘alright’
0256	R.G.:	*je suis obligé à me fier à ce qui m’est donné*
		‘I was obliged to rely on what I was given’
0257		*et pour elle c’est un peu plus approximatif que pour lui*
		‘and with her it [= the translation] is a little more approximate than with him’

Example 2. Excerpt from the LEBA case verbal protocol

The fact that the journalist has no control over the relationship between the original utterance and its English and French translations did not preclude him from using it as a quote. He also did not deem it necessary to ask someone else to translate it—a procedure there would hardly have been any time for, given the short time frame. It is also noteworthy that it was his own assessment, which was not based on any explicit institutional policy, that he was capable of making the translation of the English quote himself. This

was revealed by the analysis of editorial policy documents, professional biography interviews, editorial conferences, and workplace discussions.

In practice, the journalist first copy-pasted the English translations into his manuscript sheet and started the writing process by formulating the translation below the English text version. However, after writing the first two paragraphs and translating the two selected quotes, the computer crashed. The translations were not saved and so he had to type them up again under increasing time pressure.

To examine how these text versions transformed into something else during the process of translingual quoting, we applied version analysis. It is a method of collecting and analyzing data in order to reconstruct the changes linguistic features undergo from version to version (e.g., Perrin 2013:62–63).

Description	**Text version**
Text version 1: English translation This translation was made available by an international news agency. The identity of the Arabic-English translator is left unknown.	We want culture and education not arms and **streets and tyres**, for sure. We want to learn and reach our goals and lead a normal life like everyone else.

Text version 2: French translation, before computer crash The first version, which was lost in the computer crash.	Nous voulons la culture, l'éducation, **les moyens de transport** et ne pas les armes. Nous voulons apprendre, progresser. Nous voulons mener une vie normale comme tout le monde.
Text version 3: French translation, final The version as it was written after the computer crash. This version was subsequently recorded as a voiceover.	Nous voulons la culture, l'éducation, **les moyens de transport**. Pas les armes. Nous désirons apprendre, progresser et mener une vie normale comme tout le monde. *'We want culture, education, public transport. Not arms. We wish to learn, make progress, and live a normal life like everyone else.'*

Table 1: Version analysis from the LEBA case

A version analysis of the quote from the LEBA item (see Table 1) showcases some essential characteristics of the translingual quoting process. To begin with, the phrase "for sure" as well as some *and*-conjunctives were not reproduced in the French versions. In addition, the last French version is slightly more succinct than the first one due to the aggregation of the last two sentences (Text version 2: *Nous voulons apprendre, progresser. Nous*

voulons mener une vie… → Text version 3: *Nous désirons apprendre, progresser et mener une vie*…). Furthermore, the second occurrence of the verb *want* (Text version 1) and *voulons* 'want' (Text version 2), is replaced by *désirons* 'wish' in text version 3.

The most striking textual modification between Text versions 1 and 2/3 is in relation to the confusing phrase "streets and tyres." Most likely these words—which were a literal translation of the original Arabic[3]—refer to the habit of burning tyres in the streets during riots so as to produce dense smoke. This interpretation is, in our opinion, supported by the fact that the phrase is presented in an unfavourable light (…*not arms and streets and tyres.*…). However, the journalist interpreted this linguistic cue as though it referred to public transportation and formulated his translingual quote accordingly, as *les moyens de transport*. He stuck to this translation when re-typing the quote in a hurry after the computer crash (Text version 3). There was nobody in the production process to proofread the manuscript—or to notice this mistake—and so this probable misinterpretation of a metaphoric expression ended up in the final, broadcast version of the item. (Somewhat similarly, Davier [2014:62] found in her study in another Swiss newsroom that, in contrast to what journalists told her in semi-structured interviews, in ethnographic observation she never saw any of them

[3] We asked a native Lebanese Arabic-speaker to transcribe the original Arabic audio track (in so far as it was audible behind the voiceover) and gloss it into English.

undertake a revision which included comparing the original text and target text.)

4.3 Amending translation to make a quote smoother (the YOGA case)

In this section, we look at the coverage of an aircraft accident in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, also published by *Téléjournal* (The YOGA case). The news item was written by journalist C.A. in close collaboration with a video editor. In this case study, we especially analyzed video recordings of workplace sessions (example 3) and retrospective verbal protocols (RVP, example 4), thereby learning how a particular quote was found and polished into its final shape and how the journalist handled the social environment of the translingual quoting process.

Shortly before the noon deadline, while C.A. and the video editor were about to finish the news item, a colleague (abbreviated as “COL” in example 3) who was going to record a voiceover for one of the translingual quotes in the item entered the cutting room (lines 1623–1625). The colleague told C.A. that Radio Svizzera Italiana had broadcast an eyewitness interview with one of their correspondents who happened to be on board and who had survived the accident (1626–1640). Journalist C.A. hesitated slightly, because only a voice recording of the eyewitness account was available, and no video material at all (1641–1643), but the colleague

persuaded him that “it’s worth inserting a little sound clip, you know” (1645–1647):

1623	COL:	*Claude*
		‘Claude’
1624		*tu m’entends là*
		‘[can] you hear me there’
1625	C.A.:	oui
		‘yes’
1626	COL:	*heu t’as vu*
		‘did you see’
1627		*qu’y avait un journaliste de la radio suisse-italienne*
		‘that there was a journalist of the Swiss-Italian radio’
1628		*dans l’avion*
		‘on the airplane’
1629	C.A.:	*non*
		‘no’
1630	COL:	*oui*
		‘yes’
1631	C.A.:	*ah ouais*
		‘ahaa’
1632	COL:	*ouais heu*
		‘yeah, um’
1633		*j’me suis renseigné*
		‘I heard it’
1634		*il a appelé la radio cette nuit*
		‘he called the radio that night’
1635		*ils ont enregistré un sonore*
		‘they recorded some sound’

1636		*et il explique que- c'est sur le site de tsr point ch* [tsr.ch]
		'and he explains that- it's on the site of tsr.ch'
1637		*il explique que*
		'he explains that'
1638		*l'avion heu arrivait beaucoup trop vite sur la piste*
		'the plane, um, arrived too fast on the runway'
1639	C.A.:	*oui*
		'yes'
1640	COL:	*ça l'a énormément frappé*
		'it struck it [= plane] enormously
1641	C.A.:	*oui ça j'l'ai dit oui*
		'okay, I said yes'
1642		*mais c'est l'sonore*
		'but it's the sound'
1643		*y a pas de- ah ouais*
		'there's no- um'
1644	COL:	*non mais bon*
		'no but'
1645		*j'te dis ça pour ce soir hein*
		'I'm telling you that for tonight, right'
1646	C.A.:	*ah d'accord ok*
		'alright, okay'
1647	COL:	*ça vaudra la peine de de mettre un bout d'sonore tu vois*
		'it's worth inserting a little sound clip, you know'
1648	C.A.:	ouais ouais
		'okay okay'

Example 3. Excerpt from the workplace session of the YOGA case

The information about this eyewitness account came in too late for the noon edition. However, C.A. decided to add a quote from it for the evening edition, and eventually, after negotiating extra time for this coverage, the eyewitness account was transformed into a separate 97-second item that followed the news item in the programme's evening edition.

Journalist C.A. obtained the audio material and started listening to it. He felt competent to understand the Italian eyewitness report, but not proficient enough to translate it himself for a voiceover translation. Therefore, since the six-minute report was too long to be broadcast in its entirety, he selected the "most interesting" parts from the report—some two minutes in total—and had it translated by an Italian-speaking colleague.

Later, C.A. discovered that Radio Suisse Romande, which belongs to the same media company as Télévision Suisse Romande, had already broadcast a French translation of the correspondent's eyewitness report. For a moment, C.A. considered using this ready-made recording in his item too. However, he decided not to do so because he was unsure whether the sound quality was satisfactory and whether he had permission to use this audio.

C.A. also found the transcript of the French translation on the website of Radio Suisse Romande and contemplated whether he should bother his colleague and tell him that (Example 4: lines 0115–0116). However, since this colleague was already translating the text (0117–0119) and since C.A. knew him to be a quick worker (0120), C.A. told the researcher, laughing, that he "do[es] not want to annoy him" (0121).

0115	C.A.:	*alors je n'me pose pas la question*
		'so I'm not asking myself the question'
0116		*est-ce que je vais lui dire*
		'am I going to tell him'
0117		*non il est déjà en train de-*
		'no, he is already doing [the translation]-
0118		*voilà* ((rires))
		'there you go ((laughs))'
0119		*il est déjà en train de faire son boulot*
		'he's already doing his job'
0120		*il travaille très vite*
		'he works very fast'
0121		*je veux pas l'indisposer* ((rires)) *voilà*
		'I do not want to annoy him ((laughs)) that's it'

Example 4. Excerpt from the RVP of the YOGA case

When C.A. received the finished translation from his colleague, he started to "revise it slightly for stylistic refinement," as he said in the RVP session. For example, he improved the lexical variety by replacing two out of three occurrences of the word *avion* 'plane' with *Boeing* and *appareil* 'aircraft.' Moreover, he corrected the erroneous quote and, at the same time, tried to keep the terminology consistent with the news item by replacing *terrain herborisé* 'overgrown area' with *riziére* 'rice field,' because "he [the eyewitness] did not know where he actually landed."

Even in the final voiceover recording phase, C.A. changed a couple of words to facilitate pronunciation: for example, *tout le Boeing* 'the whole Boeing' was replaced with *tout l'appareil* 'the whole aircraft.' In addition, the colleague who read the voiceover of the eyewitness report also made some amendments to make it more natural for him to utter—"to put the text into his [= the colleague's] mouth," as C.A. described this activity in the RVP. The colleague for example replaced *moi j'ai eu l'impression* 'I got the impression' with *on a très vite cru* 'it was very soon believed'—an amendment C.A. thought "he was absolutely right" to make.

As mentioned, only a voice recording of the eyewitness account was available. However, selecting the accident scene footage to illustrate the news item was anything but a trivial process to C.A.; quite the contrary, he regards the video editing with the same precision and conscientiousness as his writing. Furthermore, C.A. told the researcher that he likes to work in close collaboration with his colleagues because "I like the feedback. You know, it's an exchange which is creative and profitable." The analysis of the video recording of the workplace discussion between C.A. and the video editor confirmed this stance. In the beginning, C.A. and the video editor had a differing view on the source pictures. On an auditory level, the video editor's frequent and enthusiastic paraverbal comments, such as "krrrrrrrrrr … wow … tshhhiuuuu wwow," contrasted with the journalist's concerns, for example "I still have to say that there are many wounded." On a visual level, the video editor seemed excited about the "magnificent scenes,"

whereas the journalist looked consternated and tried to find explanations he considered appropriate to explain the violence of the accident. Finally, through extensive and argumentative negotiations, they found a way to combine spectacular video clips with quality journalism ethics and aesthetics to both show and explain the dreadful event.

4.4 General findings: two types of translingual quoting

Similar to the analyses above, a detailed analysis of the FAMI case, dealing with Iraqi refugees in Switzerland, showed that working with an interpreter is time-consuming and requires more preparation from the journalist. The course of the interview must be clear, and well-formulated questions enhance the interplay with the interpreter. The GAST case, dealing with a potential smoking ban in Swiss restaurants, stretched, in a way, beyond the kind of translingual quoting we have presented so far. In this case, due to the collaboration between newsrooms, a German-speaking journalist interviewed a German-speaking expert for both the German- and the French-speaking news programmes (cf. Davier [2014:59]: “[s]ources may become irritated if reporters from the same media call them for quotes in different languages”). As a result, the expert’s quote sounded unnatural in French, which was then criticized by the French-speaking journalist. In a sense, the translation process had already taken place before the journalist received the statement, and so our speculation is reminiscent of the

discussion about the ambiguity of "self-translation" highlighted by Conway (2010b:988) in the context of multilingual Canadian newsrooms: "when were speakers actively translating their thoughts as they spoke, and when were they merely talking in a second language?"

Based on our analysis of all cases in the Idée Suisse corpus and in four other similar research projects (see Perrin 2013:D) as well as both theoretical and practical insight from existing literature and our own experience as journalists, we were able to distinguish two types of translingual quoting. As we will explain in the next subsection, the criteria for the division are clearly based on whether or not the original interview (i.e., the source of the translingual quoted segment) was conducted by the same journalist who then wrote the media item. Naturally, these two scenarios can also occur within a single media item.[4] They each entail specific problems of language use, some of which could be observed in the cases presented in this chapter.

[4] Kawahara (2010) identified three types of news translation practices, namely 1) direct translation, 2) complex process, and 3) direct coverage. In comparison to our typology, Kawahara's types 1 and 2, where journalists translate news items already published by foreign media (this type is exercised the least in Kawahara's data), or combine translations of foreign news with their original reporting, fall into our first category (see 4.4.1, TQ1). Kawahara's type 3 (exercised the most in his data) refers to a practice where journalists conduct the interviews themselves and write their news items directly in the target language. This type fits into our second category (4.4.2, TQ2).

4.4.1 Translingual quoting 1, TQ1: Translating ready-made quotes

Ready-made articles and programmes, including the quotes they contain, can be translated into another language as a whole. In the field of audio-visuality, this is achieved with voiceover or subtitles. This type of translingual quoting occurs, for instance, when multinational media publishers circulate their material in different language editions, or when one media agent exploits foreign newspapers or magazines by citing their content in another language (Perrin 2013:28).

Besides such clear-cut exploitation of a ready-made text or video material in a "wholesale translation" manner (Conway 2010a:187), it is more typical that multinational news agencies and similar companies produce interview material in certain languages, after which the raw material is distributed to national broadcasting companies. These companies adapt this international material in another language and often combine it with other raw material from their own information gathering, such as interviews (e.g. Orengo 2009). Often this process, which combines translation and text modification and thus is also referred to as *transediting* (for an exhaustive discussion and critical evaluation of the term, see Schäffner 2012), is conducted by journalists themselves, although they do not have the professional skills to do so (e.g. van Doorslaer 2009:8; Perrin and Ehrensberger-Dow 2012:352).

4.4.2 Translingual quoting 2, TQ2: Translating interview utterances

Both the interview for and the writing of a media item might be conducted by a single journalist. However, the interview might be conducted in a language different to the one in which the media item is subsequently delivered. This can occur not only in the case of foreign reporters working in (linguistically) remote areas, but also locally. For example, when a journalist interviews an immigrant, one or both of them might not be speaking their native language. This asymmetry of language skills is likely to have an influence on the process of translingual quoting, for example by eroding nuances in language use (Haapanen 2011:82). The involvement of an interpreter might complicate the process in other ways, as, among others, the FAMI case shows (Perrin 2013:D 2.0).

What is more, immersive "translinguality" is a permanent feature of minority language newsrooms. For example, in Finland there are two official languages: Finnish and Swedish. Despite the fact that only some 5 percent of Finns speak Swedish as their mother tongue, there is varied publishing activity in both of them. Journalists in Swedish-language newsrooms generally make an effort to find interview subjects in Swedish, but of course interviews are regularly conducted in Finnish and then translated into Swedish. Another option is to interview people with poor Swedish skills, whose quotes need to be cleaned up, although poor command of the language is accepted to a certain extent (e.g. Stenberg-Sirén forthcoming.)

4.4.3 Potential challenges

Re-analyzing the Idée suisse data allowed us to identify several potential problems in the current handling of translingual quoting. As shown earlier, journalists mostly translate quotes or to-be-quoted utterances by themselves, and their decision to do so is often solely based on their personal assessment of their own proficiency. Further aggravated by the fact that decisions relating to translingual quoting are often made on an ad hoc basis, the current practice is vulnerable to mistakes. In the case of TQ1, this could mean that a journalist's language deficiencies lead to misinterpretation of the source text (see 4.2). In the case of TQ2, this could mean that the output is influenced by a newspaper journalist translating the foreign language interview directly on-site by taking notes in the target language or at a later stage of the newswriting process. Furthermore, in standard editorial practice, there is rarely anybody to check the validity of translations or notice such mistakes.

In addition, when fixers and interpreters are involved, the process becomes even more complicated due to linguistic and (work-)cultural-related boundaries, and therefore requires a good ability to handle the social environment of journalistic writing (e.g. Plaut and Klein 2017). Additionally, the space/time restrictions of print/television items, for example, guide the translingual quoting process (e.g. Zhang 2014).

Finally, intensifying media convergence, especially the fact that journalists must produce various products for several platforms, demands multitasking in terms of, for example, how to conduct an interview in a way that the source material is utilizable both in written and audio-visually broadcasted form. In the written context, it is relatively easy to translate and amend interviewees' statements to better fit the storyline of the article in the making. In this context, the interview situation can be quite unstructured and thus fruitful for vibrant, quotable utterances. In the audio-visual context, however, the interview must be relatively well planned and the quotes and their translations have to stick more vigilantly to the original utterances, because the audience can hear the interviewee's voice in the background of the voiceover or subtitles.

Apart from their immediate impact, all of the above-mentioned challenges and problems can also influence the overall workflow in that they add to its complexity – which can be mirrored in the writing movement as a shift from *dancing* to *chaotic jumping* (Fürer 2018). These challenges can prevent journalists from meeting both deadlines and the level of quality required and they can also reduce their well-being at work. Regardless of the fact that experienced journalists are able to draw from their tacit knowledge and therefore generally manage to successfully tackle the risks of translingual quoting, this cannot be considered a sustainable situation on an organizational level.

5. Conclusion

This chapter has addressed a particular aspect of multilingualism and translation in newsrooms by analyzing *translingual quoting*, i.e. the process of newswriting in which the original discourse is translated during the text production activity of quoting.

Our process-oriented approach to the phenomenon under consideration has confirmed the former findings that "translation is ubiquitous and interacts with newswriting at all levels and stages" (Perrin and Ehrensberger-Dow:367). This research has also revealed the delicate nature of the processes of translingual quoting and the diversity of aspects that must be taken into account to fully understand the phenomenon.

Considering the significance of translingual quoting in journalists' everyday work, it is surprising how little this issue—or even the issue of news translation—is dealt with in journalism curricula. This holds true, for example, in Swedish-language journalism education in Finland, and respectively in Switzerland, which is a highly multilingual country with publishing activities in German, French, Italian and Romansh.[5] In addition, it is astonishing that news translation in general, let alone the process of

[5] This perception stems from the discussions that the first author of this chapter has had with several journalism teachers and students at the Swedish School of Social Science, which is the leading Swedish-language journalism school in Finland. Regarding Switzerland, the second author knows the current state of affairs well.

translingual quoting in particular, is barely discussed in journalistic textbooks or guidebooks (Haapanen 2011:82) or in media companies' newsroom policies.

With the emergence of the Internet and social media in particular, the process of translingual quoting has further evolved, and its two types, i.e. TQ1 and TQ2, have partly merged. When monitoring social media for topical issues and participating in discussions, journalists can identify prospective interviewees and collect utilizable material—be it written, audio- or video-recorded. This material might need to be translated before it can be further processed (TQ1). Journalists can also get involved in, and provoke, conversations without the restrictions of location or language—and social media has even incorporated solutions to facilitate such interlingual interaction (e.g. machine translation). To further upgrade such source material, interlingual and sometimes even intralingual (e.g. adapting dialect or register) translational operations must be performed (TQ2). Recent research suggests that social media plays an increasingly decisive role in today's newswriting (Juntunen 2017). Since quoting has proven to be an essential element in newswriting overall (Haapanen and Perrin 2017), the multilingual aspect fed in by social media only serves to highlight the importance of the concept of translingual quoting.

The other fundamental change that has broken through since the collection of the data analyzed in this chapter relates to the fact that in today's newsrooms, media products are processed and reshaped to be

delivered across multiple devices. This ongoing turn of media convergence also affects the processes of translingual quoting, for example, when a quoted segment from a journalistic interview is not only converted into traditional written media, but also into Facebook posts and Twitter tweets or even into extremely concise mobile device push notifications. In addition, the interview material can be exploited using a voiceover for television and laptop use, as well as subtitles for small screen devices. Such subtitles help addressees view videos in places such as public transport, where it might be inconvenient to have the sound on. Furthermore, language alternatives may be available for subtitles. All in all, the impact that the growing interaction between old and new forms of media has on the processes of translingual quoting calls for both further research and practical implementation: for example, the recent trend of embedding social media posts into online news items can be considered a type of quoting (Johansson 2018), related to practices that are still emerging and have hardly been investigated, let alone be systematically reflected upon in professional education.

To sum up, further developing the typology of translingual quoting on the one hand, and identifying the enabling factors and constraints of the contexts in which these types of TQs take place on the other helps academics better understand this phenomenon of multilingual professional practice—and practitioners develop good practices and deal with critical issues. The powerful gatekeeping function that journalists perform in modern societies (although traditional top-down gatekeeping is under

upheaval due to the emergence of social media, e.g. Shoemaker and Vos [2009]), combined with the fact that readers are more likely to trust in and realign their own views with directly quoted ideas than with paraphrased ones (Gibson and Zillmann 1998), extends the scope of influence of the translingual quoting phenomenon far beyond the walls of the newsroom.

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