

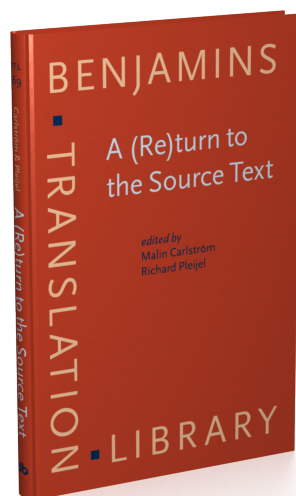
A creative and recreative conceptualization of source text

The case of journalistic translation

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Pages 88–115 of

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A creative and recreative conceptualization of source text

The case of journalistic translation

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This chapter examines the source text concept in journalistic translation, focusing on foreign news reporting. It emphasizes the characteristics of source texts in newswriting, prompting a reevaluation and expansion of the source text conceptualization within translation studies. Drawing on Jakobson's (1959) translation typology, the article categorizes source texts by their diversity, language, and degree of mediation. A case study on the coverage of the 2022 French presidential election by the Finnish newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* exemplifies this categorization. The analysis shows that foreign reporting does not rely solely on traditional interlingual source texts; it also employs intralingual and intersemiotic source texts. Furthermore, it demonstrates the dependence of newswriting on a multitude of disparate, fragmented, and multilayered source texts.

Keywords: journalistic translation, mediated text, intralingual source text, intersemiotic source text

1. Introduction

In journalistic translation, the status of the source text differs significantly from its status in literary translation. In the context of newswriting, the objective is “to provide information of an event in a concise and clear way,” so that “[t]he news translator, unlike the literary translator, does not owe respect and faithfulness to the source text” (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009: 65). In many cases, in journalist translation, the *journalator* – a term coined by van Doorslaer (2012) to illustrate the blurred borders between translation and journalistic writing – weaves a sort of patchwork quilt from many fragments of source texts that are “dismembered, used as raw material” (Orengo 2005: 170) to be collated afterwards into a kind of a *virtual* source text by the researcher.

This chapter proposes a categorization of source texts based on Jakobson's (1959) tripartite division of translation into interlingual, intralingual, and intersemiotic translation types. It considers the diversity of source texts, the language used, and the degree of mediation involved in the translation process, that is, the various layers of source texts used to achieve the ultimate target text (the published or broadcast piece of news). The categorization will be exemplified by a case study of source texts utilized in the coverage of the 2022 French presidential election by the Finnish newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat*. This study proposes a categorization of source texts that considers their format and language, with the objective of identifying and demonstrating the interdependence of the media through its usage of source texts.

2. Definitions of source texts

In journalistic translation, source texts are largely readapted to the journalistic needs of the target language and culture to respond to their new context of use. This leads to a situation where the boundaries between the discourse of the journalists and the original writers tend to be blurred, providing no clear-cut distinction between the two (Kang 2007: 221). This specificity challenges the traditional binary and unidirectional view of translation (Delabastita 2008: 239) which has been the dominant view on source texts in translation studies (Tymoczko 1999; Delabastita 2008).

Section 2.1 begins with the traditional definition of a source text in translation. It is then extended, in Section 2.2, to other, non-traditional types of source texts that are relevant to the description of source texts in the media: interlingual (2.2.1) and intersemiotic source texts (2.2.2), mediated source texts (2.3), and pseudo source texts (2.4).

2.1 The traditional source text or *start text*

Traditionally in translation studies, a source text is conceived of as a singular, unified entity that serves as a base for a target text, the translation. Strangely enough, as stressed by Baer (2017: 239), the source text is still “undertheorized.” He suggests (2017: 232) that it should be “desacralized,” so that “we begin to think beyond the opposition of source-text and target-text approaches” in translation studies. In Western translation theories, the source text, or original text, is usually defined as the starter text and the text to be translated. It is regarded as exhibiting a degree of linguistic, functional, situational, and/or cultural equivalence with its target text. As Toury's definition shows, it is a constitutional part of translation:

Regarding a text as a translation entails the obvious assumption **that there is another text, in another culture/language, which has both chronological and logical priority over it**: not only has such an assumed text presumably preceded the one taken to be its translation, but it also assumed to have served as a point of departure and a basis for the latter. (Toury 2012: 29; emphasis in the original)

This definition implies that the assumed source text is always prior to the target text and that it is always in a different language or culture than the target text. This relation corresponds to what has also been called direct translation (see Pym 2011: 80).

However, no text exists in a vacuum, and there is always some kind of intertextuality with other texts. Pym has criticized the illusion of primacy of a source text implied in traditional definitions of translation. Instead, taking an intertextual perspective, he proposes the term of “start text” (2011: 101). He considers that:

The theoretical problem is that all texts incorporate elements from previous texts, so in principle no text can be a primal “source.” Common parlance refers more readily to “the original,” which promotes the same illusion of primacy. A more logical term, unfortunately never used, would be “start text” (ST), which at least indicates that we are only talking about the text from which a translation process begins. (Pym 2011: 101)

In this chapter, I will use the term, *start text* to refer to the first text that (supposedly) generated the target text. This distinction is particularly useful when several source texts are involved as mediated texts in the process of translation as described further in 2.3.

2.2 Non-traditional source texts

The traditional conception of source text described above is challenged by journalistic translation (see van Doorslaer 2010a; Davier and van Doorslaer 2018) where conventional theories of translation are not well suited to journalistic practices (Orengo 2005: 168 and van Doorslaer 2021b and Valdeón 2023 for a discussion on alternatives terms for “translation”). As stated by Moreno Tovar and van Doorslaer (2024: 2), “Roman Jakobson’s tripartite definition of translation (1959) as interlingual, intralingual, and intersemiotic remains a valuable – perhaps even timeless – conceptual framework.” Based on Jakobson’s (1959) broad conception of translation, I will distinguish three source text types: interlingual, intralingual, and intersemiotic source texts. The latter two forms are included here because they are “clearly present in everyday translation and editing practices in newsrooms” (van Doorslaer 2010a: 180), as Section 3 will demonstrate.

2.2.1 *Intralingual source texts*

In Jakobson's semiotic terminology, *intralingual translation* or "rewording" refers to "an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language" (Jakobson 1959:139). This definition can be applied to source texts. Consequently, any text that has been rewritten or paraphrased in the same language is an intralingual source text. A classic example of an intralingual source text is the modernized English version of an Old English text, which has been adapted to make it accessible to modern readers. In the context of translation proper this would, for example include material based on a pre-existing Portuguese translation intended for a different audience but now translated into children targeted Portuguese (Assis Rosa et al. 2017: 122).

In literary translation, intralingual source texts are involved in retranslation, in the specific case of using one or more pre-existing translations in the same language as a supporting or mediated source text. In some cases, there can be more than one source text involved in retranslation. This is the case when there are already several translations of the same work, as in the case of the translation of some of Jules Verne's novels into Finnish (Ivaska and Huuhtanen 2020). In this particular case, the *start text* would be the original novel by Jules Verne, and the mediated text, the existing translation used: the source text. Another common type of intralingual source text is the "interlingual version" which is derived from the start text and used to produce the various target texts in different language versions in a localization project (Pym 2005: 21).

2.2.2 *Intersemiotic source texts*

The second kind of translation identified by Jakobson is *intersemiotic translation*. It concerns translation between a language and a different semiotic system, "an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language" (Jakobson 1959:233). Adapting this conception of translation to source text means that the channel or medium of the source text differs from that of the target text. Since the visual component is an integral part of news reporting, intersemiotic translation is a common practice in journalistic translation. The intersemiotic source texts used can include a photograph that illustrates a news story, diagrams, graphs, a moving image like the inaugural address of a newly elected president published in the digital edition of a newspaper, a piece of music, or the audio description of the visual key elements on a TV-program. In this article, all such types of multimodal materials, such as a video will be categorized as intersemiotic source texts.

In the field of journalistic translation, van Doorslaer (2012; 2021a) and Valdeón (2015a) for instance provide examples of intersemiotic translations adopting an imagological approach to the study of national stereotypes. Van

Doorslaer (2012) explores how Belgian TV news in Flemish represents Germany in terms of image building. Using the concept of framing, Valdeón (2015a) demonstrates that Spain in the English version of *El País* is represented by emphasizing an image of modernity instead of relying on traditional images of Spain as a European tourist destination.

2.3 Interlingual source texts

Based on Jakobson's translation typology, which defines *interlingual translation*, or *translation proper* as "an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language" (Jakobson 1959:233), I distinguish between two types of interlingual source texts. The first one involves any text in a language other than the target language. This may include an article, a TV or radio report from another media outlet, an interview, a news dispatch, or a post on a social media in any foreign language. Secondly, interlingual source texts include translated texts that function as the source text for another target text in a different language. This type of source text is typically involved in what is referred to as *indirect translation*, or its associated practices of *relay* or *support translation* where they serve as mediated texts. They have been described as "translations, partial translations, or adaptations that serve as an acknowledged or unacknowledged new source text" (Washbourne 2013:608). In other words, they are a "traduction de traduction" ('translation of a translation') (Gambier 1994: 413). Washbourne (2013:608–611) points out that, even though it is a "widespread practice," translations of a translation are considered "translation taboos" (ibid.:608). Indeed, *indirect translation*, where, for example, a novel is rendered via an already existing translation instead of directly from the original, is often overlooked in research on literary translation. Assis Rosa et al. (2017:113) posit that *indirect translation* is frequently obscured or concealed due to the pervasiveness of the demand for an intimate alignment with the source text.

Dollerup (2000) distinguishes three strategies involved in indirect translation, delineating their situational context and purpose within the broader translation process. According to Dollerup (ibid.:23), *support translation* involves the examination of translations into languages other than the translator's own target language with the objective of identifying solutions to specific problems that have been deemed satisfactory by colleagues. In this context, translated source texts function as a multilingual parallel corpus, providing the translator with the opportunity to assess the efficacy of a translation solution in resolving a particular problem. In contrast, *indirect translation* is defined as the use of a third intermediary realization that lacks a legitimate audience and is not intended to become an end-product in itself (ibid.:19). This approach is employed in situations where

translations are made into multiple languages, one after the other. In contrast, *relay translation* is primarily intended for consumption and “can be defined as a mediation from source to target language in which the translational product has been realized in another language than that of the original.” (ibid.:19). All three forms are involved in journalistic translation. In a recent discussion of the difference in meaning of the terms and their application to journalistic translation, Davier (2022:399) has applied the concept of *indirect translation* to journalistic translation, noting that it lets us paint a more precise picture of the multilingual translational phenomena that are present in the media. Valdeón (2022: 436) suggests that “it can serve to gain a better understanding of the processes involved in the dissemination of information.” I will argue that acknowledging indirect translation in journalistic translation is also a way to analyze the interdependence of media outlets and the circulation of source texts in the media in a globalized world.

2.4 Pseudo-source texts

Finally, pseudo-source texts represent a clear instance where the traditional definition of a source text is called into question. These texts are not source texts in the conventional sense, as the target and source texts are one and the same. Pseudotranslations involve texts that are presented and often perceived as translations, despite the fact that no source text has ever existed (Toury 1985: 34). In other words, pseudotranslations do not rely on any existing corresponding source text in another language but instead exploit the readership’s expectations. As one of the most extreme cases of pseudotranslations, Toury (2012: 49) gives the example of *The Book of Mormon* (1830) which was presented as a translation and gave birth to a new Church. Pseudo-source texts are also involved in journalistic translation as 3.2 will show.

3. The specificity of source texts in journalistic translation

In journalistic translation, source texts share at least five of the following specificities that will be shortly described in this section: they are unstable (3.1), recreated (3.2), multiple (3.3), fragmented (3.4) and multilayered (3.5).

3.1 Unstable source texts

One of the inherent characteristics of source texts in journalistic translation is their instability, since the source texts are frequently adapted to align with the

socio-cultural context of the target text. Originally, the dichotomy between stable and unstable source texts was proposed by Hernández Guerrero (2009: 43–46) to differentiate between two major translational treatments of source texts in the media: those that are translated faithfully and those that are not (see Valdéron 2015b: 442–444). She draws on Pym who reminds us that the practice is not new: “The medieval texts were in fact constantly being rewritten, and translation was frequently perceived as just another step in that chain of rewritings” (Pym 2004: 175). The advent of the printing press facilitated the stabilization of these texts. The first type which are translated faithfully are called *stable sources*. They include opinion columns and editorials, whereas *unstable* sources are largely rewritten and cover most other types of news articles (Hernández Guerrero 2009: 45). This dichotomic translational approach to source texts is explained by the status of opinion columns and editorials, both of which are considered to be closer to literary texts (ibid.:106) because they have been:

written by well-known and respected authors, whose opinion is valued. In the translation process, [...] their content and integrity are respected, and they are faithfully reproduced. The resulting product tends to be equivalent to the original, giving rise to translations in the strict sense of the word.

(Hernández Guerrero 2009: 45; my translation)

Furthermore, Vuorinen (1995:97) notes that the degree of faithfulness to the source texts depends on the status of the source text in question. International news would have a low status, but quotations “have a higher status value than the rest of the text” and are thus more faithful representations of their source text (i.e. what the speaker said).

3.2 Recreated and pseudo-source texts

News translations “are not straightforward and faithful reproductions of their source texts, as often assumed by lay-people” (Schäffner 2008: 22). Source texts are largely rewritten, readapted, synthesized, and edited to fit the new target context. In other words, they are entextualized (see Bauman and Briggs 1990; Silverstein and Urban 1996), i.e., the meaning of the source discourse is extracted (decontextualized) and reinserted (recontextualized) into the target discourse. As explained by van Doorslaer, this is because:

[t]ranslating and writing are brought together in one process that is creative and re-creative at the same time. It is impossible to separate the two activities of this integrated process. It is also impossible to distinguish between these two functions in a newsroom: journalists writing “original” reports or journalists translating and rewriting on the basis of existing sources. (van Doorslaer 2010: 181–182)

This phenomenon of recreating source texts reflects the conceptualization of source text as raw material in the journalistic work. In *Journalisti*, the magazine of the Union of Journalists in Finland, Niilo Simojoki, the Finnish News Agency's (STT) special editor for foreign news, emphasizes that STT is not a translation agency: "Foreign stories are raw material from which we edit our own understandable and interesting news stories from a Finnish point of view" (Vainio 2020; my translation).

The recreation of source texts can sometimes result in a fully reconstructed source text, which comes close to pseudo source texts described in 2.4. One clear example of pseudo source text in the media can be observed in the phenomenon of fake news, which has the potential to create a situation where the conceptualization and usage of a source text may have significant ethical implications. Phanthaphoommee (2023) for instance examines Thai translations of international news about the COVID-19 pandemic that proved to be made up and untrue. He describes a case where a text appearing as a translated piece of international news (using foreign name and providing source text credits) was fabricated by the journalist to "build credibility by assuming that ordinary people may not have access to international news or have sufficient knowledge of English to verify the translation" (ibid.: 29).

Another case of pseudo source texts can be found in some direct quotations given in press releases used as source text in a news article. Journalists often utilize press releases because they are both economical and straightforward to employ. This is due to the fact that they have already been "prefabricated in an appropriate news style and therefore require the minimum of reworking" (Bell 1991: 58). However, Jacobs (1999) and Sleurs et al. (2003) show that quotations given in press releases were actually very often not verbalized by the named source. They are pseudo-quotations that are constructed to make them "sound more lively (the so-called dramatic function) and more neutral (the so-called distancing function)" and thus more attractive and easily reproduced by journalists (Sleurs et al. 2003: 197). Similarly, press conference material can also be considered as pseudo source texts. Schäffner (2008: 18–22) convincingly shows that the transcripts of the same press conference made available on the government websites of two different countries differed in style due to different institutional values and policies revealing "differences in the quantity, the genre, and the linguistic structure of the messages" (ibid.: 22).

More generally, the record made by the journalist of an interview or of a spoken address has an influence on the faithfulness of the quotation used in the news article. Bell (1991: 61) notes that "[t]he record may be verbatim in the form of a tape recording, a selective but more or less verbatim shorthand transcript, or

highly selective longhand notes.” In the news article, the same recorded source text can thus take different forms depending on the degree of fidelity:

This material may appear in a story as direct quotes, indirect quotes, or unattributed information. It may be paraphrased or summarized. Direct quotation, enclosed between double “quote marks,” is supposed to be verbatim. Much that appears as indirect quote is paraphrase, and much unattributed information draws heavily on what a newsmaker has said. Written documents may similarly be used either for quotation or to provide background information.

(Bell 1991: 61)

When the quotation is only summarized in the form of unattributed information, the source text becomes blurred and impossible to trace afterwards by looking only at the published news article. In all cases, this material is lost. “Lost originals” have been described by Washbourne (2013: 618) and discussed by Davier (2022: 399–400), who reminds that most news stories are based on interviews, press conferences, and press releases that are intended for journalists only and are usually not made available to the readers because they are not systematically recorded or archived and are lost once journalists have used them in their stories. It is important to note, however that technological changes are making more of these sources available online, and thus not necessarily lost, as the analysis in Section 5 will show.

3.3 Multiplicity of source texts

The instability that goes hand in hand with the invisibility of the source texts described in 3.1 is largely linked to the multiplicity of source texts used in journalistic writing. Journalists draw on multiple texts that have multiple authors and originate from multiple platforms. Source texts are present at different stages of the news reporting process. They are employed during the gathering of information, the selection of pertinent data, the recontextualization of information, the editing of content, and even before the writing of the news item itself. During the planning phase, journalists are indeed constantly engaged in the process of keeping themselves informed and following the news. These source texts may include traditional journalistic sources in foreign language (interviews, speeches, press conferences), news from other media outlets (news agencies, newspapers, magazines, television, and radio) as well as social media and the internet. The multiplicity of source texts implies that the final piece of news will, most of the time, only include fragments of several source texts.

3.4 Fragmented source texts

It is clear by now that journalists do not translate news texts in their entirety, but rather weave a kind of patchwork from multiple fragments of different source texts (van Doorslaer 2010b), unless, of course, it is a so-called stable source as seen in 3.1 (see e.g. Abdel-Hafiz 2002; Bani 2006; Manfredi 2018; Trope and Marchan 2017: 184–185 for studies that compare an original story with its translation and Davier 2017: 184–185 for the special case of signed news dispatches). For this very reason, Davier and van Doorslaer (2018) advocate for working with short units of translation and not a whole text. The analysis of source texts presented further in Section 5 will concentrate only on very short units or fragments of named source texts in the news article under analysis. These named fragmented source texts are explicitly referenced in the articles under study. They include extracts from a news dispatch, a press release, a quotation from an individual, another media outlet, or social media. These fragments can be intralingual if the speech and the news is in the same language, interlingual if it has been translated, or intersemiotic if it uses non-verbal signs.

3.5 Multilayered or mediated source texts

As mentioned in 3.2, foreign news reporting builds on various mediated source texts that function as raw material. As Bell (1991: 47) notes: “News outlets publish more copy which has been generated by other, external news agencies than by their own in-house journalist.” Bell (ibid.: 44–52) describes the complex processing of news and more specifically the international news flow. He observes that “[t]he average international news item published anywhere in the world has probably been through at least four separate newsrooms” (Bell 1991: 47). “[...] At each stage, copy is received, put through the newsroom’s editing process and transmitted on to the next receiver, where the cycle is repeated” (Bell 1991: 47). This situation explains why source texts are usually difficult, if not impossible, to trace *a posteriori*. Vuorinen (1995: 96) remarks that “[t]he multiple layers of processing are usually not explicitly evident in the final text, as editors aim to produce a unified text concealing their intervention and manipulation.” However, the analysis will show that the usage of hyperlinks leading to source texts in the digital version of the articles makes part of the source texts explicit and thus available to the readers. The analysis below will concentrate on these explicitly referenced source texts.

4. Corpus and methodology

The corpus analyzed here to illustrate the categorization of source texts used in foreign news reporting was compiled for my larger postdoctoral project called “Translation as a journalistic tool: the media coverage of two non-English speaking foreign countries: France and Mali by Finnish media”. This project was designed to study the link between the use of sources and the geographical location of the journalist in the foreign reporting of four French presidential elections (2007, 2012, 2017 and 2022) and the war in Mali (2012–present). The analysis presented in Section 5 focuses on the digital articles covering the 2022 French presidential election. The corpus consists of 44 digital articles and 32 printed articles. The digital versions were chosen, because they contain hyperlinks to the source texts referenced in the articles, making it easier to trace at least some of the source texts. The French presidential elections took place over two rounds on 10 April 2022 and 24 April respectively. The corpus contains all of the articles written on the French presidential elections during the period 13 October 2021–7 May 2022. The first article concerns the populist far-right candidate Eric Zemmour and the last one concerns the inauguration of President Emmanuel Macron on the 7 May 2022. A total of 31 out of the 43 articles were published in the “Foreign Affairs” section. Five articles were classified as columns or unsigned editorials, while two articles were unsigned short articles based on the Finnish press agency, (STT), and the French international news agency, Agence France-Presse (AFP). The articles were signed by seven different journalists. One is a freelance journalist based in the South of France, one is a so-called parachute foreign correspondent, a reporter who is sent to a country for a relatively short period of time (Hamilton and Jenner 2004: 306, cited by Zanettin 2021: 57), and the others are based in Helsinki, Finland. The choice of the corpus is justified by its nature since the digital version of the newspaper facilitates comparison between the source and target texts.

Qualitative tools were used to list and categorize the source texts found in the news articles. The present study concerns traceable fragmented source texts that can be analyzed adopting a solely product-oriented approach (see Perrin 2013: 56). The purpose here is only to describe the named source texts. The analysis focuses on all sources mentioned in the articles and in relation with quotations. Quotations are included because they are always accompanied by a mention of the source (the person or institution being quoted) even in those cases where it remains unnamed. Furthermore, they are an essential element of newswriting and constitute “subsidized content” i.e. ready-to-use newsworthy information. Direct quotations have been widely studied because they constitute clear cases of translation when uttered in a foreign language in journalistic translation (see Kwieciński

1998; Kuo and Nakamura 2005; Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Chen 2009; Davier 2017; Scammell 2018; Matsushita 2019; Huotari and McLaughlin 2025).

The main types of sources used in the media are: the PR industry representing both private and public entities (Boumans, Vliegthart, and Boomgaarden 2018; Davis 2000; 2003; Lewis et al. 2008; Macnamara 2014), news agencies (Boumans et al. 2018; Davies 2008; Johnston and Forde 2011; McChesney 2012), large media outlets (Hernández Guerrero 2009: 73–78) that are generally connected by collaborative projects, economic links, or ideological affinity (Zanettin 2021: 62), and social media such as YouTube, Facebook, and X (Twitter) (Gulyas 2013; Paulussen and Harder 2014).

Each source text is categorized according to the three types of source text described in Sections 2.2.1, 2.2.2, and 2.3 and the number of layers of source texts utilized as mediated texts in the news articles. The number of layers will be used as a tool to describe the interdependence with other media outlets.

5. Categorization of source texts in a corpus of foreign news

The corpus under analysis consists of foreign news coverage and thus interlingual source texts are believed to be the most frequent type of source text. Since the corpus consists of articles dealing with the 2022 election of a new president in France, it is assumed that the interlingual source texts are mostly in French, the official language of that country. Subsection 5.1 will present the various types of intralingual texts found in the corpus in connection with the layers of source texts from the start text to the target text, Section 5.2. will describe intersemiotic source texts, and 5.3, interlingual source texts.

5.1 Intralingual source texts

As demonstrated in 2.2.1, an intralingual source text is in the same language as the target text and there is no translation proper involved. The qualitative analysis of the corpus revealed four distinct types of intralingual source texts. These included updates on a previously published news article, a quotation in the same language as the target language, another article published previously in the same newspaper, and an article published by another media outlet in the target language.

The first type of intralingual source text, a news article that is later updated to a new version of the same article, is very common in the age of digital communication as texts are constantly updated and adapted. In this case, the intralingual source text is the first version of an article that is subsequently published in a slightly different form in the digital or print newspaper. In the Finnish corpus

under analysis, the existence of an intralingual source text is indicated by the label “Päivitetty” (‘updated’). The label appears at the beginning of the news article under the name of the journalist, with the date and the time of publication, as in (1):

- (1) 24.4.2022 18:22 | Päivitetty 25.4.2022 6:18
 ‘24.4.2022 18:22 | updated 25.4.2022 6:18’

The first version (the start text) was published on 24 April 2022 at 18:22 on the day of the second round of the presidential election and then updated the next day at 6:18, after the final results were published. Furthermore, the corpus includes all the latest updated versions of the digital and print articles. The comparative analysis of these two latter versions shows that the title has been edited in the majority of the print articles compared to the digital one. In 25 out of 32 print versions, the headline was completely changed or shortened. Only five articles kept the same headline in both versions. This is not surprising as “[h]eadlines are often written by other newswriters and can be traced back to some salient point of the story which they summarise in very few words” (Orengo 2005: 181). Articles that kept their headline unchanged are all opinion columns and editorials, which are considered stable sources and treated as such more like literary texts and reproduced faithfully (Hernández Guerrero 2009: 45) as discussed in 3.1.

The second type of intralingual fragmented source text found in the corpus is a quotation in the same language as the target text. In this case, the quotation is the only element from that specific text (written or oral) that is used as “de facto” source text (along with a number of other fragmented source texts). As explained in 3.4, quotations are a very common type of fragmented source text in newswriting and constitute an essential element of it. As Bell (1991: 191, his italics) notes, “[n]ews is mostly [...] what someone says, either as witness to facts or as news actor. But someone does not mean just *anyone*. [...] News is what an authoritative source tells a journalist.” Supposedly, quotations are a faithful (or at least a fairly accurate meaning-to-meaning) reproduction of what someone (the start text) has said. When what someone has said is expressed in the same language as its reproduction in the target text, it is considered an intralingual source text. This is exemplified in (2), which is followed by my own translation, as in all the examples given below:

- (2) “Jos Suomen pyrkimys on tiiviimpi yhteistyö Naton kanssa, niin tästä näkökulmasta Macronin valinta edustaa tietysti jatkuvuutta”, sanoo Eurooppapolitiikkaan erikoistunut akatemiutkija Timo Miettinen. *HS*, 17.12.2021
 “If Finland’s objective is a closer cooperation with NATO, then from this point of view the election of Macron obviously represents continuity,” says Timo Miettinen, researcher at the Academy of Finland specializing in European policy.’

In (2), the start text is an interview (more precisely the notes or recording of it) with a Finnish expert who was asked to comment on the implications of the French presidential election for Finland and for her (then) possible joining of NATO. The extract is from an article written by a journalist located in Helsinki where the expert is also based. The geographic position of the journalist has probably affected the choice of the expert. Phillips (2010: 92) for instance shows that journalists tend to rely on a network of more or less trusted local contacts who they already know and who are easily and quickly available. Indeed, the same expert was interviewed by the same journalist for another article on France which also appears in the corpus, dated 17 December 2021.

The third type of intralingual source text used in the corpus under analysis is a reference to another article published in the same newspaper:

- (3) Tuolloin monet HS:n haastattelemat ranskalaisäänestäjät nostivat eurohapuilun yhdeksi suureksi syyksi olla äänestämättä Le Peniä. *HS*, 11.4.2022
 ‘At the time, many French voters interviewed by *HS* mentioned euro skepticism as one of the major reasons not to vote for Le Pen.’

The extract comes from an article published on 11 April 2022, the day after the first round of the presidential election. The article examines the candidacy of Marine Le Pen, a figure linked to Vladimir Putin, whose share of the vote had increased in comparison to the previous 2017 election. It considers the potential implications of her election for Finland. In the digital article, the link to the referenced article is provided. This link directs the reader to another article written previously by the same journalist on 7 May 2017, while he was based in Paris to cover the second round of the French presidential elections. The referenced source text contains two quotations from French voters living in Mantes-la-Ville, located in the western suburbs of Paris given in (4):

- (4) Le Pen lupaa irrottaa Ranskan eurosta ja mahdollisesti myös EU:sta. Tästä puhuttaessa Vernier ja Treguery pääsevätkin yllättämään.
 “Se, mitä Le Pen sanoo eurosta, on pelkkää tyhmyyttä!” Vernier huudahtaa.
 “Kyllä näin on. Nyt puhutaan sentään Euroopasta”, Treguery vahvistaa matallalla ja rauhallisella äänellään. *HS*, 7.5.2017
 ‘Le Pen promises to pull France out of the euro and possibly also of the EU. On this subject, Vernier and Treguery are able to surprise.
 “What Le Pen says about the euro is sheer idiocy!” Vernier exclaims.
 “Yes, it is. At least now we’re talking about Europe,” Treguery confirms in a low, calm voice.’

Both interviewed voters comment on the election and say that Le Pen’s position on the euro is unrealistic. Those comments published in the article from 2017

function as the intralingual source text of the extract given in (3). The start text of these quotations in Finnish is in French and will be discussed in 5.3 under interlingual source texts in Example (10).

Fourthly, the intralingual source text can be an article published by another media outlet, with the most common in the corpus being an article from the Finnish news agency, STT as in (5):

- (5) Sarkozy kirjoittaa Facebookissa, että Macronilla on tarpeellista kokemusta vakavan kansainvälisen kriisin hoitamiseen. STT–AFP *HS*, 13.4.2022
 ‘Sarkozy says on Facebook that Macron has the necessary experience to deal with a serious international crisis.’

Two sources are identified at the end of this brief article: AFP and STT. This means that the original news was most probably first released by AFP and then translated into Finnish by STT. These two source texts are different in nature due to their language. The first one is in Finnish and the latter, in English, thus the first one constitutes an intralingual source text and the second an interlingual one. News dispatches from press agencies are one of the most frequent source texts in the media. Van Dijk (1988: 96–97) observes that “[n]ews events are seldom witnessed directly by journalists. Events usually become known through the already coded and interpreted discourses of others, most prominently through the dispatches of news agencies.” In the context of the accelerated pace of news dissemination, the use of an intralingual source text is more expedient and straightforward. In contrast to interlingual source texts, which necessitate translation, intralingual sources are readily accessible and easily usable.

5.2 Intersemiotic source texts

There are two types of intersemiotic source texts in the corpus: polls and videos. The first and most common due to the nature of the corpus is a poll in the form of a graph, which is typical for this type of news coverage, as in (6):

- (6) Kyselyssä Macron on pitänyt kiinni johtoasemastaan ja jopa kasvattanut kaulaa suhteessa Le Peniin. Tiistaina julkaistussa mielipidemittauksessa 56,5 prosenttia äänestäjistä kertoi aikovansa äänestää Macronia ja 43,5 prosenttia Le Peniä. *HS*, 10.4.2022
 ‘In the polls, Macron has maintained and even increased his lead over Le Pen. In a poll published on Tuesday, 56.5% of voters said they would vote for Macron and 43.5% for Le Pen.’

The extract in (6) contains a hyperlink that makes the source text available for the reader and the researcher.¹ It leads to an article published on the website of the French public radio network *France Info*. The page displays two polls, one with pictures of each of the two candidates: Emmanuel Macron and Marine Le Pen, followed by the percentage representing the voting intention for both, i.e. 56.5%, for Macron and 43.5% for Le Pen. The second graph contains the same information showing how the voting intentions have evolved for each candidate from 12 March–19 April 2022. The numbers on the graphs are turned into words in the Finnish article, changing thus the modality of the start text, which is in intersemiotic relation with the target text. It is also interlingual because it appears on a French website, and the title of the graph is in French.

In some cases, the intersemiotic source text is mediated by a media outlet which is not from France, the country being covered by the news. In these cases, it is always in English and always by a British or American news outlet in this corpus, as in (7):

- (7) Ranskan presidentinvaalien ensimmäisen kierroksen on voittanut istuva presidentti, liberaali Emmanuel Macron. Hän sai 27,35 prosenttia äänistä, kun anne-tuista äänistä 97 prosenttia oli laskettu.

Toiseksi tuli äärioikeistolainen Marine Le Pen. Hän sai 23,97 prosenttia äänistä. Asiasta kertoo muun muassa BBC. HS, 10.4.2022

‘The first round of the French presidential election has been won by the sitting president, the liberal Emmanuel Macron. He won 27.35% of the vote, after 97% of the votes cast had been counted.

Second came far-right Marine Le Pen. She received 23.97% of the vote. The BBC, among others, reports.’

In (7), the results of the first round of the presidential election are reported from the Helsinki desk by two journalists. In the extract in (7), the reference to the source text is given in a hyperlink, which leads to a report from the British public service broadcaster, the BBC.² The start text is multimodal in nature: it contains moving images of Macron’s speech, a voiceover by an English interpreter from French, a sign-language interpretation, and an article in a written form below the video. As in (6), the start text is also interlingual because the results of the first round are given in numbers, but the text is in English.

1. https://www.francetvinfo.fr/elections/presidentielle/candidats/sondage-presidentielle-2022-a-cinq-jours-du-second-tour-emmanuel-macron-accroit-son-avance-sur-marine-le-pen_5090302.html

2. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-61061230>

The second type of intersemiotic source text is the video of an interview. It is a multimodal document, which contains speech, non-verbal communication, and Finnish subtitles:

- (8) HS:n haastattelussa vuonna 2016 Le Pen vaati Krimin venäläisyyden tunnustamista ja sanoi Putinin tehneen Venäjän johdossa ”urotyön”. *HS*, 10.4.2022
 ‘In an interview with *HS* in 2016, Le Pen called for the recognition of Crimea’s Russianness and said Putin having done a “feat” in leading Russia.’

As in previous examples, the link to the source text, is given. It is an article published on 18 December 2016. The webpage includes a video of the interview of the leader of the far-right National Rally party, Marine Le Pen, as shown in Figure 1:

Ranskan presidenttiehdokas Marine Le Pen latoo HS:lle Venäjä-kantansa: Putin on tehnyt ”urotyön”, pakotteisiin ei ole ”mitään syytä” ja Krim kuuluu Venäjälle



Petja Pelli HS

18.12.2016 2:00 | Päivitetty 18.12.2016 9:32

HS:N HAASTATTELUSSA käy harvinaisen selväksi, että Venäjää koskevissa kysymyksissä Ranskan Kansallisen rintaman johtaja ja presidenttiehdokas **Marine Le Pen** on Moskovan linjoilla. Presidentti **Vladimir Putinia** koskevaan kysymykseen hän vastaa seuraavasti:

”Minusta Putin on onnistunut tekemään urotyön, sanotaan hänestä sitten mitä tahansa. Hän on tuonut Venäjän takaisin kansakuntien näyttämölle. Se ei ollut itsestään selvää.”

Figure 1. Screen shot of the video of Marine Le Pen’s interview published on the *HS* Website on 18.12.2016

As in (3), there are two layers of source texts. The source text mentioned in the article in (8) is a second order source text. The mediated text, the article from 18 December 2016 displayed in Figure 1, functions as an intralingual source text for the ultimate target text given in (8). Its start text is a multimodal interlingual text: the interview in French that the same journalist carried out with Le Pen in 2016. The diversification of publishing platforms has greatly impacted journalistic practices (Pavlik 2001; Deuze 2007; Erdal 2011). This practice makes it harder to trace source texts *a posteriori* as there is a variety of platforms, and thus various versions for the same content, unless as in this case, a hyperlink to the source text is given in the news article.

5.3 Interlingual source texts

The last type of source text, the interlingual source texts, is the most frequent type in the corpus. This is not surprising, given that the corpus focuses on foreign news, specifically articles from the French presidential election. Similar to intralingual source texts, interlingual source texts can include interviews (referenced as quotations), news dispatches, social media posts, articles, and TV or radio reports from other media outlets. Additionally, they may involve non-attributed sources or pseudo source texts, which are difficult to trace. The source texts can be in the language of the reported country, i.e. French, but also in English as mentioned already in the discussions of Examples (5) and (7). In 3.2, we saw that interviews can be referred to via a direct quotation, an indirect quotation, or unattributed information. Example (9) illustrates a common type of source text when the journalist is located in the reported country or sent there to cover a news event:

- (9) “Kansallinen liittouma on se oikea oikeisto, ei mikään äärioikeisto,” Marine Le Penin puolesta kampanjoiva Sylvie Caietta sanoo. “Me emme ole rasisteja, mutta olen sitä mieltä, että esimerkiksi edunsaajina ranskalaiset pitää panna etusijalle.” HS, 8.4.2022
- “‘The National Rally is the real right wing, not a far-right party,’ Sylvie Caietta, campaigning for Marine Le Pen, has said. ‘We are not racist, but I think that, for example, as beneficiaries, the French must be put first.’”

In (9), there are two quotations from the same person, a local politician campaigning for Marine Le Pen. The two quotations come from the same source text, which is also the start text: an interview (or more precisely, the notes or the recording of an interview) with Sylvie Caietta. The interview was conducted by the special correspondent of the newspaper, a freelance journalist based in the

South of France. The quotation is a direct translation from French as the journalist knows French, and we can assume that she spoke French with the interviewees. This assumption is reinforced by a comment on the language used in an interview in the same newspaper during the coverage of the 2017 prior election. The extract comes from the same article as Example (4) which functioned as the mediated text of the extract in (3). I reproduce it below even though it does not come from the corpus under analysis here because it makes the language of the interview with the journalist explicit; this is something that is usually not mentioned:

- (10) Hän tekee ranskan kielen persoonapronominilla selväksi, kumman sukupuolen ehdokkaalle ääni menee. Nainen se on. Anseaume sanoo, että heidän kotiinsa on murtauduttu kolme kertaa. *HS*, 7.5.2017
 ‘His usage of the French personal pronoun reveals the gender of the candidate who will receive his vote. It’s a woman. Anseaume says their home has been broken into three times.’

Usually, the foreign language quotation within quotation marks is presented as a word-for-word representation of what someone said in the target language. In the brief extract in (10), the source language is explicitly mentioned to clarify the gender of the candidate for whom the French voter Anseaume will vote. Unlike French, the Finnish is gender neutral, thus, the direct translation would not have revealed that the voter was referring to Le Pen. The article explains that the “ranskan kielen persoonapronomini” (‘the French personal pronoun’) reveals the gender of the candidate who will receive the voter’s vote. This specification indicates clearly that the interviewee speaks French and thus that the source text is in French.

In a similar case to (9), the source text in (11) is interlingual and corresponds to a telephone interview conducted by the journalist:

- (11) “Tämän kampanjan aikana kaikki ovat aliarvioineet Marine Le Penin”, sanoo valtiotieteiden professori Jean-Yves Dormagen Montpellierin yliopistosta puhe-
 limessa. *HS*, 8.4.2022
 “During this campaign, everyone has underestimated Marine Le Pen,” says political science professor Jean-Yves Dormagen of the University of Montpellier on the telephone.’

In (11), the source text is in French, and the interview is done by telephone. The person interviewed is a French expert from Montpellier, in the South of France where the journalist is located. The journalist, who covered this presidential election from France for the Finnish newspaper, is the same freelance journalist as in Example (9). Similarly, as in (2), the expert quoted in (11) has previously been

interviewed for the Finnish newspaper by the same journalist who interviewed him in an article on Eric Zemmour, published on 13 October 2021. Unlike in (9), where the video of the interview was published on the newspaper's website, the start text (the interview or more precisely the notes or recording of it) is not available and thus, irretrievable by a researcher carrying out a corpus analysis.

When the quotation does not come from an interview conducted by the journalist writing the news article, contrary to Examples (8)–(11), there are extra layers of source texts and the piece of information is mediated by another media outlet, as in (12):

- (12) “Hän (Christiane Taubira) toi itseään esiin sanomalla, ettei hän olisi vain yksi ehdokas joukon jatkona”, vihreiden kärkipoliitikoihin kuuluva Sandrine Rousseau sanoi *Le Figaro*-lehdessä. “Nyt hän on yksi ehdokas joukon jatkona, ja minusta tätä ei olisi erityisesti tarvittu.” *HS*, 17.1.2022

“She (Christiane Taubira) put herself forward by saying that she would not be just another candidate in the bunch,” a leading Green politician, Sandrine Rousseau, told *Le Figaro*. “Now she is just one candidate in a long line, and I don’t think this was particularly necessary.”

The start text in (12) is comparable to the start texts in Examples (8)–(11). It is an interview, but in this case, the interview was conducted by the French newspaper *Le Figaro*, which subsequently published the article that serves as the source text for the Finnish news article. A hyperlink is given in the online version of the article.³ It reveals that the quotation used by *HS* in the extract in (12) was mediated and that the interview was first given to the French public radio and TV station *Franceinfo*. The hyperlink to the *Franceinfo* webpage containing Sandrine Rousseau’s interview on 16 January 2022 is provided in the online version of *Le Figaro*.⁴ The webpage contains the transcription of the interview and a link to her TV interview.⁵ Thus, there are two extra mediated source texts in French between the start text (the actual interview) and the ultimate target text in the Finnish online newspaper. The first mediated text, the article published on *Franceinfo*’s webpage, has an intersemiotic relation to the start text which was oral and then transcribed in writing on the webpage. The second mediated text, the article of *Le Figaro* has an intralingual relation to the former because both are written and are

3. <https://www.lefigaro.fr/elections/presidentielles/pour-anne-hidalgo-et-sandrine-rousseau-la-candidature-de-taubira-est-une-mauvaise-nouvelle-20220116>

4. https://www.francetvinfo.fr/replay-radio/8h30-fauvelle-dely/candidature-de-christiane-taubira-parrainages-d-eric-zemmour-jean-michel-blancher-le-8h30franceinfo-de-sandrine-rousseau_4901609.html

5. https://www.francetvinfo.fr/elections/presidentielle/candidature-de-christiane-taubira-on-est-en-train-de-se-disperser-deploire-sandrine-rousseau_4918805.html

in French. This second source text which served as the source text for the article in *HS* is in an interlingual relation to the target text.

Similarly, Example (5) contained a mediated text that had been translated. We saw that the source text in Finnish from the Finnish news agency STT was actually not the start text, and that there were two other layers of source texts: an interlingual source text from AFP and the actual post from Nicolas Sarkozy that appeared on Facebook in French. This latter source text is the start text and a hyperlink was given in the online version of the article.⁶ The start text was then translated into English and commented on in a news dispatch from AFP, which was reused as a mediated source text and translated from English into Finnish by STT. It is only this third order source text in Finnish, an intralingual source text that was used in writing the Finnish news article.

In (12), the two mediated texts were in the same language as the start text. In some cases, the mediated text is in a different language than the one from the country being covered (French in this corpus) as in (13):

- (13) Macron kertoi puheessa ymmärtävänsä, että osa ranskalaisista äänesti häntä vain estääkseen Le Penin valtaannousun. Macron kertoi pitävänsä tätä korkeassa arvossa ja olevansa velkaa näille äänestäjille, kertoo The Guardian.

HS, 24.4.2022

‘Macron said in his speech that he understood that some French people voted for him only to prevent Le Pen from gaining power. Macron said he held this in high esteem and that he was in debt to these voters, reports The Guardian.’

In this case, the interlingual source text is an article published in *The Guardian*. The link to the mentioned source text is given in the online version of the article.⁷ This article was used as the source text of the Finnish article, but it is a second order interlingual source text. Its start text is Emmanuel Macron’s victory speech in French, which appears as a video clip on the top of the article published by *The Guardian* on 24 April 2022. There are two interlingual source texts used here because the start text in French is first translated from French into English, and the English source text is then translated into Finnish in the target text.

Recently, there has been a growing concern in Finland, especially among Finnish journalists, about the narrowing range of the language expertise journalists have, which has led, in their opinion, to an overrepresentation of Finnish and English sources in the Finnish media (Tuomasjukka 2022). In the corpus analyzed here, all non-French mediated source texts originate from English-language

6. <https://www.facebook.com/nicolasarkozy/posts/548520249978124>

7. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/live/2022/apr/24/emmanuel-macron-v-marine-le-pen-french-presidential-election-results-live>

media outlets. This confirms Tuomasjukka's observation about the primacy of English as a foreign source language in foreign news reporting.

However, the mediated source text is not always explicitly referenced, even in the digital version of the newspaper. In these cases, the source text is lost, as in (14):

- (14) Valérie Pécresse on verrannut itseään kahteen tunnettuun naisjohtajaan, Saksan pitkäaikaiseen liittokansleriin Angela Merkeliin ja Britannian takavuosien pääministeriin Margaret Thatcheriin. Pécresse on kertonut koostumukseksseen “kaksi kolmasosaa Merkeliä ja yksi kolmasosa Thatcheriä.” *HS*, 17.12.2021
 ‘Valérie Pécresse has compared herself to two well-known female leaders, to the long-term German Chancellor Angela Merkel and former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Pécresse has described her composition as “two-thirds Merkel and one-third Thatcher.”’

In (14), the newsmaker, Valerie Pécresse, the candidate for the right-wing Republicans party, is quoted directly, without any indication of the mediated source text in which the quotation was first published. The quotation was used by a multitude of media outlets in France and abroad, rendering it challenging to ascertain the original start text from which this extract derives. This phenomenon has been discussed in relation to the material published by news agencies which is not always credited in news articles because they

do not usually require media that subscribe to a wire service to credit them or preserve the integrity of the texts in any way. [...]. Subscribers can use only part of, paraphrase, summarize, translate, and reorder information. (Zanettin 2021: 72)

In those cases, the source text is lost and almost impossible to trace *a posteriori*.

Finally, the source text can be attributed in very vague terms as in (15):

- (15) UUTISSET kertovat nyt, että Emmanuel Macron johtaa mielipidemittauksia selkeästi, joskin kannatuslukemat ovat tuoreimpien kyselyiden mukaan lasusuunnassa. Kansallisen liittouman Marine Le Pen kuroo eroa kiinni.
HS, 5.4.2022

‘NEWS REPORTS indicate now that Emmanuel Macron is clearly leading the polls although the latest polls show a downward trend in support. Marine Le Pen of the National Rally is closing the gap.’

In the extract in (15), the source texts are referred to in very general terms, simply as “news reports.” A plural noun is used and that can include a variety of media outlets and languages. In this case, it is impossible to identify the source text with any certainty because no hyperlinks are provided to the readers.

As we saw in previous examples, hyperlinks give valuable and easily accessible information about source texts used in the press. They reveal extra layers of

source texts that were used in the international news flow which can be classified according to the three types of source texts described in Sections 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3: intralingual, intersemiotic and interlingual. In addition, the source texts are often combined leading to a situation where there are multiple mediated source texts between the start text and the target text. Examples (3), (4), (5), and (8) demonstrate that an intralingual source text (in Finnish) can be derived from an interlingual text (in French or in English). Additionally, the second or third order intralingual source texts can also be in a foreign language, as in (12) where two mediated source texts were involved. The multiple layers of mediated source texts tell us about the reliance on indirect translation and the interdependent relationships between media outlets, and media outlets and press agencies. However, this relationship is not always transparent in the target text, as illustrated in (15) and (16). Furthermore, Section 5 demonstrated that the start text, which is typically written in an official language of the country in question (French in the case of France), can first be translated into English and then into Finnish, thereby introducing an additional layer of interlingual source text, as shown by Examples (5) and (13). However, it is crucial to acknowledge that any categorization is contingent upon the corpus and the specific genre under investigation. In this analysis, the tracking of source texts was contingent upon the hyperlinks provided in the online version of the articles. Since corpus analysis does not permit the tracing of the translation process in real time, the links provided in the article were assumed to direct to the source texts that had been used in the writing of the news articles.

6. Concluding remarks

The analysis revealed that direct interlingual source texts in the form of quotations in the language of the country in question, in this case French, are a common occurrence when the journalist is located in that country. Nevertheless, foreign reporting does not depend exclusively on interlingual source texts in the language of the country in question. The corpus under analysis here included all three types of source texts classified using Jakobson's (1959) tripartite categorization of translation. These three types can overlap, particularly in the case of intersemiotic source texts where visual representations appear in conjunction with written or oral modes in the target language. Furthermore, the analysis demonstrated that foreign reporting entails the utilization of diverse fragmented source texts, which ultimately result in the formation of the target text published within the Finnish newspaper.

The corpus analyzed here revealed that when the source texts are not in the language of the country being reported on, they are always in English. This is

not surprising, as it is often the only available source language for journalists who do not speak the language of the country whose news they are reporting. Such a reliance on secondary source material originating from a few concentrated English-speaking media outlets in Great Britain and the USA can compromise the diversity of voices and perspectives in the media and thus deserves special attention (see Boumans et al. 2016). In the context of news production, source texts play a pivotal role. They facilitate the acquisition of a more comprehensive understanding of a specific event by journalists, while simultaneously fostering a sense of trust and credibility with the audience. The reliability and plurality of sources are often regarded as a hallmark of quality and freedom of the press. Nevertheless, financial and time constraints have compelled media companies to increasingly rely on the services of major international news media and news agencies when reporting on foreign countries. One of the key concerns is that news coverage increasingly involves sampling, which may result in the literal copying of source information (Lewis et al. 2008). Furthermore, research carried out in media studies indicates that journalists frequently rely on news agency content without conducting thorough verification (Diekerhof and Bakker 2012: 252). This risk is further compounded when the initial text is not accessed directly by the journalist but rather originates from a mediated text. In this context, it would be beneficial to conduct further research into the relationship between the location of journalists and their use of mediated source texts, as well as their language proficiency.

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