# Representations of Hong Kong in News Translation:

## A Corpus-Based Critical Narrative Analysis

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# Dedication

*In memory of my grandmother who passed away when I embarked on this journey*

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# Abstract

Since the handover of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China in 1997, there have been various high-profile socio-political incidents which have attracted significant media attention. This study investigates how the 2014 Hong Kong protests have been represented in the translated news produced by selected media, and how these narratives have been (re)framed from their original versions. Media outlets selected include *Reference News* from the Chinese mainland, *EJ Insight* from Hong Kong, *BBC Chinese* from the UK and *The New York Times Chinese* from the US. The data collected draw on English and Chinese translations of event coverage from these outlets, and their related source texts published in a range of international mainstream media. The research proposes an integrated theoretical framework which incorporates narrative theory, framing theory and corpus linguistics. It deploys a corpus-based critical narrative and framing analysis of both original and translated news articles about the Occupy Central events as a case study. The research identifies several factors that shape the narration and (re)framing of translated narratives and non-narrative comments, including translation/transediting conventions, institutional procedures and socio-cultural contexts. It identifies some consistent patterns in narrative techniques in respect of narrators, retroversion and frequency, and the employment of diverse framing strategies at the textual, intratextual and paratextual levels. The textual trajectory of news translation, situated in different roles in institutional settings and subject to variations in the translation procedures, are often the results of mediation between divergent power relations within the media outlets. It also manifests the media outlets' political stances and the imbalance in the relationship between the media outlets and their target readerships.

**Keywords:** news translation; Hong Kong; Occupy Central; narrative analysis; framing analysis; corpus-based analysis

# Table of Contents

# List of Tables

# List of Figures

# List of Concordances

# List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| AFP | Agence France-Presse |
| AP | Associated Press |
| CCP | Chinese Communist Party |
| CDA | Critical Discourse Analysis |
| CE | Chief Executive |
| CNA | Critical Narrative Analysis |
| *FT* | *Financial Times* |
| GDELT | Global Database of Events, Language, and Tone |
| *HD* | *Headline Daily* |
| *HKEJ* | *Hong Kong Economic Journal* |
| HKFS | Hong Kong Federation of Students |
| KWIC | Key Word in Context |
| LegCo | Legislative Council |
| *MP* | *Ming Pao* |
| NPCSC | National People's Congress Standing Committee |
| *PD* | *People's Daily* |
| ppm | parts per million |
| PRC | People's Republic of China |
| *RN* | *Reference News* |
| SAR | Special Administrative Region |
| *SCMP* | *South China Morning Post* |
| SL | Source Language |
| ST | Source Text |
| *The NYT* | *The New York Times* |
| *The WSJ* | *The Wall Street Journal* |
| TL | Target Language |
| TT | Target Text |
| VOA | Voice of America |
| XNA | Xinhua News Agency |

# Chapter 1
# Introduction

This introductory chapter begins with a section on the rationale for choosing the 2014 Hong Kong protests as an object of study and some background information on the event. Some representative news narratives of the protests in the mainstream media are then presented. Among these, a few have been translated from Chinese into English in order to reach a wider global audience, or vice versa, from English to Chinese, to reflect the predominant narratives of the event in the international media. The second part of this chapter outlines some fundamental issues concerning the research, including gaps in the existing literature (Section 1.2), the rationale for choosing the topic (Section 1.3), the study's main objectives and research questions (Section 1.4), and its significance and originality (Section 1.5). The last section outlines the overall thesis structure.

This research investigates representations of the protests in news translation by tracing the original narratives produced by their source media and how they are (re)told and (re)framed in news translation produced by the selected media outlets from the Chinese mainland, Hong Kong, the UK and the US. Three media outlets (*Reference News*, *BBC Chinese* and *The New York Times Chinese*) translate news from English into Chinese, whereas one media outlet (*EJ Insight*) translates from Chinese into English. The research furthermore explores how news translators in institutional settings accentuate, undermine or modify original narratives in order to frame their translated narratives and to investigate the various framing strategies and devices translators have employed.

## 1.1  Rationale for Choosing the News Event

Hong Kong is one of the two Special Administrative Regions (SARs)[1] in the People's Republic of China (PRC). It became a British colony over time after the two Opium Wars in the nineteenth century. Hong Kong Island was firstly ceded to Britain after the defeat of the Chinese Qing dynasty in the First Opium War in 1842,

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[1] Macao, a former Portuguese colony, is the other SAR.

followed by the cession of the Kowloon Peninsula after the Second Opium War in 1860 and the establishment of a 99-year lease on the New Territories in 1898. Under the Sino-British Joint Declaration of 1984, the sovereignty of Hong Kong, including Hong Kong Island, Kowloon and the New Territories, was transferred from Britain to China on 1 July 1997. The handover of Hong Kong marked the end of British colonial rule and the founding of the Hong Kong SAR. Since then, Hong Kong has been governed under the Hong Kong Basic Law, a micro-constitutional document drafted by a committee from both the Chinese mainland and Hong Kong. According to the Basic Law, Hong Kong enjoys a high degree of autonomy on the principle of "one country, two systems" which means that under "the one-China policy", the Hong Kong SAR can maintain capitalist systems for a further 50 years until 2047, while the Chinese mainland continues with its socialist systems.

Since the handover, there have been various high-profile social incidents or "critical events"[2] (Lee and Chan, 2011, p.9), including annual protests on 1 July, the anti-national education protest in 2012, the 2014 Hong Kong protests (also known as "Occupy Central" or the "Umbrella Movement"), the 2016 Mong Kok civil unrest and Legislative Council (LegCo) oath-taking controversy, and the 2019 anti-extradition bill protests. Appendix A provides a timeline generated from the Global Database of Events, Language, and Tone (GDELT)[3] project showing the intensity of events in Hong Kong from 1 July 1997 to 15 May 2017. It can be seen that the handover of sovereignty attracted most global media attention during 1997, as confirmed in a number of other studies (e.g. Cao, 1999; 2000; Pan et al., 1999; 2001; Lee et al., 2001; 2005). Since then, there have been annual events happening around July, notably in 1998, 2003, 2007 and 2013. These have included the protest against the enactment of Article 23 of the Basic Law[4] on 1 July in 2003, the vigil in memory of the Tiananmen protests on 4 June in 2013 and the events of late 2014.

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[2] Lee and Chan (2011, p.9) define a critical event as "a contextually dramatic happening that leads to important shifts in public and elite perceptions of reality".

[3] The GDELT project (https://www.gdeltproject.org) is a free online dataset of global news media in over 100 languages since 1979. Its analysis service provides a range of visualisation tools such as event, country and tone timelines.

[4] Article 23 stipulates that the Hong Kong SAR "shall enact laws on its own to prohibit any act of treason, secession, sedition, subversion against the Central People's Government, or theft of state secrets, to prohibit foreign political

This project selects the critical event of the 2014 Hong Kong protests as its object of study. The reasons for choosing this event are because 1) the event has caused a profound socio-political impact; 2) it has attracted significant attention from both the local and global media in recent years; 3) the protests lasted a relatively long period which provides abundant data for analysis and 4) news narratives on this event and their translated versions are easily accessible from the mainstream news media.

### 1.1.1 Background of the News Event[5]

The full name of large-scale protests that occurred in Hong Kong in late 2014 is Occupy Central with Love and Peace, often abbreviated to Occupy Central or dubbed the "Umbrella Movement" in Western media. Three key figures – University of Hong Kong Associate Professor of Law Benny Tai Yiu-ting, Chinese University of Hong Kong Associate Professor of Sociology Chan Kin-man and Chu Yiu-ming, a local Baptist Church minister – began planning the campaign the year before. They proposed in late 2014 an occupation of central areas of the city in civil disobedience and striving for "universal suffrage" for the CE and LegCo elections.

On 22 September,[6] student groups led by the Hong Kong Federation of Students and Scholarism began university class boycotts and were subsequently joined by high school students on 26 September. They protested against the Chinese National People's Congress Standing Committee (NPCSC)'s approval of the election frameworks and nomination methods for the 2016 LegCo election and the 2017 CE election made known as the "August 31 decision". The class boycotts evolved into massive street protests with students occupying the Civic Square near the government headquarters. Police fired tear gas to disperse the students, triggering immense public anger and expansion of the protest movement. Around 80,000 civilians participated in the protest and occupied major city centre roads such as

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organizations or bodies from conducting political activities in the Region, and to prohibit political organizations or bodies of the Region from establishing ties with foreign political organizations or bodies" (Hong Kong SAR government, 2017, p.9). The SAR government proposed the National Security Bill to the LegCo in order to legislate Article 23. The bill has still not been passed, following the demonstration on 1 July 2013.

[5] This section endeavours to give a factual account of the news event, though the author cannot do so from first-hand experience.

[6] All dates in this thesis refer to 2014 unless otherwise specified.

Admiralty, Mong Kok and Causeway Bay. As a result, Benny Tai officially launched Occupy Central in the early hours of 28 September.

The Occupy Movement reached a peak within the first few days and continued protests from 28 September until 15 December. More than 1.2 million demonstrators occupied major roads, including several central areas of Hong Kong, for 79 days, making it the most massive social movement since the handover (see Appendix B). Several violent clashes broke out between police and protesters as well as between protesters and residents opposing them. Later in the campaign, Hong Kong society became divided into two groups, one led by the democracy advocates and the other by the SAR government, the Chinese central government and various pro-Beijing groups. The protesters' principal demand for the right to vote in fair and free elections by universal suffrage rather than through nomination from a small number of candidates was eventually rejected. The three key organisers turned themselves in at a local police station on 3 December.[7] Police cleared up various protest sites by 15 December and the movement ended in failure.

The reasons behind the 2014 Hong Kong protests are multifaceted with a variety of its social, political, economic and cultural factors (C.K. Chan, 2015; Yu, 2015; Lee, 2016; Veneti et al., 2016). Occupy Central was inevitable in several ways. The most direct political cause of the protests was the NPCSC's decision on 31 August with regard to the election frameworks and nomination methods for the 2016 LegCo and the 2017 CE elections. According to these, two to three CE candidates would be nominated by a committee made up of 1,200 members from various social circles. Each candidate would seek support from a majority of the nominating committee in order to be selected, subject to central government approval. This contradicted the central government's previous promise that the 2016 LegCo and the 2017 CE elections would be conducted via universal suffrage. Since the handover, the Hong Kong SAR government has implemented a series of reforms under the Basic Law. Article 45 outlines that the selection method for the CE, being that:

> shall be specified in the light of the actual situation … in
> accordance with the principle of *gradual and orderly progress*.

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[7] Although they were immediately released without charges, they were subsequently arrested, along with six other key figures, on charges of public nuisance and related offences and jailed for up to 16 months.

> The ultimate aim is the selection of the Chief Executive by
> universal suffrage upon nomination by a *broadly representative*
> nominating committee in accordance with democratic procedures.
> (Hong Kong SAR government, 2017, p.15, my italics)

The wording is somewhat vague as to the precise meanings of "gradual and orderly progress" and "broadly representative" which caused confusions between the governments and Hong Kong people.

Hong Kong, culturally speaking, having developed from being a small fishing village in southern China, has similar origins to nearby Canton Province but, due to its near 150-year British colonial history, has evolved a distinctive culture from its mainland counterpart. Since the handover, Hong Kong people have faced the dichotomy of local and national identities (Ma and Fung, 2007; Steinhardt et al., 2018). According to surveys on Hong Kong people's identity and national identification conducted by the Centre for Communication and Public Opinion Survey (2016a) at the Chinese University of Hong Kong between 1996 and 2016, a majority of participants regarded themselves as both Hongkongers and Chinese. However, around twice as many of these placed their local identity in front of their national one, regarding themselves as Hongkongers first. In 2014, 41.3 percent of respondents primarily identified themselves as Hongkongers and 22 percent as primarily Chinese. The clear trend since 1998 is of a decline in the percentage of respondents who identify themselves as Chinese. This reached its low point in 2014 when only 8.8 percent identified as Chinese. Meanwhile, participants who saw themselves solely as Hongkongers has increased since 2010, reaching a high point of 26.4 percent in 2014. Surveys conducted by the Public Opinion Programme at the University of Hong Kong have reported similar results.[8] This rise in local and decline in national affiliation contributed to the emergence of the Occupy Movement, but the movement itself may also have been a trigger for the rise of localism and decrease in nationalism.

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[8]
  https://www.hkupop.hku.hk/english/popexpress/ethnic/eidentity/poll/eid_poll_chart.html [Accessed 16 May 2020]

As a former "Asian dragon",[9] Hong Kong played a unique role in the Chinese economy in the first few years after the handover. According to the World Bank data,[10] Hong Kong's percentage of Chinese GDP has declined over the past two decades, from about one-fifth in 1997 to less than three percent in 2015. As an essential indicator of Hong Kong's importance to the Chinese economy, the city was once one of the few links for China's trade and investment with the rest of the world. However, this special status has been overtaken by special economic zones in cities such as Shanghai, Shenzhen and Zhuhai ever since the rapid economic reforms and opening up of the mainland. Many locals began to worry that Hong Kong would just become another Chinese city despite the guarantee of its special status under the principle of "one country, two systems". The protesters' demanded democracy partly in order to maintain a high degree of political autonomy. However, this is given by the central government as a reason for its economic decline.

The Occupy Movement was driven by Hongkongers' widespread discontent over their livelihoods, exacerbated by the rocketing housing prices that have made Hong Kong one of the most expensive cities in the world to live.[11] Many young people complain that they can neither afford to purchase their private houses nor get on the waiting list for public housing. They consequently turned their anger on the government and its poor management of property development, leading to sharp social conflicts. They also attribute the exploitation of their social resources to a growing number of immigrants from the mainland. This partially explains the mounting tensions between mainlanders and locals that have resulted in various anti-mainland incidents. These social divisions are egregiously visible in the Occupy Movement which can be seen as a struggle between pro- and anti-Beijing groups and during which time protesters called for on then CE Leung Chun-ying to step down. The early protests were mainly peopled by students but were later swelled by a majority of ordinary residents from all walks of life. The anti-protest groups

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[9] This term refers to the four fast growing economies of South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore of the 1960s to 1990s.

[10] https://data.worldbank.org/?locations=CN-HK [Accessed 16 May 2020]

[11] Morris, H. 2018. Revealed: the world's most (and least) expensive cities. *The Telegraph*. [Online]. 26 June. [Accessed 16 May 2020]. Available from: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/news/hong-kong-most-expensive-city-in-world/

mostly consist of older residents supported by various pro-Beijing groups, business elites and officials.

### 1.1.2 Media Coverage of the News Event

After the Occupy Central movement was launched on 28 September, it attracted massive attention from both local and foreign media, making it a heated topic for debate in the press and on the internet. This reached a peak in the first few days but continued at a high level throughout the protests. The international media reported the outbreak of the protests at considerable length in a wide variety of journalistic genres, including background information pieces, videos, editorials, features and analyses. *The Guardian*, for example, published a background article on 29 September, explaining the what, how, who, where, when and why of the protests.[12] *The Wall Street Journal* (*WSJ*) and CNN provided extensive coverage of the Hong Kong protests from correspondents based in both Hong Kong and the US. The *Financial Times* (*FT*) published in-depth news and analysis on Occupy Central, paying close attention to Hong Kong as one of the world's leading financial centres. BBC News posted news stories on its website with live videos reported by its China editor, Carrie Gracie, and other journalists reporting from the streets and interviewing protesters.[13] *The New York Times* (*NYT*) posted online news stories about the protesters gaining support from people around the world.[14] The most distinctive feature in these news narratives is the political segregation of Hong Kong from the rest of China and the visual depiction of the rising tensions between police and protesters. The 2014 Hong Kong protests are often labelled as the Umbrella Movement or even the Umbrella Revolution[15] in the Western media because most of

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[12] McCarthy, T. 2014. Under the umbrellas: what do Hong Kong's protesters want from China? *The Guardian*. [Online]. 29 September. [Accessed 16 May 2020]. Available from: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/sep/29/hong-kong-democracy-protests-china-umbrellas-police

[13] https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-china-29398962 [Accessed 16 May 2020]

[14] Tatlow, D.K. 2014. From around the world, support for Hong Kong protesters. *The New York Times*. [Online]. 29 September. [Accessed 16 May 2020]. Available from: https://sinosphere.blogs.nytimes.com/2014/09/29/from-around-the-world-support-for-hong-kong-protesters/

[15] Some Western media refer to this event as "Umbrella Revolution" in their news reports. However, some scholars point out that it is inappropriate to use the term "revolution" as it brings a negative connotation of using violence to turn down a government. This is a social movement initiated by protesters who did not

these narratives portrayed the riot police's firing of tear gas and pepper spray towards protesters while they held umbrellas up as shields.[16] Some news narratives also provided a detailed timeline and factual accounts in the process of Hong Kong's path to democratic reform.

During the protests, the major Hong Kong newspapers provided extensive coverage and commentary. The most credible English-language newspaper, the *South China Morning Post* (*SCMP*), initiated a column on its website on the topic of Occupy Central and posted extensive day-by-day coverage.[17] Despite its high prominence in the English-language media, the protests also received massive attention in local Chinese outlets. Chinese-language newspapers in Hong Kong followed familiar political stances in their coverage of the 2014 protests. These local media outlets expressed divergent opinions about the protests and framed their news narratives and commentaries in different ways. According to Kwong, "most mainstream media organisations took an anti-movement stance" (2015, p.273). A range of pro-Beijing newspapers, including *Hong Kong Commercial Daily*, *Ta Kung Pao*, *Wen Wei Po*, *Oriental Daily* and *Sing Tao Daily*, all expressed critical views on the protests and praised the Hong Kong police. A few liberal highbrow newspapers, such as *Ming Pao* (*MP*) and the *Hong Kong Economic Journal* (*HKEJ*), expressed neutral and/or moderate stances and offered objective and balanced coverage. They criticised the protesters for bringing unwanted trouble to society but also warned the government against taking violent measures against the protesters. A minority of the Hong Kong press held favourable attitudes to the protests. The popular Chinese-language local

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intend to overthrow the government but rather through a series of peaceful "civil disobedience" and nonviolent protests (Lee, 2015). In this way, the term "Umbrella Revolution" would cause misunderstanding and might be described as a revolution or riot by the government. This research uses the terms "Occupy Central movement" and "2014 Hong Kong protests" interchangeably to refer to this massive-scale social event.

[16] Buckley, C. and Wong, A. 2014. Crackdown on protests by Hong Kong police draws more to the streets. *The NYT*. [Online]. 28 September. [Accessed 16 May 2020]. Available from: https://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/29/world/asia/clashes-in-hong-kong.html

Ramzy, A. and Wong, A. 2014. Hong Kong protesters defy officials' call to disperse. *The NYT*. [Online]. 29 September. [Accessed 16 May 2020]. Available from: https://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/30/world/asia/hong-kong-protests.html

[17] https://www.scmp.com/topics/occupy-central [Accessed 16 May 2020]

newspaper *Apple Daily*[18] was distinctive in its support for the protesters and disapproval of the central and SAR governments.

By contrast to the extensive coverage in the local and international media, the protests did not receive much attention in the Chinese state media until a few days after they started. The newspaper with the largest circulation in China, *Reference News* (*RN*), run by the state-owned Xinhua News Agency (XNA), published its first article on the protests on 29 September on Page 15, the penultimate page. It was consistent with the majority of the regional Chinese-language media outlets in stating that the SAR government would handle the Occupy Central movement in accordance with the law. The official newspaper of the central government and Chinese Communist Party (CCP), the *People's Daily* (*PD*), first published an article on 2 October at the bottom of Page 4, four days after the launch of the protests.[19] It published three articles on the following day, two of which highlighted the impact of Occupy Central on the local economy and industries and the disturbance caused to local residents.[20] The other quoted several Western scholars questioning the motivations of the protest organisers.[21] The overseas edition published a 10 October commentary on pointing to involvement of the US government, non-governmental

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[18] *Apple Daily* is owned by Next Digital media company whose founder Jimmy Lai Chee-ying is accused of financially contributing to the organisation of the protests. He was arrested on the protest site in Admiralty during the clearance of the protests on 13 December and later stepped down as the chairman of the media group.

[19] Wang, Y. 2014. 多位专家学者表示"占中"已不是行使正常的表达自由 (Many experts and scholars say that "Occupy Central" is not exercising normal freedom of speech). *PD*. [Online]. 2 October. [Accessed 16 May 2020]. Available from: http://cpc.people.com.cn/n/2014/1002/c64387-25772762.html

[20] Zhao, W. and Yin, S. 2014. "占中"冲击各行业，居民生活受干扰 ("Occupy Central" impact various industries, residents' living conditions are disturbed). *PD*. [Online]. 3 October. [Accessed 16 May 2020]. Available from: http://cpc.people.com.cn/n/2014/1003/c64387-25774788.html

Wu, Y. 2014. 专家学者表示"占中"斫伤香港经济发展活力 (Experts and scholars express that "Occupy Central" hurts the vitality of Hong Kong's economic development). *PD*. [Online]. 3 October. [Accessed 16 May 2020]. Available from: http://cpc.people.com.cn/n/2014/1003/c64387-25774789.html

[21] Wang, Z., Zheng, B. and Liu, L. 2014. 西方学者质疑"占中"组织者动机 (Western scholars question the motivation of the "Occupy Central" organisers). *PD*. [Online]. 3 October. [Accessed 16 May 2020]. Available from: http://qh.people.com.cn/n/2014/1003/c346768-22508492.html

organisations and the media in contributing to the protests.[22] *Global Times*, a populist tabloid run by the *PD* newspaper with a nationalist stance newspaper with a wide circulation on the Chinese mainland, published a 29 September commentary on the issue.[23] It stated that the Chinese authorities should take actions against the protesters who were described by the paper as "the extreme opposition".

Media representation of the 2014 Hong Kong protests was predominantly negative (see Appendix C). The tone of media coverage dropped dramatically in September 2014 and reached its lowest points on 28 September (−4.5) and 4 October (−4.9) respectively, which were at the beginning of the protests. Although the tone of the international media rebounded through the course, it dived again to −3.9 on 1 December which is towards the end of the protests when the police began to clear protest sites. In brief, the media coverage of the protests in the British and American media adopted a predominantly negative attitude towards the Hong Kong government and police, while the media on the Chinese mainland portrayed the protesters negatively. The representation in the local media was mixed.

## 1.1.3 Translated Narratives of the News Event

As a global media event, the 2014 Hong Kong protests attracted significant media attention though the narratives differed depending on which outlet produced them. Each media outlet constructed its own version of events, leading to a multitude of narratives on the same event, each catering for to the particular outlet's needs. As Bielsa and Bassnett (2009, p.72) point out:

> Most information about world events needs to be tailored to specific publics, and the way in which narratives of global media events are constructed for local audiences is mediated by translation. Translation fulfils a pivotal role in the circulation of global news by producing significantly different local versions of international events.

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[22] Hua, Y. 2014. 美国对"颜色革命"为何乐此不疲？ (Why is the US not tired of "colour revolutions"?). *PD (Overseas Edition)*. [Online]. 10 October. [Accessed 16 May 2020]. Available from: http://paper.people.com.cn/rmrbhwb/html/2014-10/10/content_1486178.htm

[23] Wu, Y. 2014. 莫让催泪弹一幕成为香港新形象 (Don't let the tear gas show become a new image of Hong Kong). *Global Times*. [Online]. 29 September. [Accessed 16 May 2020]. Available from: http://china.huanqiu.com/article/2014-09/5156870.html?agt=15422

Some of these narratives were translated by local and global media outlets, visibly or invisibly, into another language in order to reach a wider audience. Translation in journalistic settings is mostly invisible as "translation has been successfully integrated within journalism" (Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009, p.72). This invisibility poses a difficulty for translation research in locating and identifying translated narratives and tracing their sources. This study only addresses narratives marked as translation and/or where their sources of information and the name of the translator are identified.

Only a few of the large number of original narratives have been translated. As a local event that occurred in Hong Kong, it inevitably became the centre of local media attention, predominantly the Chinese-language media. *MP* published bilingual editorials on the Occupy Central movement on its website almost every weekday during the events. These were initially written in Chinese, published in the daily newspaper and then translated into English. *Headline Daily* (*HD*), a free tabloid newspaper, posted 18 translated commentaries on Occupy Central written by Michael Chugani in his column, together with their original English versions on its website. On the Chinese mainland, *RN* was one of the few media outlets that published news articles on the 2014 Hong Kong protests translated from the international media. The protests were also covered widely on the Chinese versions of international news websites, such as those of the BBC, Reuters and Voice of America (VOA), along with mainstream newspaper coverage in outlets such as the *FT*, *The NYT* and *The WSJ* which published translated Chinese texts adapted from their parent English-language sources[24].

## 1.2 Research Gaps

A considerable amount of literature has been published on the 2014 Hong Kong protests (e.g. S.H. Chan, 2015; Hui and Lau, 2015; Lam, 2015; Ortmann, 2015; Chan, 2016; Cheng, 2016; Cheng and Chan, 2017; Matthews, 2017) from the perspectives of political science, social movement studies, legal studies, social and

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[24] This thesis uses adjectives such as "-language" when referring to news sources because it is likely that the language of a media outlet may be different from its publication or ownership locations.

cultural studies. There is also a large volume of research describing the role of language (e.g. Bhatia, 2015; 2016a; 2016b; Liu, 2015; Flowerdew, 2016; Lee, 2016) and images/videos (e.g. Tang, 2015; Jones and Li, 2016; Lou and Jaworski, 2016; St. John, 2017) in the protests, including a special issue of the *Journal of Language and Politics*. These studies mainly focus on "critical moments" (Flowerdew, 2016, p.529) or "key moments" (Bhatia, 2016a, p.549) during the protests, for example, a television debate on the rationale for the protests (Flowerdew, 2016), coverage of the police use of tear gas in the *SCMP* and other foreign media (Bhatia, 2016a), discourses of public opinion polls in five local newspapers (Lee, 2016), video footage of police beating a protester (Jones and Li, 2016) and protest signs (Lou and Jaworski, 2016). These studies analyse the discursive construction of these critical moments and explain how their interpretation by different groups impacts upon the local society.

The role of the media in postcolonial Hong Kong politics has been addressed by various scholars in media and communication studies (e.g. Lai, 2007; Chan and Lee, 2007; 2008; Zhang, 2010; Cheng and Lam, 2010; 2013). These studies provide valuable insights into the monolingual news media representations of several key issues in Hong Kong, such as identity, migration, protests and human rights. A large and growing body of literature has investigated the role of various media in the protests. A special issue of the *Chinese Journal of Communication* was devoted to the intersection of media communication and the Umbrella Movement. As a few studies have pointed out (Lee and Chan, 2011; 2016; 2018; 2019; Tang, 2015), the media has played a catalytic role in the social mobilisation in postcolonial Hong Kong and specifically during the 2014 Hong Kong protests. Lee et al. (2015) show that social media news coverage was generally in support of the movement and critical of the authorities. Protesters participate in the protests not only through the use of traditional but also social media to acquire as well as disseminate information (Lee and Ting, 2015; Lee and Chan, 2016; Lee et al., 2017). The government subsequently took action against the use of new technologies during the protests, including online surveillance, media censorship and the demonisation of foreign interference (Tsui, 2015).

Despite the significant role played by the media, research on media representations of the 2014 Hong Kong protests (e.g. W.L. Chan, 2015; Sparks, 2015; Yu, 2015;

Chang and Liu, 2016; Veneti et al., 2016; T. Chan, 2017; Feng, 2017; Du et al., 2018) has highlighted several specific aspects of the protests in the local, national and international media. Studies on the representation of the Occupy Central movement in the local Chinese-language newspapers (W.L. Chan, 2015; Chang and Liu, 2016; Feng, 2017) suggest that newspapers' diverse attitudes towards the protests, a manifestation of social division, are generally in line with their traditional political stances. For instance, the pro-democracy *Apple Daily* newspaper clearly supported the protests. The liberal *MP* newspaper remained relatively neutral. Pro-Beijing newspapers such as *Oriental Daily* and *Ta Kung Pao* were highly critical of the protests.

T. Chan's (2017) corpus analysis of English-language newspapers in the Chinese mainland and Hong Kong found that the *SCMP* portrayed a positive image of the protest, whereas the pro-Beijing *China Daily* and *The Standard* depicted a negative image of them. This study corroborates that of Veneti et al. (2016), which suggests that the coverage in *China Daily* adhered to the "protest paradigm"[25] (Chan and Lee, 1984), delegitimising the protests, while *The Guardian* mainly expressed a positive view of the protests. However, Yu (2015) differs from this, finding that the authoritarian-liberal *SCMP* frames the protests negatively and the Hong Kong government positively, contrary to the democratic-liberal *NYT* and *Guardian*. Despite research on representations of the protests in the global media, Du et al.'s (2018) comparative framing analysis of the reporting on Occupy Central in the Chinese mainland, Hong Kong, Taiwan, the UK and the US remains one of the few investigations into the Taiwan media. The study finds that the *PD* from the Chinese mainland takes an anti-protest stance, and *MP* from Hong Kong provides objective and balanced coverage. The Taiwan *United Daily News* newspaper attributes the cause of the protests to the Chinese central and Hong Kong governments,

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[25] The concept of a journalistic "paradigm" on civil protests was first proposed in Chan and Lee (1984, p.188). They argue that the leftist journalistic "paradigm" tends to be sympathetic to civil protests; the rightist journalistic "paradigm" is opposed to civil protests; and the centrist journalistic "paradigm" ranges between for and against depending on its interests. However, this paradigm was put forward during a specific time when Hong Kong was under British colonial rule. It is questionable whether this paradigm is still applicable under Chinese rule.

consistently with those of typical Western but not Chinese mainland media. The *FT* and *NYT* were favourable towards the protesters, especially the latter.

The studies mentioned above compare the representations of the protests in the monolingual media, either in Chinese or English. However, representations of the protests in multilingual media were ignored. Thus, the role plays by translation in the media coverage seems to have been overlooked almost entirely in academic study. As various studies (e.g. Baker, 2006; 2016b) have demonstrated, translation plays a pivotal role in political conflicts and social movements.

Li and Chan (2000), Cheng (2004) and Li (2009) are the few works thus to so far explore translation in the Hong Kong news media. Despite the fact that most of the examples are adapted from authentic material, these studies focus on how the Hong Kong news media translated news reports from foreign news agencies, neglecting the significance of translating of the local news for international readers. These studies also primarily concentrate on practical issues such as principles and strategies of news transediting, while little attention is paid to ideological factors in relation to the media institutions' translation process.

However, the news translation research conducted in the Chinese context seems to be underexplored and even fewer studies have touched upon the case of Hong Kong. The role played by translation in the Hong Kong news media has been almost entirely overlooked by scholars in media communications and translation studies (e.g. Li and Chan, 2000; Li, 2001; 2005; 2006; Cheng, 2002; 2004; Li, 2009). Much of the research in news translation examines a fairly small quantum of articles and some lack systematic and objective methods.

With the developments in technologies, traditional media has integrated innovative forms into their operations. Increasingly news organisations rely not only on print but also online outlets. This poses new questions for translation and journalism in the era of convergence (Davier and Conway, 2019). Contrary to research on translation in traditional news media (e.g. van Doorslaer, 2009; Chen, 2011a), little attention has been paid to the role of news translation on news websites (e.g. Conway and Vaskivska, 2010; Harding, 2009; 2012a; Hernández Guerrero, 2017; Qin and Zhang, 2018). This research attempts to address that deficit.

## 1.3  Research Rationale

This study is inspired by Professor Mona Baker's (2006) seminal book *Translation and conflict: a narrative account*, which addresses the significant role that translation plays in the discursive negotiation of political conflicts. Translators do not simply render from the source text (ST) to the target text (TT), but also actively "participate in the construction of reality" (Baker, 2006, p.106). This research relates news translation to the situation in Hong Kong. Since the handover of Hong Kong sovereignty to China in 1997, there has been a close relationship between it and the mainland. In recent years, there have been various high-profile incidents and issues that have arisen that illustrate the political, economic and cultural relations between the two.

This research investigates the role translation played in the 2014 Hong Kong protests. It selects Hong Kong as its place for study because both English and Chinese are official languages in Hong Kong. A variety known as Hong Kong English reflects this administrative region's politics and identity (Hansen Edwards, 2016). Code-switching between Cantonese and English is also common in Hongkongers' daily communication. A range of international English-language media outlets have offices and journalists in Hong Kong to cover China and the Asia Pacific. These reasons make Hong Kong a place with unique characteristics for studying cross-linguistic media communication. Chan (2000) points out that the representation of Hong Kong in the English-language media has often been distorted due to cultural biases. A notable trend of opting for Cantonese over English has been evident since the handover. This research examines to what extent there is distortion due to translation in the news workflow. Although there are few studies so far which have touched upon the representation of Hong Kong in the news media, even fewer have examined the role of translation within them.

Given today's information proliferation, news translation plays an essential role in globalisation and cross-cultural communication, and has hence become a hot topic in translation studies in recent years. However, as to its specific format and style and due to other constraints in research methods, news translation has received less attention than other areas of translation studies like literary or audiovisual translation. As Baker (2006, p.15) observes in her foreword to the Chinese translation of her

book, "at the turn of the 21st century, we are finally beginning to engage with concrete aspects of the *contemporary* politics of non-literary translation and interpreting" (italics in original). The scant literature on news translation in Hong Kong also motivated this research.

However, as Valdeón (2008, p.300) points out, narrative theory "lacks a framework capable of carrying out textual analysis", albeit that Baker (2006) suggests several framing strategies to analyse texts such as labelling, selective appropriation and repositioning of participants. These strategies examine the textual level such as addition and omission and focus on linguistic aspects of texts like naming, deixis and epithets. This research addresses the failure of narrative theory to provide a systematic framework for such studies and integrates corpus-based methods that provide a macro-landscape of texts and that significantly reduces researcher subjectivity in the selection of examples. Corpus interrogation tools can, to some extent, remedy the deficiency of narrative theory in textual aspects. More detail on the theoretical framework of corpus-based narrative analysis is in Chapter 3.

## 1.4  Research Objectives and Questions

This study will:

(1) analyse the textual and narratological differences between original and translated news texts produced by each media outlet;

(2) compare the translated news texts produced by different media outlet from the perspectives of narratology and framing;

(3) identify the dominant narratives and framing patterns with the aid of computer-assisted tools;

(4) discuss what role translation and various other factors play in the development of narrative content and (re)framing process;

In order to do so, it will address the following specific research questions (RQs):

RQ1. What linguistic and ideological shifts are there between the original and translated news texts produced by the same media outlet?

RQ2. How do the translated news texts differ among different media outlets in terms of narratological and framing perspectives?

RQ3. What are the salient narrative and framing patterns in the translated news articles produced by each media outlet? How are these patterns different among the media outlets?

RQ4. How are the original news (re)framed in the translations produced by the media outlets? What factors might contribute to their (re)framing mechanisms?

## 1.5 Research Significance and Originality

This study is significant for the following reasons.

Firstly, it is a new kind of case study by examining the media representations of the 2014 Hong Kong protests from a translation studies perspective. The protests took place only just over five years ago. It is important to draw historical lessons from the greatest crisis since the 1997 handover of Hong Kong's sovereignty with the hope of improving future relations between the mainland and Hong Kong. Through analysis of the protests, this study has important methodological implications for journalistic translation studies in relation to similar events elsewhere.

Secondly, traditional narratology is mainly used to study literary narratives, whereas this research analyses news translation from the perspective of narrative theory, which applies to both the micro- and macro-levels as well as theoretical and practical ones. It applies narrative theory to the study of news translation and proposes an integrated analytical model of critical narrative analysis (CNA) in order to suit the analysis of journalism better. The modified theoretical framework and analytical model could be applied to other research into news translation.

Thirdly, the research provides for consistent narrative mechanisms and framing patterns constructed at the textual level. It combines quantitative and qualitative research by employing corpus analysis to assist narrative and framing analysis. Quantitative methods increase the objectivity of qualitative research and uncover patterns in a large amount of data. The triangulated analytical framework of corpus analysis, narrative analysis and framing analysis, the application of corpus-assisted

narrative and framing analysis could also be adapted to inform hybrid methods of research for literary works and news events.

Fourthly, this research provides a comprehensive narrative account of news translation procedures, namely the selection of narrative material, the narrative framing during translation, and the narrative production after translation. The research reveals the nature of the news translation procedure in which the translator coordinates between different roles within media outlets at the micro-textual level and the macro-ideological level. Such procedural analysis can improve the understanding of news translation practice within media outlets and also promote the exchange of communication between them globally.

The research thus forms a systematic and profound examination of news translation through an interdisciplinary approach by triangulating corpus, narrative and framing analysis. The research expands the scope of news translation analysis from the perspective of both narrative and framing theory, contributes more broadly to narrative theory as well as translation, communication and Hong Kong (China) studies, and serves the media industry in relation to both theory and practice.

## 1.6  Thesis Structure

The thesis is divided into eight main chapters. The first gives a brief overview of the research topic and introduces background information to the 2014 Hong Kong protests. It also provides a statement of research aims and objectives, and how this project will contribute to scholarship in the field. Chapter 2 gives a brief overview of the recent development in the field of news translation with particular reference to previous works on the representations of Hong Kong in news translation. It also discusses the nature of news translation and reviews the relevant existing literature. It then lays out the dimensions of narrative theory, framing theory and corpus linguistics, and proposes an integrated analytical framework of corpus-based CNA which is elaborated upon in Chapter 3. The third chapter also concerns the methodology and the selection and collection of data used in this research. There then follows three chapters of data analysis, conducting a corpus-based critical narrative and framing analyses of news narratives with Occupy Central as a case study. Chapter 4 conducts a comparative corpus analysis of both original and

translated narratives about Occupy Central by corpus methods, such as comparisons of word frequency, keywords and semantic prosodies between the original and translated narratives. Chapter 5 conducts an analysis of news narratives about Occupy Central from the perspective of narrators, retroversion, frequency of original and translated narratives, and non-narrative news texts such as statements and commentaries. Chapter 6 analyses how these translated narratives are (re)framed through different strategies, and conducts a corpus-based framing analysis of news narratives on the Occupy Movement. Chapter 7 presents the significant findings from the previous three analysis chapters and discusses the main factors that contributed to these results from the perspectives of linguistic practice, institutional routines and socio-cultural contexts. The thesis's concluding chapter summarises the research findings, outlines the implications for the field of knowledge and examines the contribution of the research. It concludes with reflections on the limitations of the study and recommendations for future research.

# Chapter 2
# Literature Review

This chapter proceeds as follows: Section 2.1 firstly provides an overview of the literature in the emerging field of news translation. It explores the nature of news translation by reviewing its prominent concepts and elaborates on the various approaches (product-, process- and context-oriented) adopted to study news translation, with particular emphasis on the research related to the situation in the context of Hong Kong and the selected media outlets in this research. It then presents a detailed account of academic works on the three theoretical underpinnings relied on in the study. Section 2.2 is concerned with news as a specific narrative genre in the development of theory from classical to postclassical narratology, and previous translation studies utilising a narratological approach. It concentrates on socio-narrative theory and its usefulness for translation studies. Section 2.3 lays out the theoretical dimensions of framing theory and looks at its application to translation studies with specific reference to news coverage. Section 2.4 presents the way in which the research adopts a critical approach to study news translation, focusing on various studies employing corpus approaches to study media discourse and news translation.

## 2.1  News Translation

News translation is a sub-domain under media translation in the field of Translation Studies. It has established itself and attracted increasing academic attention in the past two decades (Valdeón, 2015a; 2020). However, much of the scholarly attention on media translation has so far focused on aspects of audiovisual translation such as subtitling and dubbing (van Doorslaer, 2009; 2010; 2012), while relatively less attention has been given to news translation. This section examines significant publications in the field of news translation with particular emphasis on Hong Kong. An in-depth review of basic definitions and main approaches adopted in the literature will be elaborated subsequently.

There are various definitions of news translation. Despite its common usage, the term is used to mean different things in different contexts. Some scholars refer to

news translation as rewriting, transediting, gatekeeping or adaptation. These terms are frequently used, but there is no consensus yet as to their definitions. If rewriting and adaptation are used to describe the general nature of news translation being transformed due to different ideological and cultural factors, and transediting is used to describe the specific translation strategy at the textual level, then gatekeeping refers to the role played by agents such as journalists, translators and editors at different stages in the production process.

The term "transediting" was coined in Stetting (1989, p.371) to deal with the grey area between editing and translating. It is the way editors "improve clarity, relevance, and adherence to the conventions of the textual type in question" (Stetting, 1989, p.372). Although Stetting (1989) does not refer to news texts specifically, the term "transediting" has been adopted by many scholars in translation and communication studies (e.g. Chen, 2006; 2008; 2009; 2011b; van Doorslaer, 2009; Aktan and Nohl, 2010; Cheesman et al., 2011; Lu and Chen, 2011; Zhang, 2013). Other scholars still prefer to use the term "news translation", arguing that transediting may "imply the existence of another form of translating news" (Bielsa, 2007; Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009, p.63), and that translation should not "be understood in a narrow sense of a purely word-for-word transfer process" (Schäffner, 2012, p.881). This study uses "news translation" as an umbrella term to refer to the combination that covers both complete translation and "transediting" more restrictively. One of the four media outlets selected for this study (*NYT Chinese*) tends to adopt the strategy of literal translation, and the other three adopt a free translation strategy or transediting (*BBC Chinese*, *EJ Insight* and *RN*).

As well as the confusing terminologies in the academic subject, there are divergent definitions of news translation in theory and practice. The concept of translation journalists have can be different from that which translators or translation researchers have. News translation is an elusive, imprecise and uncertain term. This lack of clarity is also the result of the invisibility of translation (Venuti, 2008) in journalistic settings, as has been pointed out by many scholars (e.g. Schäffner, 2005; Bielsa, 2007; Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009; Davier, 2014). Translation in journalistic settings seems invisible yet ubiquitous in today's information proliferation and cross-cultural communication age. As Schäffner notes, "translation is a regular phenomenon for news production, even if this is not always explicitly indicated"

(2005, p.154). Media and communication studies scholars often neglect the importance of language and very few of them consider the role of translation in news reports. As van Doorslaer's (2010) "double extension of translation in the journalistic field" suggests, the phenomenon whereby one ST results in several TTs or one TT various STs, is common among translations of journalism. In addition to multiple STs which are hard to identify, the same news text may be written by several authors, as illustrated in Holland (2006, p.229). Holland argues that "different news audiences may have received significantly different impressions of the content" depending upon "the particular media through which they accessed the text". These aspects of "multi-source and multi-author situation of translation in journalism" (Davier and van Doorslaer, 2018, p.241) create barriers to research on news translation.

There are three main types of news translation research based on it considering it as a product, process or social practice (Conway, 2015; Valdeón, 2015a; Schäffner, 2018). The approaches to studying news translation as products include linguistic approaches such as textual approach, critical discourse analysis approach, corpus approach and narrative approach. The process approach is mainly through ethnographic approaches including interviews, observations and surveys. News translation as a social practice is addressed from perspectives such as ideology and cultural studies. What follows reviews the literature from each of these perspectives in turn.

## 2.1.1 News Translation as Product

News translation as a product has often been studied from a linguistic perspective due to the interrelationship of translation and linguistics. Early news translation scholars chiefly employed a linguistic approach to the study of news translation, focusing on issues of meaning and equivalence. Analysis of news translation, as a comparatively young sub-discipline of Translation Studies, has made use of a wide variety of linguistic approaches, such as those related to textual, critical discourse analysis, corpus and narrative analysis. The application of these approaches to news translation has, in turn, yielded fruitful discussions, alternative insights and further advances in linguistics, illustrating the "mutually beneficial" (Malmkjær, 2018, p.1) interrelationship between linguistics and Translation Studies.

Early research that chiefly adopted a textual approach to translated news texts as products was mostly restricted to limited comparisons of original texts and their translations to reveal the differences in their structures or meanings (e.g. Hursti, 2001; Bani, 2006; Károly, 2017). Hursti's (2001) textual analysis of 14 English-language news texts discovers four primary linguistic strategies Finnish News Agency journalists used when turning English-language Reuters STs into Finnish TTs: reorganisation, deletion, addition and substitution. Bani (2006) found several frequent textual translation strategies relative to cultural diversity from the analysis of texts translated by the Italian *Internazionale* magazine such as cutting or summary, the inclusion of explanations, generalisation and the substitution of cultural elements (p.42). Similarly, Károly (2017) investigated textual features such as lexical repetition, rhetorical structure, referential cohesion and logical structure, and showed how shifts may affect meaning in the transition from news-related Hungarian STs to English TTs.

Most studies on news translation in Hong Kong have focused on the text itself. From a pedagogical perspective, for instance, Li (2005; 2006) stresses that there is a gap between the teaching of news translation in universities which focuses on a complete translation method and the translation practice by the news outlets in Hong Kong which favour transediting. Much of the news translation research in relation to Hong Kong has so far been descriptive in nature. Li and Chen (2000) and Li (2006) surveyed the translation methods of English-language international news adopted by four local Chinese-language newspapers: *Ming Pao Daily*, *Oriental Daily*, *Apple Daily* and *Wen Wei Po* on three consecutive days from 8 to 10 December 1999. Their studies found that trans-adaptation was the most common method used rather than complete translation. Some of the most frequently used trans-adaptation methods include "調整句法結構" (adjusting syntactic structure), "調整文章順序" (adjusting text order), "合併段落" (merging paragraphs), "變直接引語為間接引語" (changing direct speech to indirect speech), and "刪減內容" (deleting content) (Li, 2001, pp.49–59; Li, 2009). Cheng (2002; 2004) primarily concentrates on the strategies of news transediting such as "摘譯" (selective translation), "概括和合併" (summarising and merging), "調序" (reordering) and "突出主題" (highlighting themes) (Cheng, 2002; pp.121–130; Cheng, 2004, pp.108-117) with particular reference to abundant examples from the same newspapers.

These studies highlight the potential need for studying news translation from a textual perspective. However, they are narrow in scope and focus, dealing only with lexical, syntactic and grammatical changes between the STs and TTs. Little attention has been paid to ideological, socio-cultural and other factors that may influence translation practice in the news production process.

## 2.1.2 News Translation as Procedure

There have been fewer studies that investigate the actual procedures of translation within news institutions compared to product-centred analysis. There are mainly two types of research in news translation as a procedure: participant- and context-oriented research (cf. process-oriented research)[26]. This research adopts Saldanha and O'Brien's (2013) classification of research methodologies in translation studies as product-, process-, participant- and context-oriented. The first examines the institutional role of journalist-translators, and the second investigates the news agencies' translation workflow. However, these two types of research are sometimes conflated and investigated as one study. These participant- and context-oriented studies of news translation have mainly been conducted through ethnographic approaches (e.g. Clausen, 2004; van Leeuwen, 2006; Bielsa, 2007; Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009; Davier, 2014; Kang, 2014; Pan, 2014a; Xia and Wang, 2015; Xia, 2016), using tools such as observations, interviews and questionnaires with translators and journalists at particular news agencies.

The institutional role of journalist-translators has been explored in a number of qualitative studies (e.g. Tsai, 2005; Bielsa, 2007; Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009). Various terms have been used to refer to the agents of translation at news agencies such as "international journalist" (Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009, p.1), "journalator" (van Doorslaer, 2012, p.1046) and "journalist-translator" (Kontos and Sidiropoulou, 2012b, p.1013). Bielsa (2007) points out that the role of the news translator is complex. However, there is no consensus on what these people should be called, partly due to ambiguity as to their role. As a specific type of institution-based

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[26] This research makes a distinction between process and procedure. Process refers to "mental operations" or "cognitive processes" (Saldanha and O'Brien, 2014, p.109) of the translator's behaviour, whereas procedure means the workflow or the context involved for carrying out the translation task.

translation, news translation can be carried out by various actors with a mixture of selection, translation, editing and revision involved.

In contrast to previous studies focusing on the role of translators, several studies have explored other roles entailed by the news production process. Kang (2007) conducted interviews with the editor of the Korean edition of the US *Newsweek* magazine and found that the institutional practice of translation is a collective process which involves different roles. As Kang (2007, p.238) puts it, news translation is "the result of the collaborative work of people assuming different roles". This institutional division of labour is a factor in the recontextualisation of original English articles for its South Korean readers, as Kang notes that translation in such institutions not only "enables communication across linguistic and cultural boundaries" but also "enables the delivery of institutional values, goals, and agendas" (2014, p.470).

Many scholars have observed that news translation plays an essential role in news production and dissemination (Palmer, 2009; Valdeón, 2012b). Early studies on news translation procedures mainly consist of translators' personal accounts at news organisations (e.g. Hursti, 2001). Later, the procedure of news translation was investigated through ethnographic fieldwork (e.g. Bielsa, 2007; Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009; Davier, 2014) at international news agencies, such as Reuters, Associated Press (AP) and Agence France-Presse (AFP). They observed that translation plays an indispensable role, although it is often carried out by journalists instead of specialist translators, and that translation intervenes from the beginning of the news production procedure, which raises issues such as authorship attribution, objectivity and faithfulness to the STs.

However, the institutional practice adopted by *RN* is very different from those of global news agencies, as Pan (2014a) finds out that its primary goal is to provide "faith translations" of the selected news reports for its domestic readers. Xia and Wang (2015) and Xia (2016) examine the news production process through observation and interviews with editors and translators working at the Chinese newspaper. Their ethnographic studies provide a comprehensive view of the translation procedure at *RN* at the discursive level and find that ideological manipulation occurs at every crucial stage of news production, notably in the

selecting, translating and editing of news articles and especially when translating politically sensitive news.

Drawing on her experience as a professional media translator in Hong Kong, Cheng (2002; 2004) lists the standard procedures for international news production and transediting in local newspapers. Chen (2006, p.28) divides this news transediting process into three major stages: source selection, perspective resetting, and transediting at both micro- and macro-level. However, she offers no explanation for the role that each agent performs at each stage, such as translator and editor; nor does she address the fact that this may be a recurring process due to quality control or self-censorship within the news outlets. Indeed, few researchers have drawn attention to the institutional practice of the other selected media outlets which are situated in diverse socio-cultural contexts.

These studies of institutional roles and workflow highlight the need for ethnographic research within a particular news outlet to provide essential insights into the translation procedure. The main limitation of the qualitative approach is that it does not explain the relationship between linguistic shifts and the reasons behind these changes. Institutional studies of news organisations alone will not give us a full picture of how news translation is produced, as translation is both a linguistic and discursive practice. Another problem with this approach is that it offers an in-depth analysis of an individual news outlet, but fails to reach a consensus view of the translation methods for a majority of the outlets. Even within a specific institution and operating under general guidelines, the actual behaviour of the translators may not be in uniform (Mason, 2001; Kang, 2014; Pan, 2014a). Product analysis of news texts leads to the identification of translation strategies, which are determined by institutional practices, policies and values. Studies into news translation shed more light and are more comprehensive if they combine textual analysis with ethnographic fieldwork which aims to investigate the institutional practices and policies (Davier and van Doorslaer, 2018).

### 2.1.3 News Translation as Socio-cultural Activity

Translation is not merely a linguistic but also a socio-cultural phenomenon and this is particularly evident in news translation. Analysis of news texts at the micro-level

reveals differences beyond language and explains the reasons for such differences. Schäffner (2004, p.137) argues that:

> translations (as target texts) reveal the impact of discursive, social, and ideological conventions, norms and constraints. By linking translations (as products) to their social contexts, causes and effects of translations can be discovered.

Since the sociological turn in Translation Studies (Wolf and Fukari, 2007; Angelelli, 2014), there has been increasing emphasis on examining the contexts of production and reception in the target culture. One such approach is functionalism which examines and analyses the translation process beyond the textual level (Nord, 1997; Vermeer, 2000). The purposes of news translation and the functions inherent in news discourse mean that translators must select the most appropriate news text in order for it to fulfil its function and maximise its purpose. The translator's political position, cultural orientation and ideology will affect the selection of STs, translation strategies and methods, and determine to a great extent the final product. This will be explained in relation to the research carried out on these issues.

News translation plays a pivotal role in cross-cultural communication within a globalisation context. Since the cultural turn (Bassnett and Lefevere, 1998) in Translation Studies in the 1980s, various scholars have highlighted the significance of studying cultural factors in translation. The role of culture in news translation is "a key site of mass mediated intercultural contact" (Conway, 2010, p.978) as well as "a site for power struggle" (Kontos and Sidiropoulou, 2012b, p.1023). Conway (2012a, p.998) considers news translation a form of cultural translation by which "journalists try to explain to one group how another sees the world". This definition of cultural translation is a "process of understanding" (Conway, 2012b, p.272) which goes beyond the traditional view of translation as mere linguistic transformation. However, this distinction between linguistic and cultural translation is opposed by Davier (2015) who argues that the very notion of translation is itself linguistic and cultural in nature and that the concepts of "cultural translation" (Conway, 2011) and "acculturation" (Bassnett, 2005) are unnecessary and illegitimately prescriptive. Contrary to Conway (2012b), which mainly focuses on cultural translation, Davier (2015) proposes a methodological triangulation of textual, fieldwork and corpus analysis, in a study of how multicultural readers of AFP and ATS understand Switzerland as the cultural other, relying on a corpus of

translated news reports from 2007 to 2010 regarding the minaret ban in Switzerland. Her analysis concerns three types of textual features: culture-specific items, categorisation of sources and background information.

Conway's cultural approach to news translation addresses the significance of the translator/journalist in a broader social and cultural context. Conway (2008) proposes a circuit model of culture in news translation linking it to various elements such as cultural artefact, production, reception and socio-historical context. From a reception point of view, Conway and Vaskivska (2010) affirm that news translation contributes to some extent to better cross-cultural communication. They do so through a comparison of readers' comments on "Kremlin Rules", a series of articles about Russia published on the *NYT* website, with their response to their translations on a Russian blog through different frame analysis in English and Russian.

The previous studies so far reviewed here were mainly conducted from three main perspectives: linguistic practices (product-oriented), institutional routines (process-oriented) and socio-cultural contexts (context-oriented). However, this taxonomy is not always stable, as Conway (2015, p.522) points out that such classification is misleading because the studies are not always so definitively demarcated, with some being hybrid approaches. Many scholars have pointed out that textual analysis alone cannot provide a full picture of how news texts come into its being and suggest a multidisciplinary in addition to linguistic and journalistic approaches (e.g. Catenaccio et al., 2011; Kontos and Sidiropoulou, 2012b; Davier and van Doorslaer, 2018). Recent studies advocate multilayer approaches and methods for research into news translation (e.g. Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009; Conway, 2015; Valdeón, 2015a; 2020; Davier et al., 2018). The most comprehensive approach would be combining the political-economic, linguistic and cultural/sociological approaches to produce a materialist approach as Conway (2015, p.531) proposes. We now turn to reviewing the literature on the theoretical aspects of constructing an analytical framework for such multidimensional research.

## 2.2 Narrative Theory

Researchers take various approaches to narrative analysis. The literary narratological approach has long been taken to study literature but has also been subsequently

introduced into translation studies, analysing the voice of the translator in literary translation (Hermans, 1996; Schiavi, 1996; O'Sullivan, 2003; Chan 2010). The sociolinguistic approach (Labov, 1972) primarily examines how verbal narratives (oral storytelling) are used to evaluate personal experience. The sociological approach initiated by Baker (2006) analyses narratives in translation and interpreting. What follows traces the development from classical to postclassical narratology, and explains the rationale for studying news as a particular genre of narratives. Then comes a review of the literature that adopts a narratological approach to studying translated texts, before we move onto elaborating on the theoretical model of socio-narrative theory in translation studies.

## 2.2.1  From Classical Narratology to Postclassical Narratology

Narrative theory or narratology emerged during the 1960s when the first serious analyses of narratives took inspiration from structuralism and Russian formalism. Early research investigating narratives primarily employed linguistic models focussing on the analysis of the narrative structure. There have been debates over the nature of narrative structure. Barthes (1975, p.243) proposes three levels: that of functions, actions (character), and narration (discourse). Barthes's notion of function is the same as that of Propp which defined it as "an act of a character" (1968, p.21). Propp (1968) analyses the morphology of a collection of Russian fairy tales and concludes that there are certain functions which always appear in the same order, despite the variety of characters. Russian formalist Propp distinguish between фабула (fabula) and сюжет (syuzhet), which is similar to the more recent Chatman's (1980) distinction between story and discourse. Early French narratologists like Barthes, Todorov and Genette distinguish between *histoire* (story) and *discours* (discourse). According to structuralist perspectives, *histoire* is "the content or chain of events (actions, happenings)" and "the existents (characters, items of setting)"; and *discours* is "the expression, the means by which the content is communicated" (Chatman, 1980, p.19). More recent scholarly discussion of narrative structure has moved towards a trichotomy, such as Bal's (2017) conceptual model of *text*, *story* and *fabula*, which will be outlined subsequently.

Unlike the early narratologists who focused on the narrative structure of folk tales, contemporary narratologists have shifted their attention to other literary genres and focus on narrative discourse. Genette's (1983) seminal work draws distinctions

between three meanings of narrative: *histoire* (story) to mean "the signified or narrative content"; *récit* (narrative) "the signifier, statement, discourse or narrative text"; and *narration* (narrating) "the producing of narrative action" (p.27). Genette offers a systematic model for narrative discourse analysis, taking examples from Proust's *À la recherche du temps perdu* and analysing them from various aspects of narrative technique such as tense, aspect and mood. This work is described by Culler (1983, p.8) as "one of the central achievements of … structuralism" and "the centrepiece of the study of narrative".

Classical narratology has mainly analysed literary works (e.g. Chatman, 1980; Booth, 1983; Genette, 1983; Rimmon-Kenan, 2002). Over the past few decades, narratology has developed towards postclassical narratology, a term coined by Herman (1999, p.2) to refer to new perspectives drawn from other disciplines such as literature, journalism and films and employing distinctive perspectives, such as cognitive, feminist, postcolonial and sociological approaches (Prince, 2008). The sociolinguistic approach regards narrative as "socially situated" (Toolan, 2001, p.143) and a form of "political action" in the case of news stories in the newspaper and online news stories (ibid., p.206).

## 2.2.2  News as Narrative

News reports, often interchangeably referred to as news stories or storytelling (Roeh, 1989), have unique narrative features. As Tuchman (1972, p.663) puts it, "[e]ach newspaper story is a collection of facts assessed and structured by newsmen". Studying news as narrative is constrained by the presentation of objective and factual truth and reality which journalism claims to do. Johnson-Cartee (2005, p.159) defines news narrative as "a package with an internal structure" on which journalists "hang the 'facts' of their stories". Some scholars have argued that the narrative structure of news seems to contradict the inverted pyramid style which is commonly used in news reportage. However, news narrative, like any other form, is ideological and indicative of a certain point of view (McNair, 1998, p.6). Journalists arrange different narrative elements through a variety of techniques and present narratives in a specific form to the readers. News narratives also have an impact on individuals' attitudes towards political issues (Shen et al., 2014).

Academic inquiries into news narratives began to emerge in the mid-1970s and have blossomed over the past few decades (Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2009). Several approaches have been adopted, including textual, sociological and cultural ones (Buozis and Creech, 2018). Most research on news narratives has taken a textually-focused approach, based on perspectives such as critical discourse analysis. Adopting this approach, researchers have been able to identify the narrative structure and recurrent narratives in news texts. Studies that adopt a sociological approach investigate how news narratives are produced and their social contexts. From a cultural perspective, news as narrative not only conveys meanings but also participates in the construction of reality (Johnson-Cartee, 2005). An increasing number of studies on news narratives more recently utilise a blended approach.

The comparison of different news narratives about the same event has become an area of interest for many scholars in recent decades. For instance, Pan et al. (1999) analyses how different media outlets from the Chinese mainland, Hong Kong and Taiwan constructed narratives about the handover of Hong Kong. A few comparative studies have examined media coverage of the 2014 Hong Kong protests in the Chinese mainland, Hong Kong, Taiwan, the UK and the US (Sparks, 2015; Yu, 2015; Chang and Liu, 2016; Veneti et al., 2016; Feng, 2017; Du et al., 2018). However, most of these tend to focus on news framing rather than actual news narratives. Other studies on the media discourses in Hong Kong have examined how different media outlets frame their news stories about the same event across various countries and regions from the perspective of intercultural communication (e.g. Servaes and Ramanathan, 2005; Shi, 2005; Shi and Kienpointner, 2005). These, however, do not address the narrative modes or techniques of how these events are narrated.

Few studies have investigated the narrative nature of news stories of an event produced by different media outlets from the perspective of narrative modes or techniques. One such is Kruvand and Hwang's (2007) narrative analysis of the South Korean cloning scandal as covered in two major US and South Korean newspapers. Another is Lück et al.'s (2018) comparative study of both climate change news narratives and frames in Brazil, Germany, India, South Africa and the US from various perspectives such as degree of narrativity, story type and narrative roles. According to Lück et al., degree of narrativity encompasses dramatization,

emotion, personalization and fictionalization; story type contains overall theme, tone and outcome; narrative roles include hero, victim and villain (2018, p.1641).

Johnson-Cartee (2005, p.159) differentiates between narrative and frame, arguing that a narrative is "the fully developed, fully flesh-out story with characters, scene descriptions, conflict(s), actions with motives, and, ultimately, resolution(s)" and a frame is "the basic organization of the structural components used in the story". The media frame is at the core of a media discourse (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989), whereas narrative is at a higher level, being "the rhetorical structures or stylistic devices that allow newsmakers to effectively communicate the frames" (Shen et al., 2014, p.100).

Two important themes emerge from the studies discussed so far: firstly, the narrative structure of news, like news discourse, reveals the ideological character of news narrative; secondly, news narratives like literary ones, employ various techniques in their narration. This research addresses both the narrative structure and techniques in analysing the news narratives as embodying ideology and constructing reality.

## 2.2.3  Narratological Approach to Translation Studies

Narratological studies have explored the issue of narrative voice (e.g. Chatman, 1980; Booth, 1983; Rimmon-Kenan, 2002). The term "voice" has been used by narratologists to describe "the speech or other overt means through which events and existents are communicated to the audience" (Chatman, 1980, p.153). Chatman (1980, p.151) distinguishes between various roles in a narrative communication situation to include three pairings: real and implied author; narrator and narratee; implied and real reader. Real author and real reader are represented by an implied author and implied reader in a narrative text. Booth (1983, p.67) regards an implied author as a "second self" which, he argues, like a real author, should be objective, neutral and impartial. Much of the existing literature on narrative voice focuses particularly on literary fiction. This model also applies to news narrative texts, with a journalist becoming a real author who can create various narrators in the discourse and temporarily shift their "journalistic voice" (Martin and White, 2005; White and Thomson, 2008). "Journalist voice" or "journalistic key" is a notion developed from appraisal theory, which refers to "a taxonomy for classifying and grouping news media texts according to the use they make of certain key evaluative meanings"

(White and Thomson, 2008, p.10), including "reporter voice", "correspondent voice" and "commentator voice". Martin and White (2005) and White and Thomson (2008) differentiate between a reporter and a correspondent, whereas this research uses reporter, journalist and correspondent interchangeably. The problem of voices in translation studies and a brief overview of a narrative approach to translation studies follows.

In a special issue of *Language and Literature* 23(3) on narration and translation, Bernaerts et al. (2014, p.204) observe that "research into narratological issues has been relatively rare in translation studies". A great deal of previous narratological inquiries into translation studies has focused on the translator's voice (e.g. Hermans, 1996; Schiavi, 1996; O'Sullivan, 2003). The presence or absence of the translator was foregrounded in Venuti's (2008, p.238) discussion of the translator's invisibility when he points out that "[t]he voice that the reader hears in any translation … is always recognized as the author's, never as a translator's, nor even as some hybrid of the two". The notion of "the translator's voice" was first introduced by Hermans (1996, p.27) who refers to "a 'second' voice" in "translated narrative discourse … as an index of the Translator's discursive presence". Likewise, Schiavi suggests that "[a] translation is different from an original in that it also contains the translator's voice which is in part standing in for the author's and in part autonomous" (1996, p.3). These studies indicate that both the translator's and the original author's voice are present in a translated narrative. However, very occasionally these two voices are the same. The translator's voice becomes covert when the translator complies with the original author and overt if the translator contradicts the author. As Jiang (2012, p.379) reveals, the translator's voice evinces not only the translator's subjectivity but also the relations between the translator's use of language and their subjective position.

Following on from this, a considerable amount of literature has attempted to evaluate the impact of the translator's voice on the communication process (e.g. Schiavi, 1996; O'Sullivan, 2003; Munday, 2008). Schiavi (1996, p.15) proposes the concepts of "real translator" and "implied translator", a development on Chatman's (1980, p.151) narrative communication diagram. On this diagram, Schiavi suggests that "the translator becomes the receptor of the set of presuppositions assumed by the implied author and expressed through the 'voice' of narrative discourse, i.e. the

narrator" (1996, p.16). Based on this diagram, O'Sullivan (2003, p.201) proposes a "communicative model of the translated narrative text" in which the translator is the real reader in the ST, and the real translator of the ST is the implied translator in the TT. Munday points out that "Schiavi's schema is not necessarily of enormous benefit in understanding what goes on in the translation process" (2008, p.12). Munday (2008) identifies "two parallel narratological lines of translation" in which he distinguishes the ST from the TT. He identifies that the real translator as the real reader of the ST and emphasises the relationship between the implied author and the implied translator as well as the author and the translator.

This narrative communication model is reflected in the translated news narrative as follows: an implied journalist creates a set of narrators in the original narrative based on their presumptions of an implied reader. A news translator, as the reader of the original narrative, makes the decisions with regard to the narrator in the translated narrative for the reader of the translated news texts. In this process, there may be shifts between the narrator in the original and translated narratives, which indicate the discursive presence or the "voice" of the news translator. However, both communication processes in the production of the original and translated narratives may be more complex and recurrent and involve multiple agents such as editors, proofreaders and typesetters.

Much literature this century has taken a narratological approach to the analysis of translated literary works from perspectives of the narrator, the translator's voice and point of view (e.g. O'Sullivan, 2003; Millán-Varela, 2004; Bosseaux, 2004b; 2007; Chan, 2010; Rosa, 2013). Some studies examine the narrative voice of the translator in translated literature, such as children's literature in German (O'Sullivan, 2003), the Galician translation of James Joyce's short stories (Millán-Varela, 2004) and a corpus of Charles Dickens' novels and their Portuguese translations (Rosa, 2013). Unlike previous studies, Chan (2010) takes a narratological approach to the evaluation of various types of narrator voice (first-person, omniscient, free indirect and so on) in fiction translated into Chinese. Bosseaux (2004b, 2007) combines narratological with corpus-based approaches to investigate point of view in French translations of Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse* and *The Waves*. Her research provides a better reading and opens up conceptual opportunities for further corpus-based narrative analysis.

Compared to research on literary translation, there is relatively little research on translated news narratives from a narratological approach. Harding's (2009, 2012a) narrative analyses of both original and translated news narratives about the Beslan school hostage crisis from three Russian websites are two examples. She not only analyses various narratives types, including personal narratives and shared/collective narratives (which are further divided into local, societal, theoretical and meta-narratives), but also how the Beslan school siege was narrated in both STs and TTs from various perspectives, such as narrator, anachronic/synchronal narrative, and non-narrative texts. Inspired by Harding's research, this study conducts a semi-automatic quantitative narrative analysis from perspectives on narrator, frequency and retroversions of translated news narratives about the 2014 Hong Kong protests.

## 2.2.4 Socio-narrative Theory in Translation Studies

Under the influence of the sociological turn in Translation Studies, Baker (2006) initiated the application of narrative theory, which was later renamed as socio-narrative theory (Harding, 2009). Baker's model of narrative was developed from sociology (Somers, 1992; 1994; 1997; Somers and Gibson, 1994) and communication studies (Fisher, 1984; 1985; 1987; Goffman, 1981; 1986) to be applied to translation and interpreting. A narrative is defined as "a story that unfolds in time, with a (perceived) beginning and a (projected) end" (Baker, 2016a, p.247). Narratives are "the everyday stories we live by" (Baker, 2006, p.3). Baker (2014, p.159) views translation as "a form of (re-)narration that *constructs* rather than *represents* the events and characters it re-narrates in another language" (italics in original). She argues that "narrative constitutes reality rather than merely representing it" (Baker, 2006, p.5).

Baker (2006) draws on Somers (1992; 1997) and Somers and Gibson (1994) to define four types of narrative: ontological narratives are stories people tell about where they live and their experience; public narratives are stories elaborated by societies and organisations which are larger than individuals, such as families, the media, religious groups, educational institutions and government agencies; conceptual (disciplinary) narratives are defined as explanations that scholars make to themselves or others in relation to their purposes of study; meta- or master-narratives are ones in which narrators become participants in contemporary history. These narratives can also mean the stories that embody the situation of our time.

Harding (2009) refines this model as socio-narrative theory. She revises the typology of narratives by combining narratology, drawing from Bal (2009), and sociological approaches, distinguishing between personal and shared/collective narratives, the latter including local, societal, theoretical and meta-narratives. Harding (2012d) analyses how personal narratives, including those of eyewitnesses and officials, are integrated into shared/collective narratives such as those of news agencies.

Baker (2006), drawing on Somers (1992; 1997), Somers and Gibson (1994) and Bruner (1991), identifies four features of narrativity: relationality, causal emplotment, temporality and selective appropriation. Temporality or narrative diachronicity is an essential constituent of narrativity embedded in time and space. Selective appropriation refers to the selection or deselection of a series of events and their arrangement according to a set of "evaluative criteria" (Somers, 1992, p.602). Relationality (also known as hermeneutic composability) describes how selected events need to be ordered and constituted within an overall narrative (Bruner, 1991, p.8). These events are related to each other as well as to the meta-narrative because the human mind cannot understand isolated or unordered events that are not constituted as narratives (Baker, 2006, p.61). Causal emplotment "gives significance to independent instances, and overrides their chronological or categorical order" (Somers, 1997, p.82). Somers (1997, p.82) condenses these features by stating that "narratives are constellations of *relationships* (connected parts) embedded in *time and space,* and constituted by … *causal emplotment*" (italics in original).

Baker (2006) also draws from Bruner (1991) to define another four features of narratives: narrative accrual, genericness, particularity and normativeness. Narrative accrual is used by Bruner (1991) to refer to the holistic integration of discrete narratives. Genericness is defined as genre characters of narratives whether literary or non-literary. Particularity characterises how narratives involve specific events and people but are nevertheless under a framework of story types which give meanings to particular happenings (Bruner, 1991, p.6). Normativeness, incorporating canonicity and breach, is a feature of all narratives based on a set of norms or canons (Baker, 2006, p.98).

Baker (2006, pp.141–155) also draws on Fisher's (1984; 1985; 1987) narrative paradigm and identifies two general principles for assessing narrative reliability:

coherence (probability) and fidelity. Coherence concerns the constituency of a narrative and involves the assessment of its structural (or argumentative) material and character coherence. Fidelity is assessed through the examination of the logic of reasons and values which include five components: fact, relevance, consequence, consistency and transcendent issue (Bruner, 1987, p.109). Baker argues that this model of the narrative paradigm can be applied to the analysis of narratives of any type and form.

Baker's model of narrative theory has been applied to translation and interpreting studies in relation to a variety of texts and utterance including novels (Sinibaldi, 2011; Summers, 2012; Xiao, 2014), poetry (Jones, 2010), non-literary books (Al-Herthani, 2009; Kim, 2018), websites (Al-Sharif, 2009; McDonough Dolmaya, 2010), slum discourse (Morales-Moreno, 2011), audiovisual translation (Pérez-González, 2010) and conference interpreting (Boéri, 2008; Boéri and de Manuel Jerez, 2011). Narrative theory has also been applied to the analysis of both traditional and online journalism (e.g. Harding, 2009, 2012a; Spiessens and Van Poucke, 2016; Qin and Zhang, 2018; Wu, 2018; Spiessens, 2019). Baker has further refined this model of narrative theory and applied it to a range of texts mainly in the context of Middle East conflicts (e.g. Baker, 2007; 2010; 2014; 2016a). Together, these studies indicate the broad applicability of narrative theory in Translation Studies. However, such studies mainly focus on the macro-level, dealing with how different narrative types interact or commingle. The micro-level remains relatively neglected. Postclassical narratology and socio-narrative theory in particular should not abandon classical narratology's roots in linguistic analysis. News narratives have received much attention from media and communication studies (e.g. Johnson-Cartee, 2005; Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2014) but have been so far less addressed by translation studies scholars (e.g. Harding, 2009; 2012a).

Socio-narrative theory has also been applied to the analysis of journalistic translation, with two main types of research adopting narrative theory. One focuses on the narrative nature of news articles (e.g. van Rooyen, 2011; Harding, 2009; 2011; 2012a; 2012b; 2012c; 2012d; Kontos and Sidiropoulou, 2012a) and the other on how certain media outlets frame a particular event or issue. Harding (2009; 2011; 2012a; 2012b; 2012c; 2012d) combines narratological and sociological approaches, and proposes the notion of socio-narrative theory. She created an intratextual model

to conduct narrative analysis on three pairs of Russian and English texts on the 2004 Beslan hostage disaster from three websites: *Caucasian Knot*, *Kavkaz Center* and *RIA-Novosti*. Her study uncovers six differing stories of the siege in both the Russian and English narratives and analyses how the translations participate in their (re)construction. Van Rooyen (2011) develops a mediation model for the translation of radio news texts in a multilingual, multicultural newsroom in South Africa by drawing on narrative theory and framing. Kontos and Sidiropoulou (2012a) examine 200 pairs of news headlines translated from English to Greek between 2005 and 2009. They argue that the shifts in narratives between source and translated headlines are connected to various political conceptions which result in the construction of different socio-political reality and thus shape audience identities.

However, most of the existing research applying narrative theory to news translation either focuses on analysing how media outlets (re)frame news on a particular event, or on how these news stories are narrated through translation. There is a lack of comprehensive research into both narrative and framing of news translation (e.g. Cheng, 2012). News, as both narrative and framing, plays an increasingly important role in the construction of social and political reality (Johnson-Cartee, 2005). Narrative theory is at its best when analysing how an event is narrated through the news media. This research carries out such analysis by combining Harding's (2009; 2012a) intratextual model for narrative analysis and Baker's (2006) model of framing analysis.

## 2.3  Framing Theory

The concept of framing, firstly initiated by researchers in communication studies, was introduced to translation studies by Baker's (2006) seminal work. It was later applied by translation scholars and resulted in a wealth of empirical studies. The subsections below firstly give an account of basic concepts, such as frames, framing and frame/framing analysis. It then moves on to describe in greater detail how media outlets use news, both as a specific form of frames and a framing process, to assign meanings to certain events. The application of framing in news translation research will be expanded in the last part of this section.

## 2.3.1 Framing Analysis

The term "frame" can be traced back to Bateson who used it to describe a psychological "spatial and temporal bounding of a set of interactive messages" (1955/2004, p.130). It has been used in different disciplines with slightly different meanings. In artificial intelligence, Minsky (1974, p.1) defines a frame as "a data-structure for representing a stereotyped situation". It consists of a network of fixed nodes and relations at top levels and "sub-frames" at lower levels, which are linked into "frame-systems". In linguistics, Fillmore (1976, p.25) uses the term "frame" to mean "an inventory of schemata for structuring, classifying, and interpreting experiences". It forms an important concept in frame semantics. This rather broad and vague conception did not become popular until Goffman (1986) narrows it down and links it to sociology. He defines frames as "principles of organization which govern events – at least social ones – and our subjective involvement in them" (p.10) and frame analysis as "the examination in these terms of the organization of experience" (p.11). The term has since been used by various scholars to mean similar but distinct concepts. The notion of frame has been applied to sociology, communication, media and politics studies among other fields. Since the definition of frame varies, it is crucial to clarify how the term is used in this study. Entman points out that, "news frames exist at two levels: as mentally stored principles for information processing and as characteristics of the news text" (1991, p.7). Individual frames are similar to "schemata of interpretation" (Goffman, 1986, p.21) or "information-processing schemata" (Entman, 1991, p.7). Gamson notes that "[a] frame is a central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events and suggesting what is at issue" (1989, p.157). Tannen and Wallat use the term "frame" to refer to "a sense of what activity is being engaged in, how speakers mean what they say" (1993, p.60). Frames are also textual features embedded and defined by Gitlin (1980, p.7) in this sense as:

> persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual.

The nebulousness of the term "frame" causes what Entman describes as a "scattered conceptualization" and "a fractured paradigm" (1993, p.51). There is also little consensus on how framing should be studied, nor general agreement on its theoretical framework. As Scheufele argues, framing research "is characterized by

theoretical and empirical vagueness" and says that there are mainly two approaches to framing research: one examining "the type of frame" and the other "the way frames are operationalized" (1999, p.103).

## 2.3.2  News in Relation to Frames

The notion of framing is key in media and journalism studies and D'Angelo and Kuypers point out that "[n]ews is easily the most prominent discursive site in which communication researchers strive to understand what framing is and how framing works" (2010, p.1). Many scholars argue that news contains both static and dynamic elements, and Pan and Kosicki (1993, p.59) argue that a frame is a theme which "connects different semantic elements of a story", as well as a dynamic process (e.g. Gamson and Modigliani, 1989; Entman, 1993; Tankard, 2001; de Vreese, 2005; Johnson-Cartee, 2005). News framing, as a socio-cognitive process which involves frame-building and frame-setting, plays a vital role in the construction of socio-political reality (Tuchman, 1978). Tankard et al. (1991, cited in Tankard, 2001, p.100) also emphasise that:

> A frame is a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration.

Entman (1993, p.52) provides this definition of framing:

> To frame is to *select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation* for the item described (italics in original).

Entman writes that framing involves both selection and salience, thus "making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences" (1993, p.52). Both Entman (1993) and Tankard (2001) highlight the significance of selection and emphasis/salience in framing, a point particularly germane in relation to media outlets likely to select news from particular sources and highlight an aspect of the news story according to their political stance.

Framing analysis has been widely adopted by political communication scholars to analyse media and news discourse (e.g. Entman, 1991; Pan and Kosicki, 1993; Tankard, 2001). Most comparative research examines how media outlets frame the

same event in different manners and the framing effects involved (e.g. Nelson et al., 1997; Scheufele, 1999; Druckman, 2001). Entman (1991, p.6) argues that:

> Comparing media narratives of events that could have been reported similarly helps to reveal the critical textual choices that framed the story but would otherwise remain submerged in an undifferentiated text.

Events studied include the news coverage of various social issues (Tong, 2014), critical incidents such as the SARS disease (Beaudoin, 2007), and social movements such as the Ku Klux Klan (Nelson et al., 1997), the women's movement (Ashley and Olson, 1998), the global justice movement (Boykoff, 2006), anti-war protests (Peng, 2008), Occupy Wall Street (Xu, 2013), Occupy Central (Yu, 2015), the "July 5th" Urumqi event (Zeng et al. 2015) and the Arab Spring (Du, 2016). Entman (1991) compares mainstream US media coverage of the US downing of an Iranian airliner and the Soviet downing of a Korean civil aircraft. His comparative analysis of textual descriptors and visual images reveals that the US media deemphasise the guilt frame and portray the incident as a result of the technical problem, while emphasising the moral frame in the latter event as a deliberate attack. He suggests that frames are achieved in relation to five aspects: importance judgements, agency of responsibility, identification of victims, categorization of labels and generalisation of the nature of the events.

Recent framing studies apply content analysis (e.g. Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000; Lee et al., 2001; Peng, 2004; Chong and Druckman, 2007; Xu, 2013; Yu, 2015). Several studies examine how news representations of China (or Hong Kong more specifically) are framed. Peng (2004) analyses how China was characterised in the *NYT* and *Los Angeles Times* between 1992 and 2001 through political, ideological and economic frames. A series of comparative studies have been conducted on how the transfer of Hong Kong's sovereignty was narrated and framed on the Chinese mainland (Pan et al., 2001), Hong Kong and Taiwan (Pan et al., 1999), the US (Lee et al., 2001) and internationally more broadly (Lee et al., 2005). Adopting a constructionist approach to framing analysis (Gamson, 1989; Gamson and Modigliani, 1989; Pan and Kosicki, 1993) and drawing from Gamson and Lasch's (1983) "signature matrix" (p.400) which incorporates framing devices such as metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, depictions and visual images, these studies identified four "ideological package[s]" (p.399) in the media framing. They have

suggested that the US media beat the drum of democracy, the British media reminisced on "imperial nostalgia", the Chinese mainland media maximised nationalist aspects, the Hong Kong media were sceptical of the process, while the Taiwanese media expressed discontent with it. Oksanen (2011) examines how different political actors have framed democracy during the 12 years following the handover. Her frame and rhetoric analysis of news articles from the *SCMP* and other newspapers and news agencies in Hong Kong, as well as of speeches and statements made by local politicians, reveals that democracy is used as a master frame under which various frame clusters and sub-frames can be discerned. Focusing on the news coverage of Occupy Central, Yu (2015) carries out a content analysis of 249 news stories published in the Hong Kong, British and American press. She examines media attitudes towards different news frames, such as the protests, the protesters, the local government, news censorship and politically sensitive issues. She finds that the *SCMP* was more likely to frame the protests as anti-government and the protesters in a negative way and to portray the government and officials positively than the *NYT* and *The Guardian*. Conversely, the *NYT* and *Guardian* were more likely to frame the protests as pro-democracy and mention news censorship and politically sensitive issues.

The already reviewed studies perceive news frames as hidden and embedded in news articles. Entman argues that news frames are "embodied in the keywords, metaphors, concepts, symbols, and visual images emphasized in a news narrative" (1991, p.7). However, they fail to offer an adequate explanation of how these news articles are framed and the factors that influence the framing process except in relations to the political environments in which the outlet is located and its own journalistic values. The main limitation of adopting content analysis is that it is subject to the researcher's subjective interpretation. This often requires coders to code the same set of news articles separately using the same scheme. Their results also need to achieve a high level of "inter-coder reliability" or "agreement percentage" in order to be valid. It remains the case that most research focuses on news frames in monolingual media, while little attention has been paid to the role played by translation in the news framing process.

### 2.3.3 Framing in News Translation Research

Compared with social scientists, translator scholars have been latecomers to the notion of framing. Baker (2006) introduced the concept of framing for the application of translation and interpreting in areas of conflict and social movements, by mainly drawing from communication studies (Goffman, 1981; 1986). Baker (2006, p.106, italics in original) defines frames as "structures of *anticipation*, strategic moves that are consciously initiated in order to present a movement or a particular position within a certain perspective", and framing as "an active strategy that implies agency and by means of which we consciously participate in the construction of reality". She argues that translation is "a frame in its own right, whether in its literal or metaphorical sense". Gambier (2006, p.11) defines "media frames or news frames" as "what is discussed, and how it is (or not) discussed". A new term, "transframing", was coined by Liu to mean "translation-mediated framing through translated news" (Liu, 2017, p.461) as a bridge between framing studies and news translation. She argues that news translation involves not only transediting but also transframing.

As opposed to the paucity of narrative research, there has been an abundance of frame analysis studies of news translation (e.g. Darwish, 2006; Valdeón, 2008; 2014; 2015b; 2016; van Doorslaer, 2012; Luo, 2015; Xia, 2016; Liu, 2017; 2019; Wu, 2018). These studies suggest that news translation is a (re)framing process which changes "the perspectives and meaning of the original news" (Darwish, 2006, p.62) and ultimately contributes to the construction of reality. Some draw on framing strategies from Baker's (2006) model of narrative theory. For example, Valdeón (2008) draws on the concepts of selective appropriation, ambiguity and labelling in the analysis of the headlines and main bodies of news texts on various subjects from the English *BBC World News* and the Spanish *BBC Mundo* websites. Other studies in Chinese (e.g. Cheng, 2010; 2012; 2013) adopt framing strategies to analyse news items in *RN* transedited from the US media on the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games (Cheng, 2012; 2013) and the 2009 influenza A (H1N1) pandemic (Cheng, 2010). These studies argue that transediting is a "re-narration" (Baker, 2014) of the original narrative in which the translator deconstructs and reframes news stories through various framing strategies in cross-cultural communication. Among the four major framing strategies, Cheng (2012; 2013) argues that "selective

appropriation of textual material", "framing by labelling" and "repositioning of participants" are the most frequently used strategies by the *RN* translators.

However, some studies do not specifically draw on Baker's model of framing strategies but on a more comprehensive notion of framing from communication and media studies. Van Doorslaer (2012) examines framing and reframing from narrative theory perspectives in order to conduct case studies on how the national and cultural images of Belgium's neighbours are translated and constructed in Belgian newspapers and television news. He argues that language and translation play an essential role in media framing and that both selection and deselection are involved in the translation process. Liu (2017) analyses how *RN* and the *FT Chinese* frame the Chinese economy through the translation of financial news and achieve various framing effects around notions of responsibility, conflict, interest, economic consequences and morality.

These studies focus on the (re)framing strategies of particular media outlets on a particular event or issue, yet few studies have been conducted to analyse various patterns of framing strategies within these outlets (e.g. Spiessens and Van Poucke, 2016; Qin and Zhang, 2018; Wu, 2018; Spiessens, 2019). Spiessens and Van Poucke (2016) and Spiessens (2019) explore various patterns of (re)framing mechanisms such as selective appropriation, translation shifts and visual strategies by analysing how translated news articles on the Russian *InoSMI* website and their originals from four Western newspapers (re)framed the Crimean crisis through moral, political and military frames. Qin and Zhang (2018) examine how translated narratives in the Chinese news media have (re)framed the Snowden case through strategies such as selective appropriation and labelling. Similarly, Wu (2018) investigates patterns of reframing such as appropriation, labelling and ambiguity, and the consequent variation in stance in 27 pairs of news reports from *RN* on the Sino-Japanese dispute over the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands.

Similarly to the view of translation as "re-narration" (Baker, 2014, p.158), translation scholars regard news translation as a reframing process of already framed news stories through translation (e.g. Darwish, 2006; Baker, 2007; Tsai, 2015; Spiessens and Van Poucke, 2016; Qin and Zhang, 2018; Wu, 2018). However, existing research in news translation mainly explores how the translated news narratives have been reframed, while neglecting which frames are salient,

backgrounded, eliminated or changed in this process. Tankard (2001, p.97) notes that early research on framing mainly relies on qualitative methods such as text and content analysis to identify media frames, making it a subjective process. He posits several approaches such as the "media packages" approach (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989, p.3), the "multidimensional concept" approach (Tankard, 2001, p.99) and the "list of frames" approach (Tankard, 2001, p.100) as having the potential to significantly reduce subjectivity. This study presents an alternative approach of incorporating corpus-based methods, firstly identifying keywords for original and translated news stories, then categorising them into a taxonomy of news frames, and finally assessing if there are any variations in frames between the original and translated news. It also employs a computer-assisted approach to coding the framing strategies which the translators employ in reframing the original news stories. It suggests that these quantitative computer-based methods could systematically bolster the objectivity of the frame identification process.

## 2.4  Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis

Corpora were first used by linguists to perform lexical, grammatical and syntactic analysis of language usage. Over the past decade, corpus linguists have combined Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with corpus-based methods to examine the recurrent language features within their social contexts. This section begins with an overview of the literature in the theoretical development of critical translation studies and corpus-based CDA, with special emphasis on applying the corpus-based methods to exploring media discourse. In the early 1990s, scholars began to emerge who linked corpus linguistics to translation studies, resulting in a number of studies being produced.

### 2.4.1  Critical Translation Studies

Critical linguists and critical discourse analysts have long been interested in ideology's relation to language (Kress and Hodge, 1979; van Dijk, 1998) and there is a large body of research on ideology and news reporting. The language of the news media in particular has been critically assessed for some time (e.g. van Dijk, 1988; Bell, 1991; Fowler, 1991; Fairclough, 1995b; Richardson, 2007). Translation Studies scholars subsequently identify the value of adopting a critical approach (e.g. Hatim, 1990; 1997; Calzada Pérez, 2003; Munday, 2007) to examine how ideology

is conveyed and presented in translation and suggested that ideology is present in a wide range of translated texts. This has proved to be of great value to Translation Studies research and reminds translation scholars to pay attention not only to interlinguistic matters at the micro-textual level but also to analyse the role of ideology at the macro-level.

Much research has been focused on the ideological factors in news translation which are influenced by translators and news institutions. Van Doorslaer (2010, p.180) observes that "a complex mixture of power relationships determines important decisions and choices regarding news selection, news translation and news editing". The relationship between the translation of texts and their socio-political context has been addressed by a number of scholars. These studies can be categorised into two major groups based on the role played by translation. Some scholars argue that translation is "mediation" in media and political communication (e.g. Valdeón 2005; Pan, 2014b). They argue that the news translator strikes a balance between accuracy and acceptability and mediates between STs and TTs. Others believe that translation is "intervention". Bielsa identifies several types of textual intervention by translators in global news agencies including what she terms change of title and lead, elimination of unnecessary information, addition of important background information, change in the order of paragraphs and summarising information (2007, pp.142–143). Wu and Zhang (2015) also identify the strategies adopted by the translators of the *FT* Chinese website such as substitution, omission, explication, changes in modality and actors when translating political ideologies in English news headlines. They demonstrate that translators are placed in a difficult situation in negotiating between two opposing ideologies.

There have been numerous studies exploring the relationship between ideology and translation in news texts by adopting a critical approach. The significance of ideology-related factors in news translation, such as the translator's mediation and subjectivity, newspapers' ideological manipulation of quotation and the mediation of reader involvement, has also been identified in a number of other studies (e.g. Chen, 2006; 2008; 2009; 2011b; Cheng, 2011; Lu and Chen, 2011). Chen conducted a series of case studies on news texts on a range of political topics from English-language newspapers and their transedited Chinese versions in the Taiwanese press. She found that the transedited news articles usually underwent major

transformations at syntactic, lexical or stylistic levels rather than being faithful translation to their originals. These divergences were found to be usually motivated by the different newspapers' political stances. Using various quotations as examples, Chen (2009) investigates how the ideologies of certain newspapers shape transedited news articles. Chen's (2008; 2011b) studies suggest that translator mediation and subjectivity is constrained by an interplay of different factors like government policies, target newspaper audience and transediting conventions. Drawing from Nord's (1997) analysis of translation-oriented text functions, Lu and Chen (2011) compare 20 pieces of soft news from *The NYT* and their reversions in the *China Times* and show that the reader's involvement is significantly mediated in the transedited news.

As original and translated news texts may be produced within different social systems, translators sometimes need to adjust the ideology of original texts to fit its target society. Transformations in ideology can be achieved through shifts in various linguistic features, as is evident from a series of studies (Xu, 2014; 2015a; 2015b; Xu and Jiang, 2016) which examine the relationship between the transedited articles produced by *RN* and their original versions. These studies compare the changes between 24 transedited *RN* news reports on the South China Sea issue and their US media STs from critical linguistic perspectives such as naming and reference (Xu, 2014), grammatical voice (Xu, 2015a), nominalisation (Xu, 2015b) and thematic structure (Xu and Jiang, 2016). These studies reveal that the transedited articles in *RN* construct different social realities from those the original texts do, reflecting the different ideologies of the newspapers. Similarly, Huang (2008) compares a news report on the impact of a Sino-US plane collision on Beijing's Olympic bid from the *NYT* and its translated version in *RN*. It investigates how the reporter and the translator recontextualise the discourse through direct and indirect means reflecting their ideological stances. Valdeón (2015b, 2016) distinguishes between the ideological positions of the columnist, the translator and the news outlet as a whole. He testifies that opinion columns as closed sources leave little room for ideological shifts in the translation process because the media outlet would likely to hire a high-status author who supports their ideological stance. However, he argues that the distinction between opinion pieces and editorials as stable sources on the one hand and different text types as unstable sources on the other, a distinction first applied to

news translation by Hernández Guerrero (2010), is not always applicable to journalistic translation.

The Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach has been used extensively to examine the relationship between ideology and language in news translation also (e.g. Kuo and Nakamura, 2005; Valdeón, 2005; Kang, 2007; Al-Hejin, 2012; Pan, 2014b; 2015; Wu and Zhang, 2015; Xia and Wang, 2015; Xia, 2016). These studies chiefly draw on Fairclough's (1992; 1995a) three-dimensional procedural model of CDA. This model first involves a semantic analysis of linguistic features in original and translated news discourse at the lexical, grammatical and pragmatic levels; it then investigates the associated discursive practices; it lastly examines the socio-cultural contexts in which the texts are produced. These studies analyse a variety of language pairings and cross-cultural contexts. Valdeón (2005) analyses a corpus of news articles from *BBC World News* and its Spanish website *BBC Mundo*. His study discovers that the BBC Spanish Service primarily relies on translating STs from the English service with the translators and the editors chiefly adopting strategies that feature omission, addition and permutation. He further argues that discrepancies between TTs and their STs are the result of two distinct discursive practices: editorial routines and translation processes. These may be affected by and also contribute to "a power struggle between news producers and consumers" (Valdeón, 2005, p.216). Xia and Wang (2015) and Xia (2016) examine how *RN* manipulated politically sensitive news discourse on Bo Xilai's conviction through translation. Pan (2014b; 2015) analyses how the stance of the same newspaper is mediated in news translation and the ideological positioning of the newspaper through the evaluative resources of translated news reports on Tibet. She argues that stance mediation often occurs in translation through "positive self-presentation" and "negative other-presentation".

Like many others which adopt the CDA approach, these studies have potential drawbacks. CDA has received some constructive criticism over the past years (e.g. Stubbs, 1994; 1997; Widdowson, 1995; 1996; 1998; Orpin, 2005). One of its limitations is that it relies on a small data sample. Stubbs (1994) raises this issue in arguing that "significant amounts of text must be stored on computer and searched, and quantitative methods must be used to describe the patterns" (p.204). Fairclough (2013, p.45) opines that:

a single text on its own is quite insignificant: the effects of media power are cumulative, working through the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader, and so forth.

Another criticism of CDA relates to the representativeness of the sample and scholarly subjectivity. Selection bias is another concern because CDA practitioners tend to cherry-pick examples that support their own views.

### 2.4.2 Corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis

The problems with CDA can be remedied via corpus linguistics as it provides for the analysis of a large amount of data. The quantitative nature of corpus analysis can also minimise researcher bias and reinforce objectivity. Corpus-based approaches also allow qualitative analysis of a large number of instances through concordances.

We examine here the literature on combined corpus-based and CDA studies. The corpus analysis in this research takes a critical perspective on the corpus-based approach (cf. corpus-driven approach, Tognini-Bonelli, 2001, p.17). Corpus-based CDA (cf. corpus-assisted discourse studies, e.g. Partington et al., 2013) combines the "useful methodological synergy" (Baker et al., 2008) of corpus linguistics with CDA which is, in turn, inspired by the discourse-historical approach (Wodak, 2001). Corpus-based CDA can be carried out in nine stages, as outlined in Baker et al. (2008, p.295). This begins with the analyses of lexical devices such as keywords and frequency, followed by a close qualitative examination of collocations surrounding these items on concordance lines. Stubbs (1994, p.217) urges "the need to combine the analysis of large-scale patterns across long texts with the detailed study of concordance lines". An alternative approach proposed by Baker and Levon (2015) suggests that corpus analysis and CDA can be carried out by different analysts with the results and findings synthesised later. Due largely to time and resource constraints, this research adopts the former approach to simultaneously carrying out corpus analysis and CDA.

Using corpora can be beneficial to CDA in discovering the relations between language and ideology, because corpora "identify repetitions, and can be used to identify implicit meaning" (Hunston, 2002, p.123). However, one of the weaknesses of the corpus approach is that "data in corpora are de-contextualised" and so the analyst needs to "spell out the steps that lie between what is observed and the

interpretation placed on those observations" (Hunston, 2002, p.123). This weakness is precisely where the corpus-based CDA comes into its own because CDA offers the model of description, interpretation and explanation of the data generated from the initial corpus analysis.

In recent years, corpus-based approaches have become a popular research method to investigate representations of a range of topics in the media, such as gay men (Baker, 2005), refugees, asylum seekers and migrants (Baker and McEnery, 2005; Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008; Baker et al., 2008), Islam (Baker, 2010b; Baker et al., 2013a; 2013b), North Korea (Kim, 2014) and masculinity (Baker and Levon, 2015). These corpus-based discourse analyses, as a combination of both quantitative and qualitative methods, have yielded much fruitful discussion and provided acute insight into the discursive construction of topics which sheds light on key social issues and relationships (e.g. Baker, 2010a; Baker and McEnery, 2015).

Several studies of Hong Kong by critical discourse analysts examine the role of corpora. Flowerdew (1997) focuses on a corpus of political discourses by Chris Patten, the last British governor of Hong Kong. The study reveals that Patten employed a variety of discursive strategies such as presupposition, involvement and lexical reiteration to create a myth of a glorious colonial past that emphasises the free market economy, the freedom of the individual, the rule of law, and democracy. Flowerdew (2012) takes a similar approach to analyse the public discourses of Tung Chee-hwa, the first CE of Hong Kong SAR, during his first term of office. The analysis demonstrates that Tung's discourse perpetuates some of the mythology proposed by Patten with notable differences such as downplaying the role of democracy and foregrounding Chinese cultural values.

Several studies have adopted corpus-based approaches to examine Hong Kong on particular issues such as identity and human rights (e.g. Cheng and Lam, 2010; 2013; Zhang, 2010; Zhang and Mihelj, 2012; Sun and Hu, 2017; Liu and Jiang, 2019). Zhang (2010) and Zhang and Mihelj (2012) analyse frequencies and verb collocations for several identity labels in a corpus of 500 articles from five Chinese-language newspapers in Hong Kong covering the interpretation of the Basic Law in 2004 and the 2005 CE election. The study finds out that pro-democracy newspapers like the *HKEJ* tend to construe mainland China and Hong Kong as separate units and raise issues about the relationship. Sun and Hu (2017) study the construction of

national identity by examining the collocates of *China*, *Chinese* and *Beijing* in 315 English editorials from the *SCMP* between 2007 and 2016. They find that the recognition of national identity rose steadily. Cheng and Lam (2010) explore media discourses on human rights in over 5,000 articles from the same newspaper and observe an ideological shift in its stance towards the issues after the handover. Cheng and Lam (2013) identify lexical changes in the Western perceptions of Hong Kong between 1997 and 2007 through comparative analyses of collocations, semantic preferences and prosodies between the Western and Chinese media corpora.

A few corpus-based discourse studies concentrate specifically on the media representation of the 2014 Hong Kong protests (e.g. Chen, 2015; Chan, 2017; Feng, 2017; Ho, 2019). Chen (2015) conducts a corpus-based critical discourse analysis of the stance of *China Daily* and *CNN* on Occupy Central. Her study reveals that the former's orientation is to minimise the impact of the event and maintain political stability, while the latter's is to emphasise the conflict between police and students and undermine trust in the Beijing government. Chan (2017) compares the frequency lists and keywords in two corpora of 695 texts on the Umbrella Movement from three English-language newspapers in Hong Kong and mainland China. His study shows the different discursive constructions using the examples of the terms *movement*, *protesters*, *law*, *democracy*, *Macau*, *Beijing's* and *color*. Feng (2017) analyses the concordances of two Chinese keywords "佔中" (Occupy Central) and "佔領" (occupy) in a total of 120 reports from four Chinese-language newspapers in Hong Kong, identifying divergent attitudes between them. Ho's (2019) corpus-based study explores the discursive construction of various social actors, including protesters, students, police and governments in coverage of the protests in the *SCMP* and *China Daily*. Her analyses of concordances, collocations and semantic prosodies reveal that the two newspapers adopted diverging strategies towards discursive constructions in relation to such features as predication, nomination and perspectivization. While these studies incorporate aspects of corpus methods into CDA, they fail to consider any translated discourse. Thus, they overlook differences that may occur between translated and original news discourses which might reveal the implicit ideology of the news media.

### 2.4.3  Corpus Approaches to Translation Studies

Corpus linguistics provides a set of tools and techniques for translation studies and Baker (1993) has stressed its potential value. Early translation studies scholars applying corpus methods were mainly interested in discovering "features of translation" which "typically occur in translated text rather than original utterances and which are not the result of interference from specific linguistic systems" (p.243). These include simplification, explicitation, normalization or conservatism, levelling out and co-occurrence (Baker, 1996, pp.176–177). A number of translation studies since have been carried out on different language pairs in order to find if there are any universal features of translation. These studies, mostly descriptive in nature, range from ST equivalence to norms of language patterns in translated texts in themselves.

The application of corpus methods within translation studies emerged as "a new paradigm" (Laviosa, 1998a, p.1) that presaged a burgeoning branch of "corpus-based translation studies" (Baker, 1996, p.175) or "corpus translation studies" (Tymoczko, 1998, p.1). Comparable and parallel corpora are of particular importance for translation research (Baker, 1993). Comparable corpora are composed of two sets of texts, one in the original language and the other translations. A parallel corpus comprises "source language-texts in language A and their translated versions in language B" (Baker, 1993, p.230). However, there is some ambiguity in the definition of comparable corpora as to whether the two collections of texts are in the same language. Since it is not always easy to find parallel STs and TTs, most corpus-based translation studies have used comparable corpora.

The exploration of translation universals later spread to the analysis of news texts. Laviosa-Braithwaite (1996; 1997) and Laviosa (1997; 1998c) are among the early corpus-based translation studies that investigate features of a comparable corpus of articles from the English-language *Guardian* and *European* newspapers. They reveal a simplification in translated English-language news articles and "core patterns of lexical use" (Laviosa-Braithwaite, 1996, p.157) which include lower lexical density and a higher proportion of high-frequency words. Lee (2013) finds, through analysis of lexical bundles in a corpus of Korean journalistic texts translated from English,

and a comparable corpus of non-translated Korean journalistic texts, that features of both explicitation and simplification exist in the translated Korean news texts. However, the features of translated Chinese news texts remain unexplored by corpus linguists and translation scholars. Although previous studies focus on the linguistic features of translated news texts in relation to their original texts, their use of a corpus-based approach dramatically inspired research into news translation. However, these studies still remain focussed on the textual level and fail to relate translation shifts to wider socio-cultural contexts.

Among the large number of studies which use corpus methods to compare translated and untranslated texts in order to investigate the translator's style (e.g. Baker, 2000; 2004), a few have linked those styles to ideological consequences. Munday (1998) identifies how basic tools of corpus linguistics such as frequency lists and concordances can help to identify translation shifts in an English translation of a short story by Gabriel García Márquez. Munday (2002) combines the use of corpus tools with systemic functional linguistics (SFL) to develop a systematic model with which to analyse a news story of Elián González in Spanish and its English translations in the *Guardian*, *NYT* and *Granma International*. In a more comprehensive monograph, Munday (2008) adopts a corpus-based approach to explore how the translator's ideology may influence their style (linguistic choices) and voice (point of view) in English translations of twentieth-century Latin American writing. These shifts between ST and TT are "critical points" (Munday, 2012, p.40) which may reveal the translator's ideology. Although these studies draw their sources from literary texts, the methodology is relevant to studies in media and political translation and interpreting (Wang and Feng, 2018).

Corpus-based studies in news translation are scarce, but research adopting corpus methods into the study of narrative texts is even rarer. Apart from news texts, Laviosa (1998b) also investigates the linguistic features of narrative prose in a sub-corpus of the English Comparable Corpus. Her study's findings are consistent with her previous ones on news texts (e.g. Laviosa-Braithwaite, 1996; 1997; Laviosa, 1997; 1998c), except for the fact that translated narrative texts are shown to have longer sentences on average than the non-translated narratives. She also finds a lower lexical density and a higher proportion of high-frequency words in translated narrative than in original texts. Her methodology of corpus-based narrative analysis

focuses on lexical patterns in the translation product while neglecting the narrative features that may change in the translation process. Wynne et al. (1998) investigate different forms of speech, thought and writing presentation from indirect to free direct speech in a corpus of English narrative texts that includes prose fiction, news reports and biography. Their corpus-based approach to different categories of narrators is systematic. However, there are some ambiguities in the tagging and the process of manual annotation can be extremely time-consuming. Bosseaux (2004a; 2004b; 2004c; 2006; 2007) compiles a parallel corpus for two novels by Virginia Woolf – *The Waves* and *To the Lighthouse* – and five French translations. She examines indicators such as type-token ratio, average sentence length and lexical density which represent point of view (i.e. deixis, modality, transitivity and free indirect discourse) by using corpus tools and investigates the translator's choices on the transfers of narratological structures. Her corpus-based translation studies, though conducted from the perspective of literary narratology, provide valuable insights to the application of narrative theory by corpus techniques.

Valdeón (2012a, p.847) attributes the paucity of news translation studies done via corpus-based methods to the difficulty of gathering news corpora because "very often the researcher is unable to locate the STs upon which news writers base their material". Valdeón proposes the use of an "ad hoc corpus" (2019, p.79) in analysing news content rather than linguistic features in news translation that contains a small number of texts and that is designed for specific purposes. Caimotto and Gaspari also regard the difficulties of analysing news translation by corpus methods as due to news texts being "heavily mediated and edited" (2018, p.205), which also makes it difficult for researchers to trace their STs. They argue that Baker's (1995) definition of comparable corpora as "consist[ing] of two separate collections of texts in the same language" (p.234) and multilingual corpora as "sets of two or more monolingual corpora in different languages" (p.232) should be expanded. They propose the concept of "comparallel corpus" (Caimotto and Gaspari, 2018, p.212) in which the STs may not be identified or contain TTs as partial translation of STs for the study of the ideology in news texts by combining corpus-based CDA and translation studies.

Some existing so-called corpus analyses of news translation are not analyses in the classical sense as the researcher employs neither a parallel nor comparable corpus

but simply a mass of electronic documents (e.g. Davier, 2015; Valdeón, 2019). Some cross-linguistic corpus-assisted discourse studies (e.g. Gagnon et al., 2018) claim to use a comparable corpus, but the news texts are not translations as such. Károly (2012) is perhaps the first researcher to carry out a real corpus study involving actual translations of news texts. McLaughlin (2015) similarly explores the frequencies of lexical items in two corpora of translated news texts. However, these two corpus studies remain at the textual level, mainly examining the syntactic or lexical aspects.

The most relevant corpus study that goes beyond the textual level and looks into the socio-political aspect is Kim's (2017) corpus-based CDA study of reports on China in *Newsweek* and their Korean translations between 2005 and 2015. Kim examines the discursive construction of Chinese national identity and the linguistic changes in translation through the comparison of collocates of "China" in STs and TTs, followed by a closer analysis of these collocations in their concordance lines. Beyond corpus-based critical discourse analyses, few studies adopt other corpus-based methods to explore the relation between textual features and social contexts. Ji (2017) examines the translation of environmental news on *BBC Chinese*, through computer-assisted frame analysis by using the UCREL Semantic Analysis System (USAS)[27] and exploratory factor analysis (EFA). Her corpus analysis reveals shifts in evaluative language between the original and translated articles which reflects distinct reporting strategies that *BBC Chinese* adopts towards various genres of environmental news for different target readerships. One of the limitations of this approach is the danger of decontextualisation.

## 2.5 Summary

This chapter provides a review of the literature relating to news translation, narrative theory, framing theory and corpus-based critical discourse analysis. It identifies the existing research gaps to which this study seeks to make a contribution to filling. The extant literature highlights the need for comprehensive research into the product, procedure and context of news translation. It has demonstrated the necessity of

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[27] This an automatic semantic tagging system developed at Lancaster University and currently hosting 14 languages: http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/usas/. [Accessed 16 May 2020]

studying news as both narrative and framing from the perspective of translation studies. Contrary to Baker's claim that socio-narrative theory "does not focus on identifying recurrent linguistic patterns as in norm theory and corpus-based studies" (2018, p.190), this study elaborates a way to integrate corpus linguistics with narrative theory and proposes a model of corpus-based critical narrative study which is intended to contribute to the analysis of news narratives. The next chapter elaborates on the selection and collection of data and a methodological framework that brings together narrative theory, framing theory and corpus linguistics. The analytical framework should provide for an objective and multidimensional analysis of news translation at the textual, institutional and socio-cultural levels.

# Chapter 3
# Analytical Framework and Data

This chapter begins by elaborating on the methodology and the research design deployed. A detailed account follows of the integrated analytical framework which the research adopts consisting of corpus, narrative and framing analyses. The third section provides a detailed justification for the selection of media outlets: *RN* from the Chinese mainland, *EJ Insight* from Hong Kong, *BBC Chinese* from the UK and *The NYT Chinese* from the US. It then provides an overview on the outlets with reference to previous studies on their translations on topics related to Hong Kong. The collection methods for news articles used are also described.

## 3.1 Methodology and Research Design

There are three dimensions to the data analysis in this study: textual, institutional and socio-cultural analyses of the translated narratives and their original versions. It involves the examination of translated products of news texts, the procedure by which the translation is produced and the socio-cultural context in which it takes place. Richardson argues that the analysis of journalistic discourse should focus on three characteristics: "the language of journalism, its production and consumption and the relations of journalism to social ideas and institutions" (2007, p.1). Philo suggests that "it [is] not possible to analyse individual texts in isolation from the study of the wider systems of ideologies which informed them and the production processes which structured their representation" (2007, p.184). Studies such as Conway (2015), Xia and Wang (2015) and Xia (2016; 2019) have attempted to apply a three-dimensional model to the study of news translation. Conway's (2015) materialist approach incorporates political economy, linguistics and socio-cultural studies. Xia and Wang (2015) and Xia's (2016; 2019) framework focuses on the textual, discursive, and societal levels. Such interrelated aspects make a key contribution to the production of translated news articles. Each component influences and is constrained by others, as illustrated in Figure 1. The translation of news articles is determined by news media institutional practice which is further influenced by socio-cultural factors. However, the reader reception of translated

news articles could also change their understanding of a specific issue or event, which may have a consequent impact on the structure of media outlets and their influence on the construction of social reality. This model coincides with the three-dimensional CDA framework at the textual, discursive and social levels (Fairclough, 1992; 1995).

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┌─────────────────────────────┐
│   1. Translation product    │
│  description of linguistic   │
│     practice (textual        │
│         analysis)            │
└─────────────────────────────┘

┌──────────────────────┐      ┌──────────────────────┐
│  2. Institutional    │      │   3. Socio-cultural   │
│     procedure        │◄────►│       activity        │
│  interpretation of   │      │  explaination of social│
│ institutional practice│      │    practice (social   │
│  (process analysis)  │      │       analysis)       │
└──────────────────────┘      └──────────────────────┘
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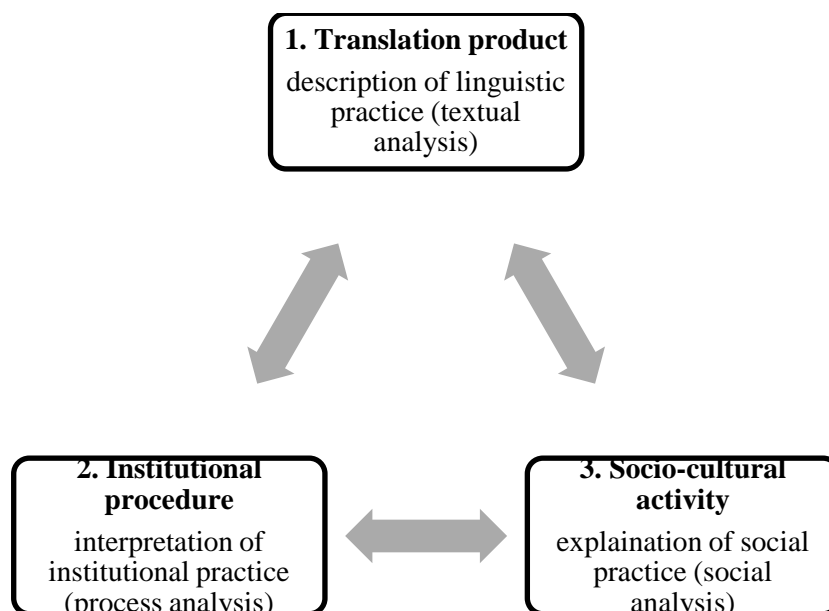
**Figure 1**  Three layers of the critical narrative analytical framework.

This study assimilates socio-narrative theory into CDA to form an integrated conceptual framework of CNA, as shown in Figure 1. It employs Baker's (2006) model of framing strategies and Harding's intratextual model of narrative analysis (2009; 2012a; 2012b) as its analytical framework, and Fairclough's (1992; 1995a) three-dimensional CDA taxonomy as its explanatory framework. This framework facilitates a critical account of news translation from the description of news translation as linguistic practice (textual analysis) at the textual level, to the interpretation of news translation as institutional practice (process analysis) at the discursive level, and the explanation of news translation as social practice (social analysis) at the socio-cultural level.

The distribution of genres may have influence on the linguistic features of news texts (Biber, 1988; Biber and Conrad, 2009). This research mainly distinguishes between narrative and non-narrative texts. Narrative texts are most factual news reporting like news stories and non-narrative ones are argumentative texts which include commentaries, analyses, opinion pieces and letters to the editor. However,

this distinction is not always definitive as some non-narrative news texts may contain narrative elements and narrative texts may also embed non-narrative texts in them. This genre hybridisation proses difficulties for determining the genre of each text. This study achieves this through identifying the news formats provided in the collected news articles and non-narrative elements, such as statements, inside narrative texts through manual reading. There are more systematic approaches to classify text genres such as according to their "Functional Text Dimensions" (Sharoff, 2018, p.65).

The notion of narrative overlaps with discourse in some circumstances such as in textual, discursive and social practices. CNA and CDA share interdisciplinary roots in dealing with the relationships between language, ideology and power. In order to investigate the ideology of the translation produced by different media outlets and what socio-cultural factors influence such practice, this research adopts CDA as its explanatory framework. Critical discourse analysts draw on linguistic and social theories to study language's relationship to ideology and power. Fairclough (1992; 1995a) draws on the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions of systemic functional theory (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004) and develops the three-dimensional framework already outlined (Fairclough, 1992, p.73).

The conceptual model of CNA was proposed by researchers in other disciplines such as education (Souto-Manning, 2014) and psychology (Emerson and Frosh, 2004). Emerson and Frosh present a critical narrative approach to the analysis of personal narratives by a clinical subject from the perspectives of "textual coherence and structure" and "narrative functions" (2004, p.10). Souto-Manning combines CDA and narrative analysis into CNA. She argues that CDA focuses on macro-level, institutional discourses yet neglects micro-level, personal narratives. Thus, the integration of CNA produces "a mutually beneficial partnership that addresses both theoretical and methodological dilemmas in discourse analysis" (2014, p.159). However, the definitions of narrative in these studies are narrow in focus, as narratives include not only everyday personal/conversational narratives but also public (Baker, 2006) and shared/collective ones (Harding, 2009; 2012a). Moreover, these studies fail to address the interaction between narrative analysis and CDA and various narrative techniques related to ideological dimensions embedded in the narratives. As Rosa (2013) suggests, there are some potential overlaps between

narrative theory (Leech and Short, 2007), CDA (Fairclough, 1995a) and appraisal theory (Martin and White, 2005; White and Thomson, 2008) on the issue of voice. The analytic tools of speech acts and speech representation are deployed by both narratologists and critical discourse analysts in investigating the interpersonal functions of language. The engagement system of the appraisal framework, which can be further divided into monogloss and heterogloss, deals specifically with the relationship between attitude and voice in discourse. The notion of journalistic voice, in particular, is employed by appraisal theorists to study patterns of evaluative meaning in news language.

However, CNA and CDA differ in certain respects. Firstly, narrative analysis pays attention to both personal stories and public narratives, which is particularly relevant to journalism. By contrast, discourse analysis is more often used to study repeated institutional language. News narratives particularly feature the interplay between personal and public narratives, how personal narratives are elaborated through public narratives by different media outlets over time and what socio-political factors may determine or contribute to the circulation of such narratives. Personal narratives are easily overlooked in the analysis of institutional discourses (Souto-Manning, 2014). Narrative analysis also often looks at non-textual factors, while discourse analysis focuses on the textual analysis of institutional discourses. As Baker argues "a narrative is assumed to be realisable across a variety of media" (2014, p159). Thus, narrative analysis allows greater flexibility in the examination of web-based and paratextual materials (Baker, 2018, p.181). However, Baker (2006) also admits that narrative theory lacks a systematic framework for carrying out textual analysis (Valdeón, 2008, p.300). This is one of the reasons this study combines narrative analysis with corpus linguistics to carry out evaluation at the textual level. The combined model of narrative theory examines both recurrent textual features from a large number of texts and marginal narratives of a single text.

The first dimension of textual analysis examines the representations of Hong Kong in the selected Chinese Mainland, Hong Kong, British and American news media during the Occupy Movement. Textual analysis of news translation can be further divided into three as illustrated in Figure 2. As D'Angelo and Kuypers note, "theoretical integration seems to be an ineluctable part of doing news framing analysis" (2010, p.5). At the micro-level, framing analysis of news texts around

labelling, epithets, news headlines, leads and photo captions, is examined through detailed analysis of textual shifts between the original narratives and their translated versions. Narrative analysis is carried out at the meso-level to investigate narratological aspects such as narrators, retroversions, reported speech and frequency of translated narrative and non-narrative texts (such as statements and commentaries). Corpus analysis is integrated at the textual level of the analytical framework to provide a macro-level view of recurrent language features by using the corpus toolkit, including word frequencies, keywords and semantic prosodies.
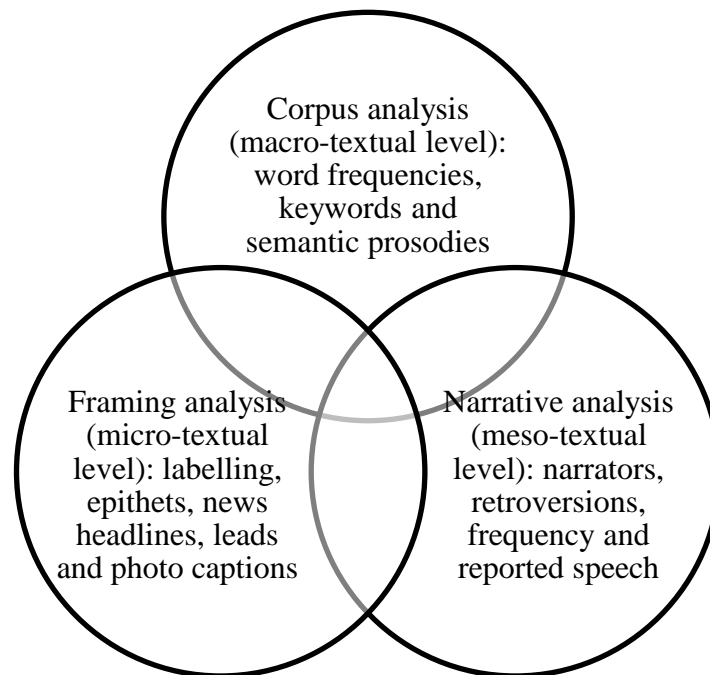


**Figure 2**  Three interconnected layers of an analytical framework for news translation research.

Framing analysis is combined with corpus analysis. Word frequency assessment in corpus analysis can support the findings from framing analysis related to selective appropriation, labelling, epithets and headlines. The frequencies of specific labels or elements in the original news articles are compared to those in the translations to discern their relative prevalence and whether elements have been reinforced or undermined in translation. Keyword analysis reveals differences in recurrent thematic features between original and translated narratives. Analysis of keywords in different semantic fields illustrates which thematic elements are emphasised or attenuated in translation. Close examination of semantic prosodies provides valuable data on epithets for framing analysis. Analysis of semantic prosodies sheds light on

how evaluative elements in news articles are translated and how the translation process may engender attitudinal shift.

Corpus methods are also employed in conjunction with narrative analysis to obtain analytical data on aspects such as primary, secondary and temporary narrators. Webster and Mertova question the validity and reliability of narrative inquiry as "human stories of experience" (2007, p.1) and suggest using it as an alternative approach to quantitative research methods. A triangulation of corpus, narrative and framing analysis is also a feature of this study. Corpus-assisted framing and narrative analyses are relatively innovative methods in Translation Studies. This integrated framework demonstrates the necessity of and potential in integrating narrative and framing analysis with corpus-based CDA.

The dimension of institutional practice at the discursive level includes the analysis of questionnaire responses on how translated news articles are processed and the various agents involved in this procedure. It also includes the analysis of framing through the selection of news material at the institutional level. The framing analysis conducted adapts Baker's (2006) model of narrative theory and applies it to the textual level and to narrative patterns at the institution level. As a result, the framing analysis at the textual and institutional levels overlaps.

After analysis of the linguistic and institutional aspects of news translation, the socio-cultural contexts in which the translation takes place is considered. The socio-cultural factors that influence the decisions of translators and editors will be explained in relation to their specific contexts. The role of different agents in the news outlets and their interactions related to the translation process will also be discussed from the socio-cultural perspective. What follows is a more detailed account of the three-dimensional theoretical framework that incorporates narrative, framing and corpus analysis.

The study employs qualitative and quantitative approaches. It draws on big data (GDELT) for the selection of the media outlets and adopts a corpus-based approach in comparing original with translated narratives. The research falls within the general framework of Descriptive Translation Studies (Toury, 2012), involving the comparisons of both micro- and macro-structural shifts between the original and translated news texts, and descriptions of how micro-structural shifts impinge on the

macro-structural level (Van Leuven-Zwart, 1989; 1990). It first analyses the micro-structural shifts at the linguistic level, encompassing semantic, stylistic and pragmatic aspects. It then explores the macro-structural shifts at the narrative level, related to narrators. Finally, it considers how these narratives are (re)framed through translation. It uses corpus techniques to highlight the actual differences in narratives and provides evidence for differences in the constructed and framed narratives produced by different news media.

The comparative analysis is twofold: firstly, it compares the original narratives with their translated versions within each news corpus; and secondly, the translated narratives of different news corpora are compared with each other. The differences help to identify the role played by translation in the process of news production as well as its function in different social and political contexts.

The methodology for interviews with translators from the selected news agencies has been reviewed favourably by the University of Leeds Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Cultures Research Ethics Committee (Appendix E). The main ethical issues such as anonymisation and confidentiality have been specifically addressed. The interviewees' names and job titles have been omitted to protect participants' privacy though the media outlets which they work for are named. A copy of the information sheet (Appendix F) and consent form (Appendix G) were emailed to each participant before their interview. The latter was signed by both the participant and the researcher during the interview and returned to the researcher afterwards. A copy of both documents were given to the participant to keep. The interviews and questionnaires conducted with translators mainly contribute to the research design. The individual questionnaire (Appendix H) elicits how news articles are translated at the selected media outlets. Participants answered via emails and/or audio calls. Answering the questions normally took between 15 and 20 minutes for each participant. Participants interviewed by email received an email copy of their answers back. Participants interviewed via audio calls used software agreed with them. The interview data was to validate the findings from the textual analysis.

## 3.2 An Integrated Analytical Framework

After the news articles were collected, four comparable corpora were compiled, using the Sketch Engine online corpus analysis software programme (www.sketchengine.eu), for both the original and translated articles. Analyses of news articles were carried out following the procedures shown in Figure 3.

| 1. Corpus analysis (macro) | 2. Narrative analysis (meso) | 3. Framing analysis (micro) |
|---|---|---|
| • Word frequency<br>• Keywords<br>• Semantic prosodies | • Narrators<br>• Retroversions<br>• Frequency<br>• Non-narrative comments | • Textual framing<br>• Intratextual framing<br>• Paratextual framing |
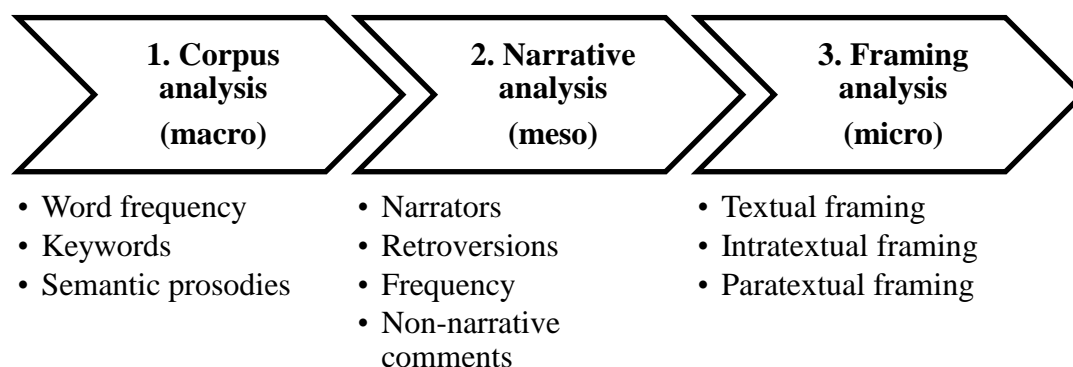
**Figure 3** Three stages of the integrated analytical framework.

Each phase involved in-depth analysis: at the macro-, meso- and micro-textual levels. The following subsections give a more detailed account of each phase.

### 3.2.1 Corpus Analysis

The micro-textual level corpus analysis investigates the four comparable corpora in relation to word frequency, keyword analysis and semantic prosodies. The following subsections describe each of these.

### 3.2.1.1 Word Frequency

A frequency list itemises words according to the number of their occurrences in a corpus (Kenny, 2001). This list can be ranked alphabetically or by the number of occurrences. The most frequently occurring lexemes in a corpus are normally function words which have little lexical meaning such as prepositions, conjunctions, determiners, pronouns and auxiliary verbs. The rest are content words with substantive meaning such as nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs (Stubbs, 1996). Frequency analysis aims to identify any deviations in thematic issues between the original and translated corpora and if salient lexical items have been reinforced or undermined during the translation process.

### 3.2.1.2 Keyword Analysis

This aspect of corpus analysis compares the keywords of the translated news corpora of each media outlet. Sketch Engine's keywords function compares the frequency lists of corpora. Words which are particularly frequent in a corpus are identified as keywords and ranked by their "keyness" score, which is calculated according to the statistical analysis of the "log-likelihood ratio" (Dunning, 1993). Keyword analysis can identify both differences and similarities between corpora (Gabrielatos, 2018). The frequency list of a small specialised corpus is usually compared with that of a large reference corpus. This study uses English Web 2013 (enTenTen13) as the reference corpus for its English corpora, Chinese Web 2011 (zheTenTen11) for its simplified Chinese corpora and Chinese Traditional Web (TaiwanWaC) for its traditional Chinese corpus. The English Web corpus[28] and the Chinese Web corpus[29] are part of the TenTen corpus family and are made up of texts collected from the Internet in 2013 and 2011 with sizes of 19 billion English words and 1.7 billion simplified Chinese characters respectively. The Chinese traditional web corpus[30] is a similar but considerably smaller collection of 260 million traditional Chinese characters. These reference corpora were chosen because they are made up of texts collected from the Internet in recent years, are reasonably large and all contain a section of news texts. After the lexical keywords of translated narratives were generated, they were then divided into semantic groups using the UCREL Semantic Analysis System (USAS). As Rayson (2008, p.519) says, the combination of keywords and semantic domains allows for both macroscopic and microscopic analyses of keywords comparatively. Grouping semantically related words provides an overview of how the event was represented in the translated narratives.

### 3.2.1.3 Semantic Prosody

This strand of corpus analysis examines the relation between verbs and adjectives on the one hand and keywords, both as subject and object, on the other. The linguistic analysis of verbs follows the transitivity framework of the SFL (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p.280). It also identifies the relevant semantic prosodies which denote positive or negative connotations for the Occupy Movement. Semantic

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[28] https://www.sketchengine.eu/ententen-english-corpus/ [Accessed 16 May 2020]
[29] https://www.sketchengine.eu/zhtenten-chinese-corpus/ [Accessed 16 May 2020]
[30] https://www.sketchengine.eu/taiwanwac-chinese-corpus/ [Accessed 16 May 2020]

prosody is "a subtle element of attitudinal, often pragmatic meaning" (Sinclair, 1998, p.20) that reveals "positive or negative associations that become attached to words based on their usage" (Olohan, 2004, p.82). However, it is difficult to identify such linguistic patterns through manual scrutiny since they are invariably embedded in a large volume of text which, as Louw argues, "can only be properly traced by computational methods" (1993, p.159). Therefore, it is better to identify semantic prosody through a quantitative evaluation of news discourse by corpus-based methods (Bednarek, 2006). The analysis of semantic prosody in this study uses Word Sketch (Kilgarriff et al., 2004), one of the features of the Sketch Engine, to identify lexical collocation patterns according to their grammatical relations. This is a more efficient, systematic and productive approach than manual inspection and intuitive speculation.

### 3.2.2  Narrative Analysis

The analysis of original and translated narratives describes how each news outlet treats the same event in different ways. It adopts Harding's (2012a) intratextual model for narrative analysis mainly through the analysis of narrative and non-narrative texts, internal and external narratives and primary, secondary and temporary narrators of translated news. Internal narrative refers to the event that occurs during the period of the primary narrative and external narrative takes place before the primary narrative. The narrators of primary news narratives are the news agency editors. The secondary narrators are the journalists and translators. Temporary narrators include government officials, experts, commentators and other media. This study identifies narratives and narrators through annotation using the NVivo software programme and explains why shifts occur between direct and indirect speech in translation due to framing strategies (which are dealt with in detail in the next phase of analysis).

Narrative analysis is a variety of discourse as well as content analysis. It draws on shared multidisciplinary roots in dealing with the relationship between language and power. Harding's model (2012a) differentiates between narrative and non-narrative texts, but both are valuable for study of ideological issues. As Bal (2017, p.23) states, they reveal "the text's overt ideology, as stated in such comments, and its more hidden or naturalized ideology, as embodied in the narrative representations". Bal also argues: "[i]t would be naive to suppose that only argumentative parts of the

text communicate ideology. This happens equally in descriptive and narrative parts of the text; but the manner in which it happens is different" (2017, p.25). In journalism, primary texts mainly consist of news reports and non-narrative texts include editorials, commentaries and opinion pieces. Harding (2012a) also differentiates between narrative texts according to two essential features of *fabula*: time and location. External narrative texts occur outside the time span of primary ones. For instance, *NYT Chinese* and *BBC Chinese* relate the Occupy Central movement to the external narratives of the 1989 Tiananmen Square protest numerous times. Internal narrative texts take place during those of primary narrative texts, in order to study during the time of the Occupy Movement between 28 September and 15 December 2014. Internal narrative texts are further divisible according to their spatial location in relation to primary narratives. Narrative texts contain internal narratives located outside Hong Kong and news stories situated in Hong Kong, which are defined as core narratives, as most of them occur in locations such as Admiralty, Mong Kok and Causeway Bay. The intratextual model of narrative analysis is particularly useful for the collection and classification of these different types of news narrative on a specific event.

Harding (2012a) mainly draws on Bal's (2009) theoretical framework of narrative analysis which encompasses three conceptual layers, *text*, *story* and *fabula*, and a series of concepts related to narratology. Bal argues that these three layers do not exist independently but that "it is possible to analyse them separately" (2009, p.7). According to Bal, a *text* is not only script, but also refers to "a text in which an agent or subject conveys to an addressee … a story in a particular medium, such as language, imagery, sound, buildings, or a combination thereof" (2009, p.5). It is the layer that audiences have direct access to and encompasses narrators, non-narrative comments and description. A *fabula* refers to "a series of logically and chronologically related events that are caused or experienced by actors" (Bal, 2009, p.5). It contains elements such as events, actors, time and location which are indispensable to the sequencing. Bal defines an event as "the transition from one state to another state" and actors as "agents that perform actions" (2009, p.6). These aspects are "presented in a certain manner" known as a *story*. A *story* differs from a *fabula* in the respect that it is not presented in the actual sequence of events but is subject to rearrangement or distortion "from a certain, specific angle" (Bal, 2009, p.75). This layer includes the analysis of sequencing, rhythm, frequency and

focalisation of narratives. This analyses the perspectives of narrators and non-narrative comments at the textual layer, sequence and frequency at the story layer, and time and location at the fabula layer, as explained below.

### 3.2.2.1 Narrators

The concept of narrator is essential to narratology. A narrator is an "agent which utters the (linguistic or other) signs which constitute the text" (Bal, 2017, p.11). It is "a fictitious spokesman" (Bal, 2009, p.9) who tells the story. A narrator is not identical with an author (Fludernik, 2009), and is not equal to "implied author" (Booth, 1983). News sources in journalism are similar to narrators at the text level and news actors are like characters on the story level in narratology. The question of who tells the story is a primary one for news. As Tuchman notes, "[a]dding more names and quotations, the reporter may remove his opinions from the story by getting others to say what he himself thinks" (1972, p.668). Bell lists the most frequently covered news actors as "political figure, official, celebrity, sportsperson, professional or other public figure, criminal or accused, human interest figure and participant" (1991, p.194). Harding (2012a) devises a binary system of news sources consisting of narrators and temporary narrators. She argues that the news agency is the narrator of primary narrative texts in news reporting. The narrator constructs the primary narrative by employing different temporary narrators such as "government officials, experts, commentators, translators, correspondents, eyewitnesses and other media" (Harding, 2012a, p.53).

This distinction between narrators does not, however, distinguish translators from the rest of the temporary narrators. A more systematic approach would identify how translators interact with other temporary narrators. This study revises the existing taxonomy of narrators and temporary narrators by making a distinction between translators and temporary narrators, and elevating translators to the same higher level as correspondents and commentators. The hierarchy of narrators is similar to Bal's concept of "levels of narration" (2017, p.36) whereby she expounds that a narrator is a speaker on that level but is often quoted by a higher-level narrator.
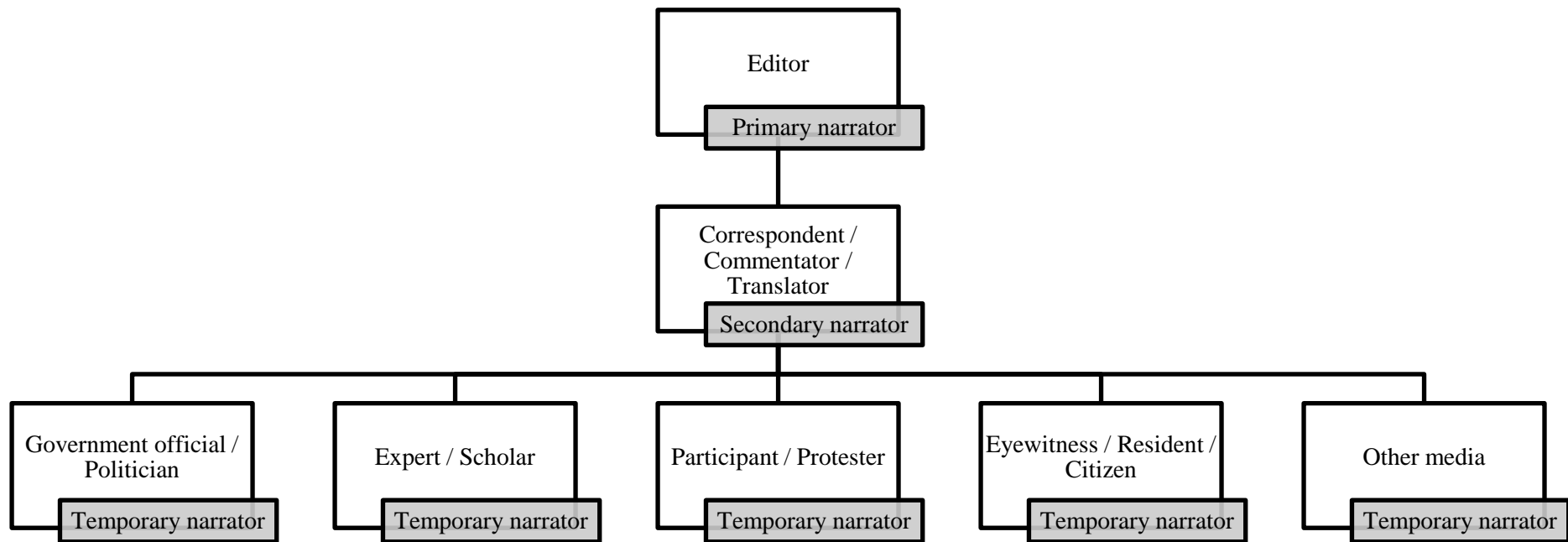
**Figure 4**  A revised typology of narrators in news narratives.

Figure 4 presents a revised taxonomy of narrators in news narratives. A news agency is the primary narrator of primary narrative texts. It normally employs several secondary narrators such as correspondents, commentators and translators for their construction of news narratives. Some of these news items may be translated. Some agencies have invented terms such as "international journalist" (Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009, p.1) and "journalator" (van Doorslaer, 2012, p.1046) to describe correspondents and commentators who also have translation and/or transediting responsibilities. The distinction between a translator and a correspondent thus becomes blurred. However, the translator has the ability to maintain or modify the existing temporary narrators in their translated news narratives. Secondary narrators subsequently incorporate narratives from diverse temporary narrators in their news reports, commentaries and translations.

The primary narrators in this study are the news agencies: *RN*, *EJ Insight*, the *BBC* and the *NYT*. The secondary narrators are the correspondents, commentators and translators. The temporary narrators include officials, experts, participants, eyewitnesses and the other media. Officials include politicians of all kinds. Experts are the people the correspondents and commentators refer to for input. For instance, legal experts and scholars were consulted throughout the protests for their professional opinions. The participants are the protesters. Eyewitnesses are people who observed but did not participate in the demonstrations. There may be overlaps between secondary and temporary narrators or between different temporary narrators. For example, a commentator may be an expert and a politician also. Benny Tai, one of the co-founders of the Occupy Central movement, also writes commentaries for *EJ Insight* and is a legal scholar at the University of Hong Kong. All temporary narrators contribute to the (re)configuration of primary narratives.

The analysis of narrators involves both quantitative and qualitative methods. It first counts the mentions of different types of narrators in the original and translated narratives using QSR's 2015 version of NVivo 11 Plus for Windows software. NVivo is mainly qualitative data analysis software, but it also features a few quantitative data analysis tools. This strand of narrative analysis employs the coding function of NVivo in the triage and calculation of narrators. Narrators are firstly identified by an initial reading of the collected news articles by the author, both from direct or indirect quotations, and ascribed to a particular type of narrator known as a

"node" in a process known as "coding" (Saldaña, 2015). This provides statistical information about these nodes. The next stage of analysis involves detailed, qualitative content analysis to identify how these narrators are used in their specific contexts.

### 3.2.2.2 External Retroversions

Another significant aspect of narrative analysis focuses on the sequential ordering of an event (Chatman, 1980; Genette, 1983). The sequence of an event embedded in a news story may not be the same as the actual chronological order of the real event (Ungerer, 2000). Studies use the term "anachrony" to refer to the difference between the sequence of events in the story and the order in which the story is presented (Bal, 2017, p.70; Genette, 1983, p.35). Anachronies encompass retroversion and anticipation according to the "direction" in chronological time, with an event that happens in the past defined as "retroversion" (Bal, 2009, p.82). Retroversion can be further divided into internal, external and mixed retroversion, according to the "distance" of an event in relation to its primary narrative (Bal, 2017, p.76). An internal retroversion is an event that occurs during the period of the primary narrative; an external retroversion completely takes place before the span of primary narrative; and a mixed retroversion refers to an event that starts before the primary narrative and finishes within it (Bal, 2017, pp.76–77). Harding (2012a) argues that, when the gap between internal retroversions is small, it means that the narrator considers the event to be significant. On the other hand, if the interval between internal retroversions is large, it implies that the narrator does not assume the event to be of great importance. As well as internal retroversions, media outlets embed external retroversions within their translated news stories. External retroversions serve as "indications about the antecedents, the past of the actors concerned, insofar as that past can be relevant for the interpretation of events" (Bal, 2017, p.78). They remind the reader to link current events with previous ones.

### 3.2.2.3 Frequency of Internal Narratives

Another key aspect is frequency. The term "frequency" was introduced and used interchangeably with "repetition" by Genette (1983, p.113). It has been defined as "the relation between the number of times an event appears in the story and the number of times it is narrated (mentioned) in the text" (Rimmon-Kenan, 2002, p.59).

As a feature under "frequency" along with "iteration" and "heterochrony", Bal refers to repetition "when an event occurs only once but is presented a number of times" and argues that "[w]hether such a frequency creates a strongly repetitive effect or not depends on the nature of the event and the amount of attention paid to it" (Bal, 2017, p.101). However, it is useful to differentiate between repetition of narratives in different news articles and repetition within a particular one. This strand of analysis examines when the translated narratives and non-narrative commentaries are published in the selected media and how often are they published on the same date. After identifying the publication dates, closer content analysis is conducted to determine the main theme of these texts.

### 3.2.2.4  Non-Narrative Commentaries

Bal (2017, p.23) points out that news values are present not only in narrative but also non-narrative texts. Journalistic non-narrative texts include editorials, commentaries, features and analyses in primary narrative texts. Non-narrative texts such as statements, press releases, bulletins, open letters, official documents and reports are also embedded in narrative texts. Issuing bodies are treated as the narrators of these non-narrative texts if the name of the spokesperson is not specified. Commentators are their secondary narrators, even though they may employ other temporary narrators in their commentaries. The analysis of non-narrative comments is carried out in the same way as that for retroversions and frequency of narrative texts.

### 3.2.3  Framing Analysis

The second phase of the analytical framework encompasses framing analysis, which draws from Baker's (2006) model of narrative theory for framing analysis. Baker's model of narrative theory investigates various framing strategies such as "temporary and spatial framing", "selective appropriation of textual material", "framing by labelling", and "repositioning of participants" (Baker, 2006, pp.112–139). As already explained, this study classifies various framing strategies according to three levels, namely textual, intratextual and paratextual framing. This phase highlights the linguistic shifts between the original news articles and their translated versions. These shifts are produced due to either ideological factors related to the individual translator or the media outlet. This study explores various framing strategies that the

translator employs to accentuate, undermine or modify the narrative in a source text and frame news in translation, and identifies where linguistic and/or ideological shifts occur. Framing strategies are coded in NVivo, which generates statistics about them. The shifts are then annotated and sorted according to the various framing strategies of narrative theory. Statistics on framing strategies give an overview of frequency and identify patterns in the translated narratives.

There is no agreed theoretical framework of framing analysis in communication and media studies due to its vagueness as a research paradigm. The most relevant to this research is that of Pan and Kosicki which identifies four structural dimensions of framing devices in news discourse: syntactical, script, thematic and rhetorical (1993, p.63). A syntactical structure refers to "the stable patterns of the arrangement of words or phrases into sentences" (p.59), which serves as a macro linguistic basis for the understanding of other dimensions. A script structure is "an established and stable sequence of activities and components of an event" (p.60). Pan and Kosicki explain that "lexical choices of words or labels" are designated to syntactic or script structures (p.62). A thematic structure is "a multilayer hierarchy with a theme being the central core connecting various subthemes as the major nodes" (p.61). A rhetorical structure consists of "the stylistic choices made by journalists in relation to their intended effects" (p.61). They include metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, depictions and visual images (Gamson and Lasch, 1983). Pan and Kosicki (1993) outline various dimensions of framing analysis in news discourse. However, their system would have been more useful if they had categorised these dimensions. A possible classification would be framing through linguistic features, including lexical, syntactic and thematic structures, and paratextual elements, such as visual images, news headlines, leads and layout in journalistic settings.
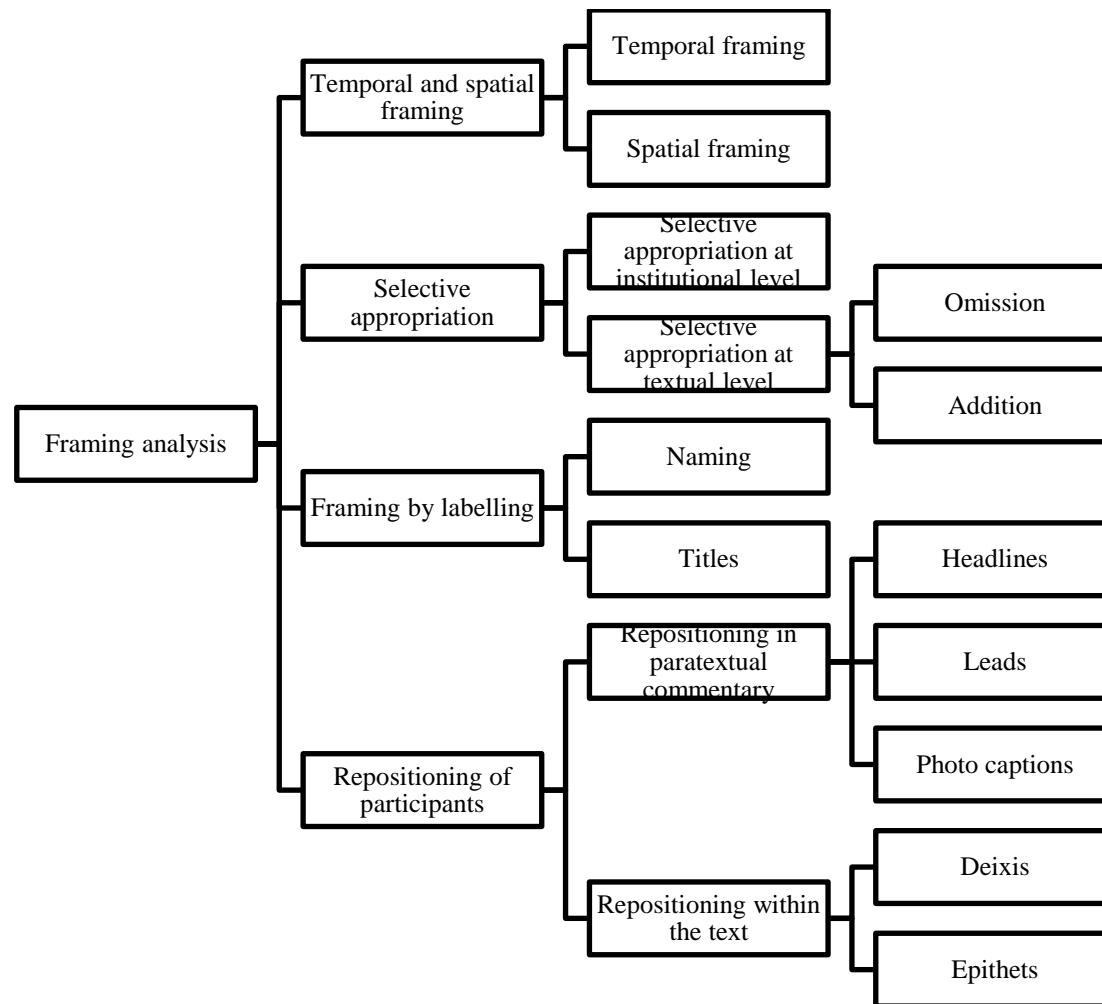
**Figure 5** Analytical framework of framing analysis in news translation (adapted from Baker, 2006, pp.112–139).

Baker's (2006) model of socio-narrative theory explores how translators and interpreters accentuate, undermine or modify narratives in an ST and (re)frame their narratives in translation. Baker argues that framing processes can be realised through various means of "linguistic devices such as tense shifts, deixis, code switching, use of euphemisms" and "paralinguistic devices such as intonation and typography to visual resources such as colour and image" (2006, p.111). Baker (2006) lists four key strategies among others: "temporal and spatial framing" (p.112), "selective appropriation of textual material" (p.114), "framing by labelling" (p.122) and "repositioning of participants" (p.132). These strategies are employed by translators and interpreters. Figure 5 presents a framework for such analysis based on Baker (2006, pp.112–139).

Baker (2006) draws from Goffman's notions of "ambiguity" of frames (Goffman, 1986, p.302) and "frame space" (Goffman, 1981, p.230) to describe the nature of frames. According to Baker (2006, p.107), frame ambiguity means "[t]he same set of events can be framed in different ways to promote competing narratives", a strategy which the translator uses to confuse the reader and often relates to the textual characteristics of naming or labelling of an event (e.g. Valdeón, 2008; Qin and Zhang, 2018; Wu, 2018). Baker (2006, p.109) argues that framing is "subject to various types of constraint" such as time and space, two essential features of narrativity. In order to overcome these limitations, the translator needs to resort to the strategy of temporal and spatial framing, which refers to choosing a text and embedding it in a new context which may be very different from its original one in terms of time and space. The new context strengthens the narrative in the text and guides the reader to link it to real life (Baker, 2006, p.112). However, this strategy is seldom used in the context of news translation, as the news translator is often constrained by the temporality and spatiality of news stories. News translation often occurs immediately or shortly after the news breaks out, and it is difficult to move these stories into another spatial setting.

| Textual framing | Intratextual framing | Paratextual framing |
|---|---|---|
| Omission | Naming | Headline |
| Addition | | Lead |
| Substitution | Deixis | Caption |
| Reorganisation | Epithet | Image |
| | | Layout |
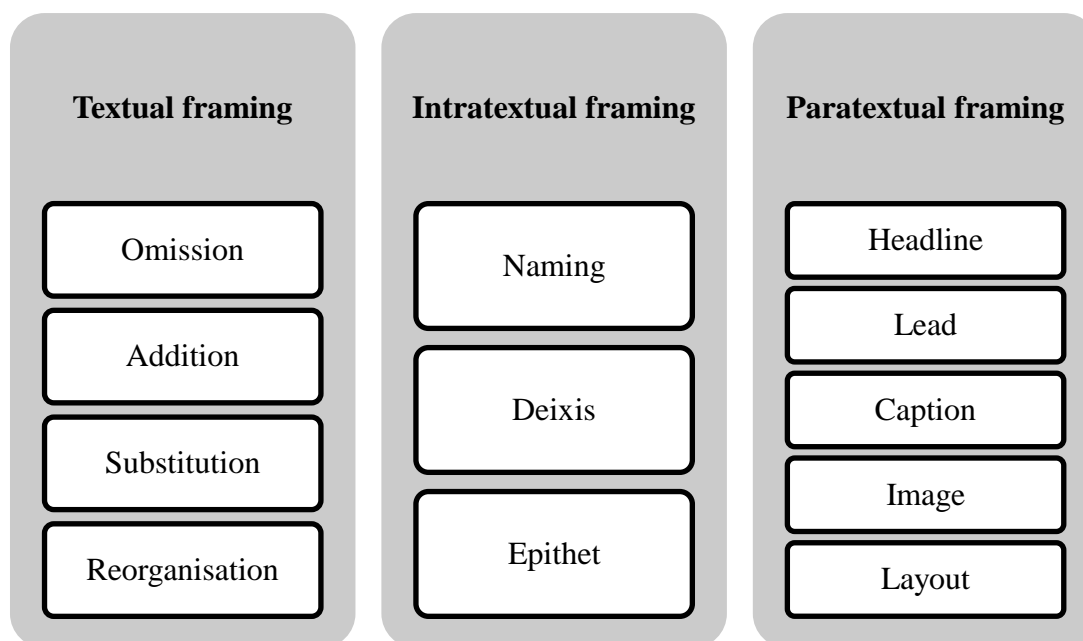
**Figure 6** A revised typology of framing strategies and devices in news translation.

Baker's (2006) model of framing analysis involves framing strategies from various aspects. However, the classification is blurred. A more systematic model would classify these framing devices at different levels. Figure 6 provides a revised typology of framing analysis, including some of the primary framing devices, both verbal and visual, in news translation, on three levels. Selective appropriation such as omission, addition and substitution of textual material can occur at both intratextual and paratextual levels. Examples at the intratextual level include labelling through naming, and repositioning of participants through deixis and epithets. Other strategies such as selective appropriation of news sources and repositioning are achieved at the paratextual level by the translator or editor. When comparing STs and TTs, the salient differences are omission, addition or substitution. The next step is to determine whether substitution occurs at the intratextual or paratextual level. This binary system offers a more systematic and dynamic approach to textual analysis of news narratives.

### 3.2.3.1 Textual Framing

As an essential feature of narrativity, selective appropriation can occur at both institution and textual level. Framing through selection and salience has been addressed by various scholars (e.g. Entman, 1993; Tankard, 2001; Baker, 2006). News institutions are more likely to select news from sources which have a similar

political stance. Gamson states that "frame analysis of news content calls out attention to omissions as well as inclusions" (1989, p.158). Selective appropriation can also take place at textual level, mainly by omission and addition which strengthens, undermines or modifies the ST narrative some aspects at a higher level (Baker, 2006, p.114). However, Baker (2006) fails to address the different types of omissions in news translation. The phenomenon of omission is quite common in journalistic translation, whereas addition is less common. At least two types of omission are found in the practice of adaptation and transediting: external and internal omissions. External omission means that a large part of the information is left out from the original narratives beyond the sentence level. Internal omission occurs within the sentence that is selected for translation, for example by omitting words or phrases. Selective and/or partial translation, which is prevalent in journalistic translation, is also a form of external omission. Internal omission is more valuable for study, however, because it identifies the translator, editor or news outlet's attitude.

This study mainly concerns itself with this form of omission when comparing STs and TTs. However, this is not to say that external omission is irrelevant. Its significance is, indeed, highlighted in Munday's (2002) study. Nevertheless, not all omissions are due to the different ideologies of author and translator; some are due to the practical issues of column inches, for example. Baker's model of selective appropriation neglects a key category of textual shift. Apart from addition and omission, various other textual transformations can occur such as substitution and reorganisation of news content (Hursti, 2001; Bani, 2006; Valdeón, 2008; Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009).

Omission and addition of textual materials are key strategies used in news translation, as identified by studies such as Bielsa and Bassnett (2009) and Matsushita (2015). One of the purposes of omission, as Dimitriu (2004, p.171) suggests, is to "support the ideology of a political system", as the translator may delete text elements which run counter to the prevailing ideology and/or add to the translation to make it adhere to it. Such omission and addition can range from words to sentences, event paragraphs. Catering to the ideology of the outlet is particularly prominent in news translation.

### 3.2.3.2 Intratextual Framing

The second dimension of framing analysis involves elements within texts. Entman says that "[t]he discursive domain also inhered in the choice of labels for the incident" (1991, p.11). The choice of labels for an incident plays an important role in the construction of its socio-political reality (Entman, 1991). Framing by labelling is the use of a word or phrase to identify "a person, place, group, event or any other key elements in a narrative" (Baker, 2006, p.122). It is often realised through "rival systems of naming" (p.123) and changes in news headlines. For example, Baker (2006) touches on the naming of the 1997 events in Hong Kong as "the handover of sovereignty" in English and "the return to the motherland" in Chinese. The latter frame was also pointed to by scholars who argue that such news narratives employ a frame of "family-nation" (Pan et al., 1999; 2001), or the metaphor of "coming home to the big family" (Lee, 2005, p.146), whereby the Chinese news media make associations with traditional Chinese values. Baker (2006) argues that the choice of labelling the event as "the handover of sovereignty" frames the narrative and thus reframes the entire narrative.

The relationship between participants and their readers/listeners can also be changed through linguistic devices such as time, space, deixis, dialect, register, epithets to identify the self and others (Baker, 2006, p.132). Framing through epithets is perhaps the most frequently used intratextual device in news translation because evaluative words reveal the stance of news outlets. Thus, they are most likely to be altered to reflect the differential attitudes of news outlets.

### 3.2.3.3 Paratextual Framing

According to Genette (1997, p.1), paratexts are "verbal or other productions", such as a preface and illustrations of a literary work. Genette's definition is very brief and mainly deployed in relation to literary works. Batchelor proposes a new definition that defines a paratext as "a consciously crafted threshold for a text which has the potential to influence the way(s) in which the text is received" (2018, p.142). Batchelor applies this literary and non-literary discourse that can include media products.

Paratextual devices in print and online newspapers include headlines, leads, images and layout and, though important features in journalism, have been under-researched

(Frandsen, 1992; Hågvar, 2012). Pan and Kosicki argue that a headline is "the most powerful framing device of the syntactical structure" and a lead is "the next most important device to use" (1993, p.59). Recent research has also stressed the significance of visual images as framing devices in journalistic texts (Gamson and Lasch, 1983; Gamson, 1989; Gamson and Modigliani, 1989; Entman, 1991; Tankard, 2001). As Gamson (1989) and Gamson and Modigliani (1989) point out, visual images contribute to the meaning of storylines and framing contexts. Like verbal texts which construct "news values" (Bednarek and Caple, 2012a; 2012b; 2014), visual images are also "a key participant in the news storytelling process" (Caple, 2013, p.3). Kress and van Leeuwen suggest that newspaper layout involves "different degrees of salience and framing[31] and thereby endow them with particular valuations" (1998, p.216). They state that this salience can be manifested in a number of "visual cues" such as size, focus, colour, perspective and cultural factors (ibid., p.200).

Most of the previous research on paratexts in Translation Studies (e.g. Pellatt, 2013; Batchelor, 2018) focus on literary texts with regard to their role in meaning construction. Baker (2006) argues that participants can be repositioned in paratextual commentary and within narrative texts. The news translator uses paratextual devices, such as headlines, bylines, leads and images to reposition themselves, the readers and other participants. Repositioning of paratextual elements in translated news narratives is mainly achieved through changes of headlines (Zhang, 2013; Wu and Zhang, 2015), bylines (Hong, 2019), leads, layout and photo captions. The analysis of paratextual framing incorporates headlines, leads, photos, captions, layout and section names.

This section has described the analytical framework of corpus-based CNA used in this research. The integrated analytical framework reveals the way in which the translator coordinates between the textual level and the ideological level and analyses the socio-cultural factors that influence translation practice and the

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[31] Salience, framing and information value are regarded as three interrelated systems of composition (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p.177). Framing is used in the sense of not only as concrete borderlines or space that separate different elements (e.g. Kress and van Leeuwen, 1998; Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006; Knox, 2007) but also the abstract conceptualization of construing meanings as suggested by scholars (cf. Baker, 2006).

mechanisms that shape the narrative patterns. The focus of the research is on both the patterns of textual features that shift in translation and on the framing devices that govern the interpretation process. The next section considers the data and methodology used in this research.

## 3.3 Selection and Collection of Data

The selection of media outlets was a two-stage procedure, firstly defining the specific countries or regions from which the media outlets are selected, and then justifying those selections. The selection criteria are set out below before we move on to describing in greater detail the methods used to collect translated articles from these media outlets and their original versions from the source media.

### 3.3.1 Selection of Media Outlets

The first task in the selection of the media outlets is to identify the country and region in which the media outlet is located. Appendix D is a country timeline visualised from the Global Knowledge Graph (GKG) of the GDELT project. It shows the number of news articles globally that mention Hong Kong between 28 September and 16 December. The timeline illustrates that the countries and regions which cover Hong Kong most during this period are Hong Kong, the Chinese Mainland, the UK and the US.

These are the countries and regions for this study. Both the Chinese mainland and Hong Kong provide perspectives from both sides of the protests. The UK and the US were selected as, given their global influence in the media, most studies of news translation have concerned these two countries. The UK, as the former colonial power in Hong Kong, still has a substantial influence there and makes a key contribution to relations between the Chinese mainland and Hong Kong. The US, the world's largest economic and political power, continues to treat Hong Kong separately from the mainland and has retained its significant interests in and connections with Hong Kong since the handover. Issues related to the UK and the US arose in the course of the Occupy Movement. For example, the Chinese government warned external forces to stop intervening as the Hong Kong issue was an internal Chinese matter. This was a tacit response to UK and US government statements urging China to obey the Basic Law and deal with the event peacefully.

The Occupy Movement is also widely depicted in mainland Chinese media as another "colour revolution" initiated and supported by the US.

**Table 1**  Media outlets selected in this research.

| Country/region | ST | TT | Type | Language direction |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chinese Mainland | various | *RN* | Print newspaper | English > Chinese |
| Hong Kong | *HKEJ* | *EJ Insight* | News website | Chinese > English |
| UK | various | *BBC Chinese* | News website | English > Chinese |
| US | *NYT* | *NYT Chinese* | News website | English > Chinese |

Information about the selected media outlets is provided in Table 1. They were chosen for the study because they feature English and Chinese translations; feature a variety of journalistic genres such as news reports, editorials and commentaries; are considered credible and/or claim to draw on relatively reliable sources of information and adopt stances across the political spectrum. We now turn to more detailed description of each media outlet selected.

### 3.3.1.1 *Reference News*

The media on the Chinese mainland are strictly regulated under the supervision of the CCP's publicity (Lee, 2000; 2003; Shirk, 2011). There are a few Chinese news media, most state-owned, which provide news in English and/or other foreign languages, such as *PD Online*, *Global Times*, *China Daily* and Xinhuanet. However, most of the news content they produce does not specify if it is translated from another language, which makes identification any STs almost impossible.

*RN* is selected as the representative media outlet from the Chinese mainland because of its significance and influence. The name of the newspaper "参考消息" (Cankao Xiaoxi) is translated as "*Reference News*". It was translated as "*Reference Information*" (Schwarz, 1966; Chu, 1979) by early scholars as closer to the literal meaning. According to its website, *RN* was first published in 1931. It began as "an internal publication" to inform party cadres and officials of news about the outside world (Atwood and Lin, 1982, p.240). It was later circulated to the general public in the wake of people's "demand for international news" (Shirk, 2011, p.227). Run by the state-owned XNA, *RN* claims on its website to have the largest circulation in

China, with over three million copies sold daily. It is the seventh most circulated newspaper globally according to the World Press Trends survey. The newspaper contains a 16-page weekday edition and an eight-page weekend edition containing both domestic and international news and has its own website: www.cankaoxiaoxi.com. The articles on its website are not identical to those in the newspaper.

The newspaper selects news articles from mainstream global media and translates them into Chinese in accordance with its editorial guidelines (Pan, 2014a; Xia and Wang, 2015). It is the only newspaper in the country that is allowed by the central government to publish Chinese translations of news reports from overseas media, according to the description of it on the XNA website.[32] The translation of the newspaper is described as follows:

> The translation of *RN* pays attention to "originality and authenticity". The newspaper strives to cover international news in an all-round, multi-perspective and three-dimensional manner, highlighting the features of "reference" and providing the Chinese people with an "outside" vision of the world and China (my translation).

It could be inferred from this that the readership of *RN* mainly resides on the Chinese mainland. According to its editorial guidelines, *RN* produces relatively "faithful translation" of original news articles. The extent to which *RN* reproduces faithful translations of original sources will be investigated in this study.

Studies devoted to the analysis of translation in *RN* (e.g. Schwarz, 1966; Rudolph, 1984) identify the textual differences between the original reports and the translated ones, and point out potential reasons related to factors such as ideology, culture and society for them. Rudolph (1984) identifies the ideological manipulation in *RN* through a detailed content analysis of 200 issues between 1981 and 1982. His study reveals that the newspaper portrayed a negative image of Hong Kong following a massive influx of illegal immigrants from the mainland in 1979. The selection and abridgement of news items from the foreign media are manipulated to fit in with government propaganda of that period.

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[32] http://203.192.6.89/xhs/2006-03/28/content_6593395.htm [Accessed 16 May 2020]

Ideological manipulation in the translations of *RN* is also observed in more recent studies (e.g. Pan, 2012; 2014b; 2015; Xia and Wang, 2015; Xia, 2016; 2019). These are mainly conducted from a CDA perspective and examine the translated news discourse at textual, discursive and socio-cultural levels. Ideological issues in the translation of *RN* receives substantial attention of research in Chinese in critical linguistics and systemic functional linguistics. A series of studies (e.g. Xu, 2014; 2015a; 2015b; Huang, 2008) examine the relationship between translation shifts and transformations of ideologies. These studies, reviewed in Chapter 2, outline the critical role played by ideology in the translation of *RN*. They suggest that the translation of the newspaper is heavily manipulated through various linguistic shifts and framing strategies, both in the process of translation and production. However, these studies seem to overlook various narrative techniques employed by translators to (re)frame news narratives according to the political stance of the newspaper. Another problem is that the small sample of data used allow for too much subjectivity of the manual analysis.

### 3.3.1.2 *EJ Insight*

The Chinese-language newspapers in Hong Kong have been traditionally distinct for supporting a particular political ideology. For instance, pro-Beijing newspapers typically include the *Hong Kong Commercial Daily*, *Ta Kung Pao*, *Wen Wei Po* which were controlled or sponsored by the government. *Sing Pao Daily*, *Oriental Daily* and the *Sing Tao Daily* are also regarded as leftist newspapers which take a pro-Beijing stance. On the contrary, the populist *Apple Daily* is one of the few pro-democracy newspapers which tend to favour democratic groups, whereas *MP* and the *HKEJ* are generally regarded as relatively neutral or liberal press. The public evaluation on media credibility of these print press is ranked according to several surveys conducted by the Centre for Communication and Public Opinion Survey (2016b) of the Chinese University of Hong Kong. In these surveys, participants are asked to rate the credibility of the media institutes from 1 to 10. The higher the score, the more credible the participants regard the institute is. The average scores of the most prominent press institutes from 1997 to 2016 are recorded in Table 2. The number in the brackets indicates the ranking of individual press institute among all the press media in Hong Kong. Overall, the *SCMP* is considered the most credible

English-language newspaper, while *MP* and the *HKEJ* are regarded as the most reliable Chinese-language newspapers in Hong Kong.

**Table 2** Public evaluation on the credibility of the press institutes in Hong Kong from 1997 to 2016.

| Year of Survey | 1997 | 2001 | 2006 | 2009 | 2010 | 2013 | 2016 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Press Institute | Average score (rank) | | | | | | |
| *SCMP* | 7.18(1) | 7.24(3) | 7.36(1) | 7.57(1) | 6.85(1) | 6.98(1) | 6.54(2) |
| *MP* | 7.15(2) | 7.54(1) | 7.24(2) | 7.35(2) | 6.77(2) | 6.74(3) | 6.38(4) |
| *HKEJ* | 6.60(6) | 7.34(2) | 7.09(3) | 7.04(6) | 6.57(4) | 6.46(5) | 6.06(5) |
| *HD* | Not yet published | Not yet published | 5.99(11) | 6.48(8) | 5.90(7) | 5.87(7) | 5.76(8) |

Compared with a majority of the Chinese-language news media, the English-language media have become a minority in Hong Kong, and there are even fewer bilingual news media. The primary sources of international news in Hong Kong newspapers are from the Western news agencies or the Internet (Cheng, 2004). For example, the Chinese-language edition of the *SCMP* was discontinued in September 2016 after an acquisition by Alibaba Group, a leading e-commerce company from the Chinese mainland. For the reason that both English and Chinese are the official languages in Hong Kong, most government notices are required to provide bilingual versions. However, whether these news articles are produced bilingually or translated from one language to another remains a question when it comes to the selection of media outlets in Hong Kong. As for translated editorials, *MP* publishes English translations of its editorials on its website[33] from Monday to Friday. For commentaries, Michael Chugani, a Hong Kong-born Indian-American journalist, runs his bilingual column on the website of *HD*.[34]

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[33] https://life.mingpao.com/eng/archive?tag=editorial&page=1 [Accessed 16 May 2020]

[34] http://hd.stheadline.com/news/columns/126/ [Accessed 16 May 2020]

*EJ Insight* is an English-language news website launched in February 2011 by the *HKEJ*, a prestigious commercial Chinese-language broadsheet newspaper based in Hong Kong that has been selected as representative of its ilk. *EJ Insight* covers a wide variety of topics in business, finance and politics and also features commentary. Well-known columnists include the founder of the newspaper Lam Hang-chi and one of the initiators of Occupy Central, Benny Tai. Its online content is a mixture of original English reports, as well as translations from its Chinese parent newspaper. The original publication date and name of the translator are identified at the end of the translated articles. Some articles contain links to the articles in Chinese. All of the English articles on *EJ Insight* are free to access, but a subscription is needed to view the original Chinese articles on the *HKEJ* website.

The reason for choosing *EJ Insight* as the selected media outlet in Hong Kong, rather than *MP* or *HD*, is that it encompasses a wider variety of journalistic genres including news stories, editorials and commentaries. Unlike *MP* editorials and Michael Chugani's column in *HD* which adopt an overall strategy of literal translation, *EJ Insight* adopts one of free translation, meaning that more shifts are likely to occur in translation. Moreover, unlike *HD* which is a tabloid newspaper, the *HKEJ* is regarded by some as a reliable source of information and renowned for "its independence, in-depth analysis and bold criticism" (Fung, 2007, p.161). Since the handover in 1997, the *HKEJ* has "remained independent and relatively free of self-censorship" (Lai, 2007, p.160), allowing the elite-oriented newspaper more freedom to evaluate both local and central governments. As Lam notes, the *HKEJ* is "the only paper in Hong Kong that regularly showcases the writings of democracy activists" and "carries thorough reporting on behind-the-scenes manoeuvres on the Beijing-Hong Kong front" (2003, pp.185–186). However, recent years have witnessed increasing constraints on the freedom of the press in Hong Kong. The outspoken tradition of the newspaper was put in doubt after the abrupt resignation of the then editor-in-chief Chan King-cheung during the 2014 protests and the dropping of Joseph Lian Yizheng's column in 2016.[35] Nevertheless, the *HKEJ* is more likely to

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[35] Joseph Lian Yizheng was replaced by Alice Kwok Yim-ming as the chief editor of the *HKEJ* in 2013 but continued to write commentaries for the newspaper until 2016, when his column was suspended probably due to his bold criticism

give voice to both ends of the political spectrum and present a centrist view of China (Zhang and Mihelj, 2012). Thus, it plays an intermediary role between the Chinese mainland and Hong Kong. However, whether translation plays a role in this mediation process has hitherto been left unaddressed. The translation on *EJ Insight* seems to have been largely overlooked by scholars of media, communication and translation studies.

### 3.3.1.3 *BBC Chinese*

A few British media outlets offer Chinese translations of their news stories. The *FT* maintains a Chinese website (www.ftchinese.com). A group of Chinese volunteer translators posted translated articles from *The Economist* to the ecocn.org online forum. Yeeyan (g.yeeyan.org), the largest online collaborative translation community in China, translates news articles from mainstream Western media. This study has selected *BBC Chinese* as the media outlet from the UK because of its significance and perceived reliability. BBC News, both offline and online, remains the top and most trusted news brand in the UK according to a University of Oxford Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism survey (Newman et al., 2019).

*BBC Chinese* (www.bbc.com/zhongwen/simp) is a website run by the BBC Chinese Service as part of the multilingual BBC World Service platform. The website mainly provides international news and news about the Greater China Region[36] in text, audio and video formats. The content is an amalgam of original reporting in Chinese and news articles translated from BBC News and the other British media such as Reuters, the *FT*, *The Guardian* and *The Economist*. Its copyright statement says that:

> our professional journalists are constantly editing and producing textual and audio-visual material from various sources 24 hours a day, post on the website, and are responsible for the fairness and accuracy of all the content on the website (my translation and emphases).[37]

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of the government and expressed views on the pro-independence movement. He subsequently became a columnist for the *NYT* in the same year.

[36] Greater China is used to describe the collectivity of countries and regions where a majority of its residents are of Chinese ethnicity, including the Chinese mainland, Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan, Malaysia and Singapore.

[37] https://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/simp/institutional-38652839 [Accessed 16 May 2020]

The job responsibility of translation on *BBC Chinese* is diminished and incorporated into other responsibilities of its journalists such as editing and production of multimedia news contents. As Ji says, *BBC Chinese* is "one of the few major western news outlets that have a wide presence" in China (2017, p.129). However, its website is currently blocked on the Chinese mainland.

Although the BBC is committed to providing fair, impartial and accurate news to its audience according to its editorial guidelines,[38] some inconsistencies and deviations are observable in its reporting news about China. Unbalanced and biased BBC reportage of topics related to China has been identified in several studies in Chinese (e.g. Han and Liang, 2016; Chen, 2016). Han and Liang (2016) report that BBC News highlighted the problems and impact of Sino-British economic cooperation and foregrounded the frames of human rights and Tibet in its coverage of the Chinese President Xi Jinping's visit to the UK in 2015. Using the keyword tools of corpus linguistics, Chen (2016) shows that the BBC's attitude towards China changes from negative to "factual and balanced" in its coverage of the Olympic Games between 2008 and 2016. Although these studies concentrate on monolingual BBC News reports, they evince a keen understanding of the original news articles. Despite the diversity in coverage of events between the BBC and other media outlets, the studies fail to take the translation practices at the BBC World Service into consideration.

A few studies (e.g. Chan, 2000; Lu et al., 2015), mainly conducted by journalism scholars, have compared the monolingual English reporting from BBC News with other media outlets on the topics related to Hong Kong. Chan observes that the media representations of Hong Kong in international media like the BBC are often "distorted and narrowly framed" (2000, p.328). She shows how the international media "employ narrowly-framed master narratives for their Hong Kong reports" (Chan, 2000, p.328) through the examples of the 1997 handover events and the press-freedom issue. She further expounds on how the BBC World Service "projected China as a threat to Hong Kong" (Chan, 2000, p.330). With specific reference to the 2014 Hong Kong protests, Lu et al. (2015) argue that the BBC's coverage of the Occupy Central movement is replete with political bias and

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[38] https://www.bbc.com/editorialguidelines/guidelines [Accessed 16 May 2020]

irresponsibility. The findings of these studies contradict what the BBC claims to do in providing factual and accurate news content.

The translation practice of BBC News has attracted the attention of both journalism and translation studies scholars (e.g. Valdeón, 2005; 2008; 2019; Al-Hejin, 2012). A special issue of the journal *Journalism* 12(2) (2011) was devoted to the translation practices of the BBC World Service. This special issue distinguishes translation, as language-to-language transformations in a narrow linguistic sense, from transediting, which refers to the processes of both translation and editing. The studies in this special issue demonstrate that substantial transformations occurred between the BBC's translation and its various foreign language services. However, these studies mainly attribute the shifts in news translation to linguistic, political and cultural differences within the BBC.

Like *EJ Insight*, the translation practices of *BBC Chinese* have rarely been examined. Focusing on the Chinese news on *BBC Chinese*, Xue et al. (2013) find substantial differences between *BBC Chinese* and *PD Online* on coverage of the Ningbo paraxylene protest in terms of the number of reports at different stages of the protest, the setting of thematic issues and the selection of sources of information. This creates two "voices" on the same event. However, the study focuses on the Chinese news reports which have nothing to do with translation. Ji (2017) is one of the few and most systematic studies so far that explores the translation practices of *BBC Chinese*. She focuses on translated environmental news on *BBC Chinese* and shows it differs from the original *BBC News* reports in terms of thematic issues and evaluative language. Her study provides valuable insights into some of the critical variables for frame analysis and corpus analysis of translation done by *BBC Chinese*.

### 3.3.1.4 *NYT Chinese*

Many US news outlets have an extensive presence in China, given their strong global influence and the country's hegemonic position in the world's economy. *The WSJ* maintains a Chinese website (cn.wsj.com). The newspaper mainly focuses on economic news and its lexical choice is revealed to have "an outspokenly negative perception" of certain countries like China and Russia (Spiessens and Van Poucke, 2016, p.323). The articles on the website only state the author's name and

publication date, whereas no information is provided about whether it is a translation and, if so, its source. VOA also maintains a Chinese website (www.voachinese.com), but whether its online content involves translation is also unclear.

This study has selected *NYT Chinese* (cn.NYTimes.com) as its media outlet from the US. It was launched in 2012 as the first foreign language online edition of one of the most important broadsheets in the US. *NYT Chinese* provides the following introduction on its website:

> The content is specially tailored for Chinese readers, including both Chinese translations of English-language news articles and original articles written by local Chinese authors and columnists for the Chinese website (my translation).[39]

Although *NYT Chinese* was blocked on the Chinese mainland soon after its appearance due to its publication of sensitive news about the then Chinese leaders, many mainland readers still access the website through a VPN service or subscribe to its newsletter and/or news apps. Most of the articles on the website are translated by in-house translators based in Beijing. *NYT Chinese* allows its readers to switch between Chinese, English and bilingual versions and articles are viewable in both English, Chinese and parallel versions to facilitate readers' English language learning.[40]

Wilkins and Siegenthaler (1997) note that most media coverage of Hong Kong in the US media concentrates on political tensions between the British and the PRC governments. The *NYT* portrays a typically negative US picture of China through seemingly balanced voices (Liu, 2012). It articulates a notion of human rights as a "universal truth" in its news discourse on China (Yin, 2007, p.75). The *NYT* depicted peaceful protesters in its coverage of the 2014 Hong Kong protests as representing the majority of Hong Kong people in their pursuit of democracy (Li

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[39] https://cn.nytimes.com/help/about-us/ [Accessed 16 May 2020]

[40] Wong, V.W. 2019. HK turmoil opens new business opportunities for Western media. *EJ Insight*. [Online]. 18 July. [Accessed 16 May 2020]. Available from: http://www.ejinsight.com/20190718-hk-turmoil-opens-new-business-opportunities-for-western-media/?fbclid=IwAR0OnuePBLf5EOrjVdgnEt8tKDiJc21MeDW0XgJ2az7rxPl xraF8YXWo27M

and Ye, 2016). This description markedly contrasts with that of the Chinese mainland media due to the fundamental dichotomy between these two governments which echoes the frame of "the 'self' versus 'other'" in the US portrayal of "China's rise" as a threat (Song et al., 2019, p.17).

Translation of news articles from the *NYT* has attracted considerable attention from scholars of news translation given its pivotal role in the mainstream media (e.g. Chen, 2008; 2009; 2011b; Conway and Vaskivska, 2010; Lu and Chen, 2011; Shie, 2011; Kontos and Sidiropoulou, 2012a; 2012b; Valdeón, 2015b; 2016). Substantial textual, cultural and ideological differences were observed between STs and TTs both in news structure and content. However, whether *NYT Chinese* retains the characteristics of its English language version has rarely been explored by translation and journalism scholars either in English or Chinese.

### 3.3.2 Collection of Data

Statistics on primary narratives and their translated versions are shown in Figure 7. The period selected is between 28 September, the day Benny Tai Yiu-ting officially launched the Occupy Central movement, and 16 December, the day after the police cleared the last protest site at Causeway Bay, marking the end of the protests. A total of 1,042 news articles were collected in the period from the four media outlets from both print newspapers and online websites. The LexisNexis database was used to collect some of the articles published in the English media and some of the Chinese articles were collected via the WiseNews Chinese-language database.

| | RN (EN>ZH) | EJ Insight (ZH>EN) | NYT Chinese (EN>ZH) | BBC Chinese (EN>ZH) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Primary narratives | 242 | 436 | 94 | 270 |
| Translated articles | 71 | 20 | 91 | 40 |
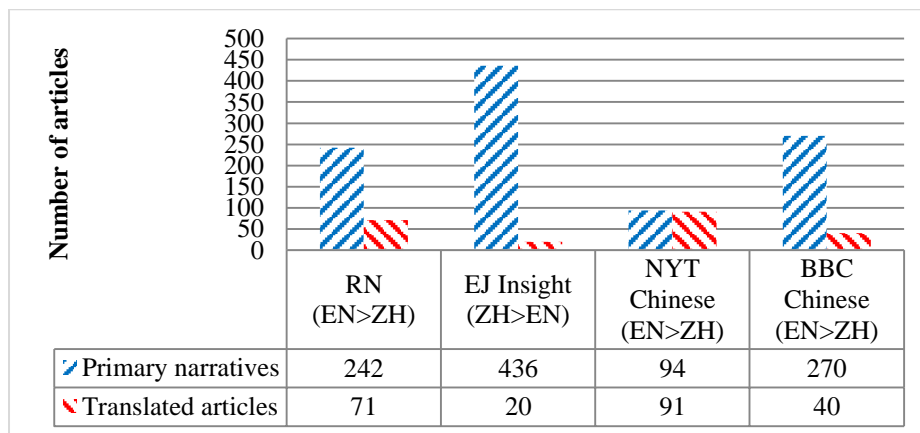
**Figure 7** Numbers of primary narratives and translated articles on the 2014 Hong Kong protests in the selected media outlets between 28 September and 16 December.

Among the collected news articles, 222 are translated into either English or Chinese. The percentage of translations ranges from 4.59 percent (*EJ Insight*) to 96.8 percent (*NYT Chinese*). *RN* translates 29.34 percent of its primary narratives into Chinese and *BBC Chinese* 14.81 percent.

Translation in journalistic settings usually serves the function of "gatekeeping" (Vuorinen, 1995, p.161) and it is no hyperbole to describe translated narratives as "a narrow gate" (Harding, 2012a, p.184) because only a small amount of articles are translated in certain media outlets. The translator makes decisions on a number of critical points and these are "most revealing of the translator's values" (Munday, 2012, p.41). What a news agency chooses to translate or the "selective appropriation" as Baker (2006, p.71) describes it, gives a hint about the stance taken on issues and slants. This study focuses on the STs and TTs for manageability reasons, given the large number of articles collected from the period.

Each news article in *RN* is a synthesis of translated and/or edited news items from various sources. The sources, original country/city and date of publication are stated at the beginning of each item. Thus, the ST-TT relationship can be identified from the metadata provided. The newspaper articles from *RN* were collected through an open-access website (www.ckxxbao.com/cankaoxiaoxidianziban) which provides scanned copies of the newspaper from 10 May 2013 onward. A total of 242 news items on the 2014 Hong Kong protests were collected through the manual reading of headlines on every page of the newspaper in the selected period, among which 71 (29%) were transedited from the English-language media. *RN* seldom specifies the journalistic genres of its articles. These news items come from a variety of sources including newspapers and news agencies in a variety of languages including Chinese and English are then put into text formats. Due to language limitations of the researcher, only the STs of the news items which are initially published in the English-language media are searched for. It is relatively easy to collect the STs of English newspapers in the LexisNexis database by using the metadata given at the beginning of each news item. News items published by agencies which were not available in the LexisNexis database were collected via Internet search engines.

*EJ Insight* consists of a mixture of original English news reporting and pieces of translation from its Chinese-language newspaper. The news site typically indicates if

an article is a translation by providing the name of the translator and its original date of publication in the Chinese newspaper. A total of 436 articles on the 2014 Hong Kong protests were collected on *EJ Insight* for the period by searching for the keyword of "Hong Kong", among which only 20 are translated from their Chinese versions into English. All these 20 pieces are commentaries originally written by the *HKEJ*'s columnists. Their STs from the *HKEJ* were retrieved through the WiseNews database.

Over 100 pages of results (at 10 articles per page) are generated by inputting the keyword "香港" (Hong Kong) in the search column of *NYT Chinese*. Through manual reading, 91 pairs of English and Chinese articles on the 2014 Hong Kong protests were found to be published in the period. Among these 91 translated articles, eight are opinion pieces (8.79%), including seven op-eds (7.69%) and one letter (1.1%), and 83 are news reportage (91.21%). Links to their English versions on the *NYT* website were also provided at the beginning of the article. The website provides the name of the translator at the end of the article in some cases. Both the English and the Chinese articles were downloaded from *NYT Chinese*.

A total of 270 news articles are retrieved from *BBC Chinese* by searching for the keyword "香港" (Hong Kong). The search results were then filtered and screened through manual reading to scale down to the articles that focus on the specific event during the selected period. Among these, 230 were reported in Chinese and 40 were translated from the British media, which consist of 20 summaries of the British press (50%), two analyses (5%), two features (5%), two video descriptions (5%), one news timeline (2.5%) and 13 unspecified genres (32.5%). Like *EJ Insight*, the transeditor/translator[41] and the editor were identified at the end of each translated article. For those articles from other British media, the headlines usually begin with "英媒" (British media), and their sources are often indicated at the beginning of the news item. The STs of translated articles were collected by searching for the keywords, the specific newspapers and the dates of publication through the LexisNexis database.

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[41] *BBC Chinese* uses the term "translator" when a whole article is translated from the BBC News and "transeditor" when an article is transedited from several different British media sources.

The news articles collected in this research have several features which are distinctive from the norms in the research of news translation. Firstly, the translator being identified is not commonly done elsewhere. Secondly, the traditional model from ST to TT, or the translation proper, is not always the case in journalistic translation. These matters make studying translation in journalistic settings challenging and complex. Lastly, the collection of translated news articles on *EJ Insight*, *The NYT Chinese* and *BBC Chinese* involved automated keyword searches on the websites followed by a manual screening of search results. This collection method significantly reduced the time spent on searching for specific news articles and also increased the comprehensiveness of the articles collected.

## 3.4 Summary

This chapter began by describing the research design and the methodology used in the data analysis. It went on to illustrate the analytical framework integrating of corpus, narrative and framing analyses. It has described the selection of media outlets and collection of data from these outlets. The following three chapters focus on the case study exploring the representation of the 2014 Hong Kong protests in news translation from the aspects of corpus, narrative and framing analysis respectively. The next chapter begins, however, by presenting the main findings obtained from corpus analysis.

# Chapter 4
# Corpus-based Analysis

This chapter, consisting of two parts, introduces the possible integration of corpus linguistics into narrative theory which is mainly used as a research method. The first part discusses several practical issues in designing and compiling the corpora of news texts for this study. The second part conducts a comprehensive corpus analysis of original and translated news texts on the 2014 Hong Kong protests from various aspects of corpus techniques, including word frequency, keywords and semantic prosodies. It starts by comparing the frequencies of certain lexical items between the original and translated corpora to determine which narratives have been increased or decreased in translation. It then moves on to compare keywords in the different translated news corpora to examine which keywords the media outlets tend to reinforce, with reference to various semantic fields, including individuals, geographical names, public domain and social action. The third aspect of corpus analysis enquires into the semantic prosodies of several keywords, including *movement*, *democracy*, *China*/*Chinese* and *Hong Kong* to evaluate the subtle ideological differences from the original news texts towards these subject matters.

## 4.1  Corpus Design and Compilation

This section details the corpus design and the procedures involved in compiling the corpora, including converting into plain text format, formatting, noise elimination and corpus segmentation. The corpus had to be compiled for the study since none such of news texts on the 2014 Hong Kong protests in either English or Chinese exists.

When designing such corpora, a number of issues are taken into consideration. Kennedy (1998, pp.60–70) raises three key issues in corpus design: whether a corpus is static or dynamic, its size, representativeness and balance of a corpus. Similarly, Hunston (2002, pp.25–32) puts forward five issues in corpus design: size, content, permanence, balance and representativeness. Apart from these general issues, the availability of STs and TTs puts an extra constraint on compiling a bilingual corpus of news texts. The news corpora strike a balance between narrative

and non-narrative texts. The sizes of these corpora are relatively small, given the limited availability of relevant original and translated news narratives. The corpora, however, contain all of the translated narratives on the event published by the selected news media, as well as the original narratives. The sub-corpora cover the same time span and text genre and are of similar sizes, which make comparison between these corpora viable.

The news corpus is composed of four comparable sub-corpora. This corpus is named the English-Chinese News Translation Corpus (hereafter ECNTC). Figure 8 is a snapshot of the news corpora taken from Sketch Engine. What follows introduces some practical issues in the compilation of the news corpora.

| Language ↓ | Name | Words | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| English | The New York Times English | 88,896 | ••• |
| English | Reference News English | 57,532 | ••• |
| English | EJ Insight English | 18,356 | ••• |
| English | BBC English | 47,265 | ••• |
| Chinese Traditional | EJ Insight Chinese | 30,483 | ••• |
| Chinese Simplified | The New York Times Chinese | 88,504 | ••• |
| Chinese Simplified | Reference News Chinese | 26,663 | ••• |
| Chinese Simplified | BBC Chinese | 20,882 | ••• |

**Figure 8** A snapshot of the ECNTC in Sketch Engine.

The news articles were converted into plain text format, a requirement of the corpus software. The *RN* texts were scanned copies transcribed and typed up manually. The *EJ Insight*, *BBC* and *NYT Chinese* texts were saved as pdfs and then converted into plain text. The *HKEJ* texts were retrieved from the WiseNews database and converted to plain text. The *RN* and *BBC Chinese* texts retrieved through LexisNexis were downloaded and converted from Microsoft Word documents. Each news text was saved as a separate file with its publication date as its file name.

The second step involved formatting and noise elimination of corpora texts. EmEditor[42] was mainly used to assist in the editing of text format along with its spelling, punctuation, paragraphing, spacing and so on. Other noises in the corpus such as advertisements and captions were removed through manual identification. Information regarding the content of each news text was noted from the outset, including the title, author, release date and source of information.

Segmentation is only relevant to the four Chinese sub-corpora since Chinese differs from English with regard to word formation. Chinese characters are connected together without spaces between them. Hence, Chinese characters need to be segmented to help a corpus concordancer identify relevant or significant blocks. Although Sketch Engine is usually able to identify most Chinese words correctly, it is a more rigorous and dependable methodical approach to segment the Chinese words prior to analysis. SegmentAnt (laurenceanthony.net/software) is a segmenting tool developed specifically for Chinese and Japanese. It is based on a range of tagging tools for Chinese including Jieba, Smallseg and the NLPIR (Natural Language Processing Information Retrieval) / ICTCLAS (Institute of Computing Technology, Chinese Lexical Analysis System) engines. The Jieba engine (github.com/fxsjy/jieba) is preferable since it delivers optimal precision and speed as well as supporting traditional Chinese characters. After all the Chinese news texts were segmented automatically, manual proofreading was undertaken to ensure all abbreviations, pronouns and compound words were segmented accurately. The news texts were then compressed into an archive file and uploaded to Sketch Engine with reference to each news outlet and each language pair. Table 3 displays the details for each news outlet.

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[42] EmEditor is a text editing software and a free trial version is available for download at https://www.emeditor.com/#download [Accessed 16 May 2020]

**Table 3** Corpus information by news outlet.

| Language | Name | Types (different words) | Tokens (running words) | Type-token ratio | Average sentence length (words) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chinese Simplified | RN Chinese | 26,663 | 32,202 | 82.80 | 25.66 |
| | BBC Chinese | 20,882 | 25,287 | 82.58 | 26.04 |
| | NYT Chinese | 88,504 | 105,739 | 83.70 | 25.27 |
| Chinese Traditional | EJ Insight Chinese | 30,483 | 38,281 | 79.63 | 37.27 |
| **Total** | **Chinese Corpus** | **166,532** | **201,509** | **82.64** | **28.56** |
| English | RN English | 57,532 | 66,888 | 86.01 | 27.79 |
| | BBC English | 47,265 | 54,601 | 86.56 | 26.65 |
| | NYT English | 88,896 | 102,079 | 87.09 | 27.37 |
| | EJ Insight English | 18,356 | 20,602 | 89.10 | 25.85 |
| **Total** | **English Corpus** | **212,049** | **244,170** | **86.84** | **26.92** |

The corpus consists of approximately 166,000 Chinese characters (201,000 tokens) and 212,000 English words (244,000 tokens). The sizes of sub-corpora range from 18,356 words (*EJ Insight* English Corpus) to 88,896 (*NYT* English Corpus). The sizes of original corpora of *RN*, *EJ Insight* and *BBC* are more than twice as large as their translated corpora, while the original corpus of the *NYT* is slightly large than its translated corpus. This indicates that, in news translation, a TT is normally shorter than its ST due to omission caused in translation.

Table 3 demonstrates that the type-token ratio of the English corpora is significantly larger than that of their Chinese counterparts. The type-token ratio of the traditional Chinese corpus is less than other simplified Chinese corpora. When the *RN*, *BBC* and the *NYT* texts are translated from English to Chinese, both of their type-token ratio and average sentence length decreased, which means that the translated texts

use a less diverse lexis than their source texts and the average length of sentences in translated texts are shorter than those in their original texts. Contrarily, when the *EJ Insight* texts are translated from Chinese to English, the type-token ratio increased which means that the translated texts employ a wider variety of lexis. However, the average sentence length of translated corpora is shorter than that of untranslated corpora. This finding partially concords with the findings of Laviosa (1997, 1998a, 1998b, 1998c) and Laviosa-Braithwaite (1996, 1997). This endorses the findings of Xiao (2010) who reports that the translated Chinese has a lower lexical density in relation to native Chinese but the mean sentence length depends on specific text genres. However, the type-token ration may be affected by the relatively small sizes of corpora.

## 4.2  Comparison of Word Frequency of Lexical Items

The first strand of corpus analysis compares the frequencies of certain lexical items in the representations of the police, colonialism, communism and Tibet in the coverage of the 2014 Hong Kong protests. These words were selected because they occur noticeably more or less in their translated corpora compared with their original corpora or other translated corpora. The analysis begins with an initial comparison of the frequency of these lexical items by corpus methods between the ST corpus and the TT corpus as well as between different TT corpora. After the addition or omission of news content at a macro-textual level was determined, closer comparison between the STs and TTs determined how these changes occurred. The comparative analysis of word frequencies aims to find out what words have been strengthened or weakened in translation. The next step was to take a closer look at their concordances to arrive at some explanation of this. Examples are provided afterwards. The reasons behind these changes, placed in their broader socio-political contexts, will also be explained.

Considering that the original corpora of *RN*, *EJ Insight* and *BBC* Chinese are twice as large as their translated corpora, the comparative analysis is conducted based on the percentage of the word frequency out of the total tokens in that particular corpus. As Table 3 shows, the sizes of these translated corpora are about half of those in their original ones except in the *NYT*, whose original and translated corpora are of similar size. As a result, the frequency of words in its ST should be about the same

as they are in its TT. If the percentage of words in the translated corpus exceeds the threshold of their original ones, this word is considered strengthened in the process of translation. If the proportion of a word in its translated corpus is significantly lower than half of that in its original corpus, the word is regarded as weakened in translation.

### 4.2.1 Lexical Items in the Representation of the Police

The Occupy Movement is often framed in the British press as a struggle for democracy between young protesters on one side and the police on the other side (Sparks, 2015). It was found that the frequencies of the lemma *police\** (647/6,338.23 ppm) and its Chinese equivalent 警* (849/8,029.2 ppm) appear more frequently in the *NYT* corpora than the other corpora. After translation, the words related to the police decreased by about half in *RN*, *EJ Insight* and *BBC Chinese*, while they increased by over 30 percent on *NYT Chinese*. The polysemy of the word *police* have two meanings: 1) when used as a noun, it means "an official force whose job is to maintain public order, deal with crime, and make people obey the law, or the members of this force"; and 2) when used as a verb, it means "to control or guard a public event or area by using members of the police or a similar force"[43]. A search of *police\** in the news corpora show that the use of police as a noun is mostly adopted.

Concordances of *police\** and 警* reveal that words such as "催泪" (tear gas), "胡椒" (pepper) and "警棍" (baton) are among the most frequent collocates with the police in the news corpora. This could be understood because the police used tear gas, pepper spray and batons to disperse the protests. The lemmas "tear\*"[44], "pepper\*"[45] and "baton" were searched for in the English news corpora, and their Chinese equivalents "催泪\*"[46], "胡椒\*"[47] and "警棍" in the Chinese news corpora. Figure 9

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[43] https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/police [Accessed 5 May 2020]

[44] The lemma "tear\*" is searched for because of several variations in the spelling of the word such as "teargas", "tear-gas" and "tear gas".

[45] The lemma "pepper\*" is searched for because some media outlets spell "pepper spray" with a hyphen between the two words, i.e. "pepper-spray".

[46] The lemma "催泪\*" is searched for because "tear gas" can be translated into two Chinese variations "催泪弹" or "催泪瓦斯".

presents summary statistics for the number of occurrences of the words in each corpus. It can be seen from Figure 9 that the *NYT* English corpus contains the most among the four news outlets, followed by the *RN* and *BBC* English corpora. By contrast, the *RN* and *BBC* Chinese corpora include the least number.

| | RN | HKEJ | BBC | The NYT |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ⊞ tear* | 88 | 10 | 94 | 91 |
| ⌐ 催泪* | 5 | 12 | 21 | 80 |
| ▩ baton* | 19 | 1 | 10 | 23 |
| ▪ 警棍* | 4 | 2 | 1 | 23 |
| ✕ pepper* | 39 | 3 | 40 | 69 |
| ⚍ 胡椒* | 8 | 3 | 4 | 66 |
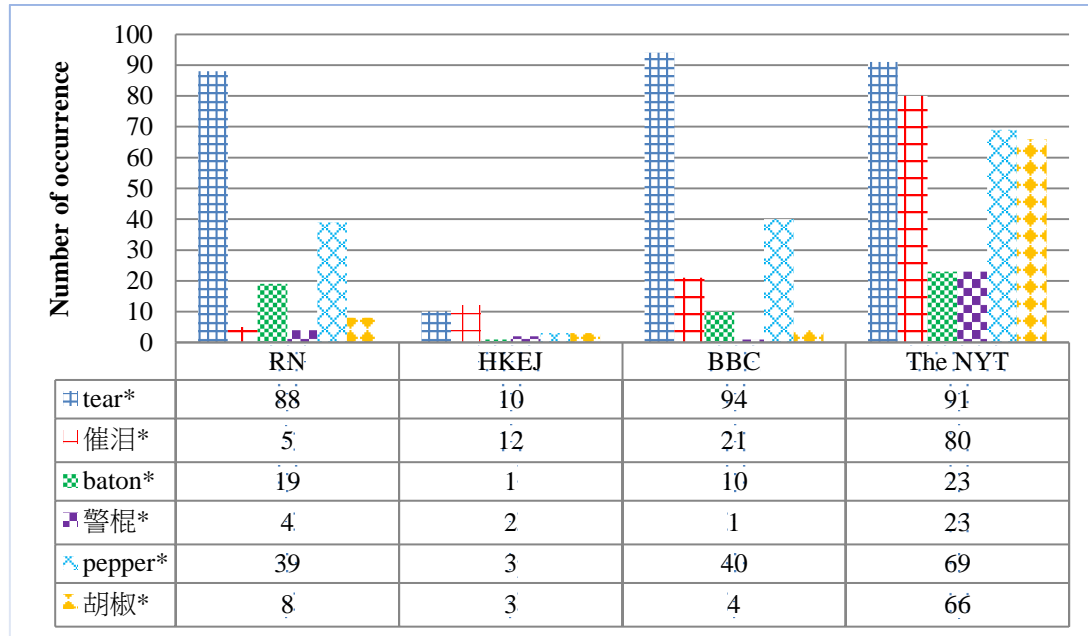
**Figure 9** Frequencies of "tear*", "pepper*" and "baton" in the English news corpora, and their equivalents "催泪*", "胡椒*" and "警棍" in the Chinese news corpora.

*RN* substantially underplays the violent clashes between protesters and police, evident from the comparison of the frequencies of "tear*", "baton" and "pepper*" between the original and translated news corpora. *RN* includes significantly fewer words in relation to tear gas, pepper spray and baton in its translated Chinese narratives than there are in their original English counterparts. The words appeared 88 (1,315.63 ppm), 19 (284.06 ppm) and 39 (583.06 ppm) times respectively in the original English corpus, while their Chinese equivalents "催泪*", "警棍" and "胡椒*" only occurred five (155.27 ppm), four (124.22 ppm) and eight (248.43 ppm) times in the translated corpus respectively.

The media representation of the Hong Kong police in the local press during the Occupy Movement was mainly negative (W.L. Chan, 2015; Chan and He, 2017).

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[47] The lemma "胡椒*" is searched for because "pepper spray" could be translated into "胡椒喷雾" or "胡椒喷剂" in Chinese.

These news reports often portrayed the police as abusive and aggressive, particularly in relation to the maintenance of order during the protests. Searches of "催淚*", "警棍*" and "胡椒*" in the *EJ Insight* Chinese corpus resulted in 12 (313.47 ppm), two (52.25 ppm) and three (78.37 ppm) instances respectively as shown in Figure 9. Their English equivalents appeared a similar number of times in the translated corpus, with 10 (485.39 ppm), one (48.54 ppm) and three (145.62 ppm) instances respectively. The translated commentaries on *EJ Insight* increase the concentration of these words and thus maintain the original brutal image of the police in this aspect.

Like *RN*, the narratives related to the violent portrayal of the police on *BBC Chinese* is notably undermined. The frequencies of "tear*", "baton*" and "pepper*" reduced from 94 (1,721.58 ppm), 10 (183.15 ppm) and 40 (732.59 ppm) times in the *BBC* English corpus in comparison with their Chinese equivalents "催泪*" (21/830.47 ppm), "警棍*" (1/39.55 ppm) and "胡椒" (3/118.64 ppm) in the translated corpus. A reason for this drastic drop of words on *BBC Chinese* could be that part of news narratives on the Chinese website summarised translations from the original English press. Nevertheless, it also provides relatively faithful literal translations of original articles from BBC News Online.

Similar to *EJ Insight*, the lexical items concerning police violence towards protesters in the original narratives are mostly maintained in its translated narratives on *NYT Chinese*. The occurrences of "tear*", "baton*" and "pepper*" in the *NYT* English corpus are similar to those of their equivalents "催泪*", "警棍*" and "胡椒*" in *The NYT* Chinese corpus. One reason for this is that *NYT Chinese* renders literal translations of the English articles.

Comparisons of word frequencies in relation to police violence between the original and translated corpora indicate that the violent portrayal is markedly lessened in the translated *RN* and in *BBC* Chinese narratives, whereas it is mostly retained in the translated commentaries on *EJ Insight* and *NYT Chinese*. The next step of analysis explores how these lexical items are omitted in their specific contexts. The two examples below are adapted from *RN*. The word "tear-gas" was omitted in the translation as Example 1 from *The Washington Post* on 4 October describes a shift of public opinion against the protesters. Despite the police using tear gas, the

parenthesis on public opinion in the middle part of the original narrative is neglected in the translated narrative in *RN* on 6 October.

**Example 1**

> ST: Public opinion – **which had swung toward the students after the police's tear-gas attack** – was also now rapidly turning against them as their occupation continued to paralyze large sections of the city. (*The Washington Post*, 4 October, 2014.10.06.1.7.en)
>
> TT: 由于抗议人士的占领活动导致香港大部分地区瘫痪，现在公众舆论已迅速转向反对他们。(*RN*, 6 October, 2014.10.06.zh)
>
> Gloss: *Since the occupation of protesters has caused most areas of Hong Kong paralysed, public opinion has quickly turned against them.*

Similarly, the sentences involving these words were not selected for translation. The original narrative of the police's using batons and pepper spray to disperse demonstrators in *The Guardian* on 1 December is entirely left out in the translated narrative in *RN* on 3 December. Moreover, the adjective *violent* used to describe the clashes is replaced with the Chinese adjective 严重 (serious) which diminishes the violent associations.

**Example 2**

> ST: The clashes in Hong Kong this past weekend were among the most **violent** since the street protests began two months ago. **Police used batons, water hoses and pepper spray to keep protesters forcibly at bay.** (*The Guardian*, 1 December, 2014.12.03.14.1.en)
>
> TT: 香港在过去这个周末的冲突是自两个月前爆发街头抗议活动以来最**严重**的。(*RN*, 3 December, 2014.12.03.zh)
>
> Gloss: *The conflict in Hong Kong over the past weekend has been the most **serious** since the outbreak of the street protests two months ago.*

This subsection has been shown that the overall representation of the police in *RN* and on *BBC Chinese* is moderately reduced. It has been slightly increased on *EJ Insight* but emphasised on *The NYT Chinese*. However, the frequencies of lexical items as regards police brutality have been preserved on *EJ Insight* but significantly reduced on *BBC Chinese*. Words related to the equipment which the police used to disperse protesters, such as *tear gas*, *baton* and *pepper spray*, are kept to a minimum

amount in *RN*. In contrast, *The NYT Chinese* maintains a similar amount of words related to police violence from its English website.

### 4.2.2 Lexical Items in the Representation of Colonialism

As a British colony for over 150 years, the representation of colonialism in Hong Kong is prominent in news narratives. Before the 1997 handover, "the discourse of colonial withdrawal" (Flowerdew, 1997; 1998; 2002) created a mythical honour around the prospective withdrawal and the British legacy. Since the handover, Hong Kong has been governed within the framework of "one country, two systems" which is regarded as "an unprecedented social-political model of decolonization" (Flowerdew, 2002, p.321). According to the XNA style guide, Hong Kong before its return to China should not be described as a "colony" but rather as "under colonial rule"[48]. The comparison of the frequency of "colon*" in the English news corpora and its equivalent "殖民*" in the Chinese corpora shows that its occurrence is reduced by two-thirds in *RN* and to one-tenth on *BBC Chinese*. It is increased one and half times on *EJ Insight* and roughly remains the same on *NYT Chinese*.

The translated narratives in *RN* mainly serve as the role of "decolonisation" (Robinson, 2014). The original international media narratives are heavily embedded in an ideology of colonisation. A search of "colon*" in the *RN* English results in 75 (1,121.28 ppm) instances. Concordance 1 shows the concordance of "colon*" in the *RN* English corpus in its Key Word in Context (KWIC) format. A search of its Chinese equivalent "殖民*" in the *RN* Chinese corpus results in 25 (776.35 ppm) instances, with 13 instances of "殖民地" (colony) and two instances which collocate with "统治" (rule).

---

[48] 不得将回归前的香港、澳门称为"殖民地"，可说"受殖民统治"。
https://supchina.com/2017/08/01/words-chinese-state-media-banned/ (English translation) [Accessed 16 May 2020]

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ⓘ doc#0 | ng people had not staged democracy protests against their former British | **colonial** | rulers. "In the past they had the British choose their leaders, and they we |
| 2 | ⓘ doc#0 | d give people in Hong Kong more democracy than they had under British | **colonial** | rule. However, critics have described the plan as "sham democracy" beca |
| 3 | ⓘ doc#0 | ony. For well over a century, Hong Kong had been ruled at the whim of its | **colonial** | overlords. Now, in the twilight of British rule, Patten had decided to demo |
| 4 | ⓘ doc#0 | News English/2014.10.14.16.5.en.txt"> Hong Kong in crisis: Does former | **colonial** | ruler have any responsibility? By Tim Summers, Special for CNN Update |
| 5 | ⓘ doc#0 | ed if any progress is to be made in Hong Kong. For the UK, as the former | **colonial** | power until it handed control to China in 1997, the diplomatic challenges |
| 6 | ⓘ doc#0 | f the protesters?frustration is the city's tycoons, a handful of families and | **colonial** | era conglomerates that control most of the real estate, many of the retaile |
| 7 | ⓘ doc#0 | d culture. This is not to say that most did not want to shake off the British | **colonial** | yoke in 1997. But nearly all felt their ways were different - even superior - |
| 8 | ⓘ doc#0 | mic summit, as Chinese officials hit out at the former British colony's last | **colonial** | governor for "inciting" the Occupy Central movement. Protesters holding |
| 9 | ⓘ doc#0 | a poor job of introducing democracy to Hong Kong in the 150 years of its | **colonial** | rule there. "Our introduction of democracy, if I could put it politely, is not a |
| 10 | ⓘ doc#0 | cupy Central Movement in Hong Kong." "As the last governor of Britain's | **colonial** | rule of Hong Kong, he should have awareness of his role and get a clear |
| 11 | ⓘ doc#0 | nd any preaching about "democracy and the rule of law?from the former | **colonial** | power is unlikely to convince. The UK may have a particularly guilty cons |
| 12 | ⓘ doc#0 | mir are any sort of precedent, attempts to lay down the law as the former | **colonial** | power only fuel resentment. The British empire is over. For a medium-siz |
| 13 | ⓘ doc#0 | nid the deputy Chinese ambassador in London told him: "You're not still a | **colonial** | power." Ottaway told the AFP press agency: "I don't think for a moment th |
| 14 | ⓘ doc#0 | e AFP press agency: "I don't think for a moment that we think we're still a | **colonial** | power ... we've got every right to ascertain whether China is complying w |
| 15 | ⓘ doc#0 | from Mr. Li, whose empire began with a factory making plastic flowers, to | **colonial-era** | conglomerates such as Jardine Matheson Holdings , run by the Keswick |
| 16 | ⓘ doc#0 | ne Portuguese colony of Goa with the stated aim of expunging European | **colonialism** | from the Indian subcontinent. In contrast, however, the PRC tolerated the |
| 17 | ⓘ doc#0 | sp why the PRC would not try to overrun these small and hard-to-defend | **colonies** | . In 1961, for example, postcolonial India invaded ("liberated? the Portug |
| 18 | ⓘ doc#0 | not the first European power to violate Chinese territorial integrity. Yet the | **colonization** | of Hong Kong set in motion a chain of concessions to European powers t |
| 19 | ⓘ doc#0 | entralized Chinese government was now in place. Outposts of European | **colonization** | like Macau and Hong Kong, however, stood out as anomalies ?thorns in |
| 20 | ⓘ doc#0 | ne comparatively recent history of European meddling in China ?Britain's | **colonization** | of Hong Kong being a premier case in point ?has left some imprints upon |

**Concordance 1**  A concordance of "colon\*" in the *RN* English corpus.

Example 3 from *Reuters* on 30 September quotes then senior British government official, Chancellor of the Exchequer George Osborne referring to Hong Kong as a former British colony. This narrative recalls the British "imperial nostalgia" (Lee et al., 2005, p.326) and chimes with his calling for peace, freedom and democracy in the former British colony. However, the reference to Hong Kong as a former British colony is omitted in the translated narrative in *RN* on 2 October. It coincides with the XNA style guide which prohibits the use of "殖民地" (colony) in referring to Hong Kong's former status under British rule. The latter half of the sentence calling for freedom is also omitted.

**Example 3**

ST: In Britain's strongest comment yet over clashes between Hong Kong riot police and pro-democracy protests, finance chief George Osborne urged China to seek peace <u>and said the former **colony**'s prosperity depended on freedom</u>. (*Reuters*, 30 September, 2014.10.02.1.5.en)

TT: 英国就香港防爆警察与抗议者发生冲突一事，作出迄今为止最强硬的回应。英国财政大臣乔治奥斯本敦促中国寻求和平。(*RN*, 2 October, 2014.10.02.zh)

Gloss: *Britain has made the strongest response to date on the conflict between the riot police and protesters in Hong Kong. The British Chancellor George Osborne urged China to seek peace.*

The frequencies of words related to "colony" and its Chinese equivalent "殖民" increased from 130.61 ppm (five instances) in the *EJ Insight* Chinese corpus to 388.31 ppm (eight instances) in the English corpus. Concordance 2 presents the relevant data for "colon\*" in the *EJ Insight* English corpus in its KWIC.



| 1 | ⓘ | doc#0 | :hi Oct 6, 2014 9:42am Why Hong Kong opposes Beijing but not the British | **colonial** | govt Why did Hong Kong people stay silent when there was no democracy |
| 2 | ⓘ | doc#0 | ig Kong people stay silent when there was no democracy under the British | **colonial** | government? And now why are they vigorously opposing Beijing's universa |
| 3 | ⓘ | doc#0 | and laws of Britain, which is a country ruled by constitutional monarchy, the | **colonial** | government ruled the city fairly and satisfied the local people's needs. Afte |
| 4 | ⓘ | doc#0 | civil service system formed and crafted over more than a hundred years of | **colonial** | rule. In the new system, all officials became Tung's subordinates and had t |
| 5 | ⓘ | doc#0 | n and her colleagues ?who have been serving in the government since the | **colonial** | era ?represent the typical rationality of Hong Kong's business sector. The t |
| 6 | ⓘ | doc#0 | found understanding of the crises and turmoil faced by some former British | **colonies** | like Malaysia and Singapore. He wrote in the Hong Kong Economic Journa |
| 7 | ⓘ | doc#0 | rights and freedom so as to ensure a smooth transfer of power from British | **colonists** | to local leaders. Singapore faced a similar situation. Lee Kuan Yew made a |
| 8 | ⓘ | doc#0 | ngth about the then British Hong Kong government's efforts to promote the | **colony's** | international status and its many benefits, and hoped that the SAR governn |

**Concordance 2**  A Concordance of "colon\*" in the *EJ Insight* English corpus.

Example 4 below shows how the word is added in the translation. The *EJ Insight* translator substituted "香港" (Hong Kong) with "the colony" which chimes with "the then British Hong Kong government" earlier in the sentence. The translator adds "then" in front of the "British Hong Kong government", which indicates that Hong Kong is no longer under the British rule. However, the frequency of words in the representation of colonialism in the *EJ Insight* English corpus remains higher than that in its Chinese corpus.

**Example 4**

> ST: 退休後，我撰寫的《平心直說》書中有一章節題為《中國香港的國際地位——點只特區咁簡單》，解釋<u>港英政府</u>取得這項內地省市沒有的優勢的緣由，並期望特區政府繼續把<u>香港</u>的特殊國際地位發揚光大。(*HKEJ*, 17 September, 2014.10.06.2.zh)

> Gloss: *After my retirement, I wrote a book explaining the advantages that **<u>the British Hong Kong government</u>** obtained but mainland cities and provinces do not have and hope that the SAR government will continue to carry forward the special international status of **<u>Hong Kong</u>**.*

> TT: In a book I wrote after my retirement, I talked at length about **<u>the then British Hong Kong government</u>**'s efforts to promote **<u>the colony</u>**'s international status and its many benefits, and hoped that the SAR government can continue with the endeavor. (*EJ Insight*, 6 October, 2014.10.06.2.en)

Words related to "colony" occurred 41 (750.9 ppm) times in the *BBC* English corpus. The vast majority of these occurrences refer to Hong Kong as a former

British colony, as shown in Concordance 3. The words "former" and "British" are two of the most frequent collocates, occurring 28 and 27 times respectively within the range of five words to the left and the right. One of the dominant frames in the British narratives was "a debate over whether the country had any historic responsibility for the situation in Hong Kong and how far this continued to be the case in the present" (Sparks, 2015, p.435). However, the narrative of Hong Kong being a former colony is drastically undermined in the translated *BBC Chinese* narratives. The frequency of "殖民*" is decreased to four (158.18 ppm) times in the *BBC* Chinese corpus. Among these four concordances which are translated by *BBC Chinese*, "英国" (Britain) remains the most frequent collocate, occurring three times.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ⓘ | doc#0 | )97, as the territory returned to Chinese rule. It recognised that a century of | **colonial** | rule, with its specifically British contributions of legal and educational syster |
| 2 | ⓘ | doc#0 | nd an open society. Anson Chan was the chief secretary in both the British | **colonial** | government of Hong Kong - de facto deputy to the last British governor, Chi |
| 3 | ⓘ | doc#0 | cut taxes for the rural poor in the 2000s, the Hong Kong government lets a | **colonial** | rentier economy carry merrily on. Mr Xi launched his new administration wil |
| 4 | ⓘ | doc#0 | had grown used to under the final and most liberalized phase of the British | **colonial** | period, when a loosening of control of the press had been added to longsta |
| 5 | ⓘ | doc#0 | and reminded its chairman, Sir Richard Ottaway, that Britain was "not still a | **colonial** | power". For a middle-ranking Chinese diplomat to stop parliament doing its |
| 6 | ⓘ | doc#0 | said the deputy Chinese ambassador in London told him: "You're not still a | **colonial** | power." Ottaway told the AFP press agency: "I don't think for a moment that |
| 7 | ⓘ | doc#0 | the AFP press agency: "I don't think for a moment that we think we're still a | **colonial** | power ... we've got every right to ascertain whether China is complying with |
| 8 | ⓘ | doc#0 | fic to Hong Kong, in the view of the Beijing regime, an anomaly from British | **colonial** | days and stoked by western inter-ests; the young people of Hong Kong are |
| 9 | ⓘ | doc#0 | unist Party has played a surreptitious but ever-expanding role in the former | **colony** | , interfering in the selection of leaders in every field. Finally last month, the |
| 10 | ⓘ | doc#0 | nent a sham and an exercise in Iranian-style democracy. The former British | **colony** | enjoys considerable autonomy under the "one country, two systems" frame |
| 11 | ⓘ | doc#0 | ses braced themselves for the police assault. On Sunday the former British | **colony** | witnessed the worst crackdown since its return to China's control in 1997. D |
| 12 | ⓘ | doc#0 | e UK Foreign Office said it was "concerned" about the violence in its former | **colony** | . It called on the authorities to preserve long standing freedoms by a move |
| 13 | ⓘ | doc#0 | for 155 years until its handover to China in 1997, Hong Kong was a British | **colony** | , forcibly taken from China at the end of the first opium war. All its 28 subsec |
| 14 | ⓘ | doc#0 | ounding of the Peo-ple's Republic each year, although in the former British | **colony** | it is also a day of protest and activism. The demonstrations, which call for tr |
| 15 | ⓘ | doc#0 | at it could be used again threaten to reframe the way that the former British | **colony** | is seen around the world. The reputation for safety, the history of stable gov |
| 16 | ⓘ | doc#0 | owledgment that enrag-es the demonstrators. Citizens of the former British | **colony** | believe that they were pledged universal suffrage and free direct elec-tions |
| 17 | ⓘ | doc#0 | ay'; The last time PETER POPHAM reported on a protest in the then crown | **colony** | , it was a rough, coarse affair. This generation of demonstrators is very diffe |
| 18 | ⓘ | doc#0 | ost completely oblivious to the turmoil that has paralysed the former British | **colony** | for nearly a week. "I've not heard any news recently about anything happen |
| 19 | ⓘ | doc#0 | are being unpatriot-ic, a logical result of their century and a half as a British | **colony** | . "I have software to get around the online censorship," said a 20-year-old n |
| 20 | ⓘ | doc#0 | cracy" have paralysed central Hong Kong and catapulted the former British | **colony** | onto TV screens and front pages across the world (apart, that is, from China |

**Concordance 3** A concordance of "colon*" in the *BBC* English corpus.

In Example 5, the translation on *BBC Chinese* on 1 October is a reorganised summary of sentences of an original *Guardian* news article. It omits the historical narrative of Hong Kong's handover to China in 1997 and Britain's violent invasion of Hong Kong during the first opium war. However, the depiction of Hong Kong as a former British colony remains in the translated narrative.

**Example 5**

> ST: It should be remembered, however, that for 155 years **until its handover to China in 1997**, Hong Kong was a British **colony, forcibly taken from China at the end of the first opium war**. All its 28 subsequent governors were appointed by the British government. Although Hong Kong came, over time, to enjoy the

rule of law and the right to protest, under the British it never
enjoyed even a semblance of democracy. (*The Guardian*, 1
October, 2014.10.01.1.1.en)

TT: 香港在作为英国的**殖民地**的 155 年时间里，连形式上的民
主都没有实行过，虽然有法制和抗议权，但港督都是英国政
府任命的。(*BBC Chinese*, 1 October, 2014.10.01.1.zh)

Gloss: *During the 155 years when Hong Kong was a British*
**_colony_**, *democracy has never been implemented in any form.*
*Although there were legal and protest rights, the governors were*
*appointed by the British government.*

A search of "colon*" in the *NYT* English corpus results in 47 (460.43 ppm) instances.

Concordance 4 displays its concordance line in the *NYT* English corpus. Like the

BBC English corpus, "British" and "former" are the two most frequent collocations

for "colon*", appearing 32 and 30 times respectively. A similar search of its Chinese

equivalent "殖民*" in the *NYT* Chinese corpus finds 45 (425.58 ppm) instances,

including 15 instances of "殖民" (colonial) and 30 instances of "殖民地" (colony).

The two most frequent collocates are "英国" (Britain) and "前" (former). The

association of Hong Kong with being a former British colony is correspondingly

preserved in the translated narratives on *The NYT Chinese*.



| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ⓘ | doc#0 | executive.Mrs. Chan, who ran Hong Kong's civil service in the last British | colonial | administration and continued in that post in the first few years after the 1 |
| 2 | ⓘ | doc#0 | tivists in Taiwan. It called them a "gang of people whose hearts belong to | colonial | rule and who are besotted with 'Western democracy.' " Such harsh words |
| 3 | ⓘ | doc#0 | tivists in Taiwan. It called them a "gang of people whose hearts belong to | colonial | rule and who are besotted with 'Western democracy'." Beijing has bristled |
| 4 | ⓘ | doc#0 | So the vaunted political neutrality of Hong Kong's civil service, trained by | colonial | administrators, is looking somewhat shakier. The growing anger in Hong |
| 5 | ⓘ | doc#0 | s dismayed Hong Kong's protesters. Many feel that Britain, as the former | colonial | power, has failed in its legal and moral responsibility to speak out. The Fo |
| 6 | ⓘ | doc#0 | Kong, given the sensitivities in China about Britain's status as the former | colonial | power. Britain returned Hong Kong to China in 1997 after more than 150 |
| 7 | ⓘ | doc#0 | y cannot identify themselves with China?? Squaring Hong Kong's British | colonial | heritage with its reality as a part of China is a problem that Ms. Ip, studen |
| 8 | ⓘ | doc#0 | rt of China is a problem that Ms. Ip, student of Elizabethan poetry, former | colonial | official and now pro-Beijing lawmaker in Hong Kong's legislature, has be |
| 9 | ⓘ | doc#0 | serve in Hong Kong's colonial-era civil service. She speaks of the British | colonial | administrators with admiration ?unusual because Chinese officials often |
| 10 | ⓘ | doc#0 | values,?she said, noting that she received commendations from several | colonial | governors. "Is Hong Kong Chinese or is Hong Kong Western??she aske |
| 11 | ⓘ | doc#0 | st love China. Many of those who were proud to see 156 years of British | colonial | rule end in 1997 as Hong Kong returned to China now say they prefer to |
| 12 | ⓘ | doc#0 | o keep our differences, the core values that are the legacy of the English | colonial | past," he said in an earlier interview. "We're an international city; we have |
| 13 | ⓘ | doc#0 | , spoke under the crystal chandeliers of Government House, a sprawling | colonial | mansion with high ceilings that was the official residence of British gover |
| 14 | ⓘ | doc#0 | lasgow. Soon after she was recruited in London to serve in Hong Kong's | colonial-era | civil service. She speaks of the British colonial administrators with admir |
| 15 | ⓘ | doc#0 | s provided an energy behind the movement,?Mr. Wong said. "It's like the | colonization | of Hong Kong, using mainland people to replace local people.? Critics ha |
| 16 | ⓘ | doc#0 | its power as a gatekeeper deciding who can run the city, a former British | colony | . "We think that this place is ours, not the government's,?said Will Mak W |
| 17 | ⓘ | doc#0 | e Hong Kong returned to Chinese sovereignty in 1997, the former British | colony | has kept its independent courts and legal protections for free speech and |
| 18 | ⓘ | doc#0 | s always been such a peaceful place.? In Macau, the former Portuguese | colony | near Hong Kong, and in Taiwan, the self-governing island off China's eas |
| 19 | ⓘ | doc#0 | ed keep it stable during 16 years of Chinese rule. And as a former British | colony | with its own laws and traditions of liberty, a severe crackdown on mostly |
| 20 | ⓘ | doc#0 | t the party will not allow political change in Hong Kong, the former British | colony | of 7.2 million people. "If he had negotiated from a position of strength," M |

**Concordance 4** A concordance of "colon*" in the *NYT* English corpus.

Overall, the representation of colonialism has been reduced by about a quarter in *RN*

and three-quarters on *BBC Chinese*. It was more than doubled on *EJ Insight* and

remained roughly the same on *NYT Chinese*. A possible reason for this is that *RN* tends to downplay Hong Kong being a former British colony, but foregrounds its narrative of Hong Kong entering a new era as part of the larger Chinese family. *EJ Insight* accepts the problematic situation of colonial rule by comparing it to the other former British colonies such as Malaysia and Singapore. Many of the additions are due to the substitution of referential expressions. By comparison with the large number of colonial references in the BBC English corpus, the representation of colonialism in its Chinese narratives was reduced to a large extent. This surprising finding contradicts Lee et al. (2005, p.326) who suggest that the British media highlighted "imperial nostalgia" in the coverage of Hong Kong's handover. Unsurprisingly, *NYT Chinese* maintained the association of Hong Kong with its being a former British colony, something salient in its English narratives.

### 4.2.3 Lexical Items in the Representation of Communism

The Occupy Movement is often framed as a struggle for democracy by the protesters in the Western media under a meta-narrative of "democracy versus communism" or "capitalism versus communism" (Sparks, 2015). Frequencies of "communis*" were searched for in all English corpora, which were then compared with the frequencies of its Chinese equivalents "共产*" (communis*) and "中共" (CCP) combined in all Chinese corpora. The frequencies of these words related to communism were reduced by about two-thirds in the *RN* and *EJ Insight* translated corpora but increased by around one-fifth in the *NYT* translated corpus and doubled in the *BBC* translated corpus.

A search of "communis*" in the *RN* English corpus resulted in 39 (583.06 ppm) instances, all in the form of "communist(s)". It was found that "communist" co-occurs with "party" in 29 of 39 instances (74%) as shown in its KWIC in Concordance 5, which refers to the ruling CCP. It also collated with other words such as "government", "authorities" and "ideas". A search of its Chinese equivalent "共产*" in the *RN* Chinese corpus resulted in five (155.27 ppm) instances of "共产党", all referring to the Communist Party. The Chinese abbreviation of the Chinese Communist Party "中共" (CCP) turned up in six instances (186.32 ppm). It was found that the concordances of communist which are critical of the CCP were

omitted only with those of positive or neutral concordances left in the translated corpus.



**Concordance 5** A concordance of "communis*" in the *RN* English corpus sorted by the first word to the right.

As Example 6 shows, a news article in the *SCMP* on 10 November highlights "the rule of law" and "one country, two systems", two key concepts endorsed by the CCP, when reporting the meeting between the Chinese President and the CE. Its transedited version in *RN* on 11 November was a relatively faithful translation through attributing these two concepts to the CCP instead of President Xi. This increases the credibility of the CCP and downplays the authoritarian element in the original narrative. Such a dramatic decrease in the frequencies of words related "communist" and the exclusive use of the communist party could be explained by the Chinese government being keen to promote an innovative form of socialism with Chinese characteristics and distance itself from the perceived negative connotations often associated with communism from the cold war.

**Example 6**

> ST: "Rule of law" is Xi's latest catchphrase and the central theme of the latest policy blueprint endorsed by **the Communist Party**. Xi reportedly told Leung that the blueprint mentioned the importance of safeguarding "one country, two systems". (*SCMP*, 10 November, 2014.11.11.16.1.en)

TT: "依法治国"是**<u>中国共产党</u>**最新通过的政策蓝图的主题，强调依法保障"一国两制"实践。(*RN*, 11 November, 2014.11.11.zh)

Gloss: *"Rule of law" is the theme of the latest policy blueprint adopted by* **<u>the Chinese Communist Party</u>**, *which emphasises the practice of "one country, two systems" in accordance with the law.*

Searches of "共產*" (communis*) and "中共" (CCP) in the *EJ Insight* Chinese corpus resulted in five (130.61 ppm) and 23 (600.82 ppm) instances respectively, which indicates the local Chinese newspaper's preference for "中共" (CCP) in referring to the party. "共產" (communis*) collocates with "國家" (country) in one instance and "黨/黨员" (party/party member) in the other four instances. "中共" (CCP) collocates with a range of words such as "專權" (authority), "統治" (rule), "領袖" (leader) and "老幹部" (cadre). A search of "communis*" in the *EJ Insight* translated corpus resulted in 10 (485.39 ppm) instances of communist as shown in Concordance 6, collocating with words such as *party* (4), *officials* (2), *cadre*, *ideology*, *leaders* and *rule*. Concordances of "共產*" (communis*) and "中共" (CCP) in the original corpus suggest that the *HKEJ* columnists mainly hold a negative attitude towards the one-party system on the mainland and the pro-Beijing camps in Hong Kong. The representation of *communist* is substantially reduced from 28 (731.43 ppm) to 10 (485.39 ppm) instances. The evaluation of the Communist Party combines neutral and negative connotations in the translated commentaries on *EJ Insight*, as illustrated in its concordance.



| 1 | ⓘ | #17789 | ales downturn, keep in mind that those expensive items depend more on | **Communist** | cadre from across the border, rather than Hong Kong locals, to keep the |
| 2 | ⓘ | #1015 | matter about how to enhance governance. </s><s> Nonetheless, since | **communist** | ideology is in the blood of Leung and Beijing has labeled Occupy Centra |
| 3 | ⓘ | #6972 | and numerous private-equity funds operated by princelings of prominent | **Communist** | leaders. </s><s> Mainland buyers are also active players in the city's hig |
| 4 | ⓘ | #4911 | Kong, Beijing is caught in a truly embarrassing position. </s><s> Senior | **Communist** | officials, including vice premier Wang Yang and Chen Zuoer, former dep |
| 5 | ⓘ | #11555 | ice Occupy has been labeled as a color revolution by a number of senior | **Communist** | officials, students must exercise maximum caution when they embark or |
| 6 | ⓘ | #7161 | on framework and the whole related political superstructure including the | **Communist** | party, National People's Congress, the SAR government, nomination cor |
| 7 | ⓘ | #9321 | ts must keep themselves abreast of the history and present status of the | **Communist** | party as well as China, so as to explore a new path to Hong Kong's dem |
| 8 | ⓘ | #11400 | ><s> Beijing is known for going back on its word. </s><s> But the recent | **Communist** | Party plenum may have just provided Hong Kong student representative |
| 9 | ⓘ | #4468 | CCTVB (in a sarcastic analogy to China Central Television, or CCTV, the | **Communist** | Party's propaganda machine) due to its pro-government stance in news |
| 10 | ⓘ | #6259 | ngkongers, many of whom emigrated before the handover due to fear of | **Communist** | rule, and who support Hong Kong independence. </s><s> LegCo will be |

**Concordance 6** A concordance of "communis*" in the *EJ Insight* English corpus sorted by the first word to the right.

A search of "communis*" in the *BBC* English corpus resulted in 61 (1,117.2 ppm) instances of *communist*. This finding is consistent with that of Sparks that the UK press usually use the word in the form of "communist" which refers to the CCP,

instead of "communism" which refers to a social system in its coverage of the Occupy Movement (2015, p.435). The lemma *communist* collocates with *party* (39), *revolution* (3), *rule* (2), *China* (2), *state*, *authorities*, *history*, *ideas*, *leaders*, *leadership* and *mainland*. Its Chinese equivalent "共产*" occurs 28 (1,107.29 ppm) times in the *BBC* Chinese corpus, with 21 (75%) instances of "共产党" (communist party), with one example of "共产主义者" (communist) and another six cases of "共产" (communist) which collocate with "大陆" (mainland), "制度" (system), "时代" (era), "理念" (ideas) and "理想" (aspiration). The abbreviation "中共" (CCP) occurs 26 (1,028.2 ppm) times in the BBC translated corpus, collocating with "领导人" (leaders), "党报" (party newspaper), "领导层" (leadership), "党史" (party history), "政权" (authorities), "高层" (high-level), "官方" (official) and "历史" (history). The lexical items related to communist/communism dropped from 61 (1,117.2 ppm) instances in the original corpus to 54 (2,135.49 ppm) cases in the translated corpus. Considering that the *BBC* Chinese corpus is around half the size of its English counterpart, the lexical representation of communist/communism was double in the *BBC* Chinese corpus.

*NYT Chinese* slightly increased the number of lexical items in the representation of communist in its translated narratives and maintained the US media's perennially negative frame of anti-communism from the original English narratives. The lemma "communis*" exists solely in the form of "communist" in the *NYT* English corpus and mainly collates with "party" to the first word on the right in 64 of 75 (85%) instances, in reference to the CCP. Other collocations of "communist" include *power* (2), *regime* (2), *government* (2), *machinery* and *China*. A search of its Chinese equivalent "共产*" in the *NYT* Chinese corpus found 68 instances (643.09 ppm) with 65 instances of "共产党" (communist party), two of "共产主义" (communism) and one of "共产主义者" (communist). Frequent collocates of "共产党" (communist party) in the *NYT Chinese* include "控制" (control), "领导层" (leadership), "领导人" (leader) and "政权" (regime). This depicts the CCP administration as a single-party authoritarian regime, along with the pro-Beijing local SAR government, repressing the pro-democracy people of Hong Kong. The abbreviation of the Chinese Communist Party, "中共" (CCP), occurs 26 times (245.89 ppm) in the translated corpus, making the total number of instances of

words related to communist/communism in the translated corpus 94 (888.98 ppm), one-fifth more than the 75 (734.73 ppm) occurrences of "communis*" in its original corpus. Example 7 illustrates the addition of lexical items related to communism. The *NYT Chinese* translator explicitly identified the second "party" as "共产党" (communist party) and the subject of "its" as "中共" (CCP), while still maintaining the translation of the first "party" and "anti-Communist" as "党" (party) and "反共" (anti-Communist) respectively.

**Example 7**

> ST: On Saturday, *People's Daily*, **the party**'s main newspaper, suggested that the Occupy movement was part of an effort to subvert **its** power across China, and likened Occupy to a "color revolution," **the party**'s phrase for **anti-Communist** insurrections. (*The NYT*, 5 October, 2014.10.05.1.en)

> TT: 周六，**党**的喉舌《人民日报》发表文章称，占中运动是试图动摇**中共**执政地位的行动之一，并将占中运动比作"颜色革命"——**共产党**形容**反共**叛乱的措辞。(*The NYT* Chinese, 5 October, 2014.10.05.1.zh)

> Gloss: *On Saturday, **the party's** mouthpiece, the PD, published an article saying that the Occupy Central movement was one of the actions to shake the ruling status of **the CCP**, and compared the Occupy movement to the "colour revolution" – the wording of **the Communist Party** in a description of **anti-communist** rebellion.*

Overall, the results in this subsection suggest that the media outlets mainly employ "communist" in their English narratives in referring to the ruling party on the Chinese mainland, whereas they seldom use "communism" in reference to its socio-political system in general. The lexical representation of communism increased by one-fifth in the *NYT* translated corpus and doubled in the *BBC* Chinese corpus due to the prevailing narratives of anti-communism that marked the coverage of the protests in the UK and the US media. The representation of communism decreased by almost one-third in *RN* and *EJ Insight* translated corpora in which the negative connotations of the CCP were significantly downplayed.

### 4.2.4  Lexical Items in the Representation of Tibet

The selected media occasionally relate the situation in Hong Kong to other autonomous regions of China such as Tibet and Xinjiang in their coverage of the Occupy Central movement. The frequencies of words related to Tibet in the English

news corpora were compared with those of words related to its Chinese equivalent "西藏" in the Chinese corpus. "Tibet*" was searched for in the English news corpora and "*藏*" in the Chinese corpora. Excluding results unrelated to Tibet, the occurrences of *Tibet* reduced notably in the translated news corpora compared to their originals in the *RN*, *EJ Insight* and *BBC Chinese* corpora, while it remained the same on *NYT Chinese*. The frequency of words related to "西藏" or "Tibet" in the translated corpora decreased to one-fifth compared to their originals in the *RN* corpora, around one-quarter on *EJ Insight*, about one-half on *BBC Chinese* and remained the same on *NYT Chinese*.

The Tibet issue is heavily censored in the Chinese mainland media. A search of "Tibet*" in the *RN* English corpus resulted in the five instances shown in its KWIC in Concordance 7. The occurrence of "Tibet*" reduced from five (74.75 ppm) times to one (31.05 ppm) in the translated corpus. The English-language news media frame Tibet as a region lacking in democracy and experiencing separatist unrest. However, there is only one occurrence of its Chinese equivalent, "西藏", in the *RN* Chinese corpus. It is translated from a news item originally published in the Russian newspaper *Vzglyad* which accuses the US of playing the nationalism and religion cards on the Xinjiang and Tibet issues. Moreover, original narratives regarding "[China's] disdain for international condemnation of its Tibet policy" from *The Diplomat* on 11 October, and another two mentions of the Dalai Lama as "Tibet's spiritual leader" from *Reuters* and *The Guardian* on 1 December are all removed in the translated narratives in *RN*. Not only were mentions of Tibet kept to a minimum in the Chinese newspaper, but even in news items on the Tibet issue which have been translated, though there are also some ideologically-driven changes made between the original and translated news articles (Pan, 2015; Xia, 2016).



**Concordance 7**  A concordance of "Tibet*" in the *RN* English corpus.

Since the handover, the Hong Kong media has been placed under political pressure by the Chinese central government on sensitive issues such as Taiwanese and

Tibetan independence. News outlets are likely to impose various forms of self-censorship on their news content (Zhang, 2010; Kwong, 2015). The frequency of words relating to Tibet dropped from 15 (391.84 ppm) in the *EJ Insight* Chinese corpus to three (145.62 ppm) in the *EJ Insight* English corpus. These mainly appear in a commentary by Lian Yizheng published in the *HKEJ* on 23 October which compares various aspects of Occupy Central in Hong Kong with past independence movements that occurred in Tibet, Xinjiang and Taiwan.



| 1 | ⓘ | doc#0 | number of pro-independence groups. The situation will be similar to that of | **Tibet** | , where locals also share their own set of core values (mainly Tibetan Budd |
| 2 | ⓘ | doc#0 | o that of Tibet, where locals also share their own set of core values (mainly | **Tibetan** | Buddhist doctrine) and their pro-independent movements are generally pea |
| 3 | ⓘ | doc#0 | heir pro-independent movements are generally peaceful as well. Overseas | **Tibetans** | advocate a self-governing political entity in the region while the umbrella m |

**Concordance 8**  A concordance of "Tibet*" in the *EJ Insight* English corpus.

Example 8 illustrates how the representation of Tibet is omitted in translation on *EJ Insight*. The translated commentary made several omissions from the original version. It omitted to mention the other two movements in Taiwan and Xinjiang, the populations of Tibet and Hong Kong and overseas Tibetans and Hongkongers. It excluded the substantial impact of Occupy Movement in recent years overseas. It also failed to mention the three core values of Hong Kong: freedom, the rule of law and democracy. The meaning of "避秦", which means "to escape war or violence", was mitigated by translating it as "fear of Communist rule". By providing a general summary, the overall meaning of original commentary was maintained in the translation. There is no apparent ideological shift between the original and translated commentary, though the evaluative meaning becomes implicit.

**Example 8**

> ST: 若與上述三大分離運動比較，香港離心傾向的發展特徵，與**西藏**最為相似：人口數量相若，運動姿態一樣平和，都已經有一套核心價值（在**西藏**是**藏傳**佛教，在香港是三位一體的自由、法治與民主）。此外，**藏族**移居境外者，人數四十萬左右，普遍支持**藏獨**。(*HKEJ*, 23 October, 2014.10.27.zh)

> Gloss: *Compared with the above three separation movements, the developmental characteristic of Hong Kong's centrifugal tendency is most similar to that of Tibet: their populations are similar; the movement postures are just as peaceful; and there are already a set of core values (**Tibetan** Buddhism in **Tibet**, and freedom, the rule of law and democracy in Hong Kong). Additionally, the*

*number of **Tibetans** who have moved abroad is about 400,000, and they generally support **Tibetan independence**.*

TT: The situation will be similar to that of **Tibet**, where locals also share their own set of core values (mainly **Tibetan** Buddhist doctrine) and their pro-independence movements are generally peaceful as well. Overseas **Tibetans** advocate a self-governing political entity in the region. (*EJ Insight*, 27 October, 2014.10.27.en)

The Tibet issue has attracted the attention of the British news media continually for decades. Mainstream British newspapers today often portray the Dalai Lama as the spiritual leader of Tibet and criticise China for crackdowns on pro-Tibet demonstrations, under the master-frames of "ethno-nationalism" (He, 2010, p.141) and "liberal individualism" (ibid., p.145). The words related to Tibet occurred seven (128.2 ppm) times in the *BBC* English corpus. Their concordances in the form of KWIC are illustrated in Concordance 9. In five out of the seven occurrences, Tibet collocates with Xinjiang, described as "recalcitrant outposts" (*The Independent*, 2 October) with regular separatist tensions and terrorist attacks. The English narratives frame the Occupy Movement as calling for democracy which the Chinese central government is concerned may spread to other restless regions. Only three out of the seven mentions of Tibet are translated into Chinese, with three (118.64 ppm) occurrences of "西藏" (Tibet) on *BBC Chinese*.



| 1 | ⓘ | doc#0 | k-ness" would send to other recalcitrant outposts of empire, from Taiwan to | **Tibet** | to Guangdong to Xinjiang, would unfailingly damage his prestige. But like o |
| 2 | ⓘ | doc#0 | lutely back police in enforcing the law? China, with separatist headaches in | **Tibet** | and Xinjiang, is concerned that calls for democracy might spread on the ma |
| 3 | ⓘ | doc#0 | Hong Kong, adding that if Beijing yielded, it could have a domino effect with | **Tibet** | , Xinjiang and other parts of the mainland demanding the right to elections. |
| 4 | ⓘ | doc#0 | al parts of its territory, are in differing degrees of revolt. So are Xinjiang and | **Tibet** | , where terrorist attacks and self-immolations have become all-too regular o |
| 5 | ⓘ | doc#0 | s choose to comply with Chinese rules. Inside China, Apple blocks apps on | **Tibet** | and Xinjiang. Microsoft filters its Bing search engine, and Cisco has supplie |
| 6 | ⓘ | doc#0 | tivism, while last month a young man in Gansu province became the 133rd | **Tibetan** | to set himself on fire in gruesome protest against Chinese policies in their h |
| 7 | ⓘ | doc#0 | o repair ties which have been strained since Cameron met the Dalai Lama, | **Tibet's** | spiritual leader. The prime minister's spokesman was sharply critical yester |

**Concordance 9**  A concordance of "Tibet*" in the *BBC* English corpus

Example 9 is a perfect illustration of how *BBC Chinese* faithfully renders the selected *Independent* piece from 2 October. The *BBC Chinese* translator places Tibet in parallel with other regions such as Taiwan, Guangdong and Xinjiang. However, the metaphor for describing these regions as "recalcitrant outposts of empire" is downplayed by translating it as 不安分的地区 (restless areas).

**Example 9**

ST: Nobody can imagine Mr Xi backing down in the face of the Hongkongers' rage: the message such "weakness" would send to other recalcitrant outposts of empire, from **Taiwan** to **Tibet** to **Guangdong** to **Xinjiang**, would unfailingly damage his prestige. (*The Independent*, 2 October, 2014.10.02.1.3.en)

TT: 没有人能设想习先生会在香港人的愤怒面前作出让步，因为这会向<u>台湾</u>、<u>西藏</u>、<u>广东</u>、<u>新疆</u>等不安分的地区释放软弱的信号，威胁他的地位。(*BBC Chinese*, 2 October, 2014.10.02.1.zh)

Gloss: *No one can imagine that Mr Xi will make concessions in the face of the anger of Hong Kong people, because this will release weak signals to the restless areas such as **Taiwan**, **Tibet**, **Guangdong** and **Xinjiang**, threatening his status.*

The US media have focused on the Tibet issue by linking it to democracy and human rights (Kim, 2017), and have represented the Chinese government as adopting "a systemic policy of brutality and repression" there (Liss, 2003, p.308). Words related to Tibet, including *Tibet*, *Tibetan* and *Tibetans*, appeared 15 (146.95 ppm) times in the *NYT* English corpus. As Concordance 10 shows, Tibetans often co-occurs with Uighurs (six out of 15 instances), as two significant minority ethnic groups in China. The *NYT* English narratives distinguish Hong Kong from these two regions. A search of "*藏*" (*Tibet*) in the *NYT* Chinese corpus results 15 instances (141.86 ppm) related to Tibet, including 10 instances of "藏人" (Tibetan), two instances of "西藏" (Tibet), and one instance of "藏区" (Tibetan region), "藏族" (Tibetan ethnicity) and "西藏人" (Tibetan) respectively. These translated narratives are mostly close renditions of their original English versions.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ⓘ | doc#0 | lly guaranteed to quash a protest, and officials across the country, from the | **Tibet** | Autonomous Region to Guangdong Province, next to Hong Kong, often fall |
| 2 | ⓘ | doc#0 | re_file filename="The New York Times English/2014.10.06.3.en.txt"> From | **Tibet** | to Taiwan, China's Outer Regions Watch Hong Kong Protests Intently AND |
| 3 | ⓘ | doc#0 | a Uighur-American lawyer and activist, referring to the regional capitals of | **Tibet** | and Xinjiang. "The difference here is what's happening in Hong Kong is tak |
| 4 | ⓘ | doc#0 | well as to the fringes of Beijing's empire, where it is struggling with suicidal | **Tibetan** | protests and a murderous ethnic insurgency in the northwestern province c |
| 5 | ⓘ | doc#0 | caused when Prime Minister David Cameron met with the Dalai Lama, the | **Tibetan** | spiritual leader, in 2012. (China considers the Dalai Lama an unrepentant s |
| 6 | ⓘ | doc#0 | in Xinjiang, in China's far northwest, as well as the simmering discontent in | **Tibetan** | areas that has prompted more than 130 people to take their own lives throu |
| 7 | ⓘ | doc#0 | pted more than 130 people to take their own lives through self-immolation. | **Tibetan** | and Uighur activists have been especially active on social media, drawing |
| 8 | ⓘ | doc#0 | rian regime that has broken its promises again and again,?Tenzin Jigdal, a | **Tibetan** | activist, said in a phone interview from Dharamsala, India, home to the Tibe |
| 9 | ⓘ | doc#0 | tan activist, said in a phone interview from Dharamsala, India, home to the | **Tibetan** | government in exile. Those promises include constitutional guarantees tha |
| 10 | ⓘ | doc#0 | ngrateful, in the same language that Chinese officials often use to speak of | **Tibetans** | and Uighurs. But Chinese political observers said they had the sense that r |
| 11 | ⓘ | doc#0 | hinese government's authoritarian ways have been most apparent. Among | **Tibetans** | and Uighurs, beleaguered ethnic minorities in China's far west, there is hop |
| 12 | ⓘ | doc#0 | ıs Hong Kong does. In reality, the sprawling autonomous regions set up for | **Tibetans** | , Uighurs, Mongolians and other groups are run by ethnic Han Chinese offi |
| 13 | ⓘ | doc#0 | judiciary and a relatively unfettered press, their complaints echo those that | **Tibetans** | and Uighurs have been making for years: about growing interference from |
| 14 | ⓘ | doc#0 | ons on mainlanders. The anxieties of Hong Kongers are not unlike those of | **Tibetans** | or Uighurs in other Chinese borderlands, where the ethnic Han majority's n |
| 15 | ⓘ | doc#0 | ıs migration is altering the local way of life. But unlike a significant portion of | **Tibetans** | and Uighurs, Hong Kongers generally do not seek independence from Chir |

**Concordance 10** A concordance of "Tibet*" in the *NYT* English corpus.

Overall, these results indicate that *RN* limits the number of narratives on the Tibet issue to a minimum due to media censorship on the issue on the Chinese mainland. The lexical items on Tibet are reduced by one-third on *EJ Insight*, possibly because of self-censorship. *BBC* and *NYT* Chinese websites maintain much of the representation of Tibet by linking it to various topics such as democracy and human rights as well as criticisms of China's policy towards Tibet related to the situation in Hong Kong.

This section compares the frequency of lexical items in the representations of several issues in relation to the protests, including the police, colonialism, communism and Tibet. Through the comparison of word frequency between the original corpus and its translated corpus, it is found that some words have been accentuated or undermined by the media outlets in the translation process. The next section moves on to examine the keywords between different translated news corpora.

## 4.3 Comparison of Keywords between Translated News Corpora

This section investigates the narratives that the translated news corpora tend to reinforce at a macro-textual level. The frequency list for each translated corpus is firstly compared with that of reference corpora to generate a list of keywords. The 25 most frequent English and Chinese keywords of translated corpora are then compared with that of another media outlet. The keywords of translated news corpora are tagged according to the UCREL Semantic Analysis System (USAS) by using its automatic English and Chinese taggers. They were then reviewed for unmatched words, which were then tagged manually in line with the tag sets. The keywords were categorised into six major semantic groups in relation to their topics or themes. Table 4 shows the comparison of the top 25 keywords grouped in this way.

**Table 4** Comparison of top 25 keywords in the translated news corpora by different semantic groups.

| | *RN Chinese* | *EJ Insight English* | *BBC Chinese* | *The NYT Chinese* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Personal names** | 林郑月娥 (Carrie Lam), 卡梅伦 (Cameron), 彭定康 (Chris Patten), 梁振英 (Leung Chun-ying) | Tung, Lam, Lian, Yizheng, Leung | 习近平 (Xi Jinping), 梁振英 (Leung Chun-ying), 彭定康 (Chris Patten), 刘慧卿 (Emily Lau) | 梁振英 (Leung Chun-ying), 黄之锋 (Joshua Wong), 储百亮 (Chris Buckley), 傅才德 (Mike Forsythe), Chris, Buckley, ALAN, WONG, Wong |
| **Geographical names** | 中环 (Central), 金钟 (Admiralty), 旺角 (Mong Kok) | Hong, Kong, SAR, mainland, Admiralty, Mong, Kok | 旺角 (Mong Kok) | 金钟 (Admiralty), 中环 (Central), 旺角 (Mong Kok) |
| **Government & public domain** | 立法会 (LegCo), 港府 (HK government), 特首 (CE), 长官 (chief), 香港人 (Hongkonger) | Scholarism, KMT, LegCo, Hongkonger, Hongkongers | 特首 (CE), 香港人 (Hongkonger) | 立法会 (LegCo), 香港人 (Hongkonger) |
| **Social actions** | 占中 (Occupy Central), 示威 (demonstration), 抗议 (protest), 示威者 (demonstrator), 抗议者 (protester) | Occupy, protester, handover | 占中 (Occupy Central), 示威 (demonstration), 抗议 (protest), 抗议者 (protester), 示威者 (demonstrator) | 占中 (Occupy Central), 示威 (demonstration), 抗议 (protest), 抗议者 (protester), 示威者 (demonstrator) |
| **Causes** | 政改 (political reform), 普选 (universal suffrage) | suffrage | 政改 (political reform), 普选 (universal suffrage) | |
| **Processes** | 拘捕 (arrest), 禁制令 (injunction), 清场 (clearance) | bailiff | 催泪弹 (tear gas), 雨伞 (umbrella), 清场 (clearance), 占领区 (occupation) | 催泪 (tear), 胡椒 (pepper), 雨伞 (umbrella), 路障 (barricade), 营地 (campsite), 清场 (clearance) |
| **Others** | 法新社 (AFP), 南华 (SCMP), 路透社 (Reuters) | Bourse, CSSTA, GaveKal | 责编 (editor), 英媒 (British media), 卫报 (The Guardian), 金丝雀 (canary), 每日 (Daily), 电讯报 (Telegraph), 推特 (Twitter) | |

From Table 4, we can see that the media outlets focus on various aspects of the protests, including proper nouns, government, social actions, causes and processes. They employ different personal and geographical names in their news stories but also share some prominent keywords such as *Leung Chun-ying*, *Occupy Central*, *Mong Kok*, *Hongkonger*, *protester*, *protest*, *demonstrator* and *demonstration*. Despite their similarities, each media outlet relies on more keywords from some semantic groups than others to frame its own narratives. For instance, *RN* selects many sources from other media like *AFP*, *Reuters* and the *SCMP*. *BBC Chinese* exploits a great deal of material from the British media such as *The Guardian* and *Daily Telegraph* and incorporates "英媒 (British media)" into its headlines. Media outlets tend to emphasise different aspects of keywords even within the same semantic group. As Gabrielatos says, "the identification of key items is only the first stage, a manual analysis is required to establish the use of the items in context" (2018, p.228). What follows contextualises the representations of several keywords with reference to individual and geographical names, government and public domains, social actions, causes and processes.

### 4.3.1 Keywords with Reference to Individuals

The media outlets reference many individuals by name. *RN* draws attention to a variety of politicians including Leung Chun-ying and Carrie Lam from the Hong Kong SAR government, Chris Patten and former British Prime Minister David Cameron. This suggests that the newspaper regards Hong Kong as an important political issue in the context of bilateral Sino-British relationships. The newspaper describes how Carrie Lam, the then Chief Secretary for Administration, was appointed by the SAR government to negotiate with student protesters. It also explicitly criticises Patten for advocating democratic reform in his last term of office. Cameron is also condemned for expressing his concern over the events, with his criticism of the Chinese government for banning a British parliamentary delegation from visiting Hong Kong also cited.

*EJ Insight* published translated commentaries which originally appeared in the *HKEJ* by the founder of the newspaper, Lam Hang-chi, and columnist Lian Yizheng who expresses support for the student activists. Among the 21 occurrences of *Lam*, 12 are devoted to Carrie Lam and nine are about Lam Hang-chi (since they both

share a surname). There are also 11 occurrences of *Tung* relating to the first CE, Tung Chee-hwa. The newspaper provides seemingly impartial and objective commentary on Tung Chee-hwa, as evinced in Example 10. This example comes from a Lam Hang-chi commentary published on *EJ Insight* on 6 October. The original commentary appeared in the *HKEJ* more than a year beforehand on 5 September 2013. Contrasting *RN*'s highlighting of the central government's firm support for the CE, the *HKEJ* criticises Leung Chun-ying for poor governance. The newspaper also attributes the failure to Tung Chee-hwa.

**Example 10**

> ST: 造成當前社會混亂且可說險象環生，近因為梁振英政府人謀不臧，遠因卻起自**董建華**急於求成的不成熟管治。(*HKEJ*, 2014.10.06.1.2.zh)

> Gloss: *The current social chaos and dangers are caused due to the incomprehensive planning of the Leung Chun-ying government in the short term and the immature governance of Tung Chee-hwa who were eager to achieve success in the long term.*

> TT: Chief Executive Leung Chun-ying should bear much of the blame for the political stalemate and chaos in Hong Kong, but the underlying cause can be traced back to the **Tung Chee-hwa** era. (*EJ Insight*, 2014.10.06.1.en)

*BBC Chinese* features a personal narrative by Emily Lau Wai-hing, a pro-democratic politician who openly supported the protests. Entitled "Hong Kong's political haircut" and originally published on the BBC English website on 22 October, the article relates her personal experience of being confronted in a local hairdresser's shop and quizzed by a citizen who opposes the protests. Perhaps surprisingly, *BBC Chinese* mentions the Chinese president 习近平 (Xi Jinping) 55 times (2,175.03 ppm), the most by any of the media outlets. Concordances of the keyword in the BBC Chinese corpus suggests that, in most circumstances, the news website implies that, since President Xi took office, China has tightened its control over the media. The website expresses the belief that Xi will not give Hong Kong the democracy which the protesters demand or compromise on the issue.

Example 11 shows a concordance of *Xi Jinping* from an article in the *Daily Telegraph* and its translation was posted on *BBC Chinese* on 2 October. Here, the correspondent places Hong Kong on the same footing as China, ignoring the fact that Hong Kong is, in reality, part of China and not an independent state. The British

press frequently labelled the protests as the Umbrella Revolution, a loaded term carrying within it the notion of intent to overthrow the regime. The *BBC Chinese* translator omits *China's*, the modifier of President Xi, thus avoiding overt opposition to the Chinese government position. It still, however, retains the translation Umbrella Revolution in its translation.

**Example 11**

> ST: China's <u>**Xi Jinping**</u> cannot make any serious concession to Hong Kong's democracy movement. The Umbrella Revolution spreading from the main island to the poorer quarters of Kowloon is an existential threat to the Chinese Communist Party. (*BBC* English, 2014.10.02.2.en)

> TT: 《每日电讯报》的分析文章也认为，"<u>**习近平**</u>不可能对香港民主运动作出任何重大的让步"，因为这场"雨伞革命"对中国共产党来说是一个"生死攸关的威胁"。(*BBC* Chinese, 2014.10.02.2.zh)

> Gloss: *The analysis article in the Daily Telegraph also held that "**Xi Jinping** is not likely to make any major concessions to the Hong Kong democratic movement" because this "Umbrella Revolution" is a "life-threatening danger" to the CCP.*

*NYT Chinese* heavily relies on its correspondents Chris Buckley, Mike Forsythe and Alan Wong, as is evident from the relevant keywords. It also highlights Joshua Wong, one of the student leaders of the Occupy Movement, with 78 (737.67 ppm) occurrences. The website provides both English and Chinese equivalent names in its reports which explains why they all remain prominent in the keyword list.

### 4.3.2 Keywords with Reference to Geographical Names

Besides *Hong Kong*, *SAR* and *mainland* from *EJ Insight*, keywords referring to location names include 中环 (Central), 金钟 (Admiralty) and 旺角 (Mong Kok). Their word frequencies are displayed in the figure below. The Occupy Central movement was officially launched outside the government headquarters in Admiralty and later spread to other areas of the city. Major sites of protests included Mong Kok, Admiralty and Causeway Bay. Each site has its own distinctive characteristics with reference to the protests. Admiralty was mainly occupied by student protesters and Mong Kok by people from all walks of life but mainly the working class. Causeway Bay hosted the smallest protests and was the last site to be

cleared away on 15 December. *Central* is often associated with *Occupy*, given the naming of the series of protests as "Occupy Central".



| | RN | HKEJ | BBC | The NYT |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 中环/Cental | 19 | 19 | 13 | 64 |
| 旺角/Mong Kok | 42 | 18 | 18 | 137 |
| 金钟/Admiralty | 22 | 9 | 14 | 94 |
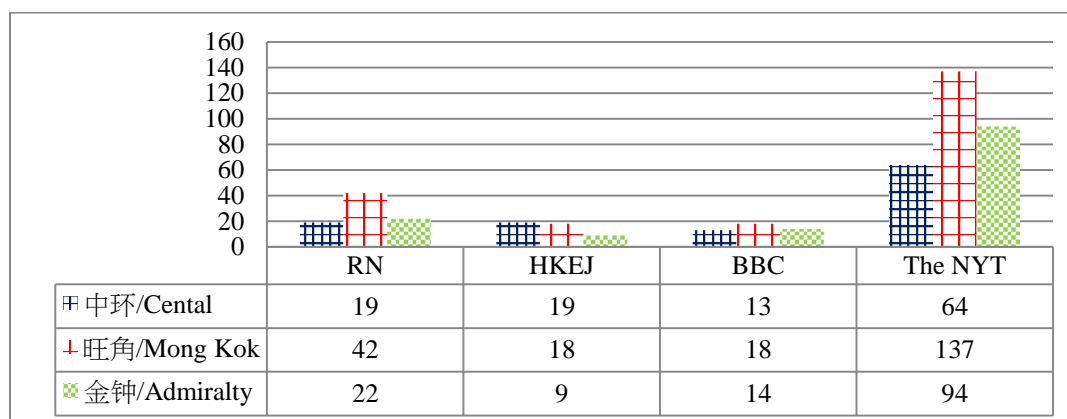
**Figure 10** Frequencies of 中环/*Central*, 旺角/*Mong Kok* and 金钟/*Admiralty* in the
news corpora.

Figure 10 shows that *NYT* references more geographical names than the other news media. Mong Kok appears to attract the most media attention among the three geographical names, except on *EJ Insight*. However, the Mong Kok site was the earliest to be cleared away on 26 November. Mong Kok is a busy shopping area in Hong Kong with a high population density. Throughout the protests, confrontations, sometimes violent, between police and protesters took place in Mong Kok. The police contended that gang members had infiltrated the protest, inciting violent confrontation. The differences between the sites are evident in Example 12, where *NYT* quotes from a protester who compares the Mong Kok and Admiralty sites in an article published on 14 December.

**Example 12**

> ST: "The vibe here is no good. There's no spirit of struggle," said Cheung Pak-lam, a 25-year-old maintenance man for pet hospitals. Mr Cheung said he was a refugee, first fleeing **Mong Kok** when the police tore down that camp, then decamping to **Admiralty**, until that camp disappeared. (*The NYT*, 14 December, 2014.12.14.2.en)

> TT: "这里的氛围不好。没有斗争精神，"宠物医院维修员张柏林（Cheung Pak-lam，音译）说。25 岁的张柏林表示，他就像一名难民，首先警方清理**旺角**营地，他逃离了那里，后来逃到**金钟**，直到那里的营地也被清除。(*The NYT* Chinese, 14 December, 2014.12.14.2.zh)

Gloss: *"The atmosphere here is not good. There is no fighting spirit," said Cheung Pak-lam, a pet hospital maintainer. The 25-year-old Cheung Pak-lam said he was like a refugee. First, the police cleared the Mong Kok camp. He fled there and later fled to Admiralty until the camp there was also cleared.*

### 4.3.3 Keywords with Reference to Government and Public Domain

Nearly half of the keywords in *RN* relate to the government and public sector, focusing on terms such as 港府 (HK government) and 立法会 (Legislative Council). The newspaper also draws attention to 特首 (41, 1,273.21 ppm) and 行政长官 (42, 1,304.27 ppm), both referring to the CE. Example 13 is an example of 行政长官 (chief executive) in an article translated from the *SCMP*. This example appeared on the front page of the newspaper on 4 October. A headline that is in bold indicates the central government's support for the CE and expresses confidence in his SAR government's management of the matter. This contrasts starkly with the protesters' demand for his resignation. The government emphasises the rule of law and social order, mentioning *law* four times, and describes the Occupy Movement as an illegal activity. The translation is quite faithful to its original in this regard.

**Example 13**

ST: "The central government will continue to be determined to **support** the SAR government led by **Chief Executive** Leung Chun-ying, and **support** Hong Kong police to handle **illegal** activities in accordance with **law**," the piece said. (*SCMP*, 2 October, 2014.10.04.1.3.en)

TT: 该报说：“中央政府将继续坚定不移<u>**支持**</u>梁振英<u>**行政长官**</u>领导的特区政府依法施政，坚决<u>**支持**</u>特区警队<u>**依法**</u>处置<u>**非法**</u>活动。” (*RN*, 4 October, 2014.10.04.zh)

Gloss: *The paper said: "The Central Government will continue to unswervingly **support** the administration of the SAR Government led by **Chief Executive** Leung Chun-ying and resolutely **support** the SAR Police Force dealing with **illegal** activities in accordance with the **law**."*

*EJ Insight* features a large number of keywords relating to political parties and institutions, not only in Hong Kong but also on the Chinese mainland and in Taiwan. Examples include Scholarism, a leading local pro-democracy student activist group led by Joshua Wong and Kuomintang (KMT), a major political party in Taiwan which supports the one-China principle. The site recalls the opposition Democratic

Progressive Party's recent defeat of Kuomintang in local elections. Apart from this kind of keyword, the site also foregrounds the impact of the political events on the local economy. It incorporates two news stories based on interviews with Louis-Vincent Gave, the Chief Executive Officer of Gavekal, a local investment company, articles about the CSSTA (Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement) and Hong Kong and Shanghai Stock Exchange links.

### 4.3.4 Keywords with Reference to Social Actions, Causes and Processes

The media outlets share several keywords on social actions including *Occupy Central*, *demonstration*, *protest*, *demonstrators* and *protesters*. These occur frequently in the *RN*, *BBC* and *The NYT* Chinese corpora. In addition to *occupy* and *protester*, *EJ Insight* emphasises *handover* which occurs eight (388.31 ppm) instances. Its translated commentaries compare the social, political and economic situations in Hong Kong before and after the handover and argue that the city should enjoy a high degree of autonomy and freedom under the Basic Law.

*RN*, *EJ Insight* and *BBC Chinese* relate the causes of the protests to suffrage. *RN* and *BBC Chinese* also mention 政改 (political reform). *RN* claims that the then-current Beijing proposal to select the CE from an election committee is in accordance with the Basic Law and that it is impossible to rescind the decision made by the NPCSC. The newspaper mentions numerous times that the US has urged Hong Kong to implement universal suffrage in its 2017 CE election. *BBC Chinese* also attributes the causes of the protests to demands for 普选 (universal suffrage), a term which occurs 28 times (1,107.29 ppm), more than double the frequency of 政改 (political reform) (12, 474.55 ppm) in the *BBC Chinese* corpus. *EJ Insight* only mentions *suffrage* as the cause of the protests, with 10 (485.39 ppm) instances in its English corpus. Concordance 11 shows a concordance of *suffrage* in the *EJ Insight* English corpus. It is evident that *suffrage* always collocates with *universal* as a phrase, mostly modified by the adjectives *genuine* and *sham*. The site argues that the protesters are calling for genuine universal suffrage because they believe the current electoral framework, which limits the number of candidates, is a sham. However, the cause of the protests seems to be neglected by *NYT Chinese*.

| | | Details | Left context | KWIC | Right context | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ☐ | ⓘ doc#0 s><s> And now why are they vigorously opposing Beijing's universal | | **suffrage** | proposal for Hong Kong? </s><s> Before the 1997 handover, the Bri | |
| 2 | ☐ | ⓘ doc#0 of Students said it well in its slogan: "independent destiny, universal | | **suffrage** | ? </s><s> It is so inspiring as it shows the students have a better gra | |
| 3 | ☐ | ⓘ doc#0 deep skepticism reflects the unswerving pursuit of genuine universal | | **suffrage** | . </s><s> However, many followers and young students, who have b | |
| 4 | ☐ | ⓘ doc#0 :/s><s> It is evident that in Hong Kong's pursuit of genuine universal | | **suffrage** | and full democracy, young students have come to the fore to lead the | |
| 5 | ☐ | ⓘ doc#0 the only bargaining chip we have in our pursuit of genuine universal | | **suffrage** | . </s><s> It remains a daunting task to press ahead with the campaic | |
| 6 | ☐ | ⓘ doc#0 nlikely. </s><s> Hongkongers won't be satisfied with sham universal | | **suffrage** | as many of them know what real democracy looks like, but Beijing is | |
| 7 | ☐ | ⓘ doc#0 on is obvious: after Beijing successfully introduces a sham universal | | **suffrage** | in Hong Kong as it wishes, it will never agree to change it in any way | |
| 8 | ☐ | ⓘ doc#0 ext spring when pan-democratic lawmakers veto the sham universal | | **suffrage** | package in the local legislature. </s><s> People can take turns for a | |
| 9 | ☐ | ⓘ doc#0 ority, was quoted as saying that "there won't be any sort of universal | | **suffrage** | whatsoever, a true one, a fake one, an ideal one, a realistic one nor a | |
| 10 | ☐ | ⓘ doc#0 Taiwan, it was the CSSTA, while in Hong Kong it was fake universal | | **suffrage** | under the National People's Congress Standing Committee's framew | |

**Concordance 11** A concordance of *suffrage* in the *EJ Insight* English corpus.

The outlets also lend differential emphasis to the activities of the movement's participants. *RN* accentuates the likely negative consequences for the participants rather than focusing on their actual activities. 拘捕 (arrest) and 禁制令 (injunction) are prominent, emphasising the illegal nature of the protests. *EJ Insight* argues that the Mong Kok protest site should be cleared by bailiffs instead of the police. The *BBC* and *NYT* Chinese websites both foreground 雨伞 (umbrella) as a symbol of the protests, and keywords like 催泪弹/催泪瓦斯 (tear gas) which the police used to disperse the protesters. *NYT* also stresses several keywords describing aspects of the protest such as 胡椒 (pepper*)*, 路障 (barricade)*,* 营地 (campsite*)* and 清场 (clearance) and focuses on events near the end of the protests involving violent clashes between the police and the protesters. The police are portrayed as brutal and violent while the protesters are depicted as vulnerable and peaceful.

## 4.4 Semantic Prosodies of Keywords

The news media focus on various aspects of the process which is evident in the keywords analysed in Section 4.3. As the protests developed, local people began to take diverging views of them. Media outlets also brought their own opinions and perspectives into news reports. This section investigates the attitudes of the media towards the movement and whether there are any shifts in attitudes between the original and translated narratives. It focuses on the semantic prosodies of several keywords including *Hong Kong*, *China*/*Chinese*, *movement* and *democracy* in the English corpora, and their equivalents in the Chinese corpora. These words were selected because they are relatively common keywords in both the English and Chinese news corpora, providing adequate data for contrastive analysis. The

semantic analysis considers keywords which occur more than once in each corpus. They would otherwise be statistically invalid "as the low frequency may result in unreliable quantification" (Xiao and McEnery, 2006, p.110).

### 4.4.1 Semantic Prosodies of "*Movement*"

The outlets deploy a variety of semantic prosodies for the Occupy Central movement and its Chinese equivalent term "运动", as shown in Table 5. The number in the bracket after each word indicates the corpus frequency. Common collocates of "*movement*" and its Chinese equivalent "运动" include *occupy*, *central*, *umbrella* and *protest* in English, and "占中" (Occupy Central), "抗议" (protest) and "民主" (democracy) in Chinese. The event is more likely to be presented with positive connotations and called the Umbrella Movement or "雨伞运动" in the *EJ Insight*, *BBC* and *NYT* corpora than in the *RN* corpora. The first three outlets frequently relate the Occupy Central Movement to the Sunflower Movement in Taiwan, but there is no such association in the *RN* corpus. The first three tend to employ a large number of modifiers relating to democracy or civil rights such as *pro-democracy*, *democracy, civil rights*, and *democratic*. These words are translated into Chinese as "亲民主" (pro-democracy), "民主" (democracy) and "民权" (civil rights).

However, the *RN* corpus features a mixture of positive and negative modifiers. Apart from positive nouns such as *pro-democracy* and *democracy*, which are significantly underplayed in its translated corpus, *RN* also employs negative modifiers such as "违法/非法" (illegal), "失控" (out-of-control), "大规模" (mass). Concordance 12 displays how the negative attribute *illegal* is used to modify *movement* in the original *RN* narratives from *AFP* on 5 November and *Daily Telegraph* on 30 November. These negative terms are also used in verbatim quotations from Chinese national government officials and are well maintained in the Chinese translations.



**Concordance 12** A concordance of *movement* modified by *illegal* in the RN
    English corpus.

**Table 5** Word sketches of *movement* and its Chinese equivalent "运动" in the news corpora.

| | | RN (EN>ZH) | | EJ Insight (ZH>EN) | | BBC (EN>ZH) | | The NYT (EN>ZH) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | **English** | **Chinese** | **Chinese** | **English** | **English** | **Chinese** | **English** | **Chinese** |
| **modifiers** | **noun** | occupy (23) central (15) prodemocracy (7) umbrella (5) democracy (5) protest (5) | 民主 (9) 抗议 (2) | 佔中 民主 雨伞 | umbrella (8) occupy (9) sunflower (6) civil (7) central (2) | occupy (19) umbrella (15) central (14) protest (8) civil (5) democracy (3) sunflower (2) pro-democracy (2) | 雨伞 (16) 太阳花 (4) 抗议 (4) 民主 (2) | protest (33) pro-democracy (22) umbrella (11) occupy (10) democracy (8) central (6) sunflower (2) civil rights (2) | 雨伞 (15) 民主 (31) 占中 (6) 抗议 (22) 亲民主 (6) 民权 (2) 太阳花 (2) |
| | **adjective** | illegal (2) | 大规模 失控 | | | | | | |
| **verbs** | *movement*/运动 as an object | hijack (2) crush (2) | | 消耗 利於 | condemn (3) | | 声援 (3) | criticize (2) support (2) | 支持 (3) 批评 (2) |
| | *movement*/运动 as a subject | wane (3) | | 釋出 | | | | sustain (3) | 持续 (5) 唤醒 (2) 赢得 (2) |

Each outlet utilises particular verbs with *movement* both as their subject and object. The *RN* English corpus contains most verbs with negative connotations such as *wane* (3), *hijack* (2) and *crush* (2). Concordance 13 to 15 below from the *RN* English corpus show that when *movement* is the subject, the public support for it was waning, and when *movement* is an object, it was hijacked or crushed. The transitive verb *hijack* in these narratives depicts a vulnerable movement taken control of by external forces. In Concordance 13, the first line relates to the protests in 1989 from the *AP* on 2 October and the second line from *The Washington Times* on 3 October quotes the US government criticising China for using violence against the protests. However, these negative verbs associated with *movement* were all omitted in the translated *RN* narratives. Concordance 14 shows how the transitive verb *hijack* was used. The first sentence, in active voice, describes that the Actor "Occupy" had hijacked the Goal "movement". The passive voice in Sentence 2 indicates that the Goal "movement" was hijacked without mentioning its Actor. In this way, the English narrative downplays the damage caused by violent protesters and criminals.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| CQL crush + movement 2 (29.9 per million) | 🔍 ⬇ ↶ ⊙ ✖ = = GD EX 🖻 ••• 📊 KWIC ▾ + ☆ | | |
| Details | Left context | KWIC | Right context |
| 1 ⓘ doc#0 | in China's state-run media on the mainland, where a 1989 pro-democracy | **movement** | was **crushed** in a brutal crackdown in Beijing's Tiananmen Square and ha |
| 2 ⓘ doc#0 | ꜫ protesters by warning Chinese authorities against violently **crushing** the | **movement** | . </s><s> Protest leaders have reportedly welcomed an offer by Hong Kor |

**Concordance 13**  A concordance of *movement* as object collocate with *crush* in the
       *RN* English corpus.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| CQL hijack + movement 2 (29.9 per million) | 🔍 ⬇ ↶ ⊙ ✖ = = GD EX 🖻 ••• 📊 KWIC ▾ + ☆ | | |
| Details | Left context | KWIC | Right context |
| 1 ⓘ doc#0 | d about some students' complaints that Occupy had **hijacked** the student | **movement** | , Leong said he "fully understands" Occupy's decision to advance the date |
| 2 ⓘ doc#0 | s><s> "I'm not going to abandon them just because people are saying the | **movement** | was **hijacked** . </s><s> My core goal is to support the students and I will c |

**Concordance 14**  A concordance of *movement* as object collocate with *hijack* in the
       *RN* English corpus.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| CQL wane + movement 3 (44.85 per million) | 🔍 ⬇ ↶ ⊙ ✖ = = GD EX 🖻 ••• 📊 KWIC ▾ + ☆ | | |
| Details | Left context | KWIC | Right context |
| 1 ⓘ doc#0 | diverted. </s><s> As grievances mount, support for the civil disobedience | **movement** | is **waning** . </s><s> However much we share the democratic aspirations, |
| 2 ⓘ doc#0 | s the sit-ins drag on with several surveys suggesting public support for the | **movement** | is **waning** , Occupy Central's co-founders are planning to surrender to pol |
| 3 ⓘ doc#0 | ꜫir peak. </s><s> Numbers have since dwindled and public support for the | **movement** | has **waned** . </s><s> Additional reporting by Diana Chan, Kinling Lo, Clar |

**Concordance 15**  A concordance of *movement* as subject collocate with *wane* in the
       *RN* English corpus.

The *EJ Insight* translator retains both positive and negative expressions about the movement and keeps most of these verbs in its translated corpus. The *EJ Insight* corpus depicts the movement ambivalently: Concordance 16 shows it condemned by the local authorities and residents which have adopted tactics to "消耗" (diminish) the enthusiasm of protesters; however, the movement is said to have "释出" (generated) tremendous enthusiasm which is "利于" (conducive) to its sustainability.



**Concordance 16**  A concordance of *movement* as object collocate with *condemn* in the *EJ Insight* English corpus.

The *BBC* and *NYT* translated corpora mainly use verbs which demonstrate favour for the movement as can be seen in Table 5. The *BBC* Chinese corpus uses "运动" (movement) as an object in a translated narrative on 29 October which collocates with being "声援" (supported) by foreign expatriates living in Hong Kong. The Chinese verb "声援" is often used to express its support for a massive civil movement.



**Concordance 17**  A concordance of "运动" (movement) modified by "声援" (support) in the *BBC* Chinese corpus.

The *NYT* corpus depicts a fragile movement which had already "持续" (endured) for a long time but will not last much longer. It has "唤醒" (roused) the democratic consciousness Hong Kong people, even those who did not care previously about politics. The movement "赢得" (won) extensive sympathy and global attention. As an object, *movement* collocates with being "批评" (criticised) by an editorial in the *PD* and by Leung Chun-ying, but "支持" (supported) by US politicians and some

local politicians and celebrities at the same time. Many of these words with positive connotations were added into the *BBC* and *The NYT* Chinese narratives.

Overall, *RN* narratives tend to use words with unfavourable connotations and take a generally negative attitude towards the movement. *EJ Insight* takes a neutral position by preserving both positive and negative commentaries on the movement. *BBC Chinese* and *NYT Chinese* evince positivity towards the movement.

## 4.4.2  Semantic Prosodies of "*Democracy*"

*Democracy* and its Chinese equivalent "民主" are relevant because the protests are often framed in the Western media as pursuing democracy. These words frequently occur in their respective corpora. "民主" (democracy) occurs more frequently in the Chinese corpora (599) than its counterpart in the English corpora (362). The word is also more frequent in translated than untranslated corpora, particularly in the *NYT* ones. Table 6 presents the word sketches of democracy and its Chinese equivalent "民主". The media outlets employ various adjectives to modify *democracy* and its Chinese equivalent "民主". It is often associated with positive adjectives such as *full*, *true*, *liberal*, *real*, *great*, *genuine* and *more*, and a smaller number of negative ones like *fake*, *sham*, *unacceptable* in the English corpora. However, these negative adjectives are often used to criticise the *status quo* in Hong Kong, while they are minimised in the Chinese corpora. For instance, *EJ Insight* highlights several good attributes of democracy by using *true*, *full*, *genuine* and *real* in its translated corpus, as shown in Table 6.

**Table 6** Word sketches of *democracy* and its Chinese equivalent "民主" in the news corpora.

| | | *RN* (EN>ZH) | | *EJ Insight* (ZH>EN) | | *BBC* (EN>ZH) | | *The NYT* (EN>ZH) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | **English (108)** | **Chinese (114)** | **Chinese (63)** | **English (22)** | **English (91)** | **Chinese (62)** | **English (141)** | **Chinese (360)** |
| **modifiers** | **adjective** | full (7)<br>true (4)<br>fake (4)<br>liberal (2)<br>real (2)<br>great (2)<br>more (2)<br>political (2) | 过度<br>真正 | | true<br>full<br>genuine<br>real | great (6)<br>western-style (4)<br>sham (4)<br>more (5)<br>liberal (2)<br>genuine (2)<br>unacceptable | 西方式<br>完整<br>全面<br>更多 | great (5)<br>western (3)<br>more (6)<br>true (2)<br>full (3) | 亲 (33) |
| **verbs** | *democracy*/民主 **as an object** | introduce (4)<br>demand (3)<br>grant (2)<br>want (2) | 支持 (7)<br>推行 (2)<br>争取 (2)<br>实行 (2)<br>希望 (2)<br>要 (2) | 向往<br>建立<br>争取<br>失去 | pursue<br>want<br>advocate<br>give | want (3)<br>demand (2) | 缺乏 (2)<br>争取 (4) | favor (2)<br>achieve (2)<br>want (2) | 宣传<br>争取 (11)<br>支持 (15)<br>追求 (5)<br>实现 (3)<br>缺乏 (3) |

*BBC Chinese* eliminates the negative adjective *sham* from its Chinese translation as can be seen from Concordance 18. *Sham* is used to describe *democracy* in the original narratives from the *FT* on 8 and 15 October and the *Daily Telegram* on 29 September and 6 October relating to the 2016 LegCo and the 2017 CE elections. Another adjective *unacceptable* from *The Independent* on 22 October, which is used in Leung Chun-ying's personal narrative to describe the more representative democracy which the protesters demand, is also omitted.



**Concordance 18**  A concordance of *democracy* modified by *sham* in the BBC
   English corpus.

However, *RN* undermines positive associations for *democracy* but maintains the negative ones in its translated narratives. Example 14 demonstrates how the translated *RN* corpus includes a personal narrative from a mainland tourist who believes Hong Kong is seeking "excess democracy". His narrative that chaos may ensue is maintained in the *RN* translated narrative.

**Example 14**

> ST: "**Too much** democracy can get chaotic," said a man from China's northern Shandong province, who would only name his surname, Ma, as he and his family observed the group. (*Quartz*, 1 October, 2014.10.03.8.3.en)

> TT: 来自中国山东省的马先生仅透露了自己的姓氏。他说："**过度的**民主会引发混乱。" (*RN*, 3 October, 2014.10.03.zh)

> Gloss: *Mr Ma from Shandong Province of China only revealed his surname. He said, "**excessive** democracy can lead to confusion."*

All four media outlets present *democracy* as an urgent need which should be supported and strived for. Its desirability is evinced in the verbs that collocate with *democracy* as an object such as *pursue*, *want* and *demand* in English, and "支持" (support), "争取" (strive) and "追求" (pursue) in Chinese. However, *BBC* and *NYT*

also highlight the semantic prosody of "insufficiency" (Liu and Jiang, 2019, p.639), that is the lack of democracy in their translated narratives, as illustrated in Concordance 19 and 20. The first sentence from *BBC Chinese* on 3 October and the first sentence from *The NYT Chinese* on 30 September say that the cause of the protesters' discontent is not only the lack of democracy but also socio-economic problems. The last two sentences from *NYT Chinese* on 2 October frame Leung Chun-ying as a symbol of the lack of democracy because people have accused him of authorising riot police use of tear gas.



**Concordance 19** A concordance of "民主" (democracy) modified by "缺乏" (lack) in the *BBC* Chinese corpus.



**Concordance 20** A concordance of "民主" (democracy) modified by "缺乏" (lack) in the *NYT* Chinese corpus.

### 4.4.3 Semantic Prosodies of "*China/Chinese*"

Since the handover, the identity of Hong Kong residents has been a heated issue attracting considerable scholarly attention (e.g. Wilkins and Siegenthaler, 1997; Flowerdew, 2012; Zhang and Mihelj, 2012; Sun and Hu, 2017). There has been a growing awareness of an identity issue among Hong Kong residents, evident in the frequent occurrence of *Hongkonger* as a keyword in the selected English corpora. The media often try to convey what constitute the elements of Hong Kong identity as distinct from "mainland Chinese". The stance of the media is often presented through strategies of "positive self-representation" and "negative other-representation". The semantic analysis of *Chinese* or *China* and their Chinese

equivalents "中国" (China/Chinese) assesses whether these words are used negatively.

Word sketches of *China* and its Chinese equivalent "中国" are presented in Table 7. The most common modifier of *China* is *mainland* in all English corpora. In the Chinese corpora, "中国" (China) collocates with "内地" (inland) in *RN*, "大陆" (continent) in *BBC Chinese* and a combination of "大陆" (continent) and "内地" (inland) in *NYT Chinese*. This indicates that all four media outlets agree that China, when used in a geopolitical sense, is a unit which is larger than the Chinese mainland. "中国" (Chinese) is used to modify "政府" (government) in the *RN*, *BBC* and *NYT* Chinese corpora, and "共产党" (communist party) and "领导人" (leader) by those last two media outlets.

*China* often collocates with verbs which have negative connotations such as *breach*, *renege*, *refuse*, *break*, *urge* and *condemn* in English and "敦促" (urge), "批评" (criticise), "抗议" (protest) and "谴责" (condemn) in Chinese. The concordances of *China* which collate with *breach* in the *RN* English corpus are illustrated in Concordance 21. The two sentences both manifest that "China" as the Actor breaches the Goal "the Sino-British joint declaration".



**Concordance 21** A concordance of *China* as subject collocate with *breach* in the *RN* English corpus.

**Table 7** Word sketches of China and its Chinese equivalent "中国" in the news corpora.

| | | *RN* (EN>ZH) | | *EJ Insight* (ZH>EN) | | *BBC* (EN>ZH) | | *The NYT* (EN>ZH) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | **English (334)** | **Chinese (301)** | **Chinese (25)** | **English (46)** | **English (317)** | **Chinese (290)** | **English (291)** | **Chinese (485)** |
| **modifiers** | **noun** | mainland (13) | 内地 (20) 政府 (24) | | mainland (2) | mainland (10) | 大陆 (18) 政府 (13) 领导人 (8) 共产党 (5) | mainland (30) | 政府 (58) 大陆 (30) 内地 (26) 共产党 (22) 领导人 (16) |
| **modifies** | *China*/中国 **as a subject** | breach (2) renege (2) refuse (2) break (2) | 成为 (2) 反对 (2) 指责 (2) 打破 | | | see (3) resume (2) take (2) | 认为 (2) | promise (2) agree (2) | 承诺 (2) |
| **verbs** | *China*/中国 **as an object** | condemn (2) | 回归 (7) 敦促 (3) 批评 (2) 担心 (2) 干涉 (2) 谴责 | | | | 希望 (2) 认为 (2) | urge (2) | 回归 (24) 归还 (4) 敦促 (3) 抗议 (3) 移交 (2) 交还 (2) |

Example 15 is an excerpt from a news narrative by *AFP* on 12 November. The verb *breach* is used four times in the original narrative in relation to accusing China of infringement of the Sino-British Joint Declaration. The negative verb *breach* is translated faithfully into Chinese in half of the circumstances in the narrative in *RN* on 13 November.

**Example 15**

> ST: "We are angry at the way that the British government has for many years denied that China has actually **breached** the declaration by interfering with Hong Kong politics," Anna-Kate Choi, the coordinator for the Occupy British Consulate group told AFP. (*AFP*, 12 November, 2014.11.13.16.en)

> TT: "占领英国领事馆"组织协调员安娜·凯特·蔡（音）对本社说："英国政府多年来否认中国事实上通过插手香港政治而**违反**了宣言，我们对此感到愤怒。" (*RN*, 13 November, 2014.11.13.zh)

> Gloss: *"Occupy British Consulate" organisation coordinator Anna Kate Choi said to our agency, "the British government has denied for many years that China has actually **breached** the declaration by meddling in Hong Kong's politics. We are angry at this."*

Concordances 22 and 23 similarly show the concordances of *China* collocating with *break* and *condemn* respectively.



**Concordance 22** A concordance of *China* as subject collocate with *break* in the *RN* English corpus.



**Concordance 23** A concordance of *China* as object modified by *condemn* in the *RN* English corpus.

Example 16 illustrates an original narrative from *The Guardian* on 2 December which quotes MPs criticising China for not adhering to the Sino-British Joint Declaration. The translated news narrative in *RN* on 4 December faithfully translates the negative verbs "break" and "condemn" in the original narrative into "打破" and "谴责" respectively.

**Example 16**

> ST: China has **broken** its agreement with the UK to let Hong Kong govern its own borders for at least 50 years in a move that must not go unchallenged, senior MPs said on Tuesday. In an emergency debate in the House of Commons, MPs from all parties called on the government to **condemn** China after it refused a House of Commons delegation entry to the former British overseas territory. (*The Guardian*, 2 December, 2014.12.04.16.3.en)

> TT: 英国资深议员 2 日表示，中国**打破了**它与英国签订的关于让香港自治至少 50 年的协议，英方必须对这一举动提出异议。在英国议会下院举行的紧急辩论中，来自各个党派的议员呼吁英国政府对中国进行**谴责**。(*RN*, 4 December, 2014.12.04.zh)

> Gloss: *Senior British MPs said on the 2nd that China* **broke** *its agreement with the UK to give Hong Kong autonomy for at least 50 years and the British side must challenge this move. In an urgent debate held in the House of Commons, members from various parties called on the British government to* **condemn** *China.*

The adverse representation of China in *RN* has been dramatically undermined. Most of these negative verbs are not translated into Chinese and appear in the personal narratives of the protesters and foreign officials whose credibility is in doubt due to their links to accusations of foreign interference. There are a large number of words with negative connotations that have not been translated. As Concordance 24 shows, the original narratives of Chris Patten by AFP and the protesters from the AP on 1 October, which criticise China for reneging on the agreement, were not translated.



**Concordance 24**  A concordance of *China* as subject collocate with *renege* in the *RN* English corpus.

Conversely, *NYT Chinese* reinforces the negative representation of China in its translated narratives. For instance, the website faithfully translates *urge* into "敦促" in two news stories from 6 October and 24 October respectively. The subjects of these narratives are the United National Human Rights Committee and the US and the UK governments urging China to obey the international treaty and allow Hong Kong to implement universal suffrage. Negative verbs are retained in the translated narratives together with a few other neutral verbs such as "回归", "归还", "移交", "交还". These four Chinese verbs have a similar meaning of "return" which relate to the return of Hong Kong sovereignty to China.

Additionally, *Chinese* is generally used as an adjective which modifies nouns. Most frequent collocates with *Chinese* include *authority* and *government*, denoting the subordination of Hong Kong to Chinese administration. This word also collocates frequently with *Beijing*, which not only refers to the capital city but is also used interchangeably with *China* to refer to its political power.

### 4.4.4 Semantic Prosodies of "*Hong Kong*"

The media outlets generally portray a negative image of Hong Kong in their news narratives with few exceptions, as can be seen from the word sketches of Hong Kong and its Chinese equivalent "香港" in Table 8. This representation tends to persist and even be exaggerated in their translated narratives. Not many adjectives or nouns are found to modify *Hong Kong*, apart from *central* and *downtown*, which specify locations. There are a few positive modifiers of *Hong Kong* such as *lucky, stable* and *prosperous* in the *EJ Insight* and *BBC* English corpora.

**Table 8** Word sketches of Hong Kong and its Chinese equivalent "香港" in the news corpora.

| | | *RN* (EN>ZH) | | *EJ Insight* (ZH>EN) | | *BBC* (EN>ZH) | | *The NYT* (EN>ZH) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | **English (451)** | **Chinese (773)** | **Chinese (233)** | **English (96)** | **English (343)** | **Chinese (537)** | **English (590)** | **Chinese (1478)** |
| **modifiers** | **adjective** | central (3) | | | lucky | central (7) downtown (2) stable prosperous | | downtown (5) | |
| **verbs** | *Hong Kong*/香港 **as a subject** | lose (3) die (2) enjoy (2) follow (2) warn (2) | 面临 (4) 处于 (2) 支持 (2) | | remain (2) | begin (3) enjoy (2) | | become (4) operate (2) enjoy (2) change (2) feel (2) report (2) issue (2) take (2) | 拥有 (3) 发生 (5) 爆发 (3) |
| | *Hong Kong*/香港 **as an object** | allow (3) give (3) divide (2) | 收回 (3) 影响 (3) 封锁 (2) 导致 (2) | | use (3) | allow (3) split (2) return (2) grant (2) | 导致 (2) | convulse (2) instigate (2) pressure (2) drag (2) | 选举 (9) 关注 (7) 改变 (6) 允许 (6) |

Table 8 shows that the verb *enjoy* is perhaps one of the few positive words to follow *Hong Kong* as a subject. Concordances 25 to 27 show the original narratives from *Reuters* on 1 October, *The Guardian* on 19 November and the *NYT* on 29 October. The *RN*, *BBC* and *NYT* English corpora give an account of Hong Kong currently enjoying a high degree of autonomy and freedom under the framework of "one country, two systems".



**Concordance 25**  A concordance of *Hong Kong* as subject collocate with *enjoy* in the *RN* English corpus.



**Concordance 26**  A concordance of *Hong Kong* as subject collocate with *enjoy* in the *BBC* English corpus.



**Concordance 27**  A concordance of *Hong Kong* as subject collocate with *enjoy* in the *NYT* English corpus.

There are 300 instances when *Hong Kong* is used as a subject (57) or an object (243) in the news corpora. Among these, 67 have unfavourable, 211 neutral and 22 positive prosodies. A majority of verbs which collocate with *Hong Kong* are neutral, but there are otherwise more verbs which indicate negative denotations than positive ones. The collocates of *Hong Kong* both as a subject and an object include *lose*, *die*, *enjoy*, *follow*, *warn*, *remain*, *begin*, *become*, *operate*, *need*, *change*, *feel*, *report*,

*issue* and *take* in English, "面临" (face), "处于" (in a position), "支持" (support), "拥有" (possess), "发生" (happen) and "爆发" (erupt) in Chinese.

The two original narratives in Concordance 28 from the *SCMP* on 4 October and 13 October showcase *Hong Kong* as subject collocates with *lose* in the *RN* English corpus. The first sentence quotes from a personal narrative of Pang Yiu-kai, Chairman of the Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce, which frames the Occupy Movement as causing disruption and instability that makes Hong Kong lose out huge commercial opportunities. A similar narrative from the *SCMP* on 13 October includes statistics from the Civil Aviation Administration of China reporting that Hong Kong has become less attractive to mainland tourists as a destination during the national day holiday. These two narratives which address the negative economic consequence of the protests are translated into Chinese in *RN* on 5 October and 14 October respectively.



**Concordance 28**  A concordance of *Hong Kong* as subject collocate with *lose* in the *RN* English corpus.

The negative connotations associated with Hong Kong in the original *RN* texts are retained in its translated narratives. As Concordance 29 shows, the translated *RN* narratives on 5 and 14 October and 16 December list several issues for Hong Kong such as the risk of losing its position as the largest *Renminbi* trading centre, the constitutional political crisis, and the aftermath of several months of political conflict.

**Concordance 29**  A concordance of "香港" (Hong Kong) as subject collocate with "面临" (confront) in the *RN* Chinese corpus.

The *NYT Chinese* narratives' use of "爆发" (erupt) on 5, 6 and 9 October shown in Concordance 30 indicates the significant changes that have taken place during the political disputes, which is often collocated with unpleasant or dangerous associations such as disease and war.



**Concordance 30**  A concordance of "香港" (Hong Kong) as subject collocate with "爆发" (erupt) in the *NYT* Chinese corpus.

There are three main types of words used in negative collocations. The first type is connected to the colonial history of Hong Kong, such as *return*, "殖民地" (colony), and "收回" (retake). The second type is associated with the inferior political position of Hong Kong SAR relative to the Chinese central government and includes words like *give*, *allow* and *grant*. The third type is linked to the protest actions, for example: *convulse*, *instigate*, *pressure*, *drag*, *split*, *divide*, *lose*, *die* and "爆发" (erupt), "面临" (face), "影响" (influence), "封锁" (block) and "导致" (cause).

This section contains a comparative analysis of the semantic prosodies of four keywords in the English news corpora and their corresponding Chinese equivalents in the Chinese corpora. The analysis of semantic prosodies of *movement* has shown that *RN* frames the movement negatively as being controlled by external forces. *EJ Insight* features a complex mixture of both condemnation and acclamation towards the protests. *BBC Chinese* and *NYT Chinese* generally take a positive attitude

towards the movement through addition of verbs and adjectives with favourable connotations. The semantic prosodies of *democracy* show that all four media outlets describe democracy as something desirable and invaluable to Hong Kong. The *BBC* and *NYT* Chinese websites in particular highlight the undemocratic *status quo*, while *RN* asserts that "excessive democracy" would lead to chaos. The Chinese newspaper also undermines the negative outlook on China/Chinese in original narratives, while this critical aspect is maximised by *NYT Chinese* in its translated narratives. All four media outlets hold a mostly negative attitude towards certain aspects of Hong Kong during the protests.

## 4.5 Summary

This chapter assesses the shifts in content and evaluation in news narratives. It considers the variables of language and translation conventions that might be at play and pays particular attention to shifts related to ideological factors. The comparative analysis of word frequency reveals that some lexical items have become stronger or weaker in their translated corpora compared with the original corpora. *RN* frames the police as competent and restrained by decreasing the number of lexical items related to police violence such as *tear gas*, *baton* and *pepper spray*. It also reduced the number of words associated with the colonial history of Hong Kong and any criticism of the CCP. It filters out politically sensitive issues such as that of Tibet in its translated narratives. *EJ Insight* maintains a relatively similar number of words related to the police, but the mentions of Tibet and communism significantly increase. *BBC Chinese* retains a similar amount of lexemes related to the police and Tibet but decreases even more words related to communism and the CCP. Surprisingly, the representation of colonialism was also substantially reduced on *BBC Chinese*. *NYT Chinese* stresses brutality in relation to the police and hostility towards the CCP and communism in China. It retains most lexical items related to Hong Kong's colonial past and the Tibet issue.

The keyword analysis identifies what the media outlets tend to emphasise. These keywords, differentiated into semantic groups, form part of the media outlets' meta-narratives. For instance, *RN* highlights the consequences of disrespecting the judicial system and breaking the law and the impact the protesters have on the local economy and the daily life of local residents. The *BBC* and *NYT* Chinese websites

depict violent confrontations between brutal police and peaceful protesters by foregrounding relevant keywords. *EJ Insight* usually stands somewhere between these two contrary viewpoints, invoking names from both ends of the political spectrum who criticise both protesters and rulers.

The analyses of semantic prosodies indicate that there are few significant evaluative shifts between the translated and untranslated news narratives within the same media outlet. This is possibly because media outlets are likely to select original narratives already in line with their editorial stances. However, there are significant differences between the translated narratives produced by different media outlets. For example, *BBC* and *The NYT* Chinese websites often relate the Occupy Movement to democracy, giving it prominence and imbuing it with positive connotations. Democratic associations are significantly fewer in *RN* narratives and with less favourable connotations. *RN* also consistently constructs a narrative of Hong Kong identity as a subset of or subordinate to Chinese national identity.

The media outlets also regularly (re)frame through changes in semantic prosodies in relation to the movement, ideas of democracy, the Chinese mainland and Hong Kong. *RN* narratives demonstrate a generally negative attitude towards the movement. *EJ Insight* takes a neutral position by providing both positive and negative commentaries on the movement. *BBC Chinese* and *NYT Chinese* take an overwhelmingly positive attitude towards it. All selected media outlets possess a positive attitude towards a moderate amount of democracy. *RN* argues that "excessive democracy" will lead to chaos, whereas the other three outlets frame democracy as a goal the protesters ought to pursue. The *BBC* and *NYT* Chinese sites in particular evince a gloomy outlook on the situation in Hong Kong. The English narratives usually feature negative sentiment on China. This sentiment is significantly underplayed in the *RN* translated narratives, while the *NYT* and *BBC* Chinese narratives share a view of the country as governed by the CCP. The outlets all take an antagonistic stance towards certain aspects of the city during the protests and maintain an affirmative view of its status as a unique region which should enjoy political and economic freedom.

This chapter shows that corpora techniques can inform and be integrated into narrative analysis at the textual level, significantly enhancing the objectivity of

research. Thematic analysis using corpus tools such as keyword comparison sheds lights on the key elements in the original narratives that are strengthened or weakened during the translation process. The comparison of word frequency is also an efficient method for identifying narratives, particularly in circumstances where original and translated texts are not parallel, something fairly common in news translation. The analyses of semantic prosodies help to distinguish the repositioning of participants within the text through deixis and epithets. Corpus analysis can also be used to validate findings generated from narrative and framing analysis. Nevertheless, corpus methods have little capacity to inform narrative theory beyond the textual level via paratextual elements such as formatting, colours and pictures. In general, corpus-based CNA can only describe what and how narratives change from original to translated texts. It does not explain why such shifts may occur. Contextual analysis requires the application of additional analytic methods as explained in details in the next two chapters.

# Chapter 5
# Narrative Analysis

This chapter focuses on the translated narratives but also considers their originals. One of the aims of this research is to explore how the 2014 Hong Kong protests were narrated. We have already found considerable differences between the original and translated narratives and commentaries. Each media outlet gives a distinctive version of the story. Through both synchronic and diachronic analyses from various narratological perspectives, this chapter gives a comparative account of each version of that story.

## 5.1  Narrators of the News Narratives

Table 9 shows statistics generated from the NVivo software. In the column for each media outlet, the number of identified narrators is listed on the left, followed by the number of anonymous narrators on the right. As can be seen, identified narrators account for the vast majority of news sources within each media outlet. Media outlets frequently name their news sources of information. As Bell (1991) suggests, attribution plays a vital role in news stories because it "reminds the audience that this is an account which originated with certain persons and organizations" (p.190). Named sources increase the credibility of the news story and the perceived authority of news sources (Hong, 2018). With the anonymous narrators, some refused to disclose their names for the privacy and security reasons stated in news reports. These unnamed narrators' occupations may still be deduced from the context.

**Table 9** Category of narrators in the original and translated narratives by the selected media outlets.

| News outlet | RN (EN>ZH) | | | | EJ Insight (ZH>EN) | | | | The NYT (EN>ZH) | | | | BBC (EN>ZH) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Language | English | | Chinese | | Chinese | | English | | English | | Chinese | | English | | Chinese | |
| Narrator | Known | Anon. | Known | Anon. | Known | Anon. | Known | Anon. | Known | Anon. | Known | Anon. | Known | Anon. | Known | Anon. |
| Correspondent/commentator | 55 | 0 | 12 | 0 | 22 | 1 | 26 | 1 | 233 | 3 | 239 | 3 | 98 | 1 | 66 | 1 |
| Expert/scholar | 32 | 4 | 24 | 1 | 9 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 41 | 16 | 49 | 5 | 31 | 10 | 12 | 4 |
| Eyewitness/resident | 27 | 11 | 15 | 24 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 33 | 19 | 49 | 11 | 18 | 12 | 33 | 4 |
| Protester/participant | 60 | 10 | 22 | 5 | 8 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 159 | 36 | 168 | 2 | 46 | 14 | 13 | 0 |
| Official/politician | 104 | 22 | 104 | 20 | 17 | 2 | 21 | 1 | 119 | 49 | 134 | 25 | 58 | 24 | 30 | 1 |
| Translator | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 20 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 32 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 38 | 0 |
| Other media | 14 | 2 | 181 | 1 | 13 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 46 | 5 | 47 | 0 | 22 | 6 | 71 | 0 |
| Subtotal | 293 | 49 | 358 | 51 | 70 | 5 | 84 | 2 | 631 | 128 | 718 | 46 | 274 | 67 | 263 | 10 |
| **Total** | **342** | | **409** | | **75** | | **86** | | **759** | | **764** | | **341** | | **273** | |

### 5.1.1 Narrators in *RN*

Table 9 shows that the *RN* translated narratives depend heavily on government officials (124, 30%) to the same degree as in its original narratives. However, narratives in the other media (182, 44%) dramatically increase because the newspaper mainly translates news articles from the other media. Only a minority of *RN* narratives are constructed from eyewitnesses (39, 10%), protesters (27, 7%), experts (25, 6%) and correspondents (12, 3%).

*RN* largely depends on other media for sources of information, with nearly half of its sources (182, 44%) flagged as from the other outlets. Attribution to these media is frequently given at the beginning of each news item, but the names of the original correspondents rarely appear and names of translators never do. *RN* selects and translates most of its sources from the international mainstream news outlets in several languages. Such a selection of sources significantly increases the authority of these news articles and, ultimately the newspaper, itself. It provides a seemingly impartial and objective perspective on the movement by continually referring to sources not only in Hong Kong and the Chinese mainland, but also from other countries. However, by telling stories drawing from other media, the newspaper also disguises its own voice.

About 30 percent of the sourcing in *RN* is from officials and politicians, the second-largest source of information in its translated narratives. Journalists use direct and indirect quotations from officials, politicians and spokespeople in local, national and foreign governments. Most local officials and politicians are selected from the pro-Beijing camp. Central government officials and politicians support the national government in opposing the protests, *RN* being a state-owned newspaper. The most frequently cited political elite figures include Chinese President Xi Jinping, Hong Kong CE Leung Chun-ying, British Prime Minister David Cameron and US President Barack Obama.

The protesters' accounts in the *RN* translated narratives are far less frequent than in their original versions. Nearly two-thirds of the protesters' narratives have been eliminated in translation. Instead, *RN* employs a similar amount of eyewitnesses (39, 10%) who appear more often than protesters (27, 7%) in its translated narratives. Among these eyewitnesses, 24 of them are anonymous, something which seriously

undermines the credibility of their narratives. The eyewitnesses, including both mainland visitors and local residents, mostly oppose the protests. For example, six unnamed eyewitnesses are mentioned in an article[49] published in *RN* on 3 October, with only their gender, age or origin given. They are all tourists from the Chinese mainland travelling to Hong Kong during the national day holiday, which coincided with the early protests. The news article is made up from three news items translated from the major US media outlets: the AP, *NYT* and Quartz. The story presents a one-sided view that the movement in Hong Kong has gained little support from mainland Chinese people, though the news about the movement was heavily censored by the state media on the mainland. The newspaper portrays the mainland visitors as unmoved by the large-scale protests, annoyed by inconveniences such as the consequent traffic congestion and economic disruption and strongly critical of the protesters for blocking roads. The accounts of these eyewitnesses are consistent with the Chinese state media in presenting people in Hong Kong as ungrateful to the Chinese mainland and construing the protests as fuelled by anti-mainland sentiment. In this way, the newspaper temporarily shifts the role of storyteller onto the mainland visitors and integrates their personal narratives into the primary narrative text.

Another major component of the eyewitness accounts in the translated *RN* narratives are Hong Kong residents who oppose the protestors and condemn their behaviour for severely problematising the daily life of Hong Kong residents. These people support the government's decision to clear away the campsites and bring the movement to an end. Seven eyewitnesses are cited in another article[50] on 5 October. The newspaper depicts a hostile confrontation between the protesters and locals who are against a protest that took place on 3 October. *RN* published a front-page story exclusively relying for sources on the people opposing the protest. This creates the illusion that a majority of the general public is opposed to the protest and want the restoration of law and order. Most of these temporary narrators are unnamed except in few situations where they are part-identified. These sources may have wanted

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[49] Nian, Y. 2014. 内地游客在香港冷对"占中" [Mainland tourists indifferent to "Occupy Central" in Hong Kong]. *RN*. 3 October, p.8.
[50] Xu, M. 2014. 香港民众反对"占中"声浪高涨 [Hong Kong residents strongly oppose "Occupy Central"]. *RN*. 5 October, p.1.

anonymity to protect their identities, but this also reduces the credibility of their narratives.

The translated narratives in *RN* also turn to experts and scholars for their opinions, though they are represented about one-third less than in the original pieces. Local and international experts and scholars, including some from Russia, the UK and the US, are mainly directly quoted in the main. In most cases, these temporary narrators are named in order to increase the credibility of the translated reports. The newspaper repeatedly cites international studies scholars to legitimise its pro-government narratives in addressing potential foreign interference and economic experts on the devastating economic consequences of the protests.

### 5.1.2  Narrators on *EJ Insight*

*EJ Insight* draws on a large number of news sources including commentators (27, 31%), government officials (22, 26%) and translators (20, 23%) in its translated articles, whereas only a small number of sources are experts (6, 7%), protesters (3, 4%) and other media (8, 9%).

The website distinguishes itself from the other media outlets in publishing 20 commentaries translated into English by two translators and writers: Frank Chen and Alan Lee. Their names are given at the end of most commentaries, making their intervention more visible. Frank Chen translated 17 of the 20 commentaries, and Alan Lee the other three. The style of translation on *EJ Insight* is quite distinct from the other three media outlets, all of which adopt an overall strategy of literal translation. The *EJ Insight* translators translate the meaning of the article in a sense-for-sense manner with some additional reporting by themselves. Hence, more personal narratives from the translator are likely to find their way into the translated narratives.

*EJ Insight* draws on a similar amount of government officials and politicians for its original commentaries. The names and positions of most of these narrators are given, something which increases the authoritativeness and credibility of these news sources. The website cited nearly 80 percent of its source material from about a dozen local government officials and politicians. The most quoted officials include the CE, Leung Chun-ying and the Chief Secretary for Administration, Carrie Lam.

Apart from a variety of local officials, two from the central government – Chinese Vice Premier Wang Yang and Chen Zuo'er, the former deputy director of the Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office, are quoted in a translated commentary on 20 October. Personal narratives of Ma Ying-jeou, the then-president of the Republic of China (commonly known as Taiwan), are also translated into two commentaries, where he expresses concern over what he sees as the lack of democracy in China and shows support for the protesters. Most of these official sources are quoted in indirect speech embedded in the commentaries. As Leech and Short (2007, p.256) put it:

> The effect that is produced when IS [Indirect Speech] is used to report speech is one whereby the person who is reporting the conversation intervenes as an interpreter between the person he is talking to and the words of the person he is reporting, instead of merely quoting verbatim the speech that occurred.

Leech and Short (2007) point to the possible intervention into reported speech made by a reporter. In the process of translating indirect speech, a translator may also insert their own "voice" (Hermans, 1996; Schiavi, 1996; O'Sullivan, 2003), creating a further level of mediation between the reader of the translation and the original author.

A few scholars and experts, including four from local institutions and one from the mainland, were cited in six different translated commentaries on *EJ Insight*. Most of them opposed Occupy Central, though one holds an ambiguous attitude towards the movement. By way of example, in a translated commentary on 6 October, Lam Hang-chi cites Chinese University of Hong Kong Professor Chang Chak Yan, the convenor of the major anti-Occupy Central, pro-Beijing Silent Majority group, describing the severe consequences that the movement may have to face. In another of Lam's translated commentary on 6 November, he argues against Professor Francis Lui's warning that severe economic losses would be brought by the movement. Wang Zhenmin, a professor of law at Tsinghua University, is cited in a translated commentary on 12 November in which he endorses the decisions made by the National People's Congress in reforming the electoral framework. Apart from these three scholars who oppose the movement, Simon Shen Xu Hui, a scholar of international relations from the Chinese University of Hong Kong, calls for international media attention to be paid to Hong Kong.

*EJ Insight* does not give prominence to protesters and eyewitnesses, translating only three of the ten original protester accounts, the least by any of the selected media outlets. The three are two student activists Alex Chow and Joshua Wong, and movement co-founder Benny Tai. *EJ Insight* notably does not mention any of the eyewitnesses featuring in the original pieces in its translated commentaries.

### 5.1.3  Narrators on *NYT Chinese*

*NYT Chinese* retains an almost equal number of narrators to its translated narratives. Nearly a third of narrators in the translated narratives are its correspondents (242, 32%). Protester accounts (170, 22%) are cited almost as often as official sources (159, 21%). Another quarter of sources are from eyewitnesses (60, 8%), experts (54, 7%), translators (32, 4%) and other media (47, 6%).

More than one-fifth of the translated narratives are from protesters, making it the second-largest such component in the translated narratives. The proportion of protester accounts (22%) on *NYT Chinese* is much greater than *RN* (7%), *BBC Chinese* (5%) and *EJ Insight* (4%). Both the English and Chinese names of almost all of the protesters quoted are given. The protesters have more opportunities to express their views and defend themselves. The prevalence of protester narratives on *NYT Chinese* makes their voices more likely to be heard but makes it also more difficult for readers to make an objective judgement on the truth. The voices of eyewitnesses who are against the protests are much less likely to be heard. Eyewitness accounts only represent eight percent of the total translated narratives. Among these, nearly one-fifth are anonymous, reducing their credibility.

Unlike the other selected outlets, the *NYT* news articles are mainly based on the first-hand accounts of its correspondents in Hong Kong. Chris Buckley and Alan Wong each contribute to 48 reports and Keith Bradsher and Austin Ramzy contribute to 26 and 14 reports respectively. *NYT* also publishes 11 articles by Edward Wong from its Beijing bureau and 29 by New York-based Michael Forsythe. Several other journalists also contributed to the research or reporting.

*NYT Chinese* relies on a team of translators based in Beijing for the translation of *NYT* news articles into Chinese. Apart from translation, they are required to assist the editors. The names of the translators are identified at the end of the article in

nearly one-third (30) of cases. One of the most prominent translators, Cindy Hao, contributed to the translation of 24 articles. Although the translators do not directly contribute to the sources, their selection of narrators and narratives may intervene in the translated narratives indirectly. Unlike *RN* and *BBC Chinese*, the website largely relies on articles from the *NYT* English website and seldom takes information from other media.

Like its English narratives, the website includes a large number of government officials and politicians as temporary narrators. It draws on a wide variety of official source types in its translated narratives, such statements and speeches made by legislators and government officials. A majority of these officials are from the SAR government and politicians from both the pro-Beijing and pro-democracy camps, with a minority from the central, UK and US governments. The names and positions of these officials and politicians are given in most cases, though they are occasionally referred to anonymously or generically, such as "one Beijing official" and so on.

Around 50 experts and scholars feature in the translated narrative texts, about the same amount as in its original narratives. Over half are based at institutions in Hong Kong or the US in fields such as law, politics, sociology and history. Their opinions on issues such as democracy and human rights are often cited in direct quotations and represent the prevalent voices. Only five Chinese mainland scholars are cited.

### 5.1.4  Narrators on *BBC Chinese*

The number of temporary narrators on *BBC Chinese* decreased notably from its English narratives except where they are eyewitnesses, translators and the other media, where they increase considerably. *BBC Chinese* narratives integrate almost the same amount of sources from other media (71, 26%) as from their own correspondents (67, 24%). A similar amount of sources are translators (38, 14%), eyewitnesses (37, 14%) and government officials (31, 11%), with only six percent (16) of experts or scholars and five percent (13) from protesters.

*BBC Chinese* narratives from other media increased by two and a half times. These are either the English BBC News Service or other organisations. Like *RN*, *BBC Chinese* draws much information from the other media: 26 percent of the total

translated narratives. Translated articles appear in a column called "英媒看中国", meaning "How the British media see China". Most of the sources are mainstream British broadsheet newspapers such as the *FT*, *The Times*, *The Guardian* and the *Daily Mail*. The political orientation of these newspapers is spread across the political spectrum.

The number of original source correspondents is reduced by one-third in the translated narratives. The Beijing-based BBC News China editor, Carrie Gracie, contributes three English articles, two of them analytical[51]. The BBC Chinese Service also has teams of editors, bilingual reporters and journalists in its London and Hong Kong offices to produce content for its Chinese-speaking audience. Transeditors and editors are identified at the end of each translated article on *BBC Chinese*, whereas they are not in its English narratives. The website adopts the title of 编译 (transeditor) in most cases, but occasionally uses of 翻译 (translator). There is no clear demarcation between these two roles and some people play both throughout.

*BBC Chinese* temporally shifts the role of narrator to eyewitnesses, whose accounts represent 14 percent of the total sources, a similar proportion to that in its English narratives. These eyewitnesses are from all walks of life, not only in Hong Kong but overseas. Around four-fifths of the eyewitnesses quoted in direct speech support the protests. Five personal narratives are included from former leaders of the Tiananmen Square protests. Only one-fifth of the accounts are from eyewitnesses who are against the protests. They are anonymous and cited in indirect speech. The difference between the use of indirect and direct speech in journalistic discourse is significant, as Waugh (1995, p.129) argues:

> direct speech is interpreted by the reader as being an authentic,
> accurate, verbatim replication of what was originally said, whereas
> indirect speech is interpreted as a paraphrase.

Bell notes that "a quote is valued as a particular incontrovertible fact because it is the newsmaker's own words" (1991, p.207). The fact that *BBC Chinese* translators

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[51] The BBC China editor is different from the BBC Chinese editor. The China editor based in Beijing covers news about China in English, whereas the BBC Chinese editor is based in Hong Kong and covers news in Chinese.

often translate eyewitnesses in favour of the protest in direct speech but eyewitnesses against the protest in indirect speech lends the protesters' voice more purported authority and credibility. However, only five percent of protesters are cited in the translated narratives on *BBC Chinese*. The website mainly uses seven temporary narrators, including Occupy Central founders Tai Yiu-ting and Chan Kin-man, influential student leader Joshua Wong and several other named student protesters.

Unlike the other selected media outlets, *BBC Chinese* cites fewer officials and experts, around a third of that in their original accounts. Nearly half of these officials are from local government or political parties, a quarter from central government and another quarter from the British, Taiwanese and Vietnamese governments. A total of nine expert accounts are used, including seven named and two anonymous ones. Scholars from Hong Kong, the UK and the US are quoted, along with lawyers and sinologists.

As the analysis of narrators in this section shows, each media outlet employs different secondary and temporary narrators. *RN* draws on the most number of unidentified sources (12.47%) and cites the highest number of government officials, politicians and media sources who are politically aligned with the Chinese government. *EJ Insight* makes different lexical and rhetorical choices and uses the voices of various commentators chosen for balanced criticism expressed in a rational and objective way. By contrast, the *NYT* and *BBC Chinese* websites bang the drum for democracy and reveal a negative slant towards the Chinese central and the Hong Kong SAR governments by predominantly quoting pro-democracy protesters. Contrary to *RN* and *BBC Chinese*, which tend to choose original narratives from the other media in line with their political stances, the *NYT Chinese* and *EJ Insight* mainly rely on their parent newspapers for sources of information and depend on their correspondents and commentators as temporary narrators. With regards to translators and editors, *RN* does not disclose the identity of the translators, with only the names of the editors given at the end of each page. The other outlets mainly name their translators and/or editors at the end of each translated article, though, in some cases, *BBC Chinese* and *NYT Chinese* might maintain their anonymity.

## 5.2  Retroversions of the News Narratives

In this and the next section, any major event that happens during the selected 28 September–15 December period is labelled an internal retroversion. Any that ends beforehand is tagged as an external retroversion. If an event starts before 28 September and finishes within this period, it is labelled as a mixed retroversion. This section focuses on the external retroversions embedded in the primary narratives, while the next examines the internal retroversions.

### 5.2.1  Retroversions of Narratives in *RN*

There are several external retroversions in *RN* translated narratives related to events ranging for a month to over one-and-a-half centuries before and centring around five main themes. The most significant retroversion, appearing in three translated news items, was about the NPCSC's 31 August decision on the election method for the 2017 CE. *RN* embeds a statement issued by the Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office in a translated item on 30 September which claims that the decision made by the People's Congress "不可置疑" (cannot be challenged) and that the election arrangement has "不可动摇的法律地位和有效性" (unshakeable legal basis and effectiveness), while describing the protests as "非法" (unlawful). The translated item from *Foreign Policy* cites results of two surveys conducted in August 2014 which show that a majority of the Hong Kong people are willing to accept the nomination procedure. *RN* reflects the central government's stance through alluding to Leung's TV speech in which he implies that the SAR government would not compromise on this issue.

The second theme of the retroversions is the changing role of Hong Kong in Chinese society. *RN* describes huge benefits that Hong Kong has gained since China's economic reform in 1978. However, its status as China's financial hub and the window on the outside world has declined in recent years since the establishment of several special economic zones in mainland coastal cities and the trialling of settling cross-border trade accounts in *Renminbi* in 2009. *RN* also frames the rise of China, the influence of the Chinese central government since the People's Republic was established in 1949 and a growing Chinese economy through an external retroversion to David Cameron's visit to Beijing in 2013.

The theme of US government backing for Occupy Central occurs in three translated narratives. A translated article from the Russian state-owned Russia Today television channel on 7 October links the start of the Occupy Movement to a secret meeting on a yacht between former US deputy defence secretary Paul Wolfowitz and Jimmy Lai Chee-ying, a local Hong Kong media tycoon who was to become a sponsor of the movement and whose spokesman, Mark Simon, has personal and family links with the US military. The narrative includes reference to a confidential and very detailed evaluation document on the prospects of the local opposition by the US Consulate in Hong Kong in 2010 that was exposed on WikiLeaks.

*RN* also includes several external retroversions on the history of Hong Kong, such as cession of Hong Kong to Britain in 1840s, the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984, the reforms carried out by Chris Patten, and the handover of sovereignty in 1997. For example, *RN* refers to the cession as the beginning of China's "百年屈辱" (hundred years of humiliation) in a translated narrative on 14 October and the transfer of sovereignty as "英国的耻辱日" (the UK's national day of shame) in one on 4 December.

Through these external retroversions, *RN* frames the protests as illegal activities by a small group of activists who advocate secession and violence. The newspaper emphasises the need for the Chinese central and the SAR governments to safeguard national sovereignty and security and uphold the rule of law in the face of this threat.

### 5.2.2 Retroversions of Narratives on *EJ Insight*

*EJ Insight* features 12 external and internal retroversions in its translated narrative texts. The external retroversions range from one month to nearly half a century before the protests. The translated narratives preserve the original articles' depiction of a struggle between protesters advocating democracy, and the local and central authorities, with the general public in the middle. The external retroversion closest to the start of the Occupy Movement, is the 31 August NPCSC decision on the election frameworks, a prime motivation for the protests. It features in three commentaries: two on 6 October and one on 27 October.

Four external retroversions relate to CE Leung Chun-ying and his administration: his criticism of the patriotic education initiated in 2009, his 2012 TV election debate

with Henry Tang Ying-nien, his meeting with the Philippines president at the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation meeting in Indonesia and his visit to the US in 2013. *EJ Insight* consistently frames Leung Chun-ying as likely to adopt strict measures against the protesters. The translated commentary on 6 October also suggests his weak leadership through examples of poor judgement in dealing with the Manila hostage crisis and the weak way of turning down an invitation to meet the US President Barack Obama during his official visit to the US in 2013.

*EJ Insight* includes three external retroversions that occurred outside Hong Kong. Two embedded in a 6 October Chang Chak-yan commentary compare the current situations in Hong Kong to incidents in two other then-British colonies: Malaysia's ethnic conflicts in 1969 and Singapore's independence process in 1965. It does so to suggest there could be serious consequences for the protesters by the use of historical parallels. Another commentary on 10 December relates the Occupy Movement to the Sunflower student movement that occurred in Taiwan in early 2014 and asserts that the movements have the same essential character.

Through these external retroversions, *EJ Insight* blames the central government for the unsatisfactory NPCSC 31 August decision and also accuses the CE administration of being the puppet of the central government and criticises his lack of leadership in dealing with the crisis. It also warns of potentially serious consequences from the protests by drawing on examples from other former British colonies.

### 5.2.3  Retroversions of Narratives on *NYT Chinese*

*NYT Chinese* makes its most frequent external retroversion to the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989 in 18 translated narratives. The outcome of these was often labelled "the Tiananmen Square massacre" and framed as the protesters having public support but being brutally suppressed. The 31 August NPCSC decision was mentioned in 17 articles, depicting it as a means of limiting candidacies not supported by the central government.

External retroversions to the protest against Article 23 on 1 July 2003 and the protest against mandatory patriotic education on 29 July 2012 were embedded in five and three translated narratives respectively. *NYT Chinese* typically portrays Article 23 as

legislation proposing restrictions on freedoms and the protest as peaceful and free of arrests. The draft legislation eventually failed despite a considerable push behind it from the central government. A translated commentary on 30 October by Joshua Wong depicted the protests as opposing the national education curriculum as brainwashing propaganda. The government postponed implementing the curriculum in the face of the massive student protest. These protests were narrated in a similar manner depicting ideological and legal intrusion from the mainland resisted through successful, peaceful protests. *NYT Chinese* applies the same narrative framing to the Occupy Central movement.

The fifth external retroversion relates to an agreement signed between Leung Chun-ying and the Australian UGL engineering company. An Australian newspaper reported in October 2014 that Leung Chun-ying signed an agreement with UGL while he was running for the post of CE in 2011 and received a subsequent payment of four million pounds from UGL during his first two years in office. This narrative appears in three translated news items on 10, 13 and 21 October, highlighting demands for Leung Chun-ying's resignation. *NYT Chinese* also mentioned Hong Kong's return to Chinese sovereignty in 1997 and the 2011 Occupy Wall Street movement.

### 5.2.4  Retroversions of Narratives on *BBC Chinese*

There are about a dozen external retroversions embedded in the news stories on *BBC Chinese* translated from their original narratives. The Chinese narratives resemble the most frequently mentioned retroversions of English narratives: 1989 Tiananmen Square protests, the protests against the Article 23 in 2003, the mandatory patriotic education bill in 2012 and Taiwan's 2014 Sunflower Movement. The Tiananmen Square protests were mentioned in seven, making it the most salient. A translated narrative on 30 September from the *FT* and another on 3 October from *The Economist* described the Occupy Central movement as the biggest challenge that Beijing has faced since 1989. Two *BBC Chinese* narratives on 2 October frame the student-led protest as peaceful and orderly activity ended by brutal repression.

*BBC Chinese* also refers to both the Article 23 protests and the opposition to the patriotic education bill in three translated narratives, on 3 October, 8 October, and 12 November. The translated narrative on 3 October comments that although the

government conceded to the people's demands in these two previous protests, the CE of Hong Kong was not showing any signs of being open to negotiation this time. The 8 October article translated from *The Guardian* quotes Suzanne Pepper, a writer living in Hong Kong, saying that the underlying cause of the 2014 Umbrella Movement was the resentment and anger of Hong Kong's younger generation, which had reached a critical point. The 12 November piece written by Jeffrey Wasserstrom, a China historian, observes that these previous two events were a significant learning experience for the Occupy Movement.

The narratives of the Sunflower Movement were included in three articles on 8 October and 6 and 12 November. These protesters against a trade agreement between the Chinese mainland and Taiwan occupied the legislature for nearly a month in early 2014 and succeeded in forcing the government to suspend it. A translated article from the *FT* on 6 November compared the Sunflower Movement and the Umbrella Movement. A full translation from *Newsweek* on 12 November also argued that the Sunflower Movement inspired some Hong Kong residents to protest against "mainlandization".

*BBC Chinese* also mentioned a series of narratives just once, such as the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Arab Spring, and the various colour revolutions in former Soviet countries and the Balkans in the early 2000s. On 8 November, *BBC Chinese* posted a translated analysis of Xi Jinping's concept of governance by Carrie Gracie. She argues that Xi Jinping does not think Western-style democracy suitable for China and that the leader of the CCP believes that China should learn from the experience of the Soviet Union and not follow such a model. The *BBC Chinese* narrative on 12 November also mentions that, since Xi took office, he has tightened control over the Chinese mainland news media, referring specifically to the censorship of the *Southern Weekly* in 2013.

The overall analysis here shows that each news agency draws on different internal and external retroversions. *RN* alleges the legitimacy of the NPCSC decision and a conspiracy between the protest organisers and the US government. *EJ Insight* poses itself as neutral on the Occupy Central by constructing different storylines and using retroversions from both sides. *NYT Chinese* and *BBC Chinese* regularly link Occupy

Central to previous democracy activities, particularly the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests and the Sunflower student movement.

## 5.3 Frequency of the News Narratives

This section addresses the frequency of internal narratives in the selected media outlets. The frequency of translated news articles on the 2014 Hong Kong protests published in the selected media between 28 September and 16 December is shown in Appendix I. *NYT Chinese* and *BBC Chinese* first posted translated reports on the movement on 28 September, the day that Occupy Central was officially launched, and *RN* the next day. *EJ Insight* did not publish its first translated articles on the movement until 6 October, being two pieces of translated Lam Hang-chi commentaries published in the *HKEJ* on 5 September 2013 and 30 September 2014. The website, also on 6 October, posted a translation of former Hong Kong civil servant Joseph Wong Wing-ping's commentary initially published on 17 September.

These reporting delays might be caused because the translation process within the press took some time or the press deliberately postponed their publication of narratives. Typically speaking, there is a one- or two-day delay between the original publication in the source media and their appearances in *RN*. *BBC Chinese* posts translated summaries on the same date as their originals in the British media and translated articles the day after their appearances on *BBC News*. The translated articles on *NYT Chinese* usually appear one day after their original publications on the English website. For translated commentaries on *EJ Insight*, the delay ranges from one day to one year. This suggests that outlets consider timing a top priority when translating news stories, but less of one for commentaries.

The number of translated articles published in *RN*, *NYT Chinese* and *BBC Chinese* reached its peak on 30 September for *NYT Chinese* and *BBC Chinese* and 3 October for *RN*. It thereafter dropped before peaking again around mid-October. *EJ Insight* only published one or two translated commentaries both at different times in the protests. The number of translated articles was low throughout November. From the beginning of December, the number rebounded until the movement ended. This mirrors the overall progress. We now turn to how each media outlet constructed their recurrent narratives on the protests.

The number of translated items in *RN* reached its peak of 11 on 3 October. Among these, eight are dedicated to the confidence that the central government has in the local government in controlling the situation, and three are on the indifference of mainland tourists to Hong Kong towards the protests. The way in which *RN* reported the protests is notable, with eight transedited news items on the front pages on 30 September under the headline "占中破坏香港稳定不得民心" (Unpopular Occupy Central destroys Hong Kong's stability). These items constructed a storyline of the Hong Kong government using rational restraint and maintaining order, and the causal emplotment of the protests causing chaos and threatening prosperity. Translated news items on the protests also made it to the *RN* front page on five consecutive days (2–6 October) and more sporadically on 13 October, 23 October, 28 November, 2 December and 12 December. This implies that the newspaper regarded the movement to be highly significant. This correlates with the fact that Occupy Central was one of *RN*'s top ten news items related to China in 2014. Three out of five translated items on 17 October accused the UK and/or the US of interference in Chinese domestic affairs in relation to Hong Kong. Four translated news items on the front page on 23 October covered the dialogue between government officials and protester representatives entitled "港府诚心对话力图缓解僵局" (HK government's sincere dialogue seeks to ease deadlock). The story of the violent conflict between the police and the protesters outside the government headquarters was front-page news, with three translated news items on 2 December. *RN* also published three translated items about the ban on a group of British MPs' visiting Hong Kong on the same day. The last peak for news articles was on 12 December when the newspaper published a front-page article with three news items on the smooth and peaceful clearance of the campsites and another three on the praise given to the central government for the way it dealt with the protests.

The translated narratives on *EJ Insight* fall into five periods. *EJ Insight* covered the protests extensively in English, but only a small number of these were translated from Chinese, with translated commentaries published on 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 20 and 21 November. The website also published four translated commentaries from 6 to 10 October, and another five from 8 to 12 December. However, the website seldom published more than one commentary on the same day four times. Most of the translated commentaries published on the same date have no direct link in content,

except for two parts of an interview published on 13 November with Louis-Vincent Gave, the chief executive of financial service company Gavekal which is headquartered in Hong Kong. He expressed optimism about the future of Hong Kong despite the current crisis. All of this suggests that *EJ Insight* mainly relied on its English-language journalists for the original coverage of the protests, with the translated commentaries only supplementary. This also highlights the significant attention the media outlet paid to the protests' effect on the local economy.

*NYT Chinese* translated narratives peaked on 30 September with four reports and an op-ed. These pieces constructed a storyline based on the meta-narrative of the pursuit of democracy and explained the causes and consequences of the protests through it. *NYT Chinese* also posted three translated stories and then an op-ed on 6 and 15 October respectively. It published another four on 14 October. *NYT Chinese* depicted the police as violent in two of its reports on 15 October. One story is about protester Ken Tsang being beaten by a group of police, and another about violent clashes between protesters and police near the government headquarters in Admiralty. Narratives of confrontation between protesters and police feature in *RN* and on *BBC Chinese*. *RN* published three news items on the last page on 16 October which portrayed the police in a positive light as being just in taking measures to deal with illegal acts. By contrast, *BBC Chinese* provided a summary of an *FT* article on the Ken Tsang beating incident on 15 October, with a photograph of Tsang sitting in a wheelchair in a hospital. *NYT Chinese* posted three stories on 14 October that constructed a narrative of conflict between two sides, with the police and the anti-protest residents trying to remove the barriers, but blue-collar workers joining the protesters in opposing them. Six out of these eight reports focus on the protests against the decision made by the Chinese central government and the criticism of its alleged interference in Hong Kong's judicial system and abrogation of the principle of "one country, two systems". This meta-narrative provides evidence that *NYT Chinese* considers the negative consequences of the NPCSC decision to be significant.

*BBC Chinese* posted its highest number of translated narratives in the first six days of the protests, and a few more during three periods: 6–8 October, 21–23 October and 11–13 December. The amount of translated narratives on *BBC Chinese* reached its peak of three on 30 September. One translated summary from the British press

focused on three aspects: the challenges to Beijing posed by the protesters; the sustainability of the protests; and the consequences of the protests. An original feature article translated from *BBC News* focused on how the umbrella evolves into a symbol of the protests. Another article examines censorship of news on Occupy Central in Chinese mainland social media. The gap in the internal retroversions on the *BBC Chinese* is quite large, ranging from one to eight days. This is probably due to the limited number of articles the website translates. However, these translated articles are all published on days after major events according to a timeline[52] of the protests published on *BBC News* and its translation on *BBC Chinese*.

Frequency analysis shows that the media outlets tend to repeatedly refer to internal narratives which they deem important. *RN* prioritises narratives of confrontation between peaceful police and illegal, violent protesters, UK and US government interference and the efficiency of the police force in clearing protest sites. *NYT Chinese* and *BBC Chinese* both feature narratives on the beating Ken Tsang receives and various other incidents said to show police brutality. *EJ Insight* repeatedly features commentaries on possible economic consequences and cautious optimism towards the future of Hong Kong. The frequency analysis of translated articles provides evidence that each outlet emphasises incidents which can be used to support its own ideology.

## 5.4 Non-narrative Statements and Commentaries

The selected news outlets also embed various types of non-narrative texts, primarily statements and commentaries, into their primary narratives. Other types of non-narrative texts include press releases, bulletins, open letters, official documents and reports. We focus here on the key areas of statements and commentaries.

### 5.4.1 Statements

In the course of the Occupy Central, a substantial amount of statements were made related to the movement. These statements were issued by officials, protesters, civilians from various institutions including local, central and foreign governments,

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[52] https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-china-30390820 [Accessed 16 May 2020]
https://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/simp/china/2014/12/141211_hk_protest_timeline [Accessed 16 May 2020]

companies, political groups and professional bodies. Extracts or gists of such statement were translated and incorporated into the translated narratives. During the selected period, *NYT Chinese* published the most number of translated statements on Occupy Central (38), almost twice as many as *RN* (21) and many times more than *BBC Chinese* (3) and *EJ Insight* (2).

*RN* retains all statements from source texts. The nature of the bodies issuing the statements in the *RN* translated narratives is illustrative of its orientation: government agencies provided most statements, among which eight (40%) were made from the SAR government including the Security Bureau and the police; five (25%) were made by the US government, including the US Consulate General in Hong Kong, the House of Representatives and the White House; two (10%) were made by the UK Foreign Office; and one (5%) was made by the Hong Kong and Macao Office of the Chinese State Council. Only three (15%) of statements came from protester groups such as the prominent Hong Kong Federation of Students (HKFS) and Scholarism organisations. These results mirror those of Chow (2015) who found that "discursive formations" (Foucault, 2002) of 39 police-related statements during the Occupy Movement reveals an imbalance of power relations between the establishment and ordinary people in Hong Kong. Chow argues that "voices of resistance" were diluted by an overwhelmingly large volume of "pro-establishment voices" (Chow, 2015, p.470). However, the binary opposition of local and central government officials as pro-establishment and protesters as resistance may be questionable.

*EJ Insight* published statements from both sides but their number halved from four to two. The website retains reference to a joint statement by a group of Television Broadcasts Limited reporters accused of self-censorship in its coverage of the Ken Tsang beating incident on 20 October. Another statement extract in a translated commentary on 6 November from the Taiwan Affairs Office of the Chinese State Council warned Ma Ying-jeou, the president of the Republic of China, not to intervene in Hong Kong's affairs. However, another statement by the first CE, Tung Chee-hwa, asking the student protesters to evacuate the protest sites and a joint statement by a group of 24 people urging the government to engage into dialogue and students to demonstrate peacefully were omitted from the translations.

The number of statements on *BBC Chinese* dropped significantly from 20 to three. *BBC Chinese* selected statements from its original narratives in favour of the protests. Three statements on the Chinese website consist of an open letter signed by the Vietnamese groups in support of Occupy Central and statements made by Hong Kong Now TV and the Hong Kong Journalist Association respectively strongly condemning the police for arresting journalists in Mong Kok on 25 November. However, the website did not translate any statements made by the CE condemning the protests or the police justifying their actions towards the protesters.

*NYT Chinese* posted a similar number of statements (38) to that in the original narratives. Like *RN*, local government agencies (14, 37%) feature most, including two by the SAR government, four by the CE, six by the police, and one by the Education Bureau and the Department of Justice. The website attached more importance to what protester organisers and student groups said (8, 21%), including two statements made by protest organisers, four by HKFS and one by Joshua Wong. The website also published seven statements (19%) by professional bodies such as the Hong Kong Bar Association, the American Chamber of Commerce, private companies and families of mainland activists arrested for supporting the movement.

## 5.4.2 Commentaries

The commentaries observed do not necessarily always share the same political stance as the media outlet. Chen (2011a) points out that, when translating news commentaries, since the source and translated commentaries have different target audiences, translators tend to make ideological shifts to foster solidarity between the original writers and target readers. As a result, more linguistic and ideological shifts are likely to occur during the translation process.

*EJ Insight* translated the most number of commentaries (20, 100%), nearly three times as many as *NYT Chinese* (7, 7.69%), while *RN* and *BBC Chinese* published few translated commentaries. *EJ Insight*'s translated commentaries were originally written by eight columnists and are published in the *HKEJ*. The two most prominent, Lam Hang-chi and Joseph Lian Yizheng, contributed six and nine Chinese commentaries respectively. Lam Hang-chi, the founder of the newspaper, provides reasoned commentaries, while former chief editor of the newspaper Lian Yizheng is sharply critical of the CE administration and the Chinese central

authorities and expresses also support for the protesters. The other commentators are Ben Kwok, Frank Chen, Dennis Kwok, Chang Chak-yan, Hong Qingtian and Joseph Wong Wing-ping.

*NYT Chinese* translated seven op-eds written by seven external contributors with divergent views on the movement. Louisa Lim, Martin Lee, Lian Yizheng, Joshua Wong Chi-fung and Benny Tai Yiu-ting tend to side with the protesters against the governments, whereas only one piece (by Shiu Sin-por, the head of the Central Policy Unit of the SAR government), stands on the side of the governments. The English and Chinese headlines of these op-eds are listed in Appendix M.

The most prominent finding from the analysis is that few shifts occur between the originals and the translated commentaries produced by *NYT Chinese*. However, there are significant linguistic differences between original and translated commentaries produced by *EJ Insight*. That said, little significant ideological repositioning was observed. This accords with what Valdeón (2016, p.17) argues, that media outlets are likely to hire an author who supports their ideological stance.

## 5.5 Summary

This chapter conducts a narrative analysis which begins by analysing the differences between the original and translated narratives produced by each media outlet and also comparing the translated narratives of different media outlets from various narratological perspectives, including narrators, retroversions of external narratives and frequency of internal narratives. It explains how these differences are affected by the ideological stances of each outlet. The narrative analysis finds that the Occupy Central movement is narrated in different ways by the selected media outlets through the translation of news articles in various narratological aspects. It shows that the selected media outlets employ heterogeneous narrative techniques but also follow certain consistent patterns which are implicitly embedded in their translated narratives and commentaries.

Translation is gatekeeping mechanism that selects and deselects within both narrative and non-narrative comments. The translators and editors select varying combinations of narrators and retroversions from original texts to form a heteroglossia of narrative voices which are distinct from their original versions but

also clearly in line with the media outlets' editorial stances. The frequency of translated narratives indicates the importance the media outlets assign to each particular event, serving to configure a meta-narrative. The next chapter examines how the selected media outlets (re)frame their original narratives of the protests to form their own versions of narratives via translation.

# Chapter 6
# Framing Analysis

Most of the selected media outlets published news narratives in a language other than that of their originals in the coverage of the Occupy Central movement. Only *NYT Chinese* publishes both Chinese and English narratives on its website at the same time. All four media outlets acknowledge the vital function that translation plays by including the name of the translator or the editor at the end of their news articles. However, not all primary narratives are translated into another language. *RN*, *EJ Insight* and *BBC Chinese* translate around half of their primary narratives into Chinese or English. *NYT Chinese* translates all of its English narratives, with both English and Chinese versions aligned under the same headline.

This chapter investigates how the translated narrative and non-narrative texts are (re)framed from their original versions. News narratives are not static elements in news articles but can shift through framing devices at the textual, intratextual and paratextual levels. Framing strategies[53] at the textual level include selective appropriation such as omission, addition and substitution of material. Some are achieved intratextually through, for instance, labelling through naming and repositioning participants through semantic prosodies such as deixis and epithets. Paratextual devices such as headlines, leads, images and layouts are determined either by the translator or the editor at the institutional level.

## 6.1 Selective Appropriation at the Institutional Level

This section compares the selective appropriation of news sources in the study sample already identified. Selective appropriation occurs at both the institution and textual level. What follows scrutinises the sources of news articles in the media

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[53] This research distinguishes framing from strategy in the sense that framing refers to an abstract process which governs the translator's behaviour, whereas strategy is a concrete approach used by the translator at the textual, intratextual and paratextual level.

outlets, particularly *RN* and *BBC Chinese* which select news from other media for translation.

### 6.1.1 Selective Appropriation of News Sources in *RN*

The protest coverage in *RN* consists of both reports edited from the Chinese-language press and articles translated from a variety of other languages. The researcher is only able to consider English-language news sources here. The source of a translated news item in *RN* is stated at the beginning of an item. Those translated from English-language sources are shown in Table 10.

**Table 10** English-language sources of translated news items on Occupy Central in *RN* between 28 September and 16 December.

| English-language News Sources | Number of News Items |
|:---:|:---:|
| *SCMP* | 19 |
| *Reuters* | 10 |
| *AFP* | 10 |
| *The WSJ* | 5 |
| *AP* | 5 |
| *The Guardian* | 4 |
| *The Washington Post* | 2 |
| *The Independent* | 2 |
| *Foreign Policy* | 2 |
| *Bloomberg* | 2 |
| *Deutsche Presse-Agentur* | 1 |
| *The Times of India* | 1 |
| *The NYT* | 1 |
| *Quartz* | 1 |
| *FT* | 1 |
| *The Boston Globe* | 1 |
| *The Washington Times* | 1 |
| *The Diplomat* | 1 |
| *CNN* | 1 |
| *The Daily Telegraph* | 1 |
| **Total:** | **71** |

Nearly one-third (71 out of 242, 29.34%) of the *RN* foreign-language sourced items are from English, something which demonstrates *RN*'s perception of its significance for its Chinese readers. However, this may also be caused due to the availability of translators at the newspaper. *SCMP*, the most translated, is owned by the giant Chinese e-commerce enterprise Alibaba Group, the founder of which, Jack Ma is a

CCP member as the Chinese state-owned *PD* has revealed.[54] The editorial stance of the English-language newspaper seems to have inclined towards the Chinese central government after Alibaba acquired it in recent years. A considerable number of news items (25 out of 71, 35.21%) are translated from the three largest international news agencies, *Reuters*, *AP* and *AFP*. The rest of the news sources are mainstream media outlets predominantly from the US and the UK. This selection of news sources significantly increases the authority of the translated articles and ultimately contributes to the credibility of *RN*. The newspaper provides a seemingly impartial and objective perspective on the movement by continually referring to not only Chinese-language sources from Hong Kong and the mainland but also from other countries. However, not all of the selected articles could be said to best represent the editorial stances of the news agencies. Only a small number of sources are tabloid newspapers or take opposing ideological stances. Even then, only the sections of these articles which are in line with *RN*'s outlook are transedited.

### 6.1.2  Selective Appropriation of News Sources on *BBC Chinese*

*BBC Chinese* selected news items from both broadsheet and tabloid newspapers, as well as magazines, websites and news agencies. Like *RN*, *BBC Chinese* also identifies its news source at the beginning of its translations. Table 11 shows the *BBC Chinese* sources. The vast majority of news items (57 out of 59, 96.61%) are translated from British news outlets; one piece each is translated from *SCMP* and *AFP*. The political orientation of the selected newspapers ranges from centre-left such as *The Guardian* and *The Observer* to the centre-right such as *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Times*, while the rest of the news outlets remain liberal and non-partisan, including the *FT* and *The Independent*. *The Guardian* is the most frequent source, contributing around one-fifth (20.34%) of translated news items on *BBC Chinese*. The site also translates seven (11.86%) news articles from the English BBC News website. Only one piece is rendered from the right-wing tabloid *Daily Mail*.

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[54] Huang, J. 2018. Beijing to honor founders of three internet giants. *PD*. [Online]. 26 November. [Accessed 16 May 2020]. Available from: http://en.people.cn/n3/2018/1126/c90000-9522161.html

**Table 11** Sources of translated news items on Occupy Central on *BBC Chinese* between 28 September and 16 December.

| News Sources | Number of News Items |
|:---:|:---:|
| *The Guardian* | 12 |
| *FT* | 9 |
| *The Independent* | 7 |
| *The Daily Telegraph* | 7 |
| BBC News Online | 7 |
| *Reuters* | 5 |
| *The Times* | 5 |
| *The Economist* | 3 |
| The Observer | 1 |
| *Daily Mail* | 1 |
| SCMP | 1 |
| *AFP* | 1 |
| **Total** | **59** |

## 6.1.3 Selective Appropriation of News Sources on *EJ Insight* and *NYT Chinese*

*EJ Insight* and *NYT Chinese* solely rely for sources on their parent *HKEJ* and *NYT* English website respectively, meaning they are less likely to (re)frame their translated narratives through the selective appropriation. The stance is unlikely to change through translation, but the translated narratives could still (re)frame through other strategies, as is explained in the following sections.

To conclude this section, comparison of the selective appropriation practices of news sources has shown that the news institutions are generally more likely to select sources with similar political stances to their own and even strengthen their original narratives. For example, *RN* chooses over a quarter of its sources from pro-Beijing *SCMP*. It also relies heavily on a mix of international news agencies and press, particularly *Reuters* and *AFP*, for their sources of information. *BBC Chinese* selects most of its news stories from the British broadsheet newspapers which take a central or liberal political position. *EJ Insight* and *NYT Chinese* translate solely from their parent news media.

## 6.2  Selective Appropriation at the Textual Level

As discussed in the previous section, the selected news institutions frame their translated news narratives and commentaries through careful selection of news sources. They also (re)frame at the textual level. This section will examine how *RN* pursues (re)framing strategies through translation as a case study from among the outlets.

### 6.2.1  Omission of Textual Materials

Despite the omission and addition of lexical items related to the police, colonialism, communism and Tibet discussed in Section 4.2, the translated narratives also strengthen or weaken narratives about other aspects of the protests. Those in *RN* continually diminish the seriousness of the situation through the omission of original narratives concerning tensions between the protesters and the police, as well as the number of people participating in the demonstrations. As Example 17 shows, when describing the protesters, "tens of thousands of" in the original narratives was often omitted from the translated narratives, downplaying the scale of the protests.

**Example 17**

> ST: British Prime Minister David Cameron said on Tuesday he was deeply concerned about the situation **as tens of thousands of pro-democracy protesters extended a blockade of Hong Kong streets**. (*Reuters*, 30 September, 2014.10.02.1.5.en)
>
> TT: 英国首相卡梅伦今天对香港局势表示严重关切。(*RN*, 2 October, 2014.10.02.zh)
>
> Gloss: *The British Prime Minister David Cameron expressed serious concern about the situation in Hong Kong today.*

As the protests progressed, *RN* framed its news stories in a manner that suggested that the demonstrations were under the SAR government's full control, starkly contrasting with the escalating tensions depicted in the original English narratives. *RN* omitted mentions such as "heightened tensions" in *The Independent* on 2 October shown in Example 18.

**Example 18**

> ST: **Amid the heightened tensions**, Lord Patten, the last British governor of Hong Kong, accused Beijing of breaching its commitments to Hongkongers, made before the territory was

returned to China in 1997. (*The Independent*, 2 October, 2014.10.03.1.7.en)

TT: 末任港督彭定康批评中国政府违反其在 1997 年香港回归前对港人作出的承诺。(*RN*, 3 October, 2014.10.03.zh)

Gloss: *The last governor of Hong Kong, Chris Patten, criticised the Chinese government for violating its commitment to HK people before the return of Hong Kong in 1997.*

In addition to the omission of "heightened tensions", *RN* blocks mentions of politically sensitive issues such as media censorship, Tibet and the Tiananmen Square protests. In Example 19, *AP* mentions the media blackout about Occupy Central on the Chinese mainland in the first few days after the protests broke out. According to the report, the media blackout is a cause of public ignorance about the protests among mainland tourists. However, this is omitted in the translated narrative in *RN* on 3 October.

**Example 19**

ST: **<u>The media blackout</u>** prompted some student demonstrators to spread their message in the Tsim Sha Tsui district Wednesday, the start of a seven-day holiday on the mainland. The group was hoping to "get the attention of the mainland tourists … who may not have heard anything about what is happening in Hong Kong," said Serena Chan, a 17-year-old student at Hong Kong University. (*AP*, 2 October, 2014.10.03.1.6.en)

TT: 一些抗议学生 10 月 1 日在尖沙咀散播言论，香港大学 17 岁的陈姓学生说，这些抗议人士希望"引起内地游客的注意"。(*RN*, 3 October, 2014.10.03.zh)

Gloss: *Some protesting students spread their words in Tsim Sha Tsui on 1 October. The 17-year-old student Ms Chan said that these protesters hope to "draw the attention of mainland tourists".*

## 6.2.2 Addition of Textual Materials

Apart from omissions, *RN* also adds numerous references in relation to the rule of law and social order to its translated narratives. In Example 20, the spokeswoman of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs Hua Chunying was asked about China's position on the Occupy Central during a regular press conference on 30 September. Her words were first translated into English by *AFP*, but much information was omitted during the process. When the English narrative was translated back into Chinese, *RN* did not follow the English version of the original verbatim of the

spokeswoman strictly. In this way, all the information which is missed in the translation has been reinserted through other means. The additional information underlines the central government's position on the SAR, which safeguards its law and order and warns foreign states against supporting and intervening in the protests.

**Example 20**

> ST: "We fully believe in and support the Hong Kong SAR government to deal with this issue," foreign ministry spokeswoman Hua Chunying said at a regular briefing. … "Hong Kong affairs fall within China's domestic affairs," she said. "We urge caution to outside parties and call for them not to interfere with China's internal affairs in any way." (*AFP*, 30 September, 2014.10.01.8.1.en)

> TT: 外交部发言人华春莹说："中央政府充分相信并坚定支持特区政府<u>依法处置，维护香港社会稳定</u>。"她说："<u>香港是中国的一个特别行政区</u>，香港事务纯属中国内政。我们要求有关国家谨言慎行，<u>不以任何方式支持'占中'等非法活动，不发出任何错误信号</u>。" (*RN*, 1 October, 2014.10.01.zh)

> Gloss: *The Foreign Ministry spokesperson Hua Chunying said, "The central government fully believes and firmly supports the SAR government <u>in handling according to the law</u>, <u>and safeguarding social stability in Hong Kong</u>." She said, "<u>Hong Kong is a special administrative region of China</u>. Hong Kong affairs are purely China's internal affairs. We demand relevant states be cautious, <u>do not support illegal activities such as 'Occupy Central' in any way and do not send out any wrong signals</u>."*

In Example 21 from the same article, *RN* refers back to the Chinese narrative of President Xi Jinping's verbatim statements carried in a XNA news report[55] published in the *PD*, an official newspaper of the CCP. Apart from translating the essential information from the English narrative in the *SCMP*, the newspaper also adds an additional clause at the end of the sentence which amplifies the significance attached to the rule of law and order in the Chinese mainland's narrative.

**Example 21**

> ST: The central government will "resolutely support" the Hong Kong government's efforts to safeguard the city's rule of law

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55 Jiang, P. and Cheng, H. 2014. 习近平会见梁振英 [Xi Jinping meets Leung Chun-ying]. *PD*. [Online]. 10 November. [Accessed 16 May 2020]. Available from: http://cpc.people.com.cn/big5/n/2014/1110/c64094-26001015.html

which is the cornerstone of its future, President Xi Jinping told visiting Chief Executive Leung Chun-ying at their first meeting since the Occupy protests began. (*SCMP*, 10 November, 2014.11.11.16.1.en)

TT: 在"占中"运动开始以来的首次会晤中，中国国家主席习近平对香港特别行政区行政长官梁振英说，法治是香港长期繁荣稳定的重要基石，中央政府充分肯定、全力支持行政长官和特区政府依法施政，**<u>特别是为维护法治权威、维护社会秩序所做的大量工作</u>**。(*RN*, 11 November, 2014.11.11.zh)

Gloss: *In the first meeting since the beginning of the "Occupy Central" movement, Chinese President Xi Jinping told the Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, Leung Chun-ying, that the rule of law is an essential cornerstone of Hong Kong's long-term prosperity and stability. The central government fully affirms and supports the Chief Executive and the SAR government in their administration of the law, **<u>particularly their tremendous work in maintaining the authority of the rule of law and social order</u>**.*

*RN* adds background information on the protests for its Chinese mainland readers who may not be familiar with the situation in Hong Kong. For example, the HKFS issued a statement in response to dialogue with the government on 3 October 2014. Example 22 shows that *AP* reported on 1 October, that the HKFS had expressed its determination to continue and even escalate the occupation movement. The translated narrative in *RN* on 2 October foregrounds a variety of options for expanding the protests, explicitly mentioning the strike option, thus attempting to demonise the student protesters. It also adds a brief explanatory remark about the Student Federation at the end of the sentence.

**Example 22**

ST: Student leaders of pro-democracy protests in Hong Kong warned Wednesday that if the territory's leader doesn't resign by the end of Thursday they will step up their actions, including occupying several important government buildings. (*AP*, 1 October, 2014.10.02.1.3.en)

TT: 香港学联周二表示，如果要求无法得到满足，他们会**<u>考虑多种其他选择</u>**，包括扩大抗议、**<u>推动罢工</u>**并占领一座政府办公楼，**<u>学联是大学罢课并最终导致街头抗议的组织者</u>**。(*RN*, 2 October, 2014.10.02.zh)

Gloss: *The Hong Kong Federation of Students said on Tuesday that if the request could not be met, they would **<u>consider a variety of other options</u>**, including expanding the protests, **<u>pushing</u>**

> *__strikes__ and occupying a government office building. __The HKFS is__*
> *__the organiser of the university boycott which ultimately leads to__*
> *__street protests.__*

The Chinese mainland media also invariably attribute unfavourable effects on the local economy to the protests. In Example 23, an attributive clause is added at the beginning of the sentence which directly links poor performances on the Shanghai and Hong Kong stock markets to Occupy Central. The Shanghai – Hong Kong Stock Connect was launched later amid the protests on 17 November, which connected the stock markets in Shanghai and Hong Kong. There was a concern that the protests might affect or even delay the launch of the programme, though there is no objective evidence for that.

**Example 23**

> ST: The valuation premium of the city's stocks over their Shanghai counterparts has been wiped out, leaving investors little chance of making money from arbitrage between the two markets. (*SCMP*, 6 October, 2014.10.07.16.7.en)

> TT: 受"占中"影响，香港与上海两地股市的差价已被抹平，投资者可能几乎没有机会在两个市场之间套利。(*RN*, 7 October, 2014.10.07.zh)

> Gloss: *__Affected by "Occupy Central"__, the difference between the Hong Kong and Shanghai stock markets has been wiped out, and investors may have little chance of arbitrage between the two markets.*

Comparison between the narratives shows that *RN* removes politically sensitive issues such as media censorship. It also undermines the narratives about the degree of seriousness and scale of the protests in its translated narratives. Conversely, *RN* reinforces the narratives about the full support the central government gives to the SAR government and the various negative consequences of the protests for local society and its economy.

## 6.2.3  Substitution of Textual Materials

Textual materials are not only omitted and added to in the *RN* translated narratives but there is also substitution at the lexical, syntax and narrative levels. Some of the elements in the translated narratives become more implicit or explicit compared with their original narratives. The topics of sentences in *RN* translated narratives are also likely to be substituted to shift to another news story. What follows analyses such

substitution of textual materials from the perspectives of implicitation, explicitation and substitution of subjects.

*RN* tries to downplay the significance of the protests through implicitation of translated narratives. In Example 24, the translated narrative reduces the number of protesters from "more than 3,000" to "several", which significantly downgrades the scale of the protests. The translation also omits the criticism of the CE and plays down a potential confrontation between the police and the protesters through omission of a description of the riot police.

**Example 24**

> ST: More than 3,000 protesters gathered outside Leung Chun-ying's office in the early hours, chanting for the chief executive – seen by critics as a Beijing stooge – to step down, while police equipped with riot helmets and shields stood firm behind barricades. (*AFP*, 1 October, 2014.10.03.1.en)

> TT: 今晨，多名抗议者聚集在香港特区行政长官梁振英办公地点外，要求他下台。(*RN*, 3 October, 2014.10.03.zh)

> Gloss: *This morning, many protesters gathered outside the office of the CE of the Hong Kong SAR, Leung Chun-ying, and asked him to step down.*

*RN* also downplays the riot police's actions. Example 25, as reported by *AFP* on 30 November, describes the police using batons and pepper spray on protestors. However, this violent image of the police is minimised in the translated narrative by using the verb "驱散" (disperse).

**Example 25**

> ST: In chaotic scenes, protesters wearing helmets and wielding umbrellas spilled into a major road outside the office of chief executive Leung Chun-ying as **police tried to beat them back with batons and pepper spray**. (*AFP*, 30 November, 2014.12.02.1.1.en)

> TT: 在现场的一片混乱中，抗议者戴着头盔、打着雨伞涌入特首梁振英办公楼外的一条道路，**警察则用警棍和胡椒喷雾来驱散他们**。(*RN*, 2 December, 2014.12.02.zh)

> Gloss: *In the chaos of the scene, the protesters wore helmets and umbrellas and poured into a road outside the office building of the CE Leung Chun-ying. **The police used batons and pepper spray to disperse them**.*

As the above two examples show, *RN* often does not mention the number of protesters. It shifts the blame for the violent acts from police to protesters and describes the former's actions in neutral terms.

The number of words related to the US and the UK dramatically increases from the original to the translated corpora. These narratives, which often portray the US and the UK governments in a negative light, become more explicit in the translations. In Example 26, "a 1992 bill" is implicit in the original 1 October *AFP* article. It is made more explicit as "the 1992 Hong Kong Policy Act", an act passed by in the US government that treats Hong Kong differently to its mainland counterpart on various respects including the judiciary, political relations and trades and is one of the reasons Beijing accuses Washington of interfering in Hong Kong.

**Example 26**

> ST: Smith said he was starting the caucus to monitor human rights in the former British colony, and to ensure that tenets of **a 1992 bill** calling for Hong Kong to have a "high degree of autonomy" is respected. (*AFP*, 1 October, 2014.10.02.1.7.en)

> TT: 史密斯说，他将成立国会香港问题小组，以监督香港的人权状况，并确保 **1992 年美国《香港政策法》** 所要求的"高度自治"原则受到尊重。(*RN*, 2 October, 2014.10.02.zh)

> Gloss: *Smith said that he would set up a congressional team to monitor the human rights situation in Hong Kong and ensure that the "high degree of autonomy" principle required by **the 1992 United States-Hong Kong Policy Act** is respected.*

Example 27 illustrates such Chinese government criticism of the US and the UK. The comments made by Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi at the White House during his visit to President Obama, are made explicit by changing from "all countries should respect China's sovereignty" to "external forces have no right to interfere" in the translation. The tone of Wang's comments is made more severe. The translated narrative also adds the adverb "完全" (entirely) to underline Wang's fierce determination to bar external forces interfering in Hong Kong's affairs.

**Example 27**

> ST: The comments prompted a swift rebuttal from Mr. Wang, who later told reporters in Washington that "**Hong Kong affairs are China's internal affairs**," and that "**all countries should respect**

> **China's sovereignty**." (*The Washington Times*, 3 October, 2014.10.06.14.1.en)
>
> TT: 这番话很快遭到王毅的反驳。他强调，<u>**香港事物完全是中国的内政，外部势力无权干涉**</u>。(*RN*, 6 October, 2014.10.06.zh)
>
> Gloss: *These words were quickly refuted by Wang Yi. He emphasised that <u>**Hong Kong affairs are entirely China's internal affairs**</u>, and <u>**external forces have no right to interfere**</u>.*

In these last two examples, *RN* explicitates potential interference from outside parties, especially from the US government and expands the narratives on that issue.

*RN* occasionally also substitutes a subject of an original sentence with another in its translated narratives. In Example 28, the subject of "political reforms in Hong Kong" in the original narrative is substituted with "the central government" in the translated version. *RN* cites speech of President Xi from a news article published in the *PD* indirectly rather than directly as in the article in original *WSJ*. The latter half of the original sentence, which recounts that a protest drew around 1,000 demonstrators,[56] is also omitted in the translation.

**Example 28**

> ST: Chinese President Xi Jinping said Sunday that political reforms in Hong Kong must adhere to the principles of "one country, two systems," even as a pro-democracy march in the city, demanding direct talks with Beijing's representatives, drew up to 1,000 people. (*The WSJ*, 9 November, 2014.11.11.16.2.en)
>
> TT: 中国国家主席习近平 9 日表示，中央政府将继续坚定不移贯彻"一国两制"方针和基本法。(*RN*, 11 November, 2014.11.11.zh)
>
> Gloss: *Chinese President Xi Jinping said on the 9th that the central government would continue to unswervingly implement the "one country, two systems" principle and the Basic Law.*

In Example 29, the subject of the sentence is changed from Cameron's spokesman to Cameron himself in the translation. Although the content of the statement remains the same, the substitution of the subject escalates the criticism to a higher level of seriousness. The translated narrative in *RN*, in accordance with the Chinese mainland mainstream media, serves as a rebuttal that addresses the issue of banning

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[56] https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-china-29975423 [Accessed 16 May 2020]

a group of British MPs from visiting Hong Kong and challenges a previous argument made by the British government.

**Example 29**

> ST: **<u>Cameron's spokesman</u>** sharply criticized that decision on Monday, escalating a diplomatic dispute that threatens to damage relations between London and Beijing at a time when economic and trade ties between the two are becoming closer. (*Reuters*, 1 December, 2014.12.03.16.5.en)

> TT: <u>卡梅伦</u>周一强烈批评了上述决定，这令双方的外交争端进一步升级。在中英两国的经贸关系日益密切之时，该争端有可能威胁到伦敦和北京之间的关系。(*RN*, 3 December, 2014.12.03.zh)

> Gloss: ***<u>Cameron</u>*** *strongly criticised the decision on Monday …*

This section has analysed three framing strategies used by *RN* in the process of translation: implicitation, explicitation and substitution of subjects. The depictions of police violence and the number of protesters are made implicit in its translated narratives, but the accusations of foreign intervention are made explicit. These two strategies are often realised through the substitution of grammatical subjects in original narratives to form alternative ones that support its positions.

## 6.3 Labelling of the Thematic Words

This section investigates how, when reporting the 2014 events, the media outlets label the names of the protests, the Chinese mainland and the political status of Hong Kong differently in their translations in order to (re)frame their narratives.

### 6.3.1 Labelling of the Protests

The two most prominent labels used for the protests are "占中" (Occupy Central) and "雨伞运动/革命" (Umbrella Movement/Revolution). The comparative frequencies of "占中" (Occupy Central) and "雨伞运动/革命" (Umbrella Movement/Revolution) in the Chinese news corpora was assessed. Similarly to most pro-Beijing outlets on the Chinese mainland and in Hong Kong, *RN* labels the protests as "占中" (Occupy Central) in 62 instances (1,925.35 ppm) while "雨伞运动/革命" (Umbrella Movement/Revolution) only appears once (31.05 ppm). The newspaper often describes the protests as "非法/违法" (illegal) as can be seen from

the concordance lines of "占中" (Occupy Central) in the *RN* Chinese corpus. This emphasises the official position of the Chinese central and the Hong Kong SAR governments. The style guide issued by XNA in 2015 states that "Umbrella Movement should not be used to name the protests but to be called the 'illegal' Occupy Central".[57] *HKEJ* uses the term "佔中" (Occupy Central) on 48 occasions (1,253.89 ppm), but there are also 20 instances (522.45 ppm) of "雨傘運動" (Umbrella Movement) and two (52.24 ppm) of "雨傘革命" (Umbrella Revolution) unmodified by "非法/違法" (illegal). *BBC Chinese* (28 and 24) and *NYT Chinese* (36 and 35), use both labels around the same number of times respectively. They mainly refer to the event as the "占中" (Occupy Central) or "雨伞运动" (Umbrella Movement) and sometimes "雨伞革命" (Umbrella Revolution). The yellow umbrella symbol for the protests is redolent of protesters using umbrellas to shield themselves from the pepper spray and tear gas fired by the police. This portrays protesters sympathetically as being vulnerable.

The next step of analysis compares the frequencies of "*umbrella*" and its Chinese equivalent "雨伞" in the news corpora. The frequency of "雨伞" (umbrella) is significantly less in the translated *RN* and *BBC* news corpora than that of *umbrella* in the original corpora. The decrease from 80 (1,465.17 ppm) to 34 (1,344.56 ppm) on *BBC Chinese* is better understood when we take into account the fact that the size of the translated corpus is about half that of the original corpus. What is striking is that only two (62.11 ppm) out of 34 (508.31 ppm) words are retained through translation in the *RN* Chinese corpus. By contrast, the word frequencies increase dramatically from three (78.37 ppm) to 11 (533.93 ppm) in the *EJ Insight* corpora. The *NYT* Chinese corpus features "雨伞" (umbrella) 77 (728.21 ppm) times, a slight increase on the 69 (675.95) in the English corpus.

Thus, *RN* predominantly names the protests "占中" (Occupy Central) and consistently lends negativity to it by using adjectives such as "非法/违法" (illegal) to modify it. The *HKEJ* mainly prefers the labelling "佔中" (Occupy Central) in its

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57 如不使用"雨伞运动"的说法，应称为"非法'占中'"或"违法'占中'"。 https://supchina.com/2017/08/01/words-chinese-state-media-banned/ (English translation) [Accessed 16 May 2020]

Chinese commentaries, though seldom modified by "非法/違法" (illegal). Its English website, *EJ Insight*, employs both *occupy* (66, 3,203.57 ppm) and *umbrella* (11, 533.93 ppm) in its translations. The use of "umbrella" increases dramatically compared with its Chinese source. *BBC Chinese* and *NYT Chinese* use "占中" (Occupy Central) and "雨伞" (Umbrella) a similar number of times in their translated narratives.

## 6.3.2  Labelling of the Chinese Mainland

There are two ways of translating "mainland" into Chinese: "内地" (inland or inner land) and "大陆" (continent). These terms have closely related but not interchangeably used meanings. Official Chinese discourse uses "内地" (inland) when referring to the Chinese mainland and excluding Hong Kong and Macao. The Hong Kong and Macao SAR governments use this term in their official discourses to refer to the Chinese central government. These terms are also both frequently used by local people in their day-to-day communications. The use of "内地" (inland) implies that Hong Kong and Macao are under Chinese rule. This term is seen as pro-Beijing and is eschewed by those who support Hong Kong independence and/or the pro-democracy movement. However, "大陆" (continent) may be seen as connoting discrimination against the mainland Chinese people. The relative frequencies of "内地" (inland) and "大陆" (continent) in the Chinese news corpora show that the *RN* translators render *mainland* significantly more often as "内地" (44, 1,366.37 ppm) than "大陆" (7, 217.38 ppm). In sharp contrast, *BBC Chinese* uses "大陆" (61, 2,412.31 ppm) far more than "内地" (7, 276.82 ppm). The corresponding figures for *NYT Chinese* show a more even balance of "内地" (84, 794.41 ppm) and "大陆" (57, 539.06 ppm) respectively.

According to the XNA style guide, "大陆" (continent) and Taiwan are corresponding concepts, whereas "内地" (inland) corresponds to Hong Kong and Macao".[58] Thus, media outlets on the Chinese mainland should adhere to this

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58 "台湾"与"祖国大陆（或'大陆'）"为对应概念，"香港、澳门"与"内地"为对应概念。https://supchina.com/2017/08/01/words-chinese-state-media-banned/ (English translation) [Accessed 16 May 2020]

naming system. There is also a subtle difference between the expressions "mainland China" and "the Chinese mainland". "Mainland China" implies that there is another non-mainland China, namely the Republic of China (Taiwan). Thus, it is more politically correct to use the expression "the Chinese mainland" which implies there is only one China. Advocates of Hong Kong independence and some international news media still prefer to use "China" when referring only to the Chinese mainland. In relation to the Occupy Central movement in Hong Kong, whether a translator translates "Chinese mainland" into "大陆" (continent) or "内地" (inland) in Chinese or uses "mainland China" over "the Chinese mainland" in English clearly expresses his or her political viewpoint.

**Example 30**

> ST: However, Hong Kong's retail management association has said that some of its members reported dramatic falls in sales in the first few days of October, a national holiday period when millions of tourists arrive every year from **China**. (*FT*, 5 November, 2014.11.07.15.en)

> TT: 香港零售管理协会表示，该协会一些成员报告说 10 月份前几天的零售额大幅下降。当时正值国庆假期，以往通常都有许多**内地**游客来到**香港**。(*RN*, 7 November, 2014.11.07.zh)

> Gloss: *The Hong Kong Retail Management Association said that some members of the association reported a significant drop in retail sales in the first few days of October. It was during the National Day holiday. In the past, many **mainland** tourists came to **Hong Kong**.*

Example 30 is typical in illustrating how many Western media outlets often put Hong Kong on an equivalent footing to China, referring to it as separate from China. The original report from the *FT* on 5 November refers to mainland tourists from China. The translated news item in *RN* renders it into "内地" (mainland) instead of "中国" (China), which is correct in the sense that Hong Kong is paralleled with its counterpart on the Chinese mainland and avoids the binary opposition of Hong Kong to China. As a result, *RN* alters the ideology hidden in the original narrative and shifts it closer towards the ideology of Chinese mainland readers.

### 6.3.3  Labelling of Hong Kong

The choice of words used to describe the political status of Hong Kong is also significant and signals a particular position. The XNA style guide states that "Hong

Kong and Macao are Special Administrative Regions of China, which should never be indicated as countries in any texts, maps, or diagrams".[59] Thus, Hong Kong is often described as SAR in the Chinese mainland media. The frequencies of "Special Administrative Region" and "SAR" in the English corpora, and "特别行政区" and "特区" in the Chinese corpora were compared. Overall, "特别行政区" and "特区" appear more frequently in the Chinese corpora than their respective English equivalents "Special Administrative Region" and "SAR" in the English corpora. This means that the labelling of Hong Kong as SAR becomes more explicit in the translated articles, except for the opposite being the case on *EJ Insight*, given that the articles are translated from Chinese into English.

A concordance analysis of "特别行政区" (Special Administrative Region) and "特区" (SAR) in the translated Chinese corpora suggests that they are more likely to follow immediately after "香港" (Hong Kong) in the *RN* Chinese corpus (34 out of 47 occasions) than they are in the *BBC* Chinese (2 out of 12) and *NYT* Chinese corpora (8 out of 25). Similarly, a search of "SAR" and "Special Administrative Region" in their concordance lines in the *EJ Insight* English corpus shows only one out of 24 instances. This recurrent phenomenon perhaps illustrates that *RN* is keener to construct a compelling narrative of Hong Kong being an SAR of China than the other selected outlets. The expressions "Special Administrative Region" and "SAR" occur eight (119.6 ppm) times in the *RN* English corpus respectively. Their Chinese equivalents "特别行政区" and "特区" appear eight (248.43 ppm) times and 39 (1,211.1 ppm) times in the *RN* Chinese corpus, almost three times as many as their total occurrences in the English corpus, despite the fact that the Chinese corpus is half the size of its English one. The substantial increases with "特别行政区" and "特区" are evident in Examples 31 and 32.

**Example 31**

> ST: The central government will "resolutely support" **the Hong Kong government**'s efforts to safeguard the city's rule of law which is the cornerstone of its future, **President Xi Jinping** told

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[59] 香港、澳门是中国的特别行政区。在任何文字、地图、图表中都要避免让人误以为香港、澳门是"国家"。https://supchina.com/2017/08/01/words-chinese-state-media-banned/ (English translation) [Accessed 16 May 2020]

visiting **Chief Executive Leung Chun-ying** at their first meeting since the Occupy protest began. (*SCMP*, 10 November, 2014.11.11.16.1.en)

TT: 在"占中"运动开始以来的首次会晤中，<u>中国国家主席习近平</u>对<u>香港特别行政区行政长官梁振英</u>说，法治是香港长期繁荣稳定的重要基石，中央政府充分肯定、全力支持<u>行政长官</u>和<u>特区政府</u>依法施政，特别是为维护法治权威、维护社会秩序所做的大量工作。(*RN*, 11 November, 2014.11.11.zh)

Gloss: *In the first meeting since the beginning of the "Occupy Central" movement, **the Chinese President Xi Jinping** told **the Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Leung Chun-ying**, that the rule of law is an essential cornerstone of Hong Kong's long-term prosperity and stability. The Central Government fully affirms and supports **the Chief Executive** and **the SAR government** in their administration of the law, much work which has been done to maintain the authority and the rule of law and maintain the social order in particular.*

These two examples are published in a translated narrative titled "港府处理"占中"获中央力挺" (The HK government handled "Occupy Central" and won firm support from the Central) in *RN* on 11 November which were originally published in the *SCMP* and *The WSJ* on 10 November and 9 November respectively. Instead of translating the Hong Kong government as "香港政府" (Hong Kong government) like in the previous example, *RN* adds epithets such as "特区" (SAR). The other two epithets "中国国家" (Chinese national) and "香港特别行政区" (Hong Kong SAR) are also added in front of the titles of the Chinese president and the Hong Kong CE to illustrate the political hierarchy.

**Example 32**

ST: The remarks respond to six weeks of protests in Hong Kong over an August ruling by Beijing that candidates running for **the territory**'s top post of chief executive must be approved by a nominating committee largely loyal to **the mainland**. (*The WSJ*, 9 November 2014, 2014.11.11.16.2.en)

TT: 北京 8 月份的一项决定要求竞选<u>香港特区</u>行政长官的候选人必须得到一个在很大程度上忠于<u>中央政府</u>的提名委员会的认可，这项决定在香港引发了长达数周的抗议活动。(*RN*, 11 November 2014, 2014.11.11.zh)

Gloss: *A decision by Beijing in August requires that the candidate running for **the Hong Kong SAR** Chief Executive must be endorsed by a nomination committee that is largely loyal to **the***

> ***central government***, *which triggered several weeks of protests in Hong Kong.*

In the latter example, *RN* renders "the territory" as "香港特区" (the Hong Kong SAR), and "the mainland" into "中央政府" (the central government). The full official name, "the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region", clearly indicates the fact that Hong Kong is an SAR of China and that the Hong Kong government is subordinate to the Chinese central government. The ideologies encoded in the narratives of the source texts are strengthened when translating "Hong Kong", "the city" or "the territory" into "Hong Kong SAR" or "the SAR".

This section has shown that framing by labelling is a common strategy adopted by the selected media outlets to (re)frame their translated narratives. *RN* predominantly labels the protests as "占中" (Occupy Central) and accentuates its illegality. It foregrounds the political hierarchy by labelling the Chinese mainland as "内地" (inland) and Hong Kong as "特区" (SAR). *EJ Insight* sharply shifts from the dominant label of "占中" (Occupy Central) in the *HKEJ* to "umbrella", a term which has a pro-democratic association. Conversely, *BBC Chinese* and *NYT Chinese* employ a mix of "占中" (Occupy Central) and "雨伞运动/革命" (Umbrella Movement/Revolution) in referring to the protests. They both add "特区" (SAR) in describing Hong Kong's political status.

## 6.4  Paratextual Framing

Translated news articles can be (re)framed through changes in paratextual elements such as news headlines, leads, photos, captions, layouts and sections. This section examines this in relation to our study sample.

### 6.4.1  Headlines and Leads

Headlines and leads are the predominant paratextual devices by which news translation is (re)framed. The headlines of news articles in *RN* are distinctive from those of the other outlets in several ways. The headlines added by the editors do not exist in the original headlines. They are thus become ideal ways to frame the narratives in order to best represent the ideological stance of the newspaper. This is further evinced by the newspaper's almost exclusively one-sided headlines, clearly

in line with the Chinese central and SAR governments. *RN* also selects news articles deemed to have the most news value for its domestic readers (Bell, 1991; Bednarek, 2006). Its front-page headlines are in large and bold font with subheadings in slightly larger fonts than those of the main texts, making them stand out. The syntactic structure of most Chinese headlines in *RN* is in topic-comment form (cf. subject-predicate structure), sometimes including a further sub-headline. The term "Occupy Central" frequently appears in *RN*'s headlines: "占中" (Occupy Central) appears 34 times in 60 headlines (56.7%), much more than in *EJ Insight* (25%), *BBC Chinese* (32.5%) and *NYT Chinese* (32.3%). This implies that *RN* places great importance on the subject of Occupy Central in its news agenda. These headlines frequently represent Occupy Central as an illegal activity and depict the people who participate in the protests as criminals. This framing strategy aims to promote nationalism among readers and bring Chinese mainland and Hong Kong readers together.

The *RN* editors and translators also occasionally include the transedited headlines from their sources in the main body of the news item straight after the attribution. If a news item is selected from a source in Chinese, its headline is more likely to be retained. By contrast, if a source is in English, most of the translated headlines are faithful renditions of their original versions. However, some shifts also occur between the original and translated headlines. Example 33 shows a 3 October *RN* news item with the headline "香港的抗议活动未能对来自中国内地的游客产生巨大影响" (Hong Kong protests failed to produce a significant impact on tourists from the Chinese mainland). The original headline of the *Quartz* article is "Hong Kong's protests don't impress mainland Chinese visitors". The verb "impress" means "to make someone feel admiration and respect" according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*.[60] This depicts the protesters in a positive light as aiming to bring "democratic reforms to all of China". On the contrary, the Chinese headline frames the mainland tourists in a positive manner as setting a good example for their mainland compatriots by not being influenced by the protests despite their dramatic impact on Hong Kong society. The translated news item on *RN* quotes several critical comments from mainland tourists about the protesters while omitting the

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[60] https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/impress [Accessed 16 May 2020]

sections in the original article which attribute the media censorship on the mainland as the reason that makes the people unaware of the protests. In this way, the original narrative is reframed through the substitution of lexical items in the translated news headline.

**Example 33**

> ST: Hong Kong's protests don't impress mainland Chinese visitors (*Quartz*, 1 October, 2014.10.03.8.3.en)
>
> TT: 香港的抗议活动未能对来自中国内地的游客<u>产生巨大影响</u> (*RN*, 3 October, 2014.10.03.zh)
>
> Gloss: *Hong Kong protests failed to **<u>produce a significant impact on</u>** tourists from the Chinese mainland*

The narrative structure of news headlines in Hong Kong newspapers at the beginning of the Occupy Central presents "a mixture of objectivity, social advocacy, and cultural reminiscences of public order" (C.K. Chan, 2015, p.423). Since the news articles selected from the *HKEJ* are predominantly commentaries, facts are scarce in their headlines. They are embedded in the authors' opinions and arguments mixed with "sympathy for democratic aspirations as well as the concern for social order" (C.K. Chan, 2015, p.424).

There are enormous differences between the translated headlines of commentaries on *EJ Insight* and their original Chinese versions from the *HKEJ* both in style and meaning. Both sets of headlines are listed in Appendix K. Stylistically, the columnists of the local newspaper seek to achieve a sense of quasi-literary aesthetic beauty in the Chinese headlines through the frequent use of rhetorical devices such as metaphor and rhyme. As can be seen in Example 34, Chinese headlines are often parallel structures of two or more lines. However, these rhetorical features are all lost in translations that use plain, modern English that focuses on fact.

**Example 34**

> ST: 漂亮一仗含悲喜 勸退不是進更難 (*HKEJ*, 7 October, 2014.10.08.zh)
>
> Gloss: *A beautiful battle involves sorrow and happiness; It is hard to persuade them to retreat and even harder to advance*
>
> TT: How young democrats are showing guts and reason (*EJ Insight*, 8 October, 2014.10.08.en)

Not only are there stark contrasts in style, but the translated headlines also evince significant semantic shifts from the originals. Only one out of 20 English headlines is a literal translation of its original Chinese headline. The vast majority of the English headlines are one-liners addressing only a part of the original meaning or even proposing an entirely different theme. The headlines of translated commentaries are also stylistically distinct from those of news stories, with interrogative sentences in the former represented in seven out of 20 (35%) English headlines.

There are seven main categories of news headline on *BBC Chinese*, which start by identifying their journalistic genres before the actual headlines. News headlines which begin with "英媒" (British media) represent 50 percent (20) of headlines on *BBC Chinese*. Two headlines (5%) each start with "分析"[61] (analysis), "特写/特稿"[62] (feature) and "视频" (video), and another one-third headlines of other categories. These explicit categorisations do not exist in the original headlines. In this manner, *BBC Chinese* presents itself as an objective media outlet with comprehensive reporting of the protests.

Most of the headlines on *BBC Chinese* are non-literal translations of the original headlines, with those of two analyses and two features the only exceptions. "占中" (Occupy Central) is the most frequent topic of the translated headlines: 13 out of 40 (32.5%). Consistent with Lu et al.'s (2015) analysis of the English headlines on BBC News, most of these Chinese headlines reflect the subject matter of the reports and follow the original English headlines in style, being concise one-liners with a theme-rheme structure. One-eighth of headlines employ interrogative sentences likely to make the readers think. *BBC Chinese* keeps the original rhetoric interrogatives in features and analyses from *BBC News*, such as "伞为何成为香港

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[61] *BBC Chinese* distinguishes analysis and profile from feature, albeit that Randall suggests that both analysis and profile fall into the general category of feature (2016, p.255).

[62] Both "特写" and "特稿" are used by *BBC Chinese* to refer to feature articles. It was found that one article on 30 September uses "特写" and another article on 11 November uses "特稿". Unlike the journalistic tradition which classifies features as soft news as that which mainly aims to entertain readers, these two features are more like hard news, albeit that there may be some overlaps between these two categories.

抗议标志？ ” (How did the humble umbrella become a HK protest symbol?) on 30 September and "香港抗议，北京赢了吗？ ” (*Hong Kong protests: has Beijing won?*) on 13 December, both of them being literal translation of the original headlines. The website adds its own interrogative headlines and/or modifies original headlines from the British press in its summaries of translations: for example, "香港抗议将如何结束？ ” (How will Hong Kong protests end?) on 6 October and "香港大规模抗议之后又将如何？ ” (Fold or fight on? Choice facing Hong Kong's young protesters) on 8 October.

The master frame of news headlines in the coverage of Occupy Central in the UK national press is the pursuit of democracy by young protesters on one side with the local and central governments on the other (Sparks, 2015, p.434). This frame is largely kept in the headlines of narratives translated from the British newspapers on *BBC Chinese*. The headlines mention "香港" (Hong Kong) in 28 out of 40 (70%) headlines, often placing it on an equivalent footing with "中国" (China)/"北京" (Beijing) which was mentioned in eight headlines (20%). The translated headlines also depict the Chinese central and local SAR governments negatively in examples such as "中国对香港民主漠视引发抗议一代" (China's indifference to democracy in Hong Kong has spawned a protest generation) on 12 December and "不满北京霸凌" (Beijing bully) on 2 December. They may also exaggerate the crisis and/or paint a gloomy picture of the future: for example "香港占领示威反映领导层问题" (Hong Kong's Occupy Movement reflect leadership problems) on 16 October and "北京的危机没有结束" (China's problem is no longer just one country, two systems) on 12 October. They also criticise China for blocking news on Occupy Central in the Chinese media in the headline "香港占中新闻在中国社交网站仍被控" (Hong Kong Occupy Central news still blocked in Chinese social media) on 30 September. These negative narratives have been foregrounded and/or strengthened from their original headlines.

Half of the news articles on *BBC Chinese*, having headlines that begin with "英媒" (British media), consist of a lead paragraph and the main body. The *BBC Chinese* editors follow the British journalism style (van Leeuwen, 2006) which uses a one-sentence lead paragraph added by the editors or translators that provides a summary

of the news story. These play a crucial role in the construction of news stories, which follow the structure of "the inverted pyramid" and introduce the "background and context" of news stories (Cotter, 2010, p.140). Example 35 shows the lead of a news article on 29 September. It informs the reader about the date, the newspaper(s), the news content, and in some circumstances, the opinion of these articles.

**Example 35**

> TT: 星期一的（29 日）英国各大报纸都纷纷报道了香港民主抗议的消息。(*BBC Chinese*, 29 September, 2014.09.29.zh)
>
> Gloss: *On Monday (29th), major newspapers in the UK reported on the news of democratic protests in Hong Kong.*

The main body of such articles is usually composed of several pieces of news. Each one starts with a sub-headline which is often the translation of the original news headline or a gist of original news piece. A comparison between the translated sub-headlines and their original versions reveals little linguistic and ideological deviation.

The translated headlines on *NYT Chinese* and their originals are similar stylistically but their semantic contents differ slightly due to the attitudes of the original author and the translator/editor towards two disparate cultures and readerships (Shie, 2011). Although the majority of the *NYT Chinese* headlines are relatively faithful renditions of their English versions, there are numerous occasions where original headlines are added to, omitted from or completely modified into addressing another topic. *The NYT Chinese* translators/editors tend to adhere to the American journalistic style and keep the translated headlines in easy-to-understand language. However, the common use of noun phrases in English headlines is often translated by complete sentences in Chinese headlines, which consist of a theme-rheme structure. Another prominent feature of the translated headlines is the explicitation of proper nouns related to democratic aspects of the protests. These proper nouns are covert in original headlines and become overt in translated headlines, such as the name of the student leader "黄之锋" (Joshua Wong), the pro-democracy newspaper "苹果日报" (*Apple Daily*) and various protest sites "旺角" (Mong Kok), "金钟" (Admiralty) and "铜锣湾" (Causeway Bay). Molek-Kozakowska (2013) argues that some news headlines are designed to create a sense of sensationalism. *NYT Chinese* headlines often do so through explicitation in translation.

Personal narratives of political leaders are key features in *NYT* news headlines. The word "leader" appears 15 times in the original headlines of news articles from *NYT*, as shown in Appendix M. Of these 15 instances, 10 refer to the CE of the HKSAR, four to protester leaders and one to a Chinese central government official. Examination of the translations of "leader" on *NYT Chinese* shows that nearly half (7, 46%) of instances are translated as "梁振英" (Leung Chun-ying), just as in Example 36. Seven out of ten instances referring to the CE are translated without his title in front of his name, which is less respectful. There is only one instance (7%) which has been translated into the official title "特首" (CE). In the two other instances (13.3%) of "leader" referring to the CE, its translation is omitted or substituted with a new subject as shown in Example 38. The subject of the original headline is replaced with the police, removing allusion to the fact that the CE expressed himself open to talks with protesters in the original headline. The Chinese headline also depicts the police as violent by using "突袭" (raid) and "拆除" (dismantle).

**Example 36**  leader → 梁振英 (Leung Chun-ying)

> ST: Hong Kong's **leader** calls for protests to end "immediately" (30 September, 2014.09.30.4.en)
>
> TT: **梁振英**呼吁公民抗议活动"立即"结束 (30 September, 2014.09.30.4.zh)
>
> Gloss: ***Leung Chun-ying*** *calls for citizen protests to end "immediately"*

**Example 37**  leader → 特首 (CE)

> ST: Politician who called for Hong Kong **leader's** resignation is formally penalized (30 October, 2014.10.30.2.en)
>
> TT: 呼吁**特首**下台，香港议员被政协除名 (30 October, 2014.10.30.2.zh)
>
> Gloss: *Calling for **the CE** to step down, Hong Kong lawmaker was removed from the CPPCC*

**Example 38**  leader → translation omitted

> ST: Hong Kong **leader** open to talks with protesters (17 October, 2014.10.17.1.en)
>
> TT: 香港**警方**突袭旺角拆除抗议者路障 (17 October, 2014.10.17.1.zh)

> Gloss: *Hong Kong **police** raids Mong Kok to dismantle protesters' roadblocks*

Of four instances of "leader" referring to student protesters, three are translated into "领袖" (leader), and one is omitted, as shown in Example 39. According to an online Chinese dictionary, "领袖" usually refers to the top leader of an influential activity or organisation.[63] It is usually used in a complimentary sense for leaders such as Sun Yat-sen, Martin Luther King and Mao Zedong. However, the *NYT Chinese* translator renders a reference to a protest leader as "领袖" (leader), which clearly shows an ideological inclination towards the protesters. In Example 40, the translated headline omits to mention that the protests were leaderless at the outset, but emphasises that the protesters act in an orderly way. Example 41 illustrates the only instance of "leaders" referring to certain Chinese leaders rendered as "领导人" which normally refers to a person who is in a leading position of a country or a party.[64]

**Example 39:** leader → 领袖

> ST: 3 Hong Kong protest **leaders** turn themselves in to police (4 December, 2014.12.04.en)
>
> TT: 香港"占中"**领袖**向警方自首 (4 December, 2014.12.04.zh)
>
> Gloss: *Hong Kong "Occupy Central" **leaders** surrendered to the police*

**Example 40:** leader → translation omitted

> ST: Hong Kong protests are **leaderless** but orderly (1 October, 2014.10.01.1.en)
>
> TT: 香港民主示威者迄今秩序井然 (1 October, 2014.10.01.1.zh)
>
> Gloss: *Hong Kong democratic demonstrators have been orderly*

**Example 41:** leader → 领导人

> ST: Some Chinese **leaders** claim U.S. and Britain are behind Hong Kong protests (11 October, 2014.10.11.1.en)

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[63] https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E9%A2%86%E8%A2%96/8915441 [Accessed 16 May 2020]

[64] https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E9%A2%86%E5%AF%BC%E4%BA%BA/8195437 [Accessed 16 May 2020]

TT: 中国**领导人**称美英是"占中"幕后推手 (11 October, 2014.10.11.1.zh)

Gloss: *Chinese **leaders** say that the US and Britain are behind the scenes of "Occupy Central"*

*The NYT Chinese* translator uses various words in headlines to render references to the leader of various parties. The CE title is often omitted and replaced with his name alone. Protest leader references are translated into "领袖" and the Chinese leaders into "领导人" (leader). These choices demonstrate the translator's "critical points" (Munday, 2012, p.41) and their ideological position as more inclined towards the protesters by upgrading the positive tone while retaining the negative attitude towards the CE in the original narratives.

This subsection has shown that *RN* regularly overwhelmingly adapts headlines to portray the Occupy Central movement in a negative light. Although substantial stylistic and rhetorical differences exist between the original and translated headlines of commentaries on *EJ Insight*, the media portrayals of the protests are mixed, with both positive and negative tones. The media tone of translated headlines on *BBC Chinese* is more or less indistinguishable from their original narratives, while those on *NYT Chinese* become slightly more positive towards the student protesters than their originals.

### 6.4.2 Photographs and Captions

The outlets add numerous visual images from various sources to their news stories. This subsection examines the sources and contents of these images.

*RN* mainly relies on international news agencies for its sources of photographs. There are 20 photos relating to Occupy Central in *RN* between 28 September and 16 December. Each has a caption underneath which mentions its source. *Reuters* (8, 40%) and *AFP* (8, 40%) contribute to four-fifths of the images. Three come from the Hong Kong-based, pro-Beijing Sing Tao Net website (15%) and one (5%) from an unknown source.

The contents of these photos depict different aspects of Occupy Central, with most of the Hong Kong police and a small minority of the protesters. Half of the images (10) focus on the police removing roadblocks set up by the protesters. Four (20%)

concentrate on the protesters, such as occupying major roads in Mong Kok as well as areas outside the government headquarters, putting up posters on the planned occupation of the British Consulate and removing their tents before the police clear-out near the end of the protests. Three photos (15%) focus on the anti-protest residents. Three others depict the flag-raising ceremony on the Chinese national day, local civil servants resuming work at the government headquarters and mainland tourists respectively.

A photograph in *RN* on 3 October depicts a group of mainland Chinese tourists queuing outside a luxury store in Tsim Sha Tsui, one of Hong Kong's major shopping areas. The photo taken by a *Reuters* photographer was originally published on the *Quartz* news website alongside several other images of shopping districts occupied by protesters carrying pro-democracy banners. *RN* selected this particular photo instead of others probably because the mainland Chinese tourists in the picture have their backs to the photographer, illustrating the indifference of mainland tourists towards the movement.

A cover story image in *RN* on 2 December about the violent confrontation between the police and the protesters outside the government headquarters was originally published by *Reuters*. The photo portrays a large group of police carrying batons and shields standing in line outside the headquarters. As illustrated in Example 42, the translated photo caption omits to mention specifically "the use of a water cannon" and uses the more general "采取行动" (take action) instead. It also adds "特区" (SAR) in front of the government to reinforce the reality of Hong Kong being part of China and describes the protesters as "分子" (villains). The translation mitigates the violent image of the police and reinforces the framing of the protesters as acting illegally.

**Example 42**

> ST: Riot police **<u>use a water cannon</u>** to disperse protesters during clashes outside the government headquarters in Hong Kong December 1, 2014. Bobby Yip/*Reuters* (*Reuters*, 1 December)

> TT: 1日，香港警方**<u>采取行动</u>**驱散冲击**<u>特区</u>**政府总部的**<u>"占中"</u>****<u>分子</u>**。（路透社）(*RN*, 2 December)

> Gloss: *On the 1ˢᵗ, the Hong Kong police **took action** to dispel **the "Occupy Central" villains** outside the **SAR** government headquarters. (Reuters)*

*EJ Insight* tends to feature both texts and images in its news items. It often places an image at the beginning of a translated commentary and sometimes at the end as well. The captions credit the source at the end. They use photos not only from *HKEJ* (9, 22%) but also from a variety of other sources such as Bloomberg (23, 56.1%), Getty Image (2, 4.9%), Reuters (1, 2.4%) and Business Insider (1, 2.4%). The major use of Bloomberg as an image source illustrates the economic slant of the newspaper.

*EJ Insight* uses images containing protesters a total of 12 times (30%). There are eight images of prominent protest leaders (20%). *EJ Insight* portrays the police in three images (7.5%) and depicts physical conflicts between the police and the protesters in four (10%) with the police's using pepper spray and batons and the protesters shielding themselves with umbrellas. These images of the police using violence towards protesters stimulates "mediated instant grievances" (Tang, 2015, p.338) and motivates readers to participate in protests. *EJ Insight* also captures the violent confrontation between the protesters and anti-protest residents in one photo (2.5%). The umbrella, the symbol of Occupy Central, appears in seven out of 40 photos (17.5%). Portraits of two commentators, businessman Louis-Vincent Gave and two politicians, the CE Leung Chun-ying and the former CE Tung Chee-hwa, make up six photos (15%). Four images relate to Taiwan, including three pictures on the Sunflower Movement and one portrait of the President Ma Ying-jeou, accounting for another 10 percent of the total.

The translated news on *BBC Chinese* combines texts, images and videos. It inherits its simple style, with the red masthead on white background and black fonts, from the English BBC News website. *BBC Chinese* usually displays an image under a headline before the main text. The caption below each picture credits the source in the bottom right corner. A total of 60 photos from various sources related to Occupy Central were posted on *BBC Chinese* during the protests. Over a quarter of these (16, 27%) are sourced from BBC News Online and four (7%) from *BBC Chinese*. The website also utilises photos from other providers such as Getty Images (10, 17%), AFP (9, 15%), Reuters (6, 10%), AP (6, 10%), Xinhua (2, 3%), Press

Association (2, 3%), European Pressphoto Agency (1, 1%), and other unknown sources (3, 5%).

Around two-fifths of the photos (26, 43.3%) from *BBC Chinese* focus on the protesters, including both close-ups of particular student leaders and distance shots of a mass of protesters. The protesters are framed as well-behaved, vulnerable individuals with support from ordinary residents and the protests as well-organised and orderly, with several pictures presenting the daily life of ordinary protesters at campsites. Only a small minority of photos (3, 5%) capture the violent confrontation between the police and the protesters. Figures of authority, including Xi Jinping, Leung Chun-ying, Carrie Lam and David Cameron, are spotlighted in 11 photos (18.3%). Apart from these, local opposition politician Emily Lau and Chris Patten feature in two photos (3.3%). Similar to *EJ Insight*, *BBC Chinese* displays various symbols of the protests, for instance, yellow umbrellas and ribbons in three pictures (5%) and a picture of a banner calling for universal suffrage hanging from Lion Rock. It also uses two photos (3.3%) of the Sunflower Movement and the Tiananmen Square protests.

*BBC Chinese* retains most of the original photos but makes slight changes in the selection. For instance, in a translated feature article[65] on 30 September explaining how the umbrella became the symbol of the protests, it selects only two out of the original six photos. One is a protester holding an umbrella and standing in the middle of a road diffused with tear gas and the other is a poster of an umbrella under which written "Umbrella Movement" in both Chinese and English. The four other photos include various other images of umbrellas and tied yellow ribbons. *BBC Chinese* also selected photos from alternative sources, though on a similar theme. For example, a picture of Emily Lau on 22 October was changed from a Getty Images photo to one taken by its own photographer.[66] A *BBC News* profile picture

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https://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/simp/china/2014/09/140930_hk_umbrella_revoluti on [Accessed 6 May 2020]
66
https://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/simp/china/2014/10/141022_emily_lau_hair_salon [Accessed 6 May 2020]

and a Getty image of Xi Jinping were swapped for photos from XNA and Reuters on 8 November.[67]

Example 43 and 44 show two pairs of photos used in the original *BBC News* (left) narrative on 12 December[68] and the translated *BBC Chinese* (right) story on 13 December[69]. The two pictures of the protest sites from AFP were replaced with two pictures from Reuters and Getty respectively. Each pair portrays a similar object. However, the background of the image used on *BBC Chinese* on 13 December was changed from day to night, and is taken from a slightly different angle. The captions are not literal translations but are similar in meaning, except for an omission of the latter half of the ST in Example 44 which is added in the TT in Example 43.

**Example 43**

ST: The main thoroughfare in Admiralty is now open to traffic, with hardly any traces of the protest camp (AFP)

TT: 抗议最后一个重要的场地金钟已被清理 (Reuters)

Gloss: *The last important venue of the protests Admiralty, has been cleared. (Reuters)*

**Example 44**

ST: Protesters erected a cut-out of China's President Xi Jinping in Admiralty, **before the site was cleared** (*AFP*)

TT: 抗议者将习近平的画像打上雨伞运动的标记 (*Getty*)

Gloss: *Protesters marked Xi Jinping's portrait with an umbrella. (Getty)*

*NYT Chinese* features fewer images on the protests than the *NYT* English website. However, the parallel version of Chinese and English narratives on *NYT Chinese* share the same set of images, with captions, the photographers' names and the news agency written in Chinese below each photo. A total of 91 images are sourced from international agencies such as Reuters (19, 21%), AFP (17, 19%), Getty Images (16, 18%), AP (15, 16%), EPA (7, 8%) and Bloomberg (1, 1%) and used with the

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67 https://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/simp/china/2014/11/141108_china_xi_gracie [Accessed 6 May 2020]
68 https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-30445930 [Accessed 6 May 2020]
69
https://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/simp/china/2014/12/141213_carrie_xi_hongkong_win_lose [Accessed 6 May 2020]

translated narratives. *NYT Chinese* also retains 14 images (15%) from the *NYT English* website. Some of the photos are reused in other items.

The content of the images on *NYT Chinese* can be classified into eight main categories. A total of 40 images (41.2%) concentrate on the protesters in various settings, including closeups of individuals and long-shots of groups. Many depict the protesters as vulnerable and victims of the police. *NYT Chinese* features images of violent confrontations of all kinds much more than the other outlets. Violent police-protester conflicts feature in 13 images (13.4%) which show the police abusively using tear gas, pepper spray and batons. Many of these images markedly contrast a sole protester to a group of the police. The website also shows the fierce conflicts between the protesters and government supporters in nine images (9.3%). Some of the captions suggest links between some of the anti-protester supporters and organised crime groups. Various political elite figures like Leung Chun-ying, Anson Chan, Regina Ip and James Tien, are featured in eight images (8.2%). Umbrellas of various shapes and colours feature in eight (8.2%). There are relatively few that focus solely on the police (6, 6.2%) or solely on protest activists (5, 5.2%), and four of the latter category are of student leader Joshua Wong.

To sum up, the selection of images in the translated items also reinforce their news outlets' narratives (re)framed through translation. The outlets take some of their images from their parent institutions except for *RN*, which solely relies on other media outlets for their external narratives. Their images are mainly sourced from large international agencies like Reuters, AFP and Getty Images. However, they may have their own preferred sources. For example, *RN* chooses three images (15%) from pro-Beijing Sing Tao Net. *EJ Insight* favours similarly financially-oriented institutions like Bloomberg and *Business Insider*. *BBC Chinese* sometimes uses its own photographer. A small minority of images are from unspecified sources.

Content analysis of the images indicates that each news outlet prioritises different aspects of the protests to support their items. *RN* focuses the most attention on the photos of the police under the master frame of maintaining law and order. The other three outlets give prominence to the protesters who are portrayed as vulnerable and victims of the police. Images showing the violent conflicts between the police and the protesters are the most prominent on *NYT Chinese*, while *RN* shows none. *NYT*

*Chinese* and *RN* also turn the spotlight on the confrontation between the protesters and the anti-protest residents. However, the pictures of the anti-protest supporters depict them as violent criminals and associated with criminal gangs on the former; they are depicted as patriotic residents in the latter. *EJ Insight* uses the most images of protest leaders. Pictures of umbrellas, ribbons and banners, with their pro-democracy associations, are prominent on *EJ Insight*, *BBC Chinese* and *NYT Chinese*, but screened out in *RN*. *RN* also shies away from portraits of political elite figures from various sides.

### 6.4.3 Layout and Section Names

The section the outlet choses for its news articles on the protests also points to the meta-narrative it has on the issue. All four outlets present a purportedly objective and factual layout for their items on the protests. The news texts in *RN* are printed in black fonts on white paper, as is traditional with print newspapers. Mimicking this, the three websites use black text on white background with colour images. This compares implications of the layout aspects of the media outlets.

The majority of the news articles (34, 65%) on Occupy Central in *RN* were published in the "中国大地" (China continent) section. This shows that the newspaper regards the protests as a domestic issue and strengthens the meta-narrative of Hong Kong as part of China. The translated news stories (11, 21%) about the protests dominated the "头版&新闻热点" (front pages and news hotspot) on five consecutive days (2–6 October) and then sporadically on another six days, suggesting that the newspaper regards the movement to be of highly newsworthy for its agenda. This is further confirmed by the fact that Occupy Central is one of the top ten domestic news items in 2014 in this newspaper. A few translated narratives were printed in the sections on "海外视角" (Overseas perspective) (3, 6%), "观察中国" (Observing China) (3, 6%) and "财经透视" (Financial perspective) (1, 2%).

The *EJ Insight* home page separates Hong Kong from the rest of the world, including China. Over half of the translated commentaries (12, 54%) are posted in the local news section, indicating a meta-narrative of "localism" (C.K. Chan, 2017) on the issue. The commentaries written by local writers provide more in-depth analysis. Three translated commentaries (14%) written by *HKEJ* founder Lam Hang-chi are published in "Editor Choice" and four commentaries (18%) by others

in "Real Insight". The other three (14%) are published under the business news columns.

The narrative of "localism" was further verified by searches on "local*" and "本土*" in the *EJ Insight* news corpora. The Chinese expression "本土", meaning "localist" or "localism", appears five times (130.61 ppm) in the *HKEJ* Chinese corpus but never in the other Chinese corpora. The search on "local*" in the *EJ Insight* English corpus found 30 instances (1,456.17 ppm), much higher than in the other three news corpora: *RN* (32, 478.41 ppm), *BBC* (21, 384.61 ppm) and *NYT* (54, 529 ppm). The concordances of the keywords "local*" in the *EJ Insight* corpus shows that the lemma appears in the form of "local" and "locals" with no instances of "localist" or "localism". Although these concordances do not have strong connotations of Hong Kong localism, they often collocate with words such as *business*, *elections*, *legislature*, *officials* and *tycoons*, reflecting how the translated narratives perceive localism from the perspectives of local economy and politics.

The masthead on the *BBC Chinese* home page lists the names of different sections, including "国际新闻" (International news), "两岸三地" (Three regions across the straits), "英国动态" (British news), "分析评论" (Analysis & commentary), "科技健康" (Technology & health), "金融财经" (Financial news), "图辑" (Picture galleries), "音频材料" (Audio material), "视频材料" (Video material) and a link to "BBC 英伦网", a site dedicated to the learning of English. The translated news on the protests is mainly posted to "英国报摘" (UK press review) and "两岸三地" (Cross-straits and three regions). Almost half of the news items (18, 46%) are published in the column dedicated to the review of the British press due to the type of articles the website translates. Over half of the translated narratives (21, 54%) are published in the section called "两岸三地", literally meaning "three regions across the strait". It is a phrase used to refer the Chinese mainland, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao SARs, which has been a sensitive phrase avoided in the official Chinese discourses since 2015 according to the XNA style guide[70] because it denotes the separation of the country and encourages a delusion of an equal division of powers

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[70] 不使用"两岸三（四）地"的提法。https://supchina.com/2017/08/01/words-chinese-state-media-banned/ (English translation) [Accessed 16 May 2020]

between these regions. However, it is still widely used in unofficial Chinese discourses in the Greater China region. An introduction on the website describes the section as "兩岸三地：為你集中報道中、台、港、澳與海外華人的最新新聞和動態"[71] (Cross-straits and three-regions: focus on the latest news and updates on China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao and overseas Chinese). This likewise apparently undermines the narrative of Beijing's overall sovereignty and strengthens the political ideology of division.

The home page of *NYT Chinese* contains links to various sections. The vast majority of translated news on the protests are published under that of "中国" (China), including "港澳台" (Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan), "时报看中国" (Sinosphere), "人物" (Feature), "问答" (Q&A) and "分析" (Analysis). This implies that *NYT Chinese* regards Occupy Central as China's domestic issue. However, most of these news stories (68, 75%) are published in the news section on Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan while only 11 (12%) are posted in "Sinosphere", showing that the site treats these domestic regions differently from their mainland counterpart. A minority of translated narratives are posted under "观点与评论" (Opinions and comments), including "观点" (Op-ed contributor) (7, 8%) and "读者来信" (Letter) (1, 1%). There is also just one (1%) published in the international news section.

The layout shows that *RN* is reinforcing the narrative of Hong Kong being an SAR subordinate to the Chinese central government by publishing items under national news. It also places significant emphasis on the Occupy Central movement by covering it on the front page and hot news section. *EJ Insight* conveys a strong narrative of Hong Kong localism through posting items in the local news and frames the protests from the perspectives of local economy and politics. The *NYT* and *BBC* Chinese websites separate Hong Kong, together with Macao and Taiwan, from the Chinese mainland.

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[71] https://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/trad/institutional-38652839 [Accessed 16 May 2020]

## 6.5  Summary

This chapter shows that translation plays a vital role in the framing of news narratives. The translated narratives are not the same as their originals. The original narratives have been (re)framed through strategies at three levels: textual framing such as selective appropriation of news sources, addition, omission and substitution of textual materials; intratextual framing like labelling of the protests, geographical regions and epithets; and paratextual framing through particular choices of headlines, leads, photographs, captions and layouts.

As for the selection of news sources, the news sources are always listed in the translated narratives. However, no links were given to these sources except for on *NYT Chinese*. *RN* and *BBC Chinese* tend to select news from other sources: *RN* from a variety of well-known global and local news sources; *BBC Chinese* mainly from British news agencies and newspapers. *EJ Insight* and *NYT Chinese* rely exclusively on their parent news media for sources.

Numerous linguistic shifts occurred between the original and translated narratives in *RN*, *EJ Insight* and *BBC Chinese*, whereas relatively few are observable on *NYT Chinese* at the textual level. Framing strategies such as addition (21, 12.2%), omission (84, 48.84%) and substitution of textual materials (18, 10.46%), including implicitation (11, 6.4%), explicitation (5, 2.9%) and substitution (2, 1.16%) of subjects are commonly used by *RN* for its news stories on the protests.

Original narratives are also (re)framed through the labelling of the protests and rival naming systems for the Chinese mainland and Hong Kong. The protests are named as "占中" and Occupy Central in *RN* and on *EJ Insight* respectively, which foregrounds their illegality. However, they are frequently labelled as "雨伞运动" (Umbrella Movement) on *BBC Chinese* and *NYT Chinese*, redolent of the protesters' resistance to the police. The Chinese mainland is more likely to be called "内地" (inland) in *RN* and "大陆" (continent) on *BBC Chinese* and *NYT Chinese*. The *RN* narratives are more likely to add "特区" (SAR) or "特别行政区" (Special Administrative Region) after Hong Kong to strengthen the narrative of Hong Kong being part of but subordinate to the Chinese national government.

The outlets also adopt paratextual strategies including (re)framing through headlines or sub-headlines, leads, images, captions, layouts and section names. *RN* and *BBC Chinese* (re)frame their translated narratives through providing their own versions of headlines, sub-headlines or leads, ones which do not exist in the originals. The headlines on *EJ Insight* undergo substantial stylistic changes and semantic shifts. *NYT Chinese* seldom (re)frames its translated narratives paratextually, though minor semantic shifts occur, for example, in translation of titles. Images and their caption, strengthen the translated narratives. *RN* chooses images which best illustrate its stance on the protests by choosing the highest number of pictures of the police, whereas the other three outlets give prominence to the protesters. *EJ Insight* posts the most amount of pictures of protest leaders. *BBC Chinese* presents many pictures of officials and politicians from all sides which reinforce the outlet's view of the protests as an international political issue. *NYT Chinese* chooses pictures of violent conflicts between the police and the protesters, things which are absent in *RN*. Layouts also reveal covert narratives. *RN* deems the protests a significant domestic issue by publishing news narratives on the front pages and the domestic news section. *EJ Insight* fosters a sense of localism by posting translated commentaries in the local news, while the *BBC* and *NYT Chinese* websites treat Hong Kong separately from the Chinese mainland by publishing translated narratives in various sections. Finally, this chapter shows the potentiality of integrating corpus methods with framing analysis. The next chapter moves on to discuss the factors that contribute to different translated narratives produced by the media outlets.

# Chapter 7
# Discussion

This research set out with the aim of identifying the factors that contribute to the linguistic and ideological shifts between the original narratives and their translated versions. The second objective of the research was to analyse the mechanisms that shape and influence the various forms of narrative patterns in the translated narratives about the critical event of the 2014 Hong Kong protests produced by the selected media outlets. Previous research on journalism has highlighted several factors that influence the news content. For example, Shoemaker and Reese's (2013, p.9) "hierarchy of influences" model includes five levels of influences: individual, routines, organisations, social institution and social system. Hanitzsch et al. (2010) investigate five domains of influence: political, economic, organisational, professional and procedural. With specific reference to the protests, Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2014) identifies certain influences on journalists' narratives, including individual positions and conditions, professional values and newsworthiness considerations, institutional ideological agendas and economic considerations. Lee (2014) shows that various factors such as newspapers' political stances, tactics, targets and topics of protests and social discontent affect news coverage of the protests in Hong Kong. However, these accounts fail to address the significant influence of language. This research problematises the already-existing complexity in this area by adding another factor of news translation into consideration. However, this is done in order to provide a more comprehensive picture of the issues.
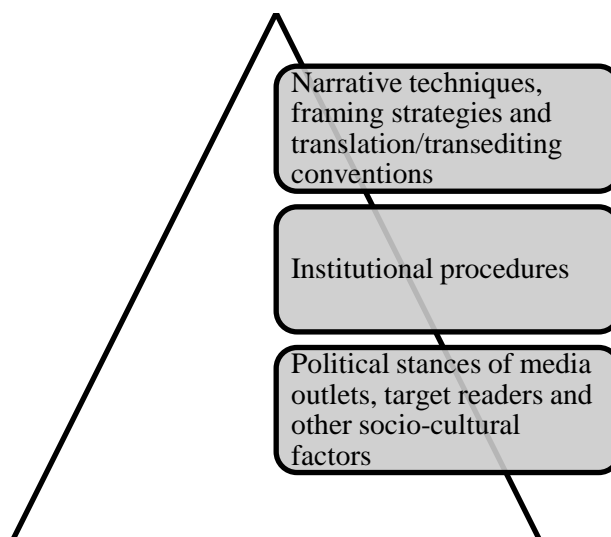
**Figure 11** Factors that contribute to translated news produced by media outlets.

Through focused computer-assisted narrative and framing analyses, the research has identified several factors that contribute to the translated news produced by the selected media outlets, as illustrated in Figure 11. As Conway's (2015) materialist approach to news translation suggests, linguistic representations are interrelated with institutional routines and socio-cultural contexts, yet they also influence each other. The study considers the variables of language and translation/transediting conventions that might be at play and pays particular attention to shifts related to ideological factors. As with any translation process, the differences in language conventions between STs and TTs are the most fundamental factors to consider. News translation, as a form of institutional practice, is shaped by various agents in the media outlets and also the political stances of the media outlets towards the issues. Different translation/transediting conventions, such as narrative techniques and framing strategies, affect the translated narratives. Translated news produced by media outlets is also constrained by factors that go beyond language into the more general socio-cultural context.

## 7.1 Textual Factors

The foremost reason for linguistic shifts lies in the fundamental differences between the SL and TL conventions. Toury (2012) formulates two laws of translation tendencies: "the law of growing standardization" (p.303) and "the law of interference" (p.310). News translation as a written product is undoubtedly

influenced by the linguistic features of the SL, and it also conforms to the language convention of the TL. For example, the structure of the verb *said* being followed by that-clauses is very common in English news texts. In the *EJ Insight* translated English corpus, 11 out of 37 (29.73%) occurrences of the lemma *say* are followed by that-clauses, compared with 27 out of 632 (4.27%) in the *RN*, 23 out of 332 (6.93%) in *BBC* and 106 out of 1000 (10.6%) in *the NYT* English corpora. This result is consistent with Baker (2000) and Olohan and Baker's (2000) findings that reporting verbs and that-clauses are more explicit in translated English than original English. The reporting verb 说 (say) is similarly frequent in the Chinese news corpora. However, the conjunction *that* is omitted in Chinese as not part of its language conventions.

Another considerable stylistic difference between the original and translated commentaries on the *EJ Insight* is evident in the headlines. The original Chinese headlines are mostly in a pair of parallel lines, whereas the translated English headlines are usually a single sentence. Although the translator is required to produce idiomatic English translations with equivalents to the original words or idioms in Chinese, it is sometimes problematic as the original columnists may, for example, use ancient quotations and thus the translator will have difficulty finding a reasonable equivalent in order to render them into English.[72] The two above examples suggest a possible explanation as perhaps lying at times in the fundamental differences between Chinese and English language conventions. Translation shifts are caused by other factors also, and what follows is a more detailed account of textual differences from concrete aspects of narrative techniques, framing strategies and translation/transediting conventions.

### 7.1.1 Narrative Techniques

The narrative techniques which the media outlets adopt affect the translation of news narratives. With respect to the first and second research questions we posed, news stories are told in different ways through translation and the media outlets use different techniques in various narratological aspects such as narrator, retroversion and frequency of both translated narrative and non-narrative texts.

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[72] Translator A made this point in an interview with the author on 17 September 2019. The translators are kept anonymised to protect their privacy.

Among the selected media outlets, *RN* employs the highest number of narratives from other media due to the nature of the newspaper. As can be seen from Table 10, the sources of information are mostly mainstream news agencies and newspapers which take a pro-Beijing or neutral position on the matter of Occupy Central. The newspaper includes a large number of narratives from government officials and politicians who align with the ideological stance of local and national governments. Conversely, only a small amount of descriptions from eyewitnesses and protesters are incorporated into its translated narratives, mainly consisting of anonymous or part-identified mainland visitors and anti-protest residents.

*RN* promotes patriotism and nationalism in the face of strong accusations from the local protesters and foreign governments and continually alludes to narratives of potential support from the American and British governments. The newspaper makes four key external retroversions in its translated narratives, ranging from the recent 31 August NPCSC decision on Hong Kong which is depicted as a legal agreement made by the national congress and accepted by the local government and the majority of residents, to various events in the history of Hong Kong under British colonial rule up to the handover of sovereignty in 1997.

Since *EJ Insight* selects non-narrative commentaries from its Chinese parent newspaper for translation, it differs from the other media outlets which mainly publishes narrative news reports in several aspects. Firstly, the news site employs a large number of commentators (27, 31%) and translators (20, 23%) as its main sources of information, unlike correspondents for other media outlets. The site uses the voices of various commentators with varying political stances chosen for balanced criticism from both sides which they express in a reasoned and objective way. Their Chinese commentaries were adapted and translated into English by two in-house translators. The English critiques are adaptations rather than close renditions of their originals, and are blended with the translator's views. Secondly, the sources from other narrators, including experts (6, 7%), protesters (3, 4%) and residents (0), are much less than those in the hard news reported by the other outlets. The translated commentaries embed personal narratives, mainly from officials and politicians who are often quoted in indirect speech, as a form of mediation between the original writer and the translator.

*EJ Insight* embeds 12 retroversions in its translated commentaries, an average of 0.6 retroversion per commentary. *EJ Insight* posits itself in a neutral position on the sensitive issue of the Occupy Central movement by constructing different storylines and using different retroversions. Like *RN*, the most recurrent external retroversion in the translated commentaries on *EJ Insight* is the 31 August decision, which is framed by the site in an opposite way to *RN* as a restriction on people's freedom in their pursuit of universal suffrage and genuine elections. The translated commentaries are critical of the CY Leung administration via several retroversions relating to his poor governance. The CE is framed as a weak leader who took a pro-Beijing stance in dealing with the Occupy Movement. *EJ Insight* also connects the current protests to the harsh experiences in other former British colonies, as well as to the Sunflower Movement that occurred in Taiwan.

*NYT Chinese* gives prominence to the narratives of the protesters. Compared with the very large number of identified protester accounts, a minority of narratives come from anti-protest residents, some of whom are anonymous. The Chinese website attributes the original narratives to the journalists of its English newspaper and the translated narratives to its in-house translators. The site draws on personal narratives from a variety of government officials and politicians, some of whom are anonymous and, thus, seem less credible. The translated narratives also quote directly from many local and American scholars and experts in support of their views on democracy and human rights issues. These results are consistent with those of Xin and Shi (2018) who found that *NYT*'s reports on the South China Sea arbitration draw from a majority of specified sources, but many sources from government officials are unidentified.

The non-narrative texts on *NYT Chinese* indicate some differences to other news narratives on the website in terms of narrative techniques. Firstly, the opinion pieces were written by seven local politicians who were hired as commentators, unlike other news narratives being written by foreign correspondents. Secondly, the sources from officials (3), protesters (1), and eyewitnesses (0) in the non-narrative texts are minimal, compared with other news reports on the website. Thirdly, the translator is identified in only one out of eight opinion pieces (12.5%), around one third of the identification of translators in narrative texts (37.35%). *NYT Chinese* embed eight different external retroversions in its opinion pieces, which takes up 32% of the total

number and much higher percentage than narrative texts. *NYT Chinese* frames Occupy Central as a pro-democracy movement supported by local residents and consistently links it with previous democratic activities in relation to human rights and universal suffrage such as the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests. The website also refers to various large-scale protests that had occurred in Hong Kong since the transfer of sovereignty, such as those against the national security and civic education bills.

*BBC Chinese* employs in-house staff for translation of news narratives from a large number of the British media and an equal amount of Chinese stories that are reported by its own correspondents. The Chinese website fosters an objective view of Occupy Central by foregrounding narratives from more eyewitnesses than just protesters. However, four-fifths of the translated narratives include personal narratives from eyewitnesses who are in favour of Occupy Central whereas only one-fifth is against the protests. The eyewitness accounts supporting the protesters are often quoted in direct speech while the statements opposing them are in indirect speech. This shows that the website attributes or lends more credibility to the former than the latter in its translated narratives. This finding is contrary to that of Wei and Hu (2015) who found that the majority of sources in the mainstream Western media's coverage of Occupy Central are from protesters and much of the sources are reported in indirect speech. This may be due to the fact that *BBC Chinese* tends to project a more objective and impartial image of itself by addressing outsiders' voices instead of those of participants in the protests. In addition to the various external retroversions of protests also mentioned on *NYT Chinese*, *BBC Chinese* regularly mentions the Sunflower Movement in its translated stories.

The result of narrative analysis shows that the non-narrative texts, including two analysis and two features, employ distinct narrative techniques from the rest of 36 news narratives on *BBC Chinese*. In terms of narrators, the non-narrative texts employ a total of 10 sources from commentators (2.5 per text) and another two sources from experts (0.5 per text), almost twice as commentators (1.56 per text) and experts (0.28 per text) in narrative texts. Contrarily, the non-narrative texts draw less information from eyewitnesses (0.5 per text), officials (0.5 per text) and protesters (0), compared with eyewitnesses (0.86 per text), officials (0.78 per text) and protesters (0.36 per text) in the narrative texts. From the aspect of retroversions, the

non-narrative texts embed eight out of 12 (66.67%) external retroversions, although narrative and non-narrative texts share some similar retroversions. It implies that *BBC Chinese* is more likely to embed external retroversions in non-narrative texts than narrative texts.

The frequency of translated narratives published in the selected media reached its peak in the first few days of the protests, except with *EJ Insight* which posted its earliest translated English commentaries on 6 October, albeit that the site posted several original English reporting immediately after the protests started. The translated commentaries are published quite a long time after the original publications on 5 September 2013, 17 and 30 September 2014 respectively. This delay could be explained by the fact that, compared with breaking news which the media outlet strives to bring to its readers quickly, translated commentaries were deemed not to be time-sensitive by *EJ Insight*.

As the frequency analysis shows, Occupy Central attracted the most media attention at its beginning and near its end. The *NYT* and *BBC* Chinese websites published the largest number of translated narratives on a single day on 30 September, while *RN* published most on 3 October. It usually takes one day for *RN*, *BBC Chinese* and *NYT Chinese* to translate and publish their news stories. However, there is often several days' lag between the appearance of translated commentaries on *EJ Insight* and their original commentaries in the *HKEJ*.

## 7.1.2 Framing Strategies

The second question posed in this study sought to determine the patterns constructed in the translated narratives. Based on the framing analysis of translated narratives about Occupy Central in Chapter 6, some consistent patterns of framing emerge. Figure 12, which was produced using the NVivo software programme, gives a general overview of the framing strategies adopted by each media outlet on multiple levels. Generally speaking, framing at the textual level, such as omission, addition, substitution and reorganisation of textual material, was the most common strategy used by *RN* and *BBC Chinese*. Their reliance on textual framing can be explained by the fact that transediting is a common practice at both outlets. Framing by intratextuality, such as explicitation, implicitation, naming and epithets, is the

second most used strategy. Framing through paratextual devices such as headlines, captions and notes, is used less often than other strategies by the selected media.
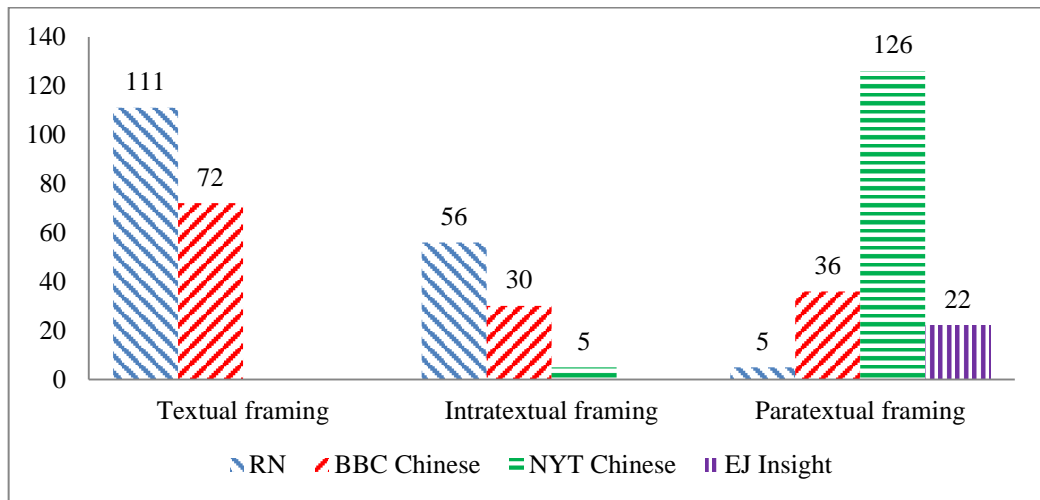


**Figure 12** Number of framing strategies fall into each general category used by each media outlet.

Each media outlet adopts a different combination of framing strategies. *NYT Chinese* employs paratextual framing most. *BBC Chinese* (re)frames news stories through a considerable amount of framing at all three levels because it selects several STs from British newspapers and transedits and summarises them into one piece. *RN* also adopts a combination of textual and intratextual framing strategies though it seldom uses paratextual framing devices except in relation to news headlines. *EJ Insight* mainly (re)frames its translated commentaries through paratextual framing of headlines.

*RN* (re)frames translated narratives about Occupy Central mainly through textual strategies such as addition and omission. The mainland Chinese newspaper omits most references to police brutality, Hong Kong's colonial history and criticism of the CCP. The large scale and escalating character of the protests becomes more implicit in the translated narratives in *RN*. By contrast, the newspaper repeatedly includes narratives on maintaining law and order and consequently criticising the illegal nature of Occupy Central and the trouble it has caused for local society. It frequently adds SAR before the names of the CE and the city, which strengthen the hierarchical sense of the local government being inferior to the national government as well as promoting a close bond between the mainland and the SAR. Critical epithets are also employed to describe the protests which reveal its firm stance

against them. This finding broadly supports recent studies (Cheng, 2012; 2013; Xia and Wang 2015; Wu 2018) that indicate that *RN* employs framing strategies such as labelling, selective appropriation and changes of headline. This study also suggests that paratextual devices such as news images and captions are a prime way in which *RN* frames news.

*EJ Insight* (re)frames its translated commentaries mainly through the paratextual device of headlines. Since its translator adopts an overall strategy of free translation, it is difficult to compare the original and translated commentaries in parallel. Thus, few instances of framing at the textual level could be coded, though corpus methods assisted in determining textual and intratextual framing at a macro-textual level. As shown in Chapters 5 and 6, significant stylistic shifts occur between the original and translated headlines on the site. The headlines of translated commentaries on *EJ Insight* is mixed, with views both favourable and hostile to Occupy Central.

*BBC Chinese* utilises a combination of textual, intratextual and paratextual framing strategies. Since the website mostly selects a group of news articles from the British press and produces a translated summary of them, omission and summarisation become the two most frequently used textual framing strategies. Intratextual framing is relatively less frequently resorted to because the translator provides a rather faithful rendition of the selected news contents. Like *RN*, the number of protesters and the police present at events are made implicit on several occasions. The naming of the protests and various location references such as to the Chinese mainland and Hong Kong are repositioned in its translated narratives. Epithets towards multiple issues related to Taiwan and its former president were added in translated stories to indicate the political stance of the website. Headlines are the second most used device of framing. The site also (re)frames its version of stories through the paratextual devices of headlines and leads at the beginning of translated narratives often added or modified by the editor.

*NYT Chinese* mainly (re)frames its stories through paratextual rather than textual and intratextual devices. Because the website adopts an overall strategy of literal translation, and thus few textual shifts are likely to occur between the original and translated narratives. There are only four instances of shifts in naming and explicitation observed in the translated narratives. The site primarily frames its news

stories through paratextual framings such as changes of news headlines and the addition of notes in its translations. As discussed in the previous chapter, the *NYT Chinese* translator renders *leader* as various Chinese equivalents in headlines which denote their distinctive political status.

### 7.1.3 Translation/Transediting Conventions

Textual analysis has also revealed the different translation strategies adopted by the translators as specific conventions shaped by their media outlets and which affect the narrative techniques and framing strategies in the end.

In contrast to *EJ Insight* and *NYT Chinese* which translate news from parent media outlets, *RN* and *BBC Chinese* transedit news articles from the other media whose translation practices differ in at least two significant respects. Firstly, as previous studies on *RN* (e.g. Pan, 2014a, Xia, 2019) show, the *RN* translator does not have the privilege of choosing which pieces to translate. That choice is normally made by an editor. By contrast, the *BBC Chinese* translator has considerable freedom in choosing what materials to translate. Secondly, the *RN* translator produces relatively faithful translations which the editor may subsequently edit, whereas the *BBC Chinese* staff member edits when they translate and only renders quotations faithfully.

There is also no standardised approach for translating news articles at *BBC Chinese*. The news outlet translates from *BBC News* and other British media as well as doing its own reporting. *BBC Chinese* adopts two distinct methods: when translating from *BBC News*, it provides rather faithful translations and maintains the particular style of the English articles; when rendering news from other British media, it mainly transedits, and the resultant pieces are more likely to break the SL conventions in adhering to TL ones. This view was endorsed by a multimedia producer at *BBC Chinese*[73] who said that they were told to produce a "reversion" of original stories, rather than to translate literally. In other words, they were expected to compose articles suitable for Chinese readers but based on the English pieces.

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[73] Translator C. 2019. Questionnaire with the author, 30 October.

Unlike the other three, *EJ Insight* mainly adopts a strategy of free translation. The *EJ Insight* translators[74] revealed that they had to adhere to the standpoints in the original piece but not necessarily at the sentence level. Sometimes the translator could add background information about a particular figure or topic mentioned in the original piece to give readers a better understanding. The translator typically composed a new piece in English based on the main points from the original and summarised the content to create a compact and straightforward version.

*NYT Chinese* mainly translates *NYT* news stories into Chinese with the respective narratives matching almost exactly. The *NYT* translator[75] affirmed that they mainly adopt a strategy of literal translation. Since they do not get to choose what stories to translate, they consider whether the translation is understandable to a non-specialist reader.

This section has described the methods used by the translators at the selected media outlets. The translators at *RN* and *The NYT Chinese* generally adopt the method of literal translation, while the translators at *EJ Insight* and *BBC Chinese* employ free translation. These translation methods constrain the other two aspects of narrative techniques and framing strategies which the translators could manoeuvre at the textual level. This section has reviewed the three textual factors that affect the translated news texts. The section follows moves on to consider the institutional procedures for translating the news at the media outlets.

## 7.2 Institutional Procedures

Another significant aspect is the institutional routines of the media outlets. As Blommaert (2005, p.62) puts it, "one of the features of … institutional communication processes is the shifting of discourse across contexts". The production of news translation at the media outlets undergoes a series of "text trajectories" (Kang, 2014, p.469), often a result of the power relations between different agents within the institution. Translated news is shaped by multiple

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[74] Translator A. 2019. Interview with the author, 17 September; Translator B. 2019. Email to the author, 7 April.
[75] Translator D. 2019. Questionnaire with the author, 2 October.

mediators within the institutional settings and the mediation ultimately reflects the political stances of the media outlets.

Prior studies evaluating the news translation of *RN* observed that it involves various procedures including news selection, translation, revision and editing (Pan, 2014a), and multiple roles are involved in this process such as news selectors, page editors, translators, manuscript editors and production editors (Xia and Wang, 2015; Xia, 2016; Xia, 2019). The translator has a unique function separate from others at *RN*. As Pan (2014a) and Xia and Wang (2015) note in relation to *RN* that original news articles are first chosen from a wide range of newspapers, news agencies from both home and abroad. Page editors then decide on and "order" news articles which are perceived to be of most interest to readers to be processed by the translator. Once finished, the translation is sent to the manuscript editor for proofreading and editing before it is finally printed by the production editor. The page, manuscript and production editors are, in most cases, the same person and enjoys more privileges than the translator, who is often required to provide faithful translations while the editor has the privilege of editing them (Pan, 2014a; Xia and Wang 2015; Xia, 2019). As a state newspaper run by XNA, its production process is undoubtedly affected by government and self-censorship in every aspect, from the initial news selection and translation to the final editing and publication.

The other media outlets implement different practices for translation. A former[76] and a current[77] translator at *EJ Insight* revealed that there is clear demarcation between roles at *EJ Insight* in most cases. Figure 13 shows that there are (at least) three production roles in news translation: a translator/writer, a supervisor and a sub-editor/editor. *EJ Insight* hires both full-time staff and freelance translators for the translation of commentaries. The translator is usually a native speaker of Mandarin or Cantonese who is mainly responsible for the selection of news articles from the *HKEJ* and their translation into English. The translator may also write original English-language articles for the site. After the translation is drafted, it undergoes a review process firstly reviewed by a local supervisor who has a good command of

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[76] Translator A. 2019. Interview with the author, 17 September.
[77] Translator B. 2019. Email to the author, 7 April.

English before being proofread by a sub-editor, usually a native speaker of English before being published on the website.



Figure 13  Process of news translation on *EJ Insight*.

There are no translator-only posts at *BBC Chinese*, as is shown in Figure 14. Translation is combined with other roles such as journalist or producer. Most journalists and producers at *BBC Chinese* have bilingual competence but quite limited training in translation. According to a China media analyst for BBC Monitoring,[78] journalists and senior journalists have various reporting and editorial responsibilities and need to conduct the initial translation work. A multimedia producer selects news stories from the stories reported by its journalists or other media outlets, and transedits them into Chinese. Finished pieces are then turned into online content before being checked by the duty editor before online publication.



Figure 14  Process of news translation on *BBC Chinese*.

According to an *NYT Chinese* job advertisement,[79] the job roles within the website consist of translation producer/assistant editor, editor and senior editor. This was

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[78] Translator E. 2019. Questionnaire with the author, 10 September.
[79] https://cn.nytimes.com/education/20170828/cn-recruitment/ [Accessed 16 May 2020]

confirmed with a former news translator[80] who worked for the website in 2015. As shown in Figure 15, translators at the news outlet have distinctive roles from others such as editors and senior editors. The translation producer (also known as the assistant editor) is mainly responsible for translating articles into Chinese. They may have an educational background in a particular field such as media, journalism and communication, but do not necessarily in translation. The editor routinely chooses an article and sends it to the translation producer. The translation producer usually has several hours to translate the item and pass it to the editor, highlighting anything they may have any doubt about. The editor checks the translation and makes comments before sending it to the senior editor who has other tasks to organise, such as proofreading, typesetting, images selection and the online publishing of the news items, whereas an editor is responsible for translating and editing breaking news and working on other, related projects.

| Translation Producer / Assistant Editor | Editor | Senior Editor |
|---|---|---|
| • Translating articles from English to Chinese | • Selecting news articles for translation<br>• Checking and making comments<br>• Translating and editing breaking news<br>• Producing other related projects | • Proofreading<br>• Typesetting<br>• Choosing images<br>• Publishing news content on the website |
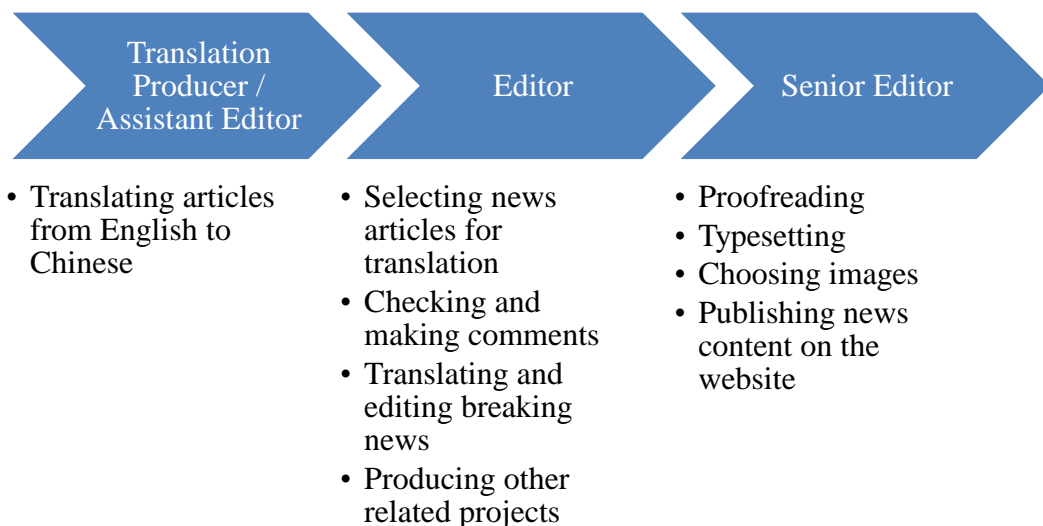
**Figure 15** Process of news translation on *The NYT Chinese*.

Taken together, this provides valuable insight into the institutional practice of news translation at the selected media outlets. It is interesting to note that in all four cases, news translation is a complicated process that involves various roles and influences over how the translations narrate and (re)frame. The editors in the four media outlets, as the primary narrators and the ultimate gatekeepers, play a decisive role from the selection of original articles to the publication of translated narratives, whereas the translators are often low-profile and less influential over the production

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[80] Translator D. 2019. Questionnaire with the author, 2 October.

process. The editors at *RN* enjoy more privilege than their counterparts at the other selected media outlets. As the only print newspaper examined in this study, the *RN* editor has more responsibilities, such as printing the newspaper. However, the *RN* translators become almost invisible in this process. They are seldom identified in the translated items, whereas the translators at the other three media outlets generally are.

## 7.3 Socio-cultural Contexts

This chapter has so far focused on the linguistic aspect of translation conventions and the established procedures for translating news at the selected media outlets. Another significant aspect of news narratives and their translation through framing strategies is the socio-cultural contexts in which the news outlets are situated. News translation is constrained by various socio-cultural factors and this section examines these.

### 7.3.1 Political Stances of the Media Outlets

The translated items are likely to relate to the political stances of the selected media outlets as well as the national or regional standpoints surrounding them. The most prominent finding to emerge from the analyses is that few ideological shifts are likely to occur between original and translated stories and commentaries produced within the same media outlet like *NYT Chinese* and *EJ Insight*. On the other hand, there may be significant ideological shifts between translated narratives produced from different media outlets such as *RN* does. The political stance of translated stories on *BBC Chinese* is mostly consistent with that of their original stories.

As *RN* is run by XNA, the newspaper's views are heavily regulated by that body, regarded by many as an agent of the Chinese central government and the CCP. The current study found that the translated narratives in *RN* clearly align with the central government view on the 2014 Hong Kong protests. This finding supports previous studies which looked into the translation of *RN* (e.g. Pan, 2015; Xia and Wang, 2015; Xia, 2016; 2019; Liu, 2017). The newspaper strictly adheres to the XNA style guide which bans the use of sensitive words related to Hong Kong and its sovereignty. The frequency analysis of translated narratives on Occupy Central in *RN* demonstrates that the first adapted Chinese news item was published on 29

September and the first translated news item on 30 September. This finding goes against a previous common (mis)understanding in the mainstream English-language media which claimed there was censorship of information on Occupy Central in the Chinese mainland media until the national day holiday. This may be due to the fact that, as Shirk suggests, that XNA "has undergone a remarkable makeover" (2011, p.24) in recent years in order to compete with emerging commercial media outlets. However, certain issues are still taboo in Chinese media outlets, such as criticism of the CCP with regard to human rights and democracy, and external narratives on the Tiananmen Square protests and the Tibet issue. These results also accord with He's findings which showed that the Chinese media bodies, including XNA, employ a discursive strategy of "ideological re-pitching" (2003, p.198) which commingle the narrative of "order" with communist ideology and maximise patriotic sentiment. This discursive strategy is also adopted by the HKSAR government in framing the Umbrella Movement as an "imported conspiracy" (Yep, 2019, p.234) tied up with foreign intervention, particularly from the US and the UK.

Since the handover of sovereignty in 1997 and especially after the proposed introduction of Article 23 in 2003, media outlets in Hong Kong have tightened their controls over the treatment of politically sensitive topics. Despite an overwhelmingly negative tone in the coverage, news reports on the topic of the 2014 Hong Kong protests were heavily censored on the Chinese mainland compared to a relatively freer media environment in both Hong Kong and the West, although there has been growing concern about media freedom in Hong Kong. According to the World Press Freedom Index[81] published by Reporters Without Borders (RWB), Hong Kong dropped between 2002 and 2019 from 18th to the 73rd out of 180 countries. RWB attributes the decline of press freedom in Hong Kong to various types of censorship, including indirect censorship imposed by the SAR and central governments as well as self-censorship practised within the media outlets themselves.[82] According to Freedom House, the press and internet freedom scores of the Chinese mainland and Hong Kong have been in a steady decline since 2002. The status of press and internet freedom is currently "not free" on the Chinese mainland

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[81] https://rsf.org/en/world-press-freedom-index [Accessed 16 May 2020]
[82] https://rsf.org/en/news/occupy-central-and-fight-information-freedom [Accessed 16 May 2020]

and "partly free" in Hong Kong. There has been growing concern in recent years that media freedom in Hong Kong has been further eroded by tighter political control and economic pressures from the Chinese mainland since the handover (Frisch et al., 2018). Consistent with the findings of journalism studies (e.g. Lee and Lin, 2006), this study shows that media freedom affects the way translation flows in the news media and different forms of censorship and self-censorship influence the practices of media outlets.

*HKEJ* is one of the few press outlets that has remained politically independent and "relatively free of self-censorship" (Lai, 2007, p.160), though the elite liberal Chinese newspaper enjoys a long tradition of being critical of the Chinese central government and the local government on certain issues. In the press coverage of the protest against the enactment of the national security law in 2003, Lee and Chan argue that the pro-democracy newspaper *Apple Daily* took "a clear and one-sidedly critical attitude", whereas the liberal newspaper *MP* adopted "an overall negative tone" towards the issue (2019, p.157). *HKEJ* has a distinctive political stance on the Occupy Central movement and publishes articles both in favour of and opposing it. Its English-language website, *EJ Insight,* inherits the newspaper's impartiality and more objective opinion on this issue. The study found that *EJ Insight* published nearly half (9 out of 20) of its translated commentaries written initially by Joseph Lian Yizheng who is notable for his sharp criticism of the government in dealing with Occupy Central and his explicit sympathy for the protesters. Despite commentaries giving support to the protesters, *EJ Insight* also posted translations of commentaries against them. One of the most prolific commentators, newspaper proprietor Lam Hang-chi, famous for his objective and reasoned analysis, contributed six commentaries. Another quarter of the commentaries were written by other commentators of varying opinions. The results of this research did not show any significant ideological shifts between the original and translated commentaries on *EJ Insight*, albeit notable linguistic and stylistic variations do occur, both in headlines and main bodies, during the translation procedure. The translated headlines tend to conform the aesthetic rhetoric of traditional Chinese which favours parallel lines. The translated commentaries are not restricted to the divisions between sentences and paragraphs in the originals, as a result of the free translation strategies adopted by the *EJ Insight* translators. This outcome is the further development on the findings of Valdeón (2016) who argues that editorials leave

little room for shifts in the translation process because media outlets are likely to hire an author who supports their ideological stance. Commentaries, on the other hand, can be written by various writers who may not share the same political stance as the media outlet. As a result, more linguistic or ideological shifts are likely to occur during the translation process.

*NYT Chinese* and *BBC Chinese* evince negativity towards the Chinese central and Hong Kong SAR governments and take a positive attitude towards Occupy Central. The analysis of translated narratives on *BBC Chinese* indicates that 14 percent of sources are from eyewitnesses while only five percent are from protesters. Among the eyewitness accounts, about four-fifths are in direct speech from those who are in favour of the protests, while one-fifth is in indirect speech from those who are against the protests. Nevertheless, the media outlet makes the voices of protesters heard and incite public opinion against the government. The current study found that *BBC Chinese* strengthened negative depictions of China already prevalent in the original headlines from *BBC News* and other British press in its translated headlines, as also suggested by Lu et al.'s (2015) analysis of reporting of Occupy Central in the mainstream British media.

The framing analysis of translated narratives on *BBC Chinese* indicates that lexical representations of Occupy Central are primarily in line with those of the *BBC*. This result correlates with the findings of Valdeón's (2005; 2007; 2019) studies on the *BBC* Spanish service, *BBC Mundo*. However, it differs from Jaber and Baumann (2011)'s and Al-Heijin's (2012) studies of *BBC Arabic*. This difference may be attributable to the different practices of language services within the BBC World Service. Cheesman et al. (2011) show that there are many voices within the BBC across its multilingual services and that it is challenging to achieve one voice because each language service has its own journalistic norms and audience expectations. The research also found that some minor ideological deviations exist between the original narratives from the other British media and their translated summaries on *BBC Chinese*. This inconsistency may be due to the fact that, although *BBC Chinese* and the other selected media outlets belong to the same media system, it has its distinctive ideological stance and editorial policies. Consequently, the Chinese website often plays the role of intermediary between the British media outlet and its Chinese readers (Ji, 2017).

Like *BBC Chinese*, the translated narratives on *NYT Chinese* maintain the original narratives which are critical of China for its policy towards Hong Kong and various other issues relating to democracy and human rights. The study found that the political stance of *NYT Chinese* adopts towards the 2014 Hong Kong protests is primarily associated with criticism of China. These results support previous studies (e.g. Chen, 2001; Parsons and Xu, 2001; Peng, 2004; Liu, 2012) which have demonstrated that the representation of China in *NYT* has been predominantly negative. This may be explained by the fact that China and the US have starkly opposing political systems. The US media has mistrusted China ever since its own communist revolution around the dawn of the wider Cold War. *NYT Chinese* follows the discursive strategies of its English outlet which purports to provide objective reporting on Occupy Central through employing a wide range of narrators. It airs its views on the protests mainly through protester accounts which call for democracy. Its stance is further revealed by the fact that it posts translations of opinion pieces by Joshua Wong and Benny Tai, two key leaders of the protests and most columnists are highly critical of the governments and supportive of the protesters. These results accord with Liu's (2012) findings that the *NYT*'s coverage of the Chinese crisis events in Xinjiang and Tibet often foregrounded the voices of protesters and backgrounded pro-Beijing views.

*NYT Chinese* also plays up the tensions between the police and the protesters in its translated narratives through increasing the amount of lexical items related to police brutality, such as *batons*, *pepper spray* and *tear gas*. This finding partly agrees with previous observations (e.g. Xu, 2013; Gottlieb, 2015) on the *NYT's* news coverage of Occupy Wall Street, which reported intensifying conflicts between the police and protesters. However, due to the different aims of these two Occupy movements, the economic aspects are less salient in the translated narratives on Occupy Central on *NYT Chinese*. Moreover, contrary to recurrently negative descriptions of Occupy Wall Street in the *NYT*, the overall tone of news coverage towards Occupy Central and the protesters is mainly positive on *NYT Chinese*.

### 7.3.2  Target Readership

This research shows that translators at the media outlets are often required to recontextualise their textual productions to fit their diverse readerships and the target culture (Davies, 2006). Each media outlet converts news articles which are designed

for another largely foreign readership and aims to target readers in different environments which may come from different ideological and linguistic background. Thus, much ideological and linguistic shifts are likely to occur during this process of news translation.

Consistent with previous literature (e.g. Xia, 2019), this study found that translated news in *RN* undergoes a complex recontextualisation process. Original narratives are intended for English readers from countries and regions that are mostly outside the Chinese mainland. The readership of translated narratives in *RN* are mainly Chinese readers residing on the Chinese mainland. Most media outlets nowadays run their websites and social media in a way which makes them accessible around the globe. Although *RN* also runs an official website that is accessible around the world, much of the material on it differs from that which is in the newspaper. It is unsurprising to find, as one survey shows, that *RN* readers are mostly CCP or government cadres who have received higher education.[83] Hence, one could reasonably argue that the newspaper is a party mouthpiece. The survey also shows that the majority of the readership of *RN* is males (71.3%). Around one third of the readers are aged between 25 and 34 years old. A section on their reading habit shows that 38.3% of the readers scan the newspaper articles for their main content, 34.2% read the main content thoroughly, and 13.1% scan the news headlines. This explains the reason that *RN* creates news headlines and photo captions which cater for its readers' reading habits.

Unlike the other three media outlets, *EJ Insight* translates news from Chinese to English. The target readership of the news site is not entirely different from its parent newspaper. As a daily newspaper published in Hong Kong, readers of *HKEJ* are mainly local intellectual elite figures and middle-class people who are interested in business and political issues. The *HKEJ* website is also available for global Chinese-language readers, mainly residing in the Great China Region. Similarly, the target audience for *EJ Insight* is mostly readers in Hong Kong and around the globe who understand English and are particularly interested in hearing news about Hong

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[83] https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E5%8F%82%E8%80%83%E6%B6%88%E6%8 1%AF#%E8%AF%BB%E8%80%85%E8%A6%86%E7%9B%96 [Accessed 16 May 2020]

Kong. Unlike the print newspaper, the readership of the website is much younger which consists of a majority of local and also overseas readers originally from Hong Kong and trust the news brand. They read the news on *EJ Insight* because they either view it as a way of learning English or they like the brand. Thus, the news content needs to cater to the taste of international readers. This probably explains why the English commentaries on *EJ Insight* often undergo such significant linguistic and stylistic changes from their Chinese originals.

As two of the most significant Anglophone media outlets, readers of the *BBC* and *NYT* websites are spread around the world who understand English. Their news content primarily caters to their domestic markets. BBC News Online and the *NYT* website also attract a large number of online readers elsewhere globally. However, due to media censorship on the Chinese mainland, most of the readership of the *BBC Chinese* and *NYT Chinese* websites are the overseas Chinese speakers residing outside of the mainland or in the Great China Region, although both sites, currently blocked on the mainland, are still accessible via VPN services or subscriptions to their newsletters. Unlike print newspapers, readers of online news are often younger and they spend less time in reading online news articles. This perhaps explains why *BBC Chinese* transedits half of its news articles as news summaries from the British press. The average length of Chinese sentence is also shorter and the type-token ratio is lower than its English counterpart.

*BBC Chinese* and *NYT Chinese* are designed for both domestic and overseas Chinese readers in the Greater China region as the websites offer an option to switch between simplified and traditional Chinese characters. The nature of this target readership was further confirmed by a former *BBC Chinese* producer[84] who indicated that the primary consideration for selection was whether readers on the Chinese mainland or in Hong Kong or Taiwan would read it. When it comes to China stories, some background information may be omitted because they are deemed to be unnecessary for Chinese readers. It could also be suggested by the convention that *NYT Chinese* frequently adds notes to its translations of culture-specific references, for example by adding "音译" (transliteration) after the names of protesters, or converting the monetary system and unit of measurements into the corresponding mainland

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[84] Translator C. 2019. Questionnaire with the author, 30 October.

Chinese ones. Readers of the news websites could also post their comments in some online news articles. Due to the scope of this research, it has not looked into this reception which may generate some interesting findings for further research.

Although news stories claim to present an objective account of an important event (Tuchman, 1972) and the translator purportedly aims to provide a faithful rendition of the original narrative, many factors contribute to this complex process, including translation/transediting conventions, institutional procedures, and socio-cultural contexts. Taking all these factors into consideration, the original narratives tend to undergo radical linguistic changes in order to cater for their audience's needs. The news translator needs to deal with a variety of power dynamics in relation to the political stance of the journalist who wrote the original narrative, the editor in and owner of the media outlet and the target readership. Translated narratives are often product of mediation between different power relations in the media outlet and a manifestation of the relationship between the media outlet and its target readers.

## 7.4 Summary

This chapter has identified several major factors influencing the translated news narratives produced by the selected media outlets in the representation of the 2014 Hong Kong protests. It has shown three levels of influences – textual, institutional and socio-cultural from the micro- to the macro-levels. Textual factors include narrative techniques, framing strategies, and the differences between the SL and TL conventions. Institutional influences originate from two sources: the roles played by the translator at the media outlet, including the power relationship between the translator and various other agents in the institutional setting; and the standard process by which the news translation is produced. The highest level relates to the socio-cultural contexts in which the news outlet is situated. A summary of the study's main findings, their implications, the contribution the study makes to knowledge, its limitations and recommendations for future research are provided in the next and concluding chapter.

# Chapter 8
# Conclusion

This final chapter presents the conclusions of the current study. It firstly summarises the main research findings from the data analyses by revisiting the research questions raised in the introduction. It then identifies several implications for the fields of socio-narrative and news translation theory and explains the significance of the findings and the contribution the study makes to knowledge. It finally acknowledges and identifies its limitations before offering recommendations for future research.

## 8.1  Summary of Research Findings

This research set out to compare the differences between the original and translated news texts of the 2014 Hong Kong protests in the same media outlet (RQ1). It has shown that few ideological shifts take place between the original and translated texts produced within the same media outlet, as is the case with *NYT Chinese* and *EJ Insight*. It did, however, identify at times very significant linguistic shifts on *EJ Insight*. Both linguistic and ideological shifts were likely in *RN* where the news were translated from other media outlets. Few ideological differences were observed between the original and translated narratives on *BBC Chinese*. Such differences appeared in the translated news in all of the media outlets which serve as "a narrow gate" (Harding, 2012a, p.184) of original news, except for *NYT Chinese*, which almost publishes entire translations of original news.

The second research question related to the investigation of how the translated news of the event came to be different from each outlet. This study identified the different narrative and (re)framing strategies each outlet pursued. *RN* highlighted the importance of law and order, and described the protests as illegal activities. The Chinese newspaper foregrounded Hong Kong being part of China and warned against other countries interfering in China's internal affairs. *EJ Insight* provided a mixture of impartial and reasoned commentaries through some voices who criticised the central and local governments and others who sympathise with the protesters. *BBC Chinese* and *NYT Chinese*, in beating the drum for democracy and human

rights, accentuated the confrontations between the police and the protesters through increasing the number of lexical items redolent of police brutality.

The third research question required analysis of the prominent narratives and framing patterns that emerge from the translated news in order to answer it. This study found that the media outlets followed certain narrative and framing patterns consistently. A significant finding was that the media outlets employed a variety of narrative techniques, as identified through analysis of narrators, retroversion and frequency, both in translated narrative and non-narrative texts. Each outlet employed a different combination of primary, secondary and temporary narrators in order to embed their own narratives into the translated texts. Each one also resorted to various internal and external retroversions and published translated news in different frequencies. Another significant finding was that each media outlet adopted different framing strategies at the textual, intratextual and paratextual levels to (re)frame their original narratives through translation which are distinct from their original versions. The study analysed these in detail in comparison with one another. *RN* utilised the greatest number of textual and intratextual framing strategies of all the selected media outlets. Translations on *BBC Chinese* were (re)framed through a mixture of strategies and devices. *EJ Insight* and *NYT Chinese* mainly framed their translations through the use of paratextual devices such as news headlines.

In relation to the last research question, the study identified the way in which the original narratives of the protests were (re)framed through translation. A significant finding to emerge from this study was that the various factors that shape and the forms of narrative and framing patterns were highly complex and varied across the outlets. Such factors included differences between SL and TL conventions, the nature of translation and/or transediting conventions at each outlet, the outlet's institutional news production routines, and the political and socio-cultural contexts in which the media outlet is situated. From the perspective of the function that translation plays, the translated news (re)frame the original ones both linguistically and ideologically through various narrative techniques and framing strategies. This creates a range of different text trajectories and recontextualisations that seek to cater for a diverse target readership.

## 8.2  Implications and Contribution of the Research

The collective findings in this study demonstrate that the premise that the theoretical model of narrative theory could be further developed and modified to fit the analysis of news translation was a valid one. A revised theoretical model that encompasses both narrative and framing analyses at the textual level, aided by corpus-based analysis and taking into account institutional and socio-cultural settings has been shown to be productive. This has theoretical implications for studies adopting narrative theory, not only in the field of news translation but also in other areas of Translation Studies and in relation to other text genres. In this way, the study makes a significant contribution to the current literature and demonstrates the potential of such an approach from the perspectives of linguistics, translation management and ideology.

From the linguistic point of view, this research proposes a methodological framework which can be used in the analysis of news translation and suggests that corpora techniques may inform narrative analysis at the textual level. Although Baker (2006, p.141) argues that "none of us is in a position to stand outside any narrative in order to observe it 'objectively'", corpus-assisted approaches have proven to significantly enhance the objectivity of narrative and framing analyses. Thematic analysis incorporating corpus tools (such as the comparison of keywords) sheds light on the critical elements in original narratives which are strengthened or weakened during the translation process. The comparison of word frequency also offers an efficient method for identifying recurrent narratives, particularly in circumstances where original and translated narratives are not in parallel, a relatively common feature of news translation. Analysis of semantic prosodies assists in identifying the repositioning of participants within texts through epithets. Corpus analysis can also be used to validate findings generated from narrative theory. It can take the researcher's intuitive hypotheses and provide corpus data to either confirm or challenge such presuppositions. Another methodological implication of computer-assisted approaches is that it becomes possible to adopt a corpus-based approach of speech presentation in narrative texts (Wynne et al., 1998), the Labovian model of narrative coding (Saldaña, 2013) and computer-assisted framing analysis (Ji, 2017) for news narratives.

This study provides the first comprehensive assessment of news narratives and framing in translation by adopting a corpus-based approach. It combines both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Quantitative analytical findings from corpus-based study are integrated with and interpreted in the light of qualitative narrative and framing analyses. This approach enhanced the characterisation of news translation from the perspectives of narratology and framing theory and suggested the potentiality of corpus-based methods for future studies of news translation in their cultural and political settings. This will prove to be useful especially when original and translated narratives are not parallel, as is typical in news translation.

The theoretical framework of narrative analysis in this research draws on Harding (2012a) which takes from Bal's (2009) three layers of *text*, *story* and *fabula*. There has been a tradition of applying Bal's model to the analysis of literary narratives, and Harding (2012a) has addressed the issue of this model's compatibility with the analysis of news narratives. One of the issues emerging from the narrative analysis in this study relates specifically to the typology of narrators (Figure 4), whether these narrators are identified, part-identified or anonymous, and whether they are cited in direct or indirect speech. This is both inspired by and a development on Harding's (2012a) narrative typology. The hierarchical character of categorisation, according to the relationships prevailing in each media outlet, highlights the significance of the translator's role as a secondary narrator on the one hand, but also how that role is constrained by the editor as a primary narrator and the various temporary narrators.

One implication of the framing analysis in this research is that it is possible and productive to classify framing devices at the textual, intratextual and paratextual levels. Textual analysis of translated narratives implies that omission, addition, substitution and reorganisation are the most common framing strategies used in news translation. The analysis of intratextual framing and epithets in particular, suggests that narrative theory still lacks a systematic framework for analysing the lexico-grammatical level. This calls for the integration of other models, such as appraisal theory, into the narrative analysis. The findings emerging from paratextual analysis of headlines, layouts, images and so on has important implications for developing a multimodal analytical framework within the framework of narrative theory.

With regard to translation management, although the institutional analysis in this study is based on a small sample of conversations and personal communication with journalists/translators, the findings suggest that it may help in analysing the role of the news translator and the standard procedure for producing news translation in a media outlet. This raises intriguing questions about the nature of news translation and has significant implications for the understanding of how news translation is produced. This research focused on the translation of news narratives on Occupy Central produced by the selected media outlets, yet its findings may well have a bearing on other events and for other media outlets.

Ideologically speaking, the study is one of the first attempts to combine news translation, narrative and framing theories with corpus-based analysis. Previous literature has combined news translation with either narratology or framing theory, but has rarely, if ever, brought it altogether. This study has proposed an integrated analytical framework based on Harding's (2012a) intratextual model for narrative analysis and Baker's (2006) model of framing analysis as adapted to the study of news translation. It has revised the typology of narrators and classifies framing devices into various levels. The modified framework of CNA, adapted to the cultural and political nuances of news translation, accommodates a wide range of perspectives from which findings may be generalised. The study has also sought to demonstrate how this may be practically done through examples.

This work adds to the rapidly growing body of research on news translation, an area which has received increasing attention over the past two decades. As Valdeón (2015a) says, Europe is still at the forefront of journalistic translation research. Although an increasing number of researchers from the Asia-Pacific region have contributed in this research area, few studies have addressed the case of China, and even fewer Hong Kong specifically. This research is a case study which examines the representations of Hong Kong in news translation and is perhaps the first comprehensive investigation into a set of new data from *EJ Insight* and *NYT Chinese*, two emerging media outlets in the region.

Finally, this thesis also contributes to existing knowledge in Chinese studies, or Hong Kong studies to be more specific, from a new perspective. It appears to be the only empirical investigation into the 2014 Hong Kong protests from the perspective

of translation studies. Previous studies of the protests were often conducted in relation to political science, sociology, media and communication studies. There is a large and growing body of literature in journalism and communication studies that investigates media representations of Occupy Central and its various aspects in the local and global media (e.g. C.K. Chan 2015; Yu, 2015; Lee, 2016; Veneti et al., 2016). Critical discourse studies (e.g. Bhatia, 2015; 2016a; 2016b; Flowerdew, 2016; 2017; Li and Ye, 2016) have also examined the characterisation of the movement in media or political discourses. However, these studies, mostly monolingual, fail to address the role translation plays in the dissemination of news. Thus, this research offers new insights for the understanding of Occupy Central from translation studies perspectives.

## 8.3 Limitations of the Research

Although the current research adopts a systematic methodology, it is inevitably subject to certain limitations and problems arising from the analysis of data. A significant limitation of this research lies in the selection and collection of data. This study selected the most representative media outlet in its own country or region. However, the selection of media outlets is based on a number of variables such as language direction and the type of media outlet, which are relatively small in these locations. The scope of this research was limited in terms of data collection. The research is limited to the comparison of English and Chinese news. It does not include original news in other languages, although *RN* publishes translations from other languages, such as Russian, Japanese, Spanish and French. This research selected news articles identifiable as translations, but does not examine articles which are translated, partially or entirely, yet they are not identifiable as translations. The small sample size also resulted in the size of the news corpus, which sometimes did not allow enough instances for word sketches particularly in the corpus analysis as well as limiting some kinds of framing analysis.

Another limitation is the quality of the computer-assisted tools. Although this study adopted a systematic approach to coding narrators and framing strategies for further analysis by using the NVivo software, there were instances where a narrator or framing strategy could conceivably be coded as falling into several categories or did not belong to any. Harding (2012a) acknowledges the blurry boundaries between

various types of narrators and narratives and this study must do so too. The study employs Sketch Engine as its corpus software which uses English Web 2013 as its English reference corpus, Chinese Web 2011 and Chinese Traditional Web as its Chinese reference corpora. These reference corpora were the latest ones available in Sketch Engine when the research was conducted, but they do not include news articles on the 2014 Hong Kong protests, something which may affect the keywords comparison results. Two other issues addressed in the corpus analysis were the segmentation of the Chinese corpora and the semantic annotation by using the UCREL Chinese tagging systems. The segmentation of Chinese corpora consisted of automatic segmentation by SegmentAnt, which achieves an accuracy of 98.23 percent, followed by manual screening. The Chinese semantic tagger contains over 64,000 single and 19,000 multi-word units. However, several new words remain untagged, especially acronyms. Ji (2017) also points out in her study that a number of Chinese characters remain untagged in the UCREL Chinese system. This undoubtedly imposes extra difficulties on corpus analysis. Another limitation of corpus methods is that it has limited capacity to inform narrative theory beyond the textual level. In general, corpus-based CNA can only describe what and how narratives change from original to translated texts, but it does not explain why such shifts occur. Thus, additional contextual analysis is required in order to uncover socio-cultural and other aspects in details as well.

Another limitation of this research lies in the institutional analysis, which involves a relatively small number of participants from the selected media outlets. This limitation is due to the restricted resources available and responses received from participants. Five participants were recruited for this research, including two translators from *EJ Insight*, one former translator from *NYT Chinese*, one former producer from *BBC Chinese*, and a China media analyst for BBC Monitoring. These participants were identified via LinkedIn or by contacting them through their media organisation.

## 8.4 Recommendations for Future Research

The findings of this study provide insights for guiding future research. The scope of future research could be expanded in terms of both time and space. It could be conducted to explore diachronic change in the translation of news stories. The

original plan for this research was to cover the 20 years since the handover in 1997 but proved not to match manageability requirements. It was therefore refined to examining the 2014–2017 period and concentrating on the 2014 protests, while also taking into account key events such as the 2016 Legislative Council oath-taking controversy and the 2017 CE election. The period of news articles sample is restricted to the 79-day occupation phase of Occupy Central. Although the protests ended on 15 December 2014, news reports on the consequences of the demonstrations have continued right up to the present. Other critical events have occurred in Hong Kong since the handover of sovereignty which have had significant social impact and have attracted considerable media attention, such as the Legislative Council oath-taking controversy in 2016 and the protests against the extradition bill to the Chinese mainland in 2019. It would thus be interesting to compare the translation practices in relation to these various events to see how they have evolved over time. Studies analysing diachronic changes of media discourse over a long period in Hong Kong have been carried out by critical discourse analysts (e.g. Flowerdew et al., 2002; Lai, 2007; Flowerdew, 2012; Cheng and Lam, 2013) but are still rare within Translation Studies.

Synchronically, future studies might be conducted on other representative media outlets in the selected country and region such as *Global Times* and *China Daily* from the Chinese mainland, *MP* and *SCMP* from Hong Kong, *FT* and *Reuters* from the UK, *WSJ* from the US, or expanded to the media in other countries or regions such as Australia, Singapore and Taiwan which also reported extensively on the 2014 Hong Kong protests (see Appendix D). Further studies do not have to be restricted to the translation proper but could extend into cross-linguistic studies which might offer more valuable data for the analysis of other multimedia journalism, such as TV and social media.

More information on the institutional practice of news translation in media outlets would also help us understand them better, as Davier et al. (2018) propose. More in-depth interviews, surveys and questionnaires on a broader range of participants are needed in order to do so.

Scholarly interest in news translation is primarily focused on framing in "agenda setting" (Iyengar and Simon, 1993, p.366) and "priming" (ibid., p.368), two similar

yet distinct concepts applied to analyses of news coverage that have so far been unexplored in translation studies. Further research could also be conducted to explore the intersection between translation studies and journalism. Future research could also be conducted on focalization. Bal suggests that "analyses of newspaper reports that aim at revealing the hidden ideology embedded in such reports should involve focalization in their investigations, and not restrict themselves to so-called content analysis" (2017, p.151).

The findings of this study have a number of practical implications which suggest several courses of action to develop policies or regulations for translation practice and translator training. This research indicates that ideological factors should be addressed as a priority and dealt with carefully. Another key pedagogical implication is that data about the translation methods identified by this research could be used in the teaching of news translation. Li (2005, 2006) argues that specialised translation courses, such as journalistic translation, should teach students the translation methods used by professionals in order to bridge the gap between translator training and professional practice.

## 8.5  Concluding Remarks

In this information age, people are immersed in an overwhelmingly large amount of media material, not all of it true. There is a mix of true and fake news about any issue in this "post-truth" world in which people are more likely to rely on their emotions than facts and arguments. Thus, it is crucial for readers to identify trustworthy sources for themselves in order to gain a full and true picture on any issue. Roman emperor and philosopher Marcus Aurelius once said that "everything we see is a perspective, not the truth". The German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche similarly declared that "there are no facts, only interpretations". The media, both print and digital, has been a battleground for different forces aiming to gain the moral high ground and spread their ideologies. What we read in the media is an already-framed reality based on purported truth constructed by media outlets. Translation has become another gatekeeper in this process. As the study of the 2014 Hong Kong protests in this research shows, media outlets select news sources for translation accordingly and alter or maintain the original narratives in a manner which reflects their political stances and other socio-cultural factors. We have

witnessed a similar process in the coverage of the Brexit referendum and the 2016 US presidential election campaign. This study was conducted in the hope that it will contribute to the visibility of translation in journalistic settings and be applicable to situations all over the world.

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# Appendix A

## GDELT Event Timeline (1997–2017)

**Appendix B**

**GDELT Event Timeline (1997–2019)**
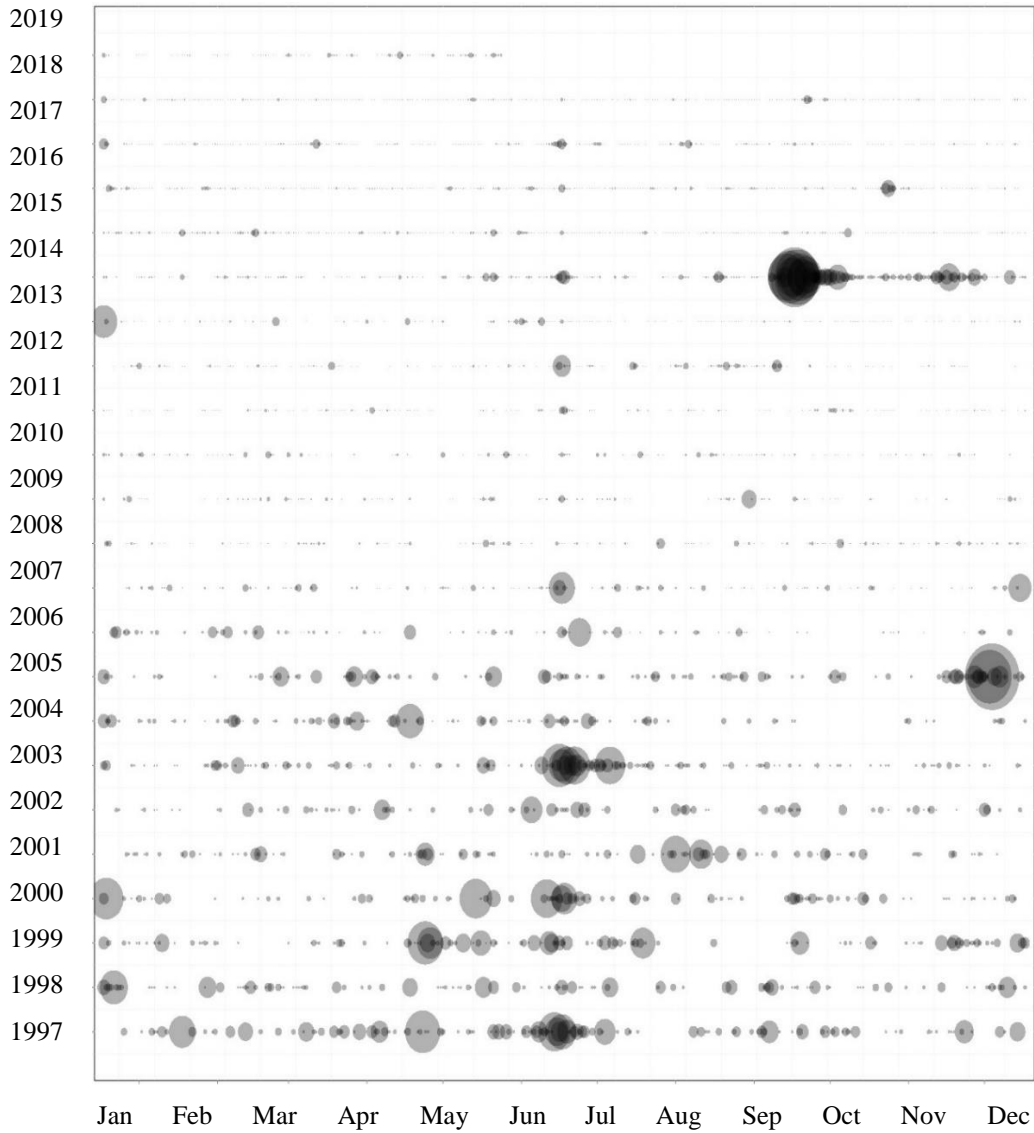
# Appendix C

## GKG Tone Timeline (2013–2017)
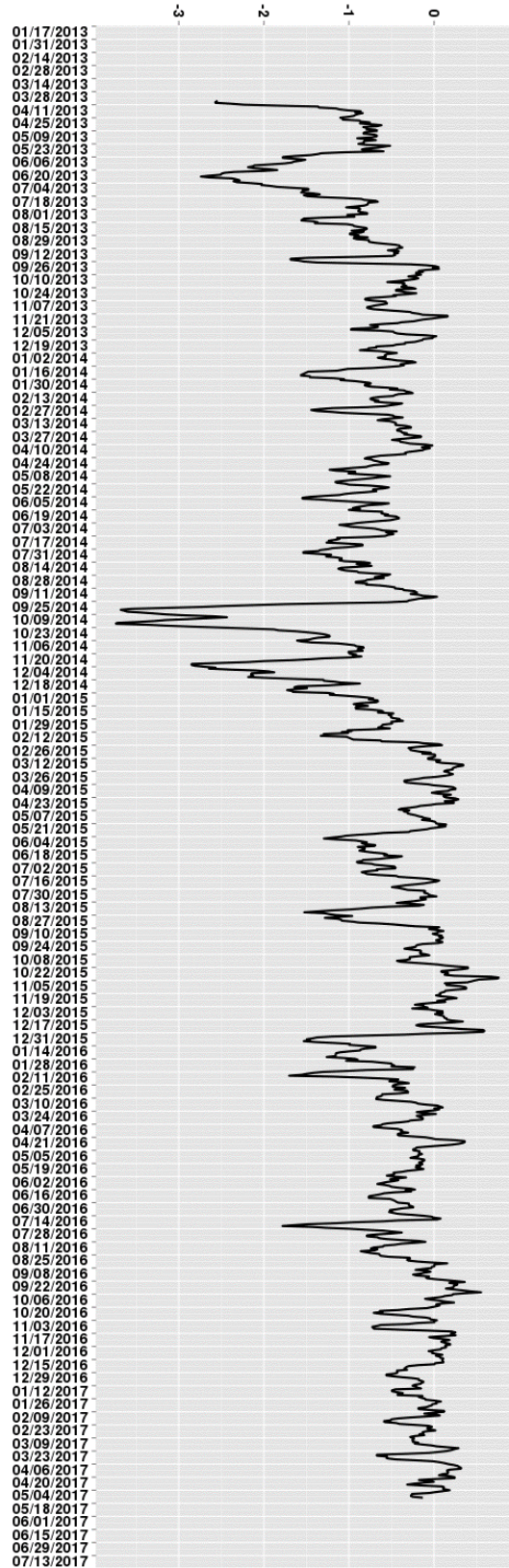
# Appendix D

## GKG Country Timeline[85]



October 2014     November 2014     December 2014

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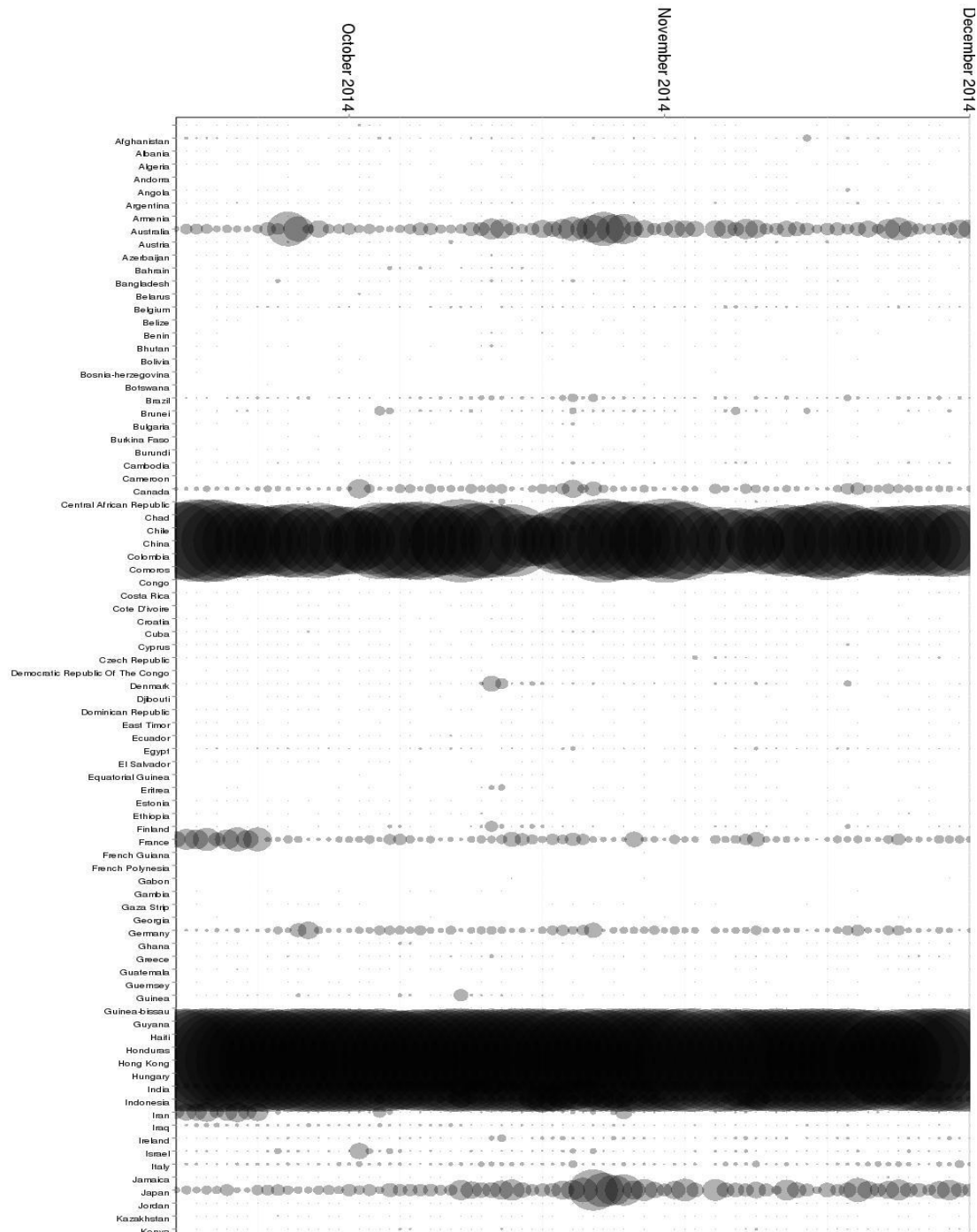
[85] The vertical axis represents each country or region in the world, while the horizontal axis represents each day during this period. The percentage of news articles that mention Hong Kong are generated in a CSV (comma-separated values) file which stores texts and numbers in plain text.
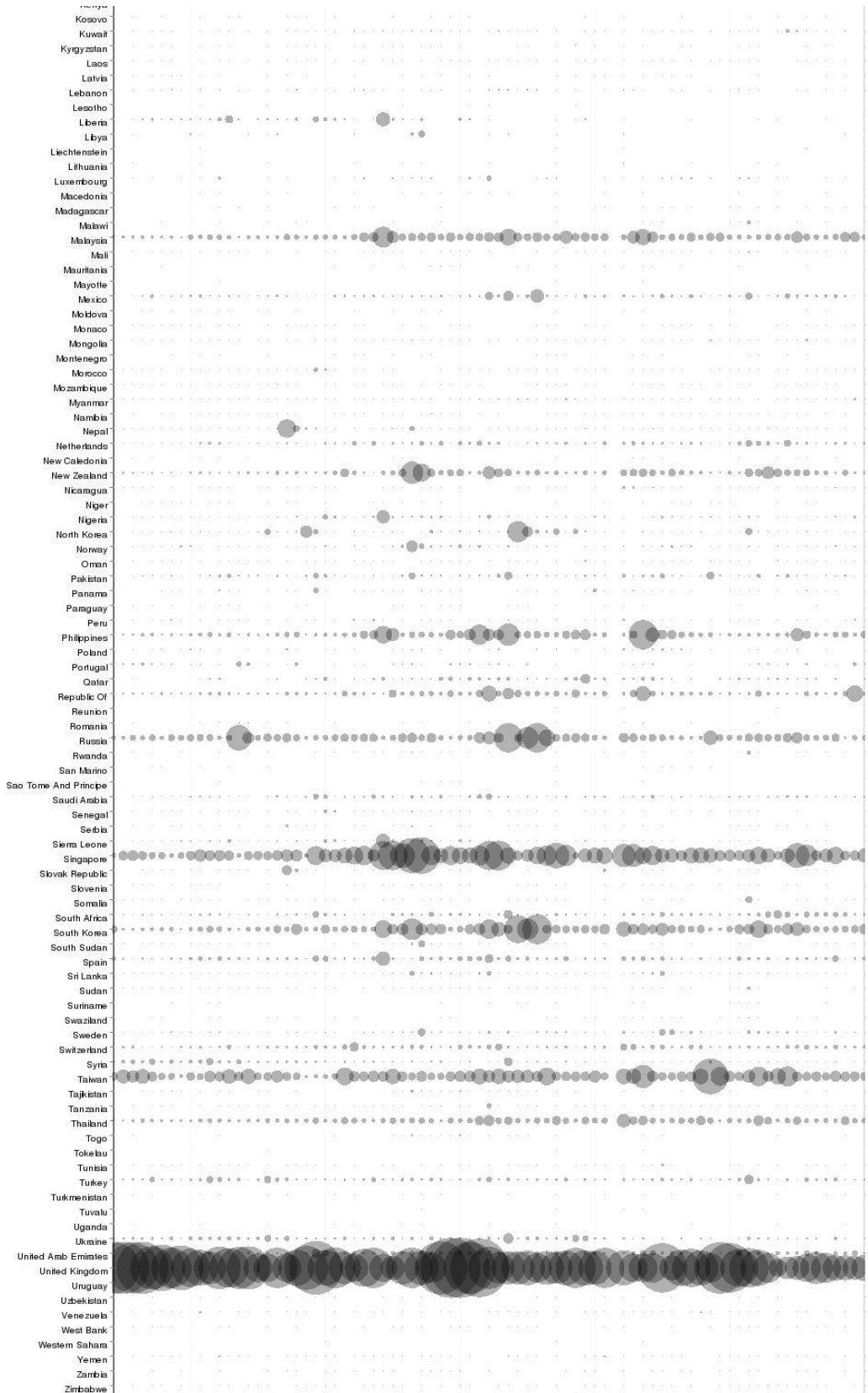
# Appendix E
# Ethical Approval Letter

**UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS**

Mr Yuan Ping
School of Languages, Cultures and Societies
University of Leeds
Leeds, LS2 9JT

**Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Cultures Research Ethics Committee**
**University of Leeds**

9 September 2019

Dear Yuan

| | |
|---|---|
| **Title of study** | **Representations of Hong Kong in news translation: A corpus-based critical narrative analysis** |
| **Ethics reference** | **FAHC 18-095** |
| **Grant reference** | **201021035** |

I am pleased to inform you that the above research application has been reviewed by the Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Cultures Research Ethics Committee and following receipt of your response to the Committee's initial comments, I can confirm a favourable ethical opinion as of the date of this letter. The following documentation was considered:

| Document | Version | Date |
|---|---|---|
| FAHC 18-095 Response summary v2.docx | 1 | 16/08/2019 |
| FAHC 18-095 Ethical_Review_Form_V4_signed.pdf | 2 | 16/08/2019 |
| FAHC 18-095 Participant_Information_Sheet_v2.doc | 2 | 16/08/2019 |
| FAHC 18-095 Participant_consent_form_lowrisk.pdf | 1 | 03/07/2019 |
| FAHC 18-095 Questionnaire_current translator.pdf | 1 | 03/07/2019 |
| FAHC 18-095 Recruitment email.pdf | 1 | 03/07/2019 |

Please notify the committee if you intend to make any amendments to the information in your ethics application as submitted at date of this approval as all changes must receive ethical approval prior to implementation. The amendment form is available at http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/EthicsAmendment.

Please note: You are expected to keep a record of all your approved documentation and other documents relating to the study, including any risk assessments. This should be kept in your study file, which should be readily available for audit purposes. You will be given a two week notice period if your project is to be audited. There is a checklist listing examples of documents to be kept which is available at http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/EthicsAudits.

We welcome feedback on your experience of the ethical review process and suggestions for improvement. Please email any comments to ResearchEthics@leeds.ac.uk.

Yours sincerely

Jennifer Blaikie
Senior Research Ethics Administrator, the Secretariat
On behalf of Prof Robert Jones, Chair, AHC FREC

CC: Student's supervisor(s)/ Faculty Research and Innovation Office

# Appendix F

# Participant Information Sheet

Research and Innovation Service

**UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS**

## Participant Information Sheet

**Representations of Hong Kong in news translation: A corpus-based critical narrative analysis**

You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

**What is the purpose of the project?**

This research project aims to investigate the representations of Hong Kong in news translation produced by the media outlets in the Chinese mainland, Hong Kong, the UK and the US. The duration of the project is four years, starting from October 2016 to September 2020.

**Why have I been chosen?**

You were chosen because you are/were involved in the production of news translation produced by the selected media outlets. Potential participants will also be recruited from the same and the other media outlets.

**What do I have to do? / What will happen to me if I take part?**

You will need to answer a few questions related to my research project via emails or an interview. An interview will be conducted via emails or audio/video calls with you, which will last approximately 15 to 20 minutes. The questioning style in the interview will enable open answers to be given in relation to the institutional practice of news translation at the media outlet. You should be able to discuss in-depth on the topic. Information regarding the professional experience of you as a translator at the media outlet will be sought. The collection of this information is relevant for achieving the research project's objectives because part of the research aims to find out what role the translator played in the news production at the media outlets. You will be expected to provide some information on your role as a translator/journalist at the media outlet.

**What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?**

No possible disadvantage and risks of taking part are identified.

**What are the possible benefits of taking part?**

Whilst there are no immediate benefits for those people participating in the project, it is hoped that this work will contribute to the understanding of the role played by translation in journalistic settings.

**Do I have to take part?**

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep (and be asked to sign a consent form) and you can still withdraw four weeks after the interview, without it affecting any benefits that you are entitled to in any way. You do not have to give a reason.

**Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential? / What will happen to the results of the research project?**

Your identity will be kept confidential in this project. Relevant measures will be taken to protect the confidentiality of your answers. For example, all personal data of you and research data will be stored in the University of Leeds electronic storage system. Electronic transfer of data by emails will be encrypted during transfer. Audio recordings of the interviews will be deposited in Research data Leeds repository. Interview transcripts will be

kept confidential by anonymising your names and your specific job role at the media outlet. Publication of both direct and indirect quotations from you will be anonymised by omitting your names and job roles, without allowing identification of you.

The results of the research are likely to be included in the researcher's thesis and may be used in future publications. If that is the case, your names and specific job role at the media outlet will be kept anonymous, but the name of the media outlet you work for might be discussed in these publications. You can obtain a copy of the published results.

This project does not intend to tackle any sensitive topics or issues from you, such as your personal experience in the key events and your political views on the events. If you disclose any sensitive topics or issues, your answers relating to these issues will not be included in the research and future publications.

**Withdrawing**

You can withdraw your data four weeks after having taken part in this research.

**Who is organising/ funding the research?**

The research is funded by the China Scholarship Council and the University of Leeds.

**Contact for further information**

Name: Yuan Ping

Address: Centre for Translation Studies, School of Languages, Cultures and Societies, University of Leeds, Leeds, LS2 9JT, UK

Email: mlyp@leeds.ac.uk

**Finally…**

This study has been reviewed and given a favourable opinion by the University of Leeds Research Ethics Committee on 9 September 2019, ethics reference FAHC 18-095.

You will be given a copy of the information sheet and, if appropriate, a signed consent form to keep.

Thank you for taking the time to read through the information.

**Will I be recorded, and how will the recorded media be used?**

The audio and/or video recordings of your activities made during this research will be used only for analysis and for illustration in conference presentations and lectures. No other use will be made of them without your written permission, and no one outside the project will be allowed access to the original recordings.

| Project title | Document type | Version # | Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Representations of Hong Kong in news translation: A corpus-based critical narrative analysis | Information sheet for participants | 2 | 16/08/ 2019 |

# Appendix G

# Consent Form

School of Languages, Cultures and Societies
Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Cultures

**UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS**

**Consent to take part in Representations of Hong Kong in news translation: a corpus-based critical narrative analysis**

|  | Add your initials next to the statements you agree with |
|---|---|
| I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated 10/09/2019 explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project. |  |
| I agree for the data collected from me to be stored and used in relevant future research in an anonymised form. |  |
| I understand that relevant sections of the data collected during the study, may be looked at by auditors from the University of Leeds or from regulatory authorities where it is relevant to my taking part in this research. I give permission for these individuals to have access to my records. |  |
| I agree to take part in the above research project and will inform the lead researcher should my contact details change during the project and, if necessary, afterwards. |  |

| | |
|---|---|
| Name of participant | |
| Participant's signature | |
| Date | |
| Name of lead researcher | |
| Signature | |
| Date* | |

*To be signed and dated in the presence of the participant.

Once this has been signed by all parties the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form, the letter/ pre-written script/ information sheet and any other written information provided to the participants. A copy of the signed and dated consent form should be kept with the project's main documents which must be kept in a secure location.

| Project title | Document type | Version # | Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Representations of Hong Kong in news translation: A corpus-based critical narrative analysis | Consent form for participants | 1 | 03/07/ 2019 |

# Appendix H

# Questionnaire for News Translators

School of Languages, Cultures and Societies
Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Cultures

## UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

My name is Yuan Ping. I am a PhD student in Translation Studies at the University of Leeds. I am working on a research project entitled "Representations of Hong Kong in news translation: A corpus-based critical narrative analysis". This research project aims to investigate the representations of Hong Kong in the translation of news articles produced by the media outlets in the Chinese mainland (*Reference News*), Hong Kong (*EJ Insight*), the UK (*BBC Chinese*) and the US (*The New York Times Chinese*). The duration of the project is four years, starting from October 2016 to September 2020. I would appreciate any information you can give regarding the following questions which are related to my research project. The answers collected from the questions will be stored and used in an anonymised form. Thank you very much for taking your time to answer these questions.

**Questions**

1. What is your role in the news outlet?
2. Have the translators in the news outlet been incorporated into other roles such as editors and journalists, or do they retain a distinctive role as translators?
3. What is your educational and professional background?
4. Have you received any training in translation? If so, what forms of training have you received?
5. How is news translation generally regulated in your news outlet?
6. Are there any regulatory policies or guidelines regarding news translation at your news outlet?
7. Could you describe the normal procedure for translating a news article at the news outlet?
8. What translation methods/strategies do you use when translating news articles for the news outlet?
9. How much time do you have for translating a news article?
10. What other factors would you consider in terms of the selection of original news articles or during the translation process of these articles?

**Contact for further information**
Name: Yuan Ping
Address: School of Languages, Cultures and Societies, University of Leeds, Leeds, LS2 9JT, UK
Email: mlyp@leeds.ac.uk

| Project title | Document type | Version # | Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Representations of Hong Kong in news translation: A corpus-based critical narrative analysis | Questionnaire for participants | 1 | 03/07/2019 |

**Appendix I**
**Frequency of Translated News Articles in the Selected Media**

Number of articles

Chart x-axis (dates): 28-Sep, 30-Sep, 02-Oct, 04-Oct, 06-Oct, 08-Oct, 10-Oct, 12-Oct, 14-Oct, 16-Oct, 18-Oct, 20-Oct, 22-Oct, 24-Oct, 26-Oct, 28-Oct, 30-Oct, 01-Nov, 03-Nov, 05-Nov, 07-Nov, 09-Nov, 11-Nov, 13-Nov, 15-Nov, 17-Nov, 19-Nov, 21-Nov, 23-Nov, 25-Nov, 27-Nov, 29-Nov, 01-Dec, 03-Dec, 05-Dec, 07-Dec, 09-Dec, 11-Dec, 13-Dec, 15-Dec

| Series | Values |
|---|---|
| RN | 0 1 8 7 7 1 7 9 9 6 0 2 1 0 1 4 6 1 2 5 1 2 1 4 4 6 0 2 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 2 1 0 0 0 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 2 0 0 0 0 0 2 0 2 0 1 0 8 5 3 3 0 0 0 0 1 0 6 0 0 0 1 |
| EJ Insight | 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 2 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 2 1 0 0 0 0 1 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 2 0 1 1 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 |
| The NYT Chinese | 2 2 5 2 2 3 3 2 4 1 2 3 2 2 0 1 4 4 0 3 0 2 1 1 1 1 1 0 1 2 0 1 2 1 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 1 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 1 2 1 0 0 2 2 1 1 2 0 1 1 1 1 2 2 0 0 2 0 1 |
| BBC Chinese | 2 1 3 2 2 2 2 0 0 1 2 2 0 1 0 1 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 2 2 0 0 0 0 0 2 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 2 1 1 1 0 0 0 |

# Appendix J

## Chinese News Articles from *RN* and Their Source Texts[86]

| No. | | Headline | Text |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ST | Occupy Central – the first 12 hours: full reports as events unfolded | 2014.09.29.15.3.en |
| | TT | 港府表示将依法处理"占中"行动 | 2014.09.29.zh |
| 2 | ST1 | Pro-democracy protests spread in Hong Kong | 2014.09.30.1.2.en |
| | ST2 | Ip tells of worries about 'mini-Tiananmen' | 2014.09.30.1.3.en |
| | ST3 | Protests disrupt Hong Kong travel and businesses on Monday | 2014.09.30.1.7.en |
| | ST4 | Occupy Central – the first night: full report as events unfolded | 2014.09.30.1.8.en |
| | ST5 | A turning point in the fight for Hong Kong | 2014.09.30.2.1.en |
| | TT | "占中"破坏香港稳定不得民心 | 2014.09.30.zh |
| 3 | ST1 | China backs Hong Kong's crackdown on 'illegal' pro-democracy protests | 2014.10.01.8.1.en |
| | ST2 | Britain calls for Hong Kong protest rights to be protected | 2014.10.01.8.5.en |
| | TT | 中国对外部插手"占中"坚定说不 | 2014.10.01.zh |
| 4 | ST1 | Protesters to Hong Kong boss: quit or we occupy buildings | 2014.10.02.1.3.en |
| | ST2 | Hong Kong's leader calls for protests to end 'immediately' | 2014.10.02.1.4.en |
| | ST3 | Britain tells China: seek peace in Hong Kong and allow freedoms | 2014.10.02.1.5.en |
| | ST4 | US lawmaker launches Hong Kong caucus to monitor rights | 2014.10.02.1.7.en |
| | TT | 中央在港坚持"一国两制"不动摇 | 2014.10.02.zh |
| 5 | ST1 | Thousands swarm HK leader's office as calls grow to quit | 2014.10.03.1.1.en |
| | ST2 | Hong Kong leader plays waiting game, protesters demand he resigns | 2014.10.03.1.3.en |
| | ST3 | China tells foreign countries not to meddle in Hong Kong | 2014.10.03.1.5.en |
| | ST4 | US, China air differences over Hong Kong protests | 2014.10.03.1.6.en |

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[86] The English news articles retrieved from LexisNexis are from print newspapers, whose headlines may be different from those of online versions.

| | ST5 | Hong Kong protests: China warns of 'unimaginable consequences' if demonstrations continue | 2014.10.03.1.7.en |
|---|---|---|---|
| | TT | 港府对控制"占中"事态有信心 | 2014.10.03.zh |
| 6 | ST1 | Hong Kong protesters try to win over tourists | 2014.10.03.8.1.en |
| | ST2 | Mainland Chinese tourists get a glimpse of rebellion | 2014.10.03.8.2.en |
| | ST3 | Hong Kong's protests don't impress mainland Chinese visitors | 2014.10.03.8.3.en |
| | TT | 内地游客在香港冷对"占中" | 2014.10.03.zh |
| 7 | ST1 | China backs HK leader over tear gas move | 2014.10.04.1.2.en |
| | ST2 | Leung has Beijing's full support, communist party mouthpiece insists | 2014.10.04.1.3.en |
| | ST3 | At government site, protesters in Hong Kong defy police | 2014.10.04.1.4.en |
| | TT | 中央旗帜鲜明力挺梁振英 | 2014.10.04.zh |
| 8 | ST1 | Protest camps in Hong Kong come under assault | 2014.10.05.1.3.en |
| | ST2 | Business groups, John Tsang urge end to protests, citing harm to economy | 2014.10.05.1.7.en |
| | ST3 | Some Hong Kong residents, weary of disruptions, find fault with protesters' methods | 2014.10.05.1.8.en |
| | ST4 | Hong Kong protests demand face-saving solution | 2014.10.05.2.2.en |
| | TT | 香港民众反对"占中"声浪高涨 | 2014.10.05.zh |
| 9 | | 给"占中三子"的公开信 | 2014.10.05.zh |
| 10 | | "占中"损害香港金融中心地位 | 2014.10.05.zh |
| 11 | ST1 | Hong Kong government may resume on Monday, but protests go on | 2014.10.06.1.3.en |
| | ST2 | For Hong Kong's pro-democracy activists, exhaustion overtakes enthusiasm and hope | 2014.10.06.1.7.en |
| | TT | 港府为恢复社会秩序提时限 | 2014.10.06.zh |
| 12 | | 西方"占中"报道带有成见与不实 | 2014.10.06.zh |
| 13 | | "占中"令香港黄金周变"失金周" | 2014.10.06.zh |
| 14 | ST | Hong Kong becomes a fresh foreign policy puzzle for Obama | 2014.10.06.14.1.en |
| | TT | 美国不愿为香港局势与中国失和 | 2014.10.06.zh |
| 15 | ST1 | In Hong Kong, protest evolves into stalemate | 2014.10.07.16.6.en |
| | ST2 | City's offshore yuan pool under threat from discount | 2014.10.07.16.7.en |
| | ST3 | Through train stock scheme likely to see slow start amid Occupy unrest | 2014.10.07.16.8.en |
| | TT | 香港社会秩序渐趋平静 | 2014.10.07.zh |
| 16 | | 美试图通过香港"引爆"中国 | 2014.10.07.zh |
| 17 | | 港府将与香港学生公开对话 | 2014.10.09.zh |

| 18 | | 梁振英办公室澄清与澳企协议 | 2014.10.10.zh |
|---|---|---|---|
| 19 | | 港府表示暂不与学联对话 | 2014.10.10.zh |
| 20 | ST | Hong Kong government, students battle for public opinion | 2014.10.12.8.2.en |
| | TT | 中国批美涉华报告"歪曲事实" | 2014.10.12.zh |
| 21 | ST1 | Carrie Lam 'helpless' over talks deadlock | 2014.10.13.1.3.en |
| | ST2 | China, U.S. standoff deepens over Hong Kong protests | 2014.10.13.2.2.en |
| | TT | 梁振英呼吁"占中"者放弃幻想 | 2014.10.13.zh |
| 22 | ST | Putting Hong Kong in historical context | 2014.10.14.14.en |
| | TT | 谈香港问题不能脱离历史背景 | 2014.10.14.zh |
| 23 | ST1 | Movie stars swap limos for subway in Hong Kong protest | 2014.10.14.16.3.en |
| | ST2 | Mainland tourists flock to Taiwan | 2014.10.14.16.4.en |
| | ST3 | Hong Kong in crisis: does former colonial ruler have any responsibility? | 2014.10.14.16.5.en |
| | ST4 | The Guardian view on Hong Kong: Beijing's crisis isn't over | 2014.10.14.16.6.en |
| | TT | 香港警方移除部分街头路障 | 2014.10.14.zh |
| 24 | ST | Where are Hong Kong's expats? | 2014.10.15.16.2.en |
| | TT | 香港警方清障行动顺利进行 | 2014.10.15.zh |
| 25 | | 港警采取措施处置违法行为 | 2014.10.16.zh |
| 26 | ST1 | PM Cameron says Britain should stand up for Hong Kong rights | 2014.10.17.16.3.en |
| | ST2 | US calls for 'complete' probe into Hong Kong police brutality | 2014.10.17.16.4.en |
| | ST3 | Hong Kong police clear smaller protest zone | 2014.10.17.16.5.en |
| | ST4 | One battle does not settle a war | 2014.10.17.16.6.en |
| | TT | 中方指英方无权对香港指手画脚 | 2014.10.17.zh |
| 27 | | 中国遵守了香港回归时所有承诺 | 2014.10.18.zh |
| 28 | | 港警清除旺角街头障碍物 | 2014.10.18.zh |
| 29 | | 香港警方严斥示威者破坏法治 | 2014.10.19.zh |
| 30 | | 香港"占中"运动难以令人信服 | 2014.10.19.zh |
| 31 | | 港府拟周二与学生对话 | 2014.10.20.zh |
| 32 | ST1 | Hopes to end deadlock in Hong Kong hang on Tuesday talks | 2014.10.21.16.3.en |
| | ST2 | Hong Kong protests as much about dollars as democracy | 2014.10.21.16.4.en |
| | ST3 | Hong Kong must come together for its own good, or risk Beijing's wrath | 2014.10.21.16.5.en |

| | TT | 港府与学生对话能否打破僵局 | 2014.10.21.zh |
|---|---|---|---|
| 33 | ST | Why influencing Occupy movement is not in America's best interest | 2014.10.22.14.en |
| | TT | 支持"占中"不符合美国最大利益 | 2014.10.22.zh |
| 34 | ST | Sincerity key for talks to succeed | 2014.10.22.16.5.en |
| | TT | 港府首度与学联代表对话 | 2014.10.22.zh |
| 35 | ST1 | Students to meet Hong Kong government | 2014.10.23.1.3.en |
| | ST2 | Hong Kong leader indicates possible concession ahead of talks | 2014.10.23.1.4.en |
| | TT | 香港社会对"占中"耐心快耗尽 | 2014.10.23.zh |
| 36 | ST | Former HK leader calls for end of democracy protests | 2014.10.25.8.1.en |
| | TT | 董建华告诚"占中"后果严重 | 2014.10.25.zh |
| 37 | | 英媒曝千名"占中"分子曾受特训 | 2014.10.26.zh |
| 38 | | "占中"行动严重撕裂香港社会 | 2014.10.27.zh |
| 39 | | "占中"严重打击香港经济民生 | 2014.10.30.zh |
| 40 | ST | Hong Kong's students waver over Beijing trip, plan local march instead | 2014.11.06.16.1.en |
| | TT | 中国警告彭定康停止怂恿"占中" | 2014.11.06.zh |
| 41 | ST | Hong Kong economy feels impact of protests | 2014.11.07.15.en |
| | TT | "占中"对香港经济冲击显现 | 2014.11.07.zh |
| 42 | ST1 | Xi Jinping pledges support for Hong Kong's efforts to safeguard rule of law | 2014.11.11.16.1.en |
| | ST2 | China backs CY Leung's handling of Hong Kong protests | 2014.11.11.16.2.en |
| | TT | 港府处理"占中"获中央力挺 | 2014.11.11.zh |
| 43 | ST | Hong Kong protesters to occupy British consulate over 'lack of UK government support' | 2014.11.13.16.en |
| | TT | 香港"占中"分子扬言"占英" | 2014.11.13.zh |
| 44 | | 香港"占中"分子未能登机赴京 | 2014.11.16.zh |
| 45 | | 新媒称"占中"让香港优势渐失 | 2014.11.19.zh |
| 46 | ST | Democracy alone may not solve Hong Kong's ailments | 2014.11.20.16.3.en |
| | TT | 香港各界谴责冲击立法会暴行 | 2014.11.20.zh |
| 47 | | 港警方对旺角"占中"果断清障 | 2014.11.26.zh |
| 48 | | 英议员访华团遭中国拒签 | 2014.11.26.zh |
| 49 | | 香港警方拘捕"占中"违法者 | 2014.11.27.zh |
| 50 | ST | Mapping Hong Kong's future beyond Occupy Central | 2014.11.28.1.3.en |
| | TT | 香港非法"占中"走向穷途末路 | 2014.11.28.zh |

| 51 | | 港府表态将重视扶助青年 | 2014.11.30.zh |
|---|---|---|---|
| 52 | ST1 | Hong Kong protesters and police face off as violent exchanges continue | 2014.12.02.1.1.en |
| | ST2 | Calm returns to Hong Kong after night of violence | 2014.12.02.1.2.en |
| | ST3 | Hong Kong warns protesters not to return after clashes close government HQ | 2014.12.02.1.3.en |
| | ST4 | Students urged to abandon plan to escalate democracy campaign | 2014.12.02.1.5.en |
| | ST5 | Hong Kong counts cost of protests on city's core shopping districts | 2014.12.02.1.6.en |
| | ST6 | Diplomatic clash as China bans senior British MPs from Hong Kong | 2014.12.02.2.4.en |
| | ST7 | British MP attacks 'confrontational' China as Hong Kong protests escalate | 2014.12.02.2.5.en |
| | ST8 | British MPs banned from Hong Kong visit | 2014.12.02.2.6.en |
| | TT | 港府警告对"占中"耐心在耗尽 | 2014.12.02.zh |
| 53 | ST1 | Protest violence never an option | 2014.12.03.16.3.en |
| | ST2 | UK's Cameron to China: Hong Kong ban on lawmakers 'mistaken' | 2014.12.03.16.5.en |
| | ST3 | David Cameron steps into row over UK delegation's Hong Kong visit | 2014.12.03.16.6.en |
| | ST4 | Britain must accept that Hong Kong is no longer a colony | 2014.12.03.14.1.en |
| | TT | "占中"发起人宣布结束"占中" | 2014.12.03.zh |
| 54 | ST | New US plea to China for restraint in Hong Kong | 2014.12.03.16.7.en |
| | TT | 美呼吁香港政府保持克制 | 2014.12.03.zh |
| 55 | ST | China has broken Hong Kong agreement, say British MPs | 2014.12.04.16.3.en |
| | TT | 香港"占中"三发起人向警方自首 | 2014.12.04.zh |
| 56 | ST | US: world is watching how China handles Hong Kong | 2014.12.05.16.2.en |
| | TT | 美"高度关注"香港令人生疑 | 2014.12.05.zh |
| 57 | | "占中"绝食者陆续放弃绝食 | 2014.12.07.zh |
| 58 | | 香港七千警力候命周四清场 | 2014.12.10.zh |
| 59 | ST1 | Political generation rises in Hong Kong | 2014.12.12.2.4.en |
| | ST2 | The game changes: as Occupy sites are cleared, Hong Kong's democracy protesters go 'shopping' | 2014.12.12.2.5.en |
| | TT | 香港"占中"清场平静顺畅结束 | 2014.12.12.zh |
| 60 | ST | Three months of protests end quietly in Hong Kong | 2014.12.16.16.2.en |
| | TT | 香港"占中"最后据点被清场 | 2014.12.16.zh |

# Appendix K

# English News Articles from *EJ Insight* and Their Source Texts

| No. | | Headline | Text |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ST1 | 傷生賊港誰之過？和平暴力誰迫誰？ | 2014.10.06.1.1zh |
| | ST2 | 非關政權惹禍事 只緣管治出蹺蹊 | 2014.10.06.1.2.zh |
| | TT | Why Hong Kong opposes Beijing but not the British colonial govt | 2014.10.06.1.en |
| 2 | ST | 世界已不關心香港？還是香港疏遠世界？ | 2014.10.06.2.zh |
| | TT | Hong Kong should emphasize 'two systems': Joseph Wong | 2014.10.06.2.en |
| 3 | ST | 漂亮一仗含悲喜 勸退不是進更難 | 2014.10.08.zh |
| | TT | How young democrats are showing guts and reason | 2014.10.08.en |
| 4 | ST | 「公民提名」大陸也有 「經濟崩潰」不值一哂 | 2014.10.10.zh |
| | TT | Harmful economic impact of protests a false notion | 2014.10.10.en |
| 5 | ST | 一鼓作氣難連氣 青鳥紛飛覓彩虹 | 2014.10.20.zh |
| | TT | Student protesters: time to rethink strategy | 2014.10.20.en |
| 6 | ST | 了無新意何可服眾 寸步不讓逼人離心 | 2014.10.27.zh |
| | TT | Amid govt's empty words, what lies ahead for HK? | 2014.10.27.en |
| 7 | ST | 佔中不收科 守土出藝術 黨爺鬥田少 | 2014.11.03.zh |
| | TT | Occupy: reasons for optimism | 2014.11.03.en |
| 8 | ST | 佔中為何言退 板塊惡鬥加劇 台灣說三道四 | 2014.11.05.zh |
| | TT | Why smaller protests are better | 2014.11.05.en |
| 9 | ST | 結束佔領立意不誠 年少鋒芒潛龍「待」用 | 2014.11.06.1.zh |
| | TT | Protesting students should think about going back to school | 2014.11.06.1.en |
| 10 | ST | 佔中為何言退 板塊惡鬥加劇 台灣說三道四 | 2014.11.06.2.zh |
| | TT | How Taiwan can be a democracy model for Hong Kong | 2014.11.06.2.en |
| 11 | ST | 「佔領」撤難清亦難 辭職「公投」莫遲疑 | 2014.11.07.zh |
| | TT | Why a de facto referendum is the solution | 2014.11.07.en |
| 12 | ST | 上京攻略 公車上書 佔中三「理論」 葉劉鬥阿松 | 2014.11.12.zh |
| | TT | Some thoughts as students mull petition trip | 2014.11.12.en |
| 13 | ST | 不清場不撤場 散場 無對話沒商量 玩法 | 2014.11.20.zh |
| | TT | As fatigue sets in, time for students to admit defeat | 2014.11.20.en |
| 14 | ST | 攻有時 守有時 | 2014.11.21.zh |
| | TT | Stock link not a gift; outlook far from exciting | 2014.11.21.en |
| 15 | ST | 三權分立踩界？權位失正混賬！ | 2014.12.01.zh |
| | TT | Separation of powers took a beating in Mong Kok scuffles | 2014.12.01.en |
| 16 | ST | 勇哉三子 民意未轉 板塊惡鬥 零售業勁升 大陸也佔領 | 2014.12.08.zh |
| | TT1 | Retreat doesn't mean Occupy has achieved nothing | 2014.12.08.1.en |
| | TT2 | Did Occupy actually boost the economy? | 2014.12.08.2.en |
| 17 | ST | 香港台灣的今天明天 | 2014.12.10.zh |

| | TT | Today and tomorrow for Hong Kong and Taiwan | 2014.12.10.en |
|----|----|---------------------------------------------|---------------|
| 18 | ST | 「佔領」政治有排玩 | 2014.12.11.zh |
| | TT | Occupy clearance doesn't mean end of movement | 2014.12.11.en |
| 19 | ST | 後佔中談政策、管治和發展的前提 | 2014.12.12.zh |
| | TT | Finding our way out in the post-Occupy era | 2014.12.12.en |

# Appendix L

# Chinese News Articles from *BBC Chinese* and Their Source Texts

| No. | | Headline | Text |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | "占中"迫使香港大公司启动应变措施 | 2014.09.28.1.zh |
| 2 | | 梁振英记者会：占中是违法行为 | 2014.09.28.2.zh |
| 3 | ST1 | Police fail to disperse Hong Kong protesters | 2014.09.29.1.en |
| | ST2 | Hong Kong grows up | 2014.09.29.2.en |
| | ST3 | Hong Kong at a standstill as thousands of pro-democracy protesters flood streets | 2014.09.29.3.en |
| | ST4 | Police fire tear gas in battleground Hong Kong | 2014.09.29.4.en |
| | TT | 英媒：香港的今天就是中国的明天 | 2014.09.29.zh |
| 4 | ST | How the humble umbrella became a HK protest symbol | 2014.09.30.1.en |
| | TT | 特写：伞为何成为香港抗议标志？ | 2014.09.30.1.zh |
| 5 | | 香港"占中"新闻在中国社交网站仍被控 | 2014.09.30.2.zh |
| 6 | ST1 | We own Hong Kong streets, not Beijing, say defiant protesters | 2014.09.30.3.1.en |
| | ST2 | Protests swell for 'umbrella revolution' in Hong Kong | 2014.09.30.3.2.en |
| | ST3 | Deployment of troops remains biggest fear for HK activists | 2014.09.30.3.3.en |
| | ST4 | Leung Chun-ying denies Chinese troops will help to quell demonstrations | 2014.09.30.3.4.en |
| | TT | 英媒："占中"挑战北京权威 担心解放军出营 | 2014.09.30.3.zh |
| 7 | ST1 | China is Hong Kong's future – not its enemy | 2014.10.01.1.1.en |
| | ST2 | Mainlanders feel that Hong Kong is just a bunch of spoilt brats | 2014.10.01.1.2.en |
| | ST3 | Hong Kong protesters dig in as Beijing warns 'you're out of control' | 2014.10.01.1.3.en |
| | TT | 英媒："中国是香港的未来，而非敌人" | 2014.10.01.1.zh |
| 8 | | 视频：香港在"国庆日"继续占中抗议 | 2014.10.01.2.zh |
| 9 | ST1 | Activists admirable – or spoilt | 2014.10.02.1.1.en |
| | ST2 | Quit or we seize ministries, Hong Kong leader warned | 2014.10.02.1.2.en |
| | ST3 | Calm before the storm? Hong Kong protesters stand their ground | 2014.10.02.1.3.en |
| | ST4 | Xi Jinping faces difficult choices in the next few days | 2014.10.02.1.4.en |
| | TT | 英媒：北京担心香港抗议蔓延大陆 | 2014.10.02.1.zh |
| 10 | ST | Ex-Tiananmen leaders say HK protesters biggest risk would be loss of public support | 2014.10.02.2.en |
| | TT | 香港"占中"抗议"最大危险是失去民众支持" | 2014.10.02.2.zh |
| 11 | ST1 | No exit | 2014.10.03.1.1.en |
| | ST2 | Beijing blackout keeps lid on protest news | 2014.10.03.1.2.en |

| | ST3 | HK backspace, backspace | 2014.10.03.1.3.en |
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| | TT | 英媒：北京面临 89 年之后最大的挑战 | 2014.10.03.1.zh |
| 12 | | 视频：九龙旺角反占中人士与示威者对峙 | 2014.10.03.2.zh |
| 13 | ST1 | Rhetoric hardens as both sides seek endgame | 2014.10.06.1.en |
| | ST2 | A young generation who 'threaten decades of unrest unless we change' | 2014.10.06.2.en |
| | ST3 | Betrayed by China. And abandoned now by the British | 2014.10.06.3.en |
| | TT | 英媒：香港抗议将如何结束？ | 2014.10.06.zh |
| 14 | ST | Hong Kong should focus its fight on the tycoon economy | 2014.10.07.1.en |
| | TT | 英媒：香港该改变对策集中对付大亨经济 | 2014.10.07.1.zh |
| 15 | | 越南社会团体签署公开信支持香港占中 | 2014.10.07.2.zh |
| 16 | ST | Xi stance builds Chinese immunity to HK contagion | 2014.10.08.1.en |
| | TT | 英媒：香港波涛汹涌 习近平冷眼静观 | 2014.10.08.1.zh |
| 17 | ST | Dispatch: fold or fight on? Choice facing Hong Kong's young protesters | 2014.10.08.2.en |
| | TT | 英媒：香港大规模抗议之后又将如何？ | 2014.10.08.2.zh |
| 18 | ST1 | These student protests in Hong Kong will run and run | 2014.10.10.1.en |
| | ST2 | The waiting game | 2014.10.10.2.en |
| | ST3 | Beijing needs to cut Hong Kong some slack | 2014.10.10.3.en |
| | TT | 英媒：香港抗议是一场"持久战" | 2014.10.10.zh |
| 19 | ST | China's problem is no longer just one country, two systems. It's one country, two states of mind | 2014.10.12.en |
| | TT | 英媒：北京的危机没有结束 | 2014.10.12.zh |
| 20 | ST1 | Hong Kong police use pepper spray on pro-democracy protesters | 2014.10.15.1.en |
| | ST2 | Hong Kong police beat protester in violent crackdown on demonstrations | 2014.10.15.2.en |
| | ST3 | China won't cede to HK protests, army used only as last resort-sources | 2014.10.15.3.en |
| | ST4 | China rebukes Taiwan for 'irresponsible' comments on Hong Kong | 2014.10.15.4.en |
| | TT | 英媒：香港警方涉嫌殴打示威者 | 2014.10.15.zh |
| 21 | ST | Protests see Hongkongers fight for what makes their city unique | 2014.10.16.3.en |
| | TT | 英媒：香港占领示威反映领导层问题 | 2014.10.16.zh |
| 22 | | 梁振英："占中"示威者勿挑战北京耐心 | 2014.10.21.zh |
| 23 | ST | Hong Kong's political haircut | 2014.10.22.1.en |
| | TT | 香港"占中"：美发店也成为政治对抗场所 | 2014.10.22.1.zh |
| 24 | ST | Sax and the City: Kenny G hits sour note in China with Hong Kong visit | 2014.10.22.2.en |
| | TT | 中国警告外国艺人言行谨慎勿支持占中 | 2014.10.22.2.zh |
| 25 | ST1 | Demonstrators march on home of Beijing-backed leader as talks stall | 2014.10.23.1.1.en |
| | ST2 | China furious after Kenny G appears to back Hong | 2014.10.23.1.2.en |

| | | Kong protesters | |
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| | ST3 | Smooth jazz star Kenny G angers China by visiting pro-democracy rally in Hong Kong and tweeting selfies with placards | 2014.10.23.1.3.en |
| | TT | 英媒：香港的肯尼·基和北京的扎克伯格 | 2014.10.23.1.zh |
| 26 | | 香港占中抗议者计划周日举行"公投" | 2014.10.23.2.zh |
| 27 | ST | Hong Kong protests bring crisis of confidence for traditional media | 2014.10.29.1.en |
| | TT | 英媒：香港抗议令传统媒体面临信心危机 | 2014.10.29.1.zh |
| 28 | ST | Ultra-runners race 102km umbrella-shaped route across Hong Kong to support Occupy | 2014.10.29.2.en |
| | TT | 香港澳洲侨民跑超级马拉松声援雨伞运动 | 2014.10.29.2.zh |
| 29 | ST1 | Hong Kong stages huge National Day democracy protests | 2014.11.01.1.en |
| | ST2 | Former Hong Kong governor Patten calls for 'genuine consultation' | 2014.11.01.2.en |
| | TT | 彭定康：香港特首偏听是最糟糕的事情 | 2014.11.01.zh |
| 30 | ST | Taiwan resolves to resist China's close embrace | 2014.11.06.1.en |
| | TT | 英媒：台湾"决定抗拒大陆的贴近拥抱" | 2014.11.06.1.zh |
| 31 | ST | Great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation | 2014.11.08.en |
| | TT | 分析：习近平执政理念与中国的复兴 | 2014.11.08.zh |
| 32 | ST | Hong Kong as golden goose and coal mine canary | 2014.11.12.en |
| | TT | 特稿：香港是"金鹅"还是"金丝雀" | 2014.11.12.zh |
| 33 | ST1 | Hong Kong police clash with protesters targeting government buildings | 2014.11.19.2.en |
| | ST2 | Clashes as Hong Kong protesters attempt parliament break-in | 2014.11.19.3.en |
| | TT | 英媒：中国禁毒战逮捕 24000 人 | 2014.11.19.zh |
| 34 | ST | World Internet Conference: Has China overcome paranoia? | 2014.11.20.en |
| | TT | 乌镇互联网大会：中国克服了疑心？ | 2014.11.20.zh |
| 35 | ST | Journalists beaten, held as police clear Hong Kong protest site | 2014.11.25.en |
| | TT | 香港旺角示威者聚集与警员继续对峙 | 2014.11.25.zh |
| 36 | ST1 | Beijing bully | 2014.12.02.1.en |
| | ST2 | David Cameron steps into row over UK delegation's Hong Kong visit | 2014.12.02.2.en |
| | ST3 | Key Hong Kong protest leader starts hunger strike | 2014.12.02.3.en |
| | ST4 | Hong Kong police lose patience with protests | 2014.12.02.4.en |
| | TT | 英媒：不满北京霸凌 香港学运领袖绝食 | 2014.12.02.zh |
| 37 | ST1 | Hong Kong protest camps cleared – as it happened | 2014.12.11.1.1.en |
| | ST2 | Last of Hong Kong protesters arrested amid police clearance | 2014.12.11.1.3.en |
| | TT | 英媒：义乌直通欧洲火车抵达马德里 | 2014.12.11.1.zh |
| 38 | | 新闻资料：香港"占中"行动大事表 | 2014.12.11.2.zh |
| 39 | ST | Folding the Umbrella Revolution | 2014.12.12.en |
| | TT | 英媒：中国对香港民主漠视引发抗议一代 | 2014.12.12.zh |
| 40 | ST | Hong Kong protests: Has Beijing won? | 2014.12.13.en |

| | TT | 分析：香港抗议，北京赢了吗？ | 2014.12.13.zh |
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# Appendix M

# Chinese News Articles from *The NYT Chinese* and Their Source Texts

| No. | | Headline | Text |
|-----|-----|------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| 1 | ST | Police arrest dozens of pro-democracy protesters in Hong Kong | 2014.09.28.1.en |
| | TT | 香港学生民主运动拉开"占领中环"序幕 | 2014.09.28.1.zh |
| 2 | ST | Q. and A.: Anson Chan on political compromise in Hong Kong | 2014.09.28.2.en |
| | TT | 陈方安生：香港如何寻求政治妥协 | 2014.09.28.2.zh |
| 3 | ST | Police unleash tear gas in Hong Kong protests | 2014.09.29.1.en |
| | TT | 香港防暴警察未能驱散抗议者 | 2014.09.29.1.zh |
| 4 | ST | Police unleash tear gas in Hong Kong protests | 2014.09.29.2.en |
| | TT | 香港警方向占中示威者施放催泪弹 | 2014.09.29.2.zh |
| 5 | ST | Beijing blocks reports on Hong Kong democracy movement | 2014.09.30.1.en |
| | TT | 中国官方对香港"占中"报道严加管控 | 2014.09.30.1.zh |
| 6 | ST | Hong Kong protests present a challenge to Xi Jinping's rule | 2014.09.30.2.en |
| | TT | 香港民主示威对习近平构成挑战 | 2014.09.30.2.zh |
| 7 | ST | Hong Kong protesters defy officials' call to disperse | 2014.09.30.3.en |
| | TT | 香港示威者不理会政府清场要求 | 2014.09.30.3.zh |
| 8 | ST | Hong Kong's leader calls for protests to end "immediately" | 2014.09.30.4.en |
| | TT | 梁振英呼吁公民抗议活动"立即"结束 | 2014.09.30.4.zh |
| 9 | ST | Hong Kong people! | 2014.09.30.5.en |
| | TT | 香港人！香港人！ | 2014.09.30.5.zh |
| 10 | ST | Hong Kong protests are leaderless but orderly | 2014.10.01.1.en |
| | TT | 香港民主示威者迄今秩序井然 | 2014.10.01.1.zh |
| 11 | ST | In a shift, British sharpen their tone on Hong Kong protests | 2014.10.01.2.en |
| | TT | 英国拟召见中国大使抗议香港局势 | 2014.10.01.2.zh |
| 12 | ST | A leader squeezed by the streets, and by Beijing | 2014.10.02.1.en |
| | TT | 梁振英在侍奉北京和香港之间走钢丝 | 2014.10.02.1.zh |
| 13 | ST | At 17, leading protests that rattle Hong Kong | 2014.10.02.1.en |
| | TT | 黄之锋，17 岁的香港民运领袖 | 2014.10.02.1.zh |
| 14 | ST | Some Hong Kong residents, weary of disruptions, find fault with protesters' methods | 2014.10.03.1.en |
| | TT | 部分香港人担忧抗议活动负面影响 | 2014.10.03.1.zh |
| 15 | ST | Hong Kong leader refuses to resign, but deputy meets with protesters | 2014.10.03.3.en |
| | TT | 梁振英拒绝辞职，政务司长将与学生对话 | 2014.10.03.3.zh |
| 16 | ST | Hong Kong and Tiananmen protests have major | 2014.10.03.4.en |

| | | differences | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | TT | 香港和天安门学运之间有着重要差别 | 2014.10.03.4.zh |
| 17 | ST | Hong Kong lawmaker searches for democracy within China's embrace | 2014.10.04.1.en |
| | TT | 叶刘淑仪，愿与北京妥协的香港议员 | 2014.10.04.1.zh |
| 18 | ST | Protest camps in Hong Kong come under assault | 2014.10.04.2.en |
| | TT | 抗议示威者受到不明身份男子攻击 | 2014.10.04.2.zh |
| 19 | ST | An inconvenient protest for both China and U.S. | 2014.10.04.3.en |
| | TT | 美国不愿为香港局势与中国失和 | 2014.10.04.3.zh |
| 20 | ST | Hong Kong leader's warning renews protesters' zeal as crowds swell | 2014.10.05.1.en |
| | TT | 港人集会不满梁振英限期恢复交通 | 2014.10.05.1.zh |
| 21 | ST | Scrutinized for handling of pro-democracy protests, police have own troubles | 2014.10.05.2.en |
| | TT | 香港警察在责难声中艰难履职 | 2014.10.05.2.zh |
| 22 | ST | Hong Kong wealth gap on display in protests | 2014.10.06.1.en |
| | TT | 抗议凸显香港社会贫富矛盾激化 | 2014.10.06.1.zh |
| 23 | ST | Protesters in Hong Kong ease sit-in at government headquarters | 2014.10.06.2.en |
| | TT | 香港政府总部外抗议者放松包围 | 2014.10.06.2.zh |
| 24 | ST | From Tibet to Taiwan, China's outer regions watch Hong Kong protests intently | 2014.10.06.3.en |
| | TT | 香港抗议给中国统一前景再添阴影 | 2014.10.06.3.zh |
| 25 | ST | Who will stand with Hong Kong? | 2014.10.06.4.en |
| | TT | 为香港挺身而出 | 2014.10.06.4.zh |
| 26 | ST | As Hong Kong protest ebbs, organizers claim small gains | 2014.10.07.en |
| | TT | 香港抗议者势头明显减弱 | 2014.10.07.zh |
| 27 | ST | Hong Kong officials and protesters agree on talks on democracy | 2014.10.08.1.en |
| | TT | 港府与学生同意于周五展开谈判 | 2014.10.08.1.zh |
| 28 | ST | 'Hong Kong people,' looking in mirror, see fading Chinese identity | 2014.10.08.2.en |
| | TT | 香港人的身份认同困境 | 2014.10.08.2.zh |
| 29 | ST | Hong Kong enters a standoff over barricades as protests ebb | 2014.10.09.1.en |
| | TT | 香港抗议人群散去，路障仍在 | 2014.10.09.1.zh |
| 30 | ST | A fence goes up in Hong Kong | 2014.10.09.2.en |
| | TT | 被围栏锁住的港府 | 2014.10.09.2.zh |
| 31 | ST | In a gritty Hong Kong district, protests display a populist edge | 2014.10.09.3.en |
| | TT | 在旺角，读懂香港底层抗议者 | 2014.10.09.3.zh |
| 32 | ST | Hong Kong government scraps talks with protesters | 2014.10.10.1.en |
| | TT | 香港政府取消与"占中"抗议者谈判 | 2014.10.10.1.zh |
| 33 | ST | Hong Kong's leader, on the protests | 2014.10.10.2.en |
| | TT | 香港行政长官梁振英谈"占中" | 2014.10.10.2.zh |
| 34 | ST | Some Chinese leaders claim U.S. and Britain are | 2014.10.11.1.en |

| | | behind Hong Kong protests | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | TT | 中国领导人称美英是"占中"幕后推手 | 2014.10.11.1.zh |
| 35 | ST | In Beijing, young Chinese see little to cheer in Hong Kong protests | 2014.10.11.2.en |
| | TT | 大陆年轻人同情香港"占中"者寥寥 | 2014.10.11.2.zh |
| 36 | ST | Hong Kong protesters appeal to Xi Jinping in open letter | 2014.10.13.en |
| | TT | "占中"学生团体公开致信习近平 | 2014.10.13.zh |
| 37 | ST | Hundreds try to tear down sit-in barricades in central Hong Kong | 2014.10.14.1.en |
| | TT | 香港数百反"占中"者试图拆除抗议路障 | 2014.10.14.1.zh |
| 38 | ST | Building a bamboo bulwark against the Hong Kong police | 2014.10.14.2.en |
| | TT | 竹制脚手架和蓝领工人加入"占中" | 2014.10.14.2.zh |
| 39 | ST | Relatives of people detained for supporting Hong Kong protests appeal for their freedom | 2014.10.14.3.en |
| | TT | 声援"占中"被拘，家属呼吁放人 | 2014.10.14.3.zh |
| 40 | ST | Hong Kong police remove barriers and protesters' encampments | 2014.10.14.4.en |
| | TT | 香港警察周二清除部分路障 | 2014.10.14.4.zh |
| 41 | ST | Violent clashes erupt in Hong Kong between protesters and police | 2014.10.15.1.en |
| | TT | 香港警察打通隧道，现场爆发冲突 | 2014.10.15.1.zh |
| 42 | ST | Video of apparent beating of protester in Hong Kong stirs anger | 2014.10.15.2.en |
| | TT | 视频显示香港警员围殴民主派抗议者引发众怒 | 2014.10.15.2.zh |
| 43 | ST | On state television, Hong Kong protests without a protester in sight | 2014.10.15.3.en |
| | TT | 央视报道"占中"不见一个抗议者 | 2014.10.15.3.zh |
| 44 | ST | China's right to govern Hong Kong | 2014.10.15.4.en |
| | TT | 中国管治香港于法有据 | 2014.10.15.4.zh |
| 45 | ST | Hong Kong leader open to talks with protesters | 2014.10.17.1.en |
| | TT | 香港警方突袭旺角拆除抗议者路障 | 2014.10.17.1.zh |
| 46 | ST | Hong Kong's pop culture of protest | 2014.10.17.2.en |
| | TT | 那些"占领中环"的流行音乐 | 2014.10.17.2.zh |
| 47 | ST | In city of protests, pro-democracy newspaper becomes target | 2014.10.17.3.en |
| | TT | 香港数百示威者围攻《苹果日报》 | 2014.10.17.3.zh |
| 48 | ST | Retaking of streets in Hong Kong sparks new clashes | 2014.10.19.1.en |
| | TT | 示威者再占旺角与警方发生冲突 | 2014.10.19.1.zh |
| 49 | ST | Beijing is directing Hong Kong strategy, government insiders say | 2014.10.19.2.en |
| | TT | 香港政府应对"占中"，北京幕后掌控 | 2014.10.19.2.zh |
| 50 | ST | Hong Kong protester arrested, accused of inciting others to confront police | 2014.10.20.en |
| | TT | 香港一男子网上鼓动冲击警方被捕 | 2014.10.20.zh |
| 51 | ST | Hong Kong leader reaffirms tough stance on elections | 2014.10.21.en |

| | | and economic discontent | |
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| | TT | 梁振英重申不会向"占中"让步 | 2014.10.21.zh |
| 52 | ST | For Chinese, a remarkable sight: freewheeling debate on democracy | 2014.10.22.en |
| | TT | 香港学生领袖与政府公开辩论民主 | 2014.10.22.zh |
| 53 | ST | Amid clamor over democracy, Hong Kong's tycoons keeping quiet | 2014.10.23.en |
| | TT | 香港示威持续，大亨闷声发财 | 2014.10.23.zh |
| 54 | ST | U.N. human rights panel urges China to allow free elections in Hong Kong | 2014.10.24.en |
| | TT | 联合国人权委员会敦促中国允许香港不受限普选 | 2014.10.24.zh |
| 55 | ST | Pro-Beijing lawmaker urges Hong Kong leader to consider quitting | 2014.10.26.en |
| | TT | 香港亲北京议员公开要求梁振英辞职 | 2014.10.26.zh |
| 56 | ST | Stars backing Hong Kong protests pay price on mainland | 2014.10.27.1.en |
| | TT | 挺"占中"港台艺人无缘大陆演出 | 2014.10.27.1.zh |
| 57 | ST | Pro-democracy movement's vote in Hong Kong abruptly called off | 2014.10.27.2.en |
| | TT | "占领中环"组织者取消广场投票 | 2014.10.27.2.zh |
| 58 | ST | Protestors in Hong Kong on edge as police track their online footprints | 2014.10.29.en |
| | TT | 香港警方因网络言论实施拘捕引发担忧 | 2014.10.29.zh |
| 59 | ST | Taking back Hong Kong's future | 2014.10.30.1.en |
| | TT | 夺回属于港人的未来 | 2014.10.30.1.zh |
| 60 | ST | Politician who called for Hong Kong leader's resignation is formally penalized | 2014.10.30.2.en |
| | TT | 呼吁特首下台，香港议员被政协除名 | 2014.10.30.2.zh |
| 61 | ST | Western observer finds himself a player in Hong Kong's protest drama | 2014.10.31.en |
| | TT | 美国博士生成香港"占中"阴谋论主角 | 2014.10.31.zh |
| 62 | ST | Hong Kong protesters consider taking their grievances to Beijing | 2014.11.02.en |
| | TT | 香港"占中"领袖考虑来京与中央对话 | 2014.11.02.zh |
| 63 | ST | Hong Kong's occupy generation | 2014.11.03.en |
| | TT | 香港的"占中"一代 | 2014.11.03.zh |
| 64 | ST | Hong Kong activists kept from flying to Beijing | 2014.11.16.en |
| | TT | 香港学生领袖被拒绝登机前往北京 | 2014.11.16.zh |
| 65 | ST | Art spawned by Hong Kong protest; now to make it live on | 2014.11.17.en |
| | TT | 记录香港街头关于反抗的艺术 | 2014.11.17.zh |
| 66 | ST | Hong Kong warns it may clear part of protest site | 2014.11.18.en |
| | TT | 香港将对一处抗议者占领地区清场 | 2014.11.18.zh |
| 67 | ST | Protesters attempt to break into the Hong Kong legislature | 2014.11.19.en |
| | TT | 香港示威者冲击立法会，学联声明反对暴力 | 2014.11.19.zh |
| 68 | ST | Fracas puts Hong Kong protests in new light | 2014.11.20.en |

| | TT | 冲击立法会行动令港府清场举步维艰 | 2014.11.20.zh |
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| 69 | ST | A struggle for the soul of Hong Kong's protest movement | 2014.11.25.en |
| | TT | 香港"占领中环"运动来到十字路口 | 2014.11.25.zh |
| 70 | ST | Attempt to clear Hong Kong protest area brings out thousands of demonstrators | 2014.11.26.en |
| | TT | 香港警方旺角清场引数千示威者上街 | 2014.11.26.zh |
| 71 | ST | Hong Kong police remove protesters' camp after a night of chaotic clashes | 2014.11.27.1.en |
| | TT | 香港警方拆除旺角示威者宿营地 | 2014.11.27.1.zh |
| 72 | ST | 7 Hong Kong police officers arrested in beating of protester | 2014.11.27.2.en |
| | TT | 七名香港警员因殴打抗议者被捕 | 2014.11.27.2.zh |
| 73 | ST | Court orders Hong Kong protest leader to stay away from cleared camp | 2014.11.28.en |
| | TT | "占中"领袖被禁入旺角抗议营地 | 2014.11.28.zh |
| 74 | ST | Hong Kong protesters surround city leader's office in renewed confrontation | 2014.12.01.1.en |
| | TT | 数千名人包围港府，警方在金钟强行清场 | 2014.12.01.1.zh |
| 75 | ST | Hong Kong clashes flare as protesters return to camp | 2014.12.01.2.en |
| | TT | 香港示威者重返旺角与警方再起冲突 | 2014.12.01.2.zh |
| 76 | ST | The scene as police sent protesters fleeing in Hong Kong | 2014.12.02.1.en |
| | TT | 金钟示威现场：怒吼、冲突、混乱、早安 | 2014.12.02.1.zh |
| 77 | ST | Hong Kong protesters, despite clashes and setbacks, remain committed | 2014.12.02.2.en |
| | TT | "占中"示威者彷惶之中信念依旧 | 2014.12.02.2.zh |
| 78 | ST | Hong Kong protest group calls for end of demonstrations | 2014.12.03.en |
| | TT | 香港"占中"发起人呼吁学生结束街头抗议 | 2014.12.03.zh |
| 79 | ST | 3 Hong Kong protest leaders turn themselves in to police | 2014.12.04.en |
| | TT | 香港"占中"领袖向警方自首 | 2014.12.04.zh |
| 80 | ST | Hong Kong student leaders consider whether to end protest camps | 2014.12.05.1.en |
| | TT | 香港学运领袖将决定是否结束"占中" | 2014.12.05.1.zh |
| 81 | ST | What next for Hong Kong? | 2014.12.05.2.en |
| | TT | 香港的下一步何去何从 | 2014.12.05.2.zh |
| 82 | ST | A frail face becomes a defiant focus of Hong Kong's waning protest movement | 2014.12.07.en |
| | TT | 不甘心离去，黄之锋的绝食抗议 | 2014.12.07.zh |
| 83 | ST | Hong Kong protester ends hunger strike | 2014.12.08.en |
| | TT | 香港"占中"学生领袖结束绝食抗议 | 2014.12.08.zh |
| 84 | ST | A day among the protesters' tents in Hong Kong | 2014.12.09.en |
| | TT | 香港街头抗议者等待最后的命运 | 2014.12.09.zh |
| 85 | ST | Q. and A.: Fernando Cheung Chiu-hung on the Hong Kong protests' legacy | 2014.12.10.1.en |

| | TT | 香港民主派议员张超雄谈"占中"的遗产 | 2014.12.10.1.zh |
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| 86 | ST | Hong Kong police announce plan to clear main protest site | 2014.12.10.2.en |
| | TT | 香港警方限期周四清理"占中"营地 | 2014.12.10.2.zh |
| 87 | ST | As Hong Kong occupy protests wind down, many make one last visit | 2014.12.11.1.en |
| | TT | 清场前夜，港人重返金钟纪念"占中"落幕 | 2014.12.11.1.zh |
| 88 | ST | Hong Kong police begin removing protesters as dismantling of camp proceeds | 2014.12.11.2.en |
| | TT | 香港警方在金钟清场，多名抗命者被捕 | 2014.12.11.2.zh |
| 89 | ST | Last Hong Kong protest camp to be cleared Monday, police say | 2014.12.14.1.en |
| | TT | 香港警方周一清拆最后一片"占中"营地 | 2014.12.14.1.zh |
| 90 | ST | Hong Kong protest camp that whispered melting back into city | 2014.12.14.2.en |
| | TT | 香港最后的抗命者准备撤离铜锣湾 | 2014.12.14.2.zh |
| 91 | ST | Three months of protests end quietly in Hong Kong | 2014.12.16.en |
| | TT | "占中"落幕，被捕者等待法律裁决 | 2014.12.16.zh |