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The Istanbul Incident: English and Finnish Reporting Re: Case Khashoggi

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Uutiskääntäminen tutkimusalana on laaja, ja näin ollen myös monen tutkijan kohteena useista eri näkökulmista (Schäffner 2003; Holland 2006; Chen 2011; Van Doorslaer 2010). Tutkimusalana se myös kohtaa media- ja viestintätutkimuksen kehystämisen näkökulmasta (Reese 2010; Van Gorp 2010), jossa tutkimuskohteena on tekstin sisältö ja tekstinsisäiset konnotaatiot lingvistiikan ja kielen rakenteiden sijaan. Tutkielman teoreettinen tausta tarkastelee uutiskääntämistä kansainvälisissä uutistoimistoissa (Bielsa & Bassnett 2009) ja kehystämisen tutkimuksessa (esim. Reese 2020; Van Gorp 2010).

Tutkielman tavoitteena on tunnistaa kehyksiä suomen- ja englanninkielisissä uutisteksteissä, jotka on koottu seuraavista kuudesta uutislähteestä: CNN, New York Times, Fox News, Yleisradio (YLE), Ilta-Sanomat ja Helsingin Sanomat. Toinen tutkielman tutkimuskohteista on kieltenvälinen vaikutus (interferenssi) ja sen mahdollinen esiintyminen suomenkielisessä tutkimusaineistossa englanninkielisten lähtötekstien vuoksi.

Tutkimuksen metodologia on yhdistelmä uutiskehystämisen analysointia (diskurssikeskeinen) ja tekstianalyysia. Kehystämisanalyysin keskiössä on tunnistaa, onko uutistekstit kehystetty tietystä näkökulmasta ja voidaanko artikkelien kieltä pitää neutraalina. Kieltenvälisen vaikutuksen analyysin osalta tutkimuksen keskiössä ovat suomenkieliset artikkelit, joita tarkastellaan ja vertaillaan tutkimusaineiston englanninkielisiin artikkeleihin.

Tutkimusmateriaali koostuu artikkeleista, jotka koskevat Jamal Khashoggin murhaa. Khashoggi oli Yhdysvalloissa oleskellut sauditoimittaja, joka murhattiin Saudi-Arabian konsulaatissa Turkin Istanbulissa 2. lokakuuta 2018. Khashoggin murhan syynä on laajasti pidetty hänen Saudi-Arabian hallintoon ja tosiasialliseen johtajaan, kruununprinssi Mohammed bin Salmaniin kohdistuvaa kritiikkiä. Khashoggin kuolema on aikaansaanut maailmanlaajuista keskustelua lehdistönvapaudesta ja vaikuttanut negatiivisesti edistysmielisenä pidetyn prinssin maineeseen uudistajana. Tutkimusmateriaali on jaettu kolmeen aiheeseen uutisaiheen ja julkaisuajankohdan mukaan.

Tutkimuksen tuloksissa on vaihtelua: kehystämisanalyysin osalta voidaan todeta, että ideologisia ja stereotyyppisiä (esim. hyvä-paha, uhri-roisto) kehyksiä on havaittavissa uutisten tekstissä, mutta kieltenvälinen analyysi ei tuottanut todennettavia tuloksia. Teksteissä on joitakin interferenssiin viittaavia piirteitä, mutta ilman todennettuja lähtötekstejä interferenssin analyysista saadaan vain suuntaa antavia tuloksia.

News translation is a wide area of research and has been the interest of many scholars from many perspectives (Schäffner 2003; Holland 2006; Chen 2011; Van Doorslaer 2010). As a wide field of research, it also overlaps with Media and Communication Studies in terms of news framing research (Reese 2010; Van Gorp 2010), where the focal point is in the subtext and connotations, rather than on the linguistic aspects. The main theoretical framework of the thesis consists of news translation in global news agencies (Bielsa & Bassnett 2009) and in framing analysis research and the way frames are constructed (for instance Reese 2010; Van Gorp 2010).

The aim of this thesis is to identify the frames present in news articles in Finnish and English, gathered from the following six outlets: CNN, the New York Times, Fox News, Yleisradio (YLE), Ilta-Sanomat, and Helsingin Sanomat. Another point of interest is to determine whether there is crosslinguistic influence (or interference) present in the Finnish articles due to English source texts.

Methodology of the research is a combination of news framing analysis (discourse-centric) and textual analysis. In the framing analysis, the focal point is to determine if the articles are framed in a certain perspective and if the language can be considered neutral. For the crosslinguistic influence analysis, the language in the Finnish articles will be under scrutiny and examined in comparison to English articles of the same topic.

The research material consists of articles that report on the events regarding the murder of Jamal Khashoggi, a US-based Saudi journalist who was murdered in the Saudi consulate in Istanbul, Turkey, on October 2, 2018. It has been heavily implied that Khashoggi's criticism of Saudi Arabia's regime and de facto ruler, Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, led to his death. Khashoggi's death has prompted a worldwide discussion regarding press freedom and severely affected the Prince's reputation as a forward-thinking reformer. The research material has been divided into three topics according to event reported and date of publication.

The results of the research vary: in terms of framing, it can be stated that there are ideological and stereotypical frames evident in the subtext (i.e., good-bad, victim-villain) of the articles, but the crosslinguistic analysis did not provide conclusive results. There are instances of possible interference in the text, but without verified source texts to examine, the results remain speculative.

Contents

1 Introduction

Reading news is something most people have done at some point in their lives. Sources for news vary from traditional newspapers to online forums to social media, and the plethora of options has made it possible for people to stay informed of what happens in the world around the clock.

I am interested in looking at how the language of the news can differ depending on the news source, and whether it affects the objectivity (or even credibility) of the source. Another important factor is the way news stories are framed and how it comes into play when translated news are reported – how can a translator's (or journalist's) choice of words affect the reader's interpretation of the story, especially if the story reports 'hard news' (e.g. events of significance, politics, economics, science), for instance, a disappearance or death with political implications?

The research material of this study consists of articles reporting about the disappearance and death of Jamal Khashoggi, a Saudi Arabian national and United States-residing journalist who was killed on the 2nd of October 2018 in the Saudi consulate in Istanbul. Khashoggi is certainly not the first journalist to have died for their profession: according to the Committee to Protect Journalists (www.cpj.org), 1 402 journalists have been killed since 1992 (data from May 2021), 1 517 if other media workers are included. According to Reporters Without Borders (www.rsf.org), 8 journalists and 4 media assistants have been killed in 2021 and 322 journalists are imprisoned at this time (May 2021). However, Khashoggi's case attracted international media attention, mainly because there have been allegations that members of the Saudi royal family and government may have been involved. Khashoggi, along with a few other journalists, was named Time Magazine's person of the year in 2018, under the title 'the Guardians of Truth'. Khashoggi is the first person to be awarded the

honour posthumously. The case has raised questions about the freedom of speech internationally, which is why I find it a fascinating subject from the perspective of news translation and how the story is framed in different sources.

The aim of the current study is to examine how wording affects the message conveyed in news articles in terms of news framing, a field of research in Media and Communication Studies that examines the subtext within news text. Another aim is to inspect the language in Finnish news derived from English source texts and to determine if there is crosslinguistic influence affecting the Finnish target text. Most foreign news reported in Finland come from global news agencies such as Reuters or Associated Press (AP) via the Finnish News Agency (Suomen Tietotoimisto STT). However, interference may be difficult to observe in this case, as there may be multiple source texts compiled to produce one article in the target language (van Doorslaer 2010).

There are two main research questions the current research aims to find answers for:

1. What kind of frames can be identified from a news article?
2. Can linguistic interference be discerned despite the variation of source texts?

Research into news translation strategies and methods will be discussed in Section 2, as there is a need to understand the practical aspects of news translation (and news production, by proxy) in order to evaluate linguistic aspects of the research material. As the news text as a text type has its own constraints and structural requirements that a translator/journalist must consider, the common structure of a news text will be introduced in Section 2.

For the purpose of observing framing devices, researching news framing and previous analyses will be vital to the analysis of the research material, and these studies will be discussed further in Section 3. The main point of interest in news framing theories is how conflicts are framed; war is a deeply dividing issue in terms of public opinion, and as the case under inspection has possible political effects, discussing studies into how conflicts are framed is relevant. Another point of interest is translator/journalist subjectivity in news translation. Subjectivity in the field of journalism is generally reserved for editorial, letters to the editor, or "op-ed" (short for "opposite of the editorial page") sections in newspapers, but it has also been a point of interest in the field of translation (Chen 2011). In the current research, subjectivity ties into the practicalities of news translation and whether translation is done by a translator or a journalist and is therefore dependent on the ethics of both professions, and it will be discussed as well. Section 3 will conclude the theoretical section of the current research with a brief examination of the current ideological media climate in the United States and present an overview of the press freedom in Finland.

Section 4 will introduce the research material and methods. Following this, Section 5 will present the analysis of the research material. The analysis will consist of three case studies: research material has been sorted into topics (Topics 1-3), and the analysis of each topic will focus on a different aspect in the text. For example, the analysis of Topic 1 will focus on the structure and sourcing of the articles and how persons are referred in the text(s). Topic 2's analysis will focus on quotations, and Topic 3 will examine words related to death and their (possible) relation to the Criminal Codes of Finland and the United States. An analysis of crosslinguistic influence will also be performed for all topics.

Results obtained from the analysis will be discussed in Section 6, and the research will be concluded in Section 7.

2 News Translation

In this section, the theoretical framework for my research, news translation as a process and an industry will be discussed. Section 2.1 will discuss the structure of a typical news text and the conventions related to the text type. Section 2.2 will feature a look into how translations are done in global news agencies via Bielsa & Bassnett (2009), or, more specifically, *who* translates news texts in these agencies. Related to this, section 2.3 will focus briefly on the processes and strategies of news translation. Following this will be a look into terminology, general translation strategies, and professional ethics in section 2.4. Finally, section 2.5 will present an overview of previous research into news translation.

2.1 News as a Text Type: Structures and Conventions

Journalists (and translators) are encouraged (see for instance Reuters 2014) to follow specific structures and conventions when compiling a news article. Like other texts that can be found on a translator's desk, such as novels, instruction manuals or legal documents, a news text is its own text type and thus subject to a set of conventions and structures that translators should follow.

McKane (2013) presents three kinds of methods for constructing a news article: the inverted pyramid structure (ibid.: 46; see also Bell 1991), news story as answers (McKane 2013: 57), and avoiding building a narrative (ibid.: 68). Essentially all three have a similar overall structure, presenting the newest and arguably most important information at the top before following with more information in order of descending importance, but the strategy behind the method varies.

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McKane compares news writing to writing a book: "in newspaper writing it is almost always best to grab your readers' attention in the very first paragraph, and not expect them to wade through a lot of material before getting to the drama" (2013: 46). Arguably the most important thing in a news article is that it should strive to answer the 5 Ws: *who, what, where, when, and why* (47). If all these cannot be answered in the first paragraph, they should be answered in the second. After the 5 Ws have been sufficiently answered, the rest of the article can be filled to the desired length or wordcount by giving readers more context and background information, preferably in a descending order of importance (McKane 2013: 48). In the inverted pyramid model, which is arguably the model possibly most familiar to researchers, the 'least important' parts of a news article are at the end of the article. Typically, these parts are information that has been reported previously or other background information the journalist considers relevant to the article. In the case of wire news, the inverted pyramid structure enables journalists at the receiving outlets to process a wire with minimal edits to content (Scammell 2018: 13).

McKane's second method, the news story as answers, could be considered "parallel to the inverted pyramid principle", structurally "considering it as a set of answers" (2013: 57). In this method, the principle is similar as in the inverted pyramid model: the important questions should be answered, but in a way that "the second paragraph answers whichever question the majority of readers of that publication would have in their minds when they have read the first", and so on (ibid.). For instance, if the report is about an accident and the first paragraph details what has happened and where, the next paragraph should detail possible casualties or injuries that may have occurred. In this model, the journalist's task is to construct the report in a way that predicts what the reader might ask next if the story was recited to them verbally. McKane suggests (ibid.) that in order to achieve this, journalists should put themselves in the reader's place and imagine the story from the reader's point of view. Distancing

oneself from their work is, according to McKane (ibid.: 58), "vital for all sorts of jobs" – by proxy, this includes translators, who may often be in charge of editing their own work.

The third and final method McKane presents is avoiding a narrative when compiling a news article. With this method, McKane (2013: 68) is referring to a situation where journalists are "confronted with a chain of events" instead of a more clear-cut, single-event issue, such as a crime. In scenarios such as these, McKane states that new reporters may often have a good first paragraph (the main event), but may struggle with the second, and they may feel that retelling the events from the beginning may be the next logical step (ibid.: 68). However, the best way to continue after the first paragraph would be to continue with the main event, adding detail to what has transpired and maybe eventually providing the beginning as background or further context towards the end (69). McKane asserts that a reporter can and should decide in what order the events should be revealed, as chronological order does not often make a good news article (70).

All three methods presented here emphasise the same argument: the most important piece of information should be presented first in a news article. If, however, the actual news is not presented in the first two paragraphs but much later in the text, the journalist is "burying the lead". The lead (also "lede" in some sources) in journalism refers to the "most newsworthy part of a news story" (Suffern 2017) – thus the phrase "burying the lead." Knowing which part of the story is the most important is key to a successful news article, and therefore identifying it is also crucial for successful news translation. In all cases, however, the lead is the first and foremost part of any news article, i.e., the headline or the paragraph immediately following the headline, also known as a subheading (NPR).

Other important aspects of typical news articles are quotations – a news report is, at its core, what someone has said (Bell 1991: 191, cited in Scammell 2018: 16). Quotations, essentially, are transforming spoken word into written form, often recontextualised (Haapanen 2017) and/or restructured in order to provide perspective to the reader. Haapanen (2017: 39) also mentions that it is "common practice" to present quotations from an interview as a monologue, excluding the journalist and their questions and presenting the discussion between the interviewee and the reader. As discussed previously in section 2.4, quotations may be problematic to translate, especially if the quoted statement is something tendentious. In cases like this, the Reuters Handbook (2014: 372) recommends a literal translation; for less divisive comments, an idiomatic translation is recommended.

Quotations can take different shapes in a news article: interviewees may be quoted verbatim or paraphrased. The former allows a journalist to "report fact" and "distance themselves" from what was said at the same time (Bell 1991: 208, cited in Scammell 2018: 16) while also making the article interesting. Paraphrasing, in turn, allows for a journalist to construct a narrative or a frame around the quotation, often by using synonyms of "said" with differing connotations (Scammell 2018; Holland 2006) Quotations can also be obtained from social media sites such as Twitter rather than from direct contact with individuals. It is easy to quote a tweet verbatim, and quoting them in full rather than paraphrasing also has the effect of shifting responsibility for the information within the quotation from the journalist to the source (Broersma and Graham 2013: 455).

Quotations taken from various social media platforms such as Twitter or Facebook are growing in popularity among various news sources due to their easy access (Broersma and Graham 2013), including ones that have been selected for the purposes of this research (see section 5.2). Notable figures such as politicians and

celebrities often have an assistant (or a team of assistants) behind their tweets and posts, such as Formula 1 driver Lando Norris (@LandoNorris and @TeamL4ANDO), but anything published or 'tweeted' from a verified (as signified by the blue checkmark on Twitter, for instance) person's account is taken as their own words. Of course, there are those who have control of their own accounts: President Trump, from whose Twitter account two quotations in Topic 2 (section 5.2) were taken from, achieved a certain level of notoriety on social media due to his proclivity in sharing his thoughts (and announcing policies) via his Twitter account. As of January 7, 2021, Trump's Twitter account (@realDonaldTrump) has been suspended indefinitely, but he was still very active during the time the articles under analysis in the current research were published, providing news outlets plenty of quotable material.

Aside from conventions regarding the content of a news story, the length of an article determines much of the content (see for instance Masini et al. 2017). The type of article impacts the length as well: an opinion or analysis article may be up to or over 2,000 words in length – a recent (7 April 2021) New York Times opinion article is approximately 2,600 words – while a "breaking news" bulletin may even be under 100. As will be discussed in section 2.2, at wire news services the length can vary from a bulletin to a report of 600-words (Bielsa & Bassnett 2009: 82), but article length can also depend on the outlet. The language of the outlet is also to be kept in mind when discussing article length: the linguistic differences between English and Finnish are rather significant in this regard. English has prepositions and articles with which to fill a wordcount, while Finns make do with suffixes and temporal or conditional forms for instance, which may easily result in Finnish articles of the same topic as the English ones being considerably shorter in length. For example, the English sentence "should I run around" could be summarised into one word in Finnish: "juoksentelisinkohan". The differences in article lengths, specifically regarding linguistic differences, will be discussed further in the analysis section of the current research.

2.2 Practicalities of News Translation in Global News Agencies

Shifting focus from text types to text production, Bielsa & Bassnett (2009) go into more detail regarding the people behind the desk at global news agencies. In Bielsa & Basnett (2009), the origins and present activity of three global news agencies (Reuters, AFP, and IPS) is examined and translated news texts produced by the agencies are analysed. The news production cycle of these agencies is described in the publication: each agency has their own **regional offices** or **desks**, and these offices are tasked with processing information, distributing it to their subscribers via newswire, coordinating with their local offices and bringing together outputs from different local offices (2009: 75).

Given the fast pace of the news cycle and the amount of text produced by these agencies daily – AFP's total global output is approximately 600,000 words per day (Bielsa & Bassnett 2009: 77) – it is understandable that global news agencies would want to simplify the process. However, this simplification results in professional translators missing from some news agencies: neither Reuters nor AFP employ translators (Bielsa & Bassnett 2009: 81), with AFP's chief of the Spanish desk stating that "none of the journalists working for us are translators; they are editors. […] There are no translators working here" (ibid.). This suggests that at least at AFP, more value is given to the journalistic profession than the translation profession, though all journalists should know at least two languages in addition to Spanish in this particular regional office. It is understandable that in a news agency, journalistic skill, training, and experience is valued higher than translation training, though it seems almost counterproductive to not take into consideration the intercultural aspects of translation and the fact that a word in the target language in one context may mean something entirely different in another. Interestingly, despite openly not employing

translators, both AFP and Reuters regional offices have a news translation entry test for their journalist applicants, the job title for them is 'news editor', and their main tasks are translating and editing news texts (ibid.). Extrapolating from this, it would make sense that individuals with training and experience in both journalism and translation would be highly sought-after.

In the case of IPS, however, the situation is slightly different. In general, IPS offers a different type of news product when compared to AFP or Reuters: their news texts are longer and more analytical in content, and thus there is more time for the translation task (Bielsa & Bassnett 2009: 82). At the Latin America regional office of IPS, there are both translators and journalists working on producing news texts. The main difference between IPS and AFP in this instance is that the daily quota of an IPS translator or editor is five texts, while a member of AFP's staff processes thirty to forty texts (ibid.). As the length of the texts varies from bulletins of only a few lines to 600-word reports, the number of and variety of texts that cross the desk of an AFP news editor is arguably significant.

Another aspect that should be considered when comparing the hiring process and daily tasks at global news agencies is that along with the difference of the news product between IPS and AFP and Reuters, there is also a fundamental difference in the content of each agency's news product. According to Bielsa & Bassnett, translators and editors at IPS "often choose texts to be translated themselves" (2009: 82), which ties into the agency's goal to tell stories that might not be told otherwise (80). IPS prioritises inclusivity and a balance of importance and ethnicity in its reporting, and while the global services are only available in English and Spanish, their local offices produce content in a variety of minority languages. It is worth noting that it is currently the only global news agency that produces content in, for instance, Nepali and Thai, and it was the first agency to offer news service in Swahili in the 1980s

(ibid.). IPS's unique style of reporting also ties into the subjectivity of translators and journalists and the professional ethics of both fields, which will be discussed more in subsection 3.4.

2.3 Strategies and Methods of News Translation: A Brief Look

Translation strategies are not exclusive to literary translation or other 'traditional' types of translation, though they are often discussed regarding these the text types a typical translator more commonly (or traditionally) works with. In news text production, the importance of strategies is connected to the distribution of information, above all other goals. In this section, the strategies that can be used when translating news texts is discussed. In reference to translation strategies, a study regarding ideological conflicts in source texts (Loupaki 2015), which will also be discussed later in section 3.5.

Looking into what kind of translation strategies are generally applied to news translation, Vuorinen connects translation strategies to gatekeeping: when producing an article, journalists "may edit, rewrite or cut it, combine it with a related story, or otherwise shape it" (1995: 162, cited in Matsushita 2019: 29).

In a case study, Loupaki examines strategies news translators have used "in dealing with ideological conflict embedded in the source text" (2015: 55), identifying three strategies for managing specifically ideological conflicts in texts: "[1]] reproducing ideological conflict in the TT, [2)] erasing ideological conflict in the TT, and [3]] introducing new conflict in the TT" (2015: 64). According to Loupaki, the specific techniques translators have used in realizing these strategies are 1) *literal translation*, 2) *neutralization/omission*, and 3) *addition/explicitation/omission* (ibid.: 72). These techniques correspond with the strategies mentioned previously, though literal translation is not often seen in news translation outside of quotations (see section

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2.5). However, ideological conflicts are not only present in news texts: a literary text can have equally ideologically conflicting content to a translator (see for instance Baker 2006; Schäffner 2003) as a news text may have for a journalist.

It is important to note that translators (in the 'traditional' sense) rarely work in a strictly translatory capacity at a news outlet: oftentimes, news are translated by journalists themselves, as discussed in section 2.2. Therefore, it may be difficult for a journalist to make a specific distinction regarding a translation strategy (Scammell 2018: 50) if asked about it by a researcher. In the *Reuters Handbook of Journalism* (2014, cited in Scammell 2018: 68), there are two instances about quotations where translation is specifically mentioned:

> When translating quotes from one language into another, we should do so in an idiomatic way rather than with pedantic literalness. Care must be taken to ensure that the tone of the translation is equivalent to the tone of the original. (Reuters 2014: 4)
> When translating quotes from another language into English, do so in an idiomatic way rather than with pedantic literalness. However, give a literal translation **if a statement is tendentious and likely to be the subject of close analysis.** (Reuters 2014: 372, emphasis added)

In the second quotation, the second sentence is particularly eye-catching: the Cambridge Online dictionary defines 'tendentious' as "(of speech or writing) expressing or supporting a particular opinion that many other people disagree with". Most likely, a literal translation is preferred in order to avoid libel charges due to mistranslation. The style guide makes no other direct references to translation, the general guideline being that the language used must be "easy to translate" (ibid. 53).

However, no "clear" guidelines to news translation exist in the Reuters handbook, though there are instructions for translating military ranks and similar issues.

2.4 Translation, Editing, and Transediting

The terminology used in news translation research includes terms such as *transediting* (a term coined by Karen Stetting in 1989), which is a compound term for translating and editing. This term has been used by several researchers (Chen 2011; Schrijver et al. 2012; Zhang 2013) and doubted by others (Schäffner 2012). Another term used in news translation research is *gatekeeping*, which refers to the selection process of which news are translated and which are not (van Doorslaer 2010; Schäffner 2012). Vuorinen defines gatekeeping as "the process of controlling the flow of information into and through communication channels" (1995: 161), which effectively ties the process of selecting which news to produce and publish into news framing (see Section 3) as well.

Schäffner (2012) provides a review of literature related to transediting and evaluates whether or not the term itself is even needed. Schäffner argues that the term was relevant in the context of its time, and that if it is used to substitute or oppose the term *translation*, there is "the danger that *translation* continues to be understood in a narrower sense of a purely word-for-word transfer process" (2012: 881). Thus far I agree with Schäffner, as *translation* as a term encompasses many of the terms regularly used in the field, such as *localization* or *subtitling*. However, *transediting* combines two intertwined and vital parts of the translation process and thus adds onto the ever-growing list of terms under the *translation* umbrella. This could, from my perspective, potentially result in professional translators with a wide-ranging skill set to be shunned in favour of a more precise 'transeditor' or 'localizer' or 'subtitler'.

When considering the practical aspects of news translation, it is important to take into account the fact that the people that work with news and translation may not always be professional translators, and often do not consider their products to be 'translations' (Loupaki 2010: 55). While discussing the *who* of news translation, Chen suggests (2011: 120) that the label 'news translator' "may refer either to (1) journalists transediting news texts or to (2) translators who work with journalists and generally have the title of transeditor". Chen specifies that in the case of the two news agencies referred to in the case study (China Times and Commercial Times), news transediting is done by a team of transeditors co-operating with journalists (129). This is in contrast with, for instance, the Finnish News Agency, where news reports are translated by journalists (Hursti 2001).

From a more practical standpoint, Hursti's 2001 study examines how news by the Reuters news agency were translated in the Finnish News Agency (STT). Hursti presents his study from a professional journalist's point of view, having worked at the STT, which in my opinion gives insight to the realities of news translation in Finland at the time. As opposed to Schäffner, Hursti endorses the use of *transediting* to refer to news translation, as it "includes the idea of translating and editing" (2001: 10), which are heavily intertwined in news translation processes. I would argue that as a journalist, Hursti may not share Schäffner's concerns regarding the overall effect splintering *translation* into several terms with slightly varying definitions would have on how translation is generally understood.

In Ya-Mei Chen's 2011 case study (2011) of translator subjectivity in Taiwanese and Chinese news agencies, the term *transediting* has been used liberally when referring to news translation, along with the term *transeditor* to refer to the professional doing the translating. The focal point of the case study is subjectivity, and the study applies reception aesthetics (Chen 2011: 123) within the context of news translation.

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Terminology is only briefly discussed and therefore Chen does not offer an opinion on the term and its necessity. However, Chen's, and Taiwanese news agencies by proxy, use of the word *transeditor* to refer to news translators supports the argument made when discussing Schäffner's article: if *transediting* is adopted into general use in the news industry, *transeditors* may be preferred instead of *translators*. In a similar vein, van Doorslaer introduces the term 'journalator' to describe the role a 'transeditor' may have in a newsroom, i.e., a journalist whose tasks include translation in abundance (2012: 1049), and the term has also been adopted by Matsushita (2019: 32), who uses it as originally defined by van Doorslaer. Considering both 'transeditor' and 'journalator' as titles for personnel working with news texts and translation, it is difficult to determine whether there is actually a need to invent a specific title to describe the people in charge of these tasks.

2.5 Brief Overview of News Translation Research

In this section, an overview of previous research into news translation will be discussed. This concludes the news translation research section of the theoretical background.

Luc van Doorslaer's 2010 article (online edition, current revision from 2016) provides an overview of the state of news translation research. In the article, Van Doorslaer discusses news translation research from several viewpoints, including the differences between newspaper and television news translation (2010). Van Doorslaer also points to Valdeón's (2015) overview of the development of journalistic translation research as further reading on the subject.

Van Doorslaer (2010) highlights the Warwick project 'Translation in Global News', which resulted in Bielsa & Bassnett's 2009 publication, which is crucial for my research, as it reports on extensive analysis done of news reported in global news

agencies, such as Reuters, AFP (Agence France Press) and IPS (Inter Press Service). The publication also observes the challenges of translation in the face of globalization (see subsection 2.3).

Comăneci (2011) discusses the perspective of news translation as rewriting with a skopos; in essence, the production of news texts is in itself a "target-oriented process" with the purpose of conveying information to a target audience, and this process requires both coherence of language and fidelity of meaning to ensure a successful transfer of information (80). Comăneci also points out that in order to achieve optimal coherence in the target text, a journalist in a news agency may "choose to add a certain amount of background information in order to suit the needs and expectations of the receiving audience, a practice neither rare, nor condemnable" (81). This refers to the structure of a news text: it is not uncommon for a news article to present the reader with the newest information at the top of the article before supplying previously reported or other relevant background information towards the end of the article – this will be discussed further in section 2.6.

In addition to offering a thorough overview of news translation research, Valdeón (2015) also discusses the different language pairs that have been examined amid the great number of news translation research, or journalistic translation research, JTR for short (634). Among these language pairs are for example English—Hungarian (see Károly 2013), English—Spanish (see Linder 2014), and English—Chinese (see Zhang 2013) and English—Greek (see Loupaki 2015). In addition to these examples, McLaughlin (2011) inspects how news translation from English could lead into syntactic borrowing in contemporary French and to other languages by proxy. The variance in language pairs and source and target cultures in news translation research is as great as in other research areas in the field of Translation Studies (for instance literary translation), which allows for a diverse pool of research material and

viewpoints in the context of both Translation Studies and Media and Communication Studies. Valdeón concludes his overview of JTR that the increasing number of studies that have been and are being conducted in the field of JTR in the 21st century "anticipates a rich and varied continuation of the research into journalistic translation published in the early years of the twenty-first century" (2015: 653). As the area of JTR is relatively young compared to Translation Studies (634), it is clear that it is a growing field with many perspectives for scholarly exploration.

In the following section (3), the focal point will shift from news translation (i.e., text) to news framing (subtext).

3 News Framing

This section will depart slightly from Translation Studies into the area of Media and Communication Studies by way of discussing news framing and agenda setting, partly in the context of crime and war reporting. While the subject of the current research is not strictly war reporting per se, the way conflicts are framed by news sources is not dissimilar to how crimes are reported and thus relevant to the current research. While news translation research (discussed in section 2) focuses on the news texts themselves with emphasis mainly on linguistic (textual) features, news framing research is focused on the subtext within the news text, i.e., implicit meaning(s), allusions, and attitudes that can be interpreted from word choices and/or tone.

Section 3.1. will discuss terminology of news framing research, more specifically the terms *framing* and *agenda setting*. In section 3.2, studies of news framing in terms of war and conflict are presented. Following this, section 3.3 will discuss how framing could be used to affect policy in terms of coverage and reporting (presumed) public opinion. In section 3.4, translator and journalist ethics will be discussed. The news framing section will conclude with an overview of the ideological media climate in the U.S. in section 3.5, and the freedom of press in Finland in section 3.6.

3.1 News Framing and Agenda Setting

In Media and Communication Studies, *framing* is a term used to describe the way news are presented in a literal and metaphorical sense: from what perspective the story is told, who are represented in the article, what kinds of things are brought up in the article, and how possible related pictures are presented (Seppänen & Väliverronen 2012: 97). A news story can generally be 'framed' textually by using specific words or metaphors within text and visually by selecting images that suit the article and its purpose (ibid.: 100; see also Scammell 2108). Holland (2006) also discusses differences

between the Indonesian and English versions of a speech delivered by the President of Indonesia regarding the deployment of UN peacekeeping troops into East Timor. Though Holland does not specifically mention 'framing', he discusses linguistic and translational choices between the texts, essentially examining how the issue has been framed in each language.

Similar to framing, *agenda setting* can be defined as the way media uses mass communication to represent a part of reality to viewers and/or readers from a selected perspective (Kunelius 1998: 127): in essence, the media select a part of reality that they wish to communicate to their audiences, thus creating agendas and assigning importance to topics they present. According to Kunelius (ibid., translation by me), "means of mass communication do not dictate how people think, but they have a great impact on *what they have opinions about in general*". By prioritizing topics and news stories, the media are able to construct a scale of sorts that is intended for audiences to use as building materials for opinion forming.

As the term *framing* has been introduced, it is also relevant to explore what frames are and how they work. A frame requires some kind of societal or social meaning to be effective, similarly to how a story can have moral meanings. Frames also need a medium to connect issues or concepts in a way that the audience understands or is aware of the connection (Nisbet 2010: 47). In the case of journalism, this medium is the reporter. Van Gorp (2010) identifies specific framing devices (or tropes) that are culturally embedded and that "express culturally shared notions with symbolic such as *stereotypes, values, archetypes, myths* and *narratives*" (2010: 85, italics added). In practice, these devices may manifest in a news text as opposing roles for instance, i.e.,, good-bad, advocate-opponent, or victim-perpetrator. Van Gorp also includes *reasoning devices* in connection to framing devices (91): these devices provide a connection between an issue and a more universally acknowledged truth, so to speak.

For instance, using Van Gorp's example of a newspaper article about poverty: "It is not a happy scene. Sadly, it is too familiar. […]" In this example, Van Gorp identifiers the framing device to be the "emotional appeal: sadness, compassion", and the reasoning device to be "'Familiar'", as it "refers to omnipresence of poverty" (95). The news article's author constructs an emotional frame around the issue of poverty, and the 'familiar' further connects the reader's interpretation to the universal concept of poverty. In this example, the news text is not unlike a fictional novel, where a character might be described as wearing "trousers with patches on the knees" or walking around with "worn-out shoes with cracked soles". However, it should be noted that in Van Gorp's example, the presumed reader is sympathetic to the struggles of people affected by poverty, while this may not always be the case.

Van Gorp highlights (ibid.: 92) that "a core function of framing is to define issues", though he clarifies that these issues are not always problematic. For instance, racism and sexism have not always been as problematic as they are today, but the "application of certain frames altered the situation". Van Gorp also states that some frames may be used to describe the origins of an issue and others may be used to describe the consequences, or to assign responsibility over an issue: namely presenting an issue and who/what has caused it and who/what experiences the consequences of an issue (ibid.). Using and expanding on the abovementioned poverty example, a news article about poverty could be framed in a way that it could either assign responsibility to people who suffer from poverty or frames them as the victims of a capitalist society. In the former, a journalist could, for example, cite long-term unemployment and/or substance abuse issues as possible reasons for poverty. In the latter case, a journalist could highlight society's part in an individual's difficulties by mentioning, for instance, poor job market, downward economy or minimum wage issues.

In this regard, frames can be used in a multitude of ways. Nisbet (2010: 47) states that "media frames work by connecting the mental dots for the public", which is a simple way to summarize what and how framing works in mass media. Considering these examples, it can be determined that journalists, while reporting on important (and sometimes less important) events and issues, have the capacity to present an interpretation to audiences in a way that constructs a narrative, be it positive or negative in relation to the issue itself. However, it is equally important to keep in mind that while frames can be constructed to build a narrative, not all framing is done to influence public opinion: sometimes it is just a journalist reporting on an issue in a way that audiences understand what has transpired, without "ulterior" motives.

3.2 Framing Conflicts

Framing and agenda setting are closely connected in researching the way news stories can be interpreted. Reese (2010: 22) writes that in the agenda setting research tradition "a frame is conceived as a multisited structure which moves from textual structures to mental structures", which I would say further recognizes the interwoven nature of these terms and concepts. Understanding how frames function is key to understanding how they can be used to influence public opinion when the issue is something as deeply dividing as, for example, war and conflict are.

In his case study, Reese examines how the early stages of the Iraq War (and, by extension, Afghanistan) were framed as the War on Terror in the media after the 9/11 attacks. According to Reese (25), the word 'war' connects the Iraq conflict to past conflicts and wars the United States has taken part in, specifically linking the War on Terror to World War II and events and concepts the audience further connects it to (e.g. Pearl Harbor, the Axis of Evil). The War on Terror differs from 'traditional' wars in that a) there is no identifiable enemy and b) it has no "determined phases of time

during which they are fought until one side has defeated the other and declared victory" (ibid.). In the case study, despite an earlier hypothesis that international media would be less inclined to use the frame War on Terror than American media, Reese's study indicates that this was not the case. As the terminology came from the US administration and was used to frame the conflict, it was picked up by international and national media alike (27). Reese summarises (37) his case study by discussing the *what* and the *how* of frames and how professional journalists participate in the process of constructing a narrative from the source to the final product: the news story. The existing social values and cultural contexts shape how the frame is constructed and how it is perceived.

Reese summarizes that the War on Terror narrative may be the government justifying a physical conflict with an idealistic descriptor, framing the need for conflict by assigning "terror" as the adversary the "good" must overcome. The government creates a juxtaposition between good and bad, and provides a ready-made frame to the media for circulation, though the media may also use the frame in a more critical manner. Reese points out that "to the extent that the frame has been undermined in recent years, post-Iraq, underscores the extent to which it was accepted uncritically in the early days post 9/11" (2010: 36), which is to say that in the early days after 9/11, the media and the public were more receptive to a War on Terror frame. As the conflict extended without "noticeable" positive results, i.e., the "good" did not prevail over the "bad", public opinion shifted against the conflict and media outlets became more critical of the government.

Shifting focus from the War on Terror to another conflict, Briggs, Soderlund and Najem (2017) examine how the Syrian civil war was framed in key news outlets in Great Britain (The Guardian), United States (The New York Times), and Canada (The Globe and The Mail). In their study, they "offer what we believe to be reasonable

interpretations regarding how this framing likely affected the context in which decisions **not to intervene** were made in Great Britain and the United States in the late summer of 2013" (12, original emphasis). The conclusion is that while all three outlets presented opinions both for and against direct military participation, the overarching frame was one of anti-intervention: the simplified, dominant frame being that there were "no good options for Syria and significant downsides for the West, the Middle East, and perhaps the configuration of world order, should outside forces become directly involved in a conflict characterized by multi-layered complexity" (168–169). The decision to not intervene directly in Syria, while a governmental decision, was possibly affected by public opinion against intervention.

When examining governmental responses to conflicts and their framing in media, it is important to note that while these conflicts are relatively recent, both occurring in the 21st century, earlier instances of conflict have possibly impacted how the media process and frame conflicts currently. Most notably, the Rwandan genocide went largely uncovered by Western media until it was nearing its end (Thompson 2007: 433). In response to the Rwandan genocide and atrocities committed in the Balkans (especially in Srebrenica) in the 1990s, the United Nations "formally adopted" (ibid.: 434) a doctrine called *Responsibility to Protect* (ICISS 2001, cited in Thompson 2007: 434):

> In effect, the UN declaration enshrines in international law the notion that the world community has a right to intervene – a responsibility to protect – to stop a government from massive violation of the human rights of its citizens. (Thompson 2007: 434)

However, Thompson notes that the document does not necessarily indicate the responsibility of journalism, suggesting that the media should accept a "responsibility to report" (ibid.: 440) the travesties to human rights, as opposed to devoting more airtime to, for example, celebrity legal troubles (ibid.: 437). In essence, media coverage, and lack thereof, matters. The following section will discuss how public opinion, highlighted (and possibly formed via agenda setting) by the media, can affect policy.

3.3 Framing and Policy

Thus far, it has been established that frames can be used to offer audiences an interpretation of an event or an issue. The next point of interest is how members of the media use frames in an attempt to form public opinion, and whether public opinion can, in turn, influence policy. In the case of the War on Terror discussed in section 3.2, the conflict's framing originated from the United States administration in response to the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001. According to Reese (2010), the frame was originally accepted and circulated by the media before it eventually became a frame of criticism towards the administration's policies. In the case of the Syrian civil war (see Briggs, Soderlund and Najem 2017), there was no specific 'pro-intervention' frame, the overarching frame being one against direct intervention.

When discussing news framing and how it relates to policy, the CNN effect, named after Cable News Network, almost inevitably surfaces. The CNN effect can be defined as "1) a policy agenda-setting agent, 2) an impediment to the achievement of desired policy goals, and 3) an accelerant to policy decision[-]making" (Livingston, 1997: 2). However, as Gilboa (2005: 27) states, "scholars have yet to define properly the CNN effect, leading one to question if an elaborated theory exists or simply an attractive neologism". Essentially, the concept of the CNN effect is that increased reporting about conflict could affect policymakers' decisions regarding the conflict, i.e., to

intervene or not to intervene. CNN's 24-hour coverage enables the network to report stories fast and globally. This in turn allows for the public to be aware of things that happen on the other side of the globe in real-time. When coverage shows video and pictures from a conflict region, the intent is often to raise sympathy in the audience, thus affecting public opinion. A concrete, if graphic, example of this would be the media's use of a photo of the body of Alan Kurdi, a 3-year-old Syrian boy whose body was found on a beach in Turkey in September 2015 – hardly the only casualty of the escalating civil war in Syria, but certainly a stark reminder to the West that wars have a cost. Briggs, Soderlund and Najem (2017: 2) call this "empathy framing", which refers to the way media frames the conflict via refugees and victims, creating a narrative that is "sympathetic to victims" in order to create a frame of "something has to be done". However, in the case of Syria, highlighting the refugee crisis brought on by the conflict was not enough to waver the more prevalent frame, which was against direct involvement.

Typically, the CNN effect has been discussed (Thompson 2007; Briggs, Soderlund and Najem 2017; Gilboa 2005) in reference to conflict coverage and its chance of affecting policy in response to a conflict, but it has also been regarded as a possible operational risk: with great coverage comes great risk of losing operational and strategic advantage (Belknap 2001). The general consensus among scholars appears to be that "global television cannot force policymakers to do what they intend to do anyway" (Gilboa 2005: 38), but the debate remains. Robinson (2002, cited in Gilboa 2005: 36) has "predicted that media influence is likely to occur in humanitarian intervention cases when policy is uncertain and media coverage is critically framed and empathizes with suffering people". However, when policy is strong or secure, media influence is "unlikely to occur" (ibid.).

Crime coverage is naturally different from conflict coverage. However, similarities can be seen, especially in regard to the media framing the victim of a crime in a sympathetic manner to evoke calls for reaction or creating a good-bad juxtaposition (Van Gorp 2010: 91) between the victim and the perpetrator. In the following section, the focal point shifts to subjectivity; what sort of codes of conduct does the press have when reporting that could impact how a frame is built, and how do these codes relate to news translation?

3.4 Journalist and Translator Subjectivity

The issue of translator (and, by extension, journalist) subjectivity and translator ethics has been researched and discussed by many scholars (see for instance van Wyke 2010; also discussed in Chesterman & Wagner 2014). Chen (2011) studied translator subjectivity in a case study concerning how two Taiwanese news agencies translated China-related stories published in the New York Times. Chen's analysis shows that the political attitude of a newspaper may lead to the translator, especially under the supervision of other transediting members of the team, to comply with the constraints of the paper and its views (2011: 140). Because news selection at IPS is based on translators and journalists choosing their texts rather than being assigned them, there is a matter of ethics to consider when discussing subjectivity.

According to the Ethical Journalism Network, the five core principles of journalism are as follows (paraphrased):

1) **Truth and Accuracy** – journalists should maintain accuracy and truthfulness in their reporting, generally backed by fact-checking, and they should be honest about whether a piece of information or a story is corroborated.

2) **Independence** – reporting should not be on behalf of political, corporate, or cultural interests, and if there are political affiliations or similar connections to outside parties, news services should not attempt to hide them.

3) **Fairness and Impartiality** – stories should be objective and balanced, and they should add context.

4) **Humanity** – journalists should be aware that their reporting has an effect on readers' lives, and while some topics and stories may be hurtful, they should not be aimed to harm.

5) **Accountability** – professionalism dictates that journalists are equally accountable as anyone else. If, and when mistakes are made, they should be rectified, and possible regret should not be expressed insincerely. (www.ethicaljournalismnetwork.org)

These principles are not so different from values that professional translators are taught during their studies. For instance, the Finnish Association of Translators and Interpreters (SKTL: 2017) provides ethical guidelines for translators and interpreters, which are also referred to during translator training. The International Federation of Translators (FIT: 1994) also has ethical guidelines in the form of a Translator's Charter. To summarise the key items: a translation should be accurate in regard to the content and style of the source text, and a translation should endeavour to follow the conventions and structures of the target language.

Translation is often an individual task, apart from lengthier projects where several translators are involved, and while a translator is more often than not able to refuse a commission that clashes with their individual values, they should strive for neutrality when translating a text dealing with a topic they may or may not have a personal opinion about (see Chesterman and Wagner 2014). Fairness and impartiality coincide

with translating being a relatively independent task; while discussing different translation theories is not necessarily relevant at this point, but in general a successful translation is considered to be a target text that relays the source text's content and style to a target audience, often aiming to create a similar reaction in the target audience that the source text has had for the source audience, which also relates to humanity in a way that while a text may contain hurtful topics, they should still be translated as a part of the whole. Lastly, accountability: translators, like journalists, are accountable for their work, though in different forms (FIT 1994). Translators are responsible for the target texts they create, and strive to correct their errors, whether they are of the linguistic kind or concept kind, i.e., if a mistranslation is due to grammatical flaws or a misunderstanding of the original. According to van Wyke (2010: 114), there is "no consensus as to what exactly it means to be an ethical translator", but that not having consensus also is also beneficial in promoting debate regarding ethical matters related to translation.

Considering these principles, it is also worth noting that reporting crimes can have its own principles and guidelines for journalists. In Finland, Julkisen Sanan Neuvosto (the Council for Mass Media) has their own guidelines that Finnish journalists are instructed to abide by. The guidelines are available for the public online. The same general principles as mentioned previously apply in these guidelines as well, but in the context of reporting about a crime, it is important to look more closely at guidelines 31 to 35:

> **31**. The name, photograph or other identifying facts of a person convicted of a crime may be published, unless it is viewed as clearly excessive in terms of the position or action of that individual. The journalist must be particularly careful not to disclose the identity of a minor or person found to be criminally unaccountable.

32. Carefulness is required when presenting information that may lead to the identification of the subject in cases where the subject is only considered a suspect or has been charged.

33. Information about the convicted, charged or suspected individual should not be published if it may reveal the identity of the victim of a highly sensitive crime.

34. The identity of a victim of a highly sensitive crime must be protected, unless the matter is of considerable public interest.

35. If the request for investigation, indictments or conviction has been a published news item, the matter should be followed to the end as is possible. During an ongoing trial, the journalist will not strive to affect the decisions of the court or present a premature position on the guilt of the subject in question. (Council for Mass Media, www.jsn.fi)

Bearing these and previously discussed guidelines in mind and briefly returning to Chen's research (2011), a news outlet's political attitudes towards a reported issue or event may even be harmful when it comes to promoting professional ethics. In order to provide truthful and accurate reporting, political attitudes should be set aside in favour of ethical reporting. However, if a journalist's income is dependent on them framing news in a manner that follows their employer's attitudes, it is understandable that a journalist would use ways and means given to them to present news from a perspective that would be more in line with the outlet's attitudes. Subjectivity of an outlet will be discussed further in the next section, where the general media landscape of the United States is discussed in terms of polarisation. Section 3.5 is intended as an overview of the current media climate; an in-depth examination of the topic may not necessarily serve the purpose of the current research.

3.5 Ideological Media Climate in the U.S.

The media in the U.S. has been widely regarded as politically divided, even polarised (Wilson et al. 2020), and the outlets used to collect research material from have been selected partly for this reason. The American media landscape is clearly different than that of Finland. The sheer geographical size of the country and a significantly larger population allows for a large number of both local and national news outlets to exist simultaneously: though it is important to note that print publishing has been experiencing a decline (Letter.ly), due to both increasing online access and televised news being available 24/7.

A news outlet's political affiliation and ownership can affect the kind of content it produces and, therefore, the audience it seeks. For example, polarisation within the two-party system and left-right division has been on the rise in the United States (Wilson et al. 2020: 223) and it has greatly affected not only the electoral map of the country but also the media landscape. As online access has increased, so have online news sources of "varying dubiousness" (Wilson et al. 2020: 225): with the number of options for receiving news available, it is easy for online news sources to tailor their content to more specific audiences instead of vying for neutrality in order to attract as large an audience as possible (ibid.). This in itself creates an atmosphere where 'cherry-picking' topics for reporting is not only encouraged but beneficial to a news source. For instance, more conservative and right-wing outlets may emphasise concepts such as "outrage industry" (see Berry & Sobieraj 2013) or frame news stories in a way that benefits the views of right-wing politicians. In contrast, a liberal (left-wing) outlet might emphasise news that would benefit progressive or left-wing politicians or stories about socially or ideologically offensive behaviour. For example, Politico.com, an online outlet with mostly liberal consumers (according to Pew Research Center's audience profile metrics), has a story with the headline "Biden to

unveil long-awaited executive action on guns" on its homepage on 8 April 2021. In contrast, the homepage for Breitbart (breitbart.com), an outlet with mostly conservative consumers, has the same story with the headline "Joe Issues Executive Gun Controls to Fight Crime 'Epidemic' in USA" with a graphic of "Emperor Biden" between two crowns on top of the headline.

Wilson et al. also note that a "selective reporting style" such as the one described in the previous paragraph could result in further polarisation and increase misconceptions about "the others" for all audiences and can "both serve and intensify partisan bias" (2020: 226). A highly polarised media environment is also fertile ground for confirmation bias: audiences will generally seek out and share content they feel they can trust, and a surplus of outlets providing content tailored to specific audiences is generating confirmation bias. Polarisation in the media climate is creating a rift between mainstream media that is generally geared towards larger audiences and thus aiming for centrism, and smaller, more polarised outlets with more specified content: factual news can be critiqued and even questioned or labelled "fake news" (ibid.) over the curated news platforms online.

In contrast to amplifying differences between target audiences, news outlets that aim for neutrality may often present politically divisive issues from both perspectives. This practice is colloquially known as "bothsides-ism" (Phillips 2018: 12). Though it can be used to present all perspectives of a story in order to provide a comprehensive account of what has transpired, more often than not it can lead to false equivalency between ideological contrasts: "establishment journalists, who often lean politically left, feel compelled to include contrarian, conservative perspectives to balance out their liberal politics." (ibid.) At its most extreme forms, "bothsides" framing can "place fringe positions on equal footing as consensus positions", and even legitimise

positions and claims that are factually inaccurate, hateful, or even dangerous to others (ibid.: 13).

3.6 Overview of the Freedom of Press in Finland

In comparison to the media climate in the United States, the Finnish media landscape may seem relatively calm and ideologically neutral at first glance. This can be briefly explained with two notable reasons. Firstly, Finland has a parliamentary system comprised of multiple parties that form the cabinet (Finland.fi), for example the Social Democratic Party, the Green League, the Centre Party, and the Left Alliance. In contrast, the United States operates on a two-party system, democratic and republican, as discussed in section 3.5. Secondly, the level of press freedom in both countries as an effect on the reporting: according to the Reporters without Borders World Press Freedom Index of 2021 (RSF 2021), Finland is ranked number 2, whereas the United States is ranked number 44. In comparison, Saudi Arabia is number 170 on the list. This indicates that the press in Finland is considered to have more freedom in reporting than the press in the United States.

Finland's press freedom stems from early legislation guaranteeing press rights in the Finnish Constitution (Finnish Constitution, 731/1999, Section 12). The press in Finland is monitored by the Council for Mass Media (see section 3.4.), and according to the Union of Journalists in Finland (www.journalistiliitto.fi), there is no censorship of the press, though if "information made public proves to be unlawful", the media in Finland is "subject to retrospective intervention". The Council for Mass Media in Finland can make statements in response to complaints about the press and it is their responsibility to "interpret good professional practice and defend the freedom of speech and publication" (ibid.: The Council for Mass Media, www.jsn.fi).

In addition to press freedom, Finland has a number of publications both in print and online for citizens to receive news from. The internet has also caused a decline in the number of print media distributions in Finland (Nordenstreng et al. 2017: 13) as more and more people use the internet to access news outlets. However, it should be noted that while print distribution has been declining, distribution of online editions of newspapers such as Helsingin Sanomat have been on the rise (Media Audit Finland 2019). While print media has been on a slow decline regarding distribution, it is noteworthy that Finland has been ranked third in the world for newspaper consumption (Jyrkiäinen 2007: 97).

Despite the high level of press freedom and general lack of censorship, Finnish press is not perfect. While the public's trust in media is high in Finland, social media sites and the relative lack of oversight on them has brought on similar issues of "fake news" (Wilson et al. 2020: 226, discussed in section 3.5). Additionally, there have been instances where the media's impartiality has been questioned: for instance, in 2017, Yleisradio (YLE) was criticised by the Council for Mass Media for restricted news regarding investments and business of the then-Prime Minister, Juha Sipilä (Council for Mass Media, resolutions 6398/YLE/16 and 6401/YLE/16). Another publication, Suomen Kuvalehti, also received criticism from the Council for reporting about YLE's suspected restrictions for reporting of the same case and not allowing the editor-in-chief a chance to respond to the allegations in their article (resolutions 6414/AL/16 and 6418/AL/16). Prime Minister Sipilä also received criticism and a statement from the Council regarding the incident (statement 6450/L/17).

This concludes the theory section of the current research. The following section 4 will discuss the research material and methodology of the research, and the research material will be analysed in section 5. Section 6 discusses the results of the analysis, and section 7 concludes the current research.

4 Material and Methods

This section will introduce the research material for the current research and discuss methodology for the analysis (section 5). Section 4.1 will introduce the news outlets the research material has been gathered from, an overview of Case Khashoggi, and the events as covered in international media outlets. This will be followed with a description of the articles selected for analysis. In section 4.2 the methodology of the analysis is discussed more detail.

4.1 Research Material

The research material consists of articles from different news outlets both in Finnish and in English. The English language sources include CNN (Cable News Network), Fox News, and New York Times as the English-language sources. These outlets were selected on account of differences in target audiences: CNN is considered to be a mainstream outlet with 'centrist' to 'centre-left' audiences while the New York Times has a 'mostly liberal', 'left-wing' audience, and Fox News is generally considered to be a 'right-wing' and 'conservative' outlet geared mostly towards a right-leaning audience (Pew Research Center, www.pewresearch.org). As for the Finnish-language sources, the outlets selected for the current research are Helsingin Sanomat, YLE (Yleisradio), and Ilta-Sanomat. Helsingin Sanomat has been selected due to its status as both a national newspaper in Finland and as one of the largest newspapers in the Scandinavian region (Press Reference). YLE was selected due to its ownership: according to YLE's website, 99,98% of YLE is owned by the Republic of Finland (the 0.2% is owned by media companies). YLE mainly operates via radio and television channels, and news in text form are published online. The third Finnish outlet, Ilta-Sanomat, is published by the same media company as Helsingin Sanomat, Sanoma Media Finland. It is the largest tabloid in Finland (Media Audit Finland 2020).

The selected articles deal with the coverage concerning the disappearance and death of Jamal Khashoggi, a Saudi Arabian journalist who was a resident of the United States at the time of his death. Khashoggi was reported missing on October 2nd, 2018 after he entered the Saudi Arabian consulate in Istanbul and did not return. Soon after Khashoggi's disappearance, it was reported by Turkish news sources that he had been killed inside the consulate, though Saudi Arabian officials denied all allegations. Later, on October 20th, the Saudi Arabian government issued a statement that Khashoggi had been killed after a fight ensued within the consulate (AP). On October 25th, reports were published that Saudi Arabia's attorney general stated that the murder was premeditated (Deutsche Welle).

Three topics of the overall coverage have been selected for analysis: 1) Turkey's attorney general releasing a statement about the manner of Khashoggi's death, 2) the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) report determining that the Crown Prince had ordered the murder, and 3) the resurfaced quotation from 2017 by Prince Mohammed bin Salman about using "a bullet" against Khashoggi. All outlets had articles about these three topics, varying in length and specificity. In the interest of clarity, the articles will be collectively referred to as 'Topic 1', 'Topic 2' and 'Topic 3', respectively, and they will be discussed in chronological order based on dates of publishing. Each topic contains 3 articles in English and 3 in Finnish: the total number of articles selected as research material is 18.

4.2 Methodology

In this section, the methodology for my analysis will be described. The analysis consists of two parts: first, the articles will be examined from a news framing perspective to determine what kind of framing methods may have been used based

on the linguistic aspects in the text. Second, methods of contrastive textual analysis will be used to examine the language of the articles, i.e., if there is crosslinguistic influence from English into Finnish or other distinguishable features. The selected articles are not in direct relation with one another, i.e., the Finnish articles are not translations of the English articles.

Despite the importance of images and pictures used in news articles, they will not be analysed in-depth in the framing analysis section. In the case of this study, analysing the text and subtext (sections 2 and 3, respectively) will be sufficient, as the intent is to examine the language rather than the connection of pictures and text and the "whole" they present. The exclusion of image analysis from the current research is done to highlight the importance of the text itself: what kind of wording do the writers use, do they make errors (grammatical or factual), how cohesive is the text and does it conform to the conventions and structures of traditional news texts.

A combination of discourse analysis and framing analysis will be of use in subsections relating to framing analysis: news framing analysis is, as the name would suggest, specific to news texts, and takes into account the writer, organizations, sources and institutions behind the text and brings them under scrutiny alongside the text itself. In news framing analysis, it is equally important to examine who is writing as what is written, as well as how events and people are represented. Among these, framing analysis is used to compare and contrast who is "speaking" in a news text: who is quoted verbatim, who is paraphrased, whose statements etc. are mentioned in passing. In summary, the framing analysis is focused on the subtext (see section 3) within the language of the news texts.

There is no subtext without text, and the elements mentioned above will also be important in the contrastive textual analysis section. Performing a crosslinguistic

comparison of the English and Finnish texts will help to determine whether being compiled from English-origin articles affects the language in Finnish articles. As discussed in the earlier sections regarding the practicalities of news translation (sections 2.2 to 2.4), foreign news articles are often compiled from several sources. The question is, does having several source texts make it easier for grammatical (or even factual) errors to "slip" into the news product, and if such errors do occur, can they be detected from the text?

To avoid repetition of features under inspection, a different aspect of each topic will be examined in separate sections. For Topic 1 (Section 5.1), features under examination are the structure of the articles, sourcing of the information (i.e., if other sources contributed or were used in reporting, such as wire news agencies), and how people are referred to in the text.

The analysis of Topic 2 in Section 5.2 will focus on quotations, both direct and indirect, and how they are presented. This is done by way of analysing what kind of reporting verbs are attributed to each quotation, i.e., if the writer(s) use more neutral verbs such as *said* or *told*, or if they use verbs with more "intent", for instance *insisted* or *demanded*. In addition to the use of words attributed to speech, the goal is to determine if there are significant differences in how many direct and indirect/paraphrased quotations are used between articles and the number of such quotations. To determine this, the quotations will be counted and sorted into categories presented in the next paragraph. The arguably most important part of the quotations, the content, will be looked into as well, to determine if the quotations are used to provide additional information, another perspective, or possibly with the aim of guiding the reader's perception of the topic. A point of interest is also to note what kind of sources are used for quotations: if the sources are government officials, private citizens, or public figures.

Whether the articles seem to consider their sources reliable ties into the verb use as described above, as *how* something is said can be equally important as the *what*. In this regard, the paradigmatic choices made by journalists are important. The appearance of singular reporting verbs such as *insisted* or *claimed* could be considered a stylistic choice, though it could also be considered a paradigmatic one. In other words, changing the verb attached to a quotation could impact the reader's opinion of the speaker's reliability (see for instance Perrin 2013). Below are three variations of the same indirect quotation, number one being the original from the Fox article of Topic 2, while the reporting verb has been changed for sentences two and three:

1) The official **said** the intelligence has been briefed at very senior levels.
2) The official **claimed** the intelligence has been briefed at very senior levels.
3) The official **insisted** the intelligence has been briefed at very senior levels.

All three sentences report the same content, but the tone in which the content is given is different. For an outlet to use *claimed* in a quotation would perhaps signal to a reader that the outlet does not find the statement (or the speaker) to be entirely reliable. *Insisted* has a similar negative connotation. Paradigmatic choices such as these by the article's writer can offer the reader insight into how something was said, thus presenting the interviewee's point of view in a manner that provokes thought on the reader's end of the message. Outlets have the tools such as these to create a specific frame around a reader's interpretation of a narrative from the point of view they select, lending credence to or possibly even undermining a speaker by simply changing a word here or there. To summarize, the difference between a freedom fighter and a rebel is perspective.

Categories used for dividing quotations into groups in section 5.2. are 1) direct, 2) indirect, and 3) combination. 'Direct' refers to a quotation where the speaker is quoted in verbatim, signified by quotation marks. 'Indirect' refers to quotations that are presented as paraphrases or second-hand information, i.e., if a source *said* this or another *told* that, or if something is *according to* a source, but there is an absence of quotation marks that indicates paraphrasing. There can also be a 'combination' of both direct and indirect quotations in the articles: this refers to sentences or paragraphs where the same source is quoted by paraphrasing their statement but with added direct quotations, for instance adding a part of a longer quote or a few words in quotation marks. Mixing quotation styles this way is often seen in news writing and is thus not a rare phenomenon. It is important to note that these combinations have not been added to the total number of quotations: each direct and indirect quotation will be counted as a separate entry, including direct quotations of fewer than five words that have been included in a combination-type quotation. This is done to avoid discrepancies or miscalculations in the overall amount of the quotations. Thus, the 'combination' category will mainly serve as an example of different styles of quotations journalists can utilize. Examples of all these categories can be observed below in Example 1.

Example 1. Quotation categories, Fox News, Topic 2.

Direct	Indirect	Combination
"Absolutely, his royal highness the crown prince has nothing to do with this issue," he [Saudi Foreign Minister Adel al-Jubeir] told reporters.	Separately, a government official told Fox News that the Khashoggi assessment is not a public document, and is not aware of plans to make it public.	The agency's conclusion came as a result of "an understanding of how Saudi Arabia works," rather than a "smoking gun", a U.S. official with knowledge of the situation told The Wall Street Journal.

Finally, in the analysis of Topic 3 (Section 5.3), the specifics of what words are used to describe violent deaths and how they relate to the Criminal Code in the United States

and in Finland, i.e., if the type of offence makes a difference in reporting the crime and if this differs between articles within the research material. All Finnish articles in each topic will also undergo a crosslinguistic comparison and case-by-case comparisons to the English articles will be made according to findings.

To summarize: in order to achieve a comprehensive analysis of the material, the analysis will consist of three case studies, each focusing on a different feature in the articles as described before. Furthermore, dividing the analysis into themes will help in prioritizing quality over quantity.

5 Analysis

In this section, I will present my analysis of the research material. This section is divided into subsections according to topic and presented in a chronological order based on the publishing dates of the articles. Both framing analysis and textual analysis will be given individual sections under each topic to maintain clarity. Each section will begin with a description of the topic for context.

Section 5.1. will include analysis of Topic 1's articles, and the emphasis of the framing analysis is the structure and sourcing of the articles and how persons are referred to in the articles. The research material of section 5.2. is Topic 2, and the framing analysis will focus on quotations. To conclude the analysis, section 5.3. focuses on Topic 3. For Topic 3, the framing analysis will examine how the words used to refer to violent death relate to the Criminal Code in the United States and Finland, and if the type of offence is relevant to word choices used in reporting. An analysis of crosslinguistic influence will also be performed for each topic: Topic 1's crosslinguistic analysis is in section 5.1.2, Topic 2 in section 5.2.2, and Topic 3 in section 5.3.2.

5.1 Topic 1: Statement from Istanbul's Chief Prosecutor

The first topic to be analysed is the statement made by Turkey's chief prosecutor relating to the manner of Khashoggi's death. Early reports of the incident speculated the cause of death and the news articles selected for this analysis report that according to the chief prosecutor of Istanbul Irfan Fidan, Khashoggi was strangled and then dismembered. The articles are all dated 31 October 2018, with the exception of CNN, where the publication date is 1 November. The topic was selected because it demonstrates the differing opinions of how the events may have occurred between Turkish officials and Saudi officials. The focus of the framing analysis is in the

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structure and sourcing of the articles, as well as how persons are referred to in the text.

5.1.1 Framing analysis

Structure and sourcing

This section will begin with an overview of the structure and sourcing found in the English language articles first, followed by the Finnish articles, and conclude with comparing the English and Finnish articles.

Beginning with structural and text type convention considerations, the English articles mostly follow the inverted pyramid structure of a news article (as discussed in section 2.5), delivering new and most recent information at the top of the main text. The New York Times (hereafter NYT) article seems to be more of a narrative kind of article (McKane 2013: 69), though it follows a similar pattern of reporting as the rest of the articles. Differing from traditional print news, online news articles often omit adding a subheading under the main headline in order to direct the reader's attention to main body of text. This is also the case in the articles under scrutiny here: all three articles consist of a headline, lead paragraph and the remaining paragraphs. The lead in all three is written in style of a hard lead, which gives the reader the main information in the article in one short paragraph.

The shortest article of the topic in English is the Fox News article, the length of the text being 342 words. The longest is the NYT article with 941 words excluding image captions. The CNN article is 712 words, also excluding captions. The Fox News article also has no images with the text, while both CNN and NYT have a related image or video right beneath the headline. The NYT has related articles embedded in the text as in-text references instead of the "Read More about X" type of links CNN has

included between paragraphs and in the margins. In-text links to other stories are less obtrusive to the reader and make the structure of the article seem more cohesive.

However, Fox News has omitted links and references to other articles of the same story from the main text of the article and margins. Instead, there is a top five list of currently trending articles in the margin. A brief search of other, off-topic articles in the site reveals that there are several links and "Click here for more news about X" type of links to other articles readers might be interested within text, so whether the omission of these links in the article under examination is the result of fast-paced sharing of news from wire news services or an attempt to dissuade readers from learning more is unclear. The former seems more likely, as Mehmet Guzel and Suzan Fraser of Associated Press (AP) are credited as the reporters for the article instead of Fox News correspondents. In contrast, CNN credits the reporting to its own correspondents, Gul Tuysuz in Istanbul and Laura Smith-Spark in London, and NYT's Istanbul bureau chief Carlotta Gill is cited as the author of their article.

It seems likely that Fox News is sharing the news to their audience without adding their own reporting to it, as evidenced by the lack of any mention of Fox personnel editing the news. As it cannot be verified whether the case is a matter of unedited sharing or edited without credit to the editor, given the expediency of wire news services' reporting, it will be considered a shared article instead of an original piece. The article will not be compared to the corresponding Associated Press article as it was published 1 November, a day after Fox published their article. From a glance, the AP article is longer than the one published by Fox, and it stands to reason that AP staff edited their article prior to publishing it on their website, thus making it nigh impossible to determine what was edited and what was not. The article originating from AP, however, does not explain the lack of links to other relevant or related articles about the topic of Jamal Khashoggi. The prevalent convention appears to be

adding "Click here for more" or "Read more" types of links to the end of original articles, so the absence of them in this article is noteworthy.

The Finnish articles share similar features as their English counterparts. Each follow the traditional structure of the inverted pyramid and the lead is written in the style of a hard lead, though all articles have a subheading. The lengths of all articles are significantly shorter than the English articles: the longest is the Helsingin Sanomat article, which is 329 words in length (headline and subheading included), while YLE and Ilta-Sanomat both are distinctly shorter. The YLE article is 150 words in length, also including headline and subheading. The Ilta-Sanomat article is the shortest, with 68 words, consisting of three one-sentence paragraphs beneath the headline and subheading. The lengths of the articles are an interesting difference in comparison to the English articles, all well above the 300-word mark – Finnish news outlets seem to prefer more concise reporting than their English counterparts, though this could also be explained by structural differences between languages. For instance, Finnish has an abundance of suffixes used to signify different grammatical features and conditions, while English has prepositions and articles to achieve similar effects.

A similarity in structure seems to be in the links to other articles in the same field of interest. All Finnish articles also have provided links to further reading on the topic after the main text. Helsingin Sanomat and YLE also have similar in-text links as the NYT in addition to links after the main body of text. Considering structure and text type, the Finnish articles seem to all follow existing conventions.

In contrast to the English articles, the Finnish news sources have not credited foreign correspondents in their articles. Ilta-Sanomat does not name an author, only referring to the Finnish News Agency STT as a source, suggesting the same case as with Fox News*: the outlet is sharing the news provided to them by the wire. Helsingin Sanomat

names staff writer and former Middle East correspondent Jukka Huusko as the writer, and YLE credits world news and current affairs journalist Saana Uosukainen as the writer. Huusko mentions both Reuters and AFP in his article, suggesting that he has at least had access to Reuters and AFP reporting when writing his article, and he also mentions the publicised statement from Turkey's prosecutor's office as a source. Uosukainen only refers to an interview given to CNN Türk (CNN's Turkish desk) by Istanbul's Chief Public Prosecutor Irfan Fidan and no other sources. The articles all allude to previous reporting towards the end, following the structure of a news article without offering additional information of sources used in the reporting. The omission of directly cited sources to other news agencies (excluding direct and indirect quotations, as in the case with Helsingin Sanomat) may be a result of compiling several sources into one cohesive article, as is the case more often than not in news production. That is not to say that it would not be beneficial to record sources in the story or after the main body of text, but the fact is that if there are several dozen shorter pieces of news compiled to one article, adding a list of references to the end would not serve the news' purpose: being informative and reporting events in a concise and cohesive manner.

After the inspection of these articles, it can be concluded that articles of Topic 1 all follow the text type conventions of news texts structurally, with the moderate exception of the NYT: the inverted pyramid structure, presenting the newest and most important information of the moment first and following with information reported previously (and thus already known to the reader), is apparent in all articles. The length of the articles varied significantly: articles in English were longer than those in Finnish, which may be the result of reporting "others' news", at least in the case of Fox News and the Finnish articles. Therefore, it could be determined that CNN and the NYT had their own reporters as direct sources for reporting, while other outlets under scrutiny here used one or more news agencies as sources. This is the case in most

foreign news reported both in Finland and in the United States, excluding the larger outlets with their own, region-specific correspondents, in which case it is possible to have "original" reporting.

Content

In this section, I will examine how relevant persons are referred to in the articles in English and Finnish news. Findings and their interpretations will be discussed in Section 6. An important aspect to keep in mind when inspecting the Fox News article of Topic 1 is the fact that the article appears to have been the product of AP instead of an original Fox News article. Therefore, treating it as a Fox News original would undermine the purpose of determining if frames created by the outlet can be interpreted from the text. However, this does not exclude it from the research material entirely as it was still published by Fox News, but the fact that it has not been written by Fox correspondents will be taken into account by referring to it as Fox (AP) during the analysis of Topic 1.

The analysis will begin with an inspection of how different persons are referred to in the articles. The CNN article's headline states that the *Turkish chief prosecutor says*. However, in the text the indirect quotation comes from a statement released by the chief prosecutor's office in Istanbul despite the headline indicating that the chief prosecutor himself made the statement. Similarly, Fox (AP) and the NYT both use headlines which give the same impression. All outlets refer to Istanbul's chief prosecutor Irfan Fidan as *Turkish prosecutor* in their headlines, with CNN adding the word *chief* to highlight the position of the person making the statement. Using a simplification of the prosecutor's title from *chief prosecutor of Istanbul* to *Turkish prosecutor* in the headline allows for a clear, concise headline that delivers the lead to the reader, and it allows for the writer to expand on the information later in the main

text without the constraints of a headline. While it is important to point out that the outlets are referring to the statement, it can be understood in general that all statements released from the prosecutor's office are to be taken as statements from the prosecutor himself.

The Finnish articles all have headlines with a similar quotation-type structure, where the source of the information is "quoted" to have said the main lead, which is a feature articles in both languages seem to share. In all the articles, however, the source is referred to differently. Ilta-Sanomat credits the origin of the statement to the Turkish police in their headline. Helsingin Sanomat uses the more factually accurate *Chief prosecutor of Turkey* in their headline and YLE follows a similar line of thought with *Turkish prosecutor*. YLE also omits the Saudi consulate as the venue of the incident from their headline, as well as the more gruesome detail that the body was allegedly dismembered post-mortem while both Ilta-Sanomat and Helsingin Sanomat mention both. The overall theme of the headlines is similar to that of the English articles in that the statement from the prosecutor's office is treated as a statement from the prosecutor. Both Finnish and English headlines can be observed in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Headlines, English and Finnish, Topic 1.

CNN	NYT	Fox (AP)
Khashoggi was strangled and dismembered, Turkish chief prosecutor says	Turkish Prosecutor Says Saudis Strangled Khashoggi	Turkish prosecutor says Saudi writer strangled, dismembered
IS	**HS**	**YLE**
Turkin poliisi: Sauditoimittaja Khashoggi kuristettiin heti mentyään konsulaattiin - paloiteltiin suunnitelman mukaisesti	Turkin pääsyyttäjä: Toimittaja Khashoggi tapettiin kuristamalla, minkä jälkeen hänen ruumiinsa paloiteltiin saudikonsulaatissa	Turkkilainen syyttäjä: Sauditoimittaja Khashoggi kuristettiin ja hänen ruumiinsa hävitettiin heti

Inspecting how the Turkish prosecutor is referred to in the main body of text in the English outlets, all outlets specify that the *Turkish prosecutor* is in fact Istanbul's chief prosecutor within the first two paragraphs of the article. Furthermore, the prosecutor's office is specified as making the statement from which the information is. The statement's origin is referred to with varying terms, ranging from *the prosecutor* to *chief prosecutor on/for/in Istanbul* to *Mr. Fidan*. A compilation of these can be seen in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Labels used to refer to the Turkish chief prosecutor, English, Topic 1.

Label	CNN	NYT	Fox (AP)
Turkish prosecutor		x	x
Turkish chief prosecutor	x		
chief prosecutor of/for/in Istanbul	x	x	
a top Turkish prosecutor			x
a Turkish official			x
chief prosecutor Irfan Fidan's office			x
Irfan Fidan, the chief prosecutor for Istanbul		x	
Mr. Fidan		x	
the prosecutor		x	
chief prosecutor's office	x		
Turkish authorities	x		
the Turks	x		
Istanbul chief prosecutor's office	x		

Similar labels are used to describe Saudi Arabian officials and earlier statements from Turkish officials, i.e., *[T]urkish officials*, *the Saudis*. The Saudi Arabian prosecutor, Saud al-Mujeb, was named in the Fox (AP) and NYT articles, and CNN did not mention either prosecutor by name. The victim of the assassination in question, Jamal Khashoggi, is referred to mostly by his surname only: a total of 17 times between CNN and Fox (AP), and once in the headline by NYT. NYT seems to prefer using titles such as *Mr.* when referring to people in their articles, and *Mr. Khashoggi* is used 14 times in the article. Similarly, the President of Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, is first referred to as *Turkey's*

president, Recep Tayyip Erdo[ğ]an, and then as *Mr. Erdo[ğ]an*. Khashoggi's name is connected to his profession four times in the three articles: twice, he is referred to as *Saudi journalist*, once as *Saudi writer*, once as *a columnist for the Washington Post*. Interestingly, he is also referred to as *Saudi dissident* in the beginning of the NYT article, while both CNN and Fox (AP) use *Saudi journalist*. Prior to his murder in Istanbul, Khashoggi was known for writing articles in which he criticised Prince Mohammed bin Salman, and referring to Khashoggi as a dissident in this context is an interesting choice from the NYT when compared to other outlets under inspection. However, Fox (AP) also uses *a critic of the Saudi royal family* as a descriptor for Khashoggi – in the AP article published 1 November, the same part specifies the crown prince instead of generally referring to the royal family as in the Fox (AP) piece. As there is no access to the original AP wire report, it cannot be verified whether the generalization from *crown prince* to *royal family* was made in the original report or if was edited at Fox. The distribution of labels used to refer to Khashoggi can be seen below, in Table 3.

Table 3. Labels used to refer to Khashoggi, English, Topic 1.

Label	CNN	NYT	Fox (AP)
Saudi writer			x
Saudi journalist	x		x
surname only	x	x	x
columnist		x	
Saudi dissident		x	
critic			x
Mr. Khashoggi		x	
the victim Jamal Khashoggi	x		

Examining the same features in the Finnish articles, similarities can be found in the texts. The main body of text in all the articles specifies that the information is from a written statement as opposed to a verbally given one, and the source of the statement is specified. In the case of Ilta-Sanomat, it is interesting that the headline (headlines presented earlier in Table 1) states that the information is from the Turkish

police, but the police are not referred to at all in the short article. Istanbul's chief prosecutor's office is mentioned once as the source in an indirect quotation, but it also not mentioned again. In contrast, Helsingin Sanomat and YLE both use direct and indirect quotations from the statement and refer to the prosecutor's office either by a variation of *prosecutor's office* ('syyttäjänvirasto') or by some variation of *prosecutor*, such as *Syyttäjä Irfan Fidan* ('Prosecutor Irfan Fidan') and *Turkin pääsyyttäjä* ('Turkey's chief prosecutor'). Helsingin Sanomat uses both the office and the prosecutor himself as a source, while YLE only refers to Fidan instead of his office. The variation between Finnish sources can be seen in Table 4 below.

Table 4. Labels used to refer to the Turkish chief prosecutor, Finnish, Topic 1.

Label	IS	HS	YLE
Turkin pääsyyttäjä		x	
Turkin poliisi	x		
Turkkilainen syyttäjä			x
Istanbulin syyttäjä			x
syyttäjänvirasto		x	
Turkin pääsyyttäjän kanslia	x		
Istanbulin syyttäjänvirasto		x	
syyttäjä			x
Syyttäjä Irfan Fidan			x
Turkin pääsyyttäjä Irfan Fidan		x	

The Saudi Arabian prosecutor is also referred to by name in two of the three articles: Ilta-Sanomat refers to him as *Saudi-Arabian pääsyyttäjä* ('Saudi Arabia's chief prosecutor') while both Helsingin Sanomat and YLE refer to him by name and by station. In the case of Jamal Khashoggi, all Finnish outlets refer to him consistently. Khashoggi is referred to by both his name and profession, either combined, e.g. *[s]auditoimittaja Khashoggi* ('Saudi journalist'), or separate, e.g. *toimittaja* ('journalist'), and he is also referred to by surname alone. Helsingin Sanomat seems to have a similar approach as the NYT when it comes to a more descriptive label: in the first paragraph of the main body of text, he is referred to as *Sauditoimittaja **ja***

toisinajattelija *Jamal Khashoggi*, ('Saudi journalist **and dissident** Jamal Khashoggi').
Attaching *dissident* to the introduction serves as a reminder to the reader that
Khashoggi's criticism of his home country's leaders may have served as a motivation
to his slaying, and it is interesting that Helsingin Sanomat has this in common with the
NYT. Helsingin Sanomat has also added that Khashoggi was an *eager critic* ('kärkäs
arvostelija') of the royal family and of the crown prince in particular at the end of the
article, where older, already known information is placed. While it is technically not a
label used to refer to Khashoggi, it is a descriptor of him and his work, and it can
therefore be considered a point of reference. Aside from these features, there is not
much difference in how the Finnish articles refer to Khashoggi, as can be seen from
Table 5 below.

Table 5. Labels used to refer to Jamal Khashoggi, Finnish, Topic 1.

Label	IS	HS	YLE
Sauditoimittaja Khashoggi	x	x	x
surname only	x	x	x
toimittaja	x	x	x
toisinajattelija		x	
kärkäs arvostelija		x	
kolumnisti		x	

Having examined the articles in both English and Finnish and how each outlet refers
to people, it can be stated that there is surprising similarity between the outlets in this
regard. Or, perhaps this type of cohesion is not at all surprising: it is common to refer
to people by their surnames only after introducing their full name once at the
beginning of the text in news articles in both Finnish and English, whether they are
alive or dead, native or foreign from the perspective of the reporting outlet, as
exemplified in the research material. A cursory examination of the outlets' websites
and glancing through randomly selected articles also further demonstrates that this is
common practice. Adding details into introductions, however, seems to depend on
the source.

To summarize what was examined before, all outlets introduced the Turkish prosecutor (and his office) at least once in the text as a source for the information. The Saudi prosecutor was also mentioned in all articles. Both CNN and Ilta-Sanomat have excluded both prosecutors' names from their articles, only referring to them by profession. In contrast, only Helsingin Sanomat and the NYT added *dissident* to their introduction of Khashoggi, Helsingin Sanomat also adding *eager critic* for emphasis. With this in mind, it can be stated that while the general language when referring to persons is neutral in tone, there are some instances of assigned importance: not naming prosecutors or adding descriptors outside of profession seems to be a matter of providing a point of view to the reader, or perhaps a way to control the narrative around specific persons.

5.1.2 Crosslinguistic influence

This section is dedicated to crosslinguistic comparison of the articles. The object is to identify possible anglicisms or interference from English phrases or structures in the Finnish language texts. As the articles do not have specific source texts, points of interest in language will be compared to the English articles to ascertain possible similarities and/or possible matching phrases.

Working from shortest to longest, the first article under inspection is the Ilta-Sanomat article. As the article is brief (only 68 words), there is also not much that gathers attention. While there are elements in the article that might benefit from review or editing, they seem to be a style issue rather than a linguistic one. There is one instance of phrasing that might have been influenced by English as a source text, which occurs at the end of the first paragraph: the dismemberment of Khashoggi's body, phrased as *paloiteltiin* ('dismembered') in the headline, is written as *leikattiin paloiksi* (lit. 'cut into pieces') in the main body of text. It is not necessarily interference,

per se, but with another, more concise and suitable verb (i.e., *paloiteltiin*) being available, it seems like an oddly graphic choice, so to speak. None of the English articles in Topic 1 have used the phrase *cut into pieces*, all opting to use *dismemberment* instead to describe the events, so direct evidence of crosslinguistic influence cannot be determined. However, the most likely explanation for this is that it is a stylistic choice by the writer, most likely to avoid unnecessary repetition in the text.

Another instance of possible interference follows directly: the dismemberment is described to have been *ennalta suunniteltu*, ('premeditated'). As in the case of the first example, this is not erroneous language, but more of a choice in tone: *premeditated* could have also been translated as *harkittu*, while adding *ennalta* as a predeterminer to the verb alludes to some level of interference. All English sources do use the word *premeditated* (though the Times uses quotation marks around the word), so while it could be interference, it could also be a stylistic choice on the writer's part. Therefore, it can be stated that in the case of Ilta-Sanomat, the results are inconclusive.

The next article of Topic 1, the article published by YLE, appears not to have linguistic features that could be considered interference or impacted by English. The sentences are short, and the language is kept neutral in tone, and structurally it follows the conventions of Finnish. One sentence that catches the eye early in the article is *toimittajan surma oli suunniteltu murha* ('the journalist's killing was a premeditated murder'). The sentence seems repetitive at first, with both *killing* and *murder*, but it is more likely a reference to the varying degrees of violence leading to death in the Finnish Criminal Code instead of a linguistic issue. The Criminal Code and its relation to reporting about violent death will be examined later in Section 5.3.1. The word *premeditated* is also present, also translated as *suunniteltu*, as in the above case with Ilta-Sanomat.

The third and final article of Topic 1 is the Helsingin Sanomat article. It is the longest of the three and stylistically in a more narrative form that the other two. A notable similarity to the other two articles is that Helsingin Sanomat has also opted to use *suunniteltu* in their description of the murder: the exact phrasing is that the killing was done *harkitun suunnitelman mukaisesti*, ('according to a premeditated plan'). Both Fox (AP) and CNN phrase this as *part of a premeditated plan*, which is similar enough that it could be considered an influence. Helsingin Sanomat is also the only Finnish article to use the same quotation all English articles use, taken from the statement made by the prosecutor's office. The quotation and its variation between outlets can be seen below in Example 2 (emphasis added):

Example 2. Quotation 1, Finnish and English, Topic 1.

HS	CNN	NYT	Fox (AP)
"Huolimatta **hyvää tarkoittavista** ponnisteluista totuuden paljastamiseksi mitään konkreettisia tuloksia ei neuvotteluissa saavutettu."	"Despite our **well-intentioned** efforts to reveal the truth, no concrete results have come out of those meetings."	"Despite all our **well-intentioned** efforts to uncover the truth, a concrete outcome was not obtained from the meeting."	[...] discussions with Saudi chief prosecutor Saud al-Mojeb have yielded no "concrete results" despite "**good-willed** efforts" by Turkey to uncover the truth.

When comparing the quotations side-by-side, it can be observed that the Finnish translation of the quote is very similar in sentence structure to ones presented by the Times and CNN. The most obvious similarity between languages is the word *concrete*: it appears to have been directly translated into Finnish – while it is a word commonly used in Finnish, it is a loanword from English, so the influence is evident. Another feature that could be considered as influenced by English is the phrase *hyvää tarkoittavista ponnisteluista*, which is *good-willed* or *well-intentioned efforts* in the English articles. While *hyvää tarkoittava* is not incorrect or a mistranslation by any means, a

more idiomatic translation of *good-willed* could be *vilpitön* ('sincere'). In news texts, direct quotations are recommended to be kept as unaltered as possible (i.e., literal translations, as discussed in section 2.1) to avoid accusations of defamation. Similarly, in academic texts, direct quotations must be unedited, and their source cited, and if edits are made, they must be clearly marked as edits by the writer. While there is some change in word choices in the above examples, it is also clear that none of the outlets have edited the text in a way that would change the meaning.

Considering the tradition of maintaining direct quotations as they are, a conundrum presents itself: if something must remain as close to the original as possible in journalistic translation, does it mean that crosslinguistic influence cannot be avoided? Can a translation of a direct quotation that follows the original close in structure and style be considered an example of interference, or is it a case of keeping to text type conventions? Does this override the principle of idiomatic target texts? Another quotation, this one only found in Helsingin Sanomat and CNN articles and below in Example 3 (emphasis added), may help shed light on the matter.

Example 3. Quotation 2, Finnish and English, Topic 1.

HS	CNN
[...] saudiviranomaiset näyttivät olevan "**lähinnä kiinnostuneita** selvittämään, mitä todisteita Turkilla on **rikoksen tekijöitä** vastaan." [...] "Emme saaneet sellaista **vaikutelmaa**, että he **haluaisivat** aidosti tehdä yhteistyötä tapauksen tutkinnassa," [...]	"The Saudi officials seemed **primarily interested** in finding out what evidence the Turkish authorities had against the **perpetrators**. In other words, we did not get the **impression** that they were **keen on** genuinely cooperating with the investigation," [...]

This quotation is from an anonymous Turkish official instead of the prosecutor or the statement, which means that it is unlikely that there is a written, "original" version of it. While the origin of it differs from the previous example, it is also similar to it in that the structure in the Finnish version is close to the English one. Though Helsingin

Sanomat has used a more paraphrasing style in delivering the quotation, beginning the quotation with a description of the source and using quotation marks to finish the sentence, the similarity is evident. The influence of English in structure is still present in the way the quotation is formatted. As for language, this quotation is more colloquial in style when compared to Example 1, further suggesting that it was received verbally from the source, as opposed to the written statement. This also makes translating it somewhat less complicated: the journalist translating the quotation during the writing process was most likely able to use vocabulary that is more common in the vernacular Finnish than in written Finnish while maintaining the original sentence structure, thus making it seem more idiomatic Finnish than in the earlier example. Aside from the structure, it seems that the quotation does not appear to be influenced by English as much as the example before. The question posed before, whether quotations can have elements of crosslinguistic influence in the word choices and structure or if it is a phenomenon of the text type, remains somewhat unresolved. As for the remainder of the article, there do not appear to be other instances of possible interference.

To summarize the findings of Topic 1, it appears that all three Finnish outlets use variations of the verb *suunnitella* as a translation for *premeditated*, which is present in all English articles as well. It is not an incorrect translation, and it could be considered stylistic choice. In addition, quotations used in the articles raised some questions regarding the prioritization of text type conventions and language. While there were notable connections in the sentence structure from English to Finnish, it seems that specific word choices and phrases and their translations may depend on whether the quotation was from a written source or a verbal one. Thus, it can be stated that while there is some evidence of crosslinguistic influence, it is thus far on the surface level and depends heavily on the overall tone of the language.

5.2 Topic 2: The CIA Report

The second topic under analysis is the CIA report that concluded that the Saudi royal family, or more specifically Prince Mohammed bin Salman, gave the order to eliminate Khashoggi. The articles are dated between 16 and 17 November 2018 by sources, and all state that the CIA's conclusion is based on "available intelligence" (CNN) and not so-called hard evidence.

The focal point of the framing analysis of Topic 2 is how quotations are presented. As stated previously, the categories used for dividing quotations into groups in this section of the analysis are 1) direct, 2) indirect, and 3) combination.

5.2.1 Framing analysis

At the initial read-through of the English articles, it can be observed that all three outlets use a mix of indirect and direct quotations in their reporting. The outlets also combine different quotation styles: one paragraph begins with an indirect quotation and ends with a direct one, or the quotation is split between two, sometimes three paragraphs. Generally, this may be considered as a stylistic choice: journalists vary between direct, indirect (or paraphrased) quotations presumably to keep the main body of text interesting to the reader. In comparison, the Finnish articles on Topic 2 seem to generally consist of indirect quotations with only a few direct ones added in the mix: in all the Finnish articles, there are 3 quotations out of 36 that can be considered as direct, i.e., within quotation marks. In the English articles, 16 out of 76 quotations are direct quotations. The number of quotations between articles will be compared and discussed later in this section.

The difference in the volume of quotations may be determined to be a direct consequence of differences in article lengths, as the English articles' average word

count is approximately 750 words while the Finnish articles average at 288 words. To list the articles from longest to shortest by wordcount, the order for the English articles is NYT (954), CNN (860), and Fox (432). The order for the Finnish articles is YLE (382), Helsingin Sanomat (246), and Ilta-Sanomat (236). As mentioned in section 5.1.1, differences between wordcounts are most likely due to the difference in each language's structure, i.e., suffixes and other features in Finnish versus prepositions, determiners, and others in English. It is therefore a reasonable assumption that wordcount plays a significant role in the number of quotations each source uses: a higher wordcount creates more opportunities for journalists to use quotations and paraphrases to introduce perspectives in their reporting. Headlines of all articles in Topic 2 can be seen below in Table 6. The wordcount of each article is in parentheses after the headline.

Table 6. Headlines and wordcounts, Topic 2.

CNN	NYT	Fox
CIA concludes Saudi crown prince ordered Jamal Khashoggi's death, sources say (860)	C.I.A. Concludes That Saudi Crown Prince Ordered Khashoggi Killed (954)	CIA determines Khashoggi's death was ordered by Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman: report (432)
IS	HS	YLE
WP: CIA uskoo Saudi-Arabian kruununprinssin määränneen toimittaja Jamal Khashoggin murhan (236)	CIA uskoo Saudi-Arabian kruununprinssin määränneen toimittaja Khashoggin murhan (246)	CIA uskoo Saudi-Arabian kruununprinssin antaneen käskyn toimittaja Khashoggin murhaan (382)

Beginning with the English articles and proceeding from shortest to longest, the initial analysis of the material demonstrates that all articles use considerably more indirect quotations than direct ones, and combinations are a relatively regular occurrence. In the Fox article, there are 19 quotations in total, 8 of which are direct. In addition, there are also 5 instances of combined quotations. The second longest article, the CNN article, has a total of 31 quotations, only 9 of which are direct quotations. Of the total 31 quotations, there are 7 instances of combinations. In comparison to the Fox News

article, CNN has almost twice the number of quotations but fewer direct quotations when compared. The NYT, in turn, has the highest wordcount but fewer quotations of any kind (direct/indirect/combination) than CNN, a total of 26 to CNN's 31 quotations. Of the 26 quotations the NYT utilizes, 5 are direct and there are 2 combinations.

Similar to the English articles, quotations in the Finnish articles mostly consist of indirect quotations. The Helsingin Sanomat article contains only indirect quotations (14 total), and nearly the entirety of the article seems to be composed of indirect quotations – there are only two paragraphs without a quotation, one of them being a one-sentence-long statement regarding the whereabouts of Jamal Khashoggi's body: "Khashoggin ruumista ei ole toistaiseksi löydetty." As there are no direct quotations, there are also no instances of combination quotations in the Helsingin Sanomat article. The rest of the Finnish articles follow a similar pattern: Ilta-Sanomat has only two direct quotations of a total of eleven, and YLE only has one of a total number of 11. One of the direct quotations in the Ilta-Sanomat article has been combined with an indirect one, and YLE has combined their isolated incident of a direct quotation with an indirect one. These quotations can be seen below in Example 4 (emphasis added).

Example 4. Instances of combined quotations in Finnish articles, Topic 2.

IS	YLE
Khashoggi oli elänyt viimeksi kuluneen vuoden "**oma-aloitteisesti maanpaossa"** Washingtonissa.	Yhdysvaltain presidentti Donald Trump ei ole halunnut syyttää suoraan kruununprinssiä, mutta perjantaina hän hyväksyi Turkin presidentin Recep Tayyip Erdoganin kanssa yhteisen näkemyksen, että "**mitään tapauksen peittämistä ei pitäisi sallia**".

Regarding Example 4, it should be noted that IS does not specify who the direct quotation is from, though it can be reasonable assumed that it is from Khashoggi, as

he had been reported saying that he "moved to the United States in 'self-exile'"
(Business Insider, 21 November 2018).

As stated previously in section 4.2., the combination quotations have not been
counted into the total number of quotations in order to avoid miscalculation of the
total number of quotations, and the category is mainly established in order to
exemplify the variety of stylistic tools journalists have at their disposal. The
comparison between English and Finnish articles' use of indirect and direct quotations
can also be observed below in Tables 7 (English) and 8 (Finnish). In both tables, n =
number of quotations.

Table 7. Quotation data, English, Topic 2.

CNN	n	NYT	n	Fox	n
Indirect	22	Indirect	21	Indirect	11
Direct	9	Direct	5	Direct	8
Combination	7	Combination	2	Combination	5
Total	31	total	26	Total	19

Table 8. Quotation data, Finnish, Topic 2.

IS	n	HS	n	YLE	n
Indirect	9	Indirect	14	Indirect	10
Direct	2	Direct	0	Direct	1
Combination	1	Combination	0	Combination	1
Total	11	Total	14	Total	11

As speculated before, article length does appear to correlate with the number of
quotations these sources use, but only to an extent: CNN's article is shorter than the
NYT article, but includes more quotations. Fox News, the shortest article of the three,
has only half the quotations the other two sources. The Finnish articles do not have
significant differences in regard to the number of quotations – all are within 5
quotations from one another – but as with CNN and NYT' case, YLE has the longest
article, whereas Helsingin Sanomat has the most quotations, and Ilta-Sanomat has the

same total amount of quotations as YLE, 11. Based on this data, it would be erroneous to categorically state that article length has a significant impact on or correlates with the number of quotations, at least when observing articles of Topic 2. However, the difference between the number of direct and indirect quotations does suggest that news outlets may prefer to paraphrase their interviewees, possibly to present their words or statements from a differing point of view than it may have been originally intended.

As there do not appear to be conclusive results to the question if article length directly correlates with the number of quotations, the point of interest then shifts to variation in reporting verbs in the articles. Simple verbs most often used to indicate communication are *told* and *said* – both in literature as in news texts, they can be considered as the most common verbs used in this context, though in the case of news texts, *reported* and the adverb *according (to)* are also quite common. Throughout the English research material, *said* is the most often used reporting verb: it has been used a total of 26 times throughout the material, from a total of 72 verbs. The distribution of these words throughout the English material can be seen below in Table 9:

Table 9. Compilation of reporting verbs, English articles, Topic 2.

Word/phrase	CNN	NYT	Fox
has concluded	1	1	0
according to	6	3	2
told	6	0	3
said/say/saying	10	12	4
called	1	0	0
denied	2	0	1
declined to	1	1	0
offered	1	0	0
adding	1	0	0
claimed	1	0	1
did not offer	0	0	1
insisted	0	0	1

Word/phrase	CNN	NYT	Fox
tweeted	0	1	1
announced	0	2	1
revealed	0	0	1
made the assessment	0	1	0
has believed	0	1	0
cautioned	0	1	0
suggested	0	1	0
reported	0	1	0
proclaimed	0	1	0
advocated	0	1	0
has pushed	0	1	0

The word *tweeted* was used once by both Fox News and the NYT, while CNN phrases their Twitter quotation as *saying on Twitter* in favour of using the verb *tweeted*. When compared to one another, the outlets seem to use similar language – *said* is the most popular verb, followed by *according (to)* and *told*, which suggests that these outlets may prefer simple verbs to deliver a quotation, be it paraphrased or direct. In comparison, a compilation of reporting verbs used by the Finnish outlets can be seen below in Table 10.

Table 10. Compilation of reporting verbs, Finnish articles, Topic 2.

Word/phrase	IS	HS	YLE
uskoo	0	2	1
kehottanut	1	1	0
kiistänyt/kiisti	1	2	2
määräsi	0	1	0
kertoi	0	2	0
[jonkun] mukaan	6	2	6
puhunut	0	1	0
kerrotaan sanoneen	0	1	0
myöntänyt	0	1	2
sanonut	0	1	1
korostanut	0	1	0
ilmoitti	1	0	1
syytti	1	0	0
todennut	1	0	0
kommentoi	1	0	0
kirjoittaa	0	0	1

Word/phrase	IS	HS	YLE
vakuutti	0	0	1
hyväksyi [kannan]	0	0	1

As can be observed in Table 10, the most common reporting verb in the Finnish articles is *[jonkun] mukaan* ('according to'). This corresponds with the English articles in that it can be considered a neutral verb without paradigmatic allusions regarding credibility (discussed in section 2.1 and below). However, it should be noted that while *mukaan* is the most common reporting verb found in the articles, *myöntänyt* ('admitted'), *kiistänyt* ('denied') and *uskoo* ('believe') have also been used more than once, and several other reporting verbs have also been used at least once throughout the Finnish material. This indicates that while neutrality in tone is preferred, stylistic (or paradigmatic) choices have also been made.

As discussed previously in section 4.2, the paradigmatic choices made by journalists are also to be considered part of the decision-making process regarding word choices. To further look into the concept of paradigmatic choices, it is justified to view the articles in comparison to one another. It is also important to note that while certain paradigms may be present in the English articles, they may be entirely different in the Finnish ones. To determine whether a similar phenomenon with verbs can be observed in Finnish, two quotations were selected from each article for comparison. As the articles all featured one quotation source in common (CIA's report), the rest of the quotations and their sources varied between outlets. As the second example, a quotation was selected that appeared in 5 out of 6 articles.

The first example to be examined is the central story of all the articles: the CIA report's main message of assigning responsibility of the murder to Prince bin Salman. The quotations may be compared below in Example 5, emphasis added.

Example 5. Quotations regarding the CIA report, Topic 2.

CNN	NYT	Fox
The CIA has concluded that Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman **personally ordered the killing** of journalist Jamal Khashoggi, [...]	The Central Intelligence Agency **has concluded** that the Saudi crown prince, Mohammed bin Salman, **ordered the killing** of the journalist Jamal Khashoggi [...]	**The death** of Jamal Khashoggi, the writer and activist who was killed in the Saudi Consulate in Turkey last month, **came at the directive of** Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman (MBS), the CIA **has determined** [...]
IS	**HS**	**YLE**
Yhdysvaltain keskustiedustelupalvelu CIA **on** Washington Post-lehden tietojen mukaan **tullut** tutkimuksissaan **siihen johtopäätökseen**, että Saudi-Arabian kruununprinssi Muhammad bin Salman **määräsi** toimittaja Jamal Khashoggin **murhan**.	Yhdysvaltain tiedustelupalvelu CIA **uskoo**, että Saudi-Arabian kruununprinssi Mohammed bin Salman **määräsi** sauditoimittaja Jamal Khashoggin **murhan**.	Yhdysvaltain keskustiedustelupalvelu CIA **uskoo**, että Saudi-Arabian kruununprinssi Muhammad bin Salman **on antanut käskyn murhata** Sauditoimittaja Jamal Khashoggi [...]

At first glance, it can be observed that in both languages, two out of three articles use similar language when summarizing the topic: in Finnish, YLE and Helsingin Sanomat use the verb *uskoo*, ('to believe'), while Ilta-Sanomat uses the phrase *on tullut (tutkimuksissaan) siihen johtopäätökseen*, ('has come to the conclusion that'). In English, CNN and the NYT opt for *has concluded* while Fox News uses *has determined* as their verb of choice. Of the English ones, both *to conclude* and *to determine* in the past tense have relatively similar connotations and meaning: an outcome has been reached. In Finnish, however, there is a slight shift between *uskoa* and *tulla (siihen) johtopäätökseen*: the latter implies that a conclusion has been reached, while *uskoa* implies the outcome may not necessarily be the whole truth and nothing but the truth – to *believe* something does not have the same gravity as to *conclude* something. The core message remains the same, however, and *uskoa* appears to be a more general option used by Finnish news outlets. In contrast, *tulla siihen johtopäätökseen* may be

closer to the source material (Ilta-Sanomat has based their article on Reuters' article, where *has concluded* has been used), though *siihen* could be viewed as an 'extra' word, if not for the word *tutkimuksissaan* ('in their investigation') separating *tulla* and *johtopäätökseen.*

Ilta-Sanomat and Helsingin Sanomat also use the word pair *määräsi* and *murhan* ('ordered' and 'murder') to describe the report's outcome, which is connotatively a more straightforward and even accusatory way to phrase the issue. However, YLE has opted for *on antanut käskyn* ('has given [an/the] order') as their phrasing of the order to kill Khashoggi. For someone to have *given an order* could indicate towards the status of the person giving the order by emphasising the person's royal status by specifying that they *give orders* as opposed to simply *ordering*. A similar case can be made for the English articles: CNN states that the Prince *personally ordered the killing*, while the NYT removes the adverb *personally* from the equation and Fox News avoids being too similar by phrasing the outcome as *the death of* [Jamal Khashoggi] *came at the directive of* [the Prince]. While it is essentially the same message, as previously in the case of *uskoa* vs. *tulla johtopäätökseen*, Fox News' way of phrasing it has a milder, more neutral tone even, than *personally ordered the killing* that CNN used. It could imply that an attempt has been made to make the report's outcome seem less incendiary than it was for the story as a whole by using more formal language, rather than perhaps hoping to instigate feelings of disapproval or even outrage in the reader.

In example 6 below, more variation between word choices can be seen between articles. Example 6 refers to the Saudi governments shifting narratives of the incident. The NYT did not have an indirect quotation that could have been compared with the other outlets, so it has been excluded from this comparison.

Example 6. Quotations regarding Saudi government's comments, Topic 2.

CNN	NYT	Fox
The Saudi government has **denied** bin Salman's **involvement** in Khashoggi's death.	[n/a]	The revelation comes a day after Foreign Minister Adel al-Jubeir **insisted** that the crown prince **did not play a role** in the Washington Post columnist's death.
IS	**HS**	**YLE**
Näkemys eroaa Saudi-Arabian hallinnon **väitteestä, jonka mukaan** bin Salman ei ollut osallisena **murhassa**.	Saudi-Arabian hallinto on **myöntänyt murhan** tapahtuneen, mutta **sen mukaan** operaatiolla ei ollut mitään tekemistä Saudi-Arabian johdon kanssa.	Saudi-Arabia on **myöntänyt surman**, mutta **kiistänyt** kruununprinssillä olleen mitään tekemistä tapahtumien kanssa.

As can be observed in the example, each outlet uses slightly different word choices when describing the facts. In the Finnish articles, both YLE and Helsingin Sanomat use *myöntänyt* ('admitted') that the murder (*surma* and *murha*, respectively) happened, but according to YLE, the Saudis *deny* ('kiistänyt') the crown prince's involvement. Helsingin Sanomat uses *sen mukaan* ('according to') to attribute the denial to Saudi Arabia's government, which is in a more neutral tone than YLE's choice of *kiistänyt*. Ilta-Sanomat, however, uses the word *väitteestä* ('claim'), which is closer to YLE than to Helsingin Sanomat in regard to tone and connotation: as discussed previously, there is a distinct tonal difference if something is *according to* someone, or if they *deny* or *claim* something. An interesting detail in the Ilta-Sanomat quotation is that the outcome of the report is called *näkemys*, as in 'view' of something. Essentially, Ilta-Sanomat indicates that the report is CIA's view of the incident, which in turn indicates that there are other views, such as Saudi Arabia's claim that the Prince was not involved. Again, this could be considered a stylistic choice, but it does also indicate a level of so-called 'bothsides-ism' on the part of Ilta-Sanomat, which is a cultural feature in especially American media, as discussed previously in section 3.5.

In the English articles that included a quotation of this type, both CNN and Fox News use a stronger verb to indicate the tone and level of severity of the quotation, CNN opting for *denied* and Fox News for *insisted*. CNN, however, switches to more neutral language after *denied*, referring to *involvement* when describing the prince's part in the events. Fox News uses the more figurative and colloquial *did not play a part*, which could be considered a stylistic choice, though it could also be interpreted as an effort to lessen the 'severity' of the topic. *Did not play a role* also brings the prince into a more active participant in the article, even though he was not personally quoted. Fox News also differs from the other articles by naming the Saudi government source for the denial as the Foreign Minister, while other outlets simply refer to the Saudi government. In contrast, Helsingin Sanomat does not name Prince bin Salman in the quotation, referring to both Saudi government and Saudi leadership ('Saudi Arabian johto') as two separate entities: this indicates the 'public secret' that the Prince is, in fact, the de facto ruler of the kingdom and thus the country's 'leadership'.

The last two sentences of YLE's article stand out from the rest. The sentences are a comment on the fact that members of the Saudi Arabian 'hit squad' which was sent to murder Jamal Khashoggi have been arrested and demands for the death penalty have been made. YLE comments on the matter as follows:

> Alaistensa kohtelu voi heikentää Mohammedin asemaa tulevaisuudessa. Jos tappaa käskyjä noudattaneita alaisiaan, voi olla vaikeaa saada seuraavia auttamaan. (YLE, 17 November 2018.)
> [Eng. 'The way his staff is treated may weaken Mohammed's position in the future. If you kill off staff who followed your orders, it might be difficult to get the next ones to help.']

It is unclear whether this comment has been present in whatever source texts YLE's journalists have used when compiling the article. As the general guideline for journalists is to report events in a neutral tone (see section 3.4), it is surprising to see a relatively strong statement from a national media outlet.

Most of the quotations used by the English sources have either been reported by other outlets or they have been received directly from their sources either by verbally or in writing, such as in a press release or statement, but it is important to highlight those taken from social media, in this case Twitter. As discussed in section 2.1., journalists have begun using social media as another source for quotations, and in the case of online articles, a screenshot of the quotation and a link to it may also be provided. In the case of Topic 2, two quotations were received from President Trump's Twitter account, as evidenced by the use of the verb *tweeted*.

Looking more specifically the quotation sources in Topic 2, a number of U.S. politicians are quoted in the articles, but each outlet of Topic 2 has quoted a different source: CNN has included comments from former Vice President (as of 20 Jan 2021) Mike Pence, who stated the U.S. would "hold all of those accountable who are responsible" for the murder; Fox News has quotations from former Treasury Secretary Steve Mnuchin who, like former Vice President Pence, demanded accountability from responsible parties; and the NYT has several quotes from the chairman of the United States House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, Congressman Adam Schiff (D-CA). Quotations from Congressman Schiff are particularly interesting when comparing quotations between these three officials – Schiff also asserts that persons responsible for the murder will be held accountable, but the NYT has also included comments from Schiff that refer to the Saudi-led war in Yemen:

If we truly want to affect Saudi behaviour, it is going to be more important to focus on bringing an end to the campaign in Yemen than these announcements of sanctions on these individuals we are unlikely to be able to reach. (Congressman Schiff via NYT, 16 November 2018, Topic 2.)

By choosing to include comments from Congressman Schiff instead of former President Trump the NYT connects the Khashoggi murder to a larger issue: the Saudi-led war in Yemen has brought on the worst humanitarian crisis in the world, with over 24 million people in need of humanitarian assistance (UNICEF) since the conflict escalated in 2015. Despite numerous condemnations of Saudi Arabia all around the world, Saudi Arabia has shown no signs of withdrawing from Yemen. By linking the murder of Jamal Khashoggi, a journalist, to the catastrophic war in Yemen, it could be interpreted that the NYT uses the murder as "another atrocity" committed by the Saudis. Framing the murder and the Yemen war together further reinforces the framing of Saudi Arabia (and its leadership) as guilty in a greater, global context.

To summarize the framing analysis of Topic 2, the frames of Saudis as the 'villain' or 'bad' previously determined in Topic 1 persist: while there are explicit frames placing blame of the murder onto Prince Mohammed bin Salman, assigning the role of the villain (see section 3.1) to him, the subtle differences in how ordering the murder is phrased add an extra layer of framing. CNN and NYT use *ordered* or *personally ordered*, both of which are straightforward (*personally* even accusatory), while Fox News uses the more diplomatic and formal phrase *came at the directive of*. The *directive of* is certainly less 'active' than *ordered*, creating a distance between the incident and Prince bin Salman. However, the difference of connotation between *determined* and *believes* would almost seem to balance the scales, so to speak. The quotations seem to seem to follow general conventions of news writing by mostly

using *said, according to* or *told*, while more descriptive and 'colourful' expressions have been used in moderation.

5.2.2 Crosslinguistic influence

The crosslinguistic influence present in Topic 2's articles will be analysed by inspecting the Finnish articles to determine whether there are phrases or sentences that appear to have been translated directly from English, or if the structure seems odd in any linguistic capacity, i.e., in terms of grammar. If any instances are found, they will be compared to the English articles if a similar sentence can be found to compare it to. In this section, the articles will be analysed in order determined by article length from longest to shortest: YLE, Helsingin Sanomat, and Ilta-Sanomat.

The first article under inspection is YLE's article. The headline of the article does not have any 'glaring' errors or mistakes in it, though using *murhaan* (the illative form of 'murha' as a noun, VISK §81), seems like an odd choice. A more idiomatic version of the headline might be 'CIA uskoo Saudi-Arabian kruununprinssin antaneen käskyn *murhata* toimittaja Khashoggi', where *murder* is used as a verb (1st infinitive form, VISK §492) instead of a noun. The headlines of the articles can be reviewed in Example 7 below.

Example 7. Headlines of Finnish articles, Topic 2.

IS	HS	YLE
WP: CIA uskoo Saudi-Arabian kruununprinssin määränneen toimittaja Jamal Khashoggin murhan	CIA uskoo Saudi-Arabian kruununprinssin määränneen toimittaja Khashoggin murhan	CIA uskoo Saudi-Arabian kruununprinssin antaneen käskyn toimittaja Khashoggin murhaan

Inspecting the YLE article further, it appears that there are several instances in the article that seem or are either erroneous or reminiscent of English as a source

language. In a paragraph referencing the alleged phone call between Khalid bin Salman and Jamal Khashoggi, the following sentence requires thought: "[...] lähettiläs oli sanonut puhelimessa Khashoggille, että **tämän** pitäisi mennä hakemaan asiakirjoja Istanbulin konsulaatista ja vakuutti, että tämä on turvallista". CNN refers to the same alleged phone call as follows: "[...] a phone call the prince's brother Khalid bin Salman made to Khashoggi, encouraging the journalist to make the trip to the consulate to get the documents, [...]". In the Finnish sentence, the use of the determiner *tämä* twice as a reference to different things bears resemblance to how English uses a mix of pronouns and determiners: '*he* should go get the documents from the consulate and assured him that *this* would be safe'. English uses gendered pronouns such as *he* to distinguish a person from a concept (i.e., the trip) or other persons, while Finnish has *hän*, *se*, and *tämä*, all of which can be attributed to a person. However, in this case, it is notable that *se* of a person is often used in more colloquial contexts (Kotimaisten kielten keskus Kotus, Institute for the Languages of Finland, available at www.kotus.fi). Using *tämä* in the context of the trip, however, seems like unnecessary repetition, when using *se* might have been clearer after already using *tämä* to refer to Khashoggi. They also could have opted for 'sen olevan turvallista' and replace the determiner *tämä* with *se* as a reference to the trip. However, it should be noted that the Kotus guidelines recommend that *tämä* is used for situations when the object of reference (be it a person or a trip) is close within the sentence, while *se* should be used if there are several words or sentences between the object of reference.

YLE's article has a few other odd phrasings in the latter half of the article. After previously using *asiakirjoja* to refer to the documents Khashoggi was in the consulate to retrieve, they later use *asiapapereita*, which, while not factually incorrect, is not as common in Finnish as *asiakirjoja*. The Kotus (Kotimaisten kielten keskus, Institute for the Languages of Finland) dictionary gives the definition of *asiapaperi* as "(yksityinen t. yksityisen hallussa oleva) asiakirja", while *asiakirja* has been defined as

"(määrätarkoitukseen käytettävä) kirjallinen esitys, dokumentti". The legal definition is given as "(todisteena käytettävä) julkisen viranomaisen t. yksityisen kirjallinen lausuma." As *asiakirja* has also been used as a part of the definition for *asiapaperi*, it is a reasonable statement that of the two, *asiakirja* is the recommended option.

In addition to these, there are a few spelling errors in YLE's article: Khashoggi has been spelled 'K[h]ashoggi' twice, and *statement* has been translated into 'kanna[n]otossaan', and there is also 'houkut[t]elemaan' ('lured') in the final paragraphs of the article. This suggests that the proofreading process may have been insufficient, and the spelling errors could be considered a result of a fast-paced reporting process.

Other than the issues mentioned, the YLE article's language is a fairly standard example of its text type. YLE's article of Topic 2 has significantly more instances where there could be crosslinguistic influence than in the Helsingin Sanomat and Ilta-Sanomat articles combined: Helsingin Sanomat has no instances that would require further inspection while Ilta-Sanomat has one (see below). Despite Helsingin Sanomat appearing to have 'passed' the crosslinguistic influence inspection, it is important to note that there are a few instances where Helsingin Sanomat has similar sentences as the YLE article, though they are phrased in a way that seems more like idiomatic Finnish.

Firstly, the matter of the 'safe visit' that was mentioned in regard to the alleged phone call between Khashoggi and Khalid bin Salman. As mentioned above, YLE has phrased it "[...] ja vakuutti, että tämä on turvallista." Helsingin Sanomat phrases the same message as "Suurlähettilään kerrotaan sanoneen, että vierailu olisi turvallinen". By separating the 'safe visit' from the rest of the alleged call's content (i.e., the encouragement to visit the consulate), Helsingin Sanomat does not try and fit all the

information into the same sentence, and can thus elaborate the content more clearly and concisely. Secondly, in addition to how the alleged phone call was reported, the document retrieval was also constructed in a different manner from YLE's article. Where YLE had "josta hän oli tullut noutamaan *asiapapereita uudelleen avioitumistaan varten*", Helsingin Sanomat has "Mies oli hakemassa konsulaatista todistusta avioerosta." The content is the same, but the structure of Helsingin Sanomat's article is more standard in Finnish, not to mention more concise.

The one instance of possible crosslinguistic influence in the Ilta-Sanomat article is the word 'näkökulmakirjoituksiaan', in reference to Khashoggi's work of writing for the Global Opinions section of the Washington Post. The term used for opinions in the Finnish media is *mielipidekirjoitus*, not *näkökulmakirjoitus*. While the meaning is essentially the same, as the writer's objective is to present their point-of-view to the reader, but to phrase it as *näkökulmakirjoitus* is not a word commonly used to describe such text. A Google search of the term *näkökulmakirjoitus* yields approximately 795 results, while *mielipidekirjoitus* yields approximately 355,000 results. Granted, a Finnish news outlet may have an opinion section on their print material or online material labelled 'Näkökulma', but the text type is commonly referred to as *mielipidekirjoitus* nonetheless.

To summarize the findings of the crosslinguistic analysis of Topic 2's articles, it is clear that most of the writing in the Finnish articles follow conventions of the Finnish language, aside from a few isolated issues. However, it is interesting that most of the issues that arose in the articles of Topic 2 were from YLE's article – of all the three outlets, Ilta-Sanomat's language could have been expected to have more anglicisms, given its status as a 'yellow press' (i.e., tabloid) outlet when compared to the other two outlets. While in the articles of Topic 1, the crosslinguistic influence was of the surface-level kind, it appears to be almost coincidental in Topic 2. Thus, in regard to Topic 2,

some indications of crosslinguistic influence can be determined, though the lack of verifiable source texts does not support a conclusive result.

5.3 Topic 3: "Bullet"

The last topic under analysis is the most recent of the three, dated 7 February 2019 by the NYT and 8 February 2019 by the other sources. The topic of the articles is a quotation from Prince Mohammed bin Salman from 2017: according to the sources, the Prince told a top aide that he would use a "bullet" on Khashoggi if the journalist would not return to Saudi Arabia and cease criticising the Saudi government. The sources report that the statement from bin Salman was intercepted by American intelligence agencies, and that it is the most 'detailed' evidence against bin Salman (NYT). The framing analysis of this topic will examine what words are used to describe violent deaths and how they relate to the Criminal Code in the United States and in Finland, i.e., if the type of offence makes a difference in reporting the crime and if this differs between articles within the research material.

It is noteworthy to mention here that whilst beginning to analyse articles of Topic 3, it was discovered that the Ilta-Sanomat and YLE articles bear striking similarity to one another, to the point of being the exact same text. When attempting to ascertain whether an error had been made during initial material gathering, it was determined that both articles have been sourced from the Finnish News Agency STT, which leads into the reasonable hypothesis that both outlets may be using the wire report from STT directly and without noticeable editing. The original wire news article was obtained from STT with the help of STT's managing editor Laura Kolu, and it was verified that the text in both articles has not been edited from STT's original text, apart from minor editing of headlines. In comparison, the Helsingin Sanomat article has no mention of STT as a source, only referring to the original story by the NYT as a source.

As the STT also used the same NYT article as the source for their article as Helsingin Sanomat, and the very same NYT article is also under analysis in the current research, the Finnish articles of Topic 3 are in the relatively unique position of having specific source material available for comparison. Headlines of all articles can be observed below in Table 11.

Table 11. Headlines, English and Finnish, Topic 3.

CNN	NYT	Fox
NYT: Saudi Crown Prince said he would use 'a bullet' on Khashoggi	Years Before Killing, Saudi Prince Told Aide He Would Use 'a Bullet' on Jamal Khashoggi	Saudi crown prince once said Khashoggi could be silenced 'with a bullet', report says
IS	**HS**	**YLE**
NYT:in lähteet: Saudi-Arabian kruunuprinssi suunnitteli "käyttävänsä luotia" toimittaja Khashoggiin vuosi ennen tämän surmaa	The New York Times Khashoggin paloittelusurmasta: Yhdysvaltain tiedustelu nauhoitti Saudi-Arabian kruununprinssin epäillyn murhakäskyn	NYT:in lähteet: Saudi-Arabian kruununprinssi suunnitteli "käyttävänsä luotia" toimittaja Khashoggiin vuosi ennen tämän surmaa

5.3.1 Framing analysis

To conduct a framing analysis of words relating to death, i.e., *murder* or *killing*, first it must be clarified what each word means in the Criminal Codes of different jurisdictions. For the purpose of the current research, only the sections in the Criminal Codes relating to the death of an adult human being caused by another adult human being of no familial relation will be referenced.

In the Criminal Code of Finland (39/1889, translation available at www.finlex.fi), a wrongful death caused by another person can be either *manslaughter* ('tappo'), *murder* ('murha'), or *killing* ('surma'). Of these three, killing is the 'lightest' offence in regard to sentencing while murder is the highest, the sentence being "life imprisonment". How the three levels of offence are separated from one another is by intent and

circumstances: 'killing', for example, is if the death is determined "to be deemed committed under mitigating circumstances", whether the mitigating circumstances are motives or other related circumstances. Murder, however, is an aggravated form of homicide, and has thus been defined more specifically. Legislation regarding manslaughter and killing can be observed below in table 12. Murder in the Criminal Code has been defined later in Table 13.

Table 12. Finnish legislation for homicide, Topic 3.

The Criminal Code of Finland 38/1889, Chapter 21, Section 1 - Manslaughter (578/1995)	The Criminal Code of Finland 38/1889, Chapter 21, Section 3 - Killing (578/1995)
(1) A person who kills another shall be sentenced for manslaughter to imprisonment for a fixed period of at least eight years.	(1) If the manslaughter, in view of the exceptional circumstances of the offence, the motives of the offender or other related circumstances, when assessed as a whole, is to be deemed committed under mitigating circumstances, the offender shall be sentenced for killing to imprisonment for at least four and at most ten years.
(2) An attempt is punishable.	(2) An attempt is punishable.

The Criminal Code of the United States (hereafter U.S. Code) is a different kind of Code because there are differences between 1) legal systems (civil law in Finland and common law in the US) as well as 2) federal and state legislation. To summarize the United States system, murder as a crime is 'separated' into two degrees based on the level of intent: premeditation is always in the first degree, while the second degree is where premeditation or the intent to murder cannot be determined without reasonable doubt.

The less severe types of homicides, i.e., second degree and below (depending on the state), are generally referred to as voluntary or involuntary manslaughter. 'Voluntary' is also known as a 'crime of passion'. This refers to an incident where there was no premeditation or necessarily intent present, but the offender can be determined to

have known their actions would result in the death of another. A manslaughter is 'involuntary' when the offender can reasonably be determined to have either only wanted to cause bodily harm or accidentally caused someone's death without the presence of premeditation or ill intent. As the U.S. Code regarding murder does not, in this form, specify between voluntary or involuntary but only between first and second degree, those definitions have been excluded from the table where murder has been defined. Both Finnish and U.S. Codes regarding murder can be compared below in Table 13 (U.S. Code available at www.law.cornell.edu.)

Table 13. Criminal Codes and Homicide, Finland and United States, Topic 3.

The Criminal Code of Finland 38/1889, Chapter 21, Section 2 - Murder (578/1995)	U.S. Code, Title 18, Chapter 15, section 1111
(1) If the manslaughter is (1) premeditated, (2) committed in a particularly brutal or cruel manner, (3) committed by causing serious danger to the public, or (4) committed by killing a public official on duty maintaining public order or public security, or because of an official action, and the offence is aggravated also when assessed as a whole, the offender shall be sentenced for murder to life imprisonment.	Murder is the unlawful killing of a human being with malice aforethought. Every murder perpetrated by poison, lying in wait, or any other kind of willful, deliberate, malicious, and premeditated killing; or committed in the perpetration of, or attempt to perpetrate, any arson, escape, murder, kidnapping, treason, espionage, sabotage, aggravated sexual abuse or sexual abuse, child abuse, burglary, or robbery; or perpetrated as part of a pattern or practice of assault or torture against a child or children; or perpetrated from a premeditated design unlawfully and maliciously to effect the death of any human being other than him who is killed, is murder in the first degree.
(2) An attempt is punishable.	Any other murder is murder in the second degree.

To connect the different types of offences to the articles in Topic 3, the words referring to death were first counted and gathered into figures. The figures showcase all words that were used in this context, not just terms that are specified in the

Criminal Codes. Below, the data can be observed in Tables 14 (English) and 15 (Finnish).:

Table 14. Words used to describe death, English, Topic 3.

Word	CNN	NYT	Fox
killed/killing	2	15	6
dismembered	1	1	1
murder	7	2	4
death	2	2	2
fate	1	0	0
slaying	0	0	1
strangle	0	1	0
crime	0	2	0
operation	0	1	0

Table 15. Words used to describe death, Finnish, Topic 3.

Words	IS	HS	YLE
murha	4	5	4
surma	2	1	2
tappo/tappaminen	1	0	1
paloittelu	0	1	0
paloittelusurma	0	1	0

As can be seen from the tables, the most often used term in the English articles is *kill* or *killing* or *murder*, depending on the outlet, while in the Finnish articles the most frequent term is *murder*. Other, more descriptive terms such as *dismemberment* ('paloittelusurma') or *slaying* have also been used in the English articles, but sparingly in the Finnish ones, as there is clear emphasis on *murder* throughout the Finnish articles. It seems as though the more descriptive terms are only used to provide either more information about the specifics of the crime, or to provide the reader a more 'colourful' report of events, though these are not mutually exclusive. As is, it cannot be clearly stated whether or not the terms used are for 'decoration' or if they could be related to the Criminal codes of each article's country of origin.

As established, if the dominant word is *murder* in the Finnish articles but only one of the English articles has it as the most common word, it cannot be definitively determined that the choice of words corresponds equally to the Criminal Codes. However, when taking previous topics into consideration, the word *premeditated* is also important to note in this context. As stated in the Criminal Codes before, premeditation is one of the justifications for a tougher sentence when it comes to homicides. In the English articles of Topic 3, the word is included as well in a quotation all three outlets use: The UN Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, Agnès Callamard, stated in the preliminary report of the human rights inquiry into the murder that Khashoggi was "the victim of a brutal and premeditated killing". All three outlets mention Callamard's report and specifically this quotation of it, which reminds the reader that regardless of the descriptive and colourful terms – such as *grisly slaying* in the Fox article and *heinous murder* in the NYT article – it was still a premeditated murder, punishable by imprisonment.

Of the Finnish articles, only Helsingin Sanomat mentions the UN report: "YK:n asettaman tutkimusryhmän johtaja Agnes Callamard kertoi torstaina todisteiden osoittavan, että Saudi-Arabian viranomaiset suunnittelivat Khashoggin murhan". The element of premeditation is present in the YLE and Ilta-Sanomat articles as well, but not as explicitly. In previously analysed articles (for instance section 5.1.2) all articles stated that the murder was premeditated, and as there has been a lot of coverage around the topic in general, the general implication of premeditation is present throughout the research material.

As there is no debate whether the death reported in these articles was accidental or intentional, there is no legal basis for the outlets to not use terms such as murder or manslaughter in their articles. If the events were currently still under investigation, the outlets might not be able to use terms that have a legislative meaning: such as in

other crimes, journalists are required to exercise caution and not use a subject's name if they have not been charged, as discussed preciously in section 3.4. Until their guilt has been proven or the offender has admitted their guilt to a crime, and unless the person involved or the offender is a public figure, they can be named, and with due caution even in those cases. As the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia is a public figure, he has been connected to the case despite the lack of a 'smoking gun', as the outlets under analysis state. Reporting that the Prince has been involved in the murder of Jamal Khashoggi could be basis for a defamation lawsuit, so while each outlet uses terms such as *murder*, *killing* and *crime* and specify that according to intelligence reports, the Prince had mentioned "using a bullet" on Khashoggi, they do not state that the Prince is responsible for the murder, though the implications are certainly there – the murder is heavily implied to have been planned by Saudi "leadership", and as has been established, the Crown Prince is viewed as the true leader of the country. The Topic 3 articles also imply that due to his status as the de facto leader, it would be nigh impossible for a plan such as this to exist without his knowledge. The news outlets' apparent willingness to infer that the Prince is to blame for the murder is interesting; whether it be the inherent 'newsworthiness' of a royal involved in a conspiracy to murder, an underlying agenda to show Saudi-Arabia in a negative light, or a genuine desire to report events to the masses.

While it cannot be categorically determined that the choice of words corresponds with the Criminal Code of the United States or Finland, there is a pattern to be observed. No outlet calls the death "accidental" or "unintended", opting for terms such as *murder* or *slaying* with heavily negative connotations. Combining that with the implication of premeditation that has been present throughout the topics, there does appear to be a distinct intent to frame the incident as an unlawful killing, and there are relatively obvious implications as to who is considered responsible for the killing regardless of the outlet. Therefore the 'traditional' juxtaposition of a victim (Khashoggi) and a villain

(Mohammed bin Salman) can be determined to be a prevalent frame in Topic 3's articles.

5.3.2 Crosslinguistic influence

In this section, the focal point of the analysis is in the language of the Finnish articles. As established before in the beginning of section 5.3, the Ilta-Sanomat and YLE articles are the same text, aside from a few minor differences to their subtitling. Therefore, it would not be beneficial to the current research to analyse them as separate articles: the main text of both articles will be considered one text, referred to as IS/YLE.

Beginning with the headlines, the headlines used by the Finnish outlets can be compared to the original NYT article below in Example 8. As the headlines of YLE and Ilta-Sanomat are the same, they have been combined in the example.

Example 8. Headlines of the NYT article and the Finnish articles, Topic 3.

NYT	IS/YLE	HS
Year Before Killing, Saudi Prince Told Aide He Would Use 'a Bullet' on Jamal Khashoggi	NYT:in lähteet: Saudi-Arabian kruununprinssi suunnitteli "käyttävänsä luotia" toimittaja Khashoggiin vuosi ennen tämän surmaa	The New York Times Khashoggin paloittelusurmasta: Yhdysvaltain tiedustelu nauhoitti Saudi-Arabian kruununprinssin epäillyn murhakäskyn

Observing the headlines side by side, the Finnish headlines have certain features derived from the original text: both reference the source of the story (NYT), that Khashoggi was *killed* ('paloittelusurma' and 'surma'), and that there is an element of premeditation present: *epäillyn murhakäskyn* and *suunnitteli* [...] *vuosi ennen tämän murhaa*. Both imply that the killing was planned, possibly as long as a year before the assassination took place, though Helsingin Sanomat does not specify when the order was given as IS/YLE do. Helsingin Sanomat does not specify the language used in the

quotation itself, but the 'bullet' quotation is used by both NYT and IS/YLE. *Käyttävänsä luotia* cannot be called a particularly fluent translation of 'use a bullet' – to 'use a bullet' makes the weapon itself implicit, which can lead to confusion in readers who may have difficulties in interpreting implicit meanings. Helsingin Sanomat excludes the word *bullet* entirely from the headline and phrases it as *epäilty murhakäsky* ('suspected order to murder'). This phrasing deviates slightly from the original's phrasing but maintains the implicit meaning, resulting in a more fluent translation. Both Finnish texts use *surma* ('killing') to describe the death: as stated previously in section 5.3.1, it is the type of homicide with the lightest punishment in the Finnish Criminal Code, though the element of premeditation present could still make the indictment murder, were this a case presented in Finnish court.

Shifting focus from headlines to the main body of text, the first article to be analysed is the Helsingin Sanomat article. Throughout the article, there are clear indications that the article's writer has had access to the NYT story; there are several instances of translated sections and sentences, though numerous edits have been made to shorten the article and to add other background information. Compared to other articles gathered for the current research, it is clear that mostly one source text has been used when the Helsingin Sanomat article was produced. Examples of these instances can be seen below in Example 9.

Example 9. Compilation of translated sections, NYT and HS, Topic 3.

NYT	HS
In the conversation, Prince Mohammed said that if Mr. Khashoggi could not be enticed back to Saudi Arabia, then he should be returned by force	Kruununprinssi vaatii tallenteella, että Khashoggi houkutellaan tai siepataan takaisin Saudi-Arabiaan
If neither of those methods worked, the crown prince said, then he would go after Mr. Khashoggi "with a bullet"	Ellei tämä onnistu, hän lähtisi "aseen kanssa" (with a bullet) toimittajan perään
Voice and text communications that the N.S.A. routinely intercepted and stored	NSA tallensi hänen salakuunneltuja keskustelujaan rutiininomaisesti

NYT	HS
Mr. Aldakhil spoke to Prince Mohammed about luring Mr. Khashoggi back to Saudi Arabia with the possibility of a job at Al Arabiya	Mohammed bin Salman ja Aldakhil pohtivat myös mahdollisuutta tarjota Khashoggille töitä tv-kanavalla tämän houkuttelemiseksi takaisin Riadiin
"These allegations are categorically false"	"Nämä väitteet ovat täysin perusteettomia"
Mr. Khashoggi had grown too influential [...] Mr. Khashoggi's articles and Twitter posts were tarnishing the crown prince's image as a forward-thinking reformer	Toimittaja Khashoggi on käynyt liian vaikutusvaltaiseksi ja tahraa kruununprinssin mainetta edistyksellisenä monarkkina
"Did not like half-measures"	"Ei pitänyt puolivillaisista ratkaisuista"

The text contains more instances of close-enough matches to the source text that they could be considered translations (see section 2.3), though they have been excluded from Example 9 for the sake of brevity. Notably in the second example sentence, Helsingin Sanomat has added the original phrasing of "with a bullet" to their text in parentheses.

Inspecting these examples more closely, it can be determined that the original text has been adapted and translated into more idiomatic Finnish rather than directly translating some aspects – for instance, *with a bullet* has been translated as *aseen kanssa* as opposed to *käyttää luotia*. Along with that, the last row in the example, the quotation *ei pitänyt puolivillaisista ratkaisuista*, ('did not like half-measures'), is an idiomatic translation of the idiom, which may sometimes be hard-pressed to find in news translation. As such, the article contains very little evidence of crosslinguistic influence. However, the article is not categorically free of it, either.

In a short paragraph, Helsingin Sanomat reports that "Senaatin ulkoasiainvaliokunta asetti lokakuussa 120 päivän määräajan, jonka kuluessa **presidentin on selvitettävä**, kuka oli murhan takana" (emphasis added). The phrase *presidentin on selvitettävä* is somewhat of an odd choice. The context refers to the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee's deadline for when the Trump Administration must disclose their findings

regarding investigations into the murder, not that President Trump should personally find out who is responsible, which is what the immediate implication of the phrasing is. The phrase could be made somewhat clearer if the word *presidentin* were changed to *Trumpin hallinnon*, for example. The change would make the phrasing match the implication, thus making subtext text. However, this sentence does not appear within the original NYT article, so its presence in the Helsingin Sanomat text could be a case of the (trans)editor adding background information to the article.

Shifting focus to the IS/YLE article, as previously established, has been directly sourced from the Finnish News Agency (STT), and contains only a few edits to the original STT piece. All of the edits are present in the headline or subheadings of the articles, and the changes are not substantial enough to warrant further analysis. In the main text, there are a few instances that require a more in-depth look: these instances will be analysed in the following paragraphs. As the phrase *käyttää luotia* has been discussed previously, it will not be re-discussed here, even though it appears in the main text as well.

The main text of the IS/YLE article is relatively short (260 words) and there are few sentences that appear to have some issues with crosslinguistic influence. The first occurrence is in the first half of the article and is about the U.S. intelligence agencies recording bin Salman's communications with his assistant: "Yhdysvaltain tiedusteluviranomaiset **ottivat talteen** prinssin ja hänen avustajansa käymän keskustelun". There is a repetition of a similar sentence in the latter half, where it is mentioned that recording the communications is routine: "[...] viestiliikennettä ja keskusteluja, joita on rutiininomaisesti **otettu talteen** ja varastoitu" (emphasis added in both sentences). In these sentences, the phrase *otettu talteen* is what catches the attention – while *ottaa talteen* is a legitimate phrase in Finnish, it should be noted that when the discussion concerns recordings, the more native verb would be *tallentaa*.

Helsingin Sanomat has used *tallentaa* instead of *ottaa talteen* when discussing the same recorded communications, whether they be text or verbal communications. The IS/YLE article also has *äänitetty* as a reference to the recording, which is optimal when referring to an audio recording. The *äänitetty* communication has also been *siirretty kirjoitettuun muotoon ja analysoitu:* here, they could have used the term *transcription* ('litterointi'), though as a term it is more familiar to those in the translation industry or academia, and thus it is understandable that the (trans)editor does not use professional terms that could potentially alienate the reader when they are conveying a story. Aside from these points of interest, most of the IS/YLE article seems to maintain a good level of standard Finnish throughout the article.

As established with previous topics, there is no distinct pattern with the occurrence of crosslinguistic interference between the Finnish articles of all topics. Some potentially ST influenced formulations can be identified, such as odd phrasing choices and oddly used verbs. Multiple source texts also could affect the quality of language in the final product. Other notable errors in the articles, like misspellings, are most likely due to a lack of sufficient time for proofreading and editing prior to publishing instead of crosslinguistic influence.

6 Discussion

This section summarizes and discusses the research material and the findings of the analysis. The research material was analysed from two perspectives: subtext (framing) and text (linguistic). There were some limitations with the research material related to Topics 1 and 3: firstly, the Fox News article of Topic 1 was, in fact, a wire news article originating from the Associated Press instead of a Fox News original. Due to lack of information regarding possible edits made at the Fox News newsroom, it was decided that the article would not be considered a Fox article in terms of framing, and it was named Fox (AP) in the analysis. A similar case was found with Ilta-Sanomat in Topic 1: the source was given as the Finnish News Agency STT, suggesting that the published text originated from STT. Secondly, in regard to the Finnish articles of Topic 3, another similar case was found: both the YLE and Ilta-Sanomat articles had originated from STT. The original wire news article was obtained from STT and it was determined that the main body of text in both articles remained the same, while some minor edits had been made to the headline and subheading. These edits were minor and did not affect the overall analysis of the articles. The YLE and Ilta-Sanomat articles were considered the same text in regard to the analysis and referred to as YLE/IS. For the sake of clarity, the framing analysis of the material will be examined in section 6.1, and analysis of crosslinguistic influence will be discussed in section 6.2. In section 7, conclusions from the overall research will be presented.

6.1 Framing analysis

To begin with Topic 1, the focal point of the framing analysis was to examine the structures and sourcing (or crediting) of the articles as well as the content. Regarding content, the object of analysis was how the articles referred to persons in the text. In the structure and sourcing section, it was determined that most articles follow the inverted pyramid structure of a news article, discussed with reference to McKane

(2013) and Scammell (2018) in section 2.5. Of the articles, only the NYT had a more narrative method of presenting the news, though information given followed the inverted pyramid structure in general. All articles also provide a source or an author for their text: in the cases of Fox News and Ilta-Sanomat, the sources were given as AP (journalists credited) and STT, respectively. Other articles had credited their own staff as authors of the texts. As for the content section of Topic 1's framing analysis, it was determined that while the overall tone of referencing to people was neutral, there were instances of assigned importance by either providing a name and title or omitting a name entirely. Only referring to someone by their title or position and omitting their name could be a case of the outlet "deciding" the name of this person was not relevant to the overall story, which in turn puts them in an inferior position in comparison to others named in the article.

The time that passed between the publication of Topic 1 articles and Topic 2 articles was just over two weeks. The publication dates of Topic 1 articles are between 31 October and 1 November 2018, while Topic 2 articles were published between 16–17 November 2018. The focal point of Topic 2's framing analysis was how quotations were presented. Points of interest were *who* were quoted, *how* they were quoted (i.e., verbatim or paraphrased), and *what* was said, or the content of the quotations. The results show that while most articles used indirect (paraphrased) quotations, direct quotations (verbatim) were included as well, though it is notable that the Finnish outlets appeared to prefer using indirect quotations – whether this is a stylistic choice or a linguistic one is inconclusive. As discussed in section 2.5, translating quotations may be difficult: Reuters recommends (2014: 372) that direct quotations should be translated idiomatically rather than literally, though they make a mention that comments that could be interpreted as divisive should be translated literally. Paraphrasing is common practice in news writing (Haapanen 2017; Scammell 2018), and it allows a journalist some freedom in presenting the quotation in a specific

manner while quoting in verbatim allows a journalist to create distance between themselves and the quotation's content (Broersma and Graham 2013). In Topic 2, quotations were used relatively liberally: direct and indirect quotations were combined in some instances, most likely to add 'colour' to the text and to provide a paraphrased quotation with verbatim reference points. However, paraphrasing a source and using verbatim quotations could also indicate doubt in the speaker, depending on the way in which paraphrase is constructed.

For Topic 3, the analysis focused on terminology used to refer to death and whether it could relate to the Criminal Codes of both the U.S. and Finland. While the connection between Criminal Codes and reporting was eventually inconclusive, it is clear that throughout the material, the incident has been a homicide. No outlet has called the death an 'accident' and earlier Saudi statements explaining it as such have been regarded as suspicious. The element of premeditation is notably prevalent in the material of Topics 2 and 3 in particular: in both Criminal Codes, 'premeditation' is one factor that constitutes a death 'murder' instead of a crime of lesser severity. Along with premeditation, another factor that justifies the criminal charge of murder is the manner of death – a particularly brutal or gruesome death is considered murder (Finland) and murder in the 1st degree (U.S.). As outlets in both Finnish and English have highlighted the brutality of the killing and specifically mention premeditation, it is clear that regardless of an outlet's overall view, they consider the death to be a severe crime and frame it as such with wording such as *grisly slaying* (Fox) and *heinous murder* (NYT).

When considering the material as a whole in the perspective of framing, it can be determined that the clearest frame constructed in the material is that of good and bad, victim and villain (Van Gorp 200: 85). The outlets consistently create a frame of blame around Saudi Arabia and specifically prince Mohammed bin Salman,

highlighting it by way of mentioning the shifting explanations for the death that Saudis have provided to the alleged statement from the Prince himself about silencing Khashoggi with a "bullet", metaphorically or literally (sections 5.2.1 and 5.3.1). The English outlets include denials of involvement on the Prince's part by including quotations from Saudi officials, but there have been no comments from the Prince included in any of the articles throughout the research material. However, it is important to note the U.S. officials who have been quoted in regard to the crime: within the materials, there are quotations from government officials and unnamed intelligence officials. U.S. officials that have been mentioned or quoted through the material include most notably former President Donald Trump, who has consistently denied the involvement of Prince Mohammed bin Salman and defended Saudi Arabia, calling them a "spectacular ally" [CNN].

Throughout the research material, Khashoggi has been framed as the victim clearly and succinctly. The articles imply that the probable cause for Khashoggi's assassination was his criticism of the royal family and specifically Prince Mohammed bin Salman: with words like *dissident* ('toisinajattelija'), Khashoggi has been assigned the role of an 'underdog' against the seemingly oppressive Saudi regime. Helsingin Sanomat and Fox (AP) also mention Khashoggi's "voluntary" exile to the U.S being due to the criticism of the regime. This again reinforces the frame of Saudi Arabia (and the Prince, by proxy) being the "villain" in the narrative of the incident: thus, the frames determined in Topic 1 persist throughout the material.

6.2 Crosslinguistic influence

In the previous section, the framing analysis of the articles was discussed and summarized. For this section, the discussion will concern the textual analysis and

summarize the findings from the crosslinguistic analysis of the Finnish-language research material.

Overall, throughout the material there were some instances where possible crosslinguistic material was identified: in Topic 1, *premeditation* in regard to the murder was translated as *ennalta suunniteltu* or *suunniteltu* in the Finnish articles – while both translations are correct, the use of *ennalta* as a predeterminer to the verb is either a stylistic choice done to infer long-term planning or possibly a case of interference due to the 'pre' prefix of *premeditation*. Another case that alludes to interference in Topic 1 is how *dismembered* was translated. In the case of Ilta-Sanomat, *dismembered* was first translated as *paloiteltiin* in the headline, which would be the most succinct and idiomatic translation, but in the main body of text, it was *leikattiin paloiksi* (lit. 'cut into pieces'). As the article originated from STT, it could be that there were edits to either the main body of text or the headline on IS' part, but the original article was not obtained so determining this was not possible. Other than these instances, the YLE and Helsingin Sanomat articles had some instances that were deemed inconclusive, as they could either be interference or stylistic choices.

Topic 2's crosslinguistic analysis yielded another set of inconclusive results. Most of the instances of possible interference were determined to be not grammatically incorrect but odd phrasing choices. However, some spelling errors were discovered in the YLE article: it is most likely that the fast-paced work environment (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009: 77) has had an effect on the proofreading process in the text production phase. Other notable results from Topic 2's crosslinguistic analysis is that some wording choices were uncommon in Finnish: for example, YLE's use of *asiapaperi* instead of *asiakirja* is not technically incorrect, but *asiakirja* is the more common term. A similar case appeared in Ilta-Sanomat, where Khashoggi's work as a Global Opinions columnist for the Washington Post was translated as

näkökulmakirjoitus: as determined by a Google search (section 5.2.2), the more common term for opinion texts in Finnish is *mielipidekirjoitus*. Of the three sources, Helsingin Sanomat was determined to be a comparatively 'clean' article: there were similarities between Helsingin Sanomat and YLE's articles, but to HS' credit, the language was idiomatic Finnish and followed the linguistic conventions of Finnish.

The results of Topic 3's analysis are, as with previous articles, inconclusive. Despite the relatively uncommon instance of having a direct source text (NYT' article) to compare the Finnish articles with, there did not appear to be many instances where Finnish could have been affected by English. For Topic 3, the Ilta-Sanomat and YLE articles originated from STT's wire news: the original text was graciously provided by STT for the purposes of the current research, so comparing the articles to the original NYT piece was relatively simple. The Finnish articles were shorter and more concise, with Helsingin Sanomat in particular providing yet another idiomatic translation of several parts of the NYT article, compiled examples of which can be reviewed in Example 9 in section 5.3.2. What stood out in the articles is how they dealt with the phrase *use a bullet*. IS and YLE (referred to as IS/YLE in the analysis) had translated the phrase literally, *käyttää luotia*, while Helsingin Sanomat avoided this by phrasing it as *murhakäskyn* in the headline and *aseen kanssa ("with a bullet")* in the main text. In this case, it can be determined that some level of crosslinguistic influence has taken place in the production of the STT-originated text that IS and YLE published.

Reviewing the results as a whole, while it cannot be categorically stated that there are absolute instances of crosslinguistic influence, mainly due to the lack of available source texts, there are parts in the Finnish material that appear to have been affected by English as a source language. However, without further, more extensive research into the source texts used and reaching out to the journalists behind the stories, it can

be determined that there are implications of crosslinguistic influence within the
Finnish research material.

7 Conclusion

The aim of this study has been to study news articles regarding the death of Jamal Khashoggi and the investigation into the incident in order to determine possible framing devices within the text, and also to examine the language in regard to possible crosslinguistic influence that may occur in production of news texts from one language to another.

While the practicalities of news translation vary between outlets and agencies, one thing has become clear during the course of conducting research: news writing, and news translation by extension, is an industry with unique challenges ranging from time constraints to ideological difficulties. Scholars (Schäffner 2003; Holland 2006; Chen 2011) have discussed the intricacies of news translation in different settings in terms of ideology affecting the news product and how events are presented. In a case like the murder of Jamal Khashoggi, it becomes even more important that journalists report the story accurately, regardless of language (though this can be said for all reporting).

For the current research, the conclusive result was that the framing devices used to provide readers an interpretation of events that transpired after Khashoggi disappeared were those that assigned blame of the incident to Saudi Arabia. The overarching frame is that of Saudi Arabia's guilt, and especially the Crown Prince's. Khashoggi has been framed as the victim due to being an outspoken critic of his homeland's regime, which is, regrettably, not uncommon in a historical sense. There is also a specific mention of the war in Yemen, used to connect the Khashoggi murder to the larger controversy around Saudi actions. The framing in and around the reporting is distinctly ideological: good and bad, victim and villain (Van Gorp 2010).

As the frames were only identified in the scope of the current research, another perspective to consider for further research would be inspecting reporting from the viewpoint of the outlets themselves: why has CNN used this particular phrasing, why have these individuals been quoted instead of these, why has Fox News presented this fact in these words? The ownership and political (and ideological) differences between outlets did not, unfortunately, fit into the scope of the research in this instance, but continued research on the topic would undoubtedly yield interesting results.

As for the crosslinguistic aspect of the research, no conclusive results were obtained. Crosslinguistic influence was most likely present at some of the examined articles, but as there is no definite source material available for comparison, it cannot be categorically stated whether there was interference or not. This is another aspect that could be considered in future studies: field research in news outlets or interviewing journalists, for example, would reveal more about the practical aspects of news translation and working methods of working journalists and news translators, or "journalators".

The current research has been concluded in the previous paragraphs. However, Case Khashoggi remains unresolved in terms of legal ramifications against all involved perpetrators and closure for Khashoggi's family. The following two paragraphs summarize the current situation as of May 2021.

At the Sundance Film festival on January 24, 2020, a documentary about the murder of Jamal Khashoggi called *The Dissident* had its world premiere. In the documentary, a number of Khashoggi's friends, colleagues and acquaintances discuss the events leading up to and after the murder. The documentary also features interviews from Omar Abdulaziz, another Saudi expatriate who, like Khashoggi, has publicly criticised

the regime (i.e., Prince Mohammed bin Salman) and was essentially forced to move to Canada to live in exile for fear of his safety. Among the interviewees is also Khashoggi's fiancée Hatice Cengiz, who waited for Khashoggi outside of the Saudi consulate in Istanbul on October 2, 2018. Cengiz has since adamantly pursued a punishment for the Prince for his part in the crime.

On September 25, 2020, the New York Times reported that eight perpetrators of the murder have been sentenced in Saudi Arabia: five of them originally receiving the death penalty, though the death sentences have since been commuted to imprisonment. The sentences range from 10 to 20 years in prison. On February 25, 2021, the Biden administration's Director of National Intelligence April Haines declassified the CIA report (Topic 2) regarding the crime: in the report, the involvement of the Crown Prince is made clear (Washington Post). On March 2, 2021, The Guardian reported that Reporters without Borders has formally accused Prince Mohammed bin Salman of crimes against humanity in a criminal complaint submitted to a German court, the charges including the detention of 34 journalists and the murder of Jamal Khashoggi.

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