

Narrative (Re)framing by Translating and Quoting Foreign Media: Presidential Impeachment News in South Korea*

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[Abstract]

News articles often quote foreign news to emphasize its truthfulness and neutrality so as to enhance credibility. Decisions on which part of foreign news articles to quote and how to translate them can change the narrative of the news article and audience perception accordingly. Here, quotation is seen as a form of translation as newspapers often quote only a part of foreign press articles. This paper observes how South Korean newspapers quote foreign news just after Korea's Constitutional Court upheld the impeachment of South Korea's President Park Geun-hye in 2017. Previous studies largely centered on issues of sharp divide between newspapers based on their ideology. However, Park's impeachment was supported by major Korean news media and the public. Moreover, despite seemingly straightforward news, her impeachment involves many related issues, rendering it possible to construct different narrative by highlighting certain related issues. Accordingly, despite bipartisan support for the impeachment, each newspaper may still show differences via use of foreign media.

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News articles in five major South Korean newspapers quoting foreign English-language news articles on the impeachment were examined. The results revealed different narrative frameworks in terms of the meaning of the impeachment, South Korea's policy prospects, and reform tasks including eradicating corruption and chaebol reform.

Key Words: Quotation, news translation, ideological orientation, narrative framing, foreign news

1. Introduction

News media often quote foreign news as a means to increase credibility and draw attention, particularly on highly controversial issues so as to influence the audience. By highlighting that foreign media share the same viewpoint, news media steer the audience to believe a certain narrative. Narratives are stories we come to believe and subscribe to in order to shape our judgment and behavior (Baker *Translation*).

The purpose of this study is to explore how quotation of foreign news is used to construct narrative in South Korean news articles. News articles on the impeachment of former President Park, ousted for the first time in South Korean history, will be explored. As an unprecedented case in Korea, the news received much attention both domestically and abroad. She was impeached after the ruling of the Constitutional Court on March 10, 2017 on charges of bribery, dereliction of duty, and violation of the Constitution. According to Korea Gallup (Korea Gallup Daily Opinion No.245), 79% of Koreans supported the impeachment. It was a case where not only the public but also South Korean news media in general showed widespread support for the

result of the ruling. Both conservative and liberal media recognized that her impeachment was inevitable (Yun & Kim “Research”; “Analysis”).

This case merits an in-depth investigation in that despite bipartisan support from major South Korean media outlets, conservative and liberal newspapers’ translating and quoting of foreign media on this subject resulted in activating differing narrative frameworks, as will be shown in this paper. Previous studies have largely focused on issues of sharp confrontation between the political right and left (Kang; Chen; Kim & Cheong; Song “Ideology”). Yet, there has been relatively little research on issues reflecting less of a partisan divide, such as the present case. This study thus delves into how conservative and liberal newspapers translate and quote foreign press, how narratives are constructed according to such translations and quotations, and if different narratives are indeed constructed, what each newspaper’s intentions are behind such narratives.

The texts examined include Korean articles by five South Korean newspapers—the three most circulated conservative and two most circulated liberal ones—based on the circulation records of the Korea Audit Bureau of Circulation. Articles from these newspapers quoting foreign media published in English at the time of the impeachment, between March 10th and 13th in 2017, were gathered and analyzed in comparison with the original English language articles. The analysis will be carried out by aligning Korean quotation contents with their English sources, and investigating how they are framed to activate and construct particular narratives in Korean news articles.

2. Theoretical Background

2.1 Quotation and Translation

The most important function of quotation in news texts is establishing credibility (van Dijk). News articles with high credibility are those in which the journalist is in the field to report what he/she has seen and observed. Yet since it is physically impossible to be in the field for all news, journalists sometimes write based on what others have said or reported, and in this process quotes reputable sources. Bell distinguishes three purposes of direct quotation in news:

First, a quote is valued as a particularly incontrovertible fact because it is the newsmaker's own words...A second function is to distance and disown, to absolve journalist and news outlet from endorsement of what the source said... The third function of direct quotation is to add to the story the flavor of the newsmaker's own words.

(Bell 207-209)

The first function means that what is quoted is said by the newsmaker and thus leaves no room for controversy about the fact that he/she actually said what is reported. This averts the risk of defamation. The second function of distancing from the newsmaker enables one to be free from responsibility for the news content, as the quoted words are those of the newsmaker and not the news reporter. The last function can be regarded as an esthetic one in that quotation adds flavor to the news story by using the particular expressions of the newsmaker.

Van Dijk also deals with similar functions of quotation. In his study of news texts for discourse analysis, he pointed out that quotations or quasi-quotations make news

livelier and “closer to the truth and more reliable than event descriptions by the reporter” (87). He also emphasized that quotation can play a role in protecting reporters against accusations of slander or libel with “the rhetorical illusion of truthfulness” (Tuchman, cited in van Dijk 87).

Quoting foreign news inherently involves translation as it changes the language of foreign news into the vernacular. Newsroom translation shows significant differences from translation as understood in a traditional sense, because of “a complex mixture of summarizing, paraphrasing, transforming, supplementing, reorganizing and recontextualizing procedures” (Van Doorslaer 1047-48). Stetting adopted the term ‘transediting’ to refer to the nature of such journalistic translation where translation and editing is combined to form a fuzzy demarcation. Van Doorslaer explains that translation in a journalistic setting goes beyond the orthodox ST-TT relationship, such as a source text (ST) producing multiple target texts (TTs) or multiple STs leading to one TT (1048-49). However, as Orengo argues, identifying ST-TT relationship can be “at best labyrinthine” (180). Due to the complexity found in newsroom translation, translating only a small portion of the ST is also incorporated into journalistic translation research.

Although there has been much research on quotation in news in general, studies on quotation in newsroom translation have been rather sparse (Song “Quotation”), and have centered on shifts, types of quotation and reporting verbs (Sidiropoulou; Kang; Chen ; Song “Quotation”). Sidiropoulou compared English news items with their Greek transedited texts, and identified some regular shifts such as deleting details and changing the argumentative values of reporting verbs. Kang investigated how quotation is transformed in terms of form and content when CNN.com is translated into Korean. These reconstructed translations of quotation prioritized the context in which such translations were received in the target culture over their

relationship with the source text. Investigating transedited articles in the Taiwanese newspapers, Chen underlined that quotation in news media translation has not been explored in sufficient depth, despite its immense potential for ideological manipulation. Song examined quotation in transedited news in terms of the types of quotation and its dialogic nature. She revealed how quotation can be manipulated in news although it is purported to be employed as a device to build credibility and objectivity.

This study differs from the previous ones which highlight the types of quotation, its characteristics and reporting verbs, as it centers on quotation in terms of its contribution on narrative construction.

2.2 Translation, Ideology and Narrative Framing

Translation is far from merely transferring the content in one language into another. Bassnett and Lefevere (11) point out that “translation, like all (re)writings, is never innocent. There is always a context in which the translation takes place, always a history from which a text emerges and into which a text is transposed.” Schäffner (23) also claims that all translations are ideological since “the choice of a source text and the use to which the subsequent target text is put are determined by the interests, aims, and objectives of social agents.” Here, ideology is defined after Lefevere (16) as a “grillwork of form, convention and belief which orders our actions.” Language choices employed by translators can be strategies to reflect ideologies (Hatim & Mason).

The same phenomena or incidents can be seen differently according to how they are labeled or ordered, contributing to a certain direction of the story. Likewise, the same source text can be transposed into a different story in translation based on the

interests of the various parties engaged in the translation process. A story formed as such is called narrative. Here, “narrative” and “story” are used interchangeably. According to Baker (“Reframing” 151), “narratives are the stories we tell ourselves and others about the world in which we live, and it is our belief in these stories that guides our actions in the real world.”

Translation can be effectively employed to frame narrative. Framing can be referred to as a discursual action that constitutes narrative. From a sociological perspective, frame is a framework which provides meaning to particular phenomena and constructs experience, leading us to understand and name things around us (Goffman 21). However, frame can also be understood as a more active behavior of moving beyond interpretation; Framing processes provide a mechanism through which individuals can ideologically connect with movement goals and become potential participants in movement actions. (Cunningham and Browning 348). Media research often focuses on such dynamic action of frame. Entman (“Clarification”) argues that to frame is “to select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text.” Entman’s well-known example of framing is the comparison between the shooting down of a South Korean Korean Air Lines (KAL) flight by the former Soviet Union in 1983, and that of an Iran Air flight by the US in 1988 (“Clarification”). While the two are both air disasters of civilian planes shot down by militaries, the US media applied the frame of “purposeful attack” to its treatment of the former and “technical accident by mistake” to the latter.

While Entman’s framing concerns discourse in general, Baker (*Translation*) discusses various framing devices applicable to translation. For example, whether the translator chooses *The Handover of Sovereignty* or *The Return to the Motherland* for the 1997 event in Hong Kong (Baker “Reframing”) contributes to constructing a different narrative. The former describes the situation of Hong Kong handed over to

China whereas the latter conveys the message that the motherland is becoming whole again with Hong Kong's return to China. A translator from Hong Kong might prefer the former and one from China the latter. This showcases that disparate narratives can be established according to how a situation is translated. This is therefore an example of frame ambiguity (Baker, *Translation* 107), which is 'the special doubt that arises over the definition of the situation' (Goffman 302). It can also be called labeling, because it gives name to an incident.

Baker (*Translation* 107-32) suggests three other framing devices: temporal and spatial framing, repositioning of participants and selective appropriation. Temporal and spatial framing occurs when a text is selected and put in a temporal and spatial context different from the source text so as to accentuate a certain narrative. Repositioning of participants concerns ways in which the interaction of participants is repositioned through devices such as deixis, dialect, register and various means of self- and other identification. Selective appropriation of textual material involves addition or omission within a text to suppress or accentuate a certain narrative.

Baker ("Reframing" 151-52) argues for the strength of narrative with regard to analyzing translation in that it can account for individual and group attempts that undermine repeated patterns emphasized in norm theory. In other words, looking for dominant behavior in translations can neglect rarer occurrences which do not comply with the dominance, but may yet be significant. In this respect, applying narrative to observe translation can be useful in situations involving a smaller number of instances where repeated patterns are not visible, as is the case of the current study. The limited data size renders the use of narrative framing as appropriate.

3. Research Method

The five newspapers examined in this study are as follows: Chosunilbo (Chosun), JoongAngIlbo(Joongang), Dong-allbo(Dong-a), Hankyoreh, and Kyunghyang Shinmun(Kyunghyang). These are among the top ten in circulation in South Korea according to the Korea Audit Bureau of Circulation. Traditionally, Chosun, Joongang, and Dong-a represent conservative papers, showing favor toward the Park Geun-hye administration, supporting a hawkish stance toward North Korea and deploying anti-missile defense system THAAD in South Korea. Hankyoreh and Kyunghyang represent liberal papers and are anti-Park, which means they argue for engaging North Korea and against THAAD deployment (Kim & Kim; Song “Biased”; Kim).

The method for the study is designed as follows:

First, since the impeachment was announced on March 10th 2017, Korean news articles on the impeachment quoting foreign news between March 10th and March 13th in 2017 were collected. A total of 19 Korean articles with 22691 words were gathered for analysis.

Second, English media articles quoted in the Korean articles were tracked for comparison with the Korean articles. A total of 22 articles were gathered from the following English media: New York Times (NYT), Wall Street Journal, Washington Post, Financial Times, Guardian, CNN, BBC, AP, AFP, and Bloomberg.

Third, the headlines of Korean newspaper articles and the main bodies of their texts were examined to see how quotations were used to activate different narratives. Here, quoting from foreign media articles includes both direct and indirect quotations. As mentioned above, this study focuses on how quotation, as a form of translation, is used for activation and construction of narrative frameworks, rather than on shifts involving quotations, quotation types and reporting verbs.

Table 1 shows the proportion of quotation contents in the Korean newspapers used in the analysis. In each news outlet, at least about 64% of the article contents are quotations.

Table 1. Number of Words Quoting Foreign Media
in the Korean Newspaper Articles

	Chosun	Joong-ang	Dong-a	Hankyo-reh	Kyung-hyang
No. of words in the articles	4,089	3,654	4,923	5,129	4,896
No. of words quoting foreign news	3,131	3,002	3,184	4,903	4,820
Percentage of quotation (%)	76.6	82.2	64.7	95.6	98.5

The following illustrates part of a Korean article with quotation contents highlighted.

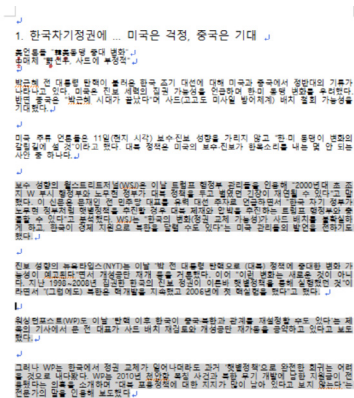


Figure 1. Example of a Korean News Article from Chosun
(“About South Korea’s Next Administration, the US is Worried
and China Hopeful,” March 13, 2017)

4. Results

4.1 Overall Contents

Each Korean newspaper has 3-4 articles addressing the impeachment by quoting foreign media (See appendix). Quoting foreign media highlights the significance of the issue, as well as conveying international views on the news. The overall quotation contents in the five news outlets are summarized in Table 2. Categories with the largest differences in terms of mentions among the newspapers will be analyzed for further comparison. Based on Entman ("Framing toward Clarification"), categories quoted often are deemed framed to make them more significant by repeated occurrences, compared to those with fewer occurrences.

Table 2. Contents of Quotations in Korean News Articles on the Impeachment of Former President Park Geun-hye

	Chosun	Joongang	Dong-a	Hankyoreh	Kyunghyang
1. The meaning of the impeachment (Democracy, opportunity, end of tragic politics)	4	0	1	8	1
2. Assessment of Former President Park ("stunning fall," "princess," etc.)	5	4	2	5	1
3. Background of Former President Park (Her father, entering the presidential Blue House as a child, etc.)	5	2	1	3	1
4. Rationale and the procedure of impeachment	2	2	1	4	2
5. Korea's future prospects	5	6	6	3	2

(The next Korean president, North Korean policy, THAAD anti-missile system, foreign relations)					
6. Korea's decision to impeach its president, ensuing matters (A snap presidential election, Park's loss of presidential immunity, etc.)	4	3	3	4	8
7. Reform tasks including eradicating corruption and chaebol reform (Including prospects for Lee Jae-yong, the acting head of Samsung)	0	1	1	3	5
8. Others (Ramped-up security, the number of mortalities, protests, celebrations, etc.)	1	0	0	0	2

For the overall contents in the main bodies of the articles, Table 2 demonstrates that two categories have the widest variance among the five news outlets: the meaning of the impeachment in Category 1 and reform tasks in Category 7. First, the meaning of the impeachment is mentioned in the bodies of the newspapers with the widest range of occurrence, from non-reference to seven. This element is also dealt with in the headlines of Dong-a and Kyunghyang. Therefore, the meaning of impeachment in Category 1 will be discussed in detail. Second, Table 2 also shows a high variance of Category 7 on eradicating corruption and chaebol reform, from non-reference to five. Reform tasks are furthermore mentioned in the headlines of Dong-a and Kyunghyang. This category thus will also be analyzed in more depth.

Regarding the headlines of the news articles, it is noteworthy how each paper mentions Korea's future relations with the US. Four mention Korea's future prospects, but with varying focus. The conservative ones—Chosun, Joongang and

Dong-a—all say that the US will maintain cooperative ties with Korea's next administration; the liberal Hankyoreh only mentions that the US is paying attention to THAAD deployment. The other liberal paper, Kyunghyang, does not deal with this category in its headlines. Although the occurrences of this category do not range widely in the bodies of the articles as shown in Table 2, different approaches were found between the conservative and liberal media in the headlines. Therefore, the category of Korea's future prospects will be explored in more detail. Examples of headlines in the newspapers concerning Korea's future prospects are as follows:

Chosun

US: "Anticipating Productive Relations with Korea's Next President" (March 11, 2017)

About Korea's Next President, the US is Worried and China Hopeful (March 13, 2017)

Joongang

US: "Respects Korea's Decision, Anticipates Cooperation Whoever the Next President" (March 11, 2017)

Dong-a

The US Department of State: "Whoever the Next President, No Change in US-Korea Relations" ...What Is Trump Administration Really Thinking? (March 10, 2017)

Hankyoreh

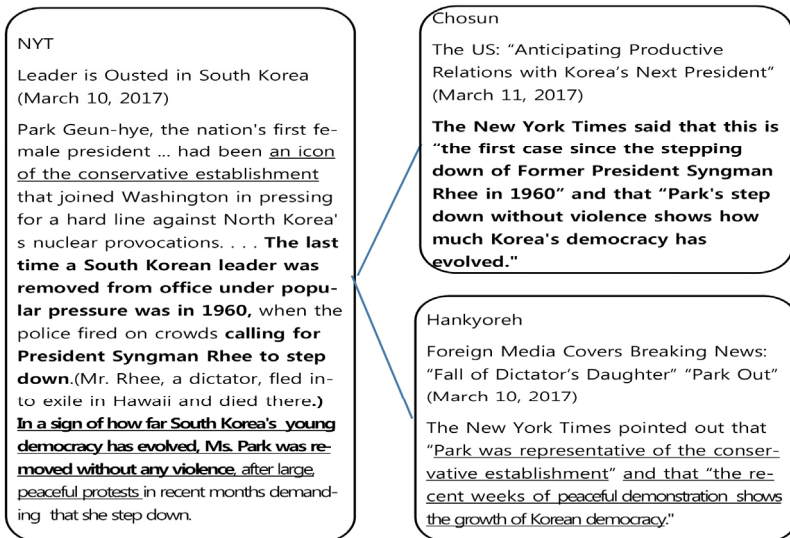
Foreign Media: "Korea Gets Opportunity for Political and Chaebol Reforms" (March 10, 2017)

Accordingly, based on the examination of the contents and headlines in the main bodies, the following categories—Category 1, the meaning of the impeachment; Category 5, Korea's future prospects; and Category 7, reform tasks—will be observed in detail by comparison with English-language foreign articles.

4.2 The Meaning of Impeachment

The first category of the meaning of impeachment, includes quotations such as “the growth of democracy in Korea” and “the end of tragic politics.” Liberal Hankyoreh’s quoting of foreign news was the highest with seven occurrences, followed by conservative Chosun. The others quoted this topic just once or did not mention it. Hankyoreh also mentioned it in two of the headlines. Comparing Korean and English articles reveals how quoting the same parts in the same article can still accentuate different narratives, as in Example 1. The Korean articles are back translated in English.

Example 1



Bold in NYT: quoted in Chosun

Underlined in NYT: quoted in Hankyoreh

The two Korean newspapers both mention growth of Korean democracy by quoting the NYT article, but they put democracy in different contexts. Chosun emphasizes democracy without violence by making a contrast with the case of former President Syngman Rhee which involved violence. On the other hand, Hankyoreh links democracy with the former president's image as representing the conservative establishment. Korea's democracy and conservative establishment are not mentioned side by side in the original NYT article. In the NYT, the expression "an icon of the conservative establishment" appeared in the context of Park pursuing a hard-line North Korean policy. In the Hankyoreh article, the negative assessment of Park and evolution of Korea's democracy was juxtaposed, thus activating the narrative that an icon of the conservative establishment was ousted through peaceful demonstrations. Hankyoreh's text showcases selective appropriation, where a particular part of the English source text is quoted and put in a different context to reframe narrative.

4.3 Korea's Future Prospects

Prospects for changes surrounding Korea, Category 5 from Table 2, include the upcoming presidential election after removal of Park, policy towards North Korea, the THAAD missile-defense system, foreign relations and domestic politics. Conservative Chosun, Joongang, and Dong-a mention this topic five, six and five times respectively. Chosun also mentions this in two of its headlines while Joongang and Dong-a both refer to them once. Liberal Hankyoreh addresses them in one headline, although this is limited to anti-missile deployment, and Kyunghyang does not mention it in its headlines. This reveals the conservative papers' focus on this issue vis-à-vis the liberal ones.

Chosun and Hankyoreh deal with prospects for the missile defense system and

quote the same articles from the NYT (“Ouster of South Korean President Could Return Liberals to Power,” March 10, 2017) and the WP (“After Impeachment, South Korea May Reset Relations with China and North Korea,” March 10, 2017). Yet, in the Chosun article, the concern of the US and the threat posed by the North is much more emphasized than in Hankyoreh as in Example 2.

Example 2

NYT

Ouster of South Korean President Could Return Progressives to Power (March 10, 2017)

The progressives’ presidential hopeful, Moon Jae-in, wants a profound change in the country’s tense relations with North Korea, pushing outreach and dialogue. He also is deeply skeptical of the hawkish stance embraced by the conservatives and South Korea’s most important defender, the United States. Mr. Moon and his progressive partners are especially worried about a new antimissile shield the Americans are installing in South Korea, citing China’s fury over it and warning of a standoff reminiscent of the Cuban Missile Crisis. . . .

That idea is not entirely new. The last time the progressives were in power, from 1998 to 2008, they pushed the so-called Sunshine Policy of promoting aid and exchanges with North Korea . . .

The result was an unprecedented détente on the divided Korean Peninsula. **But the North persisted in its nuclear weapons pursuits, conducting its first nuclear test in 2006.**

Chosun

About South Korea’s Next Korean Administration, the US is *Worried* and China Hopeful (March 13, 2017)

The US is concerned about changes in the Korea-US alliance, ... The NYT said that **“the impeachment of President Park heralds significant changes in Korea’s policy on North Korea”** and mentioned reopening of the Kaesong Industrial Complex. It continued to report that **“such changes are not new. These were carried out in Korea’s progressive government in 1998-2008 through the so-called Sunshine Policy. (Nevertheless) North Korea continued with its nuclear pursuits and conducted its first nuclear test in 2006.”**

Hankyoreh

The US Media Pays Attention to “How to Deploy THAAD,” Presupposing Korean Administration Change (March 10, 2017)

The NYT reported its interview with former Leader of the Democratic Party Moon Jae-in on 11th (March) local time and said “Moon puts emphasis on dialogue with North Korea, and is skeptical of the hawkish stance of Korean conservatives and the US”. It also reported that “the deployment of THAAD can lead to a standoff that is reminiscent of the Cuban missile crisis.” *It thus hinted at the possibility that Korea’s policies may conflict with those of the US if Moon becomes the next president and pursues opposition to THAAD deployment.*

Bold in NYT: quoted in Chosun

Underlined in NYT: quoted in Hankyoreh

Italics in Chosun and Hankyoreh: views of the newspaper revealed

Both the conservative and liberal newspapers forecast changes in South Korea's policy toward the North if Moon Jae-in was elected. As the parts in bold show, Chosun selectively quoted from the English article on North Korea's nuclear tests, thereby reminding readers that North Korea is a threat and thus the US is "worried" (emphasis added). Hankyoreh used the expression "Korea's policies may conflict with those of the US" (emphasis added), which contrasts with concern of the US in Chosun. Quoting parts other than those quoted in Chosun, Hankyoreh claimed that the deployment of THAAD may lead to a standoff such as the Cuban missile crisis, implying that Korea's policies may conflict with those of the US if Moon Jae-in is elected and opposes THAAD deployment. The 1962 Cuban missile crisis lasted for about two years when the former Soviet Union tried to deploy a nuclear missile system in Cuba to deter the US. In short, choosing different parts from the same article, Chosun used the frame of concern regarding policy shift of the Korean government, and Hankyoreh, a standoff between South Korea and the US.

Regarding prospects of domestic changes after the impeachment, Kyunghyang was the only one of the five papers to address this. The liberal paper mentioned the expected dissipation of "North Korea followers frame," often used by Korean conservatives to accuse the dissidents as closet North Korea followers.

Example 3

<p>NYT</p> <p>Leader is Ousted in South Korea (March 10, 2017)</p> <p>Yet Ms. Park's impeachment was also a pushback against <u>"Cold War conservatives" like her father, who seized on Communist threats from North Korea to hide their corruption and silence political opponents</u>, said Kim Dong-choon, a sociologist at Sungkonghoe University in Seoul. Ms. Park's father tortured and executed dissidents, framing them with spying charges. Now, his daughter faces charges that her government blacklisted thousands of <u>unfriendly artists and writers</u>.</p>	<p>Kyunghyang</p> <p>[Impeachment of Park Geun-hye—Response Abroad] NYT: "Korea's Young Democracy Has Evolved" (March 10, 2017)</p> <p>Another legacy of Park Jung-hee, the <u>"North Korea followers frame"</u> concept is also expected fall out of use. Quoting Kim Dong-choon, a professor of Sungkonghoe University, the newspaper (NYT) said "like her father Park Jung-hee, who framed dissidents as pro-North Korea to torture and execute them, Park Geun-hye managed a list of thousands of artists and writers under the <u>"North Korea followers label."</u></p>
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Expressions underlined in the NYT article are labeled as "North Korea followers frame" in the Korean article, a familiar phrase to many Korean readers. The liberal Kyunghyung used the expression in a direct quotation, although it was not mentioned in the source text, to emphasize Park's crackdown on artists and writers critical of the administration. This is an example of labeling to reframe the English article to incorporate the Park administration's repression of dissidents. Likewise, "North Korea followers label" is used in the Korean article to refer to the "thousands of unfriendly artists and writers" in the NYT article. "Unfriendly" artists and writers are changed in the Korean into those who follow the way of the North. The source text is quoted in other Korean newspapers, as seen in Example 1, but only Kyunghyang picked up this part on domestic politics. Examples 2 and 3 on Korea's future policies illustrate that the conservative papers emphasize worrisome prospects after the impeachment, whereas the liberal ones center on the possibility of reversing the THAAD

deployment decisions made during the Park administration as well as changes in domestic politics.

4.4 Reform Tasks Including Eradicating Corruption and Chaebol Reform

This topic was not mentioned in Chosun, but Joongang and Dong-a mentioned it once each. Hankyoreh addressed it four times, and Kyunghyang five times. The latter two liberal papers covered this content frequently with longer texts and details. Example 4 and 5 demonstrate that Dong-a mentioned this category briefly only once, compared to Kyunghyang which addressed it longer with details. Also, Kyunghyang was the only one among the five to quote Bloomberg introducing the reform agenda of Korea in detail. Emphasizing the reforms in liberal Hankyoreh and Kyunghyang is an example of framing by sizing, as argued by Entman (“Framing US Coverage”). In other words, longer text and details is used to underline the need for chaebol reform and corruption eradication.

Example 4

WP

South Korea's Democracy Does the Right Thing—But That Won't Solve All Its Problems (March 11, 2017)

...

At the same time, the whole affair further exposed the seamy collusion between the chaebol conglomerates and political power. Ms. Park was removed from office when the Constitutional Court upheld a parliamentary vote to impeach her for corruption. . . South Korea must clean up this corruption to reestablish trust in government.

Dong-a

WP: Without Bloody Coup...Strength of Korea's Democracy (March 13, 2017)

In the Washington Post editorial entitled "South Korea's democracy does the right thing—but that won't solve all its problems," the paper mentioned that "ousting President Park Guen-hye is a testament that Korea's democracy is young." . . . and assessed that "at a time of extreme duress, Korea managed to achieve a transfer of power under the rule of law." . . . However, the paper said that collusion between chaebol conglomerates and political power was exposed and pointed out that "in order to reestablish trust in government, corruption must be cleaned up..."

Example 5

Bloomberg

South Korea's Economic Woes Will Bedevil Its Next President (March 10, 2017)

South Korean President Park Geun-hye's successor will inherit a struggling economy that faces heightened risks from China and the US, its biggest trading partners, as well as record household debt. . . Korea's millennials refer to their country as "hell," and the main reason is an unemployment rate . . .

Opposition candidate Lee Jae-myung, for example, pledged to offer 1 million won (\$865) in vouchers a year to all Koreans between the ages of 19 and 29.

...

Corporate Governance

...

Household debt

Kyunghyang

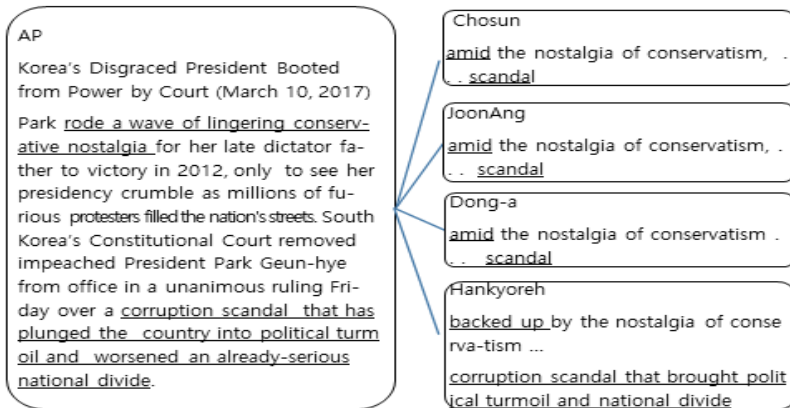
[Impeachment of Park] CNN: "Park Out", Asahi Issues Extra Edition . . . Other Foreign Media Cover It as Breaking News (March 10, 2017)

Bloomberg reported on the shadow of the Korean economy, saying that economic problems will become a headache, no matter who the new president will be. . . High unemployment rates are also pointed out. The paper said that young people call South Korea "hell," and that the presidential candidates should provide a solution for the unemployment rates. It introduced Lee Jae-myung, a presidential candidate, who suggested a plan to give basic income to all Koreans aged between 19 and 29. Bloomberg also said that the next government needs to resolve inappropriateness between the chaebol and the government, reform the chaebol, and ease the household debt problem.

4.5 Others

Differences between the Korean newspapers were also found in contents other than the three categories above. Example 5 is a comparison on the third category of Table 2, the background of Park, between the three conservative papers and the liberal Hankyoreh. Kyunghyang did not refer to this part.

Example 6



The underlined “rode a wave of lingering conservative nostalgia” in AP was expressed in the three conservative papers as “amid the nostalgia of conservatism” whereas in liberal Hankyoreh, as “backed up by the nostalgia of conservatism.” “Backed up” is a stronger expression than “amid” emphasizing her background as being supported by the conservatives and not strong enough by herself. In addition, the former three newspapers just wrote “scandal” from the longer original text “a corruption scandal that has plunged the country into political turmoil and worsened an already-serious national divide,” compared with Hankyoreh’s “corruption scandal

that brought political turmoil and national divide,” translating the English text into a much longer one than the other three. As a result, Hankyoreh stressed the negative assessment of Park and her corruption scandals as the cause of impeachment.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

Former President Park’s impeachment news involved many related topics despite a seemingly straightforward story. Among them, three stood out as showing a wide difference between the five newspapers: the meaning of the impeachment, future prospects of Korea’s policies, and reform tasks.

For the first category of the meaning of impeachment, conservative Chosun and liberal Hankyoreh frequently mentioned it, while the others quoted it only once or not at all. Chosun and Hankyoreh, respectively representing Korea’s conservative and liberal papers, activated different narratives, albeit quoting the same English source. Both underlined growth of Korea’s democracy, but the former stressed non-violence and the latter focused on the ouster of Park as an icon of the conservative establishment.

The second category, Korea’s future prospects, is quoted several times in all the five newspapers, but the conservative papers stressed changes in North Korean policy and Korea-US relations, while liberal ones underlined possible shifts in THAAD deployment policy. This indicates that the former gives weight to Korea-US relations and policy on North Korea vis-à-vis the latter. A headline in a Chosun article (March 13, 2017) even expressed that the US is “worried” about the next South Korean administration, citing a NYT article (March 10, 2017). The liberal papers’ mentioning of possible change in South Korea’s THAAD policy implies reconsidering the

THAAD system altogether, moving away from the previous approach of joining Washington in its hard-line policy towards the North.

The last category, economic reform tasks of eradicating corruption and chaebol reform, was mentioned in the liberal papers four and five times each, underscoring the need for reforms. The topic was addressed only twice among the conservative papers. These papers did not construct any narrative with this topic, but the liberal ones centered on this content with higher frequency and longer and more detailed texts.

Based on the above analysis, the conservative papers' narrative is that the former president was ousted without violence, demonstrating the development of South Korea's democracy; however, the future security of Korea is rather precarious since the next administration is likely to pursue an engagement policy towards the North, which is also worrisome from the perspective of the US. The liberal papers' narrative is that the impeachment of the former president is a meaningful development of Korea's young democracy in that Park was an icon of the conservative establishment which had been a dominant force for quite a long time; Korea can now push ahead with the reforms it needs, particularly chaebol reform and severing collusive links between politicians and conglomerates, as well as changes in domestic politics.

Among the three distinguished differences, two categories, prospects for South Korea's policy shift and reform tasks, both concern the future of Korea after the impeachment. Yet they differ in that the former emphasizes "concern" over the inevitable changes to occur, and the latter on the "reforms" as an imperative process. Accordingly, more pro-Park Chosun, Joongang, and Dong-a, concerned by the unavoidable changes, used moderate expressions when quoting assessment of Park in the foreign media. Hankyoreh and Kyunghyang, with their reform agenda, underscored the development of Korea's democracy and the end of tragic politics

vis-à-vis the conservative sources.

The five news outlets' narratives vary slightly from each other. Although all the three conservative papers often address uncertainties about Korea's future policies, with far less focus on South Korea's chaebol reform and eradicating corruption, Dong-a revealed a difference from the other two conservative papers by quoting reform tasks with longer and more detailed text. Also, while both the two liberal papers frequently quoted foreign news on the reforms South Korea should carry out, only Hankyoreh heavily mentioned the evolution of South Korea's democracy; Kyunghyang underscored changes in domestic politics. Kyunghyang's mention of the expected end of the "North Korea followers frame" can be seen in this context.

Quoting English-language foreign news sources helps garner credibility with internationally famed media outlets. The Korean newspapers quoted different foreign media (Example 4 and 5), different parts in the same articles (Examples 1, 2 and 3), and the same parts in the same articles (Examples 1 and 6). Each news media source selectively chose parts from foreign media to align with its ideological orientation.

The analysis reveals that selection and salience (Entman "Clarification") was used for narrative framing; only certain topics from the English-language foreign sources were repeatedly selected, translated and quoted for salience. The prevalent framing device was selective appropriation, quoting only parts from the foreign media. Other devices used includes labeling of giving names to certain behavior such as "North Korea followers frame."

We have thus seen that each news media activates different narrative frameworks regarding the impeachment news although the impeachment was supported by all of these news media outlets (Yun & Kim "Research"; "Analysis") as well as the South Korean public. Quotations give the impression that what is conveyed is true and reliable, inducing sympathy with the overall direction of the article. In this respect,

which media sources to choose and how to translate them is highly relevant to secure justification of the news article as well as to steering the response of the audience. Numerous choices can be made based on one's editorial intention, preference, coincidence or even mistake. Whatever the basis, the result can strengthen and activate a particular frame. In this respect, quoting—a translation choice—clearly involves narrative framing. It therefore calls for a multi-dimensional reflection on the power of translation in news articles. As Baker ("ReframingConflict" 156) argues, framing is directly and closely related to how we construct narrative from the text we read and the larger narrative in which the text is embedded.

While previous studies largely centered on issues of partisan divide, this study delved into an issue of bipartisan support by major news outlets. The seemingly straightforward news of delivering the impeachment decision right after South Korea's Constitutional Court ruling included many related topics, from which each newspaper quoted those related to their own particular editorial stance. As discussed in the introduction, quoting foreign news is no "innocent" job. Quoting is purported to be employed to build credibility and objectivity, but can easily be subject to abuse or manipulation by the communicators. At first glance, the Korean articles quoting foreign media seem to have similar content regarding the impeachment. Yet, a closer look revealed that they activate different narrative frameworks via the use of quotations.

The present study has its limitations in that the data size is small with a limited number of articles. This study also failed to observe quotations from Japanese and Chinese media, which, as neighboring countries, also appeared frequently in South Korean news on the impeachment. In future research, foreign news articles from other languages should be observed for fuller and deeper analysis.

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국문초록

외신 인용을 통한 내러티브 리프레이밍 -대통령 탄핵을 중심으로

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신문 기사에서는 종종 외신을 인용함으로써 중립성과 진실성을 확보하여 독자에 대한 신뢰성을 높이려 한다. 외신의 어떤 부분을 선택해서 인용하느냐에 따라 다른 내러티브가 구성될 수 있으며 특정 방향으로 독자의 반응을 유도할 수 있다. 외신 인용은 다른 언어로 쓰인 내용을 해당 언어로 바꾼다는 점에서 외신 기사 모두를 번역하지 않더라도 번역 과정이 내재된다. 본고는 2017년 박근혜 전 대통령의 탄핵 직후 각 신문에서 인용한 외신을 중심으로 어떻게 내러티브가 구성되는지 고찰한다. 기존 연구에서는 보수와 진보 신문 간 대립이 뚜렷한 사안을 중심으로 주로 논의가 이루어졌는데, 대체로 합의가 있는 사안이라도 미묘한 차이가 발생할 수 있다. 이에 따라 본고는 한국 갤럽 조사 결과 응답자들이 대체로 찬성하였고 국내 주요 신문 역시 탄핵이 불가피함을 인정한 박 대통령의 탄핵을 중심으로 국민과 언론의 지지가 있는 경우에 대해 각 신문의 외신인용 및 이를 통한 내러티브 구성을 살펴보았다. 박 전 대통령의 탄핵은 여러 관련 사안이 맞물린 사건으로 다양한 요인이 내러티브 구성에서 부각될 수 있는 바, 국내 5개 신문사의 영어 외신 인용을 고찰한 결과 각 신문사는 탄핵의 의미, 향후 한국의 정책 전망 및 개혁 과제에서 서로 다른 내러티브를 구성하였다.

주제어: 인용, 뉴스 번역, 이데올로기적 성향, 내러티브 프레임, 외신 번역

Appendix

News Articles Used in the Study

Chosun

1. Foreign Media Covers Park's Impeachment News, AP: "The Stunning Fall of Korea's First Female President" (March 10, 2017)
2. US: "Anticipating Productive Relations with Korea's Next President" (March 11, 2017)
3. Foreign Media Covers the Breaking News . . . Japan Broadcasts Live Korea's Constitutional Court Ruling (March 10, 2017)
4. About South Korea's Next Administration, the US is Worried and China Hopeful (March 13, 2017)

Joongang

1. US: "Respects Korea's Decision, Anticipates Cooperation Whoever the Next President" (March 11, 2017)
2. [Impeachment of President] CNN "Uncertainty in Korea's Economy Resolved, Short-Term Growth Expected" (March 11, 2017)
3. Foreign Media Covers News on Former President Park Geun-hye's Impeachment: "Park OUT" (March 10, 2017)
4. [Response by Foreign Media] Nikkei, "With Presidency Vacant, Korea has the World Against it" (March 10, 2017)

Dong-a

1. "The Daughter Who Won Amid the Nostalgia for Her Late Father Park Jung-hee Faces a Stunning Fall Due to Scandal" (March 11, 2017)

2. CNN, “PARK OUT” … “Park Impeachment Upheld” Global Shame (March 10, 2017)
3. The US Department of State: “Whoever the Next President, No Change in US-Korea Relations” …What is Trump Administration Really Thinking? (March 10, 2017)
4. WP: “Without Bloody Coup … Strength of Korea’s Democracy” (March 13, 2017)

Hankyoreh

1. Foreign Media Covers Breaking News “Fall of Dictator’s Daughter” “Park Out” (March 10, 2017)
2. Foreign Media, Covers Breaking News on Impeachment of Park Geun-Hye … “End of Tragic Politics” (March 10, 2017)
3. US Media Pays Attention to ‘How to Deploy THAAD,’ Presupposing Korea’s Administration Change (March 12, 2017)
4. Foreign Media: “Korea Earns Opportunity for Political and Chaebol Reforms” (March 10, 2017)

Kyunghyang

1. [Impeachment of Park Geun-hye] CNN: Park Out, Park Out”, Asahi Issues Extra Edition . . . Other Foreign Media Cover It as Breaking News (March 10, 2017)
2. [Impeachment of Park Geun-hye—Response Abroad] NYT: “Korea’s Young Democracy Has Evolved” (March 10, 2017)
3. Park Geun-hye Impeachment News Attracts Attention Around the World (March 10, 2017)

New York Times

1. Leader Is Ousted in South Korea (March 10, 2017)
2. Korean Ouster Could Herald a Shift in Ties (March 10, 2017)
3. The Tumult in South Korea (March 12, 2017)

Wall Street Journal

1. South Korean President Park Geun-hye Ousted from Office (March 10, 2017)
2. South Korean President Park Geun-hye's Ouster to Trigger Shift on US Policy (March 10, 2017)
3. South Korea's Next President (March 11, 2017)

Washington Post

1. South Korean President Impeached from Office over Corruption Scandal (March 10, 2017)
2. After Impeachment, South Korea May Reset Relations with China and North Korea (March 10, 2017)
3. South Korea's Democracy Does the Right Thing — But That Won't Solve All Its Problems (March 11, 2017)

CNN

1. Park Out (March 10, 2017)
2. Ousting the President Won't Fix the Economy (March 10, 2017)
3. Park Geun-hye: Downfall of South Korea's Political Princess (March 10, 2017)
4. Court Upholds Park Geun-hye's Impeachment (March 10, 2017)

BBC

1. South Korea Impeachment: What Happens Next? (March 10, 2017)

AFP

1. South Korea's Long Time "Princess" Falls from Office (March 10, 2017)
2. Impeached South Korea President: What Park Geun-hye Did Wrong? (March 10, 2017)

AP

1. Korea's Disgraced President Booted from Power by Court (March 10, 2017)

Guardian

1. South Korean President Park Geun-hye Forced From Office by Constitutional Court (March 10, 2017)
2. Park Geun-hye Impeachment: What Next for South Korea? (March 10, 2017)

Financial Times

1. South Korean President Park Geun-hye Impeached (March 10, 2017)
2. South Korea's Democracy Shines through in a Crisis (March 13, 2017)

Bloomberg

- South Korea's Economic Woes Will Bedevil Its Next President (March 10, 2017)

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