

## **Abstract**

This study investigates how controversial statements uttered by Donald Trump are translated into Norwegian by Norwegian news media. President Trump is known for his controversial statements (also recognized as ‘Trumpisms’), and the main focus of the analysis of this thesis is to discover whether journalists from several online newspapers increase, keep, or decrease controversiality of Trump’s statements by the way they choose to present them. This study also provides a small-scale analysis of some newspapers’ and newsreaders’ attitudes toward Trump, and explores possible relations between these attitudes and the actual translations.



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### **Appendix A: Relevance for teaching profession**



# 1 Introduction

Translations can, according to Andrew Chesterman and Jenny Williams (2009), “influence the way whole societies evolve, how religions spread”, and “have a huge influence on how one culture perceives another, and hence on intercultural relations in general” (p. 55). Especially pertinent is translation of text or speeches of powerful foreign politicians, often published in news media. It is through news media we tend to get our information about political events. Christina Schäffner (2008) emphasizes that “translation plays an essential role in international political communication” (p. 22), but translation processes are often invisible to its audience (Schäffner 2008, p. 5). Translation in news media undergoes a recontextualization process, which involves transformations such as deleting, adding, and selecting information (Kang 2007, p. 221; Schäffner 2008, p. 12). The way the translation is performed can have significant consequences in terms of how other people perceive politicians.

One powerful politician who can easily get lost in translation is US president Donald Trump. Several journalists and other commentators have described the president’s way of speaking as unpolitical and messy, with a limited vocabulary, and broken syntax (Hills 2017; Zaretsky 2017). Murphy (2017) argues it is challenging to translate Trump because of his “super-short sentences, repetition of phrases, broken syntax, limited vocabulary, throwaway words, sentence fragments, and sarcasm” (n.p.), and jumping from one topic to another and starting sentences with no clear indication where they are going (Murphy 2017). Murphy (2017) also emphasizes Trump’s “special vocabulary” which includes “nonsense words and malapropism, “bigly”, “braggadocious,” and “unpresidential” [and,] how does one properly express the infamous “bad hombres” or “nasty woman” to people in other cultures?” (n.p.). The president is known for his outrageous statements, which has led to the creation of the term ‘Trumpism’. Trumpism is according to Collins English Dictionary “a controversial or outrageous statement attributed to Donald Trump” (n.p.). Translators can be in the dilemma: clean up Trump’s messy language – including his outrageous statements – or not? Both ways would have an impact on how Trump is perceived. Hills (2017) says at Public Radio International (PRI):

Russian translators clean up Trump's language. "This is partially because you sort of clean up the leaders because that's what you do," says Berdy. "They clean up all the run-on sentences or the sentences that begin and don't go anywhere at all. So he sounds actually kind of more like Putin than he sounds like Trump." Berdy says Russian translators clean [tweets] up, too. "In English all of those Twitter short-forms like 'sad,' 'beautiful,' 'weak,' sound rather

childish, at least to my ears. In Russian, it's more like, 'that's sad.' 'Isn't that unfortunate.' They sound more adult and kind of presidential. He sounds much better in Russian than he does in English." (n.p.).

Similarly, in the video “How Difficult is it to Translate Trump?” from the US “The Daily Show”, a few professional translators from several countries were interviewed about their experiences when it comes to translating Trump. They revealed that Trump is the worst person they had to translate; Trump makes the translators sound stupid, and that they sometimes have to ‘fake it’ to make sense – “otherwise you are going to look like an idiot yourself” (The Daily Show 2017, n.p.). There are several reasons why translators adapt their translations to the target culture. Readers or listeners in the target culture have expectations and norms regarding what is an acceptable translation and what is acceptable to write and say in specific domains (Toury 1995, pp. 53-69), or both the translator and the target audience have ideologies which conflict with ideologies of the source text/culture (Lefevere 2017; Munday 2007). If the translator does not adapt to this, he or she might lose credibility as a translator (Munday 2012, p. 172).

Since many translators seem to find it very challenging to translate Trump, the research questions this thesis aims to answer are: how are Trump’s outrageous (i.e. politically incorrect, e.g. sexist/racist) statements translated in Norwegian news? What attitudes are held by Norwegian journalists and newsreaders toward Trump, and to what extent do these attitudes influence translations? To answer these questions, I will conduct a small-scale attitude analysis, along with a textual analysis of translations to determine their degree of controversiality (in the sense that some translations might be more or less controversial than their source texts). Generally, the Norwegian people seem to have negative attitudes toward president Donald Trump. Thus, it is my hypotheses that Trump’s outrageousness will be highlighted in Norwegian news.

Section 2 of this thesis provides a theoretical background to this research, looking into themes such as the role of ideology in translation, the nature of news translation, and the nature of political texts/speeches and the significance of translating political texts/speeches. Section 3 provides a description of the choice of data, and methodological procedures and issues of this study. In section 4 I present a twofold analysis attempting to reveal some Norwegian newspapers’ and newsreaders’ attitudes toward Trump, and analyze Trump’s language translated by Norwegian media (based on translated statements found in Norwegian online newspapers), and consider the translations’ degree of controversiality. In section 5 I discuss



potential patterns and results from the analysis, and explore the ways in which the results can answer the research questions.



## **2 Theoretical background**

One way to explain shifts in translation, and explain how Trump's outrageous statements are translated in Norwegian news, is through culture and ideology (which are expressed through attitudes). Theorists within what Anthony Pym (2010) terms "the cultural paradigm", which can be explained as the set of principles that underlie theory of translation and culture, argue that one cannot study translation in isolation from the cultural context (Delabastita 1995, p. 105; Pym 2010, p. 143). Within Translation Studies, the change of emphasis to explaining translational shifts through culture is referred to as "the cultural turn" (Snell-Hornby 1995; Munday 2012, p. 192), where the work of theorist André Lefevere plays a significant role, because of his notion of translation as rewriting (Munday 2012; Lefevere 1995; Lefevere 2017). Lefevere emphasizes that certain factors (e.g. ideology, power, institutions, and manipulation) systematically govern the rejection and acceptance of literary texts (Munday 2012, p.193; Lefevere 2017). This section starts by looking at translation and ideology, where Lefevere's notion of rewriting is essential. Furthermore, I look at media translation, which is one form of translation and is what I am analyzing in this study. Theory on translation of political texts is then presented. These concepts and theories are useful when discussing why Trump's statements are translated the way they are by Norwegian news. Lastly, I address some issues regarding translating president Trump's language.

### **2.1 Translation and ideology**

Most translation theorists agree that there is no such thing as true equivalents of a source text. More likely, translations are influenced by values, perspectives, norms and ideologies that control human activity (Lefevere 2017; Toury 1995, pp. 53-69). Those factors are also what constitutes culture. Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere (1995) argue that "[a]ll writings, whatever their intention, reflect a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulate literature to function in a given society in a given way" (preface). Furthermore, Bassnett and Lefevere (1995) state that translation is "the shaping of power of one culture upon another" (preface). In other words, translations are not innocent pieces of writing: they are governed by ideology, and the manipulation of ideology and poetics can be both unconscious or conscious processes.

Within Translation Studies, there are two different views of ideology (Beaton 2007, p. 272). The first view, and the most common, sees the motivation behind *some* political acts as ideological, while other acts are not influenced by ideology (ibid). Beaton (2007) states: “The value-laden condemnation implied in the use of the term ‘ideology’ to refer to the other, as opposed to oneself, explicitly excludes the speaker/writer from holding an ideology of his or her own” (p. 272). The second view considers ideology as ‘common sense’ or ‘implicit social knowledge’, and says that ideology is everywhere and is influencing all our actions subconsciously (Beaton 2007, p. 273). The former view is ethnocentric (i.e. judging something solely on one’s own cultural values and standards). The latter view seems more sustainable; indeed, all human activity is performed out of some ideology, or out of what people believe is ‘common sense’. This is done subconsciously most of the time. People’s attitudes often reflect ideologies. While ideologies are generally held by groups, attitudes are mostly held by individuals (Dyers and Abongdia 2010, p. 132). Dyers and Abongdia (2010) claim that ideology serves as an overarching setting where attitudes can be formed within, and state that “[b]ehind every set of [language attitudes] is a fairly coherent [language ideology] that has its roots in the sociopolitical and historical environment of particular communities” (p. 132).

One way to understand how ideology impact translations is through the concept of rewriting. Lefevere’s theory of rewriting has had a major influence in the field of translation. This theory proposes that translation (and all text production) is conditioned by literary conventions as well as networks of institutions and social agents (Asimakoulas 2011, p. 241; Lefevere 2017). The idea is that translations of source texts will be adapted to a particular ideology and/or poetics (Lefevere 2017, p. 27). That means that translations are rewritings of their originals, influenced by values and expectations of the target culture. Lefevere’s theory is drawing on polysystem theory, which was an approach developed in the 1970s by Itamar Even-Zohar (Shuttleworth 2011, p. 197). In short, the polysystem theory offered a framework of the ways literary systems function, and showed how discrepancies from the source and target texts could be explained by cultural factors (ibid).

Lefevere (2017) emphasizes the influential power of translation and states that “it is potentially the most influential because it is able to project the image of an author and/or (a series of) work(s) in another culture, lifting that author and/or those works beyond the boundaries of their culture of origin” (p. 7). In this way, translation is working as intercultural transfer, allowing

readers in one culture to read a text from another, where the readers often treat the translation as a source text (Munday 2007, p. 196). Rewriting is, according to Lefevere, subject to constraints that control text production. Such constraints are language, discourse and poetics, professionals within the literary systems (reviewers, translators, linguists, etc.), and patronage outside the system (institutions or individuals with power) (Lefevere 2017). About Lefevere's notion of rewriting, it should be mentioned that he is primarily talking about literature, but parts of his theory can be seen to apply other types of text as well.

Lefevere (1995) states that “on every level of the translation process it can be shown that if linguistic considerations conflict with considerations of an ideological and/or poetological nature, the latter tend to win” (p. 24). This shows how strongly Lefevere believes that ideology dominates translation, and justifies massive shifts in translation. Massive shifts could be, for instance, replacing “Negro king” with “South Pacific king” in Astrid Lindgren's children stories (Sandberg 2015, n.p.), based on a reigning ideology saying not to offend people/avoid racist terms. Other massive shifts could be omitting sexual language in the target text because of reigning ideologies in the target culture saying that sexual contents should not be shown on national television (Okyayuz 2016, p. 213).

Translations can reveal a lot about a culture. According to Lefevere (1995), it can tell us about the power of ideology and/or poetics at a certain time, as well as the “power of images and the ways in which images are made, about the ways in which authority manipulates images and employs experts to sanction that manipulation and to justify trust of an audience” (p. 24). Undoubtedly, translation tells us about the world we live in (Lefevere 1995, p. 27). An important thing to keep in mind is that most readers, unless they have linguistic training, will be unaware when reading translations: they will be unaware that what they are reading is rewriting, and unaware of the power relations governing the text (Munday 2007, p. 198). That means that they will often follow the interpretation and position of the most powerful side (ibid).

## 2.2 News translation

Mass media reach out to a large amount of people, and thus possess much power. The influence mass media have on the minds of people and their values should not be underestimated. The mass media play a crucial role in mediating between the general public and politicians, and it is through newspapers (both online and paper format) that we access most political messages (Schäffner 2008, p. 3). However, political messages crossing borders have most often undergone a process of translation, which usually involves, as we have seen above, changes/shifts. Some of these changes are due to ideologies, which influence both translators and target text audience. Bassnett and Schäffner (2010) stress that “[m]edia reports about political events are always forms of recontextualisation, and any recontextualisation involves transformations” (p. 2). Journalistic translation is fundamentally dependent on two contexts (Kang 2007, p. 221). The first is the original setting of the discourse, and the second is the target discourse setting, which is oriented towards and located in a new context (ibid). The translator lifts the text from its original context, reperspectivizes the text, and relocates the translation into a new context (ibid). Kang (2007) investigates how translated texts (using North-Korean news stories as an example) are recontextualized, arguing that news translation is complex and is governed by institutional goals, ideologies and voices (p. 221). Kang (2007) says: “Translated news stories are generally assumed to incorporate a ‘foreign voice’ which represents unfamiliar or alien perspectives and values” (p. 220). Nevertheless, this ‘foreign voice’ is often imbued by the translator’s and/or the target culture’s ideology (ibid). To sum up, translating discourse from one culture/context to another involves a process of recontextualizing and re-perspectivizing and is ultimately influenced by perspectives and values.

Cultures and relationship between cultures can be shaped by the media. Delabastita (1995) argues that “[i]t is safe to assume that translation processes in mass communication play a very effective part in both the shaping of cultures and the relations between them” (p. 97). For instance, a Mexican translator from the The Daily Show video mentioned above, says the following about translating a negative statement by Trump toward Mexicans: “people have sensitivities, so you do not want to offend them more than he [i.e.Trump] already has” (The Daily Show 2017, n.p.). So, the Mexican translator chose to ‘tone down’ the angry voicing of Trump’s speech in order not to offend Mexican people and avoiding cultural conflict. This is indicative of ideology at play.

News translation is often invisible. This invisibility creates even more room for ideological manipulation of the translated text(s). Bellos (2011) argues that “language operations performed in newsagency work are of particular interest because they are predicated not only on the total invisibility of translation but also on anonymity and impersonality” (p. 243). In other words, the journalist is not in focus when reading a news article, and the translation work performed by the journalist is not something people are aware of. Like literary rewritings, journalistic rewritings constitute the form in which news becomes available to readers across borderlines, though this fact is usually taken for granted or hidden (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, p. 57). Bielsa and Bassnett (2009) argue that news translation is “doubly invisible” since the target text is domesticated and adapted to the target culture (where the translator aims to hide his/her intervention on the source text), and because the translation processes are highly integrated into journalism today (most people are unaware that translation processes have taken place when reading news) (p. 73).

There are several characteristics which are particularly associated with journalistic translation. Bielsa and Bassnett (2009) point out that the most common modifications to a source text in news translation are eliminating unnecessary information, changing title and lead, adding important background information, summarizing information, and changing order of paragraphs (p. 64). Thus, a significant feature of journalistic translations is partial/mixed translation, which means that the journalist selects different passages or content to translate and omits other pieces of the source text(s) (ibid). For example, when translating or publishing political speeches in news media, most media do not publish the full text but instead select information (Schäffner 2008, p. 12). When selecting what to publish, the translator is often governed by power relations (ibid, p.18). Often, news agencies use extracts from translations which suit their own ideology when publishing a news article (ibid). Based on this, Schäffner (2008) emphasizes that in any analysis, attention must be paid to both translation and the social, institutional, and ideological contexts of the translations’ origins (p. 21). Additionally, a widespread practice in news reporting is to present translated quotations as direct quotations (Bassnett and Schäffner 2010, p. 7). However, these translated quotations have undergone transformations when moving from one language into another. Usually there is no explicit reference in the article to the fact that statements are translated (ibid). Another interesting characteristic of journalistic translation is the fact that journalists take the role of translators, even though they lack translational training; usually, they are not professional translators, but are performing the linguistic transformation task (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, p. 57).

Translation is commonly seen as a linguistic act where the text is transferred from one language into another (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, p. 2). However, when looking at the ways in which news is translated, it becomes apparent that translation is far more than just a transfer of text (ibid, p. 1). When creating news stories, journalists are consciously and unconsciously selecting information, and they structure the information into a presentation that satisfies reader expectations (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, p. 12). This editing can be so vast that the source text and target text distinction can become unclear (ibid). In this way, Lefevere's thinking that all translations are rewriting seems especially relevant when it comes to news translation. News translation is often a more concrete form of rewriting, in the way that it mostly consists of a combination of original writing and partial translation.

### **2.3 Translation of political texts and speeches**

To a great extent, politics is constituted by text and speech (Schäffner 1997, p. 119). With increasing globalization, and as politics is becoming increasingly internationalized, translation is also becoming more important (ibid, p. 120). Much is at stake when translating political content. As mentioned in the introduction, the way the translation is carried out can have significant impact on how people from foreign nations perceive politicians or the political stances of a nation.

As we have already seen, translations are not faithful and straightforward reproductions, which is often assumed by its audience (Schäffner 2008, p. 22). Discourse always involves ideology and power, and since translators have different knowledge, backgrounds, and power positions, discourse can be interpreted differently by them (Mahdiyan et al. 2013, p. 39). Ideologies, or attitudes, are different at the individual level, hence can translators having dissimilar ideological attitudes translate political texts in different ways (Mahdiyan et al. 2013, p. 39; Dyers and Abongdia 2010, p. 120). Mahdiyan et al. (2013) state: "translators who support opposing political parties will translate political discourse differently and will exhibit different attitudes to the ideologies expressed by the source text" (p. 40). For instance, a translator/journalist who is in favor of Trump's politics translating Trump into Norwegian might translate him differently than someone who opposes his politics.



Political speeches or statements reflect specific cultural conditions of their production (Schäffner 1997, p. 127). Thus, political texts or speeches within a specific culture can often be very culture-bound since they are the results of and/or a part of politics, and are culturally and historically determined (Schäffner 1997, p. 119). Schäffner (1997) stresses that “[h]ighly culture-bound texts, i.e. texts with references to a wide range of cultural patterns of the society in question, including aspects of its economic, political and legal life, require a lot of background knowledge for a coherent interpretation” (p. 133). The author of the source text most likely shares social, political, and cultural knowledge of life with the source culture, which can cause a lot of implicit information in the source text, and hence cause challenges for the translator (ibid). If the translator does not grasp the implicit information, the political perspective or attitude of the source text author can fail to come across to the target culture (ibid). For instance, when translating statements from Trump’s speeches about US immigration, it could be important for the translator to know the recent immigration history of the US, in order to avoid misinterpretations.

By analyzing political speeches, we can learn more about the speaker’s emotions or thoughts toward something, since ideologies, feelings, and attitudes are expressed through language (Mahdiyan et al. 2013). When translating oral statements or speeches of politicians, the translator is in a position of power. Mahdiyan et al. (2013) state that the translator’s task is “not just rendering the linguistics features of the source text, but s/he should be aware of the underlying theories and ideologies which scaffold a political text” (p. 36), in addition to making the text comprehensible for the target culture (ibid). As we have seen above, ideologies can be hidden, and ultimately, ideologies can be said to be impacting all human acts (Beaton 2007, p. 273). The translator should indeed understand the fact that ideologies govern political speeches, and try to be aware of this as well as his/her own ideology.

As we learned above, translations are often invisible in the texts of the mass media (Schäffner 2008, p. 5). Schäffner (2008) exemplifies this by showing how a group of journalists interviewed Putin and ended up with different renderings of the interview (p. 4). Schäffner argues that most readers are unaware of the translation processes, and after the Putin-interview, the text went through many transformations and complex recontextualization processes, such as full-length text to extracts (ibid). Consequently, readers of the different newspapers that translated Putin’s interview gained different impressions of Putin and his views (ibid, p. 13). One of the main problems in translation of such political texts is that translated speeches or

interviews in mass media usually do not explicitly state that translation or interpreting is involved (Schäffner 2008, p. 3). This invisibility allows, as mentioned previously, a greater ideological playroom for the journalist/translator or the news agency, and can have significant consequences in terms of how ordinary people relate to political issues or individuals.

Another example by Schäffner (2008) shows how a translation of Putin speaking negatively about the US included generalizations, omissions, and partial translation, from which Schäffner concluded that this example makes it clear that ideologies and media interests are determining factors to how information is presented and selected (p. 12). Reformulations, omissions, and additions in the target text can indicate filtering of “meaning potentials of a discourse” (Schäffner 2008, p. 4). Rearranging information for instance, is ideologically significant in the sense that it can give a more prominent position to a particular topic, which is a process that usually occur in translation of political speeches (Schäffner 2008, p. 22). Bassnett and Schäffner (2010) argue that “[w]hich texts and which arguments are repeated and/or most frequently quoted in [political and media] chains of discourse is determined by power struggles surrounding specific opinions, beliefs or ideologies” (p. 6). For instance, in one of my below examples, an outrageous term “grab them by the pussy” is quoted numerous times throughout Norwegian (and European) media. This is a part of power relations and ideology; it is likely that the statement is receiving a large amount of media attention because it enters into conflict with existing ideologies in Norway of presidential behavior.

## **2.4 Translating Trump**

Several journalists and commentators have written about the difficulty of translating president Trump into foreign languages. Due to a lack of academic articles and studies about Trump’s translatability, I address some of the issues regarding this topic available from online news articles.

The Guardian (2017) wrote in the news article “Trump in translation: president's mangled language stumps interpreters” that translators from all over the world find it challenging to translate the president’s incoherent and illogical language (n.p.). In this article, a Japanese translator argues that Trump spoke in a “demeaning way” about women during the presidential campaign, and emphasizes the difficulty of translating Trumpisms (The Guardian 2017, n.p.).

The Japanese translator especially struggled with translating Trump's controversial statement "grab them by the pussy" (a statement from a conversation Trump had with a TV-host in 2005, leaked to the press right before the US presidential election in 2016), and said finding an equivalent for 'pussy' in Japanese was problematic (The Guardian 2017, n.p.). The challenges of translating this statement was also brought up in the Washington Post. Schmidt (2017) says to the Washington Post that "[a]round the world, reporters and translators dealt with a more complex dilemma: how to make sense of the shocking conversation [i.e. Trump's conversation as mentioned above] in a different language" (n.p.). Hubscher-Davidson (2017), who has a PhD in Translation Studies, says to the newspaper Business Insider that translators have opposing opinions about how the president's "controversial rhetoric" should be translated (n.p.). Some believe in smoothing out and neutralizing Trump's provocative language, while others believe in conveying Trump accurately (Hubscher-Davidson 2017). It can also be hard for translators to render Trump in a foreign language when they do not agree with him or his politics, and especially when it comes to translating misogynistic or racist comments (Hubscher-Davidson 2017). Hubscher-Davidson (2017) states that "[m]asking their inner feelings in order to take Trump's perspective can put them under severe psychological strain as they grapple with their feelings about his claims, ethics and emotionally charged language – which in turn affects the translations they produce" (n.p.). Also, Hubscher-Davidson (2017) emphasizes that "[t]he way they translate him (or don't) can betray a translator's attitude towards him: elitist, pitying, or outright disapproving" (n.p.). In other words, Trump has provoked many translators, often leaving them in a dilemma. The produced translation can reveal the translator's attitude to Trump, though.



### **3 Method**

This study falls under what Saldanha and O'Brien (2013) identify as "participant-oriented research" (p. 150) and "product-oriented research" (p. 50). Participant-oriented research studies the participants/agents involved in the translation process (e.g. translators), as well as requiring the participation of people in the research process (Saldanha and O'Brien 2013, p. 150). The first part of my analysis can be recognized as a participant-oriented research, where newspapers' and newsreaders' attitudes and editors' E-mail responses are central to the research. The last part of my twofold analysis can be said to be product-oriented, which is about researching the outcome of the translation or interpreting processes, namely the textual product (ibid, p. 50). In this part I analyze actual translations. Within the product-oriented approach, my analysis can be labeled "descriptive/explanatory" (ibid). Descriptive/explanatory approach concerns analysis that consists of description and an explanation of patterns found, where linguistic evidence is seen as an end in itself (instead of as a means to an end) (ibid, p. 51). In this approach, language is not seen as "neutral conduit of information about the real world it encodes", but acknowledges that language always is a form of interpretation (ibid). This chapter begins by presenting and explaining my choice of data material. Then, I outline how I analyze the data. Lastly, I consider this study's limitations.

#### **3.1 Data**

The twofold nature of this study necessitates different types of material. The data material in part one consists of four online Norwegian newspapers' headlines about one incident involving Donald Trump. I focus on four online newspapers, Dagbladet, VG (Verdens Gang), Nettavisen, and E24, because they are all widely read national newspapers with assumingly great influence on the Norwegian people. This is particularly true with the larger tabloids Dagbladet and VG. Nettavisen (an online newspaper focusing on news events, finance, and sport) and E24 (mainly a finance online newspaper) were chosen to show breadth.

What is of relevance when investigating attitudes media have toward Trump, is their political leaning. Loupaki (2010) claims that "newspapers prioritize news in line with their political stance" (p. 61), and Schäffner (2008) argues that mass media use extracts from translations which suit their own ideology when publishing a news article (p. 18). Thus, learning the

newspapers' political leaning could be of great significance when explaining why translations were performed the way they are. To learn newspapers' political leanings, I sent E-mails to the editors of VG, Dagbladet, E24, and Nettavisen. The responses I received from them also constitute a part of my data material in part one of the analysis, and will be presented in the form of quotations in 4.1. Many of the newspapers claimed to be politically independent, nevertheless, that does not mean that they are not leaning toward a side or another. Most likely, newspapers will have political leanings, but will not explicitly confess that. Thus, the responses provided from my E-mail correspondence might not match the real state of the world.

The 'real' state of the world can also be gauged by looking at what newspapers actually write or do. Thus, I chose an incident of Trump's media coverage, and provide some of the headlines of this incident from four Norwegian newspapers (VG, Dagbladet, E24, and Nettavisen). This is to reveal how some of the widely read Norwegian newspapers report Trump. The reason why headlines were chosen is because they can serve as good indicators of ideology, because often, titles or headlines take attitudes out in the more extreme (e.g. to catch the reader's attention or to sell more newspapers). Headlines from the four newspapers were selected from one incident, as mentioned above, to compare differences in their way of reporting on it. This incident was from the clashes at Charlottesville in August 2017, where white supremacy groups were gathered to protest against the removal of the Robert E. Lee-statue.

Data material from part one also consists of newsreader's comments about a different incident involving Trump, more precisely Trump's speech at the UN meeting September 19<sup>th</sup>, 2017. A different incident than the Charlottesville clashes above was chosen to show breadth in news reporting on Trump. Readers' comments/attitudes are included in this analysis because there might be a relation between readers' and newspapers' attitudes: readers attitudes do not directly influence the translation (since they do not perform the translation), but may still indirectly do so. In this sense, I included newsreaders' attitudes because they may confirm newspapers' attitudes (being aware that it does not have to be a relation at all between these two). Another reason to include newsreaders' attitudes is that they clarify and show that I am merely one of many readers. Newsreaders' comments are found on the newspapers' Facebook pages where newspapers publish some of their stories. To illustrate some of these attitudes toward Trump, I look at news articles about Trump's speech at the UN meeting from VG, Dagbladet, E24, and Nettavisen within the time period September 19<sup>th</sup> to 22<sup>nd</sup> 2017, and look at the comments readers leave at the end of the article or via Facebook. Importantly, I did not select the most

controversial incident about Trump (which most people are likely to react negatively to), in order to illustrate a more nuanced/representative picture of attitudes. I limited the task of presenting attitudes of newsreaders by looking at the ten first comments only, identifying each of them as being either positive, negative, or neutral toward Trump. These comments are shown by percentage in Figures 1, 2, 3, and 4 in section 4.1.2. Also, some examples of negative, positive, and neutral comments are provided.

In part two, the data consists of five statements uttered orally by the US president, Donald Trump, which are presented as controversial/outrageous in Norwegian news media (in the sense that the statement's controversiality was often explicitly stated in the article). Chiefly, these statements originate from speeches before and after his presidential debut, but also from a private conversation leaked to the press, namely a conversation with Billy Bush in 2005 (4.2.4 and 4.2.5 below). Most of the statements by Trump were addressed to a wider audience, perhaps more specifically to the American people. The statements from Trump's Billy Bush conversation, where Trump was having a conversation with the TV-host Billy Bush before entering a TV-show, are targeted toward one person only, and was not meant for a wider audience: rather, this was a private conversation between two individuals.

When searching for translations of outrageous statements by Trump, I aimed to use the most widely-read newspapers in Norway, and especially Dagbladet, VG, Nettavisen, and E24. Most often, however, translations of a given controversial Trump-statement were not found in all of them. Thus, it should be clear that when only one translation is provided (such as in 3.2.3), the equivalent translation is not to be found in the other newspapers. Because this is an exploratory study, and to give a more comprehensive picture of how Norwegian journalists translate Trump's controversial statements, newspaper translations are supplemented by translations from news broadcasting on the internet such as TV2 (a public broadcasting company), NRK (the national broadcasting company), and Se og Hør (gossip magazine). These are not traditional newspapers, but are included in the analysis to show breadth of translation occurrences, as well as where translations can occur.

The data is collected from the following newspapers: 'Verdens Gang/VG', 'Dagbladet', 'Nettavisen', 'TV2', 'E24', 'NRK' (Norsk kringkasting AS), and 'Se og Hør'. In my analysis, I will use the abbreviations 'VG' (Verdens Gang), 'DB' (Dagbladet), 'NA' (Nettavisen), 'TV2' (TV2), 'E24' (E24), 'NRK' (Norsk rikskringkasting AS), and 'SH' (Se og hør). All translations

are published after it was known that Trump was running for president (i.e. after June 2015), and until August 2017. Within this time period, I have largely focused on the big events which have triggered statements which have received a significant amount of attention in news media. For the purpose of this thesis, the selected data serve as textual indicators of ideology, attitudes, and translation practices in various newspapers.

In news translation, it is often the case that the distinction between source and target text is somewhat blurred, and the journalist/translator regularly operates with several source texts (Schäffner 1997, p. 120). Schäffner (1997) claims that “[e]ach individual text is embedded in a wider political discourse, the texts thus showing a high degree of intertextuality” (p. 120). In the analysis in this paper, I label original statements by Trump as source texts (using the abbreviation ST) and treat translations as target texts, even though I am aware of the fact the relationship between the source and target texts is sometimes diffuse. In most of my examples below in 4.2, the source is not explicitly identified by the journalist. Also, in the textual analysis of translations, I have collected and identified different types of text units. In each of the examples in 4.2, the length of translation units differs, which has to do with the fact that they are partial translations. Some partial translations consist of shorter units, while others consist of longer units.

### **3.2 Research procedures**

In this study, I rely largely on a qualitative approach and a very limited quantitative approach to answer my research questions. In short, qualitative research aims to discover the quality of or to enrich our understanding of something (Williams and Chesterman 2009, p. 64). Williams and Chesterman (2009) claim that “[q]ualitative research can lead to conclusions about what is possible, what can happen, or what can happen at least sometimes” (p. 64). However, this type of research cannot make conclusions about what is general, universal, or probable (ibid).

The main aim of this thesis is to see how Norwegian media translate ‘Trumpisms’ (and other controversial statements of Trump). First, however, I investigate some of the attitudes toward Trump by newspapers and newsreaders, because attitudes and ideology have significance in the way the translations are carried out. Part one, 3.1, thus gives a small-scale qualitative attitude



analysis of newspapers and newsreaders. This attitude analysis can be recognized as discourse analysis in the sense that I approach the text strategically in order to extract ideology and attitudes (Johnstone 2002). First, a brief overview of media's general attitudes in the US and Europe is provided. A few studies on that topic have already been conducted, which I present shortly at the start of 4.1. Then, to learn the four newspapers' political leanings, I analyze the editor responses by carefully reading them to extract the attitudes, before going through the headlines and comparing them to each other. Lastly, I analyze newsreaders' comments by reading them thoroughly to reveal the attitudes.

In part two, 4.2, I analyze actual translations of Trump's controversial statements, where the main purpose of the analysis is to determine the degree of controversiality of each translation. In order to identify translation strategies and the degree of controversiality, some labels are needed. Loupaki (2010) investigates in her study "Investigating Translation Strategies of Ideological Conflict: The Case of News Translation" how translators adopt strategies to either reproduce, erase, or introduce a new ideological conflict in news production (p. 64). These strategies serve as a framework in my analysis for determining the degrees of controversiality of statements. Hence, the following notions are used: 'increasing controversiality', 'keeping controversiality', and 'decreasing controversiality'. Categories often have fuzzy boundaries, however. Even though two translations are defined as increasing controversiality, there will be differences in to *what extent* the translations are increasing controversiality. One might be increasing controversiality to a larger extent than the other. To some degree, this is taken into consideration in the analysis.

To explain the translation shifts in more detail, Jean Paul Vinay's and Jean Darbelnet's (1995) framework of translation strategies and procedures is used. Procedures in their framework are borrowing, calque, literal translation, transposition, modulation, equivalence, adaptation, and explicitation (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995, p. 41). Only borrowing, literal translation, and explicitation are mentioned in my analysis, though. As stated above, the analysis is constituted by five examples, where each example with source text and translations are presented in a table. Lastly, at the end of the analysis section, I present a table with an overview showing by percentage how often each newspaper increased, kept, and decreased controversiality.

### 3.3 Limitations of the study

Arguably, one of the main weaknesses of this thesis is that it is based largely on a qualitative approach. Creswell and Clark 2007 argue that “the use of quantitative and qualitative approaches in combination provides a better understanding of research problems than either approach alone” (p. 5). This study is to a very small extent based on quantitative research, since the limitation in time and the scope of this thesis made it impossible to do a more extensive approach including both quantitative and qualitative procedures.

Validity is, in the words of Saldanha and O’Brien (2013), “the degree to which results match as closely as possible the real state of the world” (p. 29). In this thesis, validity is limited by the limited amount of data, due to the restricted time and scope of this thesis. Also, I am not sure to what degree the Google-search method has given me representative data, but I have tried to do this as thoroughly as possible.

Reliability is, according to Saldanha and O’Brien (2013), “the extent to which other researchers (or the researcher herself) could generate the same results, or come to the same conclusion, if investigating the same question, using the same data and methods at a different time” (p. 35). Qualitative studies usually lead to unique results (ibid), thus, replicating this research might be difficult. Nevertheless, the way reliability is achieved in my thesis is by being open about how I conducted this study, so that other researchers can follow the same procedures as closely as possible. Another problem with this study’s reliability is its generalizability. Qualitative studies make generalizing from the results problematic (ibid, p. 36-8). Thus, one cannot generalize from this study’s results, further research would be necessary to achieve generalizability.

Lastly, a question by Saldanha and O’Brien (2013) is of relevance: “what influence does the researcher’s beliefs and ideology have on the proposed operationalization of the concept”? (p. 25). In this study, I am investigating how ideologies or attitudes impact translations, but I also question how my own ideology and attitude impact the analysis of these translations. Saldanha and O’Brien (2013) states: “No researcher is free from theory or ideology” (p. 30), and ultimately, one’s own knowledge and personal experience will influence the conclusions drawn in the thesis. As is the case with qualitative research in general, this thesis depends on me as a researcher to a large extent. For instance, when determining to what degree a translation is increasing, keeping, or decreasing controversiality, I function as an imagined reader, but it is

not for certain that I am representing the common reader when determining the degree of controversiality of translations. I might consider an element more/less controversial than someone else. The newsreaders' attitude data clearly show that there is variation on how people react on Trump's statements.



## **4 Data analysis**

This section will start with a presentation of newspapers' and newsreaders' attitudes toward Trump. This is significant in order to understand why journalists translate Trump the way they do. Essentially, newspapers' attitudes are comprised of aspects such as their stated political leaning, their attitudes as they are explicitly stated in texts, and their attitudes as they can be read indirectly out of the way they translate Trump. Additionally, newsreaders' attitudes are likely to influence – and be influenced by – newspapers' attitudes. Finally, an analysis of actual translations of Trump's controversial statements and Trumpisms will be provided.

### **4.1 Attitudes toward Trump**

#### **4.1.1 Newspapers' attitudes**

It should not come as a big surprise that journalists and people all over the world have negative opinions about Trump. In fact, as a politician, Trump has received an unusually large amount of negative attention, far more than any preceding US president (Harper 2017). For instance, The Washington Times published a news article in April 2017 revealing that during Trump's 100 first days in office, 89 percent of US media coverage of Trump was negative (Harper 2017). European media coverage of Trump has also given him overwhelmingly negative attention. Greenslade (2017) states in The Guardian that “[m]ost newspapers across Europe predict that Donald Trump will be a reckless world leader, viewing him as a buffoon and fearing that he will undermine transatlantic relations and weaken the European Union” (n.p.). Bilefsky (2016) stresses in the New York Times that Trump is badly viewed in most European countries, and says Trump “has been depicted as a snarling demagogue in France, equated with Donald Duck in Spain, and described as worse than Lord Voldemort in Britain” (n.p.). German media for instance, is according to a study “extremely negative about Trump”, with 98 percent of media coverage about Trump reflected as negative (Bleiker 2017, n.p.).

Norwegian newspapers too, have expressed their negativity toward Trump. One of the most widely read newspapers, namely VG, has among other things published a cartoon portraying Trump as a baby about to destroy the world in December 2016 and a picture of Trump on the first page with a mustache in August 2017 (creating associations to Hitler) (Tolfsen and

Zakariassen 2017; Johansen 2017). Mostly, newspapers will have known political leanings, which may make certain attitudes toward Trump more likely. For instance, if a newspaper belongs to the left wing, one would expect it to show greater negativity toward Trump than if it belonged to the right wing. One way to reveal political leanings (if they are not known) can be to conduct some research by for instance contacting news editors. I have had E-mail correspondence with editors from Dagbladet, VG, Nettavisen, and E24. The response from Dagbladet's editor, Markussen, was that Dagbladet does not belong to any political party, but is oriented toward the left. Markussen (2017) states that Dagbladet is an "uavhengig og riksdekkende venstreorgan [...] Med venstreorgan betyr det at vi har et liberalt ståsted – og altså ikke hører til på venstresiden. Vi er i sentrum, vi er sosial-liberal – og en sterk forsvarer av velferdsstaten. Men vi er uavhengig av alle partier" (n.p.).<sup>1</sup> Chief of Staff from VG, Næss (2017), stresses the following about VG's political leaning: "Svaret er at VG er, og alltid har vært, partipolitisk nøytral",<sup>2</sup> and says that "avisen bygger på humanistiske idealer og grunnleggende demokratiske verdier".<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, based on the fact that VG published the above mentioned cartoon and making Hitler associations with Trump, one might argue that VG opposes Trump as a politician. Chief editor of Nettavisen, Stavrum (2017), states in his E-mail that "Nettavisen er politisk uavhengig. Undersøkelser plasserer leserne våre litt til høyre for midten i norsk politikk – i motsetning til alle de andre store avisene som ligger til venstre".<sup>4</sup> One can imagine that since the readers are right-oriented, Nettavisen too, is leaning toward the right. If so, it suits well with Nettavisen's headline presented in the next paragraph, which is very neutral toward Trump. News editor Indseth (2017) from E24 also states that E24 is "partipolitisk uavhengig".<sup>5</sup> From the E-mail responses on political leanings, I could assume that Dagbladet would translate Trump's statements more controversially than Nettavisen, for instance.

To illustrate how some Norwegian news agencies are reporting Trump, a few headlines will be presented from the Charlottesville incident in August 2017. This was an incident where white supremacy groups were gathered to protest against the removal of a Robert E. Lee statue. The

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This, and all subsequent translations from Norwegian (all rough glosses), are mine.

<sup>1</sup> "politically independent, nationwide left-wing organ [...] What is meant by left-wing is that we have a liberal leaning. We are in the center, we are social-liberal – and a strong defender of the welfare state. But, we are independent from all other parties"

<sup>2</sup> "The answer is that VG is, and has always been, politically neutral from parties"

<sup>3</sup> "The newspaper builds on humanistic ideals and basic democratic values"

<sup>4</sup> "Nettavisen is politically independent. Surveys place our readers a little to the right of the middle in Norwegian politics – in contrast to the other dominating newspapers which lay in the right"

<sup>5</sup> "politically independent from parties".

protest became violent when counterdemonstrators entered the scene, causing death of one of the counterdemonstrators (Stanglin and Cavallaro 2017). In the aftermath of the incident, Trump during a press-conference came with a controversial statement, claiming that both sides violently attacked each other, and that there was blame on both sides (Kvaale 2017). The following is a headline from Dagbladet: **“Derfor førte Trumps tale til raseri: - Han forsøker å ri to hester.** Folkemengden ropte nazi-slagord og en bil kjørte inn i motdemonstrantene. Likevel vektla USAs president «hat, intoleranse og vold på mange sider»” (Jakobsen 2017, n.p.).<sup>6</sup> This headline is obviously showing Trump in a bad light. ‘Han forsøker å ri to hester’ implicitly states that Trump is supporting both white supremacy groups and the counterdemonstrators. Negativity toward Trump is in accordance with Dagbladet’s political leaning. VG (2017) reported the incident with the following headline: **“Trump om demonstrasjonene Charlottesville: Mener begge sider har skyld.** USAs president Donald Trump måtte igjen forsvare sine Charlottesville-uttalelser” (Gulbrandsen 2017, n.p.).<sup>7</sup> This headline is not as negative as Dagbladet’s (the latter is more negative since it makes explicit references to hate/intolerance), but is not as neutral as Nettavisen’s (see below). Rather, its degree of neutrality/negativity is somewhere in between. This headline is showing Trump in a bad light, highlighting Trump’s statement that he blames both sides. E24’s headline about the Charlottesville incident says: **“Kraftige reaksjoner etter at Trump snudde igjen.** Både partikolleger og politiske motstandere tar avstand fra president Trumps nye uttalelse om at begge sider må ta skylden for volden i Charlottesville” (n.p.).<sup>8</sup> This headline is not highlighting the controversiality of Trump’s statements to the degree of Dagbladet, and is rather neutral in the sense that Trump is not the main focus (‘kraftige reaksjoner’ and ‘partikolleger og politiske motstandere’ precede ‘Trump’). If the headline were structured the other way around, for instance in the following way: “Trump causes strong reactions...”, the focus would be on Trump, showing Trump in bad light). About the same incident, Nettavisen reported: **“Sterke reaksjoner etter sammenstøtene i Charlottesville: – President, vi må kalle ondskap med sitt navn.** USAs president Donald Trump fordømmer sammenstøtene der en kvinne omkom, men møter kritikk fra flere hold” (n.p.).<sup>9</sup> This headline is more neutral toward Trump in the

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<sup>6</sup> “This is why Trump’s speech led to outrage: -He is trying to ride two horses. The crowd were yelling Nazi-slogans and a car drove into the counterdemonstrators. Yet, the US president emphasized “hatred, intolerance, and violence on many sides””.

<sup>7</sup> “Trump about the Charlottesville demonstrations: Believes both sides are to blame. The US president Donald Trump again had to defend his Charlottesville-statements.”

<sup>8</sup> “Strong reactions after Trump turned again. Both colleagues and political opponents distance from president Trump’s new statement claiming both sides have to take blame for the violence in Charlottesville.”

<sup>9</sup> “Strong reactions after the clashes in Charlottesville: - President, we have to call evil with its name. US president Donald Trump condemns the clashes where a woman passed, but faces criticism from several places.”

way that it states that Trump condemns the Charlottesville attack, and rather states facts instead of making judgements of Trump supporting white supremacy groups. This neutrality can be explained by Nettavisen's political leaning.

#### 4.1.2 Newsreaders' attitudes

At the bottom of news articles, readers can leave comments about the article's content. Similarly, newsreaders can comment on news articles via the newspapers' Facebook pages. This can reveal some of the attitudes individuals have toward the subject described. Below, I have looked at four Norwegian news articles published between September 19th-22nd, 2017, about Trump's speech at a UN meeting September 19<sup>th</sup>, and considered whether the first ten comments reflect positive, negative, or neutral attitudes toward Trump. I have, as mentioned in the method chapter, chosen to avoid the most controversial incidents about Trump (which most people are likely to react negatively to). Hopefully, this gives a more nuanced/representative picture of attitudes.

From Dagbladet's newsarticle "FNs hovedforsamling: Trump til frontalangrep på Kim Jong-un: - Rakettmannen er ute på en selvmordsaksjon" (2017)<sup>10</sup>, four out of ten comments were negative, three were positive, and three were neutral. In other words, reader's attitudes are quite divided, but most of them are negative, which is what we would expect considering Dagbladet's political leaning. An example of a negative comment is: "Det er mange håpløse og stygge styresett i verden. At United States of America som et sivilisert og demokratisk samfunn har valgt Donald, er uforståelig".<sup>11</sup> An example of a positive comment is:

Han er ikke dom den mannen nei 😊 Han tør og si ting og stå for ting ,som ingen andre tør!!! Akkurat som Listhaug gjør i Norge. Det handler om og ta vare på sitt land og sine verdier ,som snart forsvinner i alle land ,hvis ingen tar til vettet !!!!<sup>12</sup>

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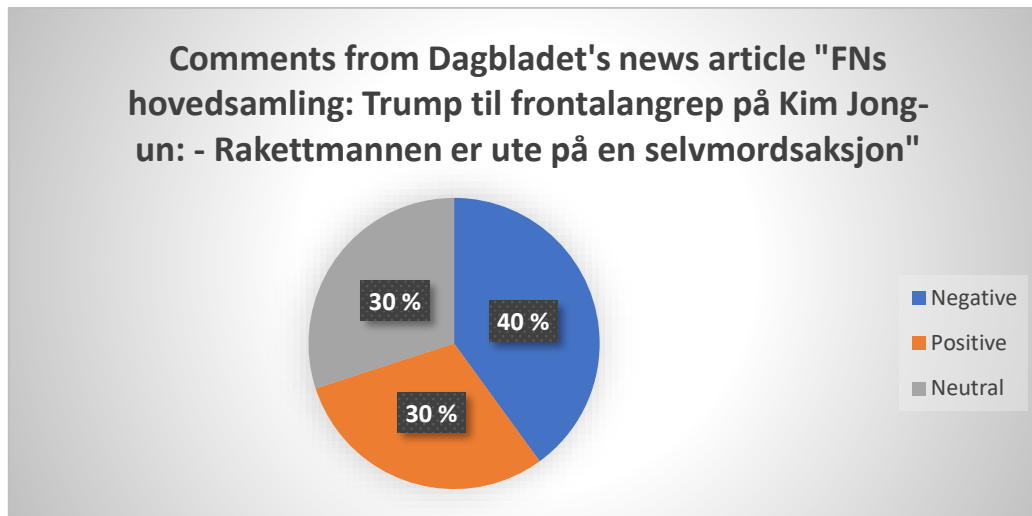
<sup>10</sup> <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/trump-til-frontalangrep-pa-kim-jong-un---rakettmannen-er-ute-pa-en-selvmordsaksjon/68709881> [last accessed 26.09.17]

<sup>11</sup> "There are many hopeless and appalling governments in the world. The fact that The United States of America as a civilized and democratic society has chosen Donald, is beyond comprehension."

<sup>12</sup> "That man is not stupid 😊 He dares to say things and stand up for things, that no one else dares!!! Just like Listhaug does in Norway. It is about taking care of one's country and its values, which soon will disappear in all countries if no one gather their wits!!!!"



An example of a neutral comment is: “Han ble valgt, slik er det med det. Virker som det er gått sport i å mislike han”.<sup>13</sup>



**Figure 1**

From VG's news article “FNs høynivåuke: Trump om Kim Jong-un: «Rocket man» er på et selvmordsoppdrag” (2017),<sup>14</sup> four out of the ten first comments were negative, none were positive, and six were neutral. Since VG seems to have negative attitudes toward Trump (but claims to be politically independent), neutral and negative comments are what we would expect. An example of a negative comment is:

Diplomaten Trump igjen på krigsspor, Trump sier selv at Nord Korea kun kjenner maktprinsipp- ser ikke ut til at kan noe annet selv. I hele sitt private liv har han rakk ned og harsjert med både ansatte og konkurrenter. I valgkampen talet han ned sine med og motstandspolitikere, kalte de forferdelige ting og gjorde narr av alt og alle!<sup>15</sup>

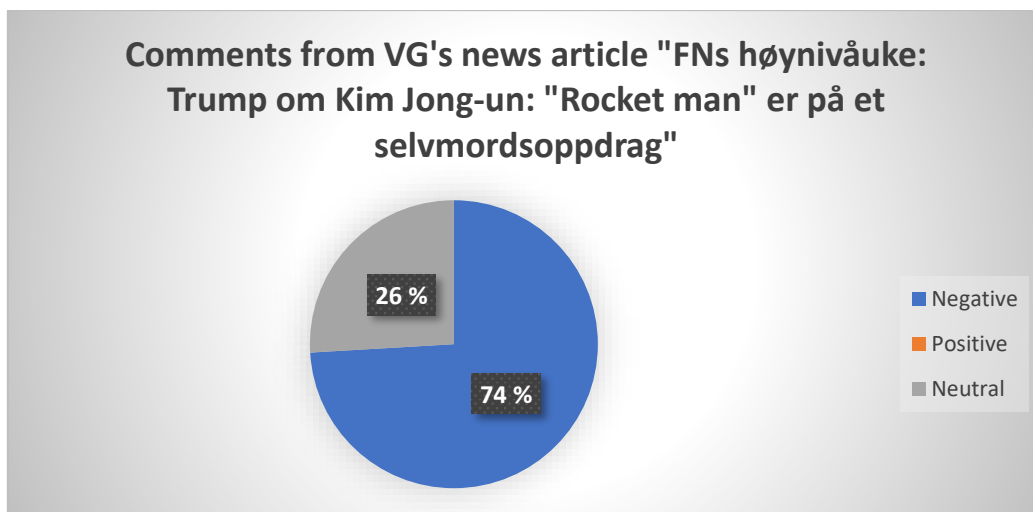
An example of a neutral comment is: “Donald kan ikke erklære krig uten samtykke fra kongressen, og det er lite sannsynlig han vil få, dersom ikke Nord Korea angriper først.”<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> “He was chosen, and that is how it is. It seems like it has turned into sport disliking him”.

<sup>14</sup> <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/utenriks/fn/trump-om-kim-jong-un-rocket-man-er-paa-et-selvmordsoppdrag/a/24144824/> [last accessed 26.09.17]

<sup>15</sup> “Diplomat Trump returns to the warpath, Trump says that North Korea only know the principles of power – does not look like he knows anything else himself. In all his private life he has been demeaning towards his employees and competitors. In the election campaign he spoke badly about both his associate politicians and competitors, calling them terrible things and ridiculing everyone and everything!”

<sup>16</sup> “Donald cannot declare war without the consent of the Congress, which he likely will not get unless North Korea strikes first.”



**Figure 2**

Furthermore, from Nettavisen's news article "Trump talte til FN: Donald Trump knallhardt ut mot Nord-Korea" (2017),<sup>17</sup> two out of the first ten comments were negative, two were positive, and six were neutral. These numbers are also in line with Nettavisen's political leaning: we would expect that most comments were neutral or positive considering that Nettavisen is most likely leaning toward the right. An example of a negative comment is:

Og med en så lite intelligent uttalelse ga Trump regimet i Nord-Korea en gavepakke. Uttalelsen, eller faktisk hele talen, spilles nå om og om igjen i Nord-koreansk radio. Til støtte for regimet. Hvem som er farligst for verdensfreden? Det er bilde av han over - kunnskapsløshet er alltid farlig. Og i dette tilfellet er kunnskapsløsheten ganske ekstrem.<sup>18</sup>

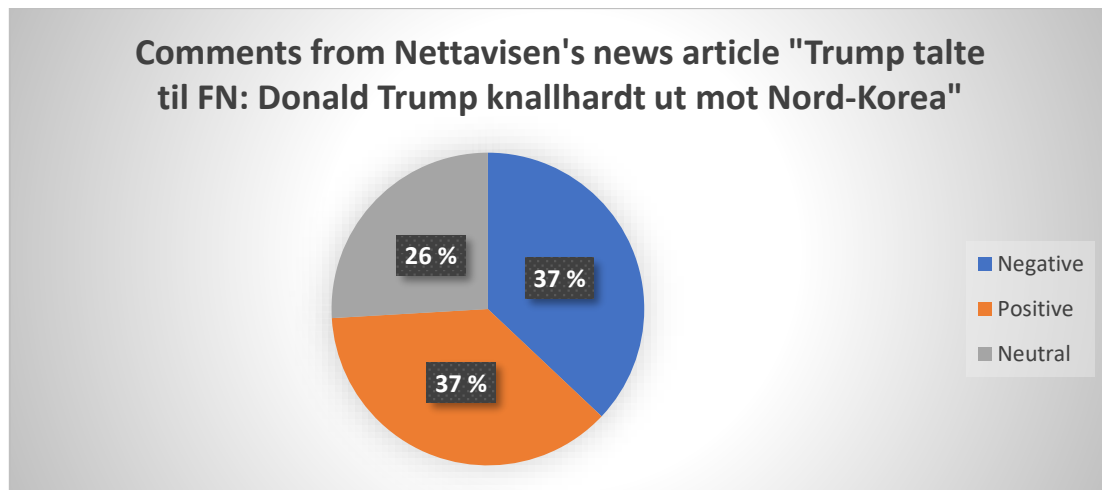
An example of a positive comment is: "Solberg sa at han sa mye annet også, etterpå som modererte uttalelsen. Hør på alt",<sup>19</sup> and a neutral comment is: "La Korea være i fred, de er ingen trussel mot noen. De har derimot rett til å forsvare seg og det kan bli fatalt."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> <http://www.nettavisen.no/nyheter/donald-trump-knallhardt-ut-mot-nord-korea/3423373748.html> [last accessed 26.09.17]

<sup>18</sup> "And with such an unintelligent statement, Trump gave the regime in North-Korea a gift. The statement, or actually the whole speech, is now played over and over again on North-Korean radio. Supporting the regime. Who is the most dangerous person threatening world peace? There is a picture of him above – lack of knowledge is always dangerous. And in this case, this lack of knowledge is quite extreme."

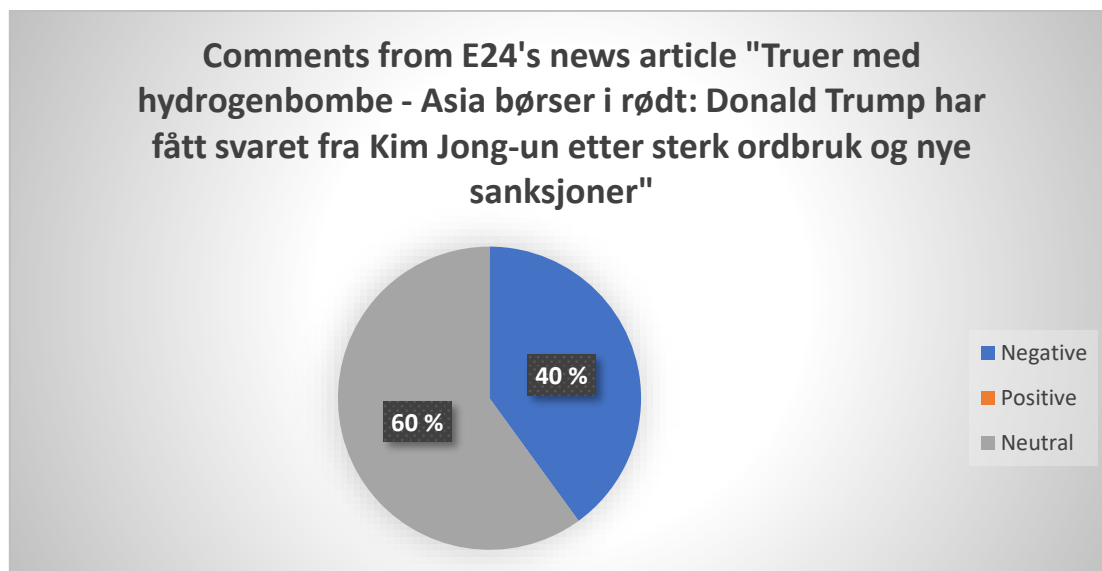
<sup>19</sup> "Solberg mentioned that he said a lot of other things as well, which moderated the statement. Listen to everything."

<sup>20</sup> "Leave Korea in peace, they are no threat to anyone. They have the right to defend themselves, which can be fatal."



**Figure 3**

Lastly, comments from E24's news article "Truer med hydrogenbombe – Asia-børser i rødt Donald Trump har fått svaret fra Kim Jong-un etter sterk ordbruk og nye sanksjoner" (2017),<sup>21</sup> four out of ten first comments were negative, none were positive, and six were neutral. The fact that neutral attitudes constitute most of the comments is also what we would expect after learning that E24 is politically independent, and mostly neutral toward Trump in 4.1.1. An example of a neutral comment is: "Hva med Kim's og Trump's allierte? Nok et elendig journalistisk makkverk".<sup>22</sup>



**Figure 4**

<sup>21</sup> <http://e24.no/boers-og-finans/nord-korea/kim-truer-med-hydrogenbombe-asia-boerser-i-roedt/24147029> [last accessed 26.09.17]

<sup>22</sup> "What about Kim's and Trump's allies? Another lousy journalistic piece of trash"

## **4.2 Translations of statements made by Trump**

In this section, I present my analysis of translations of Trump's statements. All of them have received significant attention and news coverage because of their controversiality and outrageousness. Thus, they are often referred to as 'Trumpisms'.

### **4.2.1 The 'Wherever' example**

This example is from Trump's speech from a sound recording (a phone call interview with the newspaper CNN, August 2015). In it, we hear Trump speaking about his feelings toward an American journalist who upset him during a presidential debate in August 2015. This interview received a significant amount of attention by newspapers in the US, and likewise by the Norwegian media. Norwegian newspapers translated statements from this phone call interview. Source and target text relation is not always clear in news translation (e.g. as mentioned in 2.2). In this example, the source text is a statement from a sound recording, which has been transformed into written quotations in news media. It is uncertain whether the actual sound recording is the ST, or if one or more written representations of it in US and other English-language media is the ST for the Norwegian translations.

**Table 1**

		Degree of controversiality
ST	<b>You could see that there were blood coming out of her eyes. Blood coming out of her ‘wherever’.</b>	Very controversial
DB 08.08.15	Du så at det kom blod ut av hennes «wherever». <sup>23</sup>	Increasing controversiality
VG 27.01.16	Du kunne se at det kom blod ut av øynene hennes. Blod kom ut av hennes «wherever». <sup>24</sup>	Increasing controversiality
TV2 27.01.16	Du kunne se at det kom blod ut av øynene hennes, det kom ut blod overalt. <sup>25</sup>	Decreasing controversiality
E24 08.08.15	Du kunne se at det kom blod ut av øynene hennes. Blod kom ut av henne alle steder. <sup>26</sup>	Keeping controversiality

This ST is controversial because Trump could be implying that this journalist is having her menstrual period by saying ‘blood coming out of her wherever’, which is a sexist thing to say. This can be said about both US’ and Norwegian’s dominating ideologies, which value gender equality. Both DB and VG did not translate ‘wherever’. This translation strategy can be recognized as borrowing, which is when the source text word or sentence is transferred directly to the target text (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995, p.31). Borrowing ‘wherever’ into the target text could suggest that the translators/journalists were outraged by the ST, and wanted to highlight the word. ‘Wherever’ in this Norwegian sentence is arguably making it more explicit to the reader what is possibly referred to implicitly: blood coming out of her vagina. Therefore, borrowing the word ‘wherever’ increases the translations’ controversiality. From the attitude analysis above, increasing controversiality is what we would expect from these newspapers, especially DB (which leans toward the left-side of politics).

In TV2, ‘Blood coming out of her wherever’ is translated into ‘blod kom ut overalt’. The translator/journalist has left out the object pronoun ‘her’ in his/her translation, which arguably tones down the controversiality of the statement in the sense that the voice becomes more passive: it is not explicitly known to the reader whom/what blood was coming out of. Thus, this

<sup>23</sup> “You saw it came blood out of her “wherever”.”

<sup>24</sup> “You could see that it came blood out of her eyes. Blood came out of her “wherever”.”

<sup>25</sup> “You could see that it came blood out of her eyes, it came out blood everywhere.”

<sup>26</sup> “You could see that it came blood out of her eyes. Blood came out of her all places.”

translation can be defined as decreasing controversiality. In E24, ‘Blood coming out of her wherever’ is translated into ‘Blod kom ut av henne alle steder’. ‘Alle steder’ resembles ‘overallt’, but since E24 did not omit ‘her’, it is more controversial than TV2. In other words, it is easier to associate ‘Blod kom ut av henne alle steder’ as blood coming out of her vagina, than associate ‘det kom ut blod overallt’ respectively. That E24 is not increasing controversiality might not be surprising if relying on the findings in 4.1, where E24 seemed to be neutral toward Trump.

#### **4.2.2 The Mexico example**

This example is from Trump’s Presidential Announcement Speech, held on June 16th, 2016. Among other things, Trump spoke about the wall at the Mexican border he is planning to build. The statement in this example is one of the most quoted statements concerning Trump’s view on immigration (Gillikstad et al. 2016, n.p.), and was quoted and translated into Norwegian by most Norwegian newspapers. The original speech is available on YouTube. Since the statement has spread throughout newspapers and the internet, source and target text relations are diffuse. But, journalists would at least have had access to the original speech through Youtube.

**Table 2**

		Degree of controversiality
ST	<b>When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're not sending you. They're not sending you. They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people.</b>	Controversial
VG 29.06.15	Når Mexico sender sine folk, sender de ikke sine beste. De sender ikke folk som deg og meg, de sender folk som har masse problemer, og de tar problemene sine med seg. De bringer med seg narkotika og kriminalitet. <sup>27</sup>	Decreasing controversiality
VG 29.09.15	Når Mexico sender sine folk, sender de ikke sine beste. De sender ikke folk som deg og meg, de sender folk som har masse problemer, og de tar problemene sine med seg til oss. De bringer med seg narkotika, de bringer med seg kriminalitet. De er voldtektsmenn. Og noen, antar jeg, er gode mennesker. <sup>28</sup>	Keeping controversiality
TV2 26.06.15	Når Mexico sender sine folk, sender de ikke de beste. De sender for [ <i>sic</i> ] med masse problemer, og de bringer de problemene med seg. De tar med seg narkotika. De tar med seg kriminalitet. De er voldtektsmenn, fortsatte Trump, men la til at «sikkert noen av dem var snille folk». <sup>29</sup>	Increasing controversiality
NA 24.07.15	De bringer med seg narkotika og kriminalitet. De er voldtektsforbrytere, og noen antar jeg er gode folk. <sup>30</sup>	Keeping controversiality
NRK 04.05.16	Når Mexico sender folk, sender de ikke sine beste, sa Trump da han kunngjorde sitt kandidatur i juni i fjor. – De sender folk som har mange problemer, og de tar med seg de problemene. De tar med seg narkotika. De bringer med seg kriminalitet. De er voldtektsmenn, fortsatte han i sin omtale av mexicanske innvandrere, før han la til at «noen, antar jeg, er bra folk». <sup>31</sup>	Increasing controversiality

<sup>27</sup> “When Mexico sends its people, they are not sending their best. They are not sending people like you and me, they send people who have lots of problems, and they bring their problems. They bring drugs and crime.”

<sup>28</sup> “When Mexico sends its people, they are not sending their best. They do not send people like you and me: they send people who have lots of problems, and they bring their problems to us. They are bringing drugs, they are bringing crime. They are rapists. And some, I assume, are good people.”

<sup>29</sup> “When Mexico sends its people, they are not sending the best. They send people with lots of problems, and they are bringing those problems. They are bringing drugs. They are bringing crime. They are rapist, continued Trump, but added that “some of them were probably nice people”.

<sup>30</sup> “They are bringing drugs and crime. They are rapists, and some I assume are good people.”

<sup>31</sup> “When Mexico send sits people, they are not sending their best, said Trump when he announced his candidature June last year. – They send people who have lots of problems, and they bring those problems. They

As mentioned above, the ST is quoted many times in American and Norwegian news media, because of its controversiality. Essentially, this statement is controversial because Trump is accusing many illegal Mexican immigrants of being criminals, drug dealers, and rapists (which is a very racist thing to say). The reception of such a statement is most likely different in the US and in Norway because of different immigration ideologies and values. The US has a long and complex immigration history, large socioeconomic and sociocultural gaps within the population, and has in recent years been faced with immense illegal immigration. In Norway, egalitarian values are very strong, and differences in people's socioeconomic status are generally lower than in the US. In other words, it could be difficult for Norwegians to understand the complexity and challenges of illegal immigration, and thus Norwegians might react more negatively to Trump's statement than Americans. Thus, ideologies are different, which can explain why most of the target texts in this example are increasing the controversiality of the statements by the way they choose to present them.

Messy language is most often cleaned up in translations (Toury 1995, p. 268). Incoherent language is, in most of the translations, cleaned up (which is also common when transforming oral language to written (Cintas and Remael 2007, p. 172)). For instance, 'They're not sending you. They're not sending you' is translated into 'de sender ikke folk som deg og meg' in VG 29.06.15 and VG 29.09.15. Gaining 'meg' in this phrase makes the statement more controversial – because this would indicate that Trump sees himself as a better person than Mexicans. Hence, this strategy could be said to increase the controversiality of the statement. The journalist of VG 29.06.15 omitted 'And some, I assume, are good people' in his/her translation, which increases the controversiality – because this phrase could soften the outrageousness of the statement as a whole. On the other hand, 'They're rapists' is omitted in VG 29.06.15, which is a claim that is very controversial in the ST. 'Rapists' undoubtedly has negative associations, and omitting this in the translation makes it a lot less controversial. Thus, it is identified as decreasing controversiality. VG 29.09.15, except from translating 'de sender ikke folk som deg og meg', is rendering the ST fairly literally, and is here seen as keeping controversiality. Based on the above newspapers' attitude analysis, keeping or increasing controversiality is what we could expect from VG, and it is somewhat surprising that VG 29.06.15 is decreasing it.

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bring drugs. They bring crime. They are rapists, he continued in his review of Mexican immigrants, before he added that "some, I assume, are good people".



NA omitted the widely quoted start of the ST, and used a summarizing strategy. The translation includes the ST's outrageous elements 'narkotika', 'kriminalitet', and 'voldteksforbrytere' (words that all have negative connotations), which is why it can be identified as keeping controversiality. The translation is short, and leaves out 'They're not sending you. They're not sending you'. That could arguably decrease its controversiality somewhat, because Trump is implicitly saying that 'you' – his American audience – are superior to Mexican illegal immigrants (thus, this is a controversial part of the statement, which is left out in NA). In 4.1, Nettavisen (NA) came out as neutral towards Trump, and possibly leaning to the right, thus it is not surprising that NA is not increasing controversiality.

TV2 omitted 'They're not sending you. They're not sending you', while the rest of the translation is quite literally translated. One aspect of the translation stands out, however: 'men la til at «sikkert noen av dem var snille folk»'. Unlike the rest of the translation, this was put in quotation marks, which is presenting it as a direct quotation. This could be done to highlight what the journalist might believe was a sarcastic statement (and which could reveal the journalist's attitude to Trump). It could also be the case that the journalist was highlighting it to point out the contrast between it and Trump's other descriptions of the people (i.e. the journalist was being sarcastic). Nevertheless, TV2's translation can be identified as increasing controversiality. The same strategy could be used in NRK's translation, where the journalist states: 'før han la til at «noen, antar jeg, er bra folk»'. Another interesting point in the NRK translation is the meta-text 'fortsatte han i sin omtale av mexicanske innvandrere'. Trump was speaking about illegal Mexican immigrants, while the journalist/translator of NRK is referring to Mexican immigrants in general. This makes the translation more controversial than the ST.

In DB's translation, 'They're not sending you. They're not sending you' is omitted; the same is 'And some, I assume, are good people'. Cutting and editing is a common practice in news translation (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, p. 64), and is especially essential to ideologically sharpen the translation. In this case, it could be that the last phrase was intentionally left out of the translation in order to make it more controversial. DB is increasing controversiality, which is also what we would expect considering the findings in the attitude analysis above.

### 4.2.3 The Charlottesville example

Example 5 is from a video recording where Trump, at a press conference, is commenting on a protest against the removal of a Robert E. Lee statue in Charlottesville in August 2017, a protest that became violent when white supremacist groups encountered counterdemonstrators. His statements were regarded as highly controversial, and led to major news coverage in the US. Also, several celebrities and politicians tweeted about this speech, and accused Trump for being racist. Norwegian newspapers covered the story by quoting Trump as well as presenting the original video, often providing Norwegian subtitles. The specific extract from the speech (which originally lasted for several minutes) in this example is transcribed into written form by me, and is translated by Dagbladet. Dagbladet provided the original video on the published news article of the translation. The journalist/translator could be selecting aspects of Trump's speech, i.e. using a summarizing strategy. This could be indicative of an ideological sharpening, interestingly.

**Table 3**

		Degree of controversiality
ST	<b>You had a group on one side, and you had a group on the other, and they came at each other with clubs, and it was vicious, and it was horrible, and it was a horrible thing to watch. But there's another side. There was a group on this side – you can call them the left – you just called them the left – that came violently attacking the other group. So you could say what you want but that's the way it is. I think there is blame on both sides.</b>	Very controversial
DB 16.08.17	Du hadde en gruppe på en side, og du hadde en gruppe på den andre siden, og de kom mot hverandre med klubber. Det var ondskapsfullt og fryktelig. Det er skyld på begge sider. <sup>32</sup>	Increasing controversiality

This statement by Trump is controversial because Trump blamed both sides, white supremacist groups and their counter-demonstrators, for the violent and deathly incident at Charlottesville.

<sup>32</sup> “You had a group on one side, and you had a group on the other side, and they came at each other with clubs. It was vicious and horrible. There is blame on both sides.”

In dominant US and Norwegian ideological perspectives, white supremacy and neo-Nazism are not tolerated. Thus, defending such groups causes controversy. DB provides a literal translation of the ST, but omitted the following part of the ST: ‘But there’s another side. There was a group on this side – you can call them the left – you just called them the left – that came violently attacking the other group. So you could say what you want but that’s the way it is.’ In other words, much of Trump’s point is being left out of DB’s translation: Trump’s description of how the left-side ‘violently attacked’ the white supremacist group is central to the understanding of why Trump blames both sides. The DB audience risk missing this understanding, and thus DB is increasing controversy. Also, the more tentative ‘I think’ has not been translated. ‘Det er skyld på begge sider’ has a more assertive ring to it, and this, too, might be contributing to increasing the controversy. This is what we could expect from DB after learning its political leaning (see 4.1).

#### **4.2.4 The Billy Bush conversation example**

This example shows a statement coming from Donald Trump made available through a recording and leaked to the press right before the presidential campaign in October 2016. The recording is from 2005, where Trump is having a conversation with journalist Billy Bush on a bus. The video of this recording was published in many Norwegian online newspapers, along with Norwegian written quotations translated into Norwegian. Mostly, it is impossible to know for certain what the specific source text was for a given target text in news translation. In this example, it is likely that the source is the original video since the video appeared on most of the news articles, and is made available via links at the others.

**Table 4**

		<b>Degree of controversiality</b>
<b>ST</b>	<b>I moved on her like a bitch. But I couldn't get there. And she was married.</b>	Controversial
DB 08.10.16	Jeg prøvde, men hun var faen meg gift. Jeg prøvde meg virkelig, men fikk det ikke til. <sup>33</sup>	Decreasing controversiality
VG 08.10.16	Jeg prøvde, men hun var faen meg gift. Jeg prøvde meg virkelig, men fikk det ikke til. <sup>33</sup>	Decreasing controversiality
NA 08.10.16	Trump forteller at hun er gift, men at han «prøvde seg på henne». <sup>34</sup>	Decreasing controversiality
NRK 08.10.16	Jeg prøvde, men hun var faen meg gift. Jeg prøvde meg virkelig, men fikk det ikke til. <sup>33</sup>	Decreasing controversiality
SH 06.10.16	Hun var gift... Jeg prøvde meg på henne som en liten kjerring, men jeg klarte det ikke. <sup>35</sup>	Keeping controversiality

In its context, this example is controversial because this statement falls into the category of sexist language, and is uttered by the US president, Donald Trump. From ideological perspectives, presidents and political figures are expected to behave in certain ways; follow existing norms of behavior. Such norms might be that presidents should not use sexist language. The statement in this example is a part of the more controversial statement “grab them by the pussy”, which I will be looking at separately in the next section.

DB, VG, and NRK all have the same translation of the ST. It is likely that some of them are borrowing the translation from the other. All translations entail a loss and a gain: ‘bitch’ is omitted in the DB, VG, and NRK (e.g. due to lack of equivalent (as swearwords are often culture-specific (Han and Wang 2014, p. 1)), and ‘faen’ is added. It could be that these Norwegian journalists did not know how to translate ‘moved on her like a bitch’, and decided to translate it into ‘jeg prøvde’, and to compensate for the loss (‘bitch’) by adding ‘faen’ to the phrase ‘she was married’. Han and Wang (2014) argue that “[w]ritten swearwords have a change of mode from spoken into written language tends to make the presence of swearwords

<sup>33</sup> “I tried, but she was fucking married. I really tried, but it did not work.”

<sup>34</sup> “Trump says she is married, but that he “moved on her””.

<sup>35</sup> “She was married... I moved on her like a bitch, but I did not make it.”

be perceived as more offensive and aggressive” (p. 2). ‘Faen’ is a swearword with negative connotations, but in this context, it is arguably less intensive and negative than the word ‘bitch: ‘moved on her like a bitch’ is a less conventional expression to say than ‘faen’, and can therefore be said to be stronger than ‘faen’. Also, ‘faen’ lacks the sexist aspect. Thus, DB, VG, and NRK can be said to decrease controversiality somewhat.

NA presented the statement through both retelling and translation: ‘Trump forteller at hun er gift, men at han «prøvde seg på henne»’. The controversial phrase ‘like a bitch’ is omitted in NA, making the NA a lot less controversial than the ST. It is thus decreasing controversiality to a higher degree than DB, VG, and NRK. SH translated ‘moved on her like a bitch’ into ‘jeg prøvde meg på henne som en liten kjerring’. This is a more literal translation, and is an unusual expression. To move on someone ‘like a bitch’ is arguably also an unusual thing to say; thus, the ST and SH can be seen as having matching unusualness in this sense. Importantly, the phrase ‘liten kjerring’ is keeping the sexist aspect of the statement. Therefore, SH is identified as keeping controversiality.

#### **4.2.5 The ‘Grab them’ example**

This example is also an extract from the conversation mentioned in the previous example: Trump’s conversation with the journalist Billy Bush in 2005. The sound recording was leaked to the press in August 2015, and Norwegian news, like American news, published several articles about Trump’s statement in form of translated written quotations with links to the original sound recording. This statement has received special attention because of its controversiality, and has developed into a widespread ‘Trumpism’. Thus, regarding the relationship between source and target text as clear and fixed can be problematic. Rather, one should treat the source text simply as a Trump-statement, with several translation outcomes.

**Table 5**

		<b>Degree of controversiality</b>
<b>ST</b>	<b>grab them by the pussy</b>	Very controversial
DB 18.10.16	grab them by the pussy	Decreasing controversiality
DB 08.10.16	Klå henne i skrittet <sup>36</sup>	Keeping controversiality
VG 07.10.16	Grip dem i skrittet <sup>37</sup>	Decreasing controversiality
VG 08.10.16	å gripe tak i kvinners underliv <sup>38</sup>	Decreasing controversiality
TV2 08.10.16	Du kan ta dem i skrittet <sup>39</sup>	Decreasing controversiality
NA 08.10.16	grab them by the pussy	Decreasing controversiality
E24 14.10.16	Grab them by the pussy	Decreasing controversiality
NRK 08.10.16	Grip dem i f***a <sup>40</sup>	Decreasing controversiality

Due to ideological perspectives, “grab them by the pussy” is a controversial statement, containing lewd, misogynistic language. Arguably, the degree of controversiality of such a statement in Norwegian and American culture is about the same. For instance, both cultures are valuing gender equality to a high degree. DB 18.10.16 is not translated into Norwegian. Instead of translating the statement, this journalist kept the English original in his or her Norwegian news article. Vinay and Darbelnet (1995) would call this ‘borrowing’, as we learned above, and could be used here to label the translation strategy (p. 31). There could be several reasons why this was done. One possible reason can be that the journalist expects Norwegians to know English, and assumes that the audience will understand this statement. In such case, it could be done “in order to introduce the flavour of the SL culture into a translation” (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995, p.32). A possible additional reason can be that the journalist did not want to offend Norwegians, and therefore, presenting this statement in another language could be one way of distancing oneself from the semantic meaning of the expression. This strategy can be an example of “semantic bleaching”, which is, according to Oxford Dictionary a “[w]eakening or alteration of a word's meaning” (n.p.). The intensity of the statement’s meaning is reduced when presented to us in another language than our mother tongue, and through semantic bleaching, readers can avoid being emotionally affected by vulgar language (Peterson 2017, p. 121). Based on this, DB 18.10.16 can be identified as ‘decreasing controversiality’.

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<sup>36</sup> “Groping her pussy”

<sup>37</sup> “Grab them in the crotch”

<sup>38</sup> “to grab women’s abdomen”

<sup>39</sup> “You can touch their crotch”

<sup>40</sup> “Grab them in the p\*\*\*y”

In DB 08.10.16, 'grab' is translated differently, however. 'Grab' is translated into the Norwegian verb 'klå'. 'Klå' is a vulgar expression, with negative connotations. For instance, the word is often used to describe sexual abuse or assault of women. More commonly, 'klå' appears in oral language rather than written. Followed by 'klå' is 'henne', which makes the expression personal; addressed to a female body. This is a shift from the source text, and could be an instance of "explicitation" (implicit information in the ST has become more explicit in the TT, 'them' is implicitly aiming at women) (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995, p. 342). DB 08.10.16 is, with its vulgar verb 'klå' and the use of the more personal 'henne', increasing controversiality. However, 'pussy' is in DB 08.10.16 translated into 'skrittet', which is a rather common word to use about vagina, bearing neutral connotations. Arguably, the English word 'pussy' corresponds to a ruder Norwegian word than 'skrittet'. 'Skrittet' corresponds better with 'crotch' (a rather mild term). Spoken vulgar/disturbing words have less impact in oral form than in written (Han and Wang 2014, p. 2), so using what corresponds better with 'pussy', namely the Norwegian word 'fitte', could be felt as way too strong by the journalist. One could argue that the choice of using 'skrittet' decreases the translation's controversiality, but since 'klå' and 'henne', as described above, do the opposite, DB 08.10.16 is identified as keeping controversiality.

VG 07.10.16 is similar to DB 08.10.16, but differs in the translation of 'grab'. 'Grab' is translated into the Norwegian word 'grip'. The verb 'grip' is not often used in such sexual contexts; it is a physically forceful action to 'grip' something. In that way, 'grab' corresponds better with 'grip' than with 'klå'. Also, 'grip' carries more neutral connotations in contrast to 'klå'. In this translation, 'them' is translated into 'dem' (a literal translation), and refers to a group instead of an individual (as in DB 08.10.16). 'Grip dem i skrittet' is arguably an awkward Norwegian sentence; at least it is an unusual utterance. Since 'pussy' is translated into the more milder term 'skrittet', VG 07.10.16 could be said to decrease the controversiality of the statement.

VG 08.10.16 also contains the verb 'grip', but in its infinitive form. This makes the translation more general or non-personal in contrast to DB 08.10.16 where the personal pronoun 'henne' is used. 'Pussy' is translated into 'underliv', which is a term generally used in medical contexts. This statement is arguably decreasing controversiality, because the language is not in itself

outrageous. It is less likely that Norwegians will be emotionally affected by this statement than DB 08.10.16, for instance.

Furthermore, TV2 can be said to decrease controversiality. This is because 'grab' is translated into 'ta', which is a highly frequent verb in Norwegian vocabulary with neutral connotations. Arguably, to 'ta' (touching) someone's 'pussy' is less extreme than to 'grip' (grab) someone's pussy. Thus, the statement is decreasing controversiality. Also, the two first words of this translation, 'du kan', is not as forceful as the directive 'klå henne...', making the statement softer in a sense. TV2s translation, along with DB 18.10.16 and VG 08.10.16 are all identified as decreasing controversiality. That is not to say that they are all on the same level of controversiality: one might argue that DB's translation is increasing controversiality to a higher degree than VG and TV2 for instance.

Finally, NA and E24 are decreasing controversiality in the same way as DB 18.10.16. Like the latter newspaper, NA and E24 borrowed the English statement without translating it, which could be due to the same reasons as outlined above when discussing DB 18.10.16. NRK's translation is rendered fairly literally. In it, 'pussy' is translated into 'f\*\*\*a' (i.e. 'fitta'), which is, as I mentioned above, a corresponding Norwegian word for 'pussy'. The fact that the journalist censored 'fitta' into 'f\*\*\*a' reveals the intensiveness/vulgarity of the word; so vulgar that the translator distanced him/herself from the word. The fact that parts of the word are hidden behind asterisks decreases the translation's controversiality.



#### 4.2.6 Summary

The table below is an overview of which newspaper increased, kept, and decreased controversiality the most. This overview only includes the four newspapers in which I have indications of attitudes and political leanings. Therefore, NRK, TV2, and Se og Hør (SH) and are intentionally left out from the overview.

**Table 6**

<b>Newspapers</b>	<b>Number of translations</b>	<b>Increasing controversiality</b>	<b>Keeping controversiality</b>	<b>Decreasing controversiality</b>
Dagbladet	5	40 %	20 %	40 %
VG	6	16,7 %	16,7 %	66 %
Nettavisen	3	0 %	33,3 %	66,7 %
E24	2	0 %	50 %	50 %

Table 6 shows that the overall tendency is to decrease controversiality. It also shows that Dagbladet increased controversiality the most, Nettavisen decreased the most, while E24 kept the most.



## 5 Discussion

This study set out to answer the questions: how are Trump's outrageous (i.e. politically incorrect, e.g. sexist/racist) statements translated in Norwegian news? What attitudes are held by Norwegian journalists and newsreaders toward Trump, and to what extent do these attitudes influence translations? In the attitude analysis above, I presented different headlines of a case about Trump. From that we could see that Dagbladet's headline was very negative toward Trump, VG's headline was somewhat negative but mostly neutral, while Nettavisen and E24 had neutral headlines. Furthermore, regarding newsreaders' attitudes, the results showed that Dagbladet's readers were divided in their attitudes toward Trump, but most of them were negative (40 percent). The readers of VG were overwhelmingly negative (74 percent), without any positive comments. Nettavisen's readers were equally positive and negative, and a few were neutral. Readers of E24 showed neutral attitudes 60 percent of the time, while 40 percent were negative. Even though the amount of data is very limited, these results indicate a relation of attitudes as expressed in newspapers' headlines and attitudes as expressed in newsreaders' comments (e.g. Dagbladet was negative, and so were most of the comments from its readers).

The concluding overview presented in 3.2.6 above reveals that the general tendency is to decrease controversiality. It also shows that Dagbladet is the newspaper that increased controversiality the most, E24 kept controversiality the most, and Nettavisen decreased the most. It is interesting that Dagbladet, which was negative toward Trump in the attitude analysis, was also the newspaper that increased controversiality the most. This is what we would expect from Dagbladet after learning their political leaning, i.e. left-oriented. It is also interesting that Nettavisen and E24, which both came out as mainly neutral toward Trump in the attitude analysis, never increased controversiality. We learned that Nettavisen's readers were right-oriented in the attitude analysis, which could imply that Nettavisen too is leaning toward the right. If so, it is in line with the result that Nettavisen decreased controversiality of translations the most (66,7 percent). VG also decreased controversiality in most of its translations (66 percent), which is slightly unexpected considering that it could be perceived as negative toward Trump in the attitude analysis.

When the controversiality of statements are decreased, such as through omissions (e.g. omitting 'like a bitch' in 4.2.4), semantic bleaching (e.g. borrowing 'grab them by the pussy' in 4.2.5),

and censoring (e.g. 'f\*\*\*a' in 4.2.5), we see that sexist aspects might disappear, and vulgar language is softened/made less intensive (and is less emotionally effective) in the target texts. Trump's outrageous statements are also translated in the way that they increase or keep controversiality. When translations increase controversiality, they, for example, leave out elements which could make Trump sound 'nicer' (e.g. Dagbladet omitting central elements in 4.2.3), add a sarcastic tone on the 'kinder' things Trump says (e.g. 'men la til at «sikkert noen av dem var snille folk»' from 4.2.2), and translate words into more controversial and negatively laden ones (such as 'klå' in 4.2.5). When controversiality is kept, translations usually render the ST fairly literally, keeping sexist aspects for instance (such as 'som en liten kjerring' in 4.2.4).

The results from the two analyses suggest that there is a relation between newspapers' attitudes and the way translations are carried out in light of controversiality. Most of the time, newspapers' attitudes toward Trump reflected the way newspapers performed their translations. For example, Dagbladet was the newspaper that increased controversiality the most, and is also the only explicitly stated left-oriented newspaper. Loupaki (2010) claims that "newspapers prioritize news in line with their political stance" (p. 61), and this study indicates that this also applies to how text is translated. Mahdiyan et al. (2013) claim that "translators who support opposing political parties will translate political discourse differently and will exhibit different attitudes to the ideologies expressed by the source text" (p. 40). Nettavisen, which seems to be leaning more to the right than left, and Dagbladet, with its left-oriented nature, would according to Mahdiyan et al. be expected to translate Trump differently. The results indicate this, but more research would be necessary to say for certain.

As mentioned in the introduction, people all over the world, and Norwegian news media in general, seem to have a negative tone toward Trump. Thus, it was my hypothesis that Trump's outrageousness would be highlighted in Norwegian news. That means I expected a tendency of increasing and keeping controversiality in translations. This hypothesis seems to have been wrong in my selected data material, however. It should be mentioned that even though a translation is decreasing controversiality, the news article as a whole does not necessarily decrease controversiality. That means, a news article can still present Trump negatively in its headlines, choice of information, and in its presentation of that information (Schäffner 2008, p. 12).

There are several possible reasons why translations of Trump's controversial statements are translated in the way that they most often decrease controversiality. One reason might be that journalists/translators agree with him politically, have positive attitudes toward Trump, and want to neutralize or soften the controversiality concerning him (though, one might imagine that journalists usually side with the newspaper they work within, but that does not always have to be the case). Loupaki (2010) argues that journalists translate in line with their political stance, as seen above. The newspaper's political leaning constitutes one form of ideology that the translator might have to conform to, and the editors of the newspaper can expect journalists to follow this ideology (in other words, journalists translate according to norms in their workplace (Toury 1995, pp. 53-69)). But, journalists are also influenced by other ideologies and norms within the target culture, for example ideologies rejecting racism, or norms of what is appropriate to write in newspapers (or as Lefevere puts it: rewriting is subject to constraints that control text production (Lefevere 2017)). Thus, Norwegian journalists/translators might want to avoid too vulgar expressions etc. in order not to offend their readers. This resembles what we learned in the first chapter, where the Mexican translator claimed that Mexicans "have sensitivities, so you do not want to offend them more than he [i.e.Trump] already has" (The Daily Show 2017, n.p.).

So, when translating controversial statements containing lewd sexist language for instance, journalists can be in a dilemma: do they want to translate adhering as closely as possible to the source text, but risk offending readers and possibly losing face as a translator – or – do they transform the language adhering to expectancy norms of the target culture? (Chesterman 1997, p. 64). If they do the latter, it can explain the tendency of decreasing controversiality in this study's results. Thus, Norwegian journalists in this study might be disagreeing politically with Trump, but nevertheless translate him in a way that makes him less controversial because of target culture norms. Another reason why newspapers decrease controversiality could be that they are unsure of how to handle political incorrectness in this setting. Messy language in the source text is usually cleaned up in the target text, according to Toury's "law of growing standardization" (Toury 1995, p. 267). In the same way, translators might want to 'clean up' Trump's political incorrectness, or at least distance themselves from it (by for instance avoid translating outrageous expressions). Hubscher-Davidson (2017) stresses that translating Trump's controversial statements can "put [translators] under severe psychological strain as they grapple with their feelings about his claims, ethics and emotionally charged language" (n.p.). As we saw in the firsts chapters, professional translators were afraid of losing face or

credibility as a translator when translating Trump (Hills 2017). Some translators argued that Trump makes the translator sound stupid, and that they had to “fake it” to not “look like an idiot yourself” (The Daily Show 2017, n.p.). Consequently, they translated Trump in a way that made him sound ‘better’ than he originally did.

Another possible reason why we see this tendency of decreasing controversiality can simply have to do with the transformation of vulgar language in oral to written form. All of the examples of controversial statements were originally in oral form, i.e. speeches and conversations. Cintas and Remael (2007) claim that taboo language is often toned down in the written medium, because such expressions are emotionally stronger in writing, than spoken orally (p. 196). In this sense, it is likely that English-language newspapers, too, are softening Trump’s words. Since it is impossible at times to know where Norwegian journalists find their source texts, it is difficult to know whether they use statements rendered (and already softened given what typically happens from speech to writing) in English-language newspapers as their sources.

To further answer the research question to what extent attitudes influence translations, we should also look at why translators/journalists are increasing and keeping controversiality at times. One reason why journalists/translators increase controversiality of translations could be because they disagree with president Trump politically, have a negative attitude toward him (and are influenced by all the other negative attitudes), and want to show him in a bad light by highlighting his outrageousness. This is in accordance with that newspapers prioritize news in line with their political leanings (Loupaki 2010, p. 61). Another reason to increase controversiality could be to sell more newspapers or catch more readers. Newspaper agencies want to sell their stories and make them interesting for the consumer/reader. Controversial statements coming from a US president are likely to catch readers’ attention to a higher degree than non-controversial stories. But, as discussed in one of the previous paragraphs, this can also risk offending some of the readers.

A particular interesting case of ideological sharpening and an instance of increasing controversiality, is Dagbladet’s translation in 4.2.3 (The Charlottesville example), where the journalist/translator has selected and omitted different aspects of the source text possibly to ideologically sharpen the content. Partial translations and omissions are characteristic features of news translation (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, p. 64), and Schäffner (2008) argues that “media

interests and ideologies play a role in how information is selected and presented” (p. 12). Dagbladet transformed the source text in this example into omitting aspects that would make Trump’s statements less controversial. What is also interesting with news translation is that it is often invisible (Schäffner 2008, p. 5), which creates great room for this kind of ideological manipulation of the translated text. Dagbladet might have manipulated the text (by omitting central aspects) to suit its own ideology.

Because of competing and conflicting ideologies, we find differences in degrees of controversiality. Ideologies, norms, and attitudes, as we have seen in the previous chapters, are determining factors when literary rewritings are presented into a society (Lefevere 2017; Munday 2007). However, because of different ideologies, what is perceived as controversial to one individual, can be non-controversial to another. In the analysis of this study, myself as a reader is determining whether a statement is controversial or not. However, other newsreaders might react differently to these statements, because readers have different attitudes, political leanings, and perspectives. This was evidenced by the analysis of newsreaders’ attitudes. Thus, me as the only reader/analyst limits this study to a certain extent.





## 6 Conclusion

The point of departure of this thesis was to investigate how Norwegian news media translated president Trump's controversial statements, and explore why the language was translated the way it is with main focus on attitudes. The main focus of the analysis of translations was to what degree each translation increased, kept, or decreased controversiality.

In this exploratory study I have revealed some of Norwegian newspapers' attitudes toward Trump and their political leanings, newsreaders' attitudes toward Trump, and the way online newspapers and online news broadcasting translated some of Trump's most outrageous statements between 2015 and 2017. The overall tendency from the analysis of translations was to decrease controversiality. This was surprising, since Norwegian news media and Norwegians generally seem to have a negative tone toward Trump. My hypothesis was that newspapers would highlight Trump's controversiality, but this proved to be wrong mostly. However, the hypothesis has some truth in that Dagbladet with its left-oriented political leaning, increased controversiality the most. To conclude on what has been discovered, maybe the most significant finding is the indication that newspapers' political leanings and attitudes toward Trump, are to some extent related to the way translations are performed. The newspaper with a left political leaning (Dagbladet) increased controversiality the most, and the newspaper (Nettavisen) that presumably is right-oriented, decreased controversiality the most.

Findings and conclusions in this study are, due to limited amount of data, specific to the instances and texts that constitute the object of this study. Because of the scope of this thesis, and time limitations, it was impossible to analyze and investigate all examples I wished to investigate. For instance, it would have been useful to go more in depth when analyzing political leanings of a newspaper, by for example analyzing numerous news articles to reveal tendencies of supporting either the left or right side, etc. It would also have been interesting to look at more examples of translated controversial statements by Trump, to see if there truly is a pattern of a tendency to decrease controversiality in the target texts. In other words, a greater reliance on the quantitative analysis component will be needed to make generalizations. Future studies could also apply this study's methodological procedures to investigate how Trump is translated into other languages. It would be useful for the validity of such studies to make a survey where different readers could rate the controversiality of translations. Ultimately, awareness of how

ideology, attitudes, and values might influence translations, and how they contribute to shape the political nature between borderlines, is crucial to understanding the nature of news media.

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## **Appendix A: Relevance for the teaching profession**

My master thesis is relevant in several ways for teaching in the ESL (English as a second language) classroom. Writing this thesis has given me a deeper understanding of the nature of news translation. Insight into how news translation, and translation in general, is subject to ideological manipulation, is useful knowledge for a future teacher. As teachers, we want to teach our students to be critical and question what they read, are being taught, see and hear in the world.

Besides learning more specifically how Trump is translated in Norwegian news, writing this thesis has given me an increased understanding of how cultural norms, attitudes, and ideologies influence texts: rewriting/translation is not innocent pieces of texts. I have learned how news translation is often invisible, which is important to convey and be aware of when for instance investigating news articles in the ESL classroom.

In the ESL classroom, being familiar with the field of translation and differences between the student's first and second language is significant. In language teaching, translation can be a useful didactic tool, and might for instance bring attention to subtle differences between the student's mother tongue and his/her second language. Additionally, teaching students about translation can also give them important understandings of intercultural communication in general.

Moreover, the writing process I have gone through in this thesis is also what my future students might be expected to do (in a smaller scale). At upper secondary level for instance, they will have to write various texts, assess one's own work, and receive constructive feedback. Students at this level might also be expected to search for relevant literature and critically use sources. After writing this thesis, I will be better equipped to guide them through such writing processes. Ultimately, writing this thesis will enhance my practice as a language teacher.