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Twitter-Trump

In Translation

Bacheloroppgave i Engelsk

Veileder: Anja Katrine Angelsen

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1. Introduction

By 2019, the world has become more interconnected by social media than ever before. Never before has a US president or another equally important world leader made use of social media platforms to campaign and further their agenda on such a level as current US president Donald Trump. Twitter is the new political communication platform, creating new and challenging cases for political commentators and news media all over the world. Using previous knowledge about ideological and political translation techniques might not be useful in the same way with this new way of interacting, in which more spontaneous and informal language often transpire.

Not only are we speaking of a relatively new way of communicating information, but also a new type of politician (and a former reality star) famous for his controversial and very specific way of speaking. A way of speaking so specific, in fact, that his speech and mannerisms have been dubbed *Trumpisms* and the act of translating such Trumpisms has subsequently been dubbed *Trumpslation* (Kalland, 2017). According to The Guardian, Trump's "interactions with world leaders have left interpreters scratching their heads about how to communicate what Trump is trying to say, when his speech baffles even native English speakers" (Greenslade, 2017).

This thesis will look at how Trump on Twitter is being translated in European media outlets, based on two Norwegian news providers and two Spanish ones. It is written under the presumption that the political leaning of a news outlet will influence how they render ideological conflict in their translations. European media positioned to the left on the political spectrum will likely try to translate the same controversy into the target language, or even increase the controversiality, while those that are more right-oriented might go for a more neutralizing result. What strategies are they using when translating Trumpisms and what is the result? Do different news media have different approaches to translating Trump? And if so, why is that?

2. Theoretical background

2.1 Ideology and translation

The new difficulties translators are facing today cannot only be attributed to new technology and the rise of social media. A likely assumption is that shifts are also happening in terms of both culture and ideology. Anthony Pym's "cultural paradigm" explains how one simply cannot study translation in isolation from cultural contexts (Pym, 2010, p.143). This is because the acceptance or rejection of texts in our society seems to be systematically governed by ideology and manipulation and the translations of said texts are highly influenced by cultural elements such as a society's values, perspectives and norms (Munday, 2016, p.193). As an example, the translator may oftentimes choose to censor certain words or expressions to make it more amenable for the target audience. This choice may be based on cultural standards in the society; namely, for the sake of political correctness. Texts, such as the one we will discuss later on, tend to express the values of the writer or the source culture, and the translator is left with a choice of whether to transmit these in the same way, or rather resort to ideological manipulation. At that point, the translator needs to consider the conflict between linguistic choices and the ideological considerations.

One can find various definitions of the concept ideology. On a basic level it is a set of ideas or beliefs. However, some view ideology as an expression of antagonism between different groups and thereby the ground of conflict between people and different powers who seek to dominate one another (Loupaki, 2010). In the context of political translation, Loupaki explains ideological conflict as "a result of competing socio-economic systems in politics [which] involves a standardized – and quite biased – vision of the world promoted by antagonistic political forces, such as the Right and Left" (ibid., p.56). In terms of the language used, conflict may manifest itself through various linguistic means, such as positively or negatively charged emotive words, euphemisms or syntactic choices.

Moreover, Dyers and Abongdia (2010) make a clear distinction between the concept of ideology, which is generally something that a group has in common, and that of an attitude, which manifests itself on a more individual level. Here, ideology is presented as an overarching setting within which attitudes may take form. "Behind every set of [language attitudes] is a fairly coherent [language ideology] that has its roots in the sociopolitical and historical environment of particular communities" (Kalland, 2017, p.6; Dyers & Abongdia, 2010, p.132), which are of course very different between the four different media outlets, between the

two European countries, and between the European countries and Trump's environment in the US.

André Lefevere's (2017) theory of *rewriting* explains translation as more of an adaptation of the source text (ST) into a particular ideology, meaning that the translator basically rewrites the original text with influences from the values and expectations of the target culture (p.27). According to him, ideology massively dominates the act of translation and is what causes great shifts in translation, for example when omitting sexual or inappropriate language in the target text (TT) because the target culture's ideology does not allow it (Kalland, 2017, p.6). From this point of view, translations can tell us a lot about a culture and the world we live in; the ideology, the ways we express ourselves, power relations and values. However, the general reader is likely not aware of the many influences that has played a part in the translation of the text they are reading, which means that they will most likely follow the interpretation given to them (Munday, 2007, p.198).

2.2 Politics, media and translation

A large number of texts in the media are related to political topics. Bassnett and Schäffner (2010) even state that without media there would not even be any politics and international relations (p.21). Because politics greatly revolves around text and speech production, translation in the media is becoming an increasingly important tool for politicians in the constantly globalizing world we live in. The people translating, however, are usually journalists who lack translational training; not professional translators.

Bassnett and Schäffner (2010) point out how journalists do not always simply report on political events in a neutral way. They provide evaluations of them and can thus significantly impact the public opinion about a politician, their policies or their party (Bassnett & Schäffner, 2010, p.4). As mentioned, ideologies and attitudes tend to differ between individuals, giving way for different interpretations and translations of political texts (Dyers & Abongdia, 2010, p.120). Whether a journalist then opposes Trump's politics could possibly lead them to translate a speech differently than they would if they were in favor of his politics. For that reason, one could hypothetically assume that the results of the analysis would show clear differences between e.g. the two Spanish newspapers El País and El Mundo, which have historically had opposing political leanings.

News media plays a crucial role in mediating between the general public, and it is most likely through news media that people get exposed to political messages (Kalland, 2017, p.8;

Schäffner, 2008, p.3). However, as we have seen above, these political messages have often gone through the process of translation, and thereby come with changes, or shifts, that may not be obvious to the reader. Bassnett and Schäffner (2010) call any form of media reports about political events *recontextualization*, meaning that the text has been brought from one context to another. The translator extracts the text from its original context, adds a new perspective to it, and relocates it in a new context (p.2). Ideological manipulation is possible simply because translation in the news world is so invisible to the reader and generally fitting in the target context. Bielsa and Bassnett (2009) even argue that news translation is what they call “doubly invisible”, because not only are translation processes so highly integrated into journalism today, leaving people unaware of its occurrence; the text is also commonly so domesticated and adapted to the target culture that the translator manages to hide their intervention more or less completely (p.73). People rarely pay attention to the translator/journalist when reading the news. Additionally, a widespread practice in the news world is to present translations as direct quotations, even though these passages have clearly undergone various transformations during the process (Bassnett and Schäffner, 2010, p.7). One will rarely find mentions of the fact that it is, in fact, a translation (ibid.).

Some characteristics are particularly common in news translation. For example, they often modify the ST by removing unnecessary information, summarizing, adding background information and changing the order of passages (Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009, p.64). This habit of selecting different content to translate while omitting other pieces of the ST is what Schäffner (2008) calls partial/mixed translation (p.12). Schäffner’s thoughts on mixed translation seem to relate to Lefevere’s theory of rewriting in that they both try to explain news translation’s tendency to include both original writing and partial translation. The question of which parts are chosen or omitted refers us back to the topic of ideological manipulation, since news agencies tend to use extracts that suit their own ideology and that will satisfy the reader’s expectations. For this reason, Schäffner (2008) stresses that any analysis being done on translation must also pay attention to the social, institutional, and ideological contexts of the ST’s origin (p.21).

3. Methodology

This thesis is based on a qualitative approach and will concern a small case study. Having just introduced a brief theoretical background for the following analysis, I will follow Descriptive Translation Studies by attempting a small-scale comparative analysis of four separate translations of one of Trump's more famous tweet sequences since his presidency began. I will try to shed light on whether the result of the target text (TT) is similar to the source text (ST) or if it shows some type of censoring. Such censoring would likely have occurred as a result of ideological manipulation in the target culture, which is why it is also important to discuss the context of the translations. In the end, the aim is to figure out whether the different news outlets have rendered the ideological conflict similarly, or if they have either increased or neutralized the controversiality of the ST in the TTs.

To explain the shifts in translation between the different TTs, Vinay and Darbelnet's model for translation is used. According to this model there are certain procedures a translator may apply when translating, such as borrowing, calque, literal translation, modulation, *équivalence* and adaptation (Munday, 2016, p.88). Out of these, only borrowing, calque, literal translation and *équivalence* will be discussed. Some supplementary procedures that are also of interest are explicitation and economy.

For the purposes of this thesis, there was a need for a ST which had been clearly translated in two Spanish newspapers and two Norwegian ones. For that reason, the choice of ST and TTs was mainly based on availability. The goal was to choose translations from the largest news providers of the two countries, thereby the ones that would reach the largest amount of people. This was achieved using this ST. However, the goal of having each media outlet represent differing political views was not fulfilled. More contrasting results may have come from smaller newspapers with more opposing political leanings.

An analysis will be given of three translated sentences of the ST, which will be demonstrated in Tables 1, 2 and 3. Although, I originally attempted analyses of all six sentences of the ST, because of time and space constraints, examples that produced similar and/or non-decisive results were left out. Furthermore, all translations given in this thesis are mine, unless explicitly stated otherwise.

4. Analysis

4.1 Trump in the media

Bassnett and Schäffner (2010) state that if one compares different translated versions of the same ST in various media outlets, one will probably notice changes that simply cannot be explained by solely referring to stylistic reasons (p.20). News media frequently present themselves with some kind of political affiliation, which likely matches that of their target audience. El País has historically been a reference point for the Spanish left, and is now viewed as loosely liberal, while El Mundo has historically taken a more right-wing stance, and is characterized as loosely conservative today (Hedgecoe, 2017). Both Norwegian media outlets have declared themselves neutral from any partisan bias, which is very typical among the Norwegian press (Herbjørnsrud, 2017). Nevertheless, Norwegian media have consistently been accused of being more left-oriented than they want to admit, even if there does, in fact, seem to be an equal balance between left and right voters within the journalism community in the country (ibid.). It is important to keep in mind that the political spectrum in Norway is very different from that of other countries in Europe, with right-side parties being much more moderate than those in other parts of Europe, and the Republican side in the US (Schultheis, 2017). In some ways, the right side of Norwegian politics appears to belong more on the left side of the American spectrum.

Although the presumption is that there should be a difference in tone between left and right oriented news outlets, neither the left nor the right side of European politics necessarily support the prospect of Donald Trump as the president of the USA (Bilefsky, 2016). It would be safe to assume that a substantial part of Donald Trump's massive amounts of media coverage has been negative – especially in Europe (Bleiker, 2017). Greenslade (2017) claims that “[m]ost newspapers across Europe predict that Donald Trump will be a reckless world leader, viewing him as a buffoon [...]”.

El País and VG have been vivid in their use of satire when discussing the president. El País has famously dubbed him “el Pato Donald” (Donald Duck) and made comparisons between his politics and the Spanish Inquisition (Carlin, 2016; Dorfman, 2016). In similar fashion, VG has published a drawing of Trump as a baby about to destroy the world, and a front-page portrait of Trump with a Hitler moustache (Johansen, 2016; Tolfsen and Zakariassen, 2017). VG's editor, Gard Steiro, claims that he does not see it as an ethical problem to use such powerful literary tools in the right context (ibid.). However, despite having no official political affiliation,

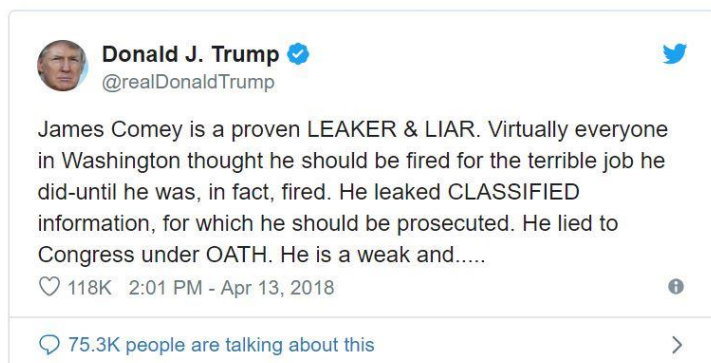
in relation to their aforementioned representations of Trump, one might make the assumption that VG does, in fact, oppose his politics.

Although harder to exemplify, NRK (politically neutral) and El Mundo (right-oriented), cannot be said to have refrained completely from any satirical stabs at the Twitter-President. In April 2019, El Mundo published an article promoting “President Flip Flops”, where the left and right flip flops demonstrate Trump’s tendency to contradict himself on Twitter (Las chanclas de tuits [...], 2019). Meanwhile, NRK made controversial headlines when showing images of Trump during a performance of the song “American Idiot” in one of their TV-programs (Grindem, 2016). Still, European media does seem to be gradually adjusting to Trump’s presidency, and Greenslade assesses that some news outlets do express cautious optimism about this presidency yielding more positive outcomes, especially in relation to economy (Bilefsky, 2016; Greenslade, 2017).

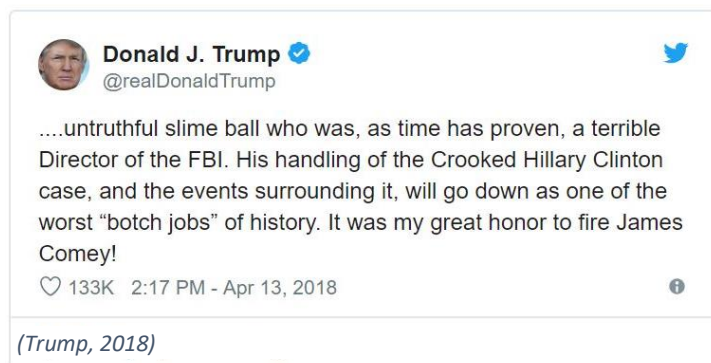
4.2 The tweet

Twitter is an American, but internationally popular, social networking website where users can post and interact with messages of 140 characters or less, known as “tweets”. The site has become hugely popular in recent years as a tool for live commentary of all kinds of entertainment, but is especially interesting to us because of its relatively new status as a political communication tool.

The tweet-sequence from 2018 occurred after former FBI-director



(Trump, 2018)



James Comey made his first interview after being fired by President Trump. According to Trump, Director Comey was fired as a result of his “terrible job” handling the previous FBI-investigation of presidential candidate Hillary Clinton (Trump, 2018). In the interview, Comey discussed his release of a series of memoirs which included sections about previous

conversations he had with the President, one of which was about an alleged video of Trump and some Russian prostitutes during a visit in Moscow in 2013 (Aronsen, 2018; Torres, 2018).

4.3 Analysis of the tweet

ST1 (13.04.18)	VG (13.04.18; 16.04.18)	NRK (13.04.18)	El País (14.04.18)	El Mundo (13.04.18)
James Comey is a proven LEAKER & LIAR.	- James Comey er beviselig en LEKKER og LØGNER ¹	- James Comey er en tyster og løgner	“James Comey es un filtrador y un mentiroso.”	Donald Trump acusa al ex director del FBI de ser un «probado soplón y mentiroso»
Gloss	James Comey is provably a leak-er (verb + noun suffix) and liar	James Comey is a snitch and liar	James Comey is a leaker (lit. filter/leak) and a liar.	Donald Trump accuses the former director of the FBI of being a ‘proven snitch and liar’

Table 1

Table 1 covers the first sentence of the ST, which shows Trump’s tendency to use capital letters in his tweets, which may heighten the sense of controversy for the reader. Although the use of capital letters previously existed to merely set text apart and convey importance, there is a general consensus today that writing in all capital letters means that the writer/speaker is shouting (Robb, 2014). VG is the newspaper that has chosen the most *literal* form of translation and has kept the “shouting” essence. This could mean that the translator was opting to convey the most similar translation possible, thereby presumably providing the reader with the most accurate translation. However, this example shows us that direct translation is not always sufficient and could provide the reader with more difficulties in understanding. One procedure attempted would be what is called *calque*, wherein the translator attempts to borrow an expression that does not exist in the target language, but translates it very literally (Munday, 2016, p.89). The word “leaker” has a clear figurative meaning for Americans (someone who leaks information), but the word “lekker” has no figurative meaning for Norwegians. The Norwegian word “lekker” is either an adjective, meaning something along the lines of “delicious”, or, alternatively, a conjugated verb, as in “vasken lekker” (the sink is leaking), which is likely the word from which the translator has tried to derive a noun. The derivation process of bringing a noun-forming suffix like “-er” onto a verb is similar in Norwegian and English (example: “å tale” (a speaker) becomes “en taler” (a speaker)), but is much more common in English and does not work in every case in Norwegian. More context is needed for a Norwegian reader to be able to understand the sentence as it stands.

¹ While Spanish media tend to use quotation marks to indicate quotes, Norwegian media are more prone to use the horizontal bar (quotation dash).

NRK and El País have gone for similar translations here, both being *economical* and omitting the word “proven” when translating, thus neutralizing the meaning slightly. Saying that someone is a proven liar would generate more outrage than simply calling someone a liar. They have also not relayed the message in capital letters. Meanwhile, El Mundo has kept that aspect and managed to keep the translation controversial, albeit being the more right-oriented newspaper in the mix. The term “soplón” more or less equals the term “tyster” used by NRK, neither of which is a word-for-word translation of the ST word “leaker”, as the literal translation would be more akin to the English word “snitch”. However, as previously discussed, there is no literal translation of the noun “leaker” in these two languages. El País has chosen the term “un filtrador”, which provides us with a result similar to VG’s attempt at calque. This noun is also not present in most dictionaries and is technically more of an adjective. However, when studying a corpus of articles, one can see that there has been a tendency to use this word among politicians in recent years and the word seems to be an example of neologism – a made-up word that seems to be working its way into common use (CORPES, 2018). In fact, native speakers might view this as a more eloquent use of words, as the term “soplón” sounds more like “dagligtale” (everyday-speech), while “un filtrador” seems slightly more formal, according to Professor at NTNU, Celia Bamberg (p.c., 2019).

Surprisingly, the most controversial result is found in El Mundo. However, all four translations have proven to generate TTs that are more neutralized, and thereby less controversial, than the ST. This may be due to a lack of equivalent vocabulary in some cases but could also be a result of a typical ideological need to portray political matters seriously. The Director of Marketing at Eriksen Translations Inc., Jennifer Murphy (2017), explains how translators often express concern that “by truly interpreting Trump’s words in an unbiased fashion it will make them look bad” and that it might be “appropriate to tone down something that might be construed as offensive” anyway.

Out of the four, it is clear that VG has made the most effort to keep the ideological conflict clear. Still, they have not managed to do so due to an obvious lexical confusion. NRK achieved an even higher degree of neutralization, while El País, making use of a noun created seemingly exclusively for political conversations, gives the most neutral and least controversial translation of the first sentence.

ST2 (13.03.18)	VG (13.04.18; 16.04.18)	NRK (13.04.18)	El País (14.04.18)	El Mundo (13.04.18)
He is a weak and [...] untruthful slime ball who was, as time has proven, a terrible Director of the FBI.	Trump kaller også Comey «svak», «en løgner» og «en slimål». – Han er en svak og løgnaktig slimball som var, slik tiden har vist, en grusom FBI-direktør.	Kaller Comey en «slimeball». Donald Trump fortsetter å uttrykke sin frustrasjon overfor Comey. – Han er en løgnaktig sleiping, det har tiden vist. En forferdelig direktør for FBI.	«Es débil y una bola de baba mentirosa que fue, como el tiempo ha demostrado, un terrible director del FBI.»	"Es una bola de babas",
Gloss	Trump also calls Comey “weak”, “a liar” and “a hagfish (lit. slime eel)”. He is a weak and lying slimeball (lit.) who was, as time has proven, a gruesome FBI-director.	Calls Comey a “slimeball”. Donald Trump continues to express his frustration over Comey. He is a lying, sly/cunning person (lit. slippery person), time has proven that. A terrible director for the FBI.	He is weak and a lying ball of slime (lit.) who was, as time has shown, a terrible director of the FBI.	He is a ball of slime (lit.).

Table 2

The ST in Table 2 might have been the most challenging for the translators as it includes a cultural idiom that does not seem to translate well in either of the target languages. VG has chosen two strategies here: First paraphrasing and then once again providing a direct translation. “[U]ntruthful slime ball” has first been translated as “en løgner og en slimål”. The procedure used would be *équivalence* (idiomatic translation), where the translator has tried to describe the same thing by different stylistic/structural means, which is useful when translating slang, such as “slime ball” (Munday, 2016:91). The goal is then to translate the *sense* of the expression (an appalling/disgusting person), but not the image (a ball of slime). The Norwegian word “slimål” literally translates as “hagfish”, but has a figurative meaning in Norwegian culture that more or less equals that of “slime ball”. Their choice of adjective further on is also interesting in that they have chosen the word “grusom” (gruesome) instead of “forferdelig”, like NRK. One could argue that “grusom” has more impact in Norwegian than the ST word “terrible” in this context. In that sense, VG’s translator has managed to keep the ideological conflict of the ST and may have even created a slightly more controversial TT.

NRK has chosen a very direct approach in *borrowing* the English term and putting “slimeball” between quotation marks in a paraphrased sentence. The words have been put together as one, which Norwegian grammar dictates, thereby making it seem slightly more like a part of their own vocabulary. Borrowing is a procedure commonly used when there is a need to fill a semantic gap in the target language (Munday, 2016, p.89). Typically, borrowing may also bring with it a need for transcription. However, the translator seems to have found another equivalent expression instead (“sleiping”), which he employs later. “Sleiping” (n.d.) translates to a sly person, or a person who is clever at deceiving people. What with “slime ball” meaning a

disgusting/despicable person (Slimeball, n.d.), and with the context of Trump also calling Comey “untruthful” and “a liar”, the translation seems fitting and likely translates the same message to a Norwegian reader. For that reason, the translation by NRK manages to keep the same level of controversiality and render the same ideological conflict.

Meanwhile, El País has attempted translating almost entirely word-for-word. El País and El Mundo show a very interesting result where they have both managed to make use of the same otherwise non-sensical calqued expression. Because the article by El País was published a day later than El Mundo’s article, it is likely that they may have adopted their translation from their counterpart in lack of an equivalent. Literally translated “slime ball” turns into “bola de baba[s]”. However, this expression has no figurative meaning in Spanish, and creates the sense of a literal ball of slime – either made of mucus or a children’s toy made of rubber (Bamberg, p.c., 2019). A reason for this choice of words could be that there simply is no equivalent to this Trumpism in Spanish. Furthermore, the phrase “una bola de baba *mentirosa*” (a lying ball of slime) is non-sensical, as one cannot attribute a ball of slime such an adjective (ibid.) Researching the expression in a Spanish corpus also gave no results (CORPES, 2018). One similar sounding expression would be “un baboso”, which translates to a slobbery person; alternatively, a dumb and childish individual (Baboso, n.d.). Yet, this translation would also change the meaning of the sentence and neutralize the ideological conflict. Neither of the Spanish newspapers have managed to keep the same level of controversiality at this point, El Mundo even less so, as they only placed a partial quote inside a paraphrase and gave no further explanation or transcription.

ST3 (13.04.18)	VG (13.04.18; 16.04.18)	NRK (13.04.18)	El País (14.04.18)	El Mundo (13.04.18)
His handling of the Crooked Hillary Clinton case, and the events surrounding it, will go down as one of the worst “botch jobs” of history.	- Håndteringen hans av den forbryterske Hillary Clinton-saken, og begivenhetene rundt den, kommer til å gå ned som den verste mislykkede jobben i historien.	Hans håndtering av Hillary Clinton-saken, og hendelsene rundt den, vil gå inn i historien som en av de verst utførte jobbene.	“Su gestión del caso de La Corrupta Hillary será conocida como una de los [sic] peores chapuzas de la historia.”	El presidente también criticó que la investigación llevada a cabo por Comey sobre el uso del servidor privado para sus correos electrónicos de Hillary Clinton, mientras estaba al frente del departamento de Estado, fue “uno de los peores ‘trabajos chapuzas’ de la historia” .
Gloss	His handling of the criminal Hillary Clinton-case, and the events around it, will go down as the worst failed job in history.	His handling of the Hillary Clinton-case, and the events around it, will go into history as one of the worst executed jobs.	His handling of the case of the Corrupt Hillary will be known as one of the worst botch jobs in history.	The president also critiqued that the investigation carried out by Comey on the use of the private server for Hillary Clinton’s emails, while he was at the head of the State department, was one of the worst botched jobs in history.

Table 3

The ST in Table 3 includes one of the most infamous Trumpisms: His repeated dubbing of former presidential candidate Hillary Clinton as “Crooked Hillary”. VG continues their attempt at creating a word-for-word translation, but two clear shifts are visible in the TT. “[T]he Crooked Hillary Clinton case” has become “den forbryterske Hillary Clinton-saken” (the criminal Hillary Clinton case), which includes a decidedly more forceful adjective. While “Crooked” could mean that something is bent/out of shape, Trump more likely uses it informally to express that Hillary Clinton is dishonest and engaging in illegal activities (Crooked, n.d.). “Crooked” is arguably less charged than the word “criminal”. Furthermore, the term “botch job” also seems hard to translate when going for a direct translation strategy. Although, as a native Norwegian speaker, I find the sentence provided by VG to be very ungrammatical, they still might have provided the reader the most charged translation. While the term “mislykkede” (failed) alone seems neutralized, the phrase “den verste mislykkede jobben” (*the worst failed job*) arguably promotes a harsher message than “*one of the worst ‘botch jobs’*”. From here, it is clear that this TT presents an increased degree of controversiality. El País’s version is fairly similar to this one, turning “the Crooked Hillary Clinton case” into “[e]l caso de La Corrupta Hillary” (the case of Corrupt Hillary), which similarly to “criminal” is perceived as more charged than the ST, although perhaps not quite as much. Still, by being *economical* with their words and omitting a translation for “and the events surrounding it”, the writer puts more focus on the “Corrupt Hillary” and thereby intensifies the controversiality.

NRK and El Mundo have done the opposite, omitting a translation of “Crooked” all together.² The rest of NRK’s translation is fairly literal, but lacks a clear equivalent of “botch jobs”. All in all, the ideological conflict is not rendered the same and the translation is very neutralized. This part of the TT also demonstrates how El Mundo tends to paraphrase Trump more than the other news outlets. By doing so, the translator can *explicate* more information that might make the statements more coherent (Munday, 2016, p.92). One of the possible reasons for this is discussed by one of the interviewees in Greenslade’s (2017) article. It seems that a common strategy among translators is to avoid quoting Trump directly: “We paraphrase what he has said

² In other articles NRK has chosen to borrow the term “Crooked Hillary”.

because conveying those jumps in his speech, the way he talks, is very difficult. Instead, we summarise his ideas and convey his words in simple [terms] that will make sense to our readers” (Greenslade, 2017). The other explanation lies in the ideological and right-oriented political views of the newspaper, which has been presumed to cause a neutralization effect when translating favored politicians.

	VG	NRK	El País	El Mundo
ST1	Decreased controversiality	Decreased controversiality	Decreased controversiality	Decreased controversiality
ST2	Increased controversiality	Equal controversiality	Decreased controversiality	Very decreased controversiality
ST3	Increased controversiality	Very decreased controversiality	Increased controversiality	Very decreased controversiality

Table 4

Table 4 gives a brief overview of the general results of the analysis. The omitted analyses of the sentences of the ST that have not been discussed in this thesis generally supported these results, with VG either keeping or increasing the controversiality in the remaining translations, NRK keeping or decreasing it, El País keeping or decreasing it, and El Mundo consistently decreasing the controversiality.

5. Conclusion

This thesis was based on the presumption that political orientation would influence the framework of the translations; whether the TTs would show signs of censoring or an increase in ideological conflict. Based on the results of the analysis, it is unclear if this presumption can be supported. European media seem to be generally skeptical of the prospect of Trump as President of the United States. Yet, there also seems to be a need to uphold certain cultural standards and political correctness. However, this analysis has shown that all these texts have clearly been rewritten, recontextualized, and all of them are examples of partial/mixed translation, meaning that they all include a series of shifts/changes that are likely invisible to the reader's eye, but still impact their opinion in one way or another.

One thing that is abundantly clear is that political commentators and translators find it difficult to translate Donald Trump. The varying use of Trumpisms, oral language and culture-specific slang that simply does not translate easily lead us to the realization that the results of political translations cannot be attributed solely to ideological manipulation, political leanings, or even stylistic preference. Sometimes, it seems, the translators are forced to work very hard to find equivalent words and still create a coherent text (which does not always work out). This is, of course, made more difficult by the media's very clear tendency towards a direct translation strategy, and their continued effort to relay translations as direct quotations (which they are not).

El Mundo, the right-oriented newspaper, seems to have redeemed the presumption by consistently creating more neutralized versions of the STs, thereby reducing the sense of controversy for the reader. El País, the only clear representative for the left side in this analysis, showed no consistent framework with their translations. Overall, when viewing the entire TT, it seems that the result either renders more or less the same level of conflict – or even decreases it slightly. For that reason, one cannot necessarily assume that a left-oriented newspaper would try to create more controversy around a politician from the opposite side of the political spectrum. Meanwhile, the politically independent, Norwegian news outlets actually show more varying results. While NRK's TT seems to actually decrease the controversiality of Trump's tweets, VG has produced an overall higher level of conflict by creating small shifts that together create a slightly more controversial result.

In the end, making a conclusion on whether all these results come from clear ideological manipulation or are rather naturally developed shifts derived from the difficulty of translating Trump's specific speech tendencies, would be impossible to do from a small case study like this one. The transferability value of these results is uncertain and such a small-scale qualitative approach is clearly not generalizable. However, it may express the need for more research done on the topic in the future to come, and furthermore, more research in the general direction of translation in the current age of social media.

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