

Rhetoric in Political Speeches

Translating Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump



BA Thesis English Language and Culture
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21 July 2016
9117 words

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Index

<u>1. INTRODUCTION</u>	2
<u>2. THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEES</u>	4
2.1 HILLARY CLINTON	4
2.2 DONALD TRUMP	5
<u>3. RHETORICAL STRATEGIES IN POLITICAL SPEECHES</u>	7
<u>4. ANALYSIS OF RHETORICAL QUALITIES</u>	10
COMPLEXITY AND REGISTER	10
WE, THEY AND I	11
REPETITION AND GROUPS OF THREE	12
CONTRAST	17
INSTRUCTIVE LANGUAGE	18
THE THREE APPEALS	18
<u>5. TRANSLATING CLINTON AND TRUMP</u>	19
THE PRONOUN YOU	19
REPETITION	19
METAPHORICAL LANGUAGE	20
ERROR	21
GROUPS OF THREE	21
<u>CONCLUSION</u>	33
<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>	34
SOURCE TEXTS	34
SECONDARY LITERATURE	34
<u>APPENDIX</u>	36
HILARY CLINTON, SUPER TUESDAY VICTORY SPEECH. MARCH 1, 2016	36
DONALD TRUMP, SUPER TUESDAY VICTORY SPEECH. MARCH 2, 2016	40

1. Introduction

The United States presidential election of 2016 is to be held on November 8 2016. While the primary elections and caucuses are still in full swing, there are already two presumptive presidential nominees. Donald Trump, a Republican, and Hillary Clinton, a Democrat, seem to have the most support from their respective parties. In the Netherlands the primaries of the presidential election are not widely broadcast on television. When speeches of the candidates are broadcast, they are mostly broadcast in parts, showing the highlights of the speech. Furthermore, subtitles leave limited space for translation, which makes it a difficult medium to convey the deeper layers of speech and meaning, and does not allow for a focus on various aspects of translation, such as the rhetoric of the speeches.

In this thesis, I will translate two political speeches made by presidential candidates, Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, into Dutch and analyse the translation problems that occur. Translating these speeches in full allows me to focus on the stylistic qualities of both speakers. Both speeches were delivered on the so-called Super Tuesday, which is the day when most U.S. states hold primary elections. Both speakers use a different set of rhetorical strategies, reflecting their personalities and campaigning strategy, which can form a problem for a translator.

An important guideline for analysing texts is the so-called Lasswell-formula, which is an extensive question regarding several aspects of the text; it goes as follows: “Who says what in which channel to whom with what effect?” (Nord 145). I analysed both speeches using this formula. Both Clinton and Trump address the American people in their victory speeches, talking about political affairs and beliefs while trying to persuade the public to vote for them in this election.

Nord states such an analysis can also be made for the target text. The question she asks to make a target text profile is as follows: who has the assignment to transfer the

message, with what goal to whom, when, why, and with what function?¹ (Nord, 146, my translation). Considering there is no official translation assignment, I have decided to assign one to myself. These speeches will be translated into Dutch to convey the stylistic qualities of both speakers to the Dutch audience. The translations should be suitable for a news-website, with a big feature on the presidential election. The translations will be presented along with translations of other speeches delivered by Clinton and Trump. As the emphasis lies on the rhetorical abilities of the speakers, I will focus on maintaining these rhetorical elements in my translation. For that purpose, my theoretical framework will focus mainly on the translation of rhetoric.

Because the main purpose of this thesis is to analyse the translation problems within the two speeches, the research question is as follows: which strategies are available and/or relevant to the translation of (political) speeches, in order to fully convey as many stylistic and rhetoric qualities as possible?

An analysis of the rhetorical strategies used in both speeches and their solutions will be made in order to answer the research question.

In the conclusion of this thesis the findings and the problems that were encountered during the translation process are discussed.

¹ “Wie heeft de opdracht om met welk doel aan wie wanneer waar en waarom een tekst met welke functie over te brengen?”

² The translation of ‘Super Tuesday’ into Dutch proved to be difficult because the phrase has a double meaning. It refers to the political event Super Tuesday, but the phrase can also be understood as ‘what a fantastic Tuesday’. For this reason I have tried to transfer the same

2. The Presidential Nominees

2.1 Hillary Clinton

Hillary Clinton was born on October 26, 1947, in Chicago, Illinois. Growing up, Hillary was interested in politics and active in young Republican groups (“Hillary Clinton”). She attended Yale Law School, and enrolled at Yale Child Study Centre after she graduated (“Hillary’s Story”). During her time at Yale Law School Hillary met her husband, Bill Clinton. They started a family in 1980, when their daughter Chelsea was born.

Hillary Clinton has a long history in politics and law. As Bill Clinton was elected governor of Arkansas, Hillary became the first lady of Arkansas from 1979 to 1981, and 1983 to 1992. From 1992 to 2000 she was the first lady of the United States, as her husband was elected (and re-elected) President of the United States. In 2000 Hillary was elected to the U.S. Senate, making her the first woman to be elected to the U.S. Senate. She was re-elected in 2006 (“Hillary Clinton”; “Hillary’s Story”). Hillary ran for president in 2008, striving to be the first female president. However, she conceded her nomination after it became clear Barack Obama held the majority of the votes. After his victory President Obama nominated Hillary Clinton as secretary of state. She accepted the nomination and was approved on January 21, 2009 (“Hillary Clinton”; “Hillary’s Story”). In April of 2015 it was confirmed Hillary would run for president again in the presidential election of 2016.

Hillary Clinton fights for children and women everywhere. She advocates equal education chances for all children, women’s rights, LGBT rights and equality. She concerns herself with racial justice, national security, and health care. She has spoken out about lowering student debt and climate change (“Hillary Clinton on the Issues”). Hillary Clinton believes in a multitude of issues, and has promised to address them all during her presidency.

2.2 Donald Trump

Donald Trump was born on June 14, 1946 in Queen, New York. Trump was enrolled in New York Military Academy (NYMA) as a child because his parents believed he needed a more structured and disciplined development (*Donald Trump Education & Schooling*). Trump was a very assertive and aggressive child. After he graduated from NYMA Trump went on to Fordham University before going to Wharton School of Business. Shortly after graduating from Wharton in 1968, Trump joined his father's real estate firm (*Donald Trump Education & Schooling*). Trump has been married several times, with the latest marriage starting in 2005 to Melania Knauss. From his three marriages Trump has had five children (*Donald Trump Spouse(s)*).

Trump joined the family business, Elizabeth Trump & Sons, after he graduated from Wharton. In 1975, Trump got handed the reigns and was in charge of the family business at 28 (*Donald Trump Career*). The company suffered during the recession in 1990, but Trump and the company pushed through and persevered. His brand name became a commodity, causing Trump's profile to rise and his company to get more deals. Trump thought of running for President during the elections of 2000, after his public profile took a leap (*Donald Trump Career*). Trump's public profile truly took off after he aired a reality show named *The Apprentice*. The show became a hit and turned the Trump family into a household name. During his career in real estate and business Trump invested in projects outside of real estate as well, such as a Broadway show (*Donald Trump Career*). Alongside his successful career as a businessman Trump has written fifteen best-selling books (*About Donald J. Trump*). While Trump has handed some business-related responsibilities to his children, he still remains the Chairman and President of the Trump Organization.

During the entire election period Trump has been very outspoken about several issues he believes in. He wants to reform several policies, such as the U.S.-China trade, health care,

veteran's administration, and immigration. Aside from all these reforms, Trump has advocated for tax reforms, to help more families make ends meet. He wants to build a wall on the border of the United States and Mexico, as well as uphold the Second Amendment, which is the right to bear arms (*Positions*).

3. Rhetorical strategies in political speeches

Rhetoric can be described as the art of discourse. When looking up the definition of rhetoric there are several meanings but two are the most important in this situation, namely: the ability to use language effectively, and the art of making persuasive speeches (“rhetoric”). Based on these two definitions, it can be stated rhetoric is of paramount importance in political speeches.

David Wright, an expert in academic writing, has given a lecture on rhetoric, more specifically on the analysis of rhetoric. Wright states: “Analyzing rhetoric focuses on the ‘how’ and ‘why’ of persuasion rather than what specific things people say or write in order to be persuasive” (par. 1). Wright introduces the Rhetorical Triangle to his students, as a means to analyse rhetoric, along with the Three Rhetorical Appeals. According to Wright the Triangle “allows you to effectively analyse different texts and arguments for their rhetorical strategies and devices” (sec. 1). The Triangle is made up of the author, the audience, and the text, which are all a part of any persuasive process. The Three Rhetorical Appeals consist of logos, ethos, and pathos. Logos is explained as the “strategy of reason, logic, and facts” (Wright). Ethos is the “strategy of credibility, authority, or ‘character’” (Wright). Lastly, pathos is the “strategy of emotions and effect” (Wright). An author can utilize all three strategies in order to persuade the audience.

Given the diversity of rhetorical devices, rhetoric can form a problem in translation. As a translator you have to analyse the use of rhetoric elements in the source text and find a way to incorporate these, or at least their effect, in the target text.

Christiane Nord makes a distinction between four categories of translation problems (147). The first problem that needs to be considered as a translation problem is pragmatic differences. There are differences in time and place between source text and target text, as well as a change in medium. It can be assumed the target audience has less knowledge about

the text and in which context it has been said. Andrew Chesterman has thought of several translation strategies for pragmatic problems. One of these strategies is to be more explicit (or implicit) about these aspects in the translation, by giving an explanation, or to make the aspect more universal. Another option is to insert new information in the text, which could not be deduced from the source text, but gives the audience a better insight (168-72).

The next category of problems that need to be considered during the translation process is the cultural difference. In both speeches there are cultural aspects that cause translation problems. Javier F. Aixelá states cultural aspects create translation problems because everything about a text is cultural, even the source language itself (197). As a translator, one would have to recognize cultural aspects and distinguish them from linguistic or pragmatic aspects. Once these cultural aspects have been identified, Aixelá divides several translation strategies into two groups, namely to maintain the aspect or replace it. Within these two groups he distinguishes several sub-strategies. When a translator chooses to maintain the aspect, he can choose to repeat the aspect as written in the source text, or to use a linguistic translation. Another option is to explain the aspect, either in the text or with a footnote. If a translator chooses to replace the cultural aspect it can be done in several ways. A translator could use synonyms, or use a cultural element that is known in the target language. Another option is to remove the cultural aspect entirely (200-202).

Nord's last category is the text-specific translation process, meaning problems that are isolated to the text at hand and cannot be solved as any other problem (147). Rhetorical devices such as repetition, metaphorical language, inclusive language and even instructional language, which are devices utilized by both Clinton and Trump, are cast under the text-specific translation problems.

As mentioned above repetition is a text-specific translation problem. Adnan K. Abdulla, a discourse analyst, has written that verbal repetition can serve several purposes, one

more obvious than the other. He states verbal repetition can be used to “hammer down the contents”, for emphasis, or to support the speaker’s tone (290-91). Abdulla states translators can approach the problem of repetition in several ways; the repetition can be translated as repetition, a translator can “opt for variation”, or a translator can ignore the repetition (291).

These strategies are similar to Chesterman’s strategies as set out in his classification.

Mezmaz Meryem, a student of Applied Language Sciences, states: “Translating idioms is one of the most difficult tasks for translators” (4). She believes there are three main problems that occur when someone translates idioms, namely “recognizing an idiom, understanding it, and distinguishing idiomatic from non-idiomatic usage” (4). Furthermore, even if one recognizes and understands the idiom in question, it can be difficult to find a suitable translation considering the function of the text, or the context in which the idiom is used. However, in his classification of translation strategies Chesterman states there are three sub-strategies when it comes to translating metaphorical language. You can translate the idiom with an existing idiom in the target text, you can keep the idiom, but then the tenor of the idiom might change, or you can translate the idiom without the use of an idiom in the target text (160).

4. Analysis of rhetorical qualities

This chapter contains in-depth analyses of the speeches delivered by Clinton and Trump. The analyses focus on the use of rhetorical qualities, devices, and strategies. More specifically the analyses focus on which rhetoric qualities the speakers used, what the effects of these particular qualities are, and how the qualities, and their effects, differ in the two speeches.

Complexity and register

The complexity in both speeches varies from each other. Clinton uses slightly longer sentences than Trump, with an average of fifteen and ten respectively (Persson et al.). Clinton's language is also more idiomatic than Trump's. Clinton utilizes idiomatic language throughout her entire speech, with sayings such as "work your heart out" (sec. 4), "we're all in this together" (sec. 12), "do the right thing" (sec 15), "now they are turning their backs on America" (sec. 13) and "we've come too far to stop now" (sec. 24).

Trump on the other hand utilizes linking words, such as 'and' and 'or', which he uses for emphasis, though they also make a sentence seem longer than it truly is. Some examples of this are the sentences: "[I]t's so great to be at Mar-A-Lago with friends and the press and the media and everybody" (sec. 5), and "we've won five major states and it looks like we could win six or seven or eight or nine" (sec. 1).

Clinton and Trump address their audiences with different registers, which attributes to the complexity of the speeches. Clinton speaks with a relatively high register, which can be derived from her use of words such as "delighted" (sec. 3), or sentences such as "I find strength and purpose in the values I learned" (sec. 22) and "I believe deeply that if we resist the forces trying to drive us apart" (sec. 22). Clinton's use of idiomatic language is also an example of her higher register.

Trump speaks with a normal, or even a slightly lower, register compared to Clinton, which can be derived from his use of the word ‘great’ or in sentences such as “wages have been poor and everything’s poor and everything’s doing badly” (sec. 4), or “it’s just going to become worse and worse” (sec. 4).

The appeals both speakers make vary, just as their register and complexity vary from one another. Clinton utilizes a higher register, complex structures and idiomatic language to establish authority. Trump utilizes a normal register, common language, and short sentences to connect to his audience.

We, they and I

Connecting with the audience, through inclusive language, is the one thing the speakers have in common, and use for the same effect. Both speakers use ‘we’, ‘us’ or ‘together’ in order to include the audience in their speech, but also to make them feel important in this campaign. Trump needs his audience “to make America great again”, and to help him stop businesses from moving out of the country, and Clinton tries to connect with her audience by presenting a common goal, namely breaking down barriers.

While Clinton mostly utilizes ‘we’ in her speech to include the audience in her campaign, Trump also utilizes the word ‘we’ as a term to address himself and his team, or his company. Besides the difference in the use of ‘we’ Trump utilizes the words ‘I’ and ‘they’ a great deal as well (Persson et al; Merrill). Trump appeals to ethos in these regards. With the pronoun ‘I’ Trump boasts his own image, using the success he has had as a businessman, as can be seen in table 4.1.

With the pronoun ‘they’ Trump tries to discredit his opponents; both Hillary Clinton and Marco Rubio are mentioned in Trump’s speech. Trump also tries to put the blame on others for the decline of jobs and success in the United States, he blames countries such as

Mexico and China, or the current leaders of the United States, and even several companies that have moved out of the country.

Table 4.1: Trump boasting his image

1.	[Virginia is] a place that we have big investments in, as we have in Florida (sec. 7).
2.	Remember, we have thousands of employees in Florida, all along Miami, Doral and Mar-A-Lago and so many other places (sec. 7).
3.	I have thousands of employees all over the country, actually, all over the world but for purposes of tonight, we'll just say all over the country. And it's been just so beautiful to watch this company grow and to watch it grow so strongly (sec. 8).
4.	Recent articles came out talking about how great a company we built (sec. 8)
5.	We have the greatest business leaders in the world on my team already (sec. 8).
6.	I have a plan that Larry Kudlow and so many others think is the best plan they've seen (sec. 10).
7.	I've been a job producer. I've done a lot of things but this is something I've never done, but I felt I had to do it (sec. 15).
8.	So it's just an amazing honor to have you with me tonight (sec. 16).

Repetition and groups of three

Repetition is a very clear, and prominent, rhetorical device in the speeches of Clinton and Trump, as can be seen in tables 4.2 and 4.3. Repetition is mostly used to add emphasis, though there are several ways repetition can be made. Clinton uses anaphora, which means she repeats a phrase at the beginning of successive, or neighbouring, paragraphs for emphasis, it also adds rhythm, and makes the speech easier to remember (Harris sec. 10). She repeats the sentence “break down barriers” throughout her entire speech. Aside from the emphasis and the rhythm the use of anaphora makes it seem as though Clinton’s speech is a whole, and has an aim.

Another form of repetition Clinton utilizes in her speech is amplification, which is the repeating of a word or phrase while adding more detail to the repetition (Harris sec. 20). Clinton utilizes amplification in the passage: “We have to defend all our rights – workers’

rights, and women's rights, civil rights and voting rights, LGBT rights and rights for people with disabilities" (sec. 20).

Trump utilizes a larger amount of repetition than Clinton, with an average of one repetition every five sentences (Persson et al). Trump repeats single words in his speech, successively, which is called epizeuxis (Harris sec. 47). Some examples of epizeuxis used by Trump are: "great, great power" and "politicians who truly, truly, truly don't know what they're doing" because of this he is "going to work very, very hard" (sec. 13). Lastly he states that "nobody, nobody, nobody is going to mess with us, folks, nobody" (sec. 15).

Another way Trump utilizes repetitions is as hyperboles, to exaggerate his point. Trump talks about "thousands of employees" (sec. 8) as well as "millions and millions of jobs" along with "thousands and thousands and thousands of plants" (sec. 11). The numbers grow bigger with every statement he makes, with appeals to the emotions of the audience, to their worries about the economy.

The last way Trump uses repetition is diacope, which is a method of emphasis by means of repeating a word or phrase with an intervening word or phrase in between (Harris sec. 44). Some examples of this strategy are the sentences: "and it takes courage to run. I'll tell you what, it takes a lot of courage to run for president" and "I've never done this before. [...] I've done a lot of things but this is something I've never done" (sec. 15).

Table 4.2 Trump's methods of emphasis through repetition

1.	1. "We have great, great power" (sec. 13). 2. "The problem is we have politicians who truly, truly, truly don't know what they're doing" (sec. 13). 3. "So we're going to work very, very hard" (sec. 13). 4. "nobody, nobody, nobody is going to mess with us, folks, nobody" (sec. 15).	Epizeuxis
2.	"Millions and millions of jobs, thousands and thousands and thousands of plants, manufacturing plants" (sec. 11).	Hyperbole
3.	1. "And it takes courage to run. I'll tell you what, it takes a lot of courage to run for president" (sec. 15). 2. "I've never done this before. I've been a job-producer. I've done a lot of things but this is something I've never done" (sec. 15).	Diacope
4.	1. "I want to <u>congratulation</u> Ted on the winning of Texas. He worked hard on it, and he — I know how hard he worked actually, and so I <u>congratulate</u> Ted Cruz on that win. <u>That was an excellent win</u> " (sec. 3) 2. "We're going to make America great again, folks. We're going to make it great again" (sec. 4). 3. "I know it was a very tough night for Marco Rubio. He had a tough night" (sec. 6). 4. "We're going to spend so much time in Florida. [...] But we're going to spend a lot of time in Florida" (sec. 6) 5. "I think that's fine. As far as I'm concerned, it's fine" (sec. 6). 6. "We're going to lower taxes. [...] So we're going to lower taxes" (sec. 10) 7. "The middle class has been forgotten in our country. [...] But we've forgotten the middle class" (sec. 10). 8. "it looked, literally, well, a little bit like this. [...] It looked, literally, like the Academy Awards" (sec. 15). 9. "you look at our military, which is really being depleted rapidly, depleted" (sec. 15).	Repetition without substance

Besides emphasis by means of repetition there are several instances in her speech where Clinton makes groups of three for emphasis. Andrew Dlugun, founder of the public speaking blog *Six Minutes*, explains why groups of three are so effective in speeches: “using the Rule of Three allows you to express concepts more completely, emphasize your points, and increase the memorability of your message” (par. 1). Using groups of three strengthens Clinton’s rhetoric, adds rhythm to the speech, and allows her audience to remember these parts better. Denise Graveline, writer for a magazine for communicators and leaders called *Toastmaster*, states: “You can use the rule of three to structure a single sentence, or expand it to serve as the structure for each phase of a speech” (17).

A, quite powerful, utterance of three Clinton utilizes is “we can, we are, and we will” (sec. 17), which can almost be seen as a mantra of sorts. The fact that the utterance is short makes it even easier to remember, which adds to the powerful quality the utterance already has.

An utterance of three that is especially powerful, because of its added alliteration, is: “the struggling, the striving, and the successful” (sec. 22). Clinton advocates for equality and by using this group of three she strengthens this view once again.

Table 4.3: Clinton's methods of emphasis through repetition

1.	<p>1. “Democrats voted to break down barriers so we can all rise together” (sec. 2).</p> <p>2. “We’re going to break down barriers and build ladders of opportunity” (sec. 9).</p> <p>3. “We all need to work together to break down barriers holding back our families and our country” (sec. 15).</p> <p>4. “And together we can break down the barriers that face working class families across America” (sec. 17).</p> <p>5. “Together we can break down barriers for our kids so they get the education they need and deserve” (sec. 17).</p> <p>6. “Together we can break down barriers for women and finally guarantee equal pay for equal work” (sec. 18).</p> <p>7. “And we can break down barriers for families who’ve seen too many black children harassed, humiliated, and even killed” (sec. 19).</p> <p>8. “We can break down barriers for voters in North Carolina who’ve been systematically disenfranchised and disempowered” (sec. 19).</p> <p>9. “We can break down barriers for hard-working immigrants everywhere who are too often exploited and intimidated” (sec. 20).</p> <p>10. “Keep breaking down those barriers and imagine what we can build together” (sec. 24).</p>	Anaphora
2.	“We have to defend all our <u>rights</u> – workers’ <u>rights</u> , and women’s <u>rights</u> , civil <u>rights</u> and voting <u>rights</u> , LGBT <u>rights</u> and <u>rights</u> for people with disabilities” (sec. 20)	Amplification
3.	<p>1. “we will need all of you to keep volunteering, contributing, doing everything you can” (sec. 5).</p> <p>2. “Not just the people who look one way, worship one way, or even think one way” (sec. 6).</p> <p>3. “We have to fill in what’s been hollowed out, We have to make strong the broken places, re-stitch the bonds of trust and respect across our country” (sec. 7).</p> <p>4. “because we can, we are, and we will” (sec. 17).</p> <p>5. “families who’ve seen too many black children harassed, humiliated, and even killed” (sec. 19).</p> <p>6. “Do all the good you can, for all the people you can, for as long as you can” (sec. 21).</p> <p>7. “The struggling, the striving, and the successful” (sec. 22).</p> <p>8. “We’ve got to keep going. Keep working. Keep breaking down those barriers” (sec. 24).</p>	Groups of three

Contrast

In order to strengthen some of her points Clinton uses contrastive language. Clinton speaks about “filling in what’s been hollowed out”, “make strong the broken places”, and “re-stitch the bonds” (sec. 7). These utterances can appeal to pathos, to the emotions of the audience, because America needs to be made whole again, as Clinton herself says.

Another clear contrast in her speech is presented in the sentences “The stakes in this election have never been higher. And the rhetoric we’re hearing on the other side has never been lower” (sec. 10). With this contrast Clinton is appealing to her own authority by discrediting her opponent(s).

Clinton also uses a quite elaborate, yet still clear, contrast:

Now I’m not interested in condemning whole categories of people or business. I’m just interested in making things right. So let there be no doubt, if you cheat your employees, exploit consumers, pollute our environment or rip off the taxpayers, we’re going to hold you accountable. But if you do the right thing, if you invest in your workers, and in America’s future then we’ll stand with you. (sec. 14-15)

The contrast in this passage is the two scenarios she presents to her audience. Clinton paints a very clear picture of what is to come if she becomes president. The contrast strengthens the position she takes on loyalty, which is the topic at hand. This passage appeals to ethos and pathos, Clinton establishes authority by taking a stance against disloyalty, and at the same time the audience feels a sense of justice at the promise of holding wrongdoers accountable.

A last contrast Clinton uses to emphasize and strengthen her views is: “We see it in the eyes of working men and women who don’t expect things to come easy but wonder why it

has to be quite so hard" (sec. 21). This contrast appeals to the emotion of the audience, who can identify themselves in this statement.

Instructive language

Inclusive language is another rhetorical device Trump utilizes in his speech. By using the instructive, such as: "Remember" and "look at", Trump regains the attention of the audience. The instructive is an effective means to re-focus the speech, by calling upon the audience to pay attention. It is also an indication, to the audience, that the rest of the sentence is of great importance.

The Three Appeals

Lastly, a very clear difference is the appeals both speakers make. While Clinton does appeal to ethos, with the use of register and complexity, during her speech she mostly appeals to pathos. Clinton plays on the emotions of the audience by stating she will fight for every single class, or group within the nation. Trump however appeals to ethos, he tries to establish authority by discrediting his opponents. Another way he tries to establish authority and credibility is by stating his success in business several times throughout his speech.

5. Translating Clinton and Trump

As a translator you have to recognize and understand every aspect of the text you are translating in order to make decisions about what strategies you are going to use for specific problems. There are several translation problems that occur in both speeches.

Even though the overview given in this chapter is rather limited, I wanted to present some of the problems I struggled with most.

The pronoun you

One of the problems that occur in both speeches is the use of the pronoun ‘you’. As a translator you can choose one of three ways to translate ‘you’, you could translate the pronoun as *jij*, which is quite informal in Dutch, as *u*, which is a more formal, or with the plural *jullie*. I’ve chosen to translate ‘you’ as ‘*u*’ or ‘*jullie*’ in the speech delivered by Hillary Clinton, because she uses a higher register, and speaks with a more formal tone. However, I translated ‘you’ as ‘*jij*’ or ‘*jullie*’ in the speech delivered by Trump, because he uses a slightly lower register, and his tone is more informal. By adjusting the pronoun, to the register and formality in the speeches, the divide between the speakers becomes clearer as it reflects on the rhetorical qualities a reader of the text cannot hear.

Repetition

Aside from the use of pronouns there is another translation problem that occurs in both Trump’s speech as well as Clinton’s. Both speakers make use of verbal repetition in their speech. As previously addressed there are several strategies for translating verbal repetition, namely, maintaining the repetition, variation, or ignoring the repetition (Abdulla 291). As the main focus lies on translating the rhetoric qualities of the speeches, ignoring the repetition did not seem to be the right strategy.

Clinton says the phrase “break down barriers” throughout her entire speech. The translation of this sentence has been consistent, and is as follows: “*obstakels wegnemen*”. In this case the repetition was maintained in order to maintain the emphasis of this phrase within the speech. Clinton uses the phrase to emphasize what needs to be done, and changing the repetition would take away that emphasis, as well as the aim of her speech.

Trump uses repetition in a different form from Clinton. He too has a phrase, a catchphrase really, that he repeats in his speeches: “we’re going to make America great again” (sec. 4), which has been translated as: “*we gaan Amerika weer groot maken*”. However that is not the repetition that caused a translation problem. The problem lies within his repetition of words, such as ‘very’ or ‘truly’. In most cases I decided to opt for variation, and use a different rhetorical device, in order to keep the emphasis Trump intended for these sentences. One of the sentence in which Trump uses this strategy is: “The problem is we have politicians who truly, truly, truly don’t know what they’re doing” (sec. 13). I have opted for a variation of repetition, translating the sentence as: *Het probleem is dat onze politici niet het flauwste benul hebben wat ze aan het doen zijn*. I have chosen to invert the sentence in the translation, this way the emphasis could be maintained without keeping the exact repetition of ‘truly’.

Metaphorical Language

Another translation problem that occurs in both speeches is the use of idioms and metaphorical language. Several translation strategies for translating idioms have been previously addressed. I have tried to maintain as many of the idioms as possible in the translations of the speeches; however, sometimes it was not possible to maintain an idiom in which case the idiom was replaced it with a different idiom of which the connotation or the image might be slightly different.

Clinton states that all the volunteers and organizers “worked their hearts out” (sec. 4), which is her way of saying they all worked extremely hard. I have chosen to translate this idiom by using a Dutch idiom that carries the same connotation namely, “*in het zweet werken*”. Another idiom used by Clinton is “we’re all in this together” (sec. 12). In Dutch there is a saying “*in hetzelfde schuitje zitten*” which carries a similar connotation as the English idiom used by Clinton, which is the reason this idiom has been used in the translation.

Error

During his speech Trump makes an error, which causes him to backtrack and correct himself. I encountered this problem solely in the speech of Donald Trump. The error creates a problem for the translator, because there are conflicting solutions. You could choose to maintain the error, as it appears to be a rhetoric quality of this speaker. Or one could correct the mistake and remove this particular rhetorical quality. The error he makes is: “and if he wins, they’ll have totally controlled – total control” (sec. 6). It is clear, from the correction he makes after making the error, that he intended to say ‘total control’, but it does not take away the fact he made an error the first time around. For this example I have chosen to remove the mistake, translating the sentence as follows: “*en als hij wint, zullen zij alle touwtjes in handen hebben*”. I have chosen to do so because as a translator you also have the obligation to present a well-written text, to the target audience, which has been cleared of mistakes and errors.

Groups of three

A translation problem that was solely located in Clinton her speech were the groups of three she made to strengthen her rhetoric. One example of a group of three can be located in the sentence: “The struggling, the striving, and the successful, if we all do our part we can restore

our common faith in our common future” (sec. 22). This cluster has been translated as “*diegene die strijden, diegene die streven, en diegene die succesvol zijn.*” I wanted to maintain both qualities of the words, the alliteration and the cluster, to convey the strength of Clinton’s rhetoric. Another reason for wanting to maintain the cluster is because she later states that this sentence captures the spirit that powers her campaign. Varying from the cluster would cause a shift in the speech that is unwanted and unnecessary.

Translations

Hillary Clinton's Speech

Dank u allen. Wat een Super Dinsdag².

[Applaus]

Jullie weten dat vandaag over in het land Democraten hebben gestemd vandaag om obstakels weg te nemen, zodat we met z'n allen kunnen opstaan.

[Applaus]

Ik ben zo verheugd om samen met jullie hier in Florida te zijn.

[Applaus]

Ik wil Senator Sanders feliciteren met zijn sterke optreden en campagnevoering en ik ben iedereen die op mij gestemd heeft ontzettend dankbaar, evenals alle vrijwilligers en organisatoren. Ik weet dat jullie je in het zweet gewerkt hebben. En veel dank aan al mijn vrienden, waarvan ik de meeste al mijn hele leven ken, die door het hele land zijn gereisd om mensen te vertellen over hun vriendin, de presidentskandidate. En mijn dank gaat uit naar de honderdduizenden mensen die naar Hillary Clinton punt com zijn gegaan, om te geven wat ze konden, want alle beetjes helpen.

Nu zet deze campagne zich voort in Evansville, Indiana, en Detroit, Michigan³ en daar voorbij. We zullen werken voor iedere stem, en we hebben jullie nodig om vrijwilligerswerk te blijven doen en jullie steentje te blijven bijdragen – door, bijvoorbeeld, te blijven praten⁴

² The translation of ‘Super Tuesday’ into Dutch proved to be difficult because the phrase has a double meaning. It refers to the political event Super Tuesday, but the phrase can also be understood as ‘what a fantastic Tuesday’. For this reason I have tried to transfer the same ambiguity into Dutch, and has the sentence been translated as ‘wat een Super Dinsdag’. I have decided to capitalize *super* and *dinsdag* to try and convey the ambiguity.

³ The use of the nicknames ‘Crescent City and Motor City’ (Evansville, Indiana and Detroit, Michigan respectively) proved quite problematic, assuming the target audience is not familiar with the nicknames. In order to accommodate the target audience, and give them an understanding of the road the campaign will take, I have decided to put down the actual names of the cities in the translation.

⁴ Clinton uses a group of three, “keep volunteering, contributing, everything you can” in this sentence. In order to maintain the aspect in the translation, I had to shift the sentences around. I translated “contributing” and “everything you can” with one Dutch saying (“*jullie steentje te blijven bijdragen*”), and then changed the sentence that follows it so that sentence would

met je vrienden en buren. Want dit land is van ons allemaal en niet alleen van de mensen die het besturen.

[Applaus]

Niet alleen van de mensen die maar op één manier kijken, één manier eren, of zelfs maar op één manier denken. Amerika bloeit op als we allemaal opbloeien. Amerika is sterk als we allemaal sterk zijn.

[Applaus]

En we weten dat er werk aan de winkel is. Maar dat werk is niet nodig om van Amerika weer een groots land te maken. Amerika is altijd groots gebleven. We moeten...

[Applaus]

We moeten van Amerika weer één geheel maken. We moeten de leegtes weer vullen.

[Gejuich]

We moeten lijmen wat gebroken is en het vertrouwen en respect, dat door het hele land in stukken ligt, herstellen.

Zoals ik al eerder heb gezegd, mag het misschien ongewoon zijn voor een presidentskandidaat om dit te zeggen, maar ik blijf het zeggen, ‘Ik geloof dat we vandaag de dag meer liefde en vriendelijkheid nodig hebben in Amerika.’

Want, weet je wat? Het werkt. In plaats van muren bouwen gaan we obstakels wegnemen en bouwen...

[Applaus]

bouwen we ladders die iedere Amerikaan de gelegenheid en kracht moeten geven om het beste uit zichzelf te halen, want alleen dan kan Amerika haar vermogen waarmaken.

[Applaus]

Vanavond is duidelijk geworden dat de belangen binnen deze verkiezingsstrijd tot onbekende hoogten zijn gestegen. En dat de retoriek van de tegenpartij nog nooit een dieper dal heeft gekend.

[Gejuich]

Het is verkeerd om te proberen Amerika in wij en zij te verdelen, en daar gaan we een stokje voor steken.

[Applaus]

become the third element. I have chosen to maintain the aspect because it is an aspect Clinton uses quite often.

Jullie weten dat, of we het nu leuk vinden of niet, we in hetzelfde schuitje zitten, vrienden, en we zullen allemaal ons steentje bij moeten dragen. Maar helaas lijken diegenen die vandaag de dag de meeste welvaart en macht hebben in dit land de fundamentele waarheid van Amerika te zijn vergeten. Ik was gisteren bij het Old South Meeting House in Boston waar Amerikaanse patriotten bijna tweehonderdvijftig jaar geleden de oorspronkelijke Tea Party organiseerden.

En ik vroeg me af wat zij zouden denken van ondernemingen die geen enkele loyaliteit tonen tegenover het land waar onze voorouders zo van hielden. Wat zouden zij zeggen van bedrijven die voor te veel geld studentenleningen verstrekken aan jonge mensen die worstelen om hun schulden af te lossen, zelfs aan jonge mannen en vrouwen die ons land dienen in het leger⁵. Of bedrijven die hun hoofdkantoor naar het buitenland verplaatsen, om zo de belasting te ontsnappen, zoals Johnson Controls, een bedrijf uit Wisconsin dat in auto-onderdelen handelt, dat wij met zijn allen, als belastingbetalers, uit de brand hebben geholpen met de ‘auto rescue’ in 2008. Nu kerent ze Amerika de rug toe.

[Gejuich]

Maar, ik sta hier niet om gehele bevolkingsgroepen of branches te veroordelen. Ik sta hier omdat ik dingen recht wil zetten. Het moge duidelijk zijn dat als u uw personeel bedriegt, consumenten uitbuit, onze omgeving vervuilt of belastingbetalers berooft, we u daarvoor verantwoordelijk zullen houden.

[Applaus]

Maar als u juist handelt, als u investeert in uw werknemers en in de toekomst van Amerika, dan zullen we achter u staan. We moeten allemaal samenwerken om de obstakels weg te nemen die onze families en ons land tegenhouden. Want de middenstand heeft loonsverhoging nodig.

[Applaus]

En meer goede banen. Banen die genoeg opleveren om een gezin te kunnen onderhouden. Zelfs om wat weg te kunnen zetten voor later. Banen die waardigheid en een mooie toekomst

⁵ I have decided to split the sentence: ‘even young man and women [...] auto rescue back in 2008’ into two sentences, by adding the first part of the sentence to the sentence prior to it, because both sentences underline the same point. This way the new sentence starts with a different point, about business moving abroad. By doing so a long sentence has been chopped up into two smaller ones, and two different points have been separated.

bieden. Dat is waarom we moeten investeren in industrie, infrastructuur, kleine bedrijven en schone energie – genoeg schone energie om ieder huis in Amerika te voeden.

[Applaus]

Laat niemand u vertellen dat we niks meer kunnen maken in Amerika, want dat kunnen we, dat doen we, en dat zullen we blijven doen⁶. En samen kunnen we de obstakels wegnemen waar de arbeidsklasse in heel Amerika mee wordt geconfronteerd, met name in de worstelende Rust Beltgemeenschappen en kleine, Appalachendorpen die door verloren banen en verloren hoop zijn leeggelopen. Families die generaties lang onze lichten lieten branden en onze fabrieken beheerden. Samen kunnen we obstakels wegnemen voor onze kinderen zodat zij het onderwijs kunnen krijgen dat ze nodig hebben en verdienen.

[Applaus]

Ieder kind in Amerika zou een geweldige school en een geweldige leraar moeten hebben, onafhankelijk van het gebied waarin ze wonen. Samen kunnen we obstakels wegnemen voor vrouwen en eindelijk gelijke lonen voor hetzelfde werk garanderen.

En we kunnen obstakels wegnemen voor families die te vaak hebben meegemaakt dat zwarte kinderen worden lastig gevallen, vernederd of zelfs vermoord. We kunnen obstakels wegnemen voor stemmers in North Carolina waarvan het stemrecht is ontnomen en die machteloos zijn.

[Applaus]

We kunnen obstakels wegnemen voor hard werkende immigranten, die te vaak worden uitgebuit en geïntimideerd. We moeten al onze rechten verdedigen, rechten van werknemers, vrouwen rechten, mensenrechten, stemrechten, LGBT rechten en rechten voor mindervalide. En dat begint met het bijstaan van President Obama wanneer hij een sterke, progressieve justitie nomineert.

[Applaus]

Ik weet dat te veel Amerikanen het vertrouwen in onze toekomst zijn verloren. We horen het in de stemmen van ouders, die niet weten hoe ze hun kinderen de kansen gaan geven die ze

⁶ In the source text Clinton uses a short but powerful sentence ‘we can, we are, and we will.’ I wanted to maintain the short and powerful utterance, for this reason the sentence has been translated as: “want dat kunnen we, dat doen we, en dat zullen we blijven doen”. The length of the sentence could not be maintained, but I was able to maintain the group of three, which is one of Clinton’s rhetorical strategies.

verdienen. We zien het in de ogen van werkende mannen en vrouwen, die niet verwachten dat het allemaal gemakkelijk gaat, maar zich afvragen waarom het zo moeilijk moet zijn.

Zoals velen van jullie, vind ik kracht en voldoening in de waarden die ik heb geleerd van mijn familie en mijn geloof. Zij gaven mij simpele woorden om naar te leven, een oud Methodistisch gezegde: ‘Doe al het goede dat u kunt, voor zoveel mensen als u kunt, voor zolang je kan’, en dat is waarom..

[Applaus]

Dat is waarom ik stellig geloof dat als we ons verzetten tegen de krachten die ons uit elkaar proberen te drijven, we ons kunnen verenigen om dit land voor iedereen te maken. Als diegene die strijden, diegene die streven, en diegene die succesvol zijn allemaal een aandeel leveren, kunnen we het geloof in onze gedeelde toekomst herstellen. Dat is de gedachte die deze campagne voedt. Het komt van een jonge conciërge in Arkansas die gestopt is met het kopen van junkfood en het kappersbezoek heeft uitgesteld om aan de campagne te kunnen bijdragen. Het komt van de invalide strijdveteraan uit Nebraska die tien dollar instuurde. In de zeventig jaar van zijn leven had hij nog nooit gedoneerd aan een politieke campagne, tot nu.

[...]

We gaan voort bouwen op de vooruitgangen die we gemaakt hebben. We hebben, dankzij President Obama, de auto industrie gered, nu moeten we nieuwe banen en industrieën van de toekomst creëren.

[Applaus]

Dankzij President Obama hebben we nu negentig procent van de Amerikanen verzekerd en nu moeten we het werk afmaken en naar de honderd procent zien te komen. We zijn te ver gekomen om nu de handdoek in de ring te gooien. We moeten door blijven gaan. Blijven werken. Die obstakels weg blijven nemen en bedenken wat we kunnen bereiken wanneer iedere Amerikaan de kans heeft om het beste uit zichzelf te halen.

Dank u allen zeer. Dank jullie wel.

Donald Trump's Speech

[Introductie door Chris Christie, lid van de Republican Party, en Gouverneur van New Jersey]

Heel erg bedankt, Chris. Ik waardeer het heel erg⁷. Dit is een geweldige avond geweest. We hebben nu al vijf grote staten gewonnen en het ziet er naar uit dat we er zelfs zes, zeven, acht of negen kunnen winnen.

[Applaus]

Het is echt geweldig geweest.

Ik wil Ted feliciteren met zijn overwinning in Texas. Hij heeft er hard aan gewerkt, en hij - Ik weet hoe hard hij ervoor gewerkt heeft namelijk, dus ik feliciteer Ted Cruz met die overwinning. Het was een fantastische overwinning.

We gaan Amerika weer groot maken, mensen. We gaan het weer groot maken. En, weet je, ik keek naar Hillary's speech en ze praatte over magere lonen, en alles is zwak en alles doet het slecht, maar we gaan het reden – ze zit al zo lang in het vak. Ik bedoel, als ze het nu nog niet in orde heeft, gaat ze het ook in de komende vier jaar ook niet rechtdoen. Het zal alleen maar slechter en slechter worden. Ze wil van Amerika weer één geheel maken en ik probeer er achter te komen wat ze nou precies bedoelt. Amerika weer groots maken gaat zoveel beter worden dan Amerika weer één geheel te maken.

Dus ik wil alleen maar zeggen dat dit een spannende avond was. Het is zo fijn om in Florida te zijn. Het is zo goed om in Mar-A-Lago te zijn met vrienden, de pers, de media en iedereen.

[Applaus]

Ik weet dat het een zware avond voor Marco Rubio is geweest. Hij heeft een zware avond gehad maar hij heeft hard gewerkt. Hij heeft veel geld uitgegeven. Hij doet er niet toe, zoals ik al zo vaak heb gezegd. Maar weet je wat? We gaan naar Florida, we gaan heel veel tijd doorbrengen in Florida. We hebben een voorsprong van ongeveer twintig punten. Ik weet, omdat het me net is verteld, dat veel groepen, vele speciaal geïnteresseerde lobbyisten en mensen die de Senator naar hun pijpen willen laten dansen, in de komende twee weken twintig of vijfentwintig miljoen dollar in de campagne zullen stoppen. En eerlijk gezegd vind

⁷ The sentence “I appreciate it” refers to the introduction given by Chris Christie, or to a specific part of the introduction. The reference is too explicit in the target text, because it is unknown what Chris has said specifically. For this reason the sentence has been made more implicit in the translation.

ik dat prima. Wat mij betreft, is het prima. En als hij wint, zullen zij alle touwtjes in handen hebben. Maar hij gaat toch nergens heen, we zullen wel zien wat er gebeurt. Maar we zijn nog wel een tijdje bezig zijn in Florida.

De overwinning in Virginia was geweldig omdat het gewoonweg een spectaculaire plek is en een plek waar we veel investeringen hebben, net zoals in Florida. Onthoud: we hebben duizenden werknemers in Florida, langs de kust bij Miami⁸ en op zoveel andere plekken. En het was geweldig om te hier te kunnen investeren. Het was geweldig om zoveel fantastische werknemers te hebben, waarvan er zo veel zijn gekomen vanavond om ons toe te juichen. En weet je, ik heb duizenden werknemers door het hele land, eigenlijk over de hele wereld, maar voor vanavond zullen we maar zeggen door het land. En het is gewoon geweldig geweest om dit bedrijf te zien groeien, en het zo sterk te hebben zien worden. In recente artikelen is geschreven over hoe we dit geweldige bedrijf hebben opgebouwd en nu willen we met hetzelfde vermogen iets doen voor ons land. Ik bedoel, ons land heeft serieuze problemen. We worden vermorzeld in de handel, volledig vernietigd. China gebruikt ons gewoon. Ik heb niks tegen China. Ik heb respect voor China, maar hun leiders zijn te slim voor onze leiders. Onze leiders hebben geen idee en de handelstekorten van vierhonderd en vijfhonderd miljard dollar zijn gewoon te hoog. Geen enkel land houdt het vol met zo'n handelstekort. Het zal niet lang zo blijven. Ik heb in mijn team hebben de grootste bedrijfsleiders van de wereld, en geloof me, we zullen de handelscontracten opnieuw afsluiten en we gaan er weer iets moois van maken.

Kijk nou eens naar landen als Mexico, die ons verslaan in de grensgebieden, ons compleet vermorzelen langs de grenzen. Ze verslaan ons op het gebied van economische ontwikkeling. Bedrijven zoals Carrier Air Conditioning die naar Mexico verhuizen. Ford die naar Mexico verhuist. Nabisco, die de deuren sluit in Chicago en naar Mexico verhuist. We moeten dit stoppen, mensen. En ik weet hoe we het kunnen stoppen; we gaan banen creëren, we gaan banen creëren als nooit tevoren.

We gaan de belastingen verlagen. Ik heb een plan waarvan Larry Kudlow en vele anderen denken dat dit het beste plan is dat ze ooit hebben gezien.

⁸ The names of the cities, Doral and Mar-a-Lago, have been omitted in the translation. I made this decision based on the presumed knowledge of the target text. The sentence has been translated as follows: *we hebben duizenden werknemers in Florida, langs de kust bij Miami* (literally: along the coast of Miami). This translating still gives a general idea of the location, without using the city names.

We gaan de belastingen aanzienlijk verlagen voor de middenklasse. We zijn voorbij gegaan aan de middenklasse in ons land. Ze hebben ons erg geholpen en zijn waarschijnlijk de voornaamste reden geweest die ons land tot dit land heeft gemaakt. Een land waar we allemaal zo van houden en waar we zo trots op zijn. Maar we zijn aan de middenklasse voorbij gegaan. Daarom gaan we de belastingen verlagen.

We verlagen de belastingen voor bedrijven. Kijk naar al die bedrijven die verhuizen. Als je ziet dat Pfizer naar Ierland verhuist en zo veel andere bedrijven die tegenwoordig vertrekken. Voorheen verhuisde ze van New York naar Florida, of van New Jersey naar een andere plek, of niet, Chris. Maar nu verhuizen ze van New Jersey...

[Gelach]

niet dat er veel mensen New Jersey verlaten. Maar Chris begrijpt het probleem volledig. Nu vertrekken ze van plekken waar ze eerder juist naartoe zouden komen, om zich te vestigen in andere delen van de wereld. We kunnen dit niet laten gebeuren.

We hebben banen in de industrie verloren. We hebben onze industrie verloren. Miljoenen banen, honderdduizenden installaties, fabrieken, pakhuizen. Ik bedoel, we verliezen zo veel. We kunnen het niet laten gebeuren.

Ik vertel vaak het verhaal over een vriend van me die werkt in de archeologiebranche en hij bestelt altijd Caterpillar machines⁹. En onlangs heeft hij Komatsu tractoren besteld vanuit Japan omdat ze de Yen hebben verlaagd. Ze hebben de Yen zo ver omlaag gebracht dat het voor Caterpillar praktisch onmogelijk was om te concurreren. En ik wil niet dat dit gebeurt. Het gaat niet gebeuren. Het zou niet moeten mogen.

Wij hebben enorme macht over iedereen omdat wij eigenlijk de bron zijn. We hebben enorm veel macht. Het probleem is dat onze politici niet het flauwste benul hebben wat ze aan het doen zijn. Daarom gaan wij ontzettend hard werken.

Ik voel me zo vereerd door deze avond. Als je me dit op 16 juni gezegd had, toen ik samen met mijn vrouw, Melania, uit de lift kwam in de Trump Tower en het leek, eigenlijk leek het nogal op nu. Er zijn veel camera's aanwezig vanavond.

[Applaus]

⁹ The word ‘machines’ has been added to this sentence in the translation. I have done this with the belief the target audience will not have any knowledge of the company Caterpillar. By adding the word machines I give them an inkling, without being too specific.

Het leek, werkelijk, op de Oscars¹⁰. Ik heb nog nooit zoveel camera's gezien in mijn leven. En het je moet dapper zijn om mee te doen. Ik zal je is wat vertellen, je moet wel dapper zijn om mee te doen aan de presidentsverkiezingen. Ik heb dit nog nooit gedaan. Ik heb altijd banen gecreëerd. Ik heb veel dingen gedaan, maar dit is iets wat ik nog nooit heb gedaan, maar ik voelde dat ik het moest doen. Kijk eens naar de onbekwaamheid van het akkoord met Iran, waar we honderdvijftig miljard dollar hebben gegeven, en totaal niks hebben gekregen. En kijk eens naar alle problemen die ons land heeft en kijk naar ons leger dat uitgeput is, compleet uitgeput. We gaan ons leger groter, beter en sterker maken dan ooit te voren en niemand, echt niemand zal nog met ons sollen, mensen, niemand.

[Applaus]

Het is een geweldige eer dat jullie hier met mij zijn vanavond¹¹. En, zoals eerder gezegd, is er nu ruimte voor de media om een aantal vragen te stellen als daar behoefte aan is.

¹⁰ In this sentence Trump compares his situation to the Academy Awards. The comparison has been maintained though the name ‘Oscars’ was used for the event, because this term is more known among the target audience.

¹¹ Trump inverts the more common sentence “it is great to be here with you tonight” and states “it’s an amazing honor to have you with me tonight”. Because this inversion is so remarkable and presses once again on the fact Trump speaks about himself a lot, it was preferable to maintain the inversion in the translation as well.

Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to assess the translation problems that occur when Hillary Clinton's and Donald Trump's Super Tuesday speeches are translated into Dutch, and which solutions are available for translating rhetoric. The research question of this thesis was therefore as follows: "Which strategies are available and/or relevant to the translation of (political) speeches, in order to fully convey as many stylistic and rhetoric qualities as possible?"

I have focused mainly on the rhetorical qualities within these speeches, and located several qualities, such as repetition, inclusive language, register, or the use of contrast. There are four main strategies available, or relevant, to the translation of speeches: maintaining the aspect, varying from the aspect, ignoring the aspect, or insert an aspect in the translation. Considering I wanted to maintain the rhetorical qualities in the translation, the third strategy, ignoring the aspect, did not seem to be the right strategy. Most of the aspects in the text were therefore maintained or a variation was used. In very few occasions I was able to insert an aspect into the translation, to either strengthen the rhetoric or to compensate for some of the aspects that got lost in translation.

For further research there could be looked at multiple speeches of both Clinton and Trump, in order to identify patterns in the rhetorical qualities of these speakers.

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Appendix

Hilary Clinton, Super Tuesday Victory Speech. March 1, 2016

[1] CLINTON: Thank you all so much. What a Super Tuesday.

(APPLAUSE)

[2] You know all across our country today Democrats voted to break down barriers so we can all rise together.

(APPLAUSE)

[3] I am so delighted to be here with you in Florida.

(APPLAUSE)

[4] I congratulate Senator Sanders on his strong showing and campaigning and I'm grateful to all of you who voted for me, to the volunteers and organizers. I know you've worked your hearts out. And to all my friends, many of a lifetime who traveled to all the states to tell people about the candidate they knew. And to the hundreds of thousands of people who went to Hillary Clinton dot com to give what they could, most less than \$100.

[5] Now this campaign moves forward to the Crescent City, the Motor City and beyond.

We're going to work for every vote and we will need all of you to keep volunteering, contributing, doing everything you can – talking to your friends and neighbors. Because this country belongs to all of us, not just those at the top.

(APPLAUSE)

[6] Not just the people who look one way, worship one way, or even think one way. America prospers when we all prosper. America is strong when we're all strong.

(APPLAUSE)

[7] And we know we've got work to do. But, that work, that work is not to make America great again. America never stopped being great. We need ...

(APPLAUSE)

We have to make America whole. We have to fill in what's been hollowed out.

(CROWD CHANT)

We have to make strong the broken places, re-stitch the bonds of trust and respect across our country.

[8] Now it might be unusual, as I've said before, for a presidential candidate to say this, but I'm going to keep saying it, "I believe what we need in America today is more love and kindness."

(APPLAUSE)

[9] Because you know what? It works. Instead of building walls we're going to break down barriers and build ...

(APPLAUSE)

... build ladders of opportunity and empowerment so every American can live up to his or her potential, because then and only then can America live up to its full potential too.

(APPLAUSE)

[10] Now it's clear tonight that the stakes in this election have never been higher. And the rhetoric we're hearing on the other side has never been lower.

(CROWD CHANT)

[11] Trying to divide America between us and them is wrong, and we're not going to let it work.

(APPLAUSE)

[12] You know whether we like it or not, we're all in this together, my friends, and we all have to do our part. But unfortunately, too many of those with the most wealth and the most power in this country today seem to have forgotten that basic truth about America. You know yesterday I was at the Old South Meeting House in Boston where nearly two and a half centuries ago American patriots organized the original Tea Party.

[13] And I had to wonder what they would make of corporations that seem to have absolutely no loyalty to the country that they love so much. What would they say about student loan companies that overcharge young people struggling to get out of debt. Even young men and women serving our country in the military, or corporations that shift their headquarters overseas to avoid paying their fair share of taxes like Johnson Controls, an auto parts company from Wisconsin that all of us, we taxpayers, helped to bail out with the auto rescue back in 2008. Now they're turning their back on America.

(CROWD CHANT)

[14] Now I'm not interested in condemning whole categories of people or businesses. I'm just interested in making things right. So let there be no doubt, if you cheat your employees, exploit consumers, pollute our environment or rip off the taxpayers, we're going to hold you accountable.

(APPLAUSE)

[15] But, if you do the right thing, if you invest in your workers, and in America's future then we'll stand with you. We all need to work together to break down the barriers holding back our families and our country. Because the middle class needs a raise.

(APPLAUSE)

[16] And more good jobs. Jobs that pay enough for a family to live on. Even put a little away for retirement. Jobs that provide dignity and a bright future. That's why we have to invest in manufacturing and infrastructure and small business and clean energy – enough clean energy to power every home in America.

(APPLAUSE)

[17] Don't let anybody tell you we can't make things in America anymore, because we can, we are, and we will. And together we can break down the barriers that face working class families across America, especially in struggling rust belt communities and small, Appalachian town that have been hollowed out by lost jobs and lost hope. Families who for generations kept our lights on and our factories running. Together we can break down barriers for our kids so they get the education they need and deserve.

(APPLAUSE)

[18] Every child in America should have a great school and a great teacher no matter what zip code they live in. Together we can break down barriers for women and finally guarantee equal pay for equal work.

(CROWD CHANT)

[19] And we can break down barriers for families who've seen too many black children harassed, humiliated, and even killed. We can break down barriers for voters in North Carolina who've been systematically disenfranchised and disempowered.

(APPLAUSE)

[20] We can break down barriers for hard-working immigrants everywhere who are too often exploited and intimidated. We have to defend all our rights – workers' rights, and women's rights, civil rights and voting rights, LGBT rights and rights for people with disabilities. And that starts by standing with President Obama when he nominates a strong, progressive justice.

(APPLAUSE)

[21] I know too many Americans have lost faith in our future. We hear it in the voices of parents who don't know how they're going to give their kids the opportunities they deserve. We see it in the eyes of working men and women who don't expect to come easy but wonder why it has to be quite so hard.

[22] Like many of you I find strength and purpose in the values I learned from my family and my faith. They gave me simple words to live by, an old Methodist saying. Do all the good you can, for all the people you can, for as long as you can, and that is why

(APPLAUSE)

... that is why I believe deeply that if we resist the forces trying to drive us apart we can come together to make this country work for everyone. The struggling, the striving, and the successful, if we all do our part we can restore our common faith in our common future. That's the spirit powering this campaign. It comes from a young janitor in Arkansas who stopped buying junk food and putting off getting a haircut so he could contribute to it. It comes from the disabled combat veteran from Nebraska who sent in \$10. In 70 years of his life he had never donated to a political campaign until now.

[...]

[23] We're gonna build on the progress that we've made. We saved the auto industry thanks to President Obama, now we gotta create new jobs and industries of the future.

(APPLAUSE)

[24] We now have insured 90 percent of Americans thanks to President Obama and now we've got to finish the job and get to 100 percent. We have come too far to stop now. We've got to keep going. Keep working. Keep breaking down those barriers and imagine what we can build together when each and every American has a chance to live up to his or her own God-given potential.

[25] Thank you all so very much. Thank you.

Donald Trump, Super Tuesday Victory Speech. March 2, 2016

[Introduction by Chris Christie]

[1] TRUMP: Chris, thank you very much. I appreciate it.

This has been an amazing evening. Already, we've won five major states and it looks like we could win six or seven or eight or nine.

(APPLAUSE)

[2] It's really been great.

[3] I want to congratulate Ted on the winning of Texas. He worked hard on it, and he — I know how hard he worked actually, and so I congratulate Ted Cruz on that win. That was an excellent win.

[4] We're going to make America great again, folks. We're going to make it great again.

And, you know, I watched Hillary's speech and she's talking about wages have been poor and everything's poor and everything's doing badly, but we're going to make it — she's been there for so long. I mean, if she hasn't straightened it out by now, she's not going to straighten it out in the next four years. It's just going to become worse and worse. She wants to make America whole again and I'm trying to figure out what is that all about. Make America great again is going to be much better than making America whole again.

[5] So I just want to say that this was an exciting evening. It's so great to be in Florida. It's so great to be at Mar-A-Lago with friends and the press and the media and everybody.

(APPLAUSE)

[6] I know it was a very tough night for Marco Rubio. He had a tough night but he worked hard. He spent a lot of money. He is a lightweight, as I've said many times before. But you know what? We're going to go to Florida, we're going to spend so much time in Florida. We've got about a 20-point lead. I know that a lot of groups, a lot of the special interests and a lot of the lobbyists and the people that want to have their little senator do exactly as they want, they're going to put \$20 million or \$25 million into it over the next two weeks, from what just came over the wires. And frankly, I think that's fine. As far as I'm concerned, it's fine. And if he wins, they'll have totally controlled — total control. But he's not going anywhere anyway, but we'll see what happens. But we're going to spend a lot of time in Florida.

[7] The Virginia one was just a great win because it's a place that is just spectacular and a place that we have big investments in, as we have in Florida. Remember, we have thousands of employees in Florida, all along Miami, Doral and Mar-A-Lago and so many other places.

And it's been an amazing place to invest. It's been amazing to have so many wonderful employees, so many of whom are here tonight, really urging us on.

[8] And you know, I have thousands of employees all over the country, actually, all over the world but for purposes of tonight, we'll just say all over the country. And it's been just so beautiful to watch this company grow and to watch it grow so strongly.

Recent articles came out talking about how great a company we built, and now we want to put that same ability into doing something for our nation. I mean, our nation is in serious trouble. We're being killed on trade, absolutely destroyed. China is just taking advantage of us. I have nothing against China. I have great respect for China, but their leaders are too smart for our leaders. Our leaders don't have a clue and the trade deficits at \$400 billion and \$500 are too much. No country can sustain that kind of trade deficit. It won't be that way for long. We have the greatest business leaders in the world on my team already and, believe me, we're going to redo those trade deals and it's going to be a thing of beauty.

[9] You look at countries like Mexico, where they're killing us on the border, absolutely destroying us on the border. They're destroying us in terms of economic development. Companies like Carrier Air Conditioner just moving into Mexico. Ford, moving into Mexico. Nabisco, closing up shop in Chicago and moving into Mexico. We have to stop it, folks. I know how to stop it. We're going to create jobs. We're going to create jobs like you've never seen.

[10] We're going to lower taxes. I have a plan that Larry Kudlow and so many others think is the best plan they've seen. We're going to lower taxes substantially for the middle class. The middle class has been forgotten in our country. It really helped and really probably was the predominant factor in making our country into a country that we all love so much and we're all so proud of, but we've forgotten the middle class. So we're going to lower taxes.

[11] We're lowering taxes on business. You look at all the companies that are moving out. When you see Pfizer moving to Ireland and you see so many other companies, constantly now they're leaving. They used to move from New York to Florida, or they'd move from New Jersey to someplace else, Chris. But now they're moving from here — (LAUGHTER) — not that many people are leaving New Jersey. But Chris understands the problem, fully understands. Now they're leaving from places that they used to move to into other parts of the world. We can't let that happen.

We've lost our manufacturing jobs. We've lost our manufacturing. Millions and millions of jobs, thousands and thousands and thousands of plants, manufacturing plants, warehouses. I mean, we are losing so much. We can't let it happen.

[12] I tell the story often about a friend of mine who is in the excavation business and he always orders Caterpillar. And recently, he ordered Komatsu tractors from Japan because they've cut the yen. They've devalued the yen to such an extent that it was virtually impossible for Caterpillar to compete. And I don't want that to happen. That's not going to happen. They shouldn't be allowed to do it.

[13] We have tremendous power over everybody because we are really the source. We have great, great power. The problem is we have politicians who truly, truly, truly don't know what they're doing. So we're going to work very, very hard.

[14] I'm so honored by this evening. If you would've told me on June 16th, when I was with my wife, Melania, and we came down the escalator in Trump Tower and it looked, literally, well, a little bit like this. You have a lot of cameras here tonight.

(APPLAUSE)

[15] It looked, literally, like the Academy Awards. I never saw so many cameras in my life. And it takes courage to run. I'll tell you what, it takes a lot of courage to run for president. I've never done this before. I've been a job-producer. I've done a lot of things but this is something I've never done, but I felt we had to do it. When you look at the incompetence of the Iran deal, where we give \$150 billion, we get absolutely nothing. When you look at all of the problems our country has and you look at our military, which is really being depleted rapidly, depleted. We're going to make our military bigger and better and stronger than ever before, and nobody, nobody, nobody is going to mess with us, folks, nobody.

(APPLAUSE)

[16] So it's just an amazing honor to have you with me tonight. And if you want, press, I think we told you before we'd be okay if you want to ask a few questions.