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**The Difficulties in Translating Political Speeches
from English into Ukrainian**

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КУРСОВА РОБОТА

З ПЕРЕКЛАДУ

**ТРУДНОЩІ ПЕРЕКЛАДУ ПОЛІТИЧНИХ ПРОМОВ
З АНГЛІЙСЬКОЇ МОВИ НА УКРАЇНСЬКУ**

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INTRODUCTION

The article is focused on the study of the concept of political speech, examination of lexical, grammatical, and stylistic features of this type of texts, and the analysis of the lexical, grammatical, stylistic, and other translation transformations that are used in the process of translating political speeches.

It is generally acknowledged that language is the most accessible and efficient way of manipulating human thought, decisions, and actions. It is not that easy, however, for translators and interpreters to translate a political speech into another language retaining all the linguistic means and thus achieving the same intensity of influence.

The topicality of the study is predetermined by the mass-oriented nature of political speeches and their linguistic capacity. Moreover, the situation in Ukraine prompts watching and listening to the speeches of world leaders commenting on the events, their help, and prospects of the world peace scene.

The purpose of this paper is to establish phenomena in English political speeches that may become a difficulty during the translation process and describe the possible ways of rendering these phenomena into the Ukrainian language.

In order to succeed in the set goal, the following objectives must be carried out:

- studying and summarising the information regarding the notions of political speech, political language, and political discourse;
- analyzing English political speeches and manifesting the challenging points for translation;
- providing methods of translation for the difficulties found in the English political speeches.

The investigation subject is the difficulties that translators and interpreters may encounter while translating English political speeches.

The object of the research is political discourse.

The data sources of this research are 17 selected speeches of American and British political figures delivered over the course of the 21st century.

Continuous sampling, quantitative analysis, comparison, comparative method, generalization, and classification are the methods implemented in the study.

The theoretical and practical value of this paper includes encouraging further research of lexical, grammatical, and stylistic peculiarities of political speeches as well as suggesting insight on the implementation of various translation transformations for students majoring in translation studies. In addition, the research was performed on the basis of relatively new and recent speeches, namely speeches of Donald Trump and Joe Biden, which have not yet become the subject of a large number of linguistic works.

The paper comprises the introduction, two chapters, conclusions, and references.

The introduction encompasses the purpose and objectives of the paper, its rationale, subject and object as well as its theoretical and practical value.

Chapter 1 dwells upon the notions and essences of political discourse, political speech, and political language and presents a sample of text analysis of a political speech.

Chapter 2 displays the lexical, grammatical, and stylistic translation challenges found in the analysed speeches of American and British politicians, offers the ways of translating and translation transformations that could be implemented to render these challenges, and provides summary data of the research.

The results obtained during the process of writing the paper are summarised in conclusion which also provide the ideas and prospects for further study of this issue.

CHAPTER 1
THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF TRANSLATING
POLITICAL SPEECHES

1.1 Characteristic features of political discourse

Only relatively recently has humanity realised how much language affects political processes. Although the connection between language and politics became the object of research in recent past, the concept of discourse has been used in science for a long time. Despite that, there is still no single, comprehensive, general definition for this notion as scientists and researchers all have a different view on it.

American linguist Deborah Schiffrin (1997) proposes three approaches to defining discourse: discourse as language above the sentence or clause, discourse as language use, and discourse as utterances (pp. 20–43).

According to Jacob L. Mey (2001, pp. 190–191), *discourse* is "a metapragmatic condition" and encompasses not only the immediate context, by which we understand the speech situations, but also the invisible, hidden aspects which regulate those language situations.

Another approach to defining discourse is treating it as a type of communicative activity, an interaction, a flow of speech with various forms of expression (oral, written, paralingual). This phenomenon occurs within a specific communication medium, regulated by the means (strategies, tactics) that the participants apply. It is also a fusion of cognitive, linguistic, and non-linguistic factors, as a result of which a wide range of speech genres are created.

Modern Linguistic Dictionary (Zahnitko, p. 138) characterises discourse as a communicative event which refers to a series of connected statements or a certain arrangement of sentences, serving as a basis of such a description.

Discourse can be understood, in a broad sense, as the method by which personal, social, and cultural knowledge is integrated, and as the analysis of language

communication and individual texts of various kinds (Nahorna, 2005). Overall, discourse is not only a linguistic, but also an interdisciplinary phenomenon.

As for the types of discourse, the widely acknowledged as the most comprehensive classification by Potscheptsov differentiates newspaper, theater, TV and radio, film, public relations (PR), advertising, political, and religious (fideistic) discourses (Kovalska, 2014, pp. 121–122).

A very detailed variant of discourse typology was presented by I. Shevchenko and O. Morozova (2005):

1) according to the form: oral and written;

2) according to the type of speech: monologic or dialogic;

3) according to the target direction: institutional and personal (essential);

4) according to the the conditions of various guidelines and communicative principles: argumentative, conflict, and harmonious discourses;

5) according to the socio-situational parameter: political, administrative, legal, military, religious, medical, business, advertising, pedagogical, sports, scientific, electronic (Internet discourse), media discourse (mass media), etc.;

6) according to various characteristics of the addresser and the addressee: sociodemographic criterion (children, adolescent, and elderly discourse; male and female discourse; the discourses of city and village residents); socio-professional criterion (discourse of sailors, builders, miners); socio-political criterion (discourse of communists, democrats);

7) according to the functional and informative components: informative (emotional, evaluative, directive discourses) and phatic;

8) according to the criterion of formality and meaningfulness in the functional-style aspect according to the genres and registers of speech: artistic, journalistic, scientific etc., official and unofficial (pp. 233–236).

As for political discourse, which exists in the manner of formal debates as well as informal talks on politics among family members, it can be characterised as a communicative act during which its participants attempt to attach peculiar meanings to facts and affect or persuade others. That is to say that political discourse can be

defined as a strategy of manipulation using language means in order to achieve a certain aim, often of ideological character, as Amaglobeli (2017) has noted.

The primary aim of political discourse is for the speaker to articulate their perspective on reality and persuade the audience that their viewpoint is the sole correct one (Shevchuk, 2013). There are numerous functions of political discourse, among them:

- informational (informing people about political problems);
- instrumental (struggle for power, seizure and preservation of power);
- persuasive (political propaganda, persuasion and influence);
- forecast (projection into the future and the past, which means predicting for the future by analysing the past experience);
- construction of speech reality (formation of secondary reality by mass media and PR);
- control (control over information transmission and dissemination);
- emotive (the author expressing his/her feelings and evokes the addressee's emotions), etc. (Pidhrushny, 2015; Shevchuk, 2013; Shkvorchenko, 2020).

In his dictionary, Zahnitko (2020, p. 142) further explains that political discourse also encompasses three discourse components: "cognitive schemes" which cover the assumptions about the structure of the world, understanding of the political situation, deducing, and determining what the intentions of the participants are; "formal schemes" which imply various structures that are close and understandable for the recipients, and "emotional schemes" which denote individuals and groups of people who embody the standards and principles that are fundamental to their communities.

As a peculiar means of influencing the society, political discourse, in turn, possesses its peculiar features. First of all, political discourse is always a combination of interpreting the world and describing real as well as imaginary political phenomena. This is realised through the above-mentioned function of forecast.

Another characteristic element is the language and semantic means used in the texts of political discourse. The specific politically determined lexicon is only a part

of it. It is the pragmatically aimed choice of words, their colouring, intensity, deliberateness, etc. that create the desired effect of manipulation. Evoking the needed association, adding a rich idiom or expression, using a neologism or a trending buzz-word – all these means increase the impact of the written or oral text and make it more colourful, bring politicians closer to society, and thus, create the illusion of trust.

It follows that texts of political discourse should be both standardised and expressive in order that the message is simple enough for a wider audience to understand and that the addressees are more likely to be influenced by the author's intention.

In addition, as political discourse is meant to affect the masses, mass media is the primary means of projecting political aims and is, therefore, almost inextricably linked to political communication.

Analysing the translations of political speeches, Zinkovska (2020, p. 17) presents a view of some researchers that political discourse as a separate phenomenon does not exist. This opinion is justified by a statement that political discourse lacks originality from the linguistic perspective, and that the peculiar features of lexis and grammar that allow us to recognise political discourse are not universal, being unique and distinguishable only within a certain language.

Another point to consider is the genres of political discourse. Fairclough (2006, p. 193) is totally right in stating that political discourse does not exist as a separate phenomenon but is a social construct, a product of society that changes according to the shifts in the latter.

Presented below is Kondratenko's (2017) approach to grouping speech genres (SG) within political discourse:

a) presentation-image SG (a slogan, program, and biography). Official, unofficial or in the form of political advertising, these genres are aimed at presenting a certain image, positive or negative;

b)   informative SG (a message, a statement, an interview). Similar to journalistic texts, these genres deliver timely information while being more optimised;

c)   ritual SG (inaugural speech, greetings, obituary, gratitude, etc.). These genres are mostly represented by speeches and public addresses with minimal information but outlined structure and etiquette norms;

d)   campaigning SG (a slogan-call, speech, and flyer) possess characteristics of the former three types. They are aimed encouraging people to vote and support a political entity at the elections;

e)   and agonality-argumentative SG (debates, TV and talk-shows). The purpose of these genres is to produce a positive image of a politician by means of his own communication with other politicians.

Padalka (2012) lists regulative (the Constitution), instrumental (posters, flyers), integrational (party programs), and informational and persuasive (political speeches) speech genres according to the function the text performs.

Continuing his work on genres in political discourse, Fairclough (2006) names genres associated with the political system (e.g. parliamentary debate, political manifestos and programs, parliamentary or party conference speeches by political leaders, policy documents), mediatised political genres (e.g. political news reports, political interviews, political chat shows, party political broadcasts, political advertising in the press and on billboards), the political public sphere (e.g. public meetings, campaign literature of social movements, political forums, and focus groups), with the mentioned genres as only a few examples.

To conclude, political discourse is a very complex notion which requires further investigation. Due to both linguistic and social nature of the discourse, there are numerous approaches to defining it as well as the genres it comprises. The main functions of this discourse are informative and persuasive. Therefore, there are various means used in political texts in order to encourage the target audience to certain actions or to facilitate the formation of certain beliefs and ideas. Political

discourse serves as a method of influence and propaganda for politicians and authorities.

1.2 Political speech: methods, strategies and tactics of communication

Speechmaking is fundamental to political communication because it is the speaking through which the audience is influenced. A *political speech* can be characterised as an address of political leaders with a certain structure, clearly defined purpose, carefully chosen methods, strategies and tactics of communication, and key functions (Rafaliuk, 2022) or, as Matsko & Matsko (2003) define it, a pre-prepared address in the response to a burning political issue, with assessments of approving or disapproving nature, justification, specific facts, outlined plans, and the prospect set on political changes as a result.

In a political speech, the speech act is expressed by a number of statements that depend on the persuasive intent of the addressee and the communicative situation, Didenko (2001) indicates. Political speeches "assert some idea, point of view, direction, or ideological position" (Matsko & Matsko, 2003), which is thus presented as the only correct one. It is clear that the main function of political speeches is the persuasive one in order to realise the desired aim. That is accomplished, according to Matsko & Matsko, through various means, for example, paraphrasing; making comparisons and contrasts; employing the images hidden behind epithets, metaphors and hyperboles; actualising certain words and expressions that are relevant to the situation; providing new coinages from time to time; using expressive tones, etc.

Both the researcher A. Beard and speechwriter Phil Collins, who composed many speeches for a former UK Prime Minister Tony Blair, agree that the success of a speech lies in the arguments. Beard states that they should not necessarily be true, but must be valid (Beard, 2000, p. 18). In Collins' view, there are three key components of a successful political speech: "a serious argument which leaves the audience thinking something new or resolved to act; great delivery that stirs the

emotions as well as appealing to reason; and a sense of occasion" (*What makes a great political speech?,* 2011).

Didenko (2001) gives a comprehensive description of political speeches, in particular, that the elements of speech act are the addresser who performs the role of the communicative object), the addressee-object whom the speech is intended to influence, the purpose, and the communicative situation. Further, he mentions that all political speeches have a number of common features. Namely, there is the addresser, well-prepared and having the printed or written text of the speech (p. 6). The speech is the addresser's mechanism for establishing and supporting their position. Also, the political communicative exchange is performed primarily orally and represents an official address. The speaker and the recipient are not obstructed by local or temporal barriers. However, as speeches are mass-oriented in practice, the projection onto audience is achieved via the help of mass media. This is why politics and mass media are so closely interconnected and, to certain extent, interdependent.

Political speeches are written texts which are presented orally and then represented in mass media. Thus, political speeches are of hybrid type of communication. They are mostly monologues with the elements of dialogue, Didenko proceeds, because the speech that the addresser is delivering can be followed by laughter, booing, exclamations, cheering, applause, questions, etc., which also differs, for example, basing on the level of formality of the speech.

The defining feature of a political speech is its collective character. A political speech is the reflection of the interests that a group of politicians pursue, while the person who delivers the speech is only a representative of those interests. Moreover, a political speech is created through the mediation of other authors, namely referents or speechwriters. This mediation broadens the chain of the communicative act as the addresser encompasses two individuals: the speechwriter who remains anonymous to the audience and behind-the-scenes, so to speak, and the speaker who pronounces the speech and is officially titled as its author (Didenko, 2001).

In their work, Krapyva and Krikun (2019, p. 43–44) cite T. Grant who distinguishes two functions of authorship – executive and declarative, which are performed by the speaker and the speechwriter accordingly.

Trent et al. (2011) name two reasons why politicians use speechwriters. Firstly, it is due to the lack of time at the politician's disposal because often, they have to deliver several speeches a day. This makes them unable to write the texts by themselves. Secondly, speechwriters are considered to have much better skills and be better qualified in producing a decent speech (p. 194). The Netflix series *The Crown* portrayed several times how the Private Secretaries of the monarchs or assistants of political figures make last-minute amendments to their speeches in response to sudden changes in the social or political environment, while the addressers themselves prepare to deliver a given speech, reviewing the new version just before the presentation.

Still, as emphasised by Trent et al. (2011), the use of a speechwriter is perceived ambiguously: it is reasonable why they are needed, but to a certain extent writing texts for others under their name is condemned.

Political speeches are pragmatically focused because they influence both the mental state and behaviour of the audience. Zinkovska (2020) names the following pragmatic settings:

- informing about current events taking place in the world;
- creating interest and attract attention;
- convincing of the authenticity of the events and facts presented and the objectivity of the evaluations given by the addressee;
- forming a certain relationship to the events and persons described,

as well as the types of pragmatic settings:

a) informative (selecting and presenting the information),

b) phatic (attracting attention),

c) manipulative (forming an attitude towards the described political events).

Furthermore, political speeches are highly affected by the communicative situation they are to be delivered in, i.e. the context. We should consider the context

of the speech, which we interpret as the meaning of words and sentences in the text system; the context of the language situation, which is specific for each speech and signifies the conditions of the situation (who is speaking, for what purpose, under what circumstances); and the context of the socio-political picture in the world (Didenko, 2001, p. 6).

Classification of political speeches, just like the classification of genres of political, is not unified. Political speech refers to the informative and persuasive type of political texts. Such factors as the place where the speech is delivered, thematic content of texts, and the audience to which the speech is directed help distinguish the varieties of political speech (Hulei, p. 6–7).

For example, according to the place of performance, Didenko (2001) names parliamentary, pre-election, party, welcome, and festive (commemorative and New Year's/Christmas) speeches.

Padalka (2012) differentiates the following types of political speech:

1) parliamentary speeches (the main criterion is the contrast between "helpful and harmful", clarifying the "right and wrong" of any action);

2) pre-election speeches (the main goal is to retain power, sway voters to one's side);

3) party speeches (presentation of own ideas and goals, their promotion);

4) diplomatic speeches (pronounced during official meetings, at a banquet, in parliament, etc., but not aimed at creating objections from the audience);

5) welcome speeches (considered one of the prerogatives of government representatives; formally dedicated to the theme of the event, but in fact serve to popularise the speaker's goals and objectives);

6) festive speeches (have a ritual character and express general values and views. The mass audience to whom festive speeches are directed has certain expectations from them, which is the result of the acquired experience and knowledge of the corresponding ritual) (p. 67).

Regarding the structure of a political speech, it usually consists of the introduction, the main block and the conclusion. Based on the extensive research of

Nahorska (2007) on Winston Churchill's speeches and the summarising scheme of Biletska and Hurskyi (2021, p. 36), it may be suggested that political speeches have a three, four or five-component structure. The three-component structure is the most basic, the standard one. Four-component speeches include answering the questions, the introduction, the main block, the conclusion, and again answering the questions. In this case, the speech is more of a dialogue nature, than of the usual monologue one. The five-component structure is composed of the opening part, the introduction, the main block, the review, and the conclusion. The introduction is mostly aimed at attracting the attention of the audience; the presentation and argumentation of information is realised within the main block; the purpose of conclusion is to encourage the audience to start following a certain idea or acting according to the speaker's intention.

Another issue for consideration is the changes political speeches have faced through times. Initially, political speeches were highly formal. The speakers were very polite but also distanced from the public. The reason is, perhaps, that their first priorities were asserting authoritativeness and control over their subjects, but not close social relationships. Today, political figures are trying to become close to the public and thus, as Adamec (2011, "The Features of Spoken Political Speeches" section) suggests, "political speeches have been becoming more informal and personal". Political speeches are now much more mindful of racial and gender equality, of giving "voice to the voiceless". In addition, political speeches have been greatly affected by the rise of mass media and social networks, especially in terms of campaigning using mass media. We may clearly observe the interdependence of politics and media (Adamec, 2011). Nowadays, there are online video addresses, Internet voting, political blogs, and discussions on various social networks which have broadened the range of instruments for political influence. Politicians must evoke interest not only within their target audience, but also within mass media. Therefore, it can be often observed that political communication imitates the style of television and tries to reproduce the same humorous effect, inherent to many television programs. "The critics sometimes doubt that traditional political discourse

degrades and subordinates to the norms of commercial media too much" (Adamec, 2011, "The Influence on Media" section). However, adding a humorous element allows politicians would make more people interested in the speeches and messages, as Adamec correctly states.

Since ancient times, political speeches are the most widespread form of public addresses. The intention of the person who delivers a political speech is to establish contact with the audience, justify the addresser's points, and provide arguments in order to, finally, settle their ideas and theses in the minds of the audience. The combination of thoroughly chosen linguistic means and effective non-verbal means (e.g. intonation, gestures, tone, etc.) guarantees an impactful speech.

1.3 Political language as the most powerful weapon

Language has always been the main means and the most powerful weapon in the political struggle for power. As a matter of fact, language is considered to shape politics. Therefore, language in political discourse receives a lot of attention from researchers, sociologists and linguists.

L. Lukina (2021) presents A. Maksiuta's views on the factors due to which language becomes a tool of social power, particularly:

a) selection of language means for messages;

b) complexity of a separate verbal unit; this means that a word often has various meanings and is able to evoke certain associations, and that the same phenomenon can be described with other words, depending on the attitude of the speaker;

c) language which is an open system that constantly grows; we use dictionaries to create completely new sentences and words, the latter changing their meanings in new contexts);

d) and language system which is like a mirror, reflecting the existing attitude to power (p. 77).

Despite numerous researches on how language functions within political discourse and widespread usage of the term *political language*, there is yet no single designation for it. First of all, it is not stated clearly whether the notions *political language* and *the language of politics* are the same. Specialists in semiotics state that these are two different phenomena.

Bringing Nahorna's (2005) research to a conclusion, she points to the "intersection" of these two concepts and further uses them interchangeably. The scholar states that political language is best characterised as a collective range of verbal and written methods that form the political communication field. There are also other labels for political language, e.g. "political (socio-political) language", "the language of public opinion", "the language of public sphere".

Petrenko (2007, pp. 18, 21) considers political language to be a broad notion comprising the language of political speeches and political texts. Following her definition, political language is comprised of verbal structures that are operated by politicians, intended to influence people's political consciousness, and have an impact on their presence in political processes.

Zhybak (2016) quotes Andrew E. Busch, a modern American scientist, noting that "political communication is implemented in various genre forms of political discourse, and political discourse is served by means of political language". It is also worth mentioning that some researchers do not support the existence of the notion of political language at all, let alone providing a unified definition.

Political language cannot be classified as one of the so-called special languages, which are the characteristic feature of various professional areas, because it is a blend of both professional and common lexicon, used by broad strata of the population, according to A. Lukina (2022, p. 12). In linguistics, it is considered as "one of professional sublanguages" (Nahorna, 2005, p. 72).

Researchers also discuss the functions of political language. Persuasive or, in other words, directive function is the primary function of political language, according to Zinkovska (2020). It is realised in the control over human worldview and behaviour.

In Petrenko's (2007) opinion, the main function of political language is the informative one, along with communicative and interpretation-evaluative functions, the functions of shaping political conscience, of persuasion and control, and of manipulating.

A different view is presented by Nahorna (2005) who states that the dominant function of political language is the regulatory one as it is able to both "awaken the will to action" and "slow down and destabilize a process". She also lists the instrumentational (social control, legitimisation and reproduction of power, formation of a system of orientations) and referential/reflective (forming a system of relations between people and the environment in which language is a means of interpretation and creating allusions) functions as well as the role of political language in developing verbal communication mechanisms between the authorities and civil society (p. 72–73).

Nahorna also specifies the types of language within political language, namely:

1) the language of legislation and the administrative and legal sphere,

2) management language,

3) the language of diplomatic communication and negotiations,

4) the language of political propaganda;,

5) the language of political education,

6) the language of political journalism (p. 74).

In contrast to her, but with some similarities, Petrenko (2007) differentiates:

- the language of public addresses of political figures,

- the language of functioning of political institutions,

- the parliamentary language, chiefly the language of debates,

- the language of political propaganda and political advertising,

- the language of political documents,

- the language of mass media,

- and the language of elections, as a separate type which possesses elements from the above-mentioned types.

A specific feature of political language has already been discussed: it must be understandable for the general public, but complex enough to go hand in hand with the most recent events and developments in political and social environment. Another point is that in order to comprehend the message projected via political language, one must be able to "read between the lines" (Nahorna, 2005) as this language is of inexplicit nature. As explained by A. Lukina (2022) as well, ambiguity is one of the characteristic features of political language.

Politicians communicate not simply by the words, but by the symbols behind those words. The closer these symbols are to the masses, the more impact a political address creates. The symbolic aspect underlies in stereotypes, myths, and illusions which are then used to manipulate the society (Nahorna, 2005, p. 76).

It should be noted that political language underwent modifications, just like any social construct. Nahorna's extensive description of how political language in Ukraine transformed over the course of time reveals that when Ukraine became independent, the shift in the political language happened too quickly. As a result, the language was full of terms such as those related to mental disorders. Sociologists Y. Holovakha and N. Panina are mentioned as those who coined the notion of "social insanity", because it seemed that Ukrainians couldn't "express themselves without the use of a psychopathological diagnosis" (Nahorna, 2005, pp. 96–97). Later, when Ukraine was under Kuchma's leadership, Ukrainian political language was abundant in terms related to Cossacks. This tendency is observed today as well but on a much larger scale. In addition, people of today are influenced by hidden manipulation, in comparison to the Soviet times when it was very obvious.

The positive changes that are worth mentioning include political correctness. Although, as Nahorna states, the notions is understood differently in the Western countries and in Ukraine: for the former, it is "intended to demonstrate the liberal orientation of the policy and means refraining from the use of concepts that may seem offensive, prejudiced, discriminatory or simply obscene to someone", therefore, euphemisms are a common phenomenon in English. In Ukrainian society, political correctness is rather a synonym to "political neutrality" (Nahorna, 2005).

Political correctness is related to the freedom of expression of politicians in a way that they are limited to using the language which does not contain any offensive, shocking or disturbing statements. Discrimination or abuse of any kind damages the image of a political figure and prevents from influencing the target audience in a desired way.

Inasmuch as political correctness encircles gender equality, I deem it useful to outline briefly the gender specifics present in political speeches as well as in political language. The language of female politicians is considered to be more expressive and emotive as well as more flexible. Switching, for example, between delivering a speech and answering a random question does not pose difficulties to them. Female politicians resort to positive evaluation and provide examples from their past experience. Their speech is much more abundant in words of courtesy. On the other hands, political language of male politicians can be characterised as rather dry, categorical, and precise. It is more difficult for them to step in someone's shoes and be emotionally present. The evaluation they give is of negative character (Rebenchak, 2020, p. 486).

In general, "the speaker consciously adapts to the style of oral conversation, because conversational elements affect the addressee and sometimes cause such a reaction that is impossible when using only literary and normative elements", as stated by Didenko (2001).

The text under analysis is US President Biden's Speech on Israel-Hamas and Russia-Ukraine wars (https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/19/us/politics/transcript-biden-speech-israel-ukraine.html).

The text, a presidential speech, belongs to political discourse. It aims at providing timely information on current events as well as binding the addressees to certain actions and establishing a certain belief or opinion.

Being a tool of influence on the audience, the speech is contains various stylistic devices. For instance, we encounter a range of tropes and figures of speech: tautology (horrific horror), metaphors (guard the sky, anger and rage run hard, Kyiv still stands, the assault on Israel echoes, history has taught us), epithets

(unprecedented commitment, smart investment, deep scars, indispensable nation), idioms (get in the way of, pay a price for, in the wake of, turn our backs on), etc.

The text is also abundant in examples of special literary and colloquial vocabularies: proper names (HAMAS, Putin, Israel, Ukraine, Palestinian, Middle East, World War II, etc.), asyndetic noun clusters (terrorist groups, attack drones, artillery shells, one-year anniversary, etc.), quotations («…quote, a week left to live», «…quote, remind Poland that their western land was a gift from Russia», «…saying to yourselves, "Here we go again with Islamophobia and the distrust we saw after 9/11."»), poetic and highly literary words (unadulterated evil, beacon, vitriol, emboldened, etc.), internationalisms (coalition, dictators, hospital, politics), acronyms (US, NATO, HAMAS), weasel words (many others, maybe), etc. There are numerals (1,300 people; 7th of October; 20 months, two weeks ago, etc.) and phrasal verbs (going out about, give up on, asking for, inflicted on, stand by, etc.) as well.

Conclusion to Chapter I

The chapter outlines the notions of political discourse, political speech and political language, their peculiar features, functions and peculiarities in connection with politics.

It is evident from the analysed sources that a unified definition of political discourse is yet to be found due to its complex nature, as it is a linguistic and social phenomenon simultaneously. Both oral and written texts within political discourse are classified into a wide range of genres. Political discourse is highly dependent on mass media and social networks as they are the primary means of projecting their ideas and influencing a wider audience.

Among those is a political speech which can be described as an oral political text of informative and persuasive nature, delivered for a mass audience with the intention to bind the addressees to developing a certain belief or acting in a certain way. The structure of political speeches is usually three-componential – the

introduction, the main block, and the conclusion – and of monological nature. However, there may be more interaction between the speaker and the audience.

Within political discourse, political language is an important instrument of fighting for and maintaining power. It is a tool for creating conflicts as well as reaching compromise. It develops with the development of society and languages and serves as the reflection of this process.

Currently, political linguistics is one of the leading areas of linguistics. It seems promising to study various aspects of political speeches which belong to different genres of political discourse.

CHAPTER 2
TRANSLATION OF POLITICAL SPEECHES
AND THEIR COMPLEXITIES

The individual uniqueness of every political speech encourages the analysis of this genre of political discourse, especially for translators and interpreters. In the course of the study, the speeches of American and British political figures were reviewed and cases requiring attention from translators and interpreters during the translation process were selected.

2.1 The influencing English political speeches

Influencing people through the meaning of the words is the primary method of creating an impact in general. Therefore, the category of lexical challenges demands the most effort in order to render the meaning correctly and create the same impact on the audience.

First of all, political speeches contain a vast number of phrasal verbs which are specific not only because of the government of the verbs, but also because they are never rendered just by translating the constituents. I have encountered the following examples: *shore up, throw around, hinge on, drop out, tap into, back down, look to, stick with, pull apart, pass on, get through, look out for, lift up*.

Realia which are words and expressions specific to a certain culture are another example of difficulties for translation. They require either background knowledge in the culture and often a peculiar sphere as well or research to find out what the word or phrase stands for. These are mostly names of laws, agendas, programmes, objects, places, features of famous personalities, etc. For example, *the Bipartisan Infrastructure Law and the Inflation Reduction Act; Build Back Better; GI Bill; CHIPS Act; "train and pray" to "train and hire"; Bulova Watch Factory; the Hill;*

SOCOM; Paycheck Protection Program; COVID-19 Health Equity Task Force; Oval Office; Chief Whip; Dispatch Box; Diane Abbots wasn't doing the sums.

A feature of political speeches is the usage and coinage of neologisms which help the speaker to bond with the audience through language as well as follow the current trends, for example: *CHIPS Act, "Don't Ask, Don't Tell", DREAMers, COVAX, Brexit, COP26.* Sometimes, we may even observe nonce words, also known as occasionalisms, for example, a stunt word *sharkefacts* (a speaker's coinage, a transformation of 'artefacts' in a speech about sharks).

Another way to become closer to the addressees, used in political speeches, is by introducing slang. Words similar to *fellas, low-key, ain't, kick in*, etc. are a rare occasion but also a distinct characteristic feature of, for example, Donald Trump's language.

Abbreviations are a type of new coinages which are a very frequent phenomenon is political speeches as they serve as a means of shortening the text: *NATO, UN, UK, US/USA, R&D, GDP, AFSCME, IBEW, AFT, TPS, EDA*, etc. They become a problem for translators and interpreters because of the hidden meaning and inability to promptly translate with a direct correspondent as well as because there are many abbreviations that are alike. For instance, *NEA* can be an abbreviation of Nuclear Energy Agency, National Environment Agency, New Enterprise Associates, National Electrification Administration and so on. But in the context of one of the speeches, namely speaking of Jill Biden, we should understand that *NEA* is the National Education Society, a member of which is Mrs. Biden.

The analysed speeches provided only two cases of translator's false friends, particularly *data*, i.e. information – *дані*, and *intelligence* – *розвідка*, which denotes the people that collect secret information, not the status class of educated people as a Ukrainian-speaking addressee may assume.

Speeches often contain quotations in order to move the addressee, remind them something, or inspire them. These are the words that a famous person has said or written: *As Chairman Dunford has noted, "simply declaring all career fields open is not successful integration."; President Thomas Jefferson once wrote, "I like the*

dreams of the future better than the history of the past.”; ...Vice President Pence called the Western Hemisphere the “hemisphere of freedom.”; As for personal attacks, let us remember what Margaret Thatcher said: “if they attack one personally, it means they have not a single political argument left.”. They may be a line from the rules of procedures or publications: *A good example of this is SOCOM’s selection processes, which combine objective and subjective criteria in, I quote, a “whole person” concept that includes rigorous physical standards and also “strong moral character, leadership skills, mental agility, problem-solving skills, selflessness, maturity, and humility.”; And they said in the op-ed, quote, “Our people need help.”*, or an utterance of any other person, important for the speaker: *...my dear mother, God bless her soul, used to say, “Out of everything bad, something good will come if you look hard enough for it.”; And to use my dad’s expression — and I mean it sincerely — and some — a few of you knew my dad — he said, “Everyone is entitled to be treated with dignity.”; ...my dad used to say, “You know, we just thought it would give people ability to just be able to take a deep breath, have a little bit of breathing room.”*.

2.2 Grammatical problems in translating the English political speeches

While delivering a speech, the choice of grammatical constructions and certain changes from the grammatical perspective can be a powerful tool for politicians as well.

English language is commonly known for using verbals – gerund, participle and infinitive. In a speech or not, they are always a translation issue. The speeches under analysis present a number of such phenomena.

In terms of gerund, it mostly describes an action or a process, e.g. *At the Department of Commerce, our responsibilities span a wide range of issues, and one that I and many of our dedicated staff members are deeply involved in is <u>watching</u>, <u>predicting</u>, and <u>researching</u> our weather and oceans – <u>predicting</u> the next heatwave, <u>monitoring</u> our marine fisheries, and <u>contributing</u> to a vibrant blue economy.; Our economy*

cannot fully recover unless all Americans can fully participate. That means expanding innovation beyond Silicon Valley, Boston, and New York. It means creating more economic opportunity for women, people of color, and people in overlooked communities. And for businesses, it means ensuring that diversity and inclusion efforts are not just an HR function – they're core to your business strategy.; We all know China undercuts American firms by engaging in anti-competitive and coercive activities − including denying us access to their market and dumping products into our market.; Campaigning is our second approach, and it's related. This requires us to invest in our people, like providing the largest pay raise in 20 years to our military personnel, investing in affordable childcare, and ensuring their food and housing security.; Building enduring advantage also means focusing intensely on innovation and modernization.; I'm going to conclude by just thanking you once again for inviting me to speak this morning.; Organizing, joining a union — that's democracy in action. It is worth mentioning that gerund was observed much more frequently in American speeches than in the British ones.

Considering participle in its various functions, I may conclude that Participle I is used more often, compared to Participle II. It mostly denotes an action in process: *Bolstered by private sector investment, we can scale our technological innovation to every corner of the country, including the heartland.; What happened to my dad years ago is part of a much bigger story about America's declining investment in our workers and in our economy.; ...and they've been able to do so because their leaders have taken care to implement change thoughtfully, always putting the mission and our people first.; Facing the prospect of a financial collapse, we took decisive measures to safeguard our economy.; Another group of journalists described masked men breaking down the doors of their radio station and dousing the studio with gasoline.*

Modal verbs are a category detected in all the examined speeches. The most frequent ones are *must*, constituting a greater share, *should*, *would*, *could,* and others, giving the utterances a sense of obligation, advice, wish, or resolve, for instance: *We must resist complacency. We must keep our resolve. And we must never let down our*

guard.; At the same time, we <u>should</u> also remember that the military has long prided itself on being a meritocracy…; I <u>wouldn't</u> be here without you.; … and you <u>ought to</u> thank Bernie Sanders for a lot of this.; Well, let's take a closer look, <u>shall</u> we?; People who did the work and needed the money, not because he <u>couldn't</u> pay them, but because he <u>wouldn't</u> pay them., and many more.

A hurdle for translators and interpreters is also passive voice, less common in Ukrainian but extremely common in English. I have located a lot of examples of passive voice: mostly in Present Perfect (e.g. *have been cut, have been created and exacerbated*) and Present Simple (*are heard and heeded, is required*) forms, but also in Present Continuous (*being punished or held accountable, are being rewarded for it*), Future Simple (*will not be led.*), Future Perfect (*will have been failed),* as well as Modal (*must be netted together, must be taken into account*) and Modal Perfect (*would not have known.*) forms.

In addition, I have several peculiar cases of usage of articles. In the sentences *For we, <u>the people</u>, understand that our country cannot succeed when a shrinking few do very well and a growing many barely make it. […] We, <u>the people</u>, still believe that every citizen deserves a basic measure of security and dignity. […] We, <u>the people</u>, still believe that our obligations as Americans are not just to ourselves, but to all posterity. […] We, <u>the people</u>, still believe that enduring security and lasting peace do not require perpetual war.*, the definite article adds weight and is used to single the Americans out.

Whereas in the next two example sentences, the definite article is a means of turning adjectives into generic nouns: *We do not believe that in this country freedom is reserved for <u>the lucky</u>, or happiness for the few.; And we must be a source of hope to <u>the poor</u>, <u>the sick</u>, <u>the marginalized</u>, the victims of prejudice….*

There was found a case of converting a determiner into a pronoun: *For we, the people, understand that our country cannot succeed when <u>a shrinking few</u> do very well and <u>a growing many</u> barely make it.*

Most abstract nouns do not have plurals, so the plural form of truth as in *We, the people, declare today that the most evident of <u>truths</u> – that all of us are created equal – is the star that guides us still…*distinguishes this particular truth from others.

2.3 Translation challenges in the English political speeches

Expressive language means are an inherent part of political speeches as they evoke more emotions and add colour to the utterances.

Firstly, politicians use many phraseological expressions in their speeches. Therefore, nearly every speech under analysis possessed an idiom, among them: *take office, better get moving, take advantage of, meet the standards, banging pots and pans, in good hands, feel it in your bones, a hollow promise, from scratch, in the thick of it, lift the spirits, throw one's heart and soul into, front and center, hang in the balance, talk a big game, put a lid on, rough and tumble, lose one' cool, bear witness, in the driving seat, take heat, under one's nose, hard pillow to swallow, fall on deaf ears.*

Secondly, we may encounter countless examples of metaphor which helps create an image in our mind and make the speech more meaningful. There are at least 42 cases of metaphor in the analysed speeches, for instance: *You know, <u>you're America's heart and you're America's soul</u>.; He spoke from his <u>big heart</u> about our party's commitment to working people as only he can do.; We believe that America's prosperity must <u>rest upon the broad shoulders of a rising middle class</u>.; After all, <u>when there are no ceilings, the sky's the limit</u>!,* etc.

Also, political speeches comprise a range of other stylistic devices. Metonymy is mostly used to denote the whole country, city, institution, etc. under one term: *And every day, we remember that America wasn't built by <u>Wall Street</u>.; And I believe <u>Wall Street</u> can never, ever be allowed to wreck <u>Main Street</u> again.; <u>Ukraine already tells us</u> they need millions and millions of metric tons right now.; <u>London</u> immediately entered <u>a collective mourning</u> for its lost residents. <u>The entire United Kingdom mourned</u>….*

Hyperbole shows the degree of some problem or importance and greatness of some phenomenon: *Yes, the world is watching what we do.; You've gone through eight years of hell, and actually I could say even a little bit more than that.; They break through rock walls, mine the depths of the earth, and reach through the ocean floor, to bring every ounce of energy into our homes and commerce and into our lives*.

Allusions are not very frequently found; however, they add colour to the speech by evoking a connection in our thoughts with other important figures, works, or events, such as in: *They gave to us a republic, a government of, and by, and for the people, entrusting each generation to keep safe our founding creed.; Through blood drawn by lash and blood drawn by sword, we learned that no union founded on the principles of liberty and equality could survive half-slave and half-free.*, which are both the expressions of Abraham Lincoln, who still serves as an inspiration for American politicians.

I have also come across an example of allegory: *And though we may not live to see the glory, as the song from the musical "Hamilton" goes, let us gladly join the fight, let our legacy be about planting seeds in a garden you never get to see.*, which is phrase from the very renowned musical about the American Founding Father Alexander Hamilton.

All these instances are much more difficult to treat while interpreting because of lack of time for thinking and choosing the right rendition method.

2.4 Translator's transformations for rendering political speeches

In order to translate political speeches faithfully, translators and interpreters rely on transformations – lexical (generalisation, concretisation, differentiation, modulation), grammatical (addition, omission, transposition, morphological and syntactic replacement), and lexical and grammatical (antonymic translation, explication, total reorganisation), and other ways of rendering, such as finding a direct equivalent, transcription, transliteration, zero transcoding, etc. Further provided

is the result of my analysis of the complex cases in political speeches and the methods used for translating them.

Starting with phrasal verbs, we would usually resort to modulation because we define the meaning basing mostly on the context. There were detected 8 cases of modulation, e.g.:

A resilient economic future <u>hinges on</u> how we respond to what research tells us today. **("Keynote: Deputy Secretary of Commerce Don Graves," 2023)** – *Стійке економічне майбутнє <u>залежить від</u> того, як ми реагуємо на те, що нам сьогодні показують дослідження.*

During the pandemic, more than 2 million women <u>dropped out</u> of the workforce – mostly due to lack of affordable childcare. **("The Honorable Gina Raimondo, U S Secretary of Commerce," 2021)** – *Під час пандемії понад 2 млн жінок <u>вибули з числа</u> працюючих громадян – переважно через відсутність доступного догляду за дітьми.*

We may also implement total reorganisation (2 cases), especially when translating with the help of set expressions or idioms:

When representatives from 13 unruly colonies met just down the road from here, some wanted to <u>stick with</u> the king and some wanted to <u>stick it to</u> the king. **(News, 2016)** – *Коли представники 13 неконтрольованих колоній зустрілися просто по дорозі звідси, одні хотіли <u>висловити свою вірність</u> королю, а інші – <u>йому насолити</u>.*

Translating realia always requires using various types of transformations. I have detected 6 cases of transposition as, for example, in

And tell them about the <u>Paycheck Protection Program</u> and the loans there for small businesses. **(The White House, 2021a)** – *І розкажіть їм про <u>Програму захисту зарплати</u> (PPP) та позики для малого бізнесу.*

5 cases of both explication, i.e. descriptive translation, and providing direct equivalents:

A good example of this is <u>SOCOM's</u> selection processes… **(News, 2016)** – *Хорошим прикладом цього служать процеси відбору <u>Командування спеціальних операцій</u>...* (explication)

Imagine, if you dare, imagine, imagine him in the <u>Oval Office</u> facing a real crisis. **(News, 2016)** – *Уявіть, коли зможете, уявіть, уявіть його в <u>Овальному кабінеті</u> зі справжньою кризою на порозі.* (equivalent)

As for neologisms, explication (2 cases), equivalent (1 case), transcription (1 case), and calque (1 case) were used. The latter example lies in translating the constituent parts of the stunt word. The translator is required to render both parts of the words as they are both important for the speaker's topic (Shark Fin Bill):

I was hoping to talk about prehistoric shark fossils in today's debate, but I'm afraid I struggled to find any ancient <u>sharkefacts</u>. **(Mark Eastwood – 2022 Speech on the Sharks Fin Bill)** – *Я сподівався поговорити про скам'янілості доісторичних акул під час сьогоднішньої дискусії, але на жаль, мені було важко знайти будь-які стародавні <u>акултефакти</u>.*

Rendering slang is always a difficult task because the degrees and amount of slang in English and Ukrainian are different. The only political speech containing slang among those under analysis was Donald Trump's speech (4 cases). We may translate his expressions with this type of lexis as follows:

Thank you, <u>fellas</u>. – Дякую, <u>хлопці</u>.

I'd just sort of <u>low-key</u> it a little bit. – Я б просто трохи <u>стримав</u> це.

SECRETARY PERRY: <u>Ain't bragging</u> if you can do it. – СЕКРЕТАР ПЕРРІ: <u>Це не показуха</u>, якщо це можна зробити.

Number one, we weren't playing on the same field. <u>It kicked in for us, and it doesn't kick in</u> for others. – По-перше, ми не грали на одному полі. <u>Нам на руку це зіграло, а от іншим – ні</u>. **(June 19, 2017: Speech at the Unleashing American Energy Event, 2018)**

Abbreviations would mostly be translated either via explication with or without providing the abbreviation in English (5 cases), or by providing direct equivalents (2 cases):

AFSCME workers in Allentown. IBEW workers and ironworkers and nurses and grocery store workers in Cincinnati. [...] AFT teachers in Virginia. And — and, by the way, of course I sleep with an NEA member every night. (**The White House, 2021b**) – *Працівники Американської федерації державних, окружних та муніципальних службовців в Аллентауні. Члени Міжнародного братства електротехніків, металургійники, медсестри та працівники продуктових магазинів у Цинциннаті. [...] Члени Американської федерації вчителів у Вірджинії. І — і, до речі, звичайно, я щоночі сплю поруч із членом Національної освітньої асоціації.* (explication is used because these are unions that are mostly unknown to the Ukrainian audience)

China's growth rate in R&D spending is more than three times ours, and we've fallen to 10th place in R&D as a percentage of our GDP. (**"The Honorable Gina Raimondo, U S Secretary of Commerce," 2021**) – *Темпи зростання витрат на науково-дослідні та дослідно-конструкторські роботи у Китаї більш ніж у три рази перевищують наші, і ми опустилися на 10 місце у НДДКР у відсотках від нашого ВВП.* In this case, it is advisable to translate *R&D* by explicating first, and then using the equivalent abbreviation to avoid repetition and lengthy expessions.

Translator's false friends are mostly rendered by providing direct equivalents because, though they sound similar to Ukrainian words, they have their own peculiar meaning. For that, translators and interpreters should turn to dictionaries and remember them. The analysed speeches contained 2 examples of translator's false friends, all of which are translated by direct equivalents: *data* as *дані* and *intelligence* as *зведення* (in the meaning of secret data).

Transformations used for rendering grammatical difficulties are as diverse as they are for the lexical ones. Speaking of gerund, the most frequent transformation was morphological replacement where gerundial forms were translated as nouns, totalling 9 cases, for example:

At the Department of Commerce, our responsibilities span a wide range of issues, and one that I and many of our dedicated staff members are deeply involved in is watching, predicting, and researching our weather and oceans – predicting the

next heatwave, _monitoring_ our marine fisheries, and _contributing_ to a vibrant blue economy. (**"Keynote: Deputy Secretary of Commerce Don Graves," 2023**) – У Міністерстві торгівлі в наші обов'язки входить широкий спектр питань, і одне з таких питань, у яке я та багато наших відданих співробітників глибоко залучені, – це _спостереження_, _прогнозування_ та _дослідження_ нашої погоди та океанів, а саме _прогнозування_ наступної хвилі спеки, _моніторинг_ морського рибного господарства та _сприяння_ динамічній «блакитній економіці».

Campaigning is our second approach, and it's related. (**Deputy Defense Secretary Kathleen Hicks on U.S. Defense Strategy, 2022**) – _Проведення_ кампаній – це наш другий підхід, і він пов'язаний.

Observed just as often (8 cases), we may translate gerunds into Ukrainian as infinitives:

Organizing, _joining_ a union — that's democracy in action. (**The White House, 2021b**) – _Організуватися_, _вступити_ в профспілку — ось демократія в дії.

_Our economy cannot fully recover unless all Americans can fully participate. That means _expanding_ innovation beyond Silicon Valley, Boston, and New York. It means _creating_ more economic opportunity for women, people of color, and people in overlooked communities. And for businesses, it means _ensuring_ that diversity and inclusion efforts are not just an HR function – they're core to your business strategy._ (**"The Honorable Gina Raimondo, U S Secretary of Commerce," 2021**) – Наша економіка може повністю відновитися, тільки якщо всі американці зможуть повноцінно брати участь. Це означає, що треба _розширити_ коло інновацій за межами Силіконової долини, Бостона та Нью-Йорка. Це означає, що треба _створити_ більше економічних можливостей для жінок, представників інших рас і людей із громад, ким приділяється недостатня увага. А для компаній це означає, що треба _переконатися_ в тому, що зусилля, направлені на забезпечення різноманітності та залучення, є не лише функцією HR – вони є основою вашої бізнес-стратегії.

Building enduring advantage also means _focusing_ intensely on innovation and modernization. (**Deputy Defense Secretary Kathleen Hicks on U.S. Defense**

Strategy, 2022) – _Створити стійку перевагу також означає інтенсивно зосередитись на інноваціях та модернізації._

There is also a case where we can implement impersonal sentences:

The Defense Department has increasingly done this in recent decades – in 1975, for example, opening up the military service academies to women, and in 1993, allowing women to fly fighter jets and serve on combat ships at sea. (**Defense Department Briefing, 2015**) – _Протягом останніх десятиліть Міністерство оборони дедалі частіше робило це – наприклад, у 1975 році було відкрито військові академії для жінок, а в 1993 році жінкам надано дозвіл керувати винищувачами та служити на бойових кораблях у морі._

I could even suggest translating gerund as an adverbial participle for showing the manner of the ongoing action:

We all know China undercuts American firms by engaging in anti-competitive and coercive activities − including denying us access to their market and dumping products into our market. (**"The Honorable Gina Raimondo, U S Secretary of Commerce," 2021**) – _Нам усім відомо, що Китай підриває американські фірми, беручи участь у антиконкурентній та примусовій діяльності, включно з відмовою нам у доступі до їхнього ринку та демпінгом продукції на наш ринок._

As for participles, it is natural that the most observed way of translating (3 cases) was via an adverbial participle (дієприслівник), for instance:

…and they've been able to do so because their leaders have taken care to implement change thoughtfully, always putting the mission and our people first. (**Defense Department Briefing, 2015**) – _…і вони змогли це зробити, тому що їхні лідери дбали про продумане впровадження змін, завжди ставлячи місію та наших людей на перше місце._

Does anybody think if we were starting off from scratch, setting up public education, we'd say 12 years was enough for the 21st century? (**The White House, 2021b**) – _Чи хтось думає, що якби ми починали з нуля, створюючи державну освіту, то сказали б, що 12 років – це недостатньо для XXI століття?_

It is useful to note that there were also 2 cases of participles rendered as finite form of the verb, another 2 cases as prepositional constructions, and even 1 case of morphological replacement where the participle serving as an adjective was translated as a noun:

Bolstered by private sector investment, we can scale our technological innovation to every corner of the country, including the heartland. **("The Honorable Gina Raimondo, U S Secretary of Commerce," 2021)** – *_Завдяки_ інвестиціям приватного сектору ми можемо розширити наші технологічні інновації в будь-якому куточку країни, включно з центром.*

Facing the prospect of a financial collapse, we took decisive measures to safeguard our economy. **(January 15, 2009: Farewell Address to the Nation, 2016)** – *_Перед_ перспективою фінансового краху ми вжили рішучих заходів для захисту нашої економіки.*

Another group of journalists described masked men _breaking down_ the doors of their radio station and _dousing_ the studio with gasoline. **(U.S. Department of State, 2018)** – *Інша група журналістів розповіла, як люди в масках _зламали_ двері їхньої радіостанції та _облили_ студію бензином.* (as finite forms)

Quite surprising was to find out the way of translating modal verbs. It is worth mentioning that modal verbs occur very often in the analysed speeches which again reminds about the persuasive function of political speeches. Among at least 42 cases of modal verbs, translating them as predicatives is the most common strategy. It is realised in using words like повинен, потрібно, треба, варто, слід, etc. (23 examples):

But we have been given solemn responsibilities, and we _must_ meet them. We _must_ resist complacency. We _must_ keep our resolve. And we _must_ never let down our guard. **(January 15, 2009: Farewell Address to the Nation, 2016)** – *Але на нас покладено серйозні обов'язки, і ми _повинні_ їх виконувати. Ми _повинні_ протистояти самовдоволенню. Ми _повинні_ зберегти свою рішучість. І ми _повинні_ ніколи не втрачати пильність.*

We shouldn't diminish that. (**Defense Department Briefing, 2015**) – *Нам не варто це применшувати.*

...and you ought to thank Bernie Sanders for a lot of this. (**The White House, 2021b**) – *...і вам слід подякувати Берні Сандерсу за велику частку цього.*

Modal verbs can also be rendered as direct equivalents when speaking of the verb *can – може* (4 cases) or as finite forms of the verbs, resulting in 12 cases, for instance:

Fifth, we will have to address the fact that some surveys suggest that some servicemembers, both men and women, have a perception that integration would be pursued at the cost of combat effectiveness. (**Defense Department Briefing, 2015**) – *По-п'яте, нам доведеться звернути увагу на той факт, що за певними дослідженнями, деякі військовослужбовці, як чоловіки, так і жінки, вважають, що інтеграція буде здійснюватися ціною бойової ефективності.*

A frequent occurrence is rendering modal verbs via the verb *мати* for future form which denotes something that is about to happen or what something is about to do, an intention, a possibility, etc. There were 5 such cases, such as:

Merck and Johnson & Johnson — competitors before now — are teaming up to speed up manufacturing, which means that we should have a full vaccine supply for adults by the end of May. (**The White House, 2021a**) – *Merck і Johnson & Johnson — колишні конкуренти – об'єднуються, щоб пришвидшити виробництво, а це означає, що ми маємо отримати повну поставку вакцини для дорослих до кінця травня.*

I have encountered a case of modal verbs translated using imperative mood:

As you embark on your exciting new adventure in life, may you always carry in your heart the motto of this institution: deeds, not words and act upon it. (**AAF, 2017**) – *Починаючи свою нову захоплюючу пригоду в житті, несіть у своєму серці девіз цієї установи: ділами, а не словами, – і слідуйте цьому.*

or being omitted at all:

Well, let's take a closer look, shall we? (News, 2016) – *Що ж, давайте розглянемо детальніше, так?*

Also, we may totally change the verb if we deem it necessary, for example as in this case of morphological replacement:

And I know it's not an easy job, but what you do, especially at this moment of crisis, <u>couldn't be</u> more important. **(The White House, 2021a)** *– І я знаю, що це нелегка робота, але те, що ви робите, особливо в цей момент кризи, <u>як ніколи важливо</u>.*

Translation of passive voice usually implies syntactic replacement because we change the doer of the action in Ukrainian. Therefore, passive voice is often rendered through impersonal sentences – generalized personal (7 cases) or impersonal sentences with the *-но/-то* forms (7 cases). There were also 5 cases of passive expressions becoming finite forms of the verbs, 3 cases of infinitives, and a case of syntactic replacement – change of passive voice into active.

Our work is essential to rebuilding America – American people, American communities, and American industries that <u>have been left behind.</u> **("The Honorable Gina Raimondo, U S Secretary of Commerce," 2021)** *– Наша робота має важливе значення для відновлення Америки – її народу, її громад і промисловості, яких <u>покинули на призволяще</u>.*

<u>They'll be allowed</u> to drive tanks, fire mortars, and lead infantry soldiers into combat. **(Defense Department Briefing, 2015)** *– <u>Їм буде надано дозвіл</u> керувати танками, стріляти з мінометів і вести в бій піхоту.*

We must require the industry to move faster and more aggressively. They have the resources and there must be greater urgency. If not, the next generation of our children <u>will have been needlessly failed</u>. **(Conservatives, 2017)** *– Ми повинні вимагати, щоб галузь рухалася швидше й агресивніше. У них є ресурси, і необхідна більша нагальність. Інакше наступне покоління наших дітей <u>зазнає марної невдачі</u>.*

I believe that so many of our problems as a country <u>have been created and exacerbated</u> by inequality. **("The Honorable Gina Raimondo, U S Secretary of Commerce," 2021)** *– Я вважаю, що так багато наших проблем як країни <u>створила та загострила</u> нерівність.*

When treating articles, the usual practice is to omit them (even when they add degree of some quality) or translate as pronouns when necessary. In the example from Barack Obama's speech, the definite article serves as a means of singling the American people out. Yet, the function of it cannot be rendered other than by simply omitting it and/or capitalising the word *народ* in translation:

For we, the people, understand that our country cannot succeed when a shrinking few do very well and a growing many barely make it. […] We, the people, still believe that every citizen deserves a basic measure of security and dignity. […] We, the people, still believe that our obligations as Americans are not just to ourselves, but to all posterity. […]We, the people, still believe that enduring security and lasting peace do not require perpetual war. **(January 21, 2013: Second Inaugural Address, 2016)** *– Тому що ми, Народ, розуміємо, що наша країна не може досягти успіху, коли небагатьом живуть дуже добре, а багато хто, яких більшає, ледве виживають. […] Ми, Народ, все ще віримо, що кожен громадянин заслуговує на мінімальну безпеку та гідність. […] Ми, Народ, все ще віримо, що наші обов'язки як американців лежать не лише перед нами самими, але й перед нащадками. […] Ми, Народ, досі віримо, що стійка безпека та тривалий мир не потребують вічної війни.*

The following case representing articles as a complexity of translation is when it serves as a means of nominalising adjectives. Then, the articles are omitted and the adjectives turn into noun. There were 4 such cases, e.g.:

We do not believe that in this country freedom is reserved for the lucky, or happiness for the few. **(January 21, 2013: Second Inaugural Address, 2016)** *– Ми віримо, що в цій країні свобода не призначена тільки для щасливчиків або щастя – тільки для кількох.*

And we must be a source of hope to the poor, the sick, the marginalized, the victims of prejudice–... **(January 21, 2013: Second Inaugural Address, 2016)** *– І ми маємо бути джерелом надії для бідних, хворих, тих, хто на узбіччі суспільства, жертв упереджень…*

Another interesting case, namely of morphological replacement, was found in Obama's speech. Here, determiners *few* and *many* were adverbialised in the Ukrainian translation:

For we, the people, understand that our country cannot succeed when <u>a shrinking few</u> do very well and <u>a growing many</u> barely make it. (**January 21, 2013: Second Inaugural Address, 2016**) – *Тому що ми, Народ, розуміємо, що наша країна не може досягти успіху, коли <u>стає все менше тих</u>, хто живе дуже добре, а тих, хто ледве виживає, все <u>стає дедалі більше</u>.*

Continuing with the rendering of stylistic devices, I can conclude that idioms are translated mostly through modulation (10 cases), where the context helped define the meaning of the expressions, and total reorganization (8 cases), which is characteristic of idioms in general. There were also 2 cases of differentiation and equivalent translation.

The Revolution <u>hung in the balance</u>, and somehow they began listening to each other, compromising, finding common purpose. (**News, 2016**) – *Революція <u>висіла на волосині</u>, і якось вони почали прислухатися один до одного, йти на компроміси, знаходити спільну мету.*

One of the things I admired about Rich is that he understood what people in this economy are really facing. He, like most of you, <u>felt it in his bones</u>. (**The White House, 2021b**) – *Одна з речей, які мене захоплювали в Річі, це те, що він розумів, з чим насправді стикаються люди в цій економіці. Він, як і більшість із вас, <u>відчував це нутром</u>.*

I thank you for the prayers that have <u>lifted my spirits</u>. (**January 15, 2009: Farewell Address to the Nation, 2016**) – *Я дякую вам за молитви, які мене <u>підбадьорили</u>.*

The two cases of differentiation are:

And I know you didn't expect to be in this role at this moment, but as I told you before, I believe that the future of American labor is <u>in very good hands</u>. (**The White House, 2021b**) – *І я знаю, що ви не очікували на цю роль зараз, але, як я вже казав вам раніше, я вважаю, що майбутнє американської праці <u>в дуже</u>*

надійних руках. (*надійних* is used instead of *добрих* because in this context, the expression means the security of the state), and

Bernie, your campaign inspired millions of Americans, particularly the young people who <u>threw their hearts and souls into</u> our primary. (**News, 2016**) – *Берні, ваша кампанія надихнула мільйони американців, особливо молодих, які <u>вклали свої душу й серце</u> в наші первинні вибори.* The reason for using *вклали* and not *кинули* is because the Ukrainian equivalent is *вкладати душу й серце.*

Metaphors are usually translated by implementing modulation and drawing the meaning by logically analysing the context. Therefore, there were 18 cases of modulation as well as 16 cases of equivalent translation, 4 examples of differentiation where only several components were changed in their denotative meaning, 2 cases of both total reorganisation and morphological replacement:

Yes, those were actually Donald Trump's words in Cleveland. And they should <u>set off alarm bells</u> for all of us. (**News, 2016**) – *Так, насправді це були слова Дональда Трампа в Клівленді. І через них ми <u>маємо забити тривогу</u>.* (modulation)

And even in the toughest times, we <u>lift our eyes to the broad horizon ahead</u>. (**January 15, 2009: Farewell Address to the Nation, 2016**) – *І навіть у найважчі часи ми <u>спрямовуємо погляд на широкий горизонт попереду</u>.*

That is the story of America. And we <u>begin a new chapter</u> tonight. (**News, 2016**) – *Така історія Америки. І сьогодні ми <u>починаємо новий розділ</u>.* (equivalent)

He spoke from his <u>big heart</u> about our party's commitment to working people as only he can do. (**News, 2016**) – *Він <u>від щирого серця</u> говорив про відданість нашої партії робітникам, так, як тільки він один уміє.* (differentiation)

And if we're serious about keeping our country safe, we also can't afford to have a president who's <u>in the pocket of </u>the gun lobby. (**News, 2016**) – *І якщо ми серйозно ставимося до безпеки нашої країни, ми також не можемо дозволити собі президента, якого <u>прибрали до рук</u> прибічники лобіювання зброї.* (total reorganisation)

Tonight, with a <u>thankful heart</u>, I have asked for a final opportunity to share some thoughts on the journey that we have traveled together, and the future of our nation. **(January 15, 2009: Farewell Address to the Nation, 2016)** *– Сьогодні ввечері <u>з вдячністю у серці</u> я попросив останньої можливості поділитися деякими думками про шлях, який ми пройшли разом, і про майбутнє нашої нації.* (morphological replacement)

Also, here is an example of syntactic replacement – singular changes into plural – combined with differentiation:

He's betting that the perils of today's world will blind us to its <u>unlimited promise</u>. **(News, 2016)** *– Він робить ставку на те, що небезпеки сучасного світу перешкодять нам побачити його <u>безмежні перспективи</u>.*

The speeches I examined propose 6 cases of metonymy translated via direct equivalents, various ways of translating 4 cases of hyperbole, a case of allegory where differentiation was used, a direct equivalent of an allusion, and an instance where an allusion needed concretisation.

And every day, we remember that America wasn't built by <u>Wall Street</u>. **(Margaret Ferrier – 2022 Speech on Fifth Anniversary of Grenfell Tower Fire – UKPOL.CO.UK, 2024)**

– І щодня ми пам'ятаємо, що Америку збудувала не <u>Уолл-стріт</u>. (metonymy)

You've <u>gone through eight years of hell</u>, and actually I could say even a little bit more than that. **(June 19, 2017: Speech at the Unleashing American Energy Event, 2018)** *– Ви <u>пройшли через вісім років пекла</u>, і насправді я міг би сказати, що не тільки.* (hyperbole)

*And though we may not live to see the glory, as the song from the musical "Hamilton" goes, <u>let us gladly join the fight, let our legacy be about planting seeds in a garden you never **get to see**</u>.* **(News, 2016)** *– І хоча ми можемо не дожити до слави, як співається в пісні з мюзиклу «Гамільтон», <u>давайте з радістю боротися, нехай нашою спадщиною буде насіння, посаджене в саду, якого ніколи не **застанеш**</u>.* (allegory with differentiation)

*Through <u>blood **drawn** by lash and blood **drawn** by sword</u>, we learned that no union founded on the principles of liberty and equality could survive half-slave and half-free.* **(January 21, 2013: Second Inaugural Address, 2016)** – *Завдяки <u>крові, **вибитій** батогом і крові, **вирубаній** мечем</u>, ми зрозуміли, що жоден союз, заснований на принципах свободи та рівності, не може вижити як напівраб і напіввільний.* (allusion with concretisation)

Summing up all the above mentioned analysis, there were 231 cases of translation difficulties. Lexical transformations comprise 71 examples, grammatical transformations – 84 examples, lexical and grammatical transformations and equivalent translation – 37 cases each, also counting the two single cases of calquing and transcription. Based on than information, we may conclude diagrams of translator's transformations used for rendering complex cases found in political speeches (Cf. Figure 2.4.1, Figure 2.4.2, Figure 2.4.3, Figure 2.4.4.).
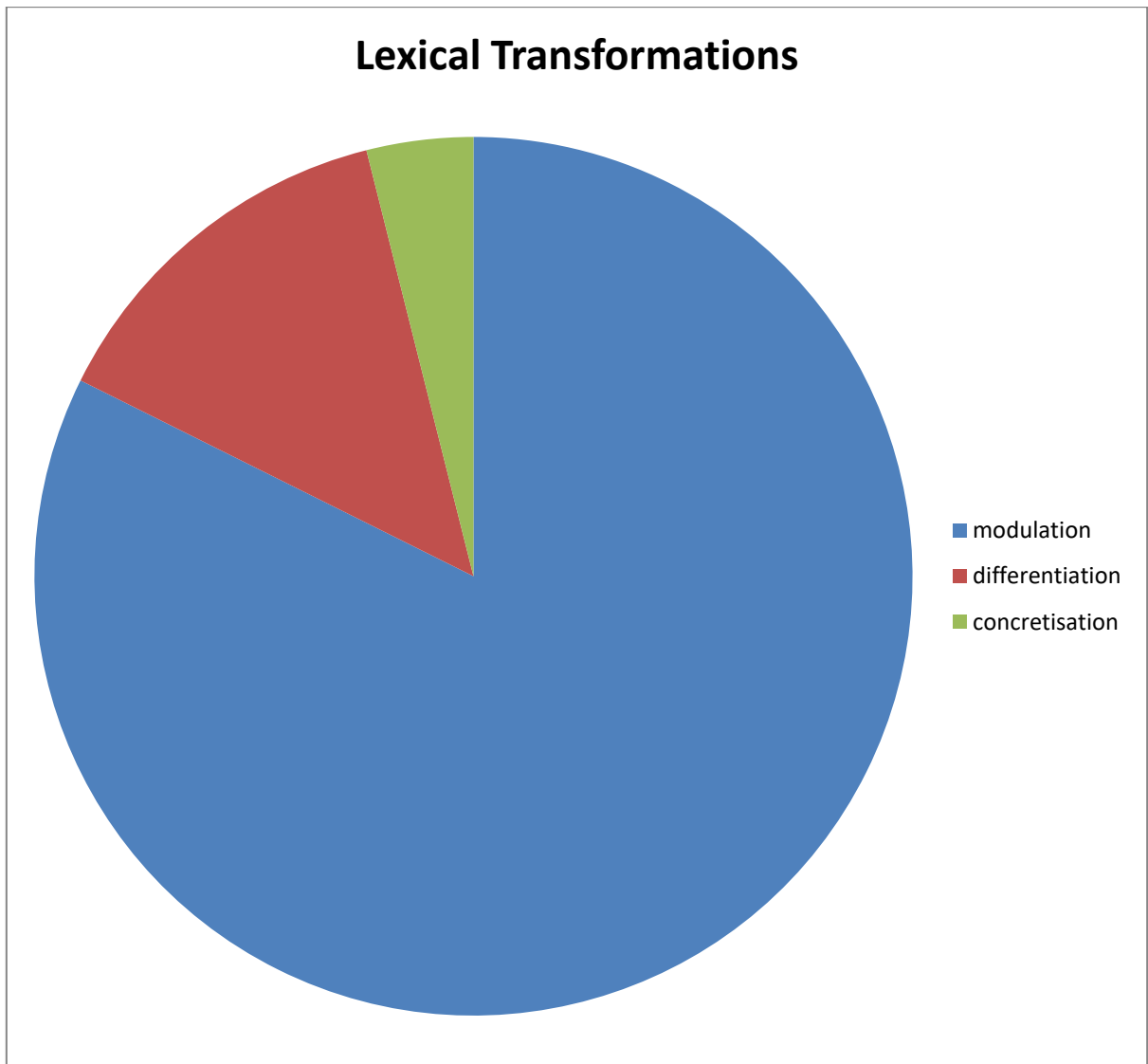
Fig. 2.4.1. Lexical transformations while translating difficulties found in political speeches
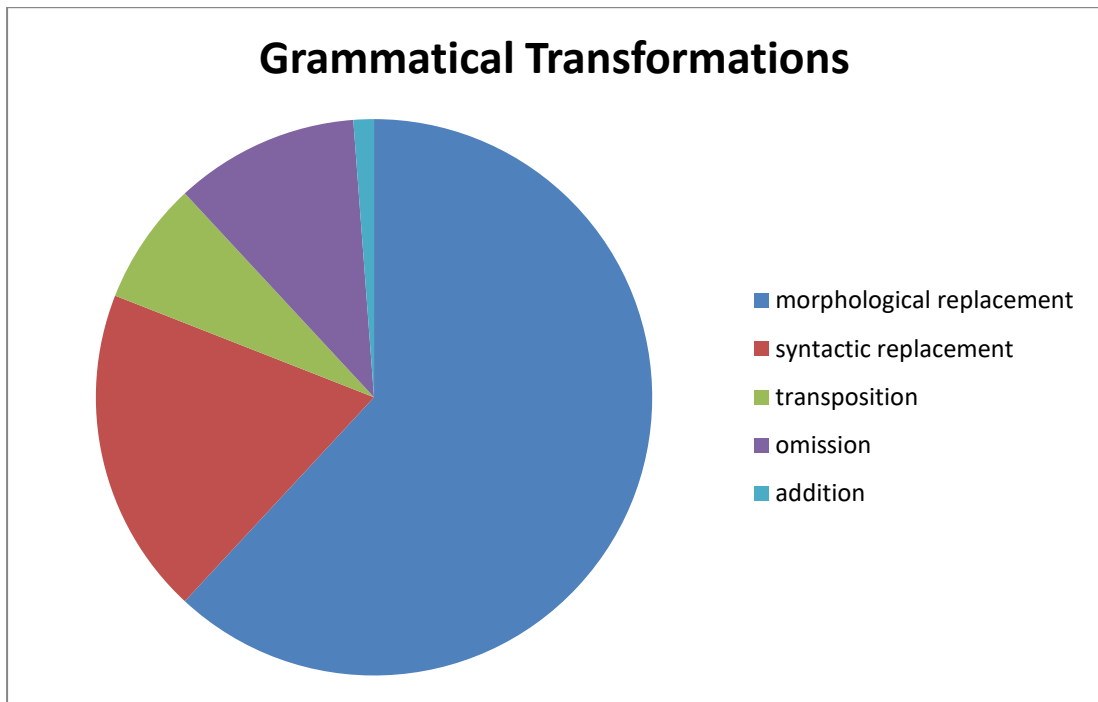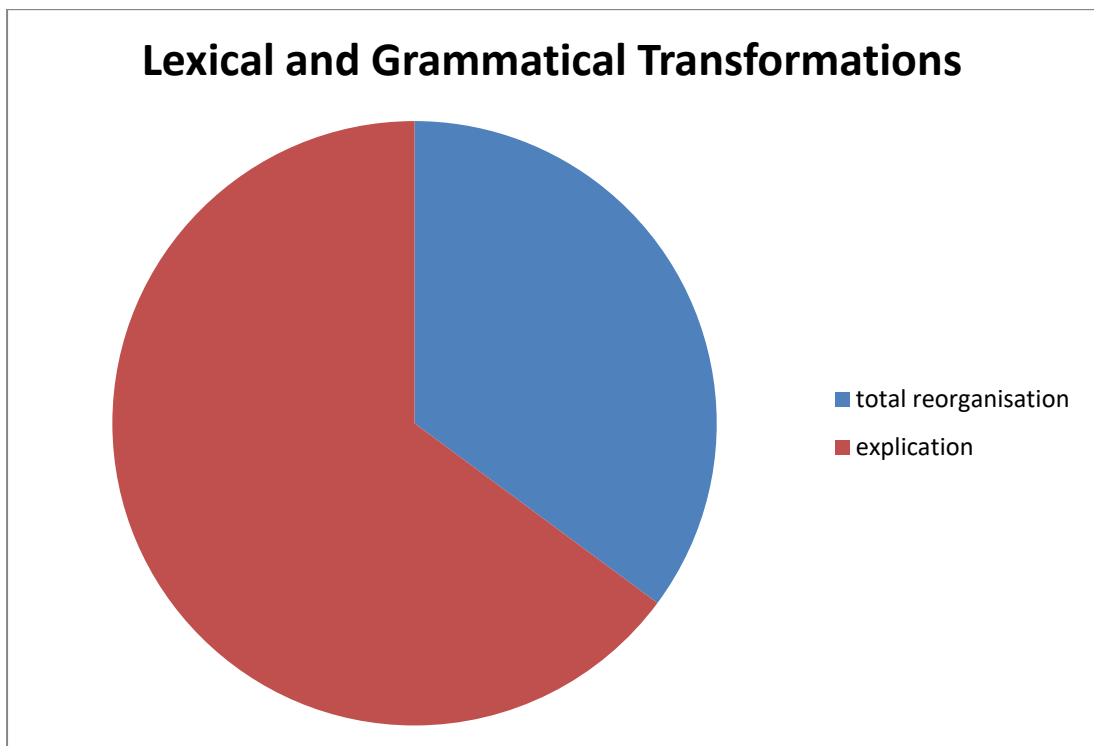
Fig. 2.4.2. Grammatical transformations

Fig. 2.4.3. Lexical and grammatical transformations

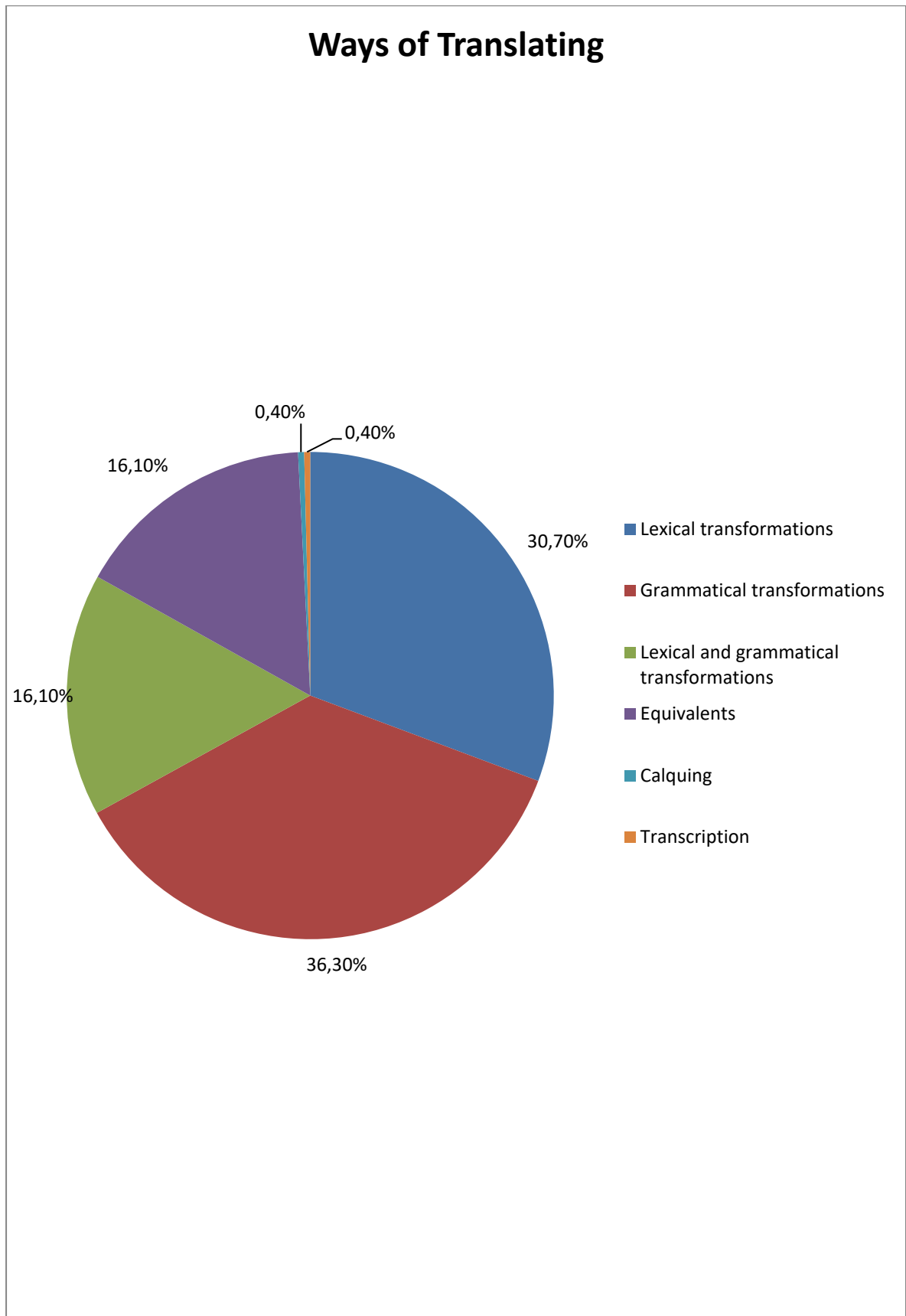Below is presented the general diagram of ways of translating created on the basis of my examination.

Ways of Translating

0,40%

0,40%

16,10%

30,70%

16,10%

36,30%

- Lexical transformations
- Grammatical transformations
- Lexical and grammatical transformations
- Equivalents
- Calquing
- Transcription

Fig. 2.4.4. General diagram of ways of translation

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of political speeches of American and British representatives allows drawing the following conclusions.

Political speeches possess an enormous power of influence over the audience. Therefore, every speaker should wisely choose the language means for this purpose. Not only the words, but grammatical constructions, stylistic devices, and observance of the principles of political correctness result in a successful speech.

That is the reason why political speeches constitute a great challenge for translators and interpreters. These challenges can be grouped as lexical, grammatical, and stylistic. Phrasal verbs, realia, abbreviations, translator's false friends, neologisms, and slang are among the lexical difficulties. Grammatical challenges comprise gerund and participle, passive voice, modal verbs, and specific use of articles. Stylistic devices such as idioms, metaphors, metonymy, hyperbole, allusion, allegory, etc. add flavour to the speech of politicians.

The complexity of political speeches as a genre of political discourse demands appropriate translation methods. According to my research, 17 American and British political speeches number 231 examples of such difficulties. The studied material exhibits the diversity of phenomena used in political speeches. The most frequent of them are modal verbs, metaphors, idioms, realia, and passive voice.

Regarding the ways of rendering these complex cases, grammatical transformations constitute the largest share all the methods – 36.3%, among which the most used is replacement, namely morphological replacement. Almost a third of the methods make up lexical transformations (30.7%) with modulation observed most often. Lexical and grammatical transformations and equivalent translation both amount to 16.1% of all the translation means. There was only one case of calquing and transcription found, totaling 0.4% each.

It would be beneficial to continue researching in the area because as the world develops, so do languages and, consequently, political speeches. The analysis of political speeches of the last decade would show how political means of influencing

the masses changed over the years while so many events are taking place daily. Comparative analysis of linguistic means in English and Ukrainian would demonstrate their effectiveness and the degree of impact on both cultures.

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ANNEX

№	English examples	Ukrainian translation	Transformations
1	A resilient economic future <u>hinges on</u> how we respond to what research tells us today.	Стійке економічне майбутнє <u>залежить від</u> того, як ми реагуємо на те, що нам сьогодні показують дослідження.	Modulation
2	When representatives from 13 unruly colonies met just down the road from here, some wanted to <u>stick with</u> the king and some wanted to <u>stick it to</u> the king.	Коли представники 13 неконтрольованих колоній зустрілися просто по дорозі звідси, одні хотіли <u>висловити свою вірність</u> королю, а інші – <u>йому</u> <u>насолити</u>.	Total reorganisation
3	And tell them about the <u>Paycheck Protection Program</u> and the loans there for small businesses.	І розкажіть їм про <u>Програму захисту зарплати</u> (PPP) та позики для малого бізнесу.	Transposition
4	A good example of this is <u>SOCOM's</u> selection processes…	Хорошим прикладом цього служать процеси відбору <u>Командування спеціальних операцій</u>...	Explication
5	Imagine, if you dare, imagine, imagine him in the <u>Oval Office</u> facing a real crisis.	Уявіть, коли зможете, уявіть, уявіть його в <u>Овальному кабінеті</u> зі справжньою кризою на порозі.	Equivalent
6	I was hoping to talk	Я сподівався поговорити	Calquing

	about prehistoric shark fossils in today's debate, but I'm afraid I struggled to find any ancient <u>sharkefacts</u>.	про скам'янілості доісторичних акул під час сьогоднішньої дискусії, але на жаль, мені було важко знайти будь-які стародавні <u>акултефакти</u>.	
7	Number one, we weren't playing on the same field. <u>It kicked in for us, and it doesn't kick in</u> for others.	По-перше, ми не грали на одному полі. <u>Нам на руку це зіграло, а от іншим – ні</u>.	Total reorganisation
8	<u>AFSCME</u> workers in Allentown. <u>IBEW</u> workers and ironworkers and nurses and grocery store workers in Cincinnati. […] <u>AFT</u> teachers in Virginia. And — and, by the way, of course I sleep with an <u>NEA</u> member every night.	Працівники <u>Американської федерації державних, окружних та муніципальних службовців</u> в Аллентауні. Члени <u>Міжнародного братства електротехніків</u>, металургійники, медсестри та працівники продуктових магазинів у Цинциннаті. […] Члени <u>Американської федерації вчителів</u> у Вірджинії. І — і, до речі, звичайно, я щоночі сплю поруч із членом <u>Національної</u>	Explication

			освітньої асоціації.	
9	At the Department of Commerce, our responsibilities span a wide range of issues, and one that I and many of our dedicated staff members are deeply involved in is <u>watching</u>, <u>predicting</u>, and <u>researching</u> our weather and oceans – <u>predicting</u> the next heatwave, <u>monitoring</u> our marine fisheries, and <u>contributing</u> to a vibrant blue economy.		У Міністерстві торгівлі в наші обов'язки входить широкий спектр питань, і одне з таких питань, у яке я та багато наших відданих співробітників глибоко залучені, – це <u>спостереження</u>, <u>прогнозування</u> та <u>дослідження</u> нашої погоди та океанів, а саме <u>прогнозування</u> наступної хвилі спеки, <u>моніторинг</u> морського рибного господарства та <u>сприяння</u> динамічній «блакитній економіці».	Morphological replacement
10	<u>Campaigning</u> is our second approach, and it's related.		<u>Проведення</u> кампаній – це наш другий підхід, і він пов'язаний.	Morphological replacement
11	Our economy cannot fully recover unless all Americans can fully participate. That means <u>expanding</u> innovation beyond Silicon Valley, Boston, and New York. It means <u>creating</u> more		Наша економіка може повністю відновитися, тільки якщо всі американці зможуть повноцінно брати участь. Це означає, що треба <u>розширити</u> коло інновацій за межами	Gerund as infinitive

	economic opportunity for women, people of color, and people in overlooked communities. And for businesses, it means <u>ensuring</u> that diversity and inclusion efforts are not just an HR function – they're core to your business strategy.	Силіконової долини, Бостона та Нью-Йорка. Це означає, що треба <u>створити</u> більше економічних можливостей для жінок, представників інших рас і людей із громад, ким приділяється недостатня увага. А для компаній це означає, що треба <u>переконатися</u> в тому, що зусилля, направлені на забезпечення різноманітності та залучення, є не лише функцією HR – вони є основою вашої бізнес-стратегії.	
12	The Defense Department has increasingly done this in recent decades – in 1975, for example, <u>opening up</u> the military service academies to women, and in 1993, allowing women to fly fighter jets and serve on	Протягом останніх десятиліть Міністерство оборони дедалі частіше робило це – наприклад, у 1975 році <u>було відкрито</u> військові академії для жінок, а в 1993 році жінкам <u>надано</u> дозвіл керувати винищувачами та служити на бойових	Syntactic replacement

	combat ships at sea.	кораблях у морі.	
13	…and they've been able to do so because their leaders have taken care to implement change thoughtfully, always <u>putting</u> the mission and our people first.	…і вони змогли це зробити, тому що їхні лідери дбали про продумане впровадження змін, завжди <u>ставлячи</u> місію та наших людей на перше місце.	Equivalent
14	Does anybody think if we were starting off from scratch, <u>setting up</u> public education, we'd say 12 years was enough for the 21st century?	Чи хтось думає, що якби ми починали з нуля, <u>створюючи</u> державну освіту, то сказали б, що 12 років – це недостатньо для XXI століття?	Modulation
15	We all know China undercuts American firms by <u>engaging</u> in anti-competitive and coercive activities − including denying us access to their market and dumping products into our market.	Нам усім відомо, що Китай підриває американські фірми, <u>беручи участь</u> у антиконкурентній та примусовій діяльності, включно з відмовою нам у доступі до їхнього ринку та демпінгом продукції на наш ринок.	Gerund as adverbial participle
16	Another group of journalists described masked men <u>breaking</u>	Інша група журналістів розповіла, як люди в масках <u>зламали</u> двері	Morphological replacement

	down the doors of their radio station and dousing the studio with gasoline.	їхньої радіостанції та облили студію бензином.	
17	Facing the prospect of a financial collapse, we took decisive measures to safeguard our economy.	Перед перспективою фінансового краху ми вжили рішучих заходів для захисту нашої економіки.	Morphological replacement
18	Bolstered by private sector investment, we can scale our technological innovation to every corner of the country, including the heartland.	Завдяки інвестиціям приватного сектору ми можемо розширити наші технологічні інновації в будь-якому куточку країни, включно з центром.	Morphological replacement
19	But we have been given solemn responsibilities, and we must meet them. We must resist complacency. We must keep our resolve. And we must never let down our guard.	Але на нас покладено серйозні обов'язки, і ми повинні їх виконувати. Ми повинні протистояти самовдоволенню. Ми повинні зберегти свою рішучість. І ми повинні ніколи не втрачати пильність.	Equivalent
20	We shouldn't diminish that.	Нам не варто це применшувати.	Morphological replacement
21	…and you ought to thank Bernie Sanders	…і вам слід подякувати Берні Сандерсу за	Morphological replacement

	for a lot of this.	велику частку цього.	
22	Fifth, we will have to address the fact that some surveys suggest that some servicemembers, both men and women, have a perception that integration would be pursued at the cost of combat effectiveness.	По-п'яте, нам доведеться звернути увагу на той факт, що за певними дослідженнями, деякі військовослужбовці, як чоловіки, так і жінки, вважають, що інтеграція буде здійснюватися ціною бойової ефективності.	Finite form
23	Merck and Johnson & Johnson — competitors before now — are teaming up to speed up manufacturing, which means that we should have a full vaccine supply for adults by the end of May.	Merck і Johnson & Johnson — колишні конкуренти – об'єднуються, щоб пришвидшити виробництво, а це означає, що ми маємо отримати повну поставку вакцини для дорослих до кінця травня.	Differentiation
24	As you embark on your exciting new adventure in life, may you always carry in your heart the motto of this institution: deeds, not words and act upon it.	Починаючи свою нову захоплюючу пригоду в житті, несіть у своєму серці девіз цієї установи: ділами, а не словами, – і слідуйте цьому.	Syntactic replacement (mood)

25	Well, let's take a closer look, <u>shall</u> we?	Що ж, давайте розгляньмо детальніше, так?	Omission
26	And I know it's not an easy job, but what you do, especially at this moment of crisis, <u>couldn't be</u> more important.	І я знаю, що це нелегка робота, але те, що ви робите, особливо в цей момент кризи, <u>як ніколи</u> важливо.	Morphological replacement
27	Our work is essential to rebuilding America – American people, American communities, and American industries that <u>have been left behind.</u>	Наша робота має важливе значення для відновлення Америки – її народу, її громад і промисловості, яких <u>покинули на призволяще</u>.	Syntactic replacement
28	<u>They'll be allowed</u> to drive tanks, fire mortars, and lead infantry soldiers into combat.	<u>Їм буде надано дозвіл</u> керувати танками, стріляти з мінометів і вести в бій піхоту.	Syntactic replacement
29	We must require the industry to move faster and more aggressively. They have the resources and there must be greater urgency. If not, the next generation of our children <u>will have been needlessly **failed**</u>.	Ми повинні вимагати, щоб галузь рухалася швидше й агресивніше. У них є ресурси, і необхідна більша нагальність. Інакше наступне покоління наших дітей <u>зазнає марної **невдачі**</u>.	Syntactic replacement (passive to active) & morphological replacement (verb to noun)

30	I believe that so many of our problems as a country have been created and exacerbated by inequality.	Я вважаю, що так багато наших проблем як країни створила та загострила нерівність.	Syntactic replacement
31	For we, the people, understand that our country cannot succeed when a shrinking few do very well and a growing many barely make it. […] We, the people, still believe that every citizen deserves a basic measure of security and dignity. […] We, the people, still believe that our obligations as Americans are not just to ourselves, but to all posterity. […]We, the people, still believe that enduring security and lasting peace do not require perpetual war.	Тому що ми, Народ, розуміємо, що наша країна не може досягти успіху, коли небагатьом живуть дуже добре, а багато хто, яких більшає, ледве виживають. […] Ми, Народ, все ще віримо, що кожен громадянин заслуговує на мінімальну безпеку та гідність. […] Ми, Народ, все ще віримо, що наші обов'язки як американців лежать не лише перед нами самими, але й перед нащадками. […] Ми, Народ, досі віримо, що стійка безпека та тривалий мир не потребують вічної війни.	Omission
32	We do not believe that in this country freedom	Ми віримо, що в цій країні свобода не	Morphological replacement

	is reserved for <u>the lucky</u>, or happiness for the few.	призначена тільки для <u>щасливчиків</u> або щастя – тільки для кількох.	
33	And we must be a source of hope to <u>the poor, the sick, the marginalized,</u> the victims of prejudice–…	І ми маємо бути джерелом надії для <u>бідних, хворих, тих, хто на узбіччі суспільства,</u> жертв упереджень…	Morphological replacement
34	For we, the people, understand that our country cannot succeed when <u>a shrinking few</u> do very well and <u>a growing many</u> barely make it.	Тому що ми, Народ, розуміємо, що наша країна не може досягти успіху, коли <u>стає все менше тих</u>, хто живе дуже добре, а тих, хто ледве виживає, все <u>стає дедалі більше</u>.	Morphological replacement
35	The Revolution <u>hung in the balance</u>, and somehow they began listening to each other, compromising, finding common purpose.	Революція <u>висіла на волосині</u>, і якось вони почали прислухатися один до одного, йти на компроміси, знаходити спільну мету.	Modulation
36	One of the things I admired about Rich is that he understood what people in this economy are really facing. He, like most of you, <u>felt it in his bones</u>.	Одна з речей, які мене захоплювали в Річі, це те, що він розумів, з чим насправді стикаються люди в цій економіці. Він, як і більшість із вас, <u>відчував це нутром</u>.	Modulation

37	I thank you for the prayers that have <u>lifted my spirits</u>.	Я дякую вам за молитви, які мене <u>підбадьорили</u>.	Total reorganisation
38	And I know you didn't expect to be in this role at this moment, but as I told you before, I believe that the future of American labor is <u>in very **good** hands</u>.	І я знаю, що ви не очікували на цю роль зараз, але, як я вже казав вам раніше, я вважаю, що майбутнє американської праці <u>в дуже **надійних** руках</u>.	Differentiation
39	Bernie, your campaign inspired millions of Americans, particularly the young people who **threw** <u>their hearts and souls into</u> our primary.	Берні, ваша кампанія надихнула мільйони американців, особливо молодих, які **вклали** <u>свої душу й серце</u> в наші первинні вибори.	Differentiation
40	Yes, those were actually Donald Trump's words in Cleveland. And they should <u>set off alarm bells</u> for all of us.	Так, насправді це були слова Дональда Трампа в Клівленді. І через них ми <u>маємо забити тривогу</u>.	Modulation
41	And even in the toughest times, we <u>lift our eyes to the broad horizon ahead.</u>	І навіть у найважчі часи ми <u>спрямовуємо погляд на широкий горизонт попереду.</u>	Modulation
42	That is the story of America. And we <u>begin a new chapter</u> tonight.	Така історія Америки. І сьогодні ми <u>починаємо новий розділ</u>.	Equivalent
43	He spoke from his <u>big</u>	Він <u>від щирого серця</u>	Differentiation

	heart about our party's commitment to working people as only he can do.	говорив про відданість нашої партії робітникам, так, як тільки він один уміє.	
44	And if we're serious about keeping our country safe, we also can't afford to have a president who's <u>in the pocket of</u> the gun lobby.	І якщо ми серйозно ставимося до безпеки нашої країни, ми також не можемо дозволити собі президента, якого <u>прибрали до рук</u> прибічники лобіювання зброї.	Total reorganisation
45	Tonight, with a <u>thankful heart</u>, I have asked for a final opportunity to share some thoughts on the journey that we have traveled together, and the future of our nation.	Сьогодні ввечері <u>з вдячністю у серці</u> я попросив останньої можливості поділитися деякими думками про шлях, який ми пройшли разом, і про майбутнє нашої нації.	Morphological replacement
46	He's betting that the perils of today's world will blind us to its <u>unlimited promise</u>.	Він робить ставку на те, що небезпеки сучасного світу перешкодять нам побачити його <u>безмежні перспективи</u>.	Syntactic replacement & differentiation
47	And every day, we remember that America wasn't built by <u>Wall Street</u>.	І щодня ми пам'ятаємо, що Америку збудувала не <u>Уолл-стріт</u>.	Transcription

48	You've <u>gone through eight years of hell</u>, and actually I could say even a little bit more than that.	Ви <u>пройшли через вісім років пекла</u>, і насправді я міг би сказати, що не тільки.	Equivalent
49	And though we may not live to see the glory, as the song from the musical "Hamilton" goes, let us gladly join the fight, let our legacy be about planting seeds in a garden you never <u>get to see</u>.	I хоча ми можемо не дожити до слави, як співається в пісні з мюзиклу «Гамільтон», давайте з радістю боротися, нехай нашою спадщиною буде насіння, посаджене в саду, якого ніколи не <u>застанеш</u>.	Differentiation
50	Through <u>blood **drawn** by lash and blood **drawn** by sword</u>, we learned that no union founded on the principles of liberty and equality could survive half-slave and half-free.	Завдяки <u>крові, **вибитій** батогом і крові, **вирубаній**</u> мечем, ми зрозуміли, що жоден союз, заснований на принципах свободи та рівності, не може вижити як напівраб і напіввільний.	Concretisation

РЕЗЮМЕ

Курсову роботу присвячено дослідженню труднощів перекладу політичних промов з англійської мови на українську. У ході роботи висвітлено основні погляди на суть понять політичного дискурсу та політичної промови, проаналізовано зразок тексту політичної промови і здійснено перекладацький аналіз фактичного матеріалу дослідження (явищ, які можуть становити труднощі при перекладі, усього 231 одиниця). Крім того, у курсовій роботі подано діаграми, що подають дані про частотність та продуктивність різних перекладацьких трансформацій.

Ключові слова: *перекладацькі трансформації, труднощі перекладу, політична промова, політична мова, політичний дискурс.*