SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETATION OF CULTURE-BOUND REFERENCES: A CASE STUDY OF A STUDENT INTERPRETER WORKING FROM KISWAHILI INTO ENGLISH

BY

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C50/75596/2012

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERPRETATION

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS AND LANGUAGES

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

NOVEMBER 2013
DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

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This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as the University Supervisors.

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DR GIDEON MARETE
DEDICATION

To God the Father of Lights with whom there is no variation or shifting shadow. I thank you for every good and perfect gift that you have given me.

To the memory of my late father Habil Andwati. I know that you would be proud of me. The UN dream is still alive.

To my mother Alice Afwande Andwati. You said: It is time. I heeded your advice and here is the result.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my deepest appreciation to all the individuals who have helped me along my journey towards the completion of this work.

I am indebted to my supervisors Prof. Jayne Mutiga and Dr. Gideon Marete who have offered me guidance and constant help through all the stages of the research and writing of this work. Their encouragement and patience kept me going.

There are various lecturers who have taught me the practical skills in interpretation, who have inspired me and who have taught me that interpretation is a journey on which learning never stops. I am truly grateful to Prof. Barbara Moser-Mercer, Josephat Gitonga, Carmen Delgado Luchner, Manuella Motta Falter, Caroline Mwangi, Liam Long, Kate Davies, Petronella Cox, Omar Hammad and Moss Lenga.

I would like to thank my interpretation and translation course classmates for their generosity of spirit. I would like to say a special thank you to Rachel Koigi, Rachael Ndichu and Paul Odhiambo Ope who have been my co-travelers, the witnesses to my missteps and triumphs, my comrades-in-arms, and who I look forward to working with in the interpretation booth.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my siblings Jeffrey Omwela, Winnie Imbukwa, Wycliffe Omukabane, Alex Chibule and Jonathan Akuno for their prayers, and their emotional and financial support.
ABSTRACT

Interpretation involves more than just linguistic mediation; it is about cultural mediation as well. In light of the understanding that language and culture are so closely intertwined that language is usually seen as a verbal expression of culture, it is worth noting that cultural mediation adds another layer to the already complex task of interpretation. This study explores the challenge that culture-bound words and references pose for interpreters working in the simultaneous mode. The thesis introduces the Skopos theory, its basic concepts, its significance and limitations. The study also examines cultural differences in simultaneous interpretation in the perspective of the Skopos theory.

The study then presents and describes the strategies used by interpreters in solving cultural problems in interpretation. Finally, the study discusses how Skopos theory can help interpreters adopt flexibility in dealing with culture-bound references to fulfill the skopos of the target audience.
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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Background to the study

In this increasingly globalized world, there are a growing number of encounters between cultures which require communication that cuts across different languages and cultures. Many such meetings take place with the mediation of an interpreter who acts as both linguistic and cultural mediator.

This study identifies the difficulties that culture-bound references pose for a student interpreter working in the simultaneous mode from Kiswahili into English as a result of the gap between the source language culture and the target language culture. It also attempts to identify the strategies adopted by student interpreters to deal with culture-bound references while working under significant time constraints imposed by interpreting in the simultaneous mode.

Interpretation is the intellectual activity that consists of orally transferring a delivered speech or a written text from one language into another in order to facilitate communication between two or more users of different languages. It involves not only two languages, but two cultural traditions as well.

Interpreters are permanently faced with the problem of how to treat the cultural aspects they encounter in the speeches delivered in the source language and finding the most successful techniques of conveying these aspects in the target language. It is also the interpreter’s task to convey not only the formal meaning of a message (lexical, grammatical and syntactical level), but the semantic, aesthetic and connotative levels as well.
Interpreting is believed to be an ancient human activity that dates back to the first contacts between speakers of different languages. Interpretation as a profession can be traced back in history especially where interpreters doubled as diplomats, trade negotiators, mediators and missionaries.

The most ancient reference to interpretation dates back to 3000 BC at which time Ancient Egyptians had a hieroglyph to signify “interpreter”. According to Kurz (2012), the rock tombs of the Princes of Elephantine in the Third Millennium BC bear the inscription “overseers of dragomans”. This may be loosely translated as “headman interpreter” or “interpreter supervisor”. The Princes of Elephantine probably became “overseers of dragomans” because they lived in a bilingual border region of Pharaonic Egypt and were put in charge of trade and military expeditions to Nubia and Sudan.

There is also a bas-relief from the tomb of the army general Haremhab, who later ruled as the last pharaoh of the 18th Dynasty between 1333 and 1306 BC. The engraving indicates the interpreter’s role as a mediator between high dignitaries and a group of foreigners who are portrayed as occupying a position of humility. The interpreter is shown listening to the foreigners and conveying their pleas to Haremhab who in turn conveys their pleas to Pharaoh Tutankhamen.

In modern times, the need for high-level interpreting arose when, during the preliminary deliberations of the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, the British insisted on the recognition of English as an official diplomatic language. Hitherto, French had served as the universal language of diplomacy and educated discourse. After English was declared the second official language of the League of Nations at the Paris conference, every
diplomatic matter could from then on be discussed in both French and English. This created a permanent need for interpretation during such high-level meetings.

It was not until the post-war Nuremberg Trials of 1945-1946 that simultaneous interpretation came to the world’s attention. English, French, German and Russian were to be used in the hearings and using the consecutive mode would have been too time-consuming. Simultaneous interpretation seemed to solve the problem of time limitations because it allowed for the interpretation to be provided at the same time that the participants were speaking. For the interpreting profession, the Nuremberg Trials were viewed as a huge success, and in 1947 the UN General Assembly decided that simultaneous interpretation should be used alternatively or in conjunction with consecutive interpretation.

Despite simultaneous interpretation being the most recently developed mode of interpretation, it has become the mode that is most commonly associated with the profession. International conferences provide one of the settings where interpreting is most commonly used and the mode employed at these conferences is usually simultaneous interpretation.

1.1 Operational definitions

There are various modes of interpretation. These include:

**Simultaneous interpretation** – It involves rendering an interpretation at the same time that the person delivering the speech is speaking. Usually, the speaker speaks into a microphone in the meeting room while the interpreter receives the sound through a
headset and renders the message into a microphone almost simultaneously. The delegates in the meeting room use headsets to hear the interpretation into the target language.

**Consecutive interpretation** – Involves rendering the speech made in the source language into the target language intermittently after a pause between each completed statement by the speaker. In other words, the interpreter renders the interpretation after the speaker has stopped speaking.

**Sight translation** – Is where the interpreter reads a document written in one language while translating it orally into another language. It is sometimes referred to as sight interpreting.

**Conference interpreter** – Renders verbally in one language a statement spoken in another language at a formal or informal meeting or in a conference-like situation. Professional conference interpretation may be consecutive or simultaneous regardless of the length and/or complexity of the original statement (Sauer 1997, p. 15).

**Source language** – The language of the original speaker to which the interpreter listens and renders into a language that can be understood by the audience.

**Target language** – The language of the listener and into which the interpreter renders the original speaker’s message.

**Active language** – is a language that an interpreter can speak fluently.

**Passive language** – is a language that an interpreter understands perfectly, but does not speak so fluently.

**Source text** – is the text / speech to be translated/interpreted.
**Target text** – is the product of the translation/interpretation process.

**“A” language** – Is the interpreter’s mother tongue (or its strict equivalent) into which they work from all their working languages in both consecutive and simultaneous interpretation.

**“B” language** – Is a language in which the interpreter is perfectly fluent, but is not a mother tongue. An interpreter can work into this language from one or several of their working languages. It is also considered an active language for an interpreter.

**“C” language** – Is a language which an interpreter understands perfectly, but into which they do not work. They will interpret from this/these language(s) into their active languages. It is therefore a passive language for an interpreter.

### 1.2 Statement of the research problem

Interpreting may be considered cultural mediation because the interpreter tries to overcome linguistic and cultural barriers to facilitate communication between the speaker and the audience. Attempting to bridge these barriers is a difficult undertaking and as Edstrom (1991, p.59) rightly points out “cultural concepts are embodied in words which we may never fully understand if we are not bred in the culture and society that has moulded and shaped the language”.

The interpreter, working under severe time constraints, is required to be aware of the cultural differences between parties and has to make split-second decisions on how to bridge these cultural gaps.
The purpose of this study is to find out the strategies used by student interpreters working in the simultaneous mode to deal with the challenges posed by culture-bound references.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The goal of this study is to investigate the strategies used by student interpreters when they are confronted with culture-bound references in a real interpreting task. In view of this, the study’s specific objectives are:

0. To establish the strategies most commonly adopted by student interpreters working in the simultaneous mode from Kiswahili into English when they encounter culture-bound references in an oral source text.

1. To describe how the student interpreter reconstitutes cultural notions of the oral source text in the target language.

2. To investigate if the functionalist Skopos Theory mainly developed for translation studies can help the student interpreter deal with culture-bound references in a more practicable way.

1.4 Hypothesis

The following are the hypotheses of the study:

1. The student interpreter will adopt various strategies in order to render culture-bound references into the target language.

2. The student interpreter will attempt to reconstitute the cultural notions of the oral source text in the target language with varying levels of success.
3. By employing interpretation strategies under the guidance of Skopos Theory, student interpreters can adjust their working methods and achieve a better communicative effect.

1.5 Significance and rationale of the study

Research on simultaneous interpreting has largely been focused on the cognitive aspects of the interpreter’s performance such as mental overload, how an interpreter deals with fast speech delivery and information density. Little attention has been paid to investigating strategies used by interpreters especially when dealing with culture-bound references especially in the context of formal speeches.

Alexieva (2002, p. 218) brings to the fore the importance of interpretation, giving the example of political negotiations where the topic is “something as important as peace and war”. In such instances, culture-bound references are “like a minefield that the interpreter must weave through without triggering any bombs while getting across”.

The interpreter’s task is to facilitate communication first and foremost and then to convey cultural connotations. This twin challenge could affect not only comprehension, but also production. When interpreters are aware of the difficulties that culture-bound references can cause as they attempt to produce a smooth delivery of the oral source text in the target language, they can fall back on a number of strategies to limit their impact. This study will help to shed more light on the use of these strategies. It will also help student and professional interpreters to better appreciate the difficulties posed by communicating across cultures.
The source text language involved in this study is Kiswahili. This is interesting from the point of view that much of the research around the world on simultaneous interpreting so far has been conducted on Indo-European languages.

1.6 Scope and limitations

This study brings together simultaneous interpretation and the functionalist Skopos Theory to investigate the challenge of interpretability of culture-bound references and the strategies used by interpreters in facilitating inter-cultural communication. The Skopos Theory posits that the purpose of the communicative action should be taken into account by the interpreter.

Research into the field of interpretation is still quite young and dates back only about 60 years ago as opposed to research in translation studies which started centuries ago. A lot of the theories that interpretation studies draws from have been developed in translation studies and yet translation and interpretation call for different approaches to practice. In addition, despite the progress that has been made in interpretation research over the past few decades, the amount of research that has been conducted into in this field is still quite small in volume.

As interpreting is a complex activity that involves a variety of mental operations going on at the same time, the difficulties that an interpreter faces in terms of cognitive limitations in the context of a communicative function cannot be overlooked. The quandary that the researcher thus faces is on how to distinguish between the impact of processing capacity limitations as described in Gile’s Effort Model and the challenge posed by culture-bound words/references. Borrowing from the model used by Pochhacker (2007 p. 129-130), this
study will focus on speech segments that can be viewed as particularly demanding in terms of processing capacity limitations while at the same time requiring the interpreter to make decisions on which strategies to use to ensure functional adequacy is obtained in the target-language culture.

The most important limitation in this study is the unavailability of more data for analysis. Only four renditions will be produced with the help of two subjects. It is worth pointing out that the subjects used are advanced (second year) student interpreters at the University of Nairobi with the English-Kiswahili language combination. The inclusion of first year student interpreters as subjects for this study was considered, however, the level of difficulty of the speeches to be interpreted was considered too high for these students who are only just starting to come to grips with the practice of interpretation.

The participation of professional interpreters in this study would be highly welcome. However, professional interpreters are often unwilling to participate in studies of this nature because they are apprehensive about their work being put under close scrutiny. This deprives the study of useful information into the strategies used by professional interpreters to cope with culture-bound references and how these strategies differ from those used by student interpreters.

1.7 Theoretical framework

The study draws on The Skopos Theory which is a theory developed within translation studies. The theory’s formulation is attributed to German translation scholar Hans J. Vermeer who got its name, Skopos, from a Greek word meaning aim or purpose.
Skopos is a framework which combines the ideas of translation as a purposeful action with the concept of intercultural communication. It lays down translation and interpretation as processes of cultural transfer according to a set of hierarchical principles.

In essence the theory holds that the target text must conform to the standards of intratextual coherence (it must make sense) within its communicative situation and culture.

Secondly, there must be intertextual coherence, i.e. fidelity or loyalty to the source text.

In this functionalist translation theory, the standard by which translation and interpretation is to be judged is not the degree of equivalence with the original, but the extent to which the target text functions as intended within its socio-cultural context.

Vermeer conceived translation and interpretation as a type of action that involves the transfer of communicative elements. Action is in turn characterized in his approach by intentionality and immersion in a particular cultural context.

In order to define his theory more precisely, Vermeer proposes a segmentation of the Skopos notion into: function, purpose, aim and intention. The function refers to what a text means or is intended to mean from the target reader’s point of view. Meaning is generated by the target audience through the act of decoding whereas function is not necessarily stable and will differ especially when the target audience belongs to different cultural settings.
The purpose is considered a provisional stage in the process of attaining an aim while intention is the author’s will to attain a particular aim.

According to this theory, in an ideal communicative situation, the function deciphered by the receiver is the same as the intention of the sender while in an ideal translational situation, the translator (or interpreter) formulates the rendering in such a way that it carries the source text author’s intention over to a different cultural setting and achieves the same purpose as in the original setting.

Vermeer describes the source text as an offer of information from which individual receivers select the information they find most interesting and important. This could be interpreted to mean that functional translation consists of selecting those items of information from the source text which are deemed relevant to its function and then transferring them to the target culture where they, as target texts, constitute an offer of information for the target audience.

For the sake of clarity, Nord (1997, p. 47) redefined intention as the sender’s - or in this particular instance - the speaker’s will to attain a particular aim. The general tendency within the framework is to refer to all of these concepts as Skopos. This study will follow a similar trend.

1.8 Literature review

This study explores interpreting as just more than a linguistic phenomenon of human communication. It explores interpreting as an act of cultural mediation. Cultural mediation adds another layer to the already complex task of interpretation which
Christoffels and De Groot (2005, p. 454) describe simultaneous interpretation as “one of the most complex tasks imaginable because many processes take place at the same time”.

According to Duranti (1997, p. 24), culture is “something learned, transmitted and passed down from one generation to the next through human actions, often in the form of face-to-face interaction, and, of course, through linguistic communication”.

Different scholars use various terms to denote the concept of culture-bound references. Baker (1992, p. 21) refers to them as culture-specific concepts, Robinson (1997, p. 222) labels them realia, Schaeffner & Wiesemann (2001, p. 32) use the words culture-bound phenomena and terms or culture-specific items. All these labels define “the way of life and its manifestations that are peculiar to a community that uses a particular language as its means of expression” (Newmark, 1988 p. 94). In this study, all the terms mentioned above will be used as synonyms.

There is no general agreement in literature about a definition of “culture-bound” references. Some authors say that cultural items mainly refer to extralinguistic fields such as names of places, fauna, flora and social institutions while others argue that they include intralinguistic phenomena such as idioms and proverbs.

There is, however, a general consensus that culture-bound references are problematic for interpreters to render. According to Nida (1964, p. 130), differences between cultures may cause more severe complications for the translator (or interpreter) than do differences in language structure.

Language is more than just words or grammatical structures. In fact, language cannot be separated from culture (Genesee, Paradis, Crago, 2004, p. 88). Language and culture are
so closely intertwined that language is usually seen as a verbal expression of culture. This implies that in addition to converting oral speeches from the source into the target language and facilitating communication between people, interpreters also act as cultural mediators.

The International Association of Conference Interpreters (AIIC) describes interpreting as “a constant to-ing and fro-ing between ways of thinking and cultural universes”.

According to Katan (2004, p. 12), the interpreter’s role has for a long time been thought of as a discreet or even “invisible black box” and as a “walking generalist translator of words”. However, as a cultural mediator, the interpreter has to be a specialist in negotiating understanding between cultures.

Taft (1998, p. 153) defines the role of cultural mediator as follows:

A cultural mediator is a person who facilitates communication, understanding, and action between persons or groups who differ with respect to language and culture. The role of the mediator is performed by interpreting the expressions, intentions, perceptions and expectations of each cultural group to the other, that is, by establishing and balancing the communication between them. In order to serve as a link in this sense, the mediator must be able to participate to some extent in both cultures.

Taft (1998, p. 153) also says that “in order to play the role of mediator, an individual has to be flexible in switching his cultural orientation”. Hence a cultural mediator has to have developed a high degree of intercultural sensitivity. He says a mediator must possess the following competencies in both cultures:
- Knowledge about society: History, folklore, traditions, customs, values, prohibitions, the natural environment and its importance, neighbouring people, important people in the society etcetera.

- Communication skills: Written, spoken, non-verbal.

- Technical skills: Those required by the mediator’s status e.g. computer literacy, appropriate dress etcetera.

- Social skills: Knowledge of rules that govern social relations in society and emotional competence e.g. the appropriate level of self control.

1.9 Research methodology

1.9.1. Data collection

The methodology used involves a qualitative approach. The participants in the study are two advanced Masters in Interpretation students at the University of Nairobi. Data will be collected from the interpretation of speeches by the two participants. Two authentic speeches in Kiswahili will be used. The speeches will be equal in length and will last about nine minutes each.

The speeches in the source language will be analyzed beforehand to ensure they have cultural allusions, a comparable level of complexity and redundancy.

The occurrence of culture-bound references will be listed in accordance with the classification devised for this study.
The source texts will be composed of the same subject matter namely political speeches. This will yield four interpreting outputs.

The experiment will be carried using the interpreting booths at the University of Nairobi’s Centre for Translation and Interpretation. Before the task, each participant will be given the context for the original speeches in Kiswahili for interpretation into English.

1.9.2 Data analysis

The source texts were interpreted in a classroom setting and the interpretations recorded. The data was obtained from two classroom sessions. All interpretation renditions by the subjects were recorded. The rate of delivery of the speeches was controlled at approximately 120 words per minute.

Two renditions each by the two student interpreters were transcribed as heard and analyzed. The focus was placed on how the two interpreters dealt with the interpreting units chosen for analysis. Recording of the student interpreters’ renditions were transcribed as heard.

The interpreting strategies were identified with focus on finding the most frequently used strategies for dealing with culture-bound references.

1.10 Summary

Interpreters require vast as well as specific subject and cultural knowledge for the various contexts in which they work. They also have to apply and make use of the knowledge that they have acquired to solve linguistic and cultural and other problems that they
encounter in the interpreting process in order to facilitate communication between speakers of different languages.

Despite having to deal with diverse subjects in their work, interpreters have to be aware that the one common denominator that characterizes the speeches that they deal with is that facilitating communicating between languages also involves communication between the cultures in which they function.

By adopting the Skopos approach, interpreting is more than just about language. It is a purposeful activity.

This study focuses on the challenges that interpreters working in the simultaneous mode are faced with when dealing with culture-bound references. It will, hopefully, help to create awareness among practicing interpreters and student interpreters on the cultural shift that takes place during interpretation and how this affects the meaning of the speaker’s source text.
CHAPTER TWO

2.0 Concept of culture

Culture is a very complex concept and is difficult to determine in almost every respect. The most important issue for the functionalist Skopos Theory is to view culture as a context for language with which it is in constant interaction. Culture is deeply interwoven into language and it is very important for an interpreter to understand and to communicate cultural meanings.

According to Newmark (1988, p.94), culture is “the way of life and its manifestations that are peculiar to a community that uses a particular language as its means of expression”. While according to Bassnett (1992, p.13), the most widely accepted definition of culture is “the total accumulation of beliefs, customs, values, behaviours, institutions and communication patterns that are shared, learned and passed down through the generations in an identifiable group of people.

The interpreter’s cultural proficiency must in many cases not only consist of the knowledge that is specific to the users of one language, but also of the ability to tell apart norms and value systems of various communities.

2.1 Culture and communication: High- and low-context cultures

Anthropologist E.T. Hall developed a theory of low- and high-context culture that helps us to better understand the complex relationship between culture and communication. It has been acknowledged that people from different cultures communicate in slightly different ways. According to Nishimura et al (2008, p. 1), these differences are related to different communication cultures.
Hall suggested the categorization of cultures into high-context versus low-context in order to understand their basic differences in communication style and cultural issues. Nishimura et al explain communication style as “ways of expressing oneself” and to communication patterns that are typical of Italians or Kenyans, for example. Meanwhile, cultural issues refer to certain societal factors such as the country’s history, religion and traditions.

In low-context cultures, meanings are explicitly stated through language. Speakers follow a linear, cause-effect logic and often provide plenty of information to support what they are saying.

Broadly speaking, most Germanic and English-speaking cultures are low-context where communication relies on explicit statements and not much is left to the listener’s imagination to interpret. For example, English speakers tend to like messages that are direct, explicit, rational and concise. The people communicating tend to expect explanations when something is unclear.

Nishimura et al (2008, p. 3) state that in a high-context culture, internal meaning is embedded deep in the information so not everything is explicitly stated in writing or when spoken. In a high-context culture a listener is expected to “read between the lines” to understand the unsaid thanks to his or her background knowledge. This is taking into account the fact that in a high-context culture people tend to rely on their history, their status, their relationships and a lot more information to assign meaning to an event.

The societies in Africa, Asia, South America and the Middle East largely tend to have high-context cultures where communication tends to be more indirect and formal. In
these societies, people are collectivist, living and working closely together and everyone knows what everyone else knows. As a result, they know each other quite well and have evolved a more indirect style of communication. They have less need to be explicit and rely less on words to convey meaning and especially on the literal meaning of the spoken word and more on non-verbal communication.

Hall’s theory on theory of low- and high-context culture is relevant in demonstrating the challenges interpreters face in their roles as cultural mediators.

According to Kondo et al (1997, p. 58), the presence of two or more cultural systems in communication that is mediated by an interpreter can give rise to disparities between the receiver’s expectations on the one hand and the way the sender chooses to relay his/her message on the other hand. Kondo argues that interpreters can only render what is said, but not what is left unsaid. However, Al-Zahran (2007, p.165) states that if the interpreter is to be faithful not to the linguistic/surface structure or the semantic meaning, but to the sense of the original message then both the explicit and implicit should be relayed to the target language audience otherwise misunderstandings are likely to occur.

2.2 English and Kiswahili: A cultural overview

There is incredible linguistic diversity in East Africa. Despite their cultural differences, the communities across East Africa, and especially the communities in Tanzania and Kenya, are broadly united by the language of Kiswahili. Kiswahili stands between English and ethnic languages in communities across the region.

In modern history, Kiswahili has been used by various groups, including missionaries, colonial governments and African nationalists. In each of these cases, the language has
brought with it different cultural and social meanings. For example, during his inaugural address when Kenya attained independence in 1963, Jomo Kenyatta interrupted his speech in English to switch to Kiswahili, saying that English was a language of colonialism.

Kiswahili is currently spoken by millions of people across the wider east and central Africa region. Across the world, the number of people who are learning Kiswahili in institutions of higher education is quite impressive. In addition, the decision by some of the world’s largest media organizations to daily broadcast news bulletins and various other programmes in Kiswahili point to the important status that the language has attained.

The language situation in Kenya is nevertheless quite a complicated one. For example, in most urban areas in the country, English is viewed as the language of globalization and multi-national corporations while Kiswahili is viewed as playing an instrumental role because it unifies the many ethnic groups that live in the urban centres. Barely a quarter of Kenya’s population is thought able to adequately use the English language, but it remains the advantaged official language and the medium of instruction in the education system.

After independence, the curriculum planners allocated a disproportionate number of contact hours to English compared to the hours allocated to Kiswahili. This underscored the attitude of the political elite towards English as the language of power and influence. The situation changed somewhat in 1985 when Kiswahili became an examination subject in both primary and secondary schools. However, English has evidently remained more
valued than Kiswahili because in many instances success in Kenya is determined by the level of mastery in English. For instance, in Kenya’s National Assembly, the business of the House is largely conducted in English even though members of the House are allowed to make their contributions in Kiswahili.

The language situation is quite different in the rest of East Africa. In Tanzania, Kiswahili is a defining aspect of nationhood and the language of government business while in Uganda, historical factors have led to Kiswahili being perceived as the language of the military.

### 2.3 Classification of cultural terms

In agreement with the fact that language is an expression of culture, some translation scholars have deeply examined cultural terms as well as the problems involved in their translation when there is a lack of equivalence between languages and between cultures.

According to Schaeffner and Wiesemann (2001, p.33), culture-specific or culture-bound terms are labels used for phenomena (objects, situations and events) that exist only in one of the cultures that are compared in the translation/interpretation process. They may be exclusive to this one culture, but not necessarily so. If one expands the definition of culture-specific terms to include realia, one finds that they include geographical, ethnographical, folkloric, sociocultural and everyday aspects.

Following Nida’s model and adapting the concept of culture to the task of translation, Newmark (1988, p.96) categorizes cultural terms as follows:

1. **Ecology**: Flora, fauna, winds, geographical features such as plains and hills.
2. **Material culture or artefacts**: food, clothes, houses and towns, and transport. Food, for example, is the most important term of national culture for many people. While with regards to clothes, people dress according to the environment that they live in.

3. **Social culture** such as work and leisure.

4. **Organizations, customs, activities, procedures and concepts**: Political and administrative, religious and artistic. The political life of a people can be reflected in their institutional terms for example the title of the head of state which could be president, prime minister, king, emir or sultan.

5. **Gestures and habits**. The colours worn by mourners in many communities in Ghana are black, red and brown. In India, the colour of the bride’s dress is usually red while it is white in many other communities across the world.

Ku (2006, p. 91) proposes the following categorization of cultural terms:

1. **Environment**: To include ecology and place names.

2. **Cultural heritage**: To include religious beliefs, historical events, festivities, housing and objects.

3. **Social culture**: To include conventions, beliefs and social organizations.

4. **Linguistic culture**: To include fixed expressions, idioms, insults etcetera.

### 2.4. Functionalist approach to simultaneous interpretation

#### 2.4.1 Characteristics of simultaneous interpretation

The multi-tasking nature and the complexity of mental operations in simultaneous interpreting are described by Daniel Gile (1995, p. 79) in his Effort Model constructed...
upon types of efforts: the Listening and Analysis Effort (from subconscious analysis of the sound waves to the final decision about the meaning of an utterance), the Memory Effort (where information is stored until further processing takes place), the Production Effort (performing various speech segments) and the Coordination Effort (allowing the interpreter to split attention between listening, analysis and self-monitoring that occurs during performance).

According to Gile, simultaneous interpretation requires a complete and smooth running of all of these efforts whose processing may occur at the same time and whose processing capacity requirements can “vary rapidly over seconds or fractions of seconds” (Gile, 1995, p. 79).

The interpreter thus always has to be on “red alert” to circumvent problems that arise from processing capacity requirements for listening, analysis, short-term memory, speech production and coordination.

**2.4.2 Skopos theory**

As mentioned earlier, Skopos is a Greek word for “purpose”. According to the Skopos theory, there are three possible kinds of purpose in the field of translation: the general purpose aimed by the translator in the translation process, the communicative action aimed at by the target situation and the purpose aimed at by a particular translation strategy. The concepts of “aim, purpose, intention and function” are used under the generic concept of Skopos. However, Vermeer distinguishes between aim and purpose as follows: Aim is the final result an agent intends to achieve by means of an action whereas purpose is the provisional stage in the process of attaining an aim.
Nord (1997, p. 28), meanwhile, distinguishes between function and intention as follows: intention is defined from the viewpoint of the sender who wants to achieve a certain purpose with the text. Yet the best of intentions do not guarantee a perfect result, particularly in cases where the situations of the sender and the receiver differ considerably. On the other hand, function is defined from the receiver’s point of view. The receiver uses the text with a certain function, depending on their expectations, needs, previous knowledge and situational conditions.

### 2.4.3 Basic concepts of Skopos theory

According to Nord (1997, p. 18), an interaction is referred to as communicative when it is carried out through signs produced by one agent referred to as the sender and directed towards another agent referred to as the receiver. Within a particular culture community, the situations of the sender and receiver generally overlap enough for communication to take place. When senders and receivers belong to different cultures, the situations can be so different that they require a mediator who enables them to communicate across time and space. Translators and interpreters allow communication to take place between members of different culture communities.

According to Nord (1997, p.35), translation/interpretation is carried out by assignment or commission. Vermeer (2000, p.29) defines commission as “the instruction given by oneself or by someone else to carry out a given action; to translate”. Nord uses the term “translation brief” to refer to assignment/commission. The translation brief should specify what kind of translation is needed and the initiator thus decides on the skopos even though the brief may not be explicit about the condition. In an ideal case though, the initiator would give an explicit translation brief.
The translation brief, however, does not tell the translator/interpreter how to go about their job or what strategy to use. These decisions entirely depend on the translator/interpreter’s responsibility and competence.

### 2.4.4 Key rules of Skopos theory

There are three important rules in the Skopos Theory namely: Skopos Rule, the Coherence Rule and the Fidelity Rule.

#### 2.4.4.1 Skopos rule

This rule is intended to solve the dilemmas of free versus faithful translation, good interpreters versus slavish interpreters etcetera. It means that the Skopos of a particular interpretation task may require a free or a faithful interpretation and anything in between depending on the purpose for which the interpretation is needed. The Skopos gives the interpreter the freedom to decide which strategy to use in the interpretation task.

#### 2.4.4.2 Coherence rule

The meaning or function of a text is not inherent in the linguistic sign, but can be decoded by anyone who knows the code. Different receivers find different meanings in the same linguistic material offered by the text. Vermeer explains this rule by saying that any text is just an offer of information from which each receiver selects the items they find most interesting and important.

Guided by the translation brief, the interpreter selects certain items from the source language offer of information and processes them in order to present a new offer of information in the target language from which the target language addressee can in turn select what they consider to be meaningful in their own situation.
A communicative situation can only be considered as successful if the target language audience interprets it as being coherent within their situation.

The translator should conform to the canons and rules in the target language and culture and render the information in the target language in a way that is accessible and acceptable to the target audience.

2.4.4.3 Fidelity rule

Because a translation is an offer of information about a preceding offer of information, it is expected to bear some kind of relation with the corresponding source text. Vermeer calls this intertextual coherence or fidelity. The fidelity rule states that there must be coherence between the source text received by the translator/interpreter and the information that is encoded for the target audience. The rule may require a maximally faithful imitation of the source text.

2.4.5 Skopos theory and culture

Culture and cultural differences play a significant role in Skopos theory, which considers translation as mediation between cultures. Skopos theory posits that cultural differences should be taken into consideration during the translation process. Interpreting is also considered mediation between cultures so the Skopos theory is also important for interpreting.

Jones (1998, p.3) stresses that linguistic barriers are not the only reason that interpreting exists: People from different countries may not only speak different languages, but have behind them different bodies of knowledge, different education, different cultures and therefore different intellectual approaches. The fact that such differences have to be
coped with independent of the language barrier can be seen by looking at a hypothetical
discussion between an Englishman and an American. If the Englishman litters his
comments with cricketing metaphors the American will have difficulty following and the
American will in turn find it easy to wreak revenge by falling back on baseball and
American football. Communication difficulties are much more than pure translation
difficulties.

Cultural difficulties can be seen both explicitly and implicitly. For example, in an explicit
way, a speaker may make references to political, economic, social, academic institutions
and systems that have no direct equivalent in the target language and may be totally
unknown and meaningless in the target culture.

In an implicit way, the intellectual approach to any given question will depend on the
speaker’s cultural background. Certain expressions such as understatements,
exaggerations or ironies in the source language may be difficult or impossible for the
interpreter to render in the target language in given circumstances without betraying the
speaker’s intentions. The task of the interpreter is to bridge the cultural and conceptual
gaps between the participants of a meeting.

2.4.6 Significance of Skopos theory

Skopos theory is a general translation theory for different source texts with different
strategies in different translation/interpretation situations. It also reconciles the conflicts
and contradictions between different translation strategies mainly used to deal with
cultural factors in the translation process (Vermeer 2000, p.231).
The theory suggests that the source text is no longer the main factor that determines the result of the translation and suggests that the translator/interpreter should consider many other factors such as the social and cultural communicative-bound characteristics of the translation.

The theory also helps to broaden the translator/interpreter’s mind and make him/her see the translation process from various perspectives by drawing their attention to the whole process of communication.

2.4.7 Criticism of Skopos theory

The Skopos theory has been criticized by the linguistically-oriented approaches on the grounds of the oversimplification that is inherent in functionalism. Another criticism of this theory is that even though an interpretation may have fulfilled its skopos perfectly, it may be judged inadequate on other counts, especially as far as lexical, syntactic or stylistic decisions are concerned.

The theory is also criticized for changing or even betraying the source text. This criticism is probably due to Vermeer’s assertion on dethroning the source text (Newmark, 1991, p.106). Dethroning the source text, however, simply means that the linguistic or stylistic features of the source text are no longer the only yardstick for translation or interpretation.
CHAPTER THREE

3.0 Strategies in simultaneous interpretation

Various scholars have discussed interpreting strategies using a variety of different terms. Jones (2002, p. 100) calls them “techniques” while Gile (1995, p. 191) calls them “coping tactics”. Riccardi (2005, p.760) points out two different categories of simultaneous interpreting strategies. First, she defines skills-based strategies as “all those strategies governed by stored patterns of automatic responses whose application is triggered by the recognition of a well-known stimulus within the communicative event”. These can be used for interpreting greetings and honorific titles in conferences.

Riccardi outlines another category which she calls knowledge-based strategies which are as a result of conscious analytical processes. They “come into play when actions must be planned online because no automatic response is found or because something has caused a momentary memory overload”.

Kohn and Kalina (1996, p.127) refer to them as adaptation strategies in the production phase in accordance with the target language conventions of expression, in particular cultural adaptations which interpreters may use to bridge gaps brought about by differences between the source language and the target language cultures, meaning that the interpreter has to go beyond linguistic mediation.

Translation scholars such as Pedersen (2007, p.127) and Schjoldager (2008, p.70) have categorized these strategies with one end of the spectrum being extreme source-text orientation strategies while the other end of the spectrum being extreme target-text orientation. Even though any given strategy is not necessarily either source-text or target-
text orientation, different scholars favour one end of the spectrum over the other. For example Newmark and Venuti favour a source-text oriented strategy whereas Nida prefers a target-text oriented strategy.

In a source-text oriented strategy, there is more focus on transferring source-text elements than on the target-text receiver. On the other hand, in a target-text-oriented strategy, there is more focus on the target-text receiver than on transferring source-text elements.

According to the classification of translation strategies by Pedersen and Schjoldager, source-text oriented strategies include: addition, adaptation and literal translation. Examples of target-text oriented strategies include: recognized translation, generalization, paraphrasing and explaining, omission and substitution.

3.1 Literal translation

Ivir (1987, p.41) says that literal translation is usually used as the procedure for filling cultural and lexical gaps because it is one of the common ways of cultural transference and the spreading of influence from one culture to another. It generally means translating word-for-word.

However, Al-Salman and Al-Khanji (2002, p.167) describe this as a strategy in which the interpreter renders a target language equivalent for the source language word “irrespective of contextual adequacy”. In this case, the interpreter relies on the surface structure often because the interpreter does not understand partially or completely what the speaker meant by one of the segments of the speech.
3.2 Recognized translation

Newmark (1988, p.89) discusses the use of a recognized/generally accepted translation which the translators/interpreters should use or run the risk of creating confusion in case they opt for a different translation. As opposed to literal translation, this strategy often results in a rendition that is idiomatic and correct. It is a strategy that changes some linguistic elements, but by doing so a more idiomatic target text is created which takes the target-language audience into consideration.

3.3 Paraphrasing and explaining

Is the result of amplifying or explaining the meaning of text in the source language with a group of words or phrasal expressions to explain a linguistic or cultural element that is difficult to render in the target language due to the absence of an appropriate target language equivalent.

3.4 Generalization

In this strategy, the interpreter uses hypernyms or more general or neutral terms normally for stylistic reasons, to avoid unnecessary repetitions or ambiguity. According to Jones (2002, p.101), a number of specific items mentioned by the speaker can be expressed in one generic term. He, however, points out that generalization should not be used when each specific item used in the speech is significant. He gives the example of a speaker who in his speech mentions the words: fridge, freezer, washing machine and dishwasher. If the elements in the speech are irrelevant, the interpreter can use the generalization: household appliances.
3.5 Omission

This strategy can be used if the source language item deleted is “marginal to the text” (Newmark, 1981, p.77) or if it is “redundant or not acceptable in the target-language discourse or has not even an approximate equivalent there” (Kohn and Kalina, 1996, p.128).

Jones (2002, p. 102) differentiates between two forms of omission namely “omission under duress or omission from choice”. In the former, the interpreter leaves out some elements “in order to preserve as much of the essential message as possible” while in the second type of omission, the interpreter leaves out some elements in order to achieve an economic and simple interpretation to ensure clear communication between the speaker and the target language audience.

However, in some instances this strategy is applied by interpreters and is characterized by long pauses and periods of silence especially when the interpreter is facing difficulties. In these instances, the interpreter omits parts or the whole of the interpreting unit.

Omission can be a valid and useful solution to an interpretation problem. For instance, omission may be a justifiable way of dealing with metalinguistic references and context-specific content. Additionally, an interpreter may be justified in omitting what would be perceived as unnecessary or redundant by the target audience.
3.6 Borrowing

Borrowing a term involves taking a word or expression straight from another term without translation. According to Ivir (1987, p. 39), borrowing of a source language expression ensures a very “precise transmission of cultural information”, meaning the highest degree of resemblance to the original. However, Ivir clarifies that the knowledge of extralinguistic information carried by the term should be assured in some other way such as definition or visual representation.

Ivir places further restrictions to the use of borrowing. First, there should be a sufficient need for borrowing to ensure the borrowed item is not for single use because the success of this strategy depends on the target language audience’s repeated exposure to the borrowed term to be able to absorb the form and content of the expression. Secondly, the form of the source language term should be able to be integrated into the phonology and morphology of the target language because strange-sounding words or words which are not easily manipulated stand less chance of being accepted by the target language audience.

3.7 Substitution

Cultural substitution involves replacing a culture-specific item or expression with a target language item which does not have the same propositional meaning, but is likely to have a similar impact on the target language audience (Baker, 1992, p.31).

It is a strategy that is available to the interpreter when two cultures display a partial overlap rather than a clear cut presence/absence of a particular element of culture. It refers to a situation where the interpreter uses equivalent words that are ready made in the
target language and have the same meaning in the source language. The interpreter is thus tempted to use that similarity and use the corresponding target-language expression as a full equivalent. An example of cultural substitution is as follows: Like father like son – Mtoto wa nyoka ni nyoka.

3.8 Addition

Involves the addition of some culturally relevant information left unsaid or implied by the speaker which the interpreter considers as necessary or contribute to a better understanding by the target language audience who do not share the same cultural knowledge or background with the speaker. However, Kohn and Kalina (1996, p.128) urge caution when embarking on such a strategy because the interpreter has to make sure that in supplying the additional information, he/she does not run the risk of triggering reactions in the target language audience that are not compatible with the speaker’s intentions.
CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 Presentation of source texts

The two source text speeches used in the study are rhetorical speeches delivered by the late president of the United Republic of Tanzania, Julius Kambarage Nyerere, on 1\textsuperscript{st} November 1969 and 1\textsuperscript{st} May 1974. In both speeches, he talks about the rights of workers and the things that all Tanzanians need to do to improve the country’s economy and the living standards for all citizens under the Socialist Ujamaa system. The speeches have a number of culture-bound references. The analysis is based on two interpretations for each of the speeches.

Some of the features of Nyerere’s speeches chosen for interpretation include: repetition which is a widely used technique in political speeches. Politicians often repeat words or phrases to emphasize certain points. Another feature of his speeches is the use of the first-person plural instead of the singular. A speaker may use the first-person plural to foster a sense of unity and inclusivity in the minds of his/her audience.

The audio recordings of the interpretation renditions were transcribed and analyzed in order to identify the translation strategies used. The focus is on finding the strategies that were most frequently used by the interpreters. The four interpretations were transcribed as heard, including the grammatical mistakes in English as heard.
4.1 Identification of cultural reference units in the source texts and renditions in the target language

Table 1: Nyerere’s speech at National Union of Tanzanian Workers (NUTA) meeting on 1st November 1969

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Interpreting unit</th>
<th>Interpreter 1</th>
<th>Interpreter 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Nimeambiwa tunao wageni kutoka Vietnam ya Kusini, kutoka Ujerumani ya Mashariki</td>
<td>There are visitors from the eastern side of Vietnam, from eastern Germany</td>
<td>I am told that there are visitors from South Vietnam, from East Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Mtu ambaye alikunywa pombe kabla ya kuja hapa anaweza akasinzia na hakuna atakalokosa; labda sana atakalokosa utani tu.</td>
<td>Therefore, anyone who is maybe drunk or who has taken alcohol may fall asleep and miss out on my speech.</td>
<td>Somebody who drank alcohol before coming here could switch off and might not miss anything. Maybe what he will miss are just anecdotes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Laiti Mwenyezi Mungu angetukabidhi kadunia ketu peke yetu, tungeweza kuzungumza mambo ya maendeleo yetu kwa kujitazama sisi wenyewe tu bila ya mtu mwingine</td>
<td>If God [pause] if it were possible for God to grant us our country, then we would be able to define our own development</td>
<td>If the Almighty God gave us the opportunity to talk about development by ourselves without asking about other people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. &amp; 5.</td>
<td>Anayetaka kutuongoza nyikani lazima kwanza apate ramani, na pili ajue kuisoma ramani hiyo ndipo aweze kutuelekeza</td>
<td>If you want to go somewhere you must get a map and then be able to read that map to guide people to where you want to go</td>
<td>Someone who wants to lead us in the jungle must get information and be able to understand everything [pause] that way he will be able to understand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Sababu ya ukoloni mamboleo ni hiyo hiyo; ni kulinda</td>
<td>Neocolonialism is built around that where what is [silence]</td>
<td>The reason of neocolonialism is the same thing. It is to guard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirija ya wakubwa</td>
<td>What the rich own.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>7.</strong> Madhali mirija ya wakubwa inalindwa, wakubwa wataendelea kutajirika na nyinyi waswahili mtaendelea kuwa maskini</td>
<td>What belongs to the rich is protected whereas the poor will continue becoming poorer.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The rich will continue getting rich while those of us, the Swahili, will continue getting poor.**

| Isiwe kama samaki anayejaribu kuogelea tu hajui bahari. Ni vizuri hata samaki akaelewa matatizo ya bahari yalivyoyo, ndipo akaijandaa katika kuogelea kwake | Let it not be like a fish that is trying to swim and yet there it does know how the sea is. It is important for any fish to understand or know how the sea is for it to be able to swim and survive in the sea. |

**Even the fish understands the problems that it faces in the sea. That way it will be able to swim better.**

| Ipo sheria ya mito na bahari kwamba kwa mazingira yake yalivyotengenezwa maji lazima yatokemtoni yaingie baharini! Hata ule mto ulioko Ugogo lazima maji yake yaende baharini. Mto ukipenda au usipende maji yatakwenda. | [Pauses] the law of seas and rivers [pause] rivers and seas [pause] flows from the river to the sea and whether you like it or not, water will flow whether we want it, I mean there is nothing we can do to stop water from flowing from the river to the sea. |

**That is what I would like to call the river and lake rule. Well, in the environment that it has been made, water has to come from the river and get into the lake. Even the rivers that are found in villages end must end in the sea. Whether you like it or not, water will move, and it is not just the river, but even the lake itself, whether you like it or not. Water and the river will just come.**
**Table 2: Nyerere’s speech to commemorate International Labour Day on 1st May 1974**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Interpreting unit</th>
<th>Interpreter 1</th>
<th>Interpreter 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11. 12 &amp; 13.</td>
<td>Ni siku ambayo wafanyakazi wote, katika dunia nzima, na hasa wafanyakazi ambao hawajadanganywa na <strong>makombo ya maendeleo ya kibepari</strong> wanapokumubushana kwamba shabaha yao ni moja tu: ni kuendelea kupambana na <strong>mabepari</strong> na <strong>makabaila</strong></td>
<td>It is a day when all workers across the world and especially those who have not been misled by the remains of capitalists think that their main aim is to fight against capitalists and tribalists</td>
<td>It is a day where workers worldwide, especially those who have not fallen for the colonialism bait, remember that they have one goal. The goal is to continue fighting against colonialism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Tumekuwa na upungufu wa nguo, kama vile <strong>kanga na vitenge</strong>; na mtu ye yote anayependa anaweza akaandika orodha ndefu kadiri apendavyo ya vitu hivyo ambayo havipatikani kwa wingi</td>
<td>We have also seen the lack of clothing materials and everybody can give a long list on these items that are not available readily</td>
<td>We have also been lacking clothes like wrappers, also known as kantas and lessos, and we all know about these things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Bei ya mahindi ikipanda, na bei ya <strong>sembe</strong> pia itapanda</td>
<td>And when maize prices will rise, then the price of maize flour will rise</td>
<td>This also affects the maize price which will also cause the increase of the maize flour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td><strong>Wakubwa wanasema binadamu haishi kwa sembe peke yake</strong></td>
<td>It is said that man does not live on bread alone</td>
<td>I mean, but human beings cannot just survive on food alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. &amp; 18</td>
<td><strong>Wagogo</strong> sasa hivi wanatudai mahindi, sio manoti.</td>
<td>People want food, not money. So [pause] and if you are naked, you need a</td>
<td>Right now [silence]. In addition, when you have [pause] when you’re</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>19. &amp; 20.</th>
<th>Hata <em>jogoo wa hadithi</em> alisema kwamba punje moja ya mchele ni bora mara mia kuliko kipande cha almasi. <em>Punjie ya mchele inaliwa, almasi hailiwi.</em></th>
<th>It is said that one punch [pause] a handful of rice is more important than gold. You cannot eat gold, but you will eat the rice. As the saying goes that: a bird in hand is worth many in the forest.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21. &amp; 22.</td>
<td>Wakulima, wanakijiji katika <em>vijiji</em> vya ujamaa; maseremala wenyewe viwanda vyao wenyewe, <em>mafundi chuma, mafundi cherehani</em> na kadhalika na hata wafanya biashara ambao pato lao hutokana na vitu wanavyouza.</td>
<td>Farmer have their villages [pause] in the communities we have metal workers, blacksmiths they have their own organizations and even businessmen who depend on what they sell are paid according to the work that they do. Farmers have the work that they do every day and even people engaging in various businesses are paid from those jobs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Waliifanya kazi tu ili kupata fedha za kununua <em>kaniki</em>, kulipa Kodi, au ada ya shule, na gharama nyingine kama hizo</td>
<td>They worked only to get some money to buy [pause] to pay rent, to pay school fees and related expenses. They worked just to get enough money to pay taxes or school fees or just basic clothing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3: Strategies used in rendition of interpreting units

**First speech**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interpreting unit</th>
<th>Interpreter 1</th>
<th>Interpreter 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Generalization</td>
<td>Recognized translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>Substitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Generalization</td>
<td>Omission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 &amp; 5.</td>
<td>Generalization and</td>
<td>Substitution and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Recognized translation</td>
<td>Generalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>Paraphrasing and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>explaining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Generalization</td>
<td>Paraphrasing and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>explaining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Recognized translation</td>
<td>Paraphrasing and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>9 &amp; 10.</td>
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<td>Paraphrasing and</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Second speech**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interpreting unit</th>
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<th>Interpreter 2</th>
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Table 4: Number of times various strategies used

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<th>Strategy</th>
<th>Number of times used</th>
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<td>2. Recognized translation</td>
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<td>6. Literal translation</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>7. Addition</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

4.2 Analysis of interpretation strategies used

The study analyzes a section of interpreting units and the strategies adopted to render those units into the target language.

Interpreting unit 1: Nimeambiwa tunao wageni kutoka Vietnam ya Kusini, kutoka Ujerumani ya Mashariki. The first interpreter generalizes the units and renders them as eastern side of Vietnam and eastern Germany respectively. The strategy used is likely as a result of the interpreter experiencing auditory problems. The interpreter is thus wary about commitment to rendering the two geographical areas as countries out of uncertainty as to whether they actually existed as countries in the past. The interpreter thus adopts an approximation strategy and renders the two proper names in general terms. However as a result of the auditory problems, the interpreter renders “kusini” as “eastern” instead of “south”. Armed with historical and cultural knowledge, the second interpreter gives a more confident rendition by rendering the proper names as South Vietnam and East Germany.
In interpreting unit 6, the first interpreter seems unable to keep up with the speaker and omits the whole idea of: *kulinda mirija ya wakubwa*. The second interpreter manages to navigate around the culturally colourful phrase and adopts the paraphrasing and explaining strategy to render the phrase as: to guard what the rich own. The rendition does not give a vivid rendition of the phrase as it is in the source text, but is able to convey its meaning to the target language listener.

The speaker uses the specific cultural items *kanga na vitenge* in interpreting unit 14 which the first interpreter renders as *clothing materials*. The interpreter adopts the generalization strategy probably because of the challenge in coming up with equivalents for the two types of cloth in English. The message is relayed to the target-language audience even though the specificity of what the speaker is talking about is lost. The second interpreter adopts the same strategy of generalization by rendering the items as *clothes like wrappers*. However, the second interpreter goes on to add more detail to the rendition, saying the items are also known as *kangas and lessos*. The strategy used is addition. However, the interpreter also uses the strategy of domestication for the target-language audience by pairing the *kanga* with the more popular *lesso* possibly to create a mental picture for the target language audience. This strategy might be helpful for an east African English-speaking audience where the *kanga* and *lesso* are popular. However, they might be just as foreign and exotic to a non-east African as *vitenge*.

Interpreting unit 16: *binadamu haishi kwa sembe peke yake* is rendered by the first interpreter as *man does not live on bread alone*. This is a very apt interpretation which fully conveys the meaning of the idiom to the target audience. The interpreter niftily uses the substitution strategy and replaces the cultural item “sembe”, which is a staple in the
diets of many east Africans, with “bread” which is a staple food in various cultures across
the world. Most people from most parts of the world would easily understand the concept
of bread and how important bread is to their livelihood. The second interpreter uses a
different strategy and instead opts to paraphrase and explain the idiom, rendering it as
human beings cannot just survive on food alone. This is not a particularly stylistically
elegant rendition, but it is clear enough and also fully conveys the speaker’s message.

In interpreting unit 20, the speaker says: Punje ya mchele inaliwa, almasi hailiwi. The
first interpreter adopts the substitution strategy and renders the phrase as: You cannot eat
gold, but you will eat the rice. The interpreter manages to side-step the trap of talking
about a grain of rice and speaks about rice in more general terms. The interpreter then
replaces “almasi” or silver in the speaker’s statement, with gold. According to the
interpreter’s worldview, and hopefully that of the target audience, gold is the most
precious substance, even more precious than silver. The interpreter thus uses gold instead
of silver in the rendition. The second interpreter, on the other hand, adopts a more
adventurous strategy by omitting the interpreting unit altogether, but by compensating for
not rendering the previous interpreting unit jogoo wa hadithi alisema. The interpreter
then attempts to compensate by saying: a bird in hand is worth many in the forest.
This rendition does not capture the meaning of either of the interpreting units. The
interpreter might have tried to use the “bird” proverb as a cultural equivalent for “jogoo”.
The meaning that is conveyed to the target audience is, however, totally different.
CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 Summary

The above-mentioned interpreting strategies demonstrate that advanced student interpreters even with their lack of experience in the field of interpretation, employ a variety of strategies when working in the simultaneous mode. At times, the student interpreters use these strategies separately or are able to carry out more sophisticated operations by using two or more interpreting strategies for a single interpreting unit according to the needs and the situation.

5.1 Conclusion

The interpretation strategies used by the subjects are a pointer to the skopos that they had in mind when undertaking the interpretation tasks. Translation/interpretation strategies by scholars such as Schjoldager and Pedersen are divided into source-text and target-text strategies and by categorizing the results of the interpretation units, it can be observed that the target-text oriented strategies are the most frequently used by the subjects.

The interpreting strategies used are determined by the skopos and have to conform to the three rules of the skopos theory otherwise the interpreting task will result in mistranslation and disruptions to communication between the speaker and the target audience. From the above study, it is apparent that almost any strategy can be used successfully if the interpreter adheres to the rules of the Skopos theory.
Out of the seven strategies adopted, the subjects used the omission more frequently than the other six strategies. Omission or skipping portions of the interpreting units demonstrates that the subjects are still coming to grips with the multi-tasking nature and the complexity of mental operations in simultaneous interpreting as described by Gile in his Effort Model.

5.2 Recommendations

It is imperative that the interpreter receives the commission/translation brief before undertaking a translation task. The translation brief helps the interpreter to decide on the skopos of the task. It will guide the interpreter in making full preparation, studying, analyzing the skopos of the interpretation and preparing to adopt various strategies that will help in the rendition of the speech in a way that facilitates inter-cultural communication while remaining faithful to the speaker.

Student interpreters must learn a variety of strategies to use in any given task so that they may have an escape route when they are faced with a challenging interpreting unit. Student interpreters must also keep in mind that interpretation is not a process of linguistic transcoding replacing unit for unit, but rather an act of communication.
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Appendices

Appendix 1: Julius Nyerere’s speech at NUTA (National Union of Tanzanian Workers) meeting on 1st November 1969


Lakini kabla sijayasema hayo ningependa kusema jambo moja linalohusu wafanyikazi. Nchi yetu sasa hivi ilivyo, kama Azimio la Arusha linavyosema, ni nchi ya wakulima na


Mataifa haya yalipoanza mambo haya wakati mmoja yakaanza kushindana-shindana; huyu anauza na mwingine anauza hapo hapo.

Sababu ya ukoloni mamboleo ni hiyo hiyo; ni kulinda mirija ya wakubwa. Na madhali mirija ya wakubwa inalindwa, wakubwa wataendelea kutajirika na nyinyi waswahili mtaendelea kuwa maskini. Hiyo ndiyo sababu ya kwanza ya unyonyaji.

Sababu ya pili ni ile ambayo ningependa kuita sheria ambayo nimepata kuitaja wakati mwingine nayo ni ile ambayo ningependa kuita sheria ya mito na bahari. Ipo sheria ya mito na bahari kwamba kwa mazingira yake yalivyotengenezwa maji lazima yatoke mtoni yaingie baharini! Hata ule mto ulioko Ugogo lazima maji yake yaende baharini. Mto ukipenda au usipende maji yatakwenda; na siyo mto tu bali hatata bahari yenewa ikipenda au isipende maji ya mto yatakuka tu! Bahari haiwezi ikasema haya maji ya Ugogo nayo yanakuja hapa, sikubali maji ya Ugogo!

Kwa hiyo maji yote ya mito mikubwa kama vile Nile, na ya mito midogo, na ya vijito vijito, yote yanakwenda huko huko baharini. Si hiyari ya mto wala si hiyari ya bahari, bali ni mazingira yake yalivyotengenezwa. Maji yakipatikana mahali popote yatavutwa tu yaende baharini, isipokuwa kama mkiyaziba kwa nguvu; lakini mkiyaacha yatakwenda kwa sheria yake.

Appendix 2: First interpretation from Kiswahili into English of Julius Nyerere’s speech at National Union of Tanzanian Workers (NUTA) meeting

Honourable chair [ummmm], guests of honour, ladies and gentlemen,

I would first like to thank the leaders and members of NUTA for inviting me to be part of your third meeting. I would also like to thank our visitors, all the diplomats and visitors from different countries. They have honoured our invitation to this meeting. I’ve been told that there are visitors from the eastern side of Vietnam, from Eastern Germany, from Romania, from northern, Namibia [pause], from Zambia, from Syria, Congo, Gambia, Tunisia, Ghana and the United States of America.

I would like to thank all these guests. I would also like to [pause] pass my apology to the NUTA leaders and members. This is because during the last session I came with a prepared speech, however, this time I did not come with a prepared speech. This time round, if anyone is not attentive they will miss my speech. This is because whatever I want to say is just the usual, the usual [pause] There is nothing new. Therefore, anyone who is maybe drunk or who has taken alcohol may fall asleep and miss out on my speech. That is my first reason for apologizing. My second reason is because much as this is a NUTA meeting, I will not talk about issues exclusive to NUTA. I will talk about issues that affect the whole country. I am doing this intentionally.

However, before I proceed, I would like to talk about one thing that in relation to workers. Currently, as our country is currently, according to the Arusha Declaration, is a country made up of farmers and workers. We all understand the reason is because which are the fact that 95 per cent of Tanzanians are farmers. Therefore, if we would talk about
our country’s development, the development of our citizens, they will mainly touch on farmers. Therefore, any emphasis will fall more towards the farmers than other workers. Only a few workers are left, myself being one of them. However, looking at it from another angle, the importance of the farmers will reduce whereas that of other workers will increase. Just to illustrate, you can today divide countries into developed and developing countries or under-developed countries. Some of the reasons [pause] criteria that people can use is because the under-developed countries is made up mainly of farmers and other workers. For those developed countries, most of the population are workers and less of them are farmers. That is why I said that one of the definitions of development is the fact that most of the people depending on or dependent on farming will [pause] the numbers of those dependent on farming will reduce and those dependent on working will increase. You can talk about America or Germany or England and its population amongst others.

I will continue and say that [pause] I will continue and if God [pause] if it were possible for God to grant us our country, then we would be able to define our own development. However, the reality is different. We live in a world that has other people and that is the world that we are living in. As we speak and talk about our development, let us not forget that. Let it not be like a fish that is trying to swim and yet there it does know how the sea is. It is important for any fish to understand or know how the sea is for it to be able to swim and survive in the sea. Much as we may not be able to understand everything, it is very important that we understand a few things in relation to the environment around us. Some people may think that these are [pause] this is a tough task and that is why probably after I finish giving my speech some people may ask why I am telling you these
things. However, if you do not want to understand, then do not talk about development. If you don’t understand, just, just do what you’re told and do not give your opinion about development. If they want to get that chance to make a meaningful contribution, then you must understand how the world is. If you want to go somewhere you must get a map and then be able to read that map to guide people to where you want to go. However, if you do not want to get a map, know how to read it, but just want to lead people, then you will not be able to succeed. You will be the kind of person [pause] people who are told to go in a certain and you just adhere without asking why and that is why I said I would like to talk about the world as I have spoken of earlier and that is why I said I will not talk about any new thing.

The world has rich people and has poor people. It has poor nations and rich nations and that is why I rich nations are continuing to become rich while poor nations are continuing to become poorer. There are many reasons for this. I will just give a few of them. First of all, the rich want to continue enriching themselves by oppressing the poor and that is how even countries operate [pause] what people or countries manufacture and sell. They want to sell as much as they can; which is good. They also want to maximize on their profits without any conflict. Definitely, this will make them richer [pause] and as it is, these countries that are in such a context will compete against each other. Neocolonialism is built around that where what is [pause] what belongs to the rich is protected whereas the poor will continue becoming poorer. The second reason is what I would call [ummmm] the law of seas and rivers [pause] rivers and seas [pause] flows from the river to the sea and whether you like it or not, water will flow whether we want it, I mean there is nothing we can do to stop water from flowing from the river to the sea. Therefore, water from major
rivers like the Nile or other small rivers, they all flow into the sea. This is outside anyone’s control. Water will flow as it’s supposed to. Not unless the water is [pauses] barriers are created to stop the flow of the river. This is applicable also in economics. The riches belonging to the poor will go to the rich. The rich may not necessarily be oppressive or have a bad intention, but they are like the sea. They do not have a way of commanding these riches to come their way. They will automatically flow to the rich.

Thank you ladies and gentlemen.
Appendix 3: Second interpretation from Kiswahili into English of Julius Nyerere’s speech at National Union of Tanzanian Workers (NUTA) meeting

The chairman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

First, I would like to congratulate leaders and members of NUTA for welcoming me to come and participate in your third meeting. Secondly, I would like to appreciate our guests, the diplomats with us well as guests from different countries who have honoured us by attending this meeting. I am told that there are visitors from South Vietnam, from East Germany, from Romania, from West Vietnam, Namibia, Zambia, Syria, Congo, The Gambia, Tunisia, Ghana and America. To all these delegates, thank you.

I would also like to apologize to members of NUTA and leaders. The last time I came with a prepared speech, but this time I didn’t come with a prepared speech. If you sleep [pause] if you switch off you will miss my speech. It is so because I will say it [pause] even if it was written it is the same thing. On one hand, somebody who drank alcohol before coming here could switch off and might not miss anything. Maybe what he will miss are just anecdotes. Now that is one of the reasons that I am asking for your understanding.

The second reason I am asking for you [pause] I am apologizing; now this is a meeting for NUTA, but it will not only be concerned with NUTA issues, it will touch on the whole country. And I am doing this definitely [pause] deliberately, but if I say this I would like to say one thing that concerns workers. Our country, based on the Arusha Declaration, is a country of workers and the reasons are understood.
Sixty five per cent of Tanzanians are farmers as such when you talk of the development of our country, the development will concern mostly farmers. Therefore, these programmes will be for Tanzanians, but I will be more inclined to the farmers as compared the workers in general. Well, the few workers who remain and one of them is myself.

Now development of workers – we realize that farmers will decrease, but workers will continue to rise. Well, that is development for now. For example, you can divide developed countries from developing countries in several ways, one – the non-developed countries have more farmers and few workers and in developed countries most people are workers and few are farmers. That is why I have said that one of the ways of developing is that as you continue to grow most people who depend on agriculture will reduce and the number of people who depend on formal employment will increase. You can take figures from America, Germany, England and other countries.

I will continue by stating that if the Almighty God gave us the opportunity to talk about development by ourselves without asking about other people. But the world that we live in is not that way. We live in a world that has other people. But going on, that is the reality in the current world. When we talk about our development, we should not forget that it shouldn’t be just like a fish that is trying to swim that doesn’t know the water. Even the fish understands the problems that it faces in the sea. That way it will be able to swim better. And for us, the world in which we live even if we can’t understand everything in it, we should try to understand a few issues in our environment. I know some people think that this is a very difficult concept, but it’s so surprising there are people who will say at the end of my speech that, well, Mr President, we understand
these things, what are you telling us? But if you don’t want to understand then do not talk about development, just keep quiet. We will just tell you do this, and you will do it. Just don’t talk about development issues. If you want to say that giving opinions [pause] it is important to understand the world in which we live. Someone who wants to lead us in the jungle must get information and be able to understand everything [pause] that way he will be able to understand. But if he is not able to get information or learn the concepts and just wants to lead us, that is not the kind of person we need. That is the person you tell follow this route and they will follow and will not ask why he is being told to do so.

I would like to talk about the world the way we used to talk about it in the past. That is why I say: there is nothing new that I am going to talk about. I will repeat the same. It has the rich people, it has rich countries, it has poor countries and the way things are at the moment, the rich countries are continuing to be rich while the poor continue to be poor. And there are many reasons for this; I will give you two.

One, while the big people try to get rich by using the people around them. Countries are like that. Countries develop by using other people [pause] other countries. There are a lot of commodities that they manufacture and sell, and when you manufacture things and sell them you need to sell as many of them as possible, and at a good profit without any problems. That is how you are going to develop. These countries started this until a moment when they started to compete, one selling and the other is selling at the same place. The reason of neocolonialism is the same thing. It is to guard what the rich own. The rich will continue getting rich while those of us, the Swahili will continue getting poor.
The second reason is what I would like to call [pause] what I mentioned before. That is what I would like to call the river and lake rule. Well, in the environment that it has been made, water has to come from the river and get into the lake. Even the rivers that are found in villages end must in the sea. Whether you like it or not, water will move, and it is not just the river, but even the lake itself, whether you like it or not. Water and the river will just come. The lake will not complain. It will not say it doesn’t like the water from the countryside so all water even from the River Nile and even from the small rivers end up in the lake.

It is not the will of the river or the lake, but that is in the nature of things. Water goes wherever it wants. Wherever it is, it will end up in the sea. Well, if you leave it to just go on on its own so.

Honourable members, this works with the economy as well. The state of [pause] what the poor own must go to the rich and it is just the nature of things there because the poor just like the water, this happens without his intervention and the rich will not say; this one will come to me and the other one will go. It will just go just as in the law of the river and the lake.

Thank you very much.
Appendix 4: Julius Nyerere’s speech to commemorate International Labour Day on 1st May 1974


Upungufu wa vyakula wote mnaujuja; na mnauju pia jitihada tulizofanya ili kujaribu kuondoa upungufu huo. Imani yangu ni kwamba tukichanganya chakula kilichokwisha kuagizwa na serikali kutoka nchi za nje, pamoja na chakula ambacho twaweza tukavuna, ikiwa mvua zitaendelea, tutakuwa na chakula cha kutosha, mpaka Septemba 1975; yaani mpaka tutakapokuwa tumevuna chakula kitakacholimwa na kupandwa mwishoni mwa
mwaka huu na mwanzoni mwa mwaka ujao. Na imani na matumaini yangu ni kwamba mavuno hayo yatakuwa ya kutosha ikiwa tutapata mvua nzuri na ikiwa wakulima na wale wanaowahudumia wakulima watatimiza wajibu wao.

Pili, tumekuwa na upungufu wa nguo, kama vile kanga na vitenge; na mtu ye yote anayependa anaweza akaandika orodha ndefu kadiri apendavyo ya vitu hivyo ambayo havipatikani kwa wingi.

Tatu, bei ya vitu vingi imepanda. Sababu nyingine za kupanda bei zinatokana na vitendo vyetu wenyewe; lakini sababu nyingine hazitokana na vitendo vyetu. Kwa mfano, bei ya petrol ikipanda, gharama ya uchukuzi itapanda, na gharama ya uchukuzi ikipanda, bei ya mahindi itapanda, na bei ya mahindi ikipanda, na bei ya sembe pia itapanda. Msululu huo wa kupanda bei na gharama, sababu ziko nje ya Tanzania. Hatuna jambo kubwa tuwezalo kufanya, ila labda kuacha kuagiza petroli, na matokeo ya kufanya hivyo yanaweza yakawa mabaya zaidi kwa uchumi wetu kuliko kuongeza kwa bei ya petroli.

Vile vile bei ya sembe inaweza ikapanda kwa sababu hatuna mahindi yetu wenyewe; na tumelazimishwa kama tulivyo lazimishwa, kuagiza mahindi yenye bei kubwa zaidi kutoka nchi nyingine. Hili nalo kwa sasa hatuwezi kuliepuka. Njia za kuliepuka ni kuacha kuagiza mahindi hayo, lakini matokeo ya kitendo hicho yatakuwa mabaya zaidi kwa Watanzania kuliko matokeo ya kuacha kuagiza petroli.

Kwa hiyo tutaendelea kuagiza petroli, na tutaendelea kuagiza mahindi kutoka nchi za nje, na matokeo yake ni kuongeza bei ya sembe. Lakini vile vile bei ya sembe inaweza kupanda kutokana na kitendo chetu wenyewe. Juzi juzi tumetangaza bei kubwa zaidi kwa mazao mbali mbali ya wakulima, pamoja na bei kubwa zaidi ya mahindi. Na

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kuongeza bei ya mahindi lazima kuongeze bei ya sembe, hata kama bei ya petroli
isingepanda na hata kama tusingelazimika kuagiza mahindi kutoka nje.

Na sasa umuhimu wa wajibu wa mfanyakazi. Mkulima anaweza akatimiza wajibu wake.
Akalima kwa masharti yote na juhudi yote inayotajwa katika “Siasa ni Kilimo”.
Akifanya hivyo atapata mahindi mengi na fedha yingi, na mfanyakazi atapata sembe
yake na mchele wake kwa bei nafuu. Lakini wakubwa wanakula binadamu haishi kwa
sembe peke yake. Anataka pia kanga, na vitenge na viatu. Fedha za mkulima zitakuwa
zina maana zaidi, na mshahara wa mfanyakazi utakuwa na maana zaidi ikiwa utamsaidia
kupata kanga, na vitenge, na viatu, na avipate kwa bei nafuu. Na sheria ya vitenge ni
sawa na sheria ya sembe. Atavipata kwa urahisi zaidi, na kwa bei nafuu zaidi ikiwa
vitatoka Tanzania. Akitazamia kanga, na vitenge na viatu vya kutoka nje ya Tanzania,
bei yake inaweza ikawa kubwa kupwa kiasi, hata kama mkulima ametumezesha kupata
fedha za kigeni za kuviagizia.

Lakini kanga, na vitenge, na viatu havipatikana kutoka mashambani, hivi vinapatikana
kutoka viwandani. Na wala havipatikani kwa kuchumwa tu kama matunda yaliyoiva;
ba li vinapatikana kwa mipango thabiti, na kazi ya juhudi na maarifa. Hili na linaeleweka
na sina shaka limeeleweka.

Hakuna jambo niloloeleza mpaka sasa ambalo halieleweki, na wala hakuna jambo
nitakaloeleza ambalo ni gumu kuelewa. Maana ninachosema ni kwamba fedha hazina
maana ikiwa hakuna vitu vya kununua kwa fedha hizo. Ukiwa una njaa, unachotaka ni
gunia la sembe siyo gunia la manoti. Wagogo sasa hivi wanatudai mahindi, siyo manoti.
Kadhalika ukiwa uko uchi unachotaka ni kanga au kanzu siyo bunda la manoti. Gunia au

Wakulima na wafanyakazi wanategemeana. Si aina mbili za binadamu ambao mahitaji yao yanapingana. Na kwa kweli tunaposisitiza tofauti baina ya wakulima na wafanyakazi tunaweza tukawa tunajidanganya wenyewe. Maana kiuchumi tofauti iliyo kubwa si baina ya wanaofanya kazi mashambani na wale wanaofanya kazi viwandani, ofisini, hospitali, na jeshini. Ni baina ya wale wanaolipwa kutokana na mavuno wanayoyapata au bidhaa wanazotengeneza, na wale wanaolipwa kwa kuhesabu siku tu, bila kupima kazi wanayoifanya wanapofika kazini!

Wakulima, wanakijiji katika vijiji vya ujamaa; maseremala wenye viwanda vyao wenyewe, mafundi chuma, mafundi cherehani, na kadhalika; na hata wafanya biashara ambao pato lao hutokana na vitu wanavyouza; wote hawa hulipwa kutokana na kazi zao tu. Hawawezi kutega. Wakulima hula chakula walichopanda, na wanapata senti za kutumia kulingana na mavuno waliyoyafikisha sokoni, au aliyoyanunua mnunuzi. Mapato ya mfanyakazi ni tofauti kabisa. Kwa kweli yeye hulipwa na mkulima ili atengeneze bidhaa maalum au atoe huduma maalum.

Kabla ya uhuru katika Tanzania wafanyakazi kwa kawaida walikuwa wanalipwa mishahara ya chini mno, mara nyingi mishahara haikutosha hata kuwalisha na kuwavika wao wenyewe na watoto wao. Hawakuwa na usalama kazini, na mara nyingi
hawakutendwa kibinadamu. Walifanya kazi tu ili kupata fedha za kununua kaniki, kulipa kodi, au ada ya shule, na gharama nyingine kama hizo. Na walikuwa wakinyonywa sana.

Tulipoanzisha vyama vya wafanyakazi, na halafu, baada ya uhuru kwa uamuzi wa serikali ya TANU, wafanyakazi wa Tanzania wamelindwa wasinyonywe na matajiri wao, watu binafsi, na hata mashirika ya umma. Na ulinzi huo umezidisha siku hata siku. Kima cha chini cha mishahara kimewekwa na kimekuwa kikiongezwa kila mara. Sasa ni vigumu sana kumfukuza mfanyakazi; na kila mzazi lazima apate heshima yake kama binadamu. Haya ni mafanikio kwa chama chetu na kwa serikali yetu, na ni haki tuyakumbuke mafanikio haya katika siku hii ya Mei Mosi, siku ya Wafanyakazi. Tunazidi kufuta unyonyaji.

Asanteni.
Appendix 5: First interpretation from Kiswahili into English of Julius Nyerere’s speech to commemorate International Labour Day

Today is the International Labour Day. It is a day when all workers across the world remember what they have done and what their predecessors have done in their fight against tribalism and capitalists. It is a day that current workers remember the old workers and workers in one country remember workers from other countries, and workers across the world remember each other. It is a day when all workers across the world and especially those who have not been misled by the remains of capitalists think that their main aim is to fight against capitalists and tribalists when the sweat of the worker does not benefit the worker himself. Their aim is to do away with exploitation. It is a day of helping each other wherever they are until they achieve their goal. I would like to use this day to work with [pause] Tanzanian workers on their efforts made by other employers, other countries and within other periods and how they fought and how they are fighting capitalism and tribalism so as to eradicate exploitation. But I will not do that. I would like to take this opportunity to talk to you about your own struggles, you Tanzanians, and how you can sort them out.

I would like to talk about lack of resources such as food and clothing and their prices. You all know about the lack of food and you also know the efforts that we have made so as to deal with this shortage. My hope is that if we mix the food that comes to the government from other countries as well as what we harvest on our own if rains continue, we will have enough food until September 1975; in other words until the next harvest at the end of this year and at the beginning of next year. It is my hope that this harvest will
be sufficient if we’ll get enough rain and if farmers and those who take care of them will take their responsibilities.

We have also seen the lack of clothing materials and everybody can give a long list on these items that are not available readily. Currently, the price of commodities have increased and one of the reasons is from our own acts, but the others are not from our own doing for example if petrol prices increase then, of course, transport costs will increase and if the transport costs increase then the maize prices will rise. And when maize prices will rise, then the price of maize flour will rise. Now this cycle is not well the solution to this cycle is in Tanzania. Well, there is nothing much we can do apart from making promises on the price of petrol and the effects can be more detrimental to our economy even compared to the price of petrol. The same way, the price of flour can increase simply because we do not have our own maize and we are forced - the way we are forced now - to import more expensive maize from elsewhere. Now, we can’t avoid this at the moment. The only way is to stop importing maize, but this will have more diverse effects compared to just leaving the price of petrol the way it is. So we will continue importing both petrol and maize and the result is to increase the price of flour.

In the same way, the price of maize can be can depend on our own acts. Recently, we announced increase in different agricultural products, including that of maize and to increase when we increase the price of maize then flour will increase even if we don’t increase the cost of petrol.
I would like to talk now about the importance of the worker. A farmer can play his role, do his farming, well, the way it is pronounced and if he does that he will get enough produce and benefits and the worker will buy these food products at a cheaper price, but the farmer will say [pause] it is said that man does not live on bread alone. They also need clothes and the farmer’s money, therefore, will have more meaning and the salaries of the worker will be more [pause] will have more meaning if it will help him to get clothes and shoes at a good price. The rules on clothing are the same as the rules on flour. You will find then more cheaply and more readily if they come from Tanzania, if he looks at the prices of clothes from outside the country, their prices could be beyond reach even if the farmer has been able to get money [pause] foreign currency. But clothes and shoes are not found from the farms. These come from factories. And they are not just plucked from trees, but with good planning, with organized work, this is understood and I believe it’s been understood. There is nothing I have said up to now that is not easy to understand. There is nothing that I will say that is difficult to understand because what I am saying is money is meaningless if there is nothing to buy with it. If you are hungry, what you want is a sack of maize [pause] of flour, not a sack of money. People want food, not money. So [pause] and if you are naked, you need a robe, you need some clothes, not a wad of notes. A sack of money has no meaning if there is no food in the shops and there are no clothes. That is not difficult to understand, even a kid can. It is said that one punch [pause] a handful of rice is more important than gold. You cannot eat gold, but you will eat the rice.

Farmers and workers depend on each other. It is not the needs of humans that conflict so we can talk about the difference between farmers and workers we will be lying to
ourselves because economically the difference is not between workers in the fields and those who work in offices and factories and hospitals and in the army. It is between those who are paid from what they harvest and what they manufacture, and those who are paid by just counting days without estimating the kind of work they do when they reach their workplace.

Farmer have their villages [pause] in the communities we have metal workers, blacksmiths, they have their own organizations and even businessmen who depend on what they sell are paid according to the work that they do. They cannot depend on anybody else. Farmers eat what they have harvested and get money depending on what kind of harvest they have brought to the market or what people have bought from them.

I would like to finish by saying that before independence in Tanzania, workers were being paid very low wages. Often it was not enough even to take care of themselves or even to take care of their families. They didn’t have peace [pause] they didn’t have security at their workplace and often the conditions were inhuman. They worked only to get some money to buy [pause] to pay rent, to pay school fees and related expenses and they were being exploited. We started workers’ unions and after independence workers in Tanzania have been guarded from exploitation by their employer or by individuals and even by public organizations. Now this has increased and, of course, we have even established wages which are being increased regularly. Every worker, therefore, must be respected as a human being. Now those are some of the benefits that our union and our government have brought and it is important to remember such benefits on Labour Day.

We continue to fight against exploitation and we will continue to fight against it.

Thank you.
Appendix 6: Second interpretation from Kiswahili into English of Julius Nyerere’s speech to commemorate International Labour Day

Today is Labour Day which is marked worldwide. Workers take time to recognize their work and that of their predecessors against colonialism. Today, workers today remember those who were their predecessors, and they remember each other, that is workers from one country to the other. It is a day where workers worldwide, especially those who have not fallen for the colonialism bait, remember that they have one goal. The goal is to continue fighting against colonialism until they are able to eat the fruit of their labour. Their main goal is to do away with oppression worldwide. On this day, they promise each other cooperation and unity until they are able to attain their goal.

I would like to use this day to address the Tanzanian workers. I would like to talk about efforts made by workers in other countries and how they are dealing with colonialism in order to tackle oppression in their countries. However, I will take this opportunity to talk to you about our problems, us as Tanzanians, and also about possible solutions. I would also like to talk about the decline of essential stuff like food and clothing and also their prices. We all know about the food reduction and every effort made in order to tackle that reduction. I believe that when we mix, we put together food imported from other countries, and also what we will harvest if the rainy season continues then we will have enough food for us until 1975. That is until we harvest food planted and harvested between the end of this year and early next year. I believe that the harvest will be sufficient if we get enough rainfall and if workers and those they work closely with will take up their responsibility.
We have also been lacking clothes like wrappers also known as kargas and lessos, and we all know about these things. In addition, commodity prices have gone up. Some of the reasons for this increase is due to some of our actions and also some other reasons beyond our control. For instance, when the price of petrol goes up then transport cost goes up. This also affects the maize price which will also cause the increase of the maize flour. All these causes are not within our control as Tanzanians. The honest thing we can do is to stop buying petrol, but doing that will have more detrimental effects on us. In addition, the maize flour price may go up because we have not grown our own maize. We have to import. This is something we cannot escape right now. The only way to escape it is to stop importing the maize, but the outcome will be worse compared to even stopping any petroleum importation. Therefore, we will continue importing these commodities and consequently leading to the increase in maize flour prices. Just the other day, we announced some of the highest prices or cost of maizemeal and petroleum and this would have happened even if we were not forced to buy petroleum or import maize.

Therefore, I will talk about the importance and the responsibility of workers. The farmer can take up their responsibility and do everything they are required to do. When they do, they will get a good harvest and also good income. Then this will lead to other farmers like the rice farmers getting better prices. I mean, but human beings cannot just survive on food alone, they also need clothing. Their income will only be of help to them if it will help them to purchase shoes and clothing at an affordable price. The law applied on the flour or on the foodstuff is the same that is applied on the clothing. This will work best if the both commodities come from within the country. If they depend on importing these commodities then the price will definitely be a bit higher. We can get maize flour from
here, but we cannot kantas or clothing from farming. We have to have factories. This calls for a clear affirmative plan and wise actions and I’m sure that we all understand this.

There is nothing that I have spoken about up to this point that is not understandable. There is also nothing that I will talk about that is hard to understand. What I am trying to say is money is of no value if we do not have commodities to buy using that money. When you are hungry what you need is maize flour, not money. Right now [pause]. In addition, when you have, when you’re naked, what you need is clothing to cover yourself. Money at that point will be of no value if at all we do not have food or clothing in our shops. That is a very easy issue to understand as the saying goes that: a bird in hand is worth many in the forest.

Farmers and workers depend on each other. They are not two groups of people with conflicting interests therefore, as we emphasize on the differences between farmers and workers we will be lying to ourselves because economically the major difference is not between workers, is not about workers [pause] working in the village or at the city centres. It is about people and their work.

Farmers have the work that they do every day and even people engaging in various businesses are paid from those jobs. Farmers eat the food that they produce and they also get money from the selling the products that they harvested from their farms.

In conclusion, I will say that before attaining our independence, workers’ pay was very poor. It was not enough even to feed them and clothe them and their families. There was no safety at work and in addition they were not treated like human beings. They worked
just to get enough money to pay taxes or school fees or just basic clothing. They were also very oppressed.

When we started trade unions and after our independence, workers in Tanzania have been protected against oppression directed to them by the rich. That safety has been protected every day after day. It is, therefore, very hard to [pause] It is, therefore, important that every worker gets the respect that they deserve. This is what will determine the success of our party and our government, and it is important that we remember that during this Labour Day. We will continue tackle and deal with oppression.

Thank you.