

**COPING WITH EMBEDDED STRUCTURES IN SIMULTANEOUS
INTERPRETING: A CASE STUDY OF STUDENTS INTERPRETING FROM
ENGLISH TO FRENCH**

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C50/65382/2011

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

CENTRE FOR TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETATION

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

NOVEMBER 2015

DECLARATION

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

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The thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as the University supervisors.

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DEDICATION

It is by the grace of God Almighty that this product has seen the light of day. To God be the glory.

I would also like to dedicate this to the memory of my Grand Mother, Flora. I am proud to be your grandson.

Finally, to my parents, Mr Isaiah Ope and Mrs Elsa Anyango Ope. I love you.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to take this opportunity to appreciate all the individuals who have played a role in making my dream come true.

In a special way I would like to appreciate my supervisors who encouraged me all through this process and believed in my abilities. Thank you so much Professor Jayne Mutiga and Dr Erick Omondi. You have been very patient with me.

My lecturers played a major role in inculcating the skills that I have acquired through this journey. Special mention goes to Dr Justine Ndonga-Keller and Moss Lenga who made me an interpreter.

I would like to particularly thank Paule Kekeh for believing in me and encouraging me to venture into the unknown. Thank you abundantly.

I would also like to appreciate the contribution of our visiting lecturers who put us through our paces; Professor Claire Donovan, Professor Barbara Moser-Mercer, Kate Davis, Liam Long, Kunteel Barua, Manuella Mota and Carmen Delgado. They were a pillar and guiding light in our training. Thank you so much.

My lecturers in other course units, Professor Okoth Okombo, Professor Kithaka wa Mberia, Professor Lucia Omondi, Dr Agoya, Dr Olali, Dr Gitonga, Dr Michira and Dr Omboga were instrumental in enhancing my capacities both academically and intellectually. Thank you.

In equal measure, I would also like to appreciate the help of my classmates Raquel, Nelson, Rachel, Trufie, Koffi, Salome, Michel, Ephrem, Mwaura, Oyaro and all the other interpreting students with whom we worked together.

Finally, it would be remiss of me to forget the contribution of Evans and Purity. Thank you too for being there for technical and moral support. God bless you all abundantly.

ABSTRACT

Conference interpreting deals exclusively with oral communication: rendering a message from one language into another, naturally and fluently, adopting the delivery, tone and convictions of the speaker and speaking in the first person. This is very demanding depending on the speaker and the language in use. The difficulties are not the same for example when one is interpreting into the first language as to when interpreting into the second language. It may get more complex if the speaker uses embedded structures such as idiomatic expressions or phrasal verbs in the speech. This study aims at establishing the extent to which embedded structures such as idiomatic expressions pose a challenge to interpreters and how this challenge may be handled.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

PAMCIT:	Pan-African Masters in Conference Interpreting and Translation
AIIC:	Association Internationale des Interprètes de Conférences (International Association of Conference Interpreters)
ESIT:	École Supérieure d'Interprètes et de Traducteurs
CI :	Consecutive Interpretation
SL:	Source Language
SI:	Simultaneous Interpretation
TL:	Target Language
WM:	Working Memory

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1.0. CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background to the Study

According to an article by Mwalya, the chief accountant at the Tribe hotel in an online publication of the 'Business Daily' entitled 'What it takes to reap from emerging conference tourism' (accessed on 11th October 2015), a relatively new concept in the tourism industry is conference tourism; a niche market sub sector that revolves around service provision to business travellers attending seminars, workshops, conferences and conventions.

Conference marketing is a sub sector within the tourism industry which specialises in selling of conference rooms. At the moment, conference tourism is the largest and fastest growing segment of the modern tourism sector. Kenya has witnessed the construction of new hotels at the heart of Nairobi which will give the city enough headroom to grow conference tourism because more multi-nationals are setting base in Kenya and Nairobi has raised its stature as a regional conference hub.

Furthermore, a number of international hotel brand names are looking to build or partner with local players to set up new facilities in Nairobi, for instance Kempinski Hotels Worldwide (an international hotel chain from Germany) and Accor Hotels of France are just but a few names that have in the recent past shown interest in Kenya. In Uganda, the New Serena Hotel has made a boost in conferencing tourism in the region. With other major hotels either under construction or increasing their capacities, Uganda can now handle a larger magnitude of visitors for conferencing than in the past. In Tanzania, Arusha houses the East Africa Community which takes a number of visitors from all over the EAC states.

With these many conference facilities in the region, and indeed across the world, there is need to provide the requisite expert interpreters needed to service the conferences that will be

hosted in the region and beyond. Interpreting schools are few in Africa. As such, there are not many trained interpreters to service the many conferences expected in the region. One of the ways of mitigating this need is the training of interpreters in various training centres across the world and the recently launched ones in what is referred to as The African Project initiated by the Pan-African Masters Consortium in Interpretation and Translation (PAMCIT) (EU website)

According to information from the website, The African Conference Interpreting and Translation Project sets out to promote the development in Africa of training courses in interpreting and translation and public service interpreting (in the public services, hospitals, courts, etc.).

The on-going process of regional integration in Africa goes hand in hand with the growth of regional and international organisations in Africa and the resulting increase in the numbers of meetings, conferences and documents to be translated. This initiative aims to help meet the demand in Africa for professionals in these fields. It comes in the wake of similar initiatives to train a new generation of interpreters and translators in Europe, Asia and the United States. The trainee interpreters need to understand the challenges that they will face in their day to day service delivery.

Guile (2009:172) outlines various constraints to effective communication, which also contribute to ineffective interpreting. Ambiguity is one of the hindrances to effective communication. Lexical ambiguity may be caused by the use of metaphors, similes or idioms. To a second language user, this may itself cause difficulties. As George Orwell states in a 1946 paper entitled "Politics and the English Language": "By using stale metaphors, similes, and idioms, you save much mental effort, at the cost of leaving your meaning vague, not only for your reader but for yourself."

This study will investigate the techniques that professional interpreters use to overcome the challenges that arise from ambiguity. In particular, it is going to investigate ambiguity arising from embedded structure such as metaphors, phrasal verbs and idiomatic expressions.

1.2. Operational Definitions

Interpretation

This refers to the verbal rendition of a message from one language into another, naturally and fluently, adopting the delivery, tone and convictions of the speaker and speaking in the first person.

Simultaneous Interpretation

This refers to the act of interpreting while the delegate is speaking. The interpreter works in a soundproofed booth with at least one colleague. The speaker in the meeting room speaks into a microphone; the interpreter receives the sound through a headset and renders the message into a microphone almost simultaneously. The delegate in the meeting room selects the relevant channel to hear the interpretation in the language of his/her choice.

Consecutive Interpretation

This means interpreting after the speaker has finished. The interpreter sits with the delegates, listens to the speech and renders it, at the end, in a different language, generally with the aid of notes.

Redundancy

When an interpreter uses too many words that could be omitted without effect on the meaning of the message, he or she is redundant.

Source Language

This is the language that the speaker on the floor is using. An interpreter listens to this language and renders the message in a different language.

Target language

This refers to the language that the interpreter uses in the booth (in case of simultaneous interpreting). The delegates who do not understand the speaker's language have to listen to the interpreter through their headphones to get the interpretation in the target language.

'A' language (L1)

This is the language that the interpreter speaks as a native language. The interpreter considers this as the first language and often interprets into it from other languages.

'B' language (L2)

This is the language that the interpreter can speak fluently, but not to native level. An interpreter is able to work into the B language when they are fluent enough. It is also considered as an active language for an interpreter.

'C' language

This refers to the language that the interpreter understands very well but cannot work into. Interpreters often work from the C language to either A or B. It is considered as a passive language.

Active Language

This is the language that an interpreter speaks and understands perfectly.

Passive Language

This refers to the language that an interpreter understands well, but hardly communicates in.

Addition

This is the term given information offered by the interpreter, which is not part of the speaker's message.

Contre-Sens

This is a French phrase that refers an instance where an interpreter gives the opposite of speaker's message.

Faux-Amis (false friends)

When there are a pair of words that are spelt the same way in two different languages, but do not have the same meaning, we have what the French refer to as faux-amis.

Faux-Sens

This is another French terminology which refers to a mistranslation

Filled pause

This refers to a situation where an interpreter makes hesitation sounds, presumably when thinking of what to say next

Non-Sens

When an interpreter utters a word, phrase or sentence that has no meaning to the listener, we talk of non-sens.

Omission

This refers to a situation where the interpreter fails to interpret a section of a speaker's utterances.

1.3. Statement of the Problem

The role of the interpreter is that he/she is the recipient of the speaker's text, but not the addressee of the speaker's message. He/she is thus excluded from part of the knowledge (linguistic, extralinguistic or situational) shared by the speaker and the audience.

Secondly, in his/her role as a linguistic mediator, the interpreter is required to produce a TL text that is equivalent to the original text. Consequently, the interpreter has little semantic autonomy over the text. In the choice of the linguistic means, the interpreter will be affected by the linguistic makeup of the original, thus being exposed to the risk of interference caused by the ongoing presence of SL text elements in the his/her short-term memory.

Finally, the role of the interpreter as a mediator prevents him/her from interacting with the speaker. The interpreter therefore needs to adapt strategies that can foster effective rendition of the original text. This demands a lot of concentration. However, concentration in itself is not enough as there are many hindrances to effective communication which in turn affect the rendition of the message in a different language.

As-Safi, (2011:7) posits that the constraints imposed on the interpreters are more and greater than those on the translator. They also vary in type and degree of intensity as regards the direction of translating or interpreting, i.e., whether from L1 into L2 or the other way round.

Some of the constraints he outlines include Syntactic Constraints, Semantic Constraints, Phonological and Prosodic Constraints, Cultural and Phatic Constraints, Paralinguistic and Psychological Constraints as well as Time Lag

In as much as interpreter training addresses these constraints as outlined by Gile (2009:197), syntactic constraints still need more work especially when it comes to dealing with embedded structures which are not common across languages.

The need for this study is informed by the fact interpreters come across various types of speakers whose styles also differ in syntactic structures. Idiomatic expressions, phrasal verbs, metaphors among others pose a challenge and interpreters need to be equipped with the expertise to handle them. Interpreter training should pay attention to the different linguistic structures of the interpreters' working languages. Interpreters on the other hand, also need to adopt strategies that will enable them to overcome the challenges that such structures may pose to them.

1.4. Objectives

The main purpose of this study is to investigate the extent to which embedded structures may hinder effective interpretation. The other objectives will be:

1. To establish how experienced interpreters cope with the challenges of idiomatic expressions and,
2. To determine the skills that an apprentice may adapt to overcome the possible challenges posed by idiomatic expressions.

1.5. Hypothesis

Lexical ambiguity arising from the use of embedded structures such as idiomatic expressions poses a challenge to simultaneous interpreters.

1.6. Rationale

An interpreter is expected to be faithful to the message of the speaker. He is the speaker's mouthpiece, only that the language he/she uses is different. The audience of the target language expects to hear the exact message of the speaker on the floor.

Training institutions have the task of preparing and mentoring upcoming interpreters. They therefore must equip the learner with the necessary skills to handle the challenges that the learner may encounter. It is recommended that an interpreter should work from language B to language A. It is possible that there are certain linguistic structures that may not be familiar to the interpreter, such as metaphors, idioms or phrasal verbs. This study will be useful to both the trainers and trainees in learning how to tackle the possible problems posed by such embedded structures. It will particularly pay attention to idiomatic expressions as they are the most common across languages.

1.7. Scope and Limitations

The study aimed at establishing the extent to which embedded structures pose challenges to interpreters, with special focus on upcoming interpreters. The focus was on interpreters with a language combination of French and English. Two interpreters were identified, both with English as A language and French as B language. One of the interpreters is a current student at the University of Nairobi's Centre for Translation and Interpretation while the other is a recent graduate from the same institution. The assumption is that the student has less working practical experience compared to the recent graduate who had handled some practical interpreting situations.

We examined a sample of speeches in both English and French, paying close attention to the use of embedded structures in each of them. Two speeches were identified; one in French and the other in English. They both had a good number of idiomatic expressions. The researcher

wasn't able to identify any speech with other embedded structures such as phrasal verbs and metaphors. Due to the fact they didn't have the same number of idiomatic expressions, we reviewed how the interpreters handled ten idiomatic expressions randomly selected from each of the speeches. The analysis was based on whether the expressions were interpreted or not, if this interpretation or non-interpretation had an impact on the message and what strategies could have been used to make the rendition of the message successful.

1.8. Theoretical Framework

Interpretation and translation are two of the oldest activities in the annals of human history. Records of translation activities date back over 2000 years, and since ancient times, translation has been studied by numerous scholars. Interpreting, on the otherhand, had no theory of its own, so to speak, until modern times. Although the activity of interpreting dates back to ancient times, it did not begin to take shape in its modern form until 1917 at the negotiation table of the Versailles Treaty. Consecutive interpreting, in which the interpreter begins only after the speaker has finished, came about after the Versailles Treaty. In contrast, simultaneous interpreting, which has become the preferred mode, had its debut at the Nuremberg Trials after World War II.

La Théorie du Sens (also known as The Interpretive Theory of Translation or the Theory of Sense) was developed by Danica Seleskovitch and Marianne Lederer (researchers at the Ecole Supérieure d'Interprètes et de Traducteurs (ESIT) at the University of Paris III the so-called Paris School) in the 1970s. Our study will be based on this theory. It refers to a term used to designate a model designed to reflect the processes which are involved in conference interpreting. The Interpretive Theory of Translation is a reaction against some of the restricted views of language proposed by the linguistics of the time. The proponents of this

theory argue that interpreters do not work merely with linguistic meaning, but also need to take into account such factors as the cognitive context of what has already been said, the setting in which the interpreting is taking place and the interpreter's own world knowledge (Lavault:1996:97 in Shuttleworth and Cowie:2014:84). As a consequence of this, one of the theory's principle tenets has been that interpreting should be based on a deverbilized, intended meaning (the text of *sens*) derived from the overall context, rather than the words of the ST such (Seleskovitch 1976:92 in Shuttleworth and Cowie 2014:85). Thus according to the model interpreting ignores the need to identify direct translation equivalents for ST items and instead concentrates on finding the appropriate wording to convey a given meaning at a given point in time in a given context, whatever that wording is or the original wording may mean under different circumstances (1997:93 in Shuttleworth and Cowie 2014:85).

Upcoming interpreters often find themselves stuck when they come across unfamiliar vocabulary and/or embedded structures in the ST. In our study, we are going to look into how this theory can help interpreters to concentrate on the important part of a speech, which is the message as opposed to the linguistic meaning of the speech. Using this theory as our basis, the study intends to identify the strategies that interpreters can adopt so as to be able to interpret the *sens* (from *Théorie du sens*) as opposed to the word for word interpretation that has the risk of blocking the flow of speech when interpreting.

The three tasks in simultaneous interpreting are listening to the message, understanding the message and anticipating the message. Listening to the message involves the distance between the speaker and the interpreter.

The natural tendency for a beginner is to tailgate the speaker. The speaker is anxious not to miss anything and therefore follows the speaker at so close a distance that there is no time to absorb the meaning of the words interpreted. The resulting interpretation is word-for-word

nonsense delivered in a jerky monotone, for the student has not had time to understand the speaker's message (Van Dam 1989:170)

The *Théorie du sens* in this case can be useful in adopting strategies that help the student interpreter to concentrate more in understanding the message and anticipating the message. Gile views interpreting as an operation of crisis management which requires appropriate techniques (2004: 191). In particular, drawing on his *modèle d'effort*, he describes SI as a set of three efforts: the Listening and Analysis, the Production and the Short-Term Memory Effort, all requiring mental resources which are available in limited capacity. Among the factors in SI that are most liable to jeopardise the interpreter's task, i.e. high information density, high speaking rate, signal disturbances, unusual speech signal and short speech segments, the author also mentions syntactic differences between SL and TL. One of the most controversial questions that has long divided the scientific community is indeed the existence of language-dependent factors affecting the choice of strategies.

According to the *théorie du sens* worked out by the Paris School, interpretation is a natural process based on a synthesis between semantic-syntactic information in the SL text and extralinguistic knowledge, from which the *sens*, the meaning of the message, derives.

Simultaneous interpretation is believed to be achievable with ordinary speech functions: "Understanding *sens* is the manifestation of ordinary human mental function" (Seleskovitch & Lederer 1986: 268-270 in Donato, V 2003:102). Provided that SL and TL are properly mastered, difficulties lie in the simultaneity between comprehension and production, not in the rendering of the message since interpreting consists in the transposition of the *sens*, not of the words with which it is expressed.

1.9. Summary

In this chapter, we have given a historical background to our study, touching on what informed our decision to carry out the research, the limitations as well as the opportunities in this field. We have given definitions of the terminologies that are likely to recur in our study as well as the theoretical framework. We realise that this study is important in order to understand the field of interpreting and what it involves.

2.0. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter is divided into three sections. First, there will be literature on embedded structures, la *Théorie du Sens* (Interpretive theory of Translation or Theory of Sense), giving its background and application, then there will be a section on specific literature on strategies that interpreters use to overcome the challenges that they encounter.

2.2. Embedded Structures

Bennett, (2002:45) observes that it has long been recognised that expressions such as *to pull someone's leg*, *to have a bee in one's bonnet*, *to kick the bucket*, *to cook someone's goose*, etc. are semantically peculiar. He says that an idiom is an expression whose meaning cannot be accounted for as a compositional function of the meanings its parts have when they are not parts of idioms.

Lyons (1981:145) says that every language contains a vocabulary, or lexicon, which is complementary to the grammar in that the vocabulary not only lists the lexemes of the language but associates with each lexeme all the information that is required by the rules of the grammar. This grammatical information is of two kinds: (a) syntactic; and (b) morphological. For example, the English lexeme *go* would have associated with it in its lexical entry: (a) the information that it belongs to one or more subclasses of intransitive verbs; and (b) all selection or construction of its forms (*go*, *goes*, *going*, *went*, *gone*).

Not all lexemes are word-lexemes (i.e. lexemes whose forms are word-forms). Many of them will be phrasal lexemes (i.e. lexemes whose forms are phrases, in the traditional sense of this term). For example, among the phrasal lexemes of English, which we should expect to find listed in any dictionary of the language are: *put up with*, *pick in poke*, *red herring*, *draw a bow at a venture*, *go for a song*, etc. phrasal lexemes tend to be either grammatically or

semantically idiomatic, or both: i.e. either their distribution throughout the sentences of the language or their meaning is unpredictable from the syntactic and semantic properties.

This unpredictability of meaning, make it hard for an interpreter to arrive at an equivalent expression in the target language without hesitation.

2.3. The Interpretive Theory of Translation (or The Theory of Sense)

Although the act of interpreting is traced back to ancient times, it had no theory of its own and did not begin to take shape as we know it today until the late 1970s. By distancing itself from previous studies, the Interpretive Theory of Translation (aka, the Theory of Sense), founded by Danica Seleskovitch, an interpreter and researcher at the Ecole Supérieure d'Interprètes et de Traducteurs (ESIT) at the University of Paris III – the so-called Paris School, explains the translation and interpretive process differently from that of the traditional linguistic approaches, involving a combination of developmental and experimental psychology, neurophysiology, and linguistics.

Over the past several years, practitioners have been mixing many terms and using them interchangeably to refer to distinct concepts like sense and meaning, which can lead to confusion and misconception. It is of a necessity to clearly distinguish them apart for this purpose.

Sense Vs Meaning

Aleksandr Davidovich Shvejcer recognized the difference between the two. Meaning as such is derived from the concrete structure of the language, and is to be searched for solely in the framework of the code language signals it is part of. Since words are the product of the community and its culture, it does not make sense to look for what a word can express in another language, another culture. Every word has one relatively exact meaning represented

exclusively in the code of language it belongs to. Taking this point to heart, it would be presumptuous to try to translate literally and expect the meaning to stay intact. However, Sense does not depend on the differences between the languages; it can be expressed through different linguistic means in different languages (L'vovskaja 1985:81 in Zergui 2014: 2) for this, it is called The Theory of Sense (*La Théorie du Sens*). Sense in discourse consists of two parts, an explicit part constituting the written or the spoken, and an implicit part constituting what is unsaid but nevertheless meant by the interlocutor and understood by the other party, the latter not to be confused with the author's intentions. Briefly, language knowledge is not enough to fully grasp the sense (Mona Baker, 2009 in Zergui 2014:2), there are other parameters interfering in this process.

Background to the Theory

Drawing on psycholinguistic and cognitive approaches, Seleskovich and Lederer studied interpreting and translation using empirical research emphasizing chiefly on the cognitive process involved in this practice. The basic tenet of their theory is that translation and interpreting are based on meaning (sense), as opposed to lexical (verbal) meaning (ibid). Although both translation and interpreting manifest differently, they both obey the same rule, translate the message not the language. Needless to say that when a translator gets to understand the discourse, the occurrence of traps like polysemy and ambiguity are easily prevented, for literal translation is bound to distort the original meaning. As per this school, the aim of interpretation is to achieve the *ö*communicative sense \ddot{o} .

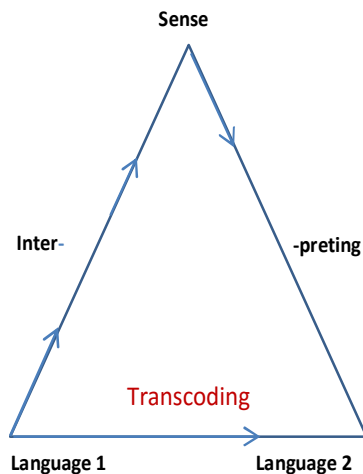
In this approach, interpreting is regulated by the principle of *ö*equivalence of sense \ddot{o} , the process, according to Seleskovitch, is based on language-free (de-verbalization) conversion procedures.

D. Seleskovitch and M. Lederer's Model of Translation

One of the main breakthroughs of Interpreting Studies is Seleskovitch's Sense Theory, represented graphically in the following ternary composition model of translation (Pöchhacker, 2004: 97 in Zergui 2014)

The hypothesis of interpreting triangular model implies the following: interpreting is a ternary process, first comes the activity of listening in L1; the meaning and sense of the discourse (the object of interpreting) then, is perceived, afterwards comes the final stage (the most important one in interpreting) the reformulation of the acquired meaning in L2.

Transcoding, however, only applies to the simultaneous interpreting of terms, numbers, and



names. For Seleskovitch, interpreting is unquestionably about sensation, on the one hand, a sense of "internal" language system, on the other hand feel the "external", thence, the translation process is not straightforward, but the pass through various phases. From here we conclude that it is an active process clustered around the "understanding" and then "re-expression" of ideas.

Conclusion

This theory has emerged as a reaction to some notions of the late 70s regarding interpreting and translation being merely a representation of linguistic meaning. The proponent of this theory is that interpreters and translators have to take into account such factors as cognitive and situational context of what has been produced and their own world knowledge (Levault, 1996). The focus thence should derive from words to the intended meaning (sense). Overall,

translation is a complex process requiring an evocation of knowledge and many cognitive and social parameters. The general emphasis at the outset is that translation should not be literal, but should seek to transfer the essence of meaning after imbibing the ideas and intentions of the original.

2.4. Strategies in Simultaneous Interpreting

Gile (2009:200) outlines the strategies employed by experienced interpreters to overcome recurrent problems such as the ones mentioned elsewhere in this chapter as follows:

2.4.1. Comprehension tactics

The main tactics used when comprehension problems arise are

Delaying the Response

An interpreter may delay the response for a while (up to a few seconds), so as to have some thought while they receive more information from the source language speech.

Reconstructing the Segment with the Help of the Context

When an interpreter has not properly heard or understood a technical term, name, number, or other types of speech segment, they can try to reconstruct them in their mind using their extralinguistic knowledge.

Using the Boothmate's Help

In simultaneous interpreting, in theory there are two interpreters in the booth at all times. One is active, interpreting, while the other is passive, listening without speaking. The passive colleague has a better chance of understanding difficult speech segments than the active one, whose capacity is shared by several efforts at the same time.

Consulting resources in the Booth

When there is no passive interpreter in the booth, interpreters can look for solutions in documents they have before them.

Preventive Tactics

The following tactics are used when time or processing capacity pressure is such that the interpreter believes a problem may arise or is about to occur.

Taking Notes

When the speech contains figures or names that the interpreter feels he might forget and that they cannot reformulate right away for syntactic reasons, they may take them down in notes rather than keep them in memory.

Lengthening or Shortening the Ear-Voice Span

By changing the EVS, i.e. the time lag between the moment a speech segment is heard and its reformulation in the TL, interpreters can control to a certain extent processing capacity requirements for individual efforts. By shortening the lag, they decrease the short term memory requirements; on the other hand, this deprives them of anticipation potential and increases the risk of misunderstanding an unfolding sentence and driving themselves into TL sentences which will be difficult to complete if turns out their anticipation was incorrect. By increasing the lag, interpreters improve comprehension potential, but may overload short-term memory.

Segmentation and Unloading of Short-Term Memory

When faced with potential overload of memory, as with a source language that are syntactically very different, with embedded structures in the source language or with unclear structures, interpreters may choose to reformulate speech segments earlier than they would normally, sometimes before they have a full picture of what the speaker want to say.

Changing the order of Elements in an Enumeration

Enumerations are high-density speech segments and impose a high load on short-term memory. One tactic consists in reformulating the last elements first so as to free memory from the information, and then to move on to other elements.

2.4.2. Reformulation Tactics

Tactics often used in reformulation are as follows:

Delaying the Response

It is the same as used in comprehension , the idea being that the waiting period is used for a sub-conscious (or conscious) search for the missing term or sentence structure the interpreter cannot retrieve immediately from long-term memory

Using the Boothmate's Help

The boothmate's help is more often given in form of indications for reformulation than as explained of what was said.

Consulting documents in the booth

Documents in the booth are often used for reformulation, in particular glossaries and dictionaries, with the risk that this may take time.

Replacing a Segment with a Superordinate Term or a More General Speech Segment

When interpreters find themselves momentarily incapable of understanding a speech segment or reformulating it in the TL, one possible solution is to reformulate the message in a less accurate manner by using a superordinate in the case of a single word, or by constructing a more general segment in the case of a whole clause or sentence.

Explaining or Paraphrasing

Interpreters may understand a term but not have available the appropriate equivalent in the TL, in which case they can explain it rather than translate it.

Reproducing the sound heard in the source language speech

When encountering a name or technical term which he/she does not know or recognise, the interpreter may try to reproduce the sound as heard.

Instant Naturalisation

When interpreters do not know the appropriate term in the TL, they may naturalise the source language term, adapting it to the morphological and/or phonological rules of the TL.

Transcoding

This consists in translating a source-language term or speech segment into the TL word for word.

2.5. Summary

From the above information, we realise that there is enough literature to back the claim that interpreting demands more than an understanding of the SL. An interpreter needs to put himself in the shoes of the speaker both linguistically and culturally. It is then easier to understand a people's manner of speaking and interpret them effectively. It is also evident

that embedded structure need more thought than the face value of the content words. On this basis, we will be able to analyse their complexities in the next chapters. We have also seen the possible solutions to problems encountered in the booth.

3.0. METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the research methodology that was used by indicating the research design, target population, data collection method, and data analysis that was utilized to investigate the extent to which embedded structures pose a challenge to interpreters, how experienced interpreters handle such challenges and the strategies that interpreters can adopt to overcome them.

3.2. Research Design

In order to investigate the extent to which embedded structures pose a challenge to interpreters, the researcher adopted a descriptive research design. A descriptive research design is an in-depth investigation of an individual or a group or an institution with a primary motive to determine factors and relationships that have resulted in the behaviour of the study (Robson, 2002). The researcher undertook his research on interpreters from the University of Nairobi's Centre for Translation and Interpretation. The research design enables the researcher to undertake an in-depth investigation on the extent to which embedded structures pose a challenge to interpreters, especially student interpreters or recent graduate interpreters who have not had enough experience in the field.

3.3. Target Population

The target population for this study consists of 20 student interpreters at the University of Nairobi. The University admits on average seven (7) students per year in the programme. This target population includes graduates who have been in the market for one year.

3.4. Sampling Procedure

To overcome the limitations of this study the researcher employed purposive sampling and simple random sampling to select two (2) respondents from the target population. Purposive sampling will be used to select respondent from University of Nairobi's Centre for Translation and Interpretation. This represents 20% of the target population. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) a good sample population should be 10% to 30% of the entire population. This study selected 20% of the entire population, which is within the recommended threshold. The assumption is that students have not had enough time to adopt strategies that can help to interpret the *sens* (message) using the *Théorie du Sens* (Theory of Sense) while the recent graduate has at least had some experience in the field and has adopted some skills and strategies that may be useful in interpretation.

3.5. Data Collection

The study took a qualitative approach. Two interpreters interpreted two different speeches containing idiomatic expressions. The two speeches were of roughly the same length, read at normal speed. They lasted about five minutes each on average. One of the speeches was in English and the other one was in French. Each of the interpreters worked on both speeches, starting with the one they preferred. They worked in as similar conditions as possible, at their places of residence. The speeches were recorded. The interpreters used headphones to listen to the speech and used an audio recorder to record their respective renditions of the speeches. The renditions that were recorded were then transcribed verbatim for analysis.

3.6. Data Analysis

The transcriptions were analysed vis-à-vis the original text. The quality of the interpretations was analysed based on the nature of the errors that were identified in the renditions with particular focus to the interpretation of idiomatic expressions. The researchers noted the kind of difficulties that were noted to determine their nature and frequency.

The possible causes of these errors were determined as well based on the behaviour of the interpreter.

Another analysis was also undertaken to determine the successes of the renditions with focus on the strategies adopted by the interpreters to come up with a good rendition.

4.0. DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1. Introduction

In this section, we are going to focus on the errors that occur, if any, in the interpreters' rendition of speech A, which was in French. The interpreters with English as their A language interpreted it into English. The speech contained a number of idiomatic expressions. The analysis involves a comparison of errors from three different interpreters at varying levels of experience. We will categorise the errors, but more focus will be on the interpretation of the various idiomatic expressions.

We then look at the speech given in French and given to the interpreters who work into English as their A language and French as their B language. The speech was about five minutes in length and was of a general topic. It had some idiomatic expressions. We are going to look at the way the two interpreters have handled them, and if the way they have handled them had an impact on the delivery of the rendition.

Finally, we will establish whether there is a difference in effort when interpreting a speech with idiomatic expressions when interpreting from language B and when interpreting from language A. We will look at all the errors committed around the sentences containing the idiomatic expressions and compare them with the errors that were committed outside the areas with idiomatic expressions to arrive at our conclusions.

4.2. Speech 1: Summary of Errors when working from L1 (English) into L2 (French)

4.2.1. Introduction

In this section, the focus is on the renditions of the two interpreters, highlighting the errors that came about in relation to the embedded structures in the speeches interpreted. The first analysis involves the first speech which was in English, which is the interpreters' A language. The interpreters rendered it in French, which is their B language.

The Embedded Structures

The speech entitled "Survival" ó Appendix 1, had the following idiomatic expressions among others: the expected interpretation or equivalents in English are put in bracket.

In our analysis, we will pick ten expressions among these and see how the two interpreters handled them.

- *just to mention but a few (pour en citer que cela)*
- *stand his ground (tenir bon)*
- *fight tooth and nail (lutter bec et ongle)*
- *at a crossroads (coincé ...)*
- *give up (laissent tomber)*
- *kill two birds with one stone (faire d'une pierre deux coups,)*
- *throw in the towel (ils jettent l'éponge)*
- *put their eggs in one basket (mis tous leurs œufs dans un seul panier ;)*
- *took a completely different turn. (pris une voie bien différente)*
- *make ends meet (joindre les deux bouts)*
- *one day at a time (une journée à la fois.)*
- *not out of the woods yet (pas au bout de ses peines.)*
- *an oasis in the desert. (un oasis dans un désert)*
- *where there is a will, there is a way (Si on veut, on peut.)*

4.2.2. Rendition of Interpreter 1

Below is a presentation of the two interpreters' rendition of the idiomatic expressions vis-à-vis the speaker's intention

Table 1 below shows the original speech against the interpreter's rendition into the B language, showing the effects

Original speech	Intended meaning	Interpreter's rendition	Meaning and Effect / error
As a young man with ambitions, you have to stand your ground, fight tooth and nail with the adversities to make it in life.	<i>un jeune homme ambitieux doit donc tenir bon, lutter bec et ongle les difficultés pour réussir.</i>	<i>En tant qu'une ...qu'une, un homme ...un jeune homme, il faut être forte pour surmonter les défis.</i> (as a young man you have to be strong to overcome challenges.)	Expression not interpreted but replaced by a more general expression Message rendered effectively
A young man thus finds himself at a crossroads; juggling between continuing with education beyond primary school or joining the	<i>Un jeune se trouve donc coincé entre le choix de continuer avec l'enseignant supérieur ou de travailler dans le secteur informel tel</i>	<i>et le jeune homme se trouve dans ... au carrefour ... il doit uhm, mais peut-être chercher l'emploi dans le secteur informel et</i>	Expression interpreted Incomplete/hanging sentences Hesitation

<p>informal sector of employment; as motorbike riders offering cheap transport, blacksmiths, farmers í .</p>	<p><i>que l'opération des taxi-moto, qui offre un moyen de transport moins cher, forgeron, agriculteur ...</i></p>	<p><i>il peut peut-être chercher de travail en tant que motocycliste ou trouver d'autres sources de d'emploi</i> (=and the young man finds himself at the crossroads í he has to, uhm, but perhaps look for a job in the informal sector and he can maybe look for a job as a motorcyclist or find other sources of employment)</p>	
<p>To kill two birds with one stone, a few determined ones find odd jobs to help pay their school fees and for upkeep</p>	<p><i>Pour faire d'une pierre deux coups, ceux qui sont déterminés effectuent des petits travaux pour payer leurs études et pour</i></p>	<p><i>... il faut toujours chercher l'argent pour le uhm ...pour combler le besoin de chaque jour</i> (It is always important to look</p>	<p>Expression not interpreted Idea lost through omission</p>

	<i>subvenir à leurs besoins.</i>	for a job to í uhm í for daily upkeep)	
If they throw in the towel, they become the village laughing stock. Their contemporaries mock them for having put all their eggs in one basket; education.	<i>S'ils se résignent (jettent l'éponge), ils deviennent la risée du village. Leurs contemporains les ridiculisent d'avoir mis tous leurs œufs dans un panier.</i>	<i>... et si on perd l'espoir, tout le monde va les moquer. Et donc quelquefois il faut mettre tous les œufs dans le ... uhm ... il faut mettre tous leurs uhm ...</i> (And if you lose hope, everyone is going to mock them. Therefore sometimes it is important to put all your eggs in one í uhm í put all their í (silence))	Expression not interpreted Hanging sentences Contre-sens
George Otieno, currently working as a manager in one of	<i>Goerges Otieno, qui est actuellement cadre dans une</i>	<i>okay nous avons Georges Otieno, qui est directeur</i>	Expressions not interpreted Hesitation

<p>the top banks in the country, had to repeat standard eight three times before lady luck smiled on him at the fourth attempt. Starehe boys centre accepted his application for scholarship and educated him for free through his secondary education. If he had given up, his life would have taken a completely different turn.</p>	<p><i>grande banque dans le pays, a dû redoubler trois fois la classe terminale de l'école primaire avant d'avoir la chance la quatrième fois. Le centre des garçons, Starehe a accepté sa demande de bourse et a payé ses études à l'école secondaire. S'il avait laissé tomber, sa vie aurait pris une voie bien différente.</i></p>	<p><i>dans l'un des banques ... grand banque au Kenya. Et il a...uhm ... il a été inscrit dans l'un des écoles secondaires qui s'appelle Starehe, et il a trouvé le ... la bourse et il a fini ses éducation. (Well, we have George Otieno who is a director one of the banks í a big bank in Kenya. And he í he was enrolled in one of the secondary schools called Starehe, and he found the í scholarship and he finished his education.)</i></p>	<p>Misinterpretation</p>
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<p>He was born in a poor family where he was the first born in a family of five. When his father died, he lost hope and saw no light at the end of a long tunnel. He had to be a man at a tender age of 12 and support his mum in raising the five of them</p>	<p><i>Il était l'ainé d'une famille pauvre de cinq enfants. Quand son père est mort, il a perdu tout espoir et ne voyait plus de lumière au bout d'un long tunnel. Il a dû être un homme à l'âge de 12 ans et soutenir sa mère à élever ses frères et sœurs.</i></p>	<p><i>Il est né dans une famille très pauvre, et il devait soutenir ses frères et ses sœurs ...il devait être un homme à l'âge de ... 12 ans et ce n'était pas facile. la vie était dur.</i> (He was born in a very poor family, and he had to support his siblings í he had to be a man at the age of 12 years and it was not easy. Life was hard)</p>	<p>Expression not interpreted Repetition</p>
<p>Making ends meet wasn't easy as the little money he could make from doing menial jobs only</p>	<p><i>Il était difficile à joindre les deux bouts car la petite somme d'argent qu'il recevait de ses</i></p>	<p><i>Et le petit argent qu'il avait était suffisamment pour le ... la nourriture seulement</i></p>	<p>Expression not interpreted Omissions Incomplete sentences /ideas</p>

<p>helped them to buy what they could eat. Many days he would come to school hungry. They lived one day at a time.</p>	<p><i>petits travaux ne suffisait seulement pour la nourriture. A plusieurs fois, il venait à l'école affamé. Ils vivaient une journée à la fois.</i></p>	<p>(And the little money that he had was sufficiently for the food only)</p>	
<p>Getting a scholarship to Starehe school was a dream come true, but he was not out of the woods yet.</p>	<p><i>L'obtention de la bourse de Starehe était pour lui un rêve réalisé, mais il n'était pas encore au bout de ses peines.</i></p>	<p><i>. ...donc, la bourse de Starehe l'a aidé beaucoup, mais il restait encore beaucoup de défis.</i> (So, the scholarship from Starehe helped him a lot, but there were still a lot of challenges.)</p>	<p>Expression not interpreted Mistranslation</p>
<p>His story is one of the success stories from a marginalised community; an oasis in a desert. Where there is a will, there is a way.</p>	<p><i>Son histoire fait parties des histoires de réussite des communautés défavorisées; un oasis dans un désert. Si on veut, on peut.</i></p>	<p><i>Son histoire est une exemple d'une source d'espoir. Merci</i> (His story is an example of a source of hope. Thank you.</p>	<p>Expression not interpreted Omission Misinterpretation</p>

Analysis of the rendition

As can be seen from the analysis above, some of the strategies that the interpreter consciously or unconsciously applied had consequences. Looking at the errors that came out, we identify the following major errors from the rendition.

1. Omissions

In the first part of the sentence "As a young man with ambitions, you have to stand your ground, fight tooth and nail with the adversaries to make it in life." the interpreter omitted "with ambitions" and used the general statement "As a young man." The effect here is that the original message has lost the specificities (with ambitions).

Another glaring case of omission is in the segment which started with "Making ends meet wasn't easy." This means that there is no link between the ideas. The interpreter has isolated sentences due to these omissions. The listener will have difficulties

2. Redundancies

There are many instances where the interpreter is redundant. In the first segment, the interpreter says "as a í a , a man, í a young man." These suggest that the interpreter is not sure of what to say.

3. Filled pauses

The interpreter has a number of pauses in the rendition. For example, in the segment "To kill two birds with one stone, few determined ones find odd jobs to help pay their school fees and for upkeep." The interpreter didn't interpret the first part with an idiomatic expression. As

such, there is hesitation and gaps filled with hesitation marks, especially uhm. It is always important to get a job to í uhm í for daily upkeepø

4. Contre-Sens

There are instances where the interpreter has said the opposite of what the speaker meant. For example in If they throw in the towel, they become the village laughing stock. Their contemporaries mock them for having put all their eggs in one basket; education. The interpreter said, and if you lose hope, everyone is going to mock them. Therefore sometimes it is important to put all your eggs in one í uhm í put all their í (pause)

In essence, the interpreter is saying the opposite of what the speaker meant even though the sentence is not completed.

5. Faux-Sens

The interpreter misinterpreted some segments of the speech. For example, George Otieno, currently working as a manager in of the banks í ø is rendered as We have Gorge Otieno, who is a director in one of the banks. This gives George Otieno a title that is not his.

Conclusion

It is not always easy interpreting into the B language he interpreter attempted to adopt some strategies to overcome the challenges encountered. Such strategies that were adopted also led to some of the errors mentioned above. The strategies include omissions, delaying the response, reformulation and paraphrasing. In essence, the interpreter is applying strategies that may be useful in interpreting, but still has to do a lot of practice for the strategies to be productive.

4.2.3. Rendition of Interpreter 2

Table 2: Summary of the Rendition of Interpreter 2 from A to B

Original speech	Intended meaning	Interpreter's rendition	Effect
As a young man with ambitions, you have to stand your ground, fight tooth and nail with the adversities to make it in life.	<i>un jeune homme ambitieux doit donc tenir bon, lutter bec et ongle les difficultés pour réussir.</i>	<i>En tant que jeune homme, vous devez travailler pour réussir</i> (as a young man, you must work hard to succeed)	Expressions are not interpreted Message intensity is reduced
A young man thus finds himself at a crossroads; juggling between continuing with education beyond primary school or joining the informal sector of employment; í .	<i>Un jeune se trouve donc coincé entre le choix de continuer avec l'enseignement supérieur ou de travailler dans le secteur informel ...</i>	<i>Un jeune homme donc se trouve dans la confusion entre le choix de continuer avec l'éducation ou de joindre un le secteur informel de l'emploi</i> (A young man therefore finds himself confused between the choice	Expressions replaced by -confusedø Message is rendered

		of continuing with éducation or joining the informal jobsø sector)	
To kill two birds with one stone, a few determined ones find odd jobs to help pay their school fees and for upkeep	<i>Pour faire d'une pierre deux coups, ceux qui sont déterminés effectuent des petits travaux pour payer leurs études et pour subvenir à leurs besoins.</i>	<i>et pour faire deux pierres ...deux coups d'une pierre, ...pour payer leur scolarité et subsistance, (=and to make two stones í kill two birds with one stone, í to pay their fees and upkeep)</i>	Expression interpreted with hesitation Omission of the idea of finding a job Hanging sentence/idea
If they throw in the towel, they become the village laughing stock. Their contemporaries mock them for having put all their eggs in one basket; education.	<i>S'ils se résignent (jettent l'éponge), ils deviennent la risée du village. Leurs contemporains les ridiculisent d'avoir mis tous leurs œufs dans un panier.</i>	<i>mais s'ils laissent tomber, ils sont les objets de rigole, parce qu'ils avaient mis tous leurs œufs dans un panier (=but if they give up, they are objects of ridicule because</i>	Expressions are interpreted Wrong choice of word noted for =rigoleø instead of =ridiculeø Message delivered and is close to the original

		they had put all their eggs in one basket.)	
Starehe boys centre accepted his application for scholarship and educated him for free through his secondary education. If he had given up, his life would have taken a completely different turn.	<i>Le centre des garçons, Starehe a accepté sa demande de bourse et a payé ses études à l'école secondaire. S'il avait laissé tomber, sa vie aurait pris une voie bien différente.</i>	<i>Starehe a accepté sa demande de bourse et l'a éduqué pour ... gratuitement. S'il avait laissé tomber, il aurait eu des problèmes.</i> (Starehe accepted his application for scholarship and educated him for free. If he had given up, he would have had problems)	Expression is replaced by <i>he would have had problems</i> – Mistranslation
He was born in a poor family where he was the first born in a family of five. When his father died, he lost hope and saw no light at the end of a long	<i>Il était l'aîné d'une famille pauvre de cinq enfants. Quand son père est mort, il a perdu tout espoir et ne voyait plus de lumière au bout</i>	<i>Georges était né dans une famille pauvre ... où ... il avait quatre frères et sœurs ... quand son père est mort il a perdu l'espoir, il</i>	Expression interpreted Hesitation Message delivered

tunnel.	<i>d'un long tunnel.</i>	<p><i>ne voyait aucune lumière à la fin d'une ...au bout d'une long ... d'un long tunnel.</i></p> <p>(George was born in a poor family í where í he had four siblings í when his father died he lost hope, he wasn't seeing any light at the end of a í at the end of a long í a long tunnel)</p>	
<p>Making ends meet wasn't easy as the little money he could make from doing menial jobs only helped them to buy what they could eat. Many days he would come to school hungry. They lived one</p>	<p><i>Il était difficile à joindre les deux bouts car la petite somme d'argent qu'il recevait de ses petits travaux ne suffisait seulement pour la nourriture. A plusieurs fois, il</i></p>	<p><i>Donc joindre les deux bouts était difficile parce que l'argent qu'il a eu les aidait seulement à acheter à manger. Plusieurs jours il venait à l'école affamé parce qu'ils</i></p>	<p>Expression is interpreted Message faithfully rendered</p>

day at a time.	<i>venait à l'école affamé. Ils vivaient une journée à la fois.</i>	<i>vivaient un jour à la fois</i> (So it was difficult to make ends meet because the money he got only helped in buying food. Several days he would come to school hungry since they were living one day at a time.)	
Getting a scholarship to Starehe school was a dream come true, but he was not out of the woods yet.	<i>L'obtention de la bourse de Starehe était pour lui un rêve réalisé, mais il n'était pas encore au bout de ses peines.</i>	<i>avoir cette bourse de Starehe était pour lui un rêve réalisé, mais il avait toujours des problèmes,</i> (Getting this scholarship was a dream come true for him, but he still had problems.)	Expression not accurately interpreted, Message rendered
His story is one of the success stories from a marginalised	<i>Son histoire fait parties des histoires de réussite des</i>	<i>son histoire représente la réussite dans une</i>	Expression interpreted Omission of oasis

<p>community; an oasis in a desert. Where there is a will, there is a way.</p>	<p><i>communautés défavorisées; un oasis dans un désert. Si on veut, on peut.</i></p>	<p><i>région marginalisée. Si on veut, on peut. Merci.</i> (His story represents success from a marginalised region. Where there is a will, there is a way.)</p>	<p>in a desert Message rendered adequately</p>
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Analysis of the Rendition of Interpreter 2

Interpreter 2, who is more experienced, has interpreted most of the idiomatic expressions. As a result, the overall effect is that the message is closer to the original compared to the first one. When the idiomatic expression was not interpreted as in the first instance above, the intensity of the message was reduced. This was a direct consequence of the omission of the expression.

This interpreter doesn't have too many mistakes as it appears, but below are some of the glaring ones identified.

1. Redundancies

The interpreter is redundant in one of the occasions when he says, ‘George was born in a poor family í where í he had four siblings í when his father died he lost hope, he wasn’t seeing any light **at the end of a í at the end of a long í a long tunnel**’

2. Wrong Choice of Word

The interpreter has used the wrong word in rendering the segment, ‘they become the village laughing stock’ as ‘ils sont les objets de **rigole**’. The correct version in French should have been ‘ils deviennent des objets de *derision/ridicule*’ instead of *rigole*, which is actually a verb, as opposed to the required noun.

3. Omissions

In the last paragraph, the interpreter has left out ‘an oasis in the desert’ entirely. However, this has not had a major impact on the message and the other details bring out the intention of the speaker adequately.

Conclusion.

The interpreter had a more complete rendition of the speech compared to the first, but still had challenges with some of the idiomatic expression. The errors committed are around the idiomatic expressions. He attained a higher success by using omission as a strategy, but to a more effective level than the first interpreter. Omission therefore can be an effective strategy in simultaneous interpreting if well executed.

4.3. Speech 2: Summary of Errors when working from L2(French) into L1(English)

4.3.1. Introduction

In this section, the study focuses on the nature of errors made when interpreting from the interpreter's second language to the first language. The speech (appendix 4) was written in French and interpreted into English. We will look at the nature of errors vis-à-vis the speaker's intentions and look at the strategies that the interpreter adopted.

Areas expected to pose a challenge to the interpreter

Just like in the previous section, the speech was expected to challenge the interpreter on the use of idiomatic expressions. The following idiomatic expressions among others were identified for this study.

- *les idées les plus folles*
- aucune **taupe**
- **l'examen blanc.**
- *constamment tordre le cou*
- les plus insolites.
- *pour tâter le terrain,*
- *sous prétexte que*
- nous étions cuits
- *sans ciller*
- *Tous ont éclaté de rire*

4.3.2. Rendition of Interpreter 1

The table below shows the summary of the interpretations of the areas containing the idiomatic expressions vis-à-vis the intention of the speaker and the effect it has on the delivery of the message.

Table 3: Rendition of Interpreter 1.

Sentences containing idioms	Expected rendition	Interpreter 1's rendition	Effect
<i>Quand ils sont inactifs, ils créent les idées les plus folles qu'on peut imaginer.</i>	When idle, they come up with the craziest ideas	they create the most crazy ideas that you could ever imagine	Expression interpreted The message is rendered faithfully
<i>. J'étais chargé de la mission de garder l'entrée pour assurer qu'aucune taupe n'entraît pour écouter nos conversations.</i>	I was in charge of guarding the door to ensure that no mole entered to listen to our conversations.	I was in charge of í ensuring that í of of making sure that nobody would come and find us when we were meeting	Expression is not interpreted Repetition The idea of a -moleø is lost, replaced by -nobodyø
<i>Mais étant donné qu'il y avait plusieurs élèves qui partageaient nos idées, nous étions obligés de réserver</i>	But given that there were many students sharing our ideas, we had to book the conference room, ostensibly to revise	Omitted	Expression not interpreted Message is lost Non translation

<i>la salle des conférences, prétendument pour la révision de l'examen blanc.</i>	for our mock exams.		
<i>Pendant la réunion, l'un de nous a devait constamment tordre le cou pour vérifier que le directeur, qui était surnommé « le chat » n'était pas dans les parages</i>	During the meeting, one of us had to constantly crane his neck to ensure that the principal, who was nicknamed "the cat", was in the vicinity.	during the meeting, one of us would always give us a sign, give us the sign whenever the director would be í or the headmaster would be coming	Expression not interpreted Repetition Rephrasing
<i>Il avait la tendance de marcher tout lentement et doucement dans les bois et d'apparaître inattendu et dans les endroits les plus insolites</i>	He had the tendency to walk slowly and softly in the woods and to appear unexpectedly and in the most unusual places.	he had this habit of always sneaking up on us, and finding us when we are doing wrong things.	Expression not interpreted Mistranslation
<i>Le problème était de trouver une personne fiable, sinon on était</i>	The problem lay in finding a reliable person, otherwise our	The problem was to get a reliable person who could do this,	Expression is interpreted Message is faithfully

<i>cuits.</i>	goose was cooked.	otherwise our goose was cooked.	rendered
<i>Gérer un tel groupe clandestin demandait du courage et pour tâter le terrain, nous avons engagé le service de l'un des préfets.</i>	Managing such a clandestine group required courage and to test the waters, we enlisted the services of one of the school prefects.	We had í to í in order to organise such a big, illegal group one has to be very courageous í we used one of the prefects of the í of the í school,	Expression is not interpreted Hanging sentences leading to Incomplete ideas
<i>Le lendemain, les étudiants ont boycotté le petit déjeuner sous prétexte que le porridge était de mauvaise qualité</i>	The following day, students boycotted breakfast, claiming that the porridge was of bad quality.	therefore one morning we got to the dining hall and we boycotted breakfast pretending that the porridge was bad	Expression is interpreted The idea of the following morning is replaced by one morning ø
<i>Nous nous sommes tous éclatés de rire, y compris le directeur qui nous a ordonné de prendre le petit déjeuner et d'aller en classe.</i>	We all burst out laughing, including the principal, who ordered us to take breakfast and go to class.	all of us burst out laughing because í	Expression interpreted The rest of the message is lot

Analysis of the Rendition

As the table 3 above indicates, where the interpreter correctly rendered the idiomatic expression in the target language, the message turned out to be faithfully interpreted, whereas there were cases of incomplete sentences, and even misinterpretation where they have not been interpreted or wrongly interpreted. Below are some of the errors made by the interpreter

1. Faux-Sens

The segment, 'I was in charge of guarding the door to ensure that no mole entered to listen to our conversation' has been rendered as 'I was in charge of ensuring that of making sure that nobody would come and find us when we are meeting'

The faux-sens appears in the use of 'nobody' instead of 'mole'. This could have arising due to the fact that the interpreter didn't hear it and was trying to fill in the gaps with general knowledge.

This segment also represents the errors of redundancy (in of of)

2. Omission

The interpreter has left a whole segment of the message: 'But given that there were many students sharing our ideas, we had to book the conference room, ostensibly to revise for our mock exams.'

This omission also doubles as a long pause where the interpreter has left the audience listening to nothing. This casts doubts on an interpreter's competence as the audience feels that there is something wrong with the interpreter.

3. Long unfilled pauses

The segment, "We all burst out laughing, including the principal, who ordered us to take breakfast and go to class" is interpreted as "all of us burst out laughing" followed by a long silence.

The impression is that the message is incomplete and the audience would feel so when they have their headphones on.

4. Redundancy

There are instances in the rendition where the interpreter is redundant. For example "the director would be" or "the headmaster would be" in trying to come up with "the school principal".

4.3.3. Rendition of Interpreter 2

Table 4: Summary of the rendition of Interpreter 2 from B to A

Sentences containing idioms	Expected rendition	Interpreter 2's rendition	Effect
Quand ils sont inactifs, ils créent les idées les plus folles qu'on peut imaginer.	When idle, they come up with the craziest ideas	They come up with the most interesting ideas you can think about.	Message is delivered faithfully Expression is interpreted
. J'étais chargé de la mission de garder l'entrée pour assurer	I was in charge of guarding the door to ensure that no mole	I was in charge of guarding the entrance, to ensure	Message is delivered faithfully Expression is

qu'aucune taupe n'entrait pour écouter nos conversations.	entered to listen to our conversations.	that no mole got into the room to listen to our conversations.	interpreted
Mais étant donné qu'il y avait plusieurs élèves qui partageaient nos idées, nous étions obligés de réserver la salle des conférences, prétendument pour la révision de l'examen blanc.	But given that there were many students sharing our ideas, we had to book the conference room, ostensibly to revise for our mock exams.	But given that there were many students sharing our ideas, the room became small and we were forced to reserve it to book the conference room, ostensibly to revise for mock exams	Hesitation on choice of words of reserve/book, otherwise message is delivered at the end faithfully
Pendant la réunion, l'un de nous a devait constamment tordre le cou pour vérifier que le directeur, qui était surnommé « le chat » n'était pas dans les parages	During the meeting, one of us had to constantly crane his neck to ensure that the principal, who was nicknamed "the cat" was in the vicinity.	During the meeting one of us had to constantly crane his neck to ensure that the principal who was also called the cat was not in the in the environs.	Message is delivered Expression is interpreted
Il avait la tendance de marcher tout	He had the tendency to walk slowly and	He had the tendency of walking slowly	Wrong choice of word of unexpected and

lentement et doucement dans les bois et d'apparaître inattendu et dans les endroits les plus insolites	softly in the woods and to appear unexpectedly and in the most unusual places.	and softly in the woods and to appear unexpectedly and in the places you would mostly expect him to be there.	clumsy sentence, But message is delivered at the end. Expression not clearly interpreted
Le problème était de trouver une personne fiable, sinon on était cuits.	The problem lay in finding a reliable person, otherwise our goose was cooked.	The problem was finding somebody that we could trust, otherwise our goose was cooked.	Message is clear Expression is interpreted
Gérer un tel groupe clandestin demandait du courage et pour tâter le terrain, nous avons engagé le service de l'un des préfets.	Managing such a clandestine group required courage and to test the waters, we enlisted the services of one of the school prefects.	You know that managing such a clandestine group needs a lot of courage and to test the waters, we í we í we used one of the prefects of the school.	Hesitation Message is delivered Expression interpreted
Le lendemain, les étudiants ont boycotté le petit déjeuner sous prétexte que le	The following day, students boycotted breakfast, claiming that the porridge was of bad quality.	The following day, students boycotted breakfast saying that the porridge was not of good quality.	Message delivered Expression interpreted

porridge était de mauvaise qualité			
Nous nous sommes tous éclatés de rire, y compris le directeur qui nous a ordonné de prendre le petit déjeuner et d'aller en classe. Cela a terminé tout espoir d'une grève réussie.	We all burst out laughing, including the principal, who ordered us to take breakfast and go to class.	We all burst out laughing, including the principal who ordered us to take the breakfast and go to class, and that is how our hope of organising a strike in school ended. Thank you.	Message clearly delivered Expression interpreted

Analysis of the rendition

The following errors occurred in the rendition;

When we compare the original text in the following segment:

-But given that there were many students sharing our ideas, we had to book the conference room, ostensibly to revise for our mock exams

And the interpreter's rendition:

-But given that there were many students sharing our ideas, the room became small and we were forced to *reserve ... to book* the conference room, ostensibly to revise for our mock exams

The interpretation is complete, but there are errors as follows:

1. Addition

The interpreter has added the idea that 'the room became small' which is not in the original text. It however has no negative impact on the message as it justifies the reason for booking another room.

2. Redundancy

The interpreter is redundant in the segment when saying 'to reserve ... to book'. These are synonyms within the context and can be used interchangeably. It was unnecessary for the interpreter to change his mind on the vocabulary.

3. Wrong Choice of Word

There are instances where the interpreter uses the word 'unexpected' instead of 'not expect' in trying to interpret the segment 'he would in places you would not expect him to be'.

4. Summary

The interpreter adopted a more complete rendition compared to when working from English into French. Most of the idiomatic expressions were interpreted. Where they were omitted, the interpreter was still able to render the intention of the speaker to a large extent. Apart from omission, he also adopted the use of paraphrasing and reformulation to achieve a more accurate rendition.

4.4. Comparison of Errors in ‘A’ Language and ‘B’ Language

4.4.1. Introduction

In this section, the study will look comparatively at the nature of errors made by the interpreters when working from their A language into B language and when working from their B language into A language.

Errors around the Idiomatic Expressions

4.4.2. Speech 1: From A to B

The table below summarises the number of errors noted from the two interpreters working from English (A) to French (B)

Table 5; Number of errors from A to B

Error	Interpreter 1	Interpreter 2	Total
Grammatical errors	12	4	16
Hesitation	8	5	13
Omission	4	0	4
Long pause	2	0	2
Additions	1	0	1
Wrong choice of word	2	2	4
Contre-sens	2	0	2
Faux-sens	1	0	1
Incomplete sentences	2	0	2
Redundancies	2	2	4
TOTAL	34	13	47

From the table above, we realise that the student interpreter committed more mistakes than the more experienced graduate interpreter in each category.

In general however, we see that close to a third of all their errors are grammatical. This could be explained by the fact that they are working towards their second language.

The second most frequent error in this speech is hesitation. The cause of this is most likely the lack of anticipation of unfamiliar or unfamiliar vocabulary. In our case, it's most probably due to the idiomatic expressions. This is supported by the fact that the 4 omissions by the first interpreter involved the idiomatic expressions. This could have contributed to the grammatical errors since most of the instances where there were grammatical errors, the interpreter encountered an idiomatic expression whose equivalent in the target language was not immediately available. We can assume that the idiomatic expressions played a major part in the major errors recorded in this speech.

4.4.3. Speech two: From B to A

Table 6: Number of errors from French to English

Error	Interpreter 1	Interpreter 2	Total
Grammatical errors	2	0	2
Hesitation	8	2	10
Omission	2	0	2
Long pause	0	0	0
Additions	1	0	1
Wrong choice of word	3	2	5
Contre-sens	0	0	0
Faux-sens	1	0	1
Incomplete sentences	1	0	1
Redundancies	6	3	9
TOTAL	24	7	31

In this speech, the most errors recorded are by speaker 1, who had 8 instances of hesitation. The same interpreter also recorded 2 grammatical errors and 2 omissions, both involving idiomatic expressions. On 3 occasions, the interpreter used a wrong choice of word. There were 6 cases of redundancies where the interpreter either repeated the same sentence or used different words to re-express it. To an extent, given that these errors involved the idiomatic expressions, we can assume that it played a role.

4.4.4. Deviation in Errors in the two Speeches

Table 7; Deviation of errors

Error	FROM A TO B	FROM B TO A	DEV
Grammatical errors	16	2	+14
Hesitation	13	10	+3
Omission	4	2	+2
Long pause	2	0	+2
Additions	1	1	0
Wrong choice of word	4	5	-1
Contre-sens	2	0	+2
Faux-sens	1	1	0
Incomplete sentences	2	1	+1
Redundancies	4	9	-5
TOTAL	47	31	+16

From the table above, we notice that there are 16 more errors when the interpreters worked from A to B compared to when they worked from B to A. the most glaring of those differences is seen in grammatical errors where there were 14 more mistakes in the same

parameters. On the flip side, we noted more redundancies when working into the A language. There were 13 cases of hesitation in language B and 10 in language A. All of these were recorded in areas where there were idiomatic expressions in both speeches. The same applied to the instances where the interpreters used the wrong choice of word.

4.4.5. Summary

In this section, the researcher will assess some of the strategies adopted by the interpreters and to what extent they were successful. It is clear that some of the errors occurred because of the strategies that were employed in the booth.

The constraints that the interpreters encountered were majorly semantic in nature. These constraints compel the interpreter to exert a far more laborious effort than those originated by syntactic constraints. Lexical incompatibility between SL and TL gives rise to slips, hesitations and even pauses, due to the interpreter's struggle with a difficult jargon term, a neologism or a blended word. To mitigate semantic constraints, the interpreter should be fully familiar with the speaker's topic and/or register.

The first interpreter, who is still a student, had more difficulties given the nature of errors indicated in the respective tables.

The relative successes of the second interpreter, who is more experienced in the field were majorly due to the strategies employed. Some of the strategies include the following;

Comprehension Tactics

From the analysis we realise that the interpreters struggled with comprehension of the idiomatic expressions. Some of the recommended strategies include

Omission

This strategy was employed by both interpreters working both ways. It helps to avoid wasting time looking for the exact equivalent of terminologies or, in our case, embedded clauses when the global idea of the message can still be rendered when those segments are omitted. The Interpretive Theory of Sense plays a major role here as the interpreters were more successful when paying more attention to the global message than to the individual words in the speeches.

Reconstructing the Segment with the help of the Context

In many instances where the interpreters didn't interpret the idiomatic expressions whose equivalents they did not have, they reconstructed the segment within the context of the speech. For example when interpreter 2 was working from French into English (B-A), there was hesitation from this segment: "Managing such a clandestine group required courage and to test the waters, we enlisted the services of one of the prefects."

The interpreter started thus; "You know that managing such a clandestine group needs a lot of courage and to test the waters, we enlisted the services of one of the prefects." The message was still complete under those circumstances. Interpreter 1 also reconstructed a segment to good effect when interpreting from B language to A language (French to English) when faced with the segment "During the meeting, one of us had to constantly crane his neck to ensure that the principal, who was nicknamed 'the cat' was not in the vicinity." The interpreter reconstructed this by saying "during the meeting, one of us would always give us a sign whenever the headmaster would be coming." This interpretation lives certain elements of the speech out, but within the context, still contains the main message. Again, the Theory of Sense comes into play here as the interpreter is not blocked by mere words

Preventive Tactics

Some preventive tactics were also practised by the interpreters in order to come up with coherent messages. Some of them include:

Explaining or Paraphrasing.

In segments that were not clear, the interpreters tried to give an explanation or paraphrase to come up with a message. For example when working from English to French, interpreter 1 paraphrased the first segment of the speech as follows;

Original speech: -As a young man with ambitions, you have to stand your ground, fight tooth and nail to make it in lifeø The interpreter said, -As a young man you have to be strong to overcome the challengesø This version is short and to the point because even though it omits some elements in the original speech, the essential information is still available to the audience. That is the main tenet of the Theory of Sense.

Lengthening or shortening the Ear-Voice span

All through the renditions, we realise the effects of following the speaker too closely. Where the idiomatic expressions were not interpreted, the interpreter was too close to the speaker and did not have the time to hear the full expressions. This caused silence in many instances, especially with interpreter 2 who had 4 omissions when working from A to B (table 7) and 2 omissions when working from B to A (table 8). Since the first interpreter was not following too closely the speaker, anticipability was more enhanced and the interpreter could come up with a close equivalent of the expressions. From tables 7 and 8, interpreter 2 had no omissions. This is largely because of lengthening the Ear-Voice span.

5.0. CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Introduction

From the analysis and data collected, the following summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations were made. The findings were based on the objectives of the study. The researcher had intended to establish the challenges faced by interpreters when they encounter speeches containing embedded structures, and find coping strategies adopted by more experienced interpreters.

5.2. Achievements

The main objective of this study was to investigate the extent to which embedded structures may hinder effective interpretation. From the research findings, the researcher can safely say that this objective has been met as the embedded structures have posed a challenge to both interpreters, though at varying levels.

As for the second and third objectives which were to establish how experienced interpreters cope with the challenges of idiomatic expressions to determine the skills that an apprentice may adapt to overcome the possible challenges posed by idiomatic expressions respectively, the researcher feels that they have been partly met due to the fact the graduate interpreter, who has been in the field, had less challenges than the apprentice. The limitation is that a more experienced interpreter was not tested for this exercise.

5.3. Summary of Findings

From the study, it has been established that interpreters have difficulties with embedded structures. As shown in tables 7 and 8, upcoming interpreters find more problems than experienced interpreters. Table 7 which represents the errors of the two interpreters working from their A language to B language, shows that the less experienced student interpreter

made 34 errors compared to the second interpreter's 13. Table 8 which gives a summary of errors committed when interpreting from B language to A language also shows that the student interpreter had more errors (24) as compared to the more experienced interpreter (7)

We have also found that the successes depend on the strategies adopted in the booth. Some of the best practices include adopting strategies such as shortening or lengthening the Ear-Voice span, where the second interpreter listened more in order to render the messages more completely.

Another strategy that can go a long way in dealing with the embedded structures is paraphrasing or explaining a segment, but always within the context. The message will still be delivered even if the particular expressions are not rendered in the target language.

Comprehension challenges can be surmounted by reconstructing the segment with the help of the context.

When these strategies are not employed, the result is that there are many errors such as omissions, hesitations, and even contre-sens

5.4. Relevance of The Interpretative theory (The Theory of Sense)

Our study was based on the Interpretative theory. This theory argues that interpreters don't work merely with linguistic meaning, but also needs to take into account what has already been said, the setting in which the interpreting is taking place and the interpreter's own world knowledge. Based on this argument, the interpreters strive to render their message paying more attention to the content rather than the linguistic meaning. As such, the strategies that are adopted by the interpreter are adopted considering the interpreter's own knowledge of the subject. Embedded structures that this study was based on are linguistic in nature. If the

interpreter had found a way of explaining the message without necessarily getting stuck with the equivalent expressions in the target language, the speech would flow more effortlessly.

The more experiences speaker was successful because he was not distracted by the linguistic meaning, but rather concentrated on the message that the speaker wanted to pass across. Even in cases where he omitted the idiomatic expressions that posed a challenge, he was able to reconstruct a message that was relevant and complete using the strategies that have been outlined elsewhere in this chapter.

5.5. Conclusions

The study concludes that there are many constraints to interpreting and embedded structures have an impact on upcoming interpreters. By adopting certain strategies, these challenges can be overcome as the research findings indicate. An interpreter therefore needs to learn these skills to be able to perform optimally in the booth. This also validates the importance of having training centres that are equipped with the required expertise in the field to enable learners to acquire the necessary skills to overcome the challenges posed.

5.6. Limitations of the Study and Suggestions for Further Research

Through PAMCIT, the University of Nairobi is the only centre in the country offering professional training in interpretation. As a result, it was not possible to carry out the research with many subjects. The university admits on average five interpreting students annually and not all of them have French and English as their A and B languages. This limited our scope in the study.

To carry out a more comprehensive study, it would be beneficial for the researcher to have access to more interpreters through networking with other universities offering the same course.

5.7. Recommendations

The study recommends that interpreters acquire best practices that will enable them to be effective in the booth. These practices are best acquired through intensive training and exposure to different kinds of speeches.

Trainers should use a variety of speeches that cover not only current affairs, but varying linguistic complexities. Embedded structures need to be used more often in practice speeches to make interpreters aware of them and learn early how to deal with them.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1 : Discours : souvenirs de l'école secondaire

Si vous avez été dans une école secondaire dans ce pays, surtout des écoles des garçons, vous comprenez bien sûr que les étudiants sont créatifs. Quand ils sont inactifs, ils créent les idées les plus folles qu'on peut imaginer. Je me souviens de mes expériences avec nostalgie. A la troisième classe à l'école secondaire, nous avons menacé de faire la grève puisque les professeurs aussi étaient en grève. Nous devions concevoir un plan d'action. Nous nous réunissions dans une chambre dans les dortoirs. J'étais chargé de la mission de garder l'entrée pour assurer qu'aucune taupe n'entrait pour écouter nos conversations.

Mais étant donné qu'il y avait plusieurs élèves qui partageaient nos idées, nous étions obligés de réserver la salle des conférences, prétendument pour la révision de l'examen blanc. Pendant la réunion, l'un de nous a devait constamment tordre le cou pour vérifier que le directeur, qui était surnommé « le chat » n'était pas dans les parages. Il avait la tendance de marcher tout lentement et doucement dans les bois et d'apparaître inattendu et dans les endroits les plus insolites.

Notre plan était d'acheter de l'essence pour brûler l'un des dortoirs. Pour y arriver, nous nous sommes convenus de contribuer de l'argent et le donner à quelqu'un qui pourrait en acheter. Le problème était de trouver une personne fiable, sinon on était cuits.

Gérer un tel groupe clandestin demandait du courage et pour tâter le terrain, nous avons engagé le service de l'un des préfets. Le lendemain, les étudiants ont boycotté le petit déjeuner sous prétexte que le porridge était de mauvaise qualité. Conséquemment, il y avait un affrontement entre les étudiants et les cuisiniers. Le directeur, comme d'habitude, est arrivé soudainement et a demandé ce qui se passait. Le préfet présélectionné a dû présenter nos problèmes. Les choses ont pris une voie inattendue quand le directeur a demandé de

goûter le porridge lui-même. Après cela, il a demandé au préfet de le goûter aussi. Nous étions tous choqué quand il a bu toute une tasse du porridge. Quand le directeur lui demandé son opinion, il a répondu sans ciller qu'il l'avait goûté et qu'il l'était impropre à la consommation humaine. Nous nous sommes tous éclatés de rire, y compris le directeur qui nous a ordonné de prendre le petit déjeuner et d'aller en classe. Cela a terminé tout espoir d'une grève réussie.

Appendix 2 : Interpreter 1, Speech 1: French into English (B-A)

Ah, good morning. If you studied in the secondary schools in Kenya, you would know that the boys are very creative – they create the most crazy ideas that you could ever imagine. I remember my experience with nostalgia. When I was in secondary school, we tried to – make – to go on strike when the teachers were also on strike. – as always, we would meet in the rooms in one of the dormitories. I was in charge of – ensuring that – of making sure that nobody would come and find us when we were meeting, but since we – there were so many of us who were into the plan, the room was too small, so we decided to get a bigger room, and during the – during the meeting, one of would always give us a sign, give us the sign whenever the director would be – or the headmaster would be coming. – because – he had this habit of always sneaking up on us, and finding us when we are doing wrong things. Our plan was to buy petrol in order to burn the dormitories, and therefore we collected some money and gave it to one of us. The problem was to get a reliable person who could do this, otherwise our goose was cooked. We had – to – in order to organise such a big, illegal group one has to be very courageous – we used one of the prefects of the – of the – school, and then, – therefore one morning we got to the dining hall and we boycotted breakfast pretending that the porridge was bad, uhm, in the process, uhm, the headmaster came, and he wanted to know what was happening. The chosen prefect – uhm, came forward. However things took an unexpected turn when the headmaster asked to taste, – wanted to taste the porridge, and in turn – after that he asked the prefect to taste the porridge. We were shocked because the prefect drank all the full cup of porridge, uhm – and the, and the headmaster asked what was happening and, uhm, – he said, the prefect said that the porridge was not good, all of us burst out laughing because – and just like that, that was the end of our – our strike. Thank you.

Appendix 3: Interpreter 2: Speech 1: French to English (B-A)

Good afternoon í If you studied in Kenyan high schools then it's no doubt that boys are very creative, especially when they are idle. They come up with the most interesting ideas you can think about. I remember my experience with nostalgia. When i was in form three in high school, we threatened to go on strike because the teachers also were on strike. We had to come up with an action plan. Usually we were meeting in í a room in the dormitories, and I was in charge of guarding the entrance, to ensure that no mole got into the room to listen to our conversations. But given that there were many students sharing our ideas, the room became small and we were forced to reserve í to book the conference room, ostensibly to revise for mock exams. During the meeting one of us had to constantly crane his neck to ensure that the principal who was also called the cat was not in the in the environs. He was called the cat because he had the tendency of walking slowly and softly in the woods and to appear unexpectedly and in the places you would mostly expect him to be there. We had to buy petrol to burn one of the dormitories and to do so, we agreed to contribute money and give it to somebody who could go and buy it for us. The problem was finding somebody that we could trust, otherwise our goose was cooked. You know that managing such a clandestine group needs a lot of courage and to test the waters, we í we í we used one of the prefects of the school. The following day, students boycotted breakfast saying that the porridge was not of good quality. Consequently there was a standoff between the cooks and the students. The principal as usual, appeared from nowhere and asked what was going. Theí the selected prefect had to present our problems, but things took a completely different turn when the principal himself asked to taste the porridge. Afterwards, he asked the prefect toí goute í to taste the porridge as well. We were all shocked when he drank a whole cup of the porridge and when the principal asked him his opinion, he said without blinking, that he had tasted it and that it was not fit for human consumption. We all burst out laughing, including the

principal who ordered us to take the breakfast and go to class, and that is how our hope of organising a strike in school ended. Thank you.

Appendix 4: English Speech: Survival

It's not always easy growing up in rural Kenya, or any other rural area in sub-Saharan Africa for that matter. There is so much against you; poverty, inadequate infrastructure, poor leadership just to mention but a few. As a young man with ambitions, you have to *stand your ground, fight tooth and nail* with the adversities to *make it* in life. The rural population is often a blend of the old, often illiterate and the young who are still trying to find their way through basic education. Their visible role models are teachers they encounter in their primary schools. The other working class, are all in the cities looking for *greener pastures*.

A young man thus finds himself *at a crossroads*; juggling between continuing with education beyond primary school or joining the informal sector of employment; as motorbike riders offering cheap transport, blacksmiths, farmers í . Those who want to continue with education have the challenge of school fees. Those who drop out often get frustrated and end up joining gangs that rob other villagers of their hard earned cash, consuming cheap liquor and marrying equally underprivileged women. *To kill two birds with one stone*, a few determined ones find odd jobs to help pay their school fees and for upkeep. They are the envy of their communities years later should their gamble pay off. If they *throw in the towel*, they become the village *laughing stock*. Their contemporaries mock them for having put *all their eggs in one basket*; education.

Sponsors are few and far between, though in the recent times there has been an increase in companies and NGOs sponsoring students from underprivileged communities across Kenya.

George Otieno, currently working as a manager in one of the top banks in the country, had to repeat standard eight three times before *lady luck smiled on him* at the fourth attempt. Starehe boys centre accepted his application for scholarship and educated him for free through his

secondary education. If he had given up, his life would have *taken a completely different turn*.

“Never give up,” he says often when we meet.

He was born in a poor family where he was the first born in a family of five. When his father died, he lost hope and saw *no light at the end of a long tunnel*. He had to be a man at a tender age of 12 and support his mum in raising the five of them. *Making ends meet* wasn't easy as the little money he could make from doing menial jobs only helped them to buy what they could eat. Many days he would come to school hungry. They lived one day at a time.

Getting a scholarship to Starehe school was a dream come true, but he was not *out of the woods* yet. Being the head of a young family when you are still a student isn't easy. To do so with both parents dead, is impossible. His mum passed on when he went to high school. Being the eldest of five orphans in a community where no one really cares would discourage even the most strong willed, but George never gave up hope. The little allowance he got from his scholarship came in handy as he would be able to buy food for his siblings.

To cut a long story short, George made it through high school and pursued Actuarial Science at the Maseno University. He was able to see his younger siblings through school.

His story is one of the success stories from a marginalised community; *an oasis in a desert*.

Where there is a will, there is a way.

Appendix 5: Interpreter 1: English into French (A-B)

Bon après-midi,

C'est pas toujours facile, se grandir dans les régions, des milieux rurales en Afrique, même au Kenya. Il y a beaucoup de pauvreté, l'infrastructure n'est pas bon et beaucoup, il y a beaucoup de défis. En tant qu'une qu'une, un homme un jeune homme, il faut être forte pour surmonter les défis. (pause) et il y a toujours des personnes illettrées et même les gens qui n'ont pas de une la direction dans leur vies, et il y a aussi les gens qui cherchent les emplois dans les grandes villes, et le jeune homme se trouve dans au carrefour il doit uhm, mais peut-être chercher l'emploi dans le secteur informel et il peut peut-être chercher de travail en tant que motocycliste ou trouver d'autres sources de d'emploi. Ceux qui continuent avec leur éducation, il y a toujours des défis, et si on quitte l'école il faut donc peut-être chercher d'autres moyens par exemple être voleur et et quand il est temps de se marier, ils trouvent des femmes qui ne sont pas éduquées. il faut toujours chercher l'argent pour le uhm pour combler le besoin de chaque jour et si on perd l'espoir, tout le monde va les moquer. Et donc quelquefois il faut mettre tous les efforts dans le uhm il faut mettre tous leurs uhm

okay nous avons Georges Otieno, qui est directeur dans l'un des banques grand banque au Kenya. Et il a uhm il a été inscrit dans l'un des écoles secondaires qui s'appelle Starehe, et il a trouvé la bourse et il a fini ses éducation. Il est né dans une famille très pauvre, et il devait soutenir ses frères et ses sœurs il devait être un homme à l'âge de 12 ans et ce n'était pas facile. la vie était dur. Et le petit argent qu'il avait était suffisamment pour la nourriture seulement. donc, la bourse de Starehe l'a aidé beaucoup, mais il restait encore beaucoup de défis. Ce n'est pas facile d'être un homme et une étudiant en même temps et faire cela sans les deux parents c'est impossible. Uhm il était la tête de cinq orphelins dans une communauté où il n'y avait personne qui se préoccupait de ses enfants.

Mais la bourse a aidé Georges à soutenir ses frères et ses sœurs. Après cela Georges est allé à l'université de Maseno, il a trouvé un bon emploi. Son histoire est un exemple d'une source d'espoir. Merci

Appendix 6: Interpreter 2: English into French (A-B)

Bonjour

Grandir dans un milieu rural au Kenya ou tout autre part í í í tout autre pays en Afrique subsaharienne n'est pas facile. il y a beaucoup de défis í mauvaise gouvernance, l'infrastru í mauvaise infrastructure et ainsi de suite, mais comme un jeune homme, vous devez travailler pour réussir. La population rurale souvent est composée des vieux, illettrés et les jeunes qui sont encore à la recherche de l'enseignement de base. Leurs modèles sont les professeurs qu'ils rencontrent dans les écoles primaires. Les autres salariés sont dans les grandes villes à la recherche des emplois. Un jeune homme donc se trouve dans la confusion entre le choisir de continuer avec l'éducation ou de joindre un le secteur informel de l'emploi comme l'opération de la moto, qu'on appelle "bodaboda" qui offre le transport moins cher í vous pouvez être í fermier par exemple pour gagner l'argent. Ceux qui choisissent de continuer avec l'éducation ont le défi de frais de scolarité í de scolarité. Ceux qui laissent tomber souvent se trouvent frustrés et se joint avec les groupes clandestins qui volent des í des villageois í et consomment l'alcool moins cher, et se marient avec les filles qui sont moins éduquées í et pour fait deux pierres í deux coups d'une pierre, í pour payer leur scolarité et subsistance, í ils sont les envies de leurs camarades quand ils réussissent, mais s'ils laissent tomber, ils sont les objets de rigole, parce qu'ils avaient mis tous leurs ò ufs dans un panier

Les sponsors ne sont pas nombreux mais récemment il y a une augmentation du nombre des ONGs qui sponsorisent les étudiants dans les milieux moins privilégiés. Georges Otieno qui travaille avec une banque a dû redoubler la classe terminale à l'école primaire, avant í que Starehe a accepté sa demande de bourse et l'a éduqué pour í gratuitement. S'il avait laissé tomber, il aurait eu des problèmes. Ne laissez jamais í tomber, n'abandonnez jamais, il me dit toujours

Georges était né dans une famille pauvre où il avait quatre frères et sœurs. Quand son père est mort, il a perdu l'espoir, il ne voyait aucune lumière à la fin d'un long tunnel. Il a dû aider sa mère à élever les autres. Donc joindre les deux bouts était difficile parce que l'argent qu'il a eu les aidait seulement à acheter à manger. Plusieurs jours, il venait à l'école affamé parce qu'ils vivaient un jour à la fois. Pour avoir cette bourse de Starehe était pour lui un rêve réalisé, mais il avait toujours des problèmes, être chef d'une famille jeune quand vous êtes encore étudiant n'est pas facile, mais le faire quand vous êtes orphelin, est impossible. Sa mère est morte quand il était à l'école secondaire. Étant l'aîné de cinq orphelins, dans une communauté où personne se fiche des autres est difficile, mais Georges n'a pas laissé tomber. La subsistance, les subventions qu'il a reçus de sa bourse ont aidé à acheter la nourriture pour ses frères. En bref, il a réussi à l'école secondaire et a poursuivi la science actuarielle à l'université Maseno. Il a pu voir ses frères finir l'école. Son histoire représente la réussite dans une région marginalisée. Si on veut, on peut. Merci.

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