# Simultaneously Interpreting Allusive Elements in Some of Obama's Speeches: Challenges and Strategies

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#### Abstract

Simultaneous Interpretation (SI) is quite a pressurizing cognitive process per se. Media Interpretation (MI) is more coercing being processed remotely without paralinguistic aiding factors. Lingua cultural challenges, like allusions make an interpreter's task even more pressing. References to public figures, historical events, fictional characters, cultural aspects or proverbial clichés call for associations that go beyond mere substitution. Leppihalme (1997) categorization of allusions is adopted in the present study [allusions proper (noun phrase and key phrase) and stereotyped allusions]. The source discourse (SD) is 19 of Obama's speeches interpreted into Arabic by various TV channels, like Al- Jazeera and Al-Ghad. Being a celebrated orator keen on public support, Obama resorts to using cultural, historical, religious and national allusions that have specific connotations shared by members of his cultural community. Riccardi's (2005) interpretive strategies of production and emergency are employed to examine how interpreters transfer different allusion types into the target discourse (TD). The most frequently used strategy is omission (35.7%) due to cognitive and time constraints. Interpreters resort to morphosyntactic transformation (21.4%) in an attempt to render an accurate, acceptable equivalent. The least frequently employed strategies are expansion and approximation as the SI interpreter does not have the time or cognitive capacity for adding linguistic units or rendering a close meaning without hitting on the exact substitution. Generalization, transcoding and compression are also employed. Strategies, which involve inventing variant TD message like Parallel reformulation, are used, however in few emergency cases. MI interpreters employ strategies to achieve accuracy, comprehensibility and acceptance.

#### **Keywords**

Simultaneous and Media interpretation, strategies, allusions, speeches, omission, morphosyntactic transformation, generalization, transcoding, compression, expansion, approximation, parallel reformulation.

# الترجمة الفورية للعناصر التلميحية في بعض خطابات أوباما: التحديات والاستراتيجيات

#### المستخلص

الترجمة الفورية هي عملية إدراكية معقدة في حد ذاتها تشكل ضغطاً كبيراً على المترجم. أما الترجمة الفورية عبر وسائل الإعلام فتمثل عبئًا أكثر من الترجمة الفورية نفسها، إذ تتم دون عوامل مساعدة خارج نطاق اللغة. التحديات اللغوية الثقافية التي تكمن في التلميحات، تجعلُ مهمة المترجم الفوري أكثر صعوبة بما كان. التلميحات التي تشير إلى الشخصيات العامة والأحداث التاريخية والشخصيات الخيالية والجوانب الثقافية أو الكليشيهات تتطلب تنويعات لغوية تتجاوز مجرد عملية الاستبدال. اعتمدت الدراسة الحالية على تقسيم ليبيهاليم (١٩٩٧) للتلميحات في الدراسة الحالية والذي يتضمن [أسماء الأعلام، والإشارات بالجمل والإشارات النمطية]. يقوم البُّحِثُ على تحليل ١٩ خطاباً لأوباما مترجماً إلى العربية من قبل قنوات تليفزيونية مختلفة، مثلُ الجزيرة والغد. كونه خطيبًا مفوها مشهورًا حريصًا على استقطاب الرأى العام ، يلجأ أوباما إلى استخدام التلميحات الثقافية والتاريخية والدينية والوطنية ذات الدلالات المعروفة لدى من يشاركه محيطه الثقافي. كما يقوم البحث على تبنى استراتيجيات الإنتاج والطوارىء لريكاردى(٢٠٠٥) المستخدمة في تحليل الترجمة الفورية لدراسة كيفية قيام المترجمين الفوريين بترجمة أنواع مختلفة من التلميحات إلى لغة الخطاب المستهدف. وقد تبت من خلال الدراسة التحليلية أن الإستراتيجية الأكثر استخداماً من قبل المترجمين الفوريين هي الحذف بنسبة (٣٥,٧٪) بسبب القيود الزمنية والذهنية. كما يلجأ المترجمون الفوريون أيضًا إلى تغيير التركيب الصرفي والنحوى بنسبة (٢١,٤٪) كمحاولة لايجاد معادل دقيق ومقبول. كما وجد أيضاً أن أقل الاستراتيجيات المستخدمة هي زيادة المبنى والمعنى والتقريب لأن المترجم الفورى لا يتوافر لديه الوقت أو القدرة الذهنية لإضافة وحدات المبنى والمعنى أو ايجاد معانً مقاربة دون أن يتوصل إلى المعادل الدقيق تستخدم أيضاً استراتيجيات التعميم، النقل الحرفي والاختصار بالضغط. ويتم أيضاً استخدام الاستراتيجيات، التي تتضمن ايجاد رسالة مغايرة تتطلب إعادة صياغة موازية، ولكن في حالات قليلة طارئة. كما يستخدم المترجمون الفوريون استراتيجيات لتحقيق الدقة، والاستيعاب، والقبول.

#### الكلمات الدالة:

الترجمة الفورية، الترجمة عبر وسائل الإعلام، الإستراتيجيات، التاميحات الخطب، تغيير التركيب الصرفى والنحوى، التعميم، النقل الحرفى، والاختصار بالضغط، زيادة المبنى والمعنى، التقريب، إعادة الصياغة الموازية.

#### 1Introduction

Simultaneous interpretation (SI) "is a special type of communicative interaction which takes place when members of different language communities engage in cross-language/culture communication, using interpreters as interlingual mediators" (Kohn & Kalina, 1996, p. 118). Accordingly, the simultaneous interpreter attempts to listen to the speaker's verbatim in the source language (SL) and instantly transfers it into a target language (TL) rendition. "This concurrent comprehension of the source language and production of the target language is perhaps the most amazing characteristic of the SI task" (Chang, 2005, p. 10).

Lee (2012) differentiates between "general conference interpreting and live SI on TV in which interpreters are located in a studio receiving incoming video and audio signal through a satellite" (p. 148). The AIIC Technical and Health Committee (2000) dubs this type of interpretation "media interpretation" (MI).

Kruz (2002) indicates that, this mode of live TV interpretation "is generally perceived as being even more stressful than simultaneous interpreting in other settings" (p. 195). She refers this to time and physical constraints, occasional poor sound quality, technical problems, psycho-emotional stress factors of interpreting for millions of audiences and high demand for efficient acoustic and linguistic performance (pp. 195-196).

During MI, no paralinguistic, contextual, multimodal or even non-vocal signals are there for the aid of the interpreter. Therefore, "the anticipation of interpreters is considerably jeopardized and they are much less able to handle unexpected change of direction in the speakers' discourse" (Lee, 2012, p. 148). With sudden extra difficulties of bad signal or mal transmission, the media interpreters are denied elements which allow them "to alleviate the burden of understanding a message expressed only in words" (Riccardi et al., 1998, pp. 95). The devoted attempts to concentrate on the linguistic imparted message notably aggravate the cognitive load.

# 1.1 Theoretical Background

## **1.1.1 Intertextuality**

As a rhetorical device, Sohn (2008) marks the purpose of intertextuality markers, allusions in the present study, in nonliterary texts, as significant in making the author opinions and intention more explicit and intelligible. However, to make the intertextual transformation operative, "the author should consider his or her possible readers' intellectual and cultural receptiveness" (p. 188). Here lies the translator/interpreter's responsibility to address the TA's cognitive and

cultural background in order to retain the original author/speaker's intended message.

As a term, intertextuality has been first introduced by Kristeva in the sixties. She attempts "to combine Saussurean and Bakhtinian theories of language and literature" (Allen, 2022, p. 3). To her, intertextuality is not a mere allusion, parody or quotation, it is a concept that lends itself to "plurality and proliferation (of relations, of meanings)", (Allen, 2022, p. 231).

Kristeva (1969) draws distinction between two types of intertextuality, namely horizontal and vertical. The first type "refers to explicitly demarcated references and has the function of manifesting others' ideas in discourse" (Hodsdon-Champeon, 2010, n.p.). As for vertical intertextuality, it refers to a type of implicit merging of a text into the other to the extent that it may be a constituent of its fabric. This study focuses on vertical intertextuality- on more specifically allusions.

#### 1.1.2 Allusions

Allusion is "a stylistic figure that contains either a citation, or a reference to a literary, historical, mythological, religious or political situation, a fact, a person, fixed in written sources or in conversational speech" (Nikitina et al., 2018, p. 3). Hence, it "conjures up some extra meaning, embodying some quality or characteristic for which the word has come to stand" (Delahunty et al., 2001, p. vii). Hence, they presume awareness of prior, arcane origins of different items, stipulating the abundance of bilingual as well as bicultural abilities. Such abilities enable the translator/interpreter first to identify the allusion in the SD, interpret its connotative shades of meaning-far beyond its denotative ones and later to transfer it in a way that render it assimilated by the TAs as it is in by the SAs.

#### 1.2 Statement of the Problem

Simultaneous Interpretation (SI) is considered a rather demanding, cognitive process per se "on the basis of a one-time presentation of an utterance in a source language" (Pöchhacker, 2004, p. 11). "The main cognitive challenge of simultaneous interpreting is precisely the high pressure on the interpreter's mental resources" (Gile, 2018 p. 535). Such pressure becomes even more tenacious if the source content includes challenging linguistic rhetoric that may need contextual, cultural or even hermeneutic interpretation, and hence translational modification. Problem triggers in the source discourse (SD) are considered perplexing in written translation and even more problematic in oral interpretation.

Such triggers render some translational renditions indecipherable, which may lead to departures or omissions in SI. One of the cultural,

linguistic challenges that can face simultaneous interpreters is allusions as intertextual referents that need to be dexterously transcended into meaningful target renditions. Allusion, thus may be considered "a reference which is indirect in the sense that it calls for associations that go beyond mere substitution of a referent" (Irwin, 2002, p. 521). These allusions can be categorized as a pragmatic element under what Wilson and Sperber (2004) call "implicature" in opposite to "explicit, truth-conditional content" (p. 608). Such rhetorical inferences have their meanings from what participants in the political, communicative situation "may make on the basis of (their understanding of) this speech and its context" (van Dijk, 2005, p. 66).

The data under study in the present paper comprise prewritten political speeches "with a high level of information density as a result of careful preparation or scripting. It is this type of 'high-exposure' TV interpreting scenario" (Pöchhacker, 2011, p. 22). Himood (2010) sees that, in such type of political speeches, elements such as allusions play the role of "a very economical device" that can be employed by political orators, to convey tacitly in a condensed form loads of ideological meaning shades intrinsic in its referring connotations (p. 567). Likewise, Rasheed (2018) asserts that allusion is often used by politicians to enrich meaning, to create a sense of cultural kinship between the speaker and his/her listeners, to refer briefly to people, events or ideas, to draw similarities, to show cultural literacy and to induce in the listeners the sense of being knowledgeable (p. 4). Therefore, if they are employed in "a highly complex discourse interchange where language perception, comprehension, translation and production operations are carried out virtually in parallel", they may impose more defying cognitive load (Russell, 2005, p. 136).

In this political context, the interpretation of allusions, as a sociocultural knowledge, may be comprehendible to the source audiences (SAs) as members of certain discursive communities sharing the same linguistic, cultural, political, historical, religious and institutional background. However, the same allusions may seem implausible to the target audiences (TAs) sharing different cognitive fabric.

All and above, during the heat of the MI process of interpreting key political speeches, the interpreter has first to identify the utterance as an allusion, then to figure out its intended, pragmatic, implicit meanings and finally to opt for a suitable strategy for transferring it to the TL. Accordingly, allusions employed in political speeches need a rather meticulous, dexterous means of transference, as opting for erroneous or irrelevant translational choices, like mere literal rendition, may lead to

"distorting the ideological force and giving birth to a translation blunder" (Sanatifar, 2015, p. 136), which might have drastic effects.

#### 1.3 Previous Studies

Some studies tackle the idea of transferring culture bound elements in general and allusions in particular as a rhetorical tool in translated works. However, a few tackled this linguistic phenomenon in simultaneously delivered discourse.

For instance, Pirnajmuddin and Niknasab (2011) conduct a comparative study on translating allusions as elements of intercultural intertextuality. The study is an attempt to examine the strategies adopted by three translators to translate PNs (proper names) and KPs (keyphrases) in an English novel into Persian. The analysis is based on examining the actualization, frequency and efficiency of the translating strategies suggested by Leppihalme (1997) in the translated texts. The study exhibits that, the most frequently employed strategy is that of retention of names and the least is omission.

Salehi (2013) has a rather similar study exploring the translation of allusions as a culture-specific item using also Leppihalme's (1997) strategies, though applied to subtitling from English into Persian. It employs intertextuality as a framework to inspect the most frequently used translation strategies of allusions on both macro- and micro-levels. "The data include the allusions on verbal auditory and verbal visual channel collected from four films" (p. 18). The quantitative analysis conducted on subtitles reveals that undergoing minimum change and making no alteration of the proper name are the most frequently used translation strategies. Besides, the study displays that the functions of allusions decline or adjusted on macro- and micro-levels of translation.

Sanatifar and Daghigh (2015) conduct a study that deals with translating "the so-called 'allusive implicature" "as a distinctive feature of the political discourse" (p. 520). They employ Gutt's theory of relevance (1991) on three parts of Obama's victory speech (2008) loaded with explicate allusions. They conduct a survey on a sample of target audience (TA) Iranians, giving them two translated copies of texts (one with the allusions non-explicated and the other explicated). The study reveals that segments with explicated allusions are rated as clearer by the Persian TAs. They conclude that, the translator as a mediator "moderately enhances relevance of the translation to its target audience due to an increase of the contextual effects and a decrease of the processing effort" (p. 520).

Other works tackle the idea of cultural elements in general in the interpretation of political speeches. For instance in an M.A. thesis, Jaradat

(2010) tackles the idea of the drastic influence of inappropriate renditions in interpreting political speeches. Being of prime importance, political speeches put a certain pressure on simultaneous interpreters that may influence the strategies they opt for during performance. The thesis aims at evaluating the performance of three professional interpreters of Al-Jazeera, Al-Arabiya and Al-Masriya who simultaneously interpreted Obama's Cairo speech (2009) and at identifying the interpreting strategies adopted by the three in translating culture-bound elements as proposed by Newmark (2000). The data analysis reveals that among different interpretation strategies "transcoding was found to be the most widely used strategy with message abandonment coming second. In most cases, the adoption of either strategy results in awkward and unidiomatic renditions that do not appeal to the ears of the recipients" (p. iv).

The present study is hinged upon rather different focus. The idea of translating allusive implicatures in SI mode, MI in particular within the realm of political speeches. The study aims at probing the competence of MI interpreters in employing interpretation strategies under nerve-racking conditions to overcome the defying dilemma of perplexing allusions. The pivot thus tackles the final oral product of SI, rather than the cognitive part of the interpreters' performance under certain mental, working conditions of saturating pressure.

## 1.4 Aim of Study

Jardat (2010) believes that "little attention has been given to investigating the interpreters' strategies and trying to understand how interpreters deal with difficulties in their tasks, particularly in the context of political speeches" (p. 1). Therefore, the present paper aims at probing allusions as a rhetoric, challenging translational problem in political speeches as SDs and how they are simultaneously interpreted into TDs. The speeches under study are simultaneously interpreted from English into Arabic and broadcasted in some of the Arabic satellite channels. They are mainly instances of Obama's rhetoric, which exhibit allusive referents as a challenging discursive feature. The analysis pivots around the interpretative, manipulative strategies by which simultaneous interpreters transfer allusions with their lingua cultural implicatures. The analysis is conducted from a pragma-contextual perspective, aiming to reveal how the presumably professional simultaneous interpreters convey the intended source message into evocative renditions received by the TAs.

## 1.5 Research Questions

1. What are the instances of cultural political implicatures and allusive devices manifested and signaled in the political speeches under study?

- 2. What is the cultural knowledge underlying the allusive instances and thus their function in their contextual milieu?
- 3. What are the interpretive strategies employed by different interpreters to translate such allusive cultural references and what are the most frequently used ones?
- 4. What are the consequences of applying each strategy and which of them are the most considerably effective in transferring the SD message to the TD audience and why?

#### 1.6 Data of Study

The SD data of analysis under study is a group of 19 English speeches-mainly political- delivered by Obama, the ex-president of the States (2009-2016) on various occasions. "Intercultural United intertextuality is a characteristic feature of speeches, in particular of speeches where the communicative situation brings together members of different cultures" (Schäffner, 2012, p. 359). One of the presidents who draws considerably on such rhetorical feature is Obama. Hernández-Guerra (2013) considers Obama to be "o[O]ne of the most important political orators in the twentieth century" (abstract p. 59). His rhetoric is loaded with intertextual elements either in direct quotes or in allusive devices. He draws on such devices to underpin mutual familiarity and hence support and "to further legitimise the contents of the speech, linking it to admirable and exemplar reference models" (Marciano, 2014, p. 29).

The simultaneously interpreted speeches into Arabic are broadcasted through different established TV satellite channels, like Al-Jazeera, Al-Hurra, Extra News, Nile News, Russia Today, Al-Youm and Al-Ghad. The selected speeches are the ones in which instances of allusive, problematic, cultural elements are employed in the corpus of the SD speeches.

## 1.7 Methodology

The methodology applied in the present paper is a qualitative, quantitative one. Selected renditions including instances of different types of politically implicating allusions in the SD of the 19 speeches under study are identified and categorized according to Leppihalme (1997) classification for allusions. Then the Arabic TD video recordings of the speeches-downloaded mainly from YouTube- are transcribed as heard, to identify the translational interpretive segments. A qualitative analysis based on selected samples of different allusion types and different strategies is conducted to exhibit how each allusive rendition is simultaneously transferred from the SL into the TL. The allusive political implicatures and their cultural, contextual significance are attempted to be

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explained in such instances. Then a quantitative analysis of the strategies employed to interpret the different allusion types are statistically gauged to infer the most frequently employed ones, the most functional and operative and the reasons and consequences behind such choices. The simultaneous strategies applied to the selected allusive renditions are those proposed by Riccardi (2005).

## 1.8 Framework of Study

Leppihalme (1997) views allusions as functional linguistic items or "culture bumps" that require "a high degree of biculturalisation of receivers in order to be understood across a cultural barrier" (p.4). Being problematic as such, Leppihalme (1997) proposes some categories of allusions, however the main two categorizes adopted in this study are:

- a) Allusions proper which invoke certain rhetorical shades;
  - 1) proper-name (NP) allusions (regular, prototypical phrases, rather singular lexical items)
  - 2) key-phrase (KP) allusions (regular or modifies phrases alluding to a certain significance
- b) **Stereotyped allusions** (allusions frequently used and worn by usage to the extent of changing into clichés and proverbs).

(Adapted from p. 10).

Leppihalme's (1997) proposes some strategies to translate allusions in the written mode, like for instance retaining, replacing, standardizing, minimally changing, adding guidance, using notes, rephrasing and omitting (pp. 78-84). Such strategies can be applicable in written mode of translation.

Many scholars tackle the issue of SI strategies and their definition in different ways. However, the definition of strategy meant in the present paper is "goal-oriented, so that the goal determines the amount and thoroughness of processing. It may be consciously used but may also have become automatic in so far as the processor will not have to make any cognitive decision" (Kalina, 1992, p. 253, originally italics). Being rather automatically opted for, interpretive strategies are thus criteria of interpretation expertise. They are "coping tactics" performed as crisis management skills interpreters need to acquire (Gile (2009). They "must learn to cope strategically with the challenge of what may be termed **independent co-ordination** of quasi-simultaneous source discourse comprehension and target discourse production" (Kohen and kalian, 1996, pp.129-130).

Probing the interpretation of a challenging rhetorical device like allusions requires a systematic categorization of SI strategies. The SI strategies classification proposed by Riccardi (2005) provides "a viable

tool for pointing to the transfer mechanisms intervening during the SI process and the results achieved" (Riccardi (2005) p. 765). She proposes a categorization of four types; comprehension, production, overall and emergency strategies: **Comprehension**: [anticipation, segmentation, selection of information, stalling or waiting],

**Production**: [compression, expansion, approximation strategies, generalization, use of linguistic open-end forms, morphosyntactic transformation and the use of prosody elements, such as pauses and intonation],

Overall [Décalage and monitoring] and

**Emergency** [omission of text segments, transcoding and parallel reformulation] (Adapted from Riccardi, 2005, p. 765).

However, as mentioned above mental, cognitive strategies employed in preparatory stages for actual rendition are outside the realm of the present study focus. Production strategies comprise the most frequent "occurrences noted comparing" the SD with the TD (p. 765). However, emergency strategies are probed also, as problem-solving tactics resorted to in case of lingua-cognitive overloads. Thus, the overall acoustic linguistic production is the pivot of the study.

#### 2 Analysis and Discussion

In the following section, samples of different types of allusions from Obama's speeches are selected and then each rendition is categorized under certain interpretation strategy. Some instances may exhibit more than one strategy. Nevertheless, the instances are divided according to the rather pivotal strategy in the SD renditions.

#### Compression

Under cognitive and time pressure, the interpreter may resort to summarization of the semantic and syntactic content of the SD rendition and opt for the pivotal ideas in each segment.

#### African Union Remarks 2012 (Al-Jazeera)

We've stood with them on the shores of West Africa, in those doors of no return, mindful that their ancestors were both slaves and slave owners. We've stood with them in that small cell on Robben Island where Nelson Mandela showed the world that, no matter the nature of his physical confinement, he alone was the master of his fate.

The previous example comprises both a KP allusion and an NP one. Obama delivers his speech to the African Union alluding to his pride of his African roots, asserting that he is keen to convey to his two

daughters Malia and Sasha that, they belong to two different family roots, African and American. The two roots were both slaves and slave owners. He alludes to Robben Island in South Africa where Nelson Mandela the great anti-apartheid, revolutionary political figure has been kept in captivity, yet still having the spirit of unyielding warrior, delineating his own destiny. Al-Jazeera interpreter transfers the first part of the rendition rather meticulously, summarizing its semantic and denotative loads by deleting the rhetorical phrase in those doors of no return and concentrating solely on the idea of dual ancestorism. However, she condenses the rest of the rendition by stating the concept, which Mandela represents, without explicitly stating his name. The phrase alludes to his physical imprisonment- in contrast to his resilient spirit, which stands for freedom and dignity. The quick delivery pace of the rendition leads to an and sufficing with لونج أيلاند are roneous rendering of the name of the island . بين أن الإنسان وحده مسوؤل عن مصيره stating the concept behind the allusion In such phrase, the finite past verb phrase بين (indicating a behavioral process) replaces the behaver (Mandela) and the goal (the world).

## Commencement Address at Rutgers Remarks 2016 (Al-Jazeera)

Here in New Brunswick, you can debate philosophy with a classmate from South Asia in one class, and then strike up a conversation on the EE Bus with a first-generation Latina student from Jersey City, before sitting down for your psych group project with a veteran who's going to school on the Post-9/11 GI Bill.

وهناك جنسيات مختلفة ومواضيع مختلفة. وتحضر ون جلسات نقاش متنوعة ومختلفة.

This rendition is allusion-loaded. It comprises NP allusions like; New Brunswick (the University of State of New Jersey) and EE Bus (the bus that moves to and from the College Avenue). It also contains a KP allusion the Post 9/11 GI Bill (GI Bill is an educational program, since 1944 that helps qualifying Veterans and their family members to receive money aid covering school or training fees), (Benefits.gov, n.d.). The interpreter is not able to assimilate all those allusive instances and rephrase them in meaningful renditions. Hence, he resorts to multiple strategies, mainly compression and omission. He summarizes the underlying idea of the presence of students from different ethnic backgrounds (Asians, Latina) and different age groups (first-generation, veterans) in Rutgers University discussing different scholarly subjects, opening conversations and tackling course projects. All such allusive NPs are aptly summarized, condensed and reduced to its pragma-connotative, basic meanings with open-end, unidentified denotations, like in the and the وهناك جنسيات مختلفة ومواضيع مختلفة material, collective clause وتحضرون جلسات نقاش متنوعة ومختلفة, where no allusion or linguistic item is particularized.

## Farewell Speech 2016 (Extra News)

And although Boston and Orlando and San Bernardino and Fort Hood remind us of how dangerous radicalization can be, our law enforcement agencies are more effective and vigilant than ever.

Compression is combined with other strategies. Here, there are four NP allusions to heinous terroristic attacks, which have taken place in different states in USA. Due to time constraints and the speaker's quick pace, the interpreter resorts to substituting the SD NP allusions by a rather general plural noun الحوادث. Moreover, the rest of the SD rendition which explains that these tragic incidents are a result of the perilous mindset of radicals (remind us of how dangerous radicalization can be) is changed in structure and meaning to التى واجهناها هنا في هذا البلد to give an inaccurate but rather acceptable meaning.

#### • Expansion

This strategy gives the interpreter the opportunity to add explanatory or paraphrasing details not present in the SD. Such extra linguistic items may elucidate the unclear units rendering the TD more comprehensible.

## Victory Speech 2008 (Al-Jazeera)

When the bombs fell on our harbor and tyranny threatened the world, she was there to witness a generation rise to greatness and a democracy was saved.

In this rendition, Obama is mentioning his 103 years voter, who still fights for democracy and freedom. His NP allusion refers to the historical incident of World War II, when Japan bombarded the American Pearl Harbor. He alludes to the fact that, his senior voter has witnessed such an aching event of tyranny and aggression and still aspires for the future exemplified in him and his democratic party. Although Obama does not explicitly state the name of the harbor, sufficing only with the nominal group (our harbor), the interpreter is dexterous enough to expand the allusion by adding the name of the harbor U. He aims to engage the TAs in the speech, and convey both its denotative and connotative shades of meaning.

## **Veterans 2014 (Al-Ghad)**

He said, "Thank you for your service" -- and he handed him a ticket to see the Cubs play in the World Series.

قال له شكراً على خدمتك وأعطاه تذكرة ليشاهد مباراة فريق كاب لكرة القاعدة.

In this SD rendition, the NP allusions are *the Cubs* (an American baseball famous team) and *the World Series* (a postseason play-off series between champions of the two major professional baseball leagues of North America, (Britannica, 2020). The main NP *the Cubs* is interpreted as an explicative nominal phrase (فريق كاب لكرة القاعدة), pinpointing that *Cubs* is a name of team of American baseball. The TD linguistic information puts the TAs in the light of the connotative meaning of paying tribute to an old Veteran by an America citizen, who wishes to show him gratitude through a baseball game ticket as a token of appreciation. Although the NP *World Series* is omitted, the name of the competition is not that effective in conveying the meaning of the allusion as a whole.

#### • Approximation

The interpreter resorts to this strategy to render a meaning rather close to one intended in the SD. If he is not able to hit on the exact meaning, he seeks a close equivalent.

## Farewell Speech (2016) (Extra News)

It's why GIs gave their lives at Omaha Beach and Iwo Jima; Iraq and Afghanistan -- and why men and women from Selma to Stonewall were prepared to give theirs as well.

Omaha Beach, Iwo Jima, Selma and Stonewall are NP allusions carrying historical, political and conceptual shades of meaning. The two battles referred to in the SD rendition are Omaha Beach and Iwo Jima. Omaha Beach battle in Normandy (1944) was a "daring seaborne assault by U.S. Army Rangers" (Britannica, 2020). While the Iwo Jima refers to the American assault on Iwo Jima island in Japan in World War II. In Selma and Stonewall, there have been demonstrations, defending gay and women rights, struggling for gender equality and rallying against racial discrimination. The interpreter, approximates the meaning by employing condensation, omitting the allusive items including the acronym GIs which, refers to "General Issues" a term the American soldiers in World War II sarcastically dubbed themselves, as if being merchandize of mass production, (Nix, 2018). The plural noun GIs is transferred as the subject pronoun 'i' in 'i'i' (a verb that replaces the differently denotative meaning of giving one's life, connoted with patriotic sacrifice). The two names of

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the battles are approximated and substituted by the general modified nominal group as حروباً متعددة. The meaning of the second rendition with all its political and cultural hues is approximated to willingness to sacrifice (وأيضا أن يقدموا الكثير من التضحيات لصالح هذا الشعب). Although the linguistic fabric of the TD rendition is rather not equivalent to the SD one, meaning is reasonably approximated with no explicit particularization.

#### • Generalization

Generalization is a rather common strategy among interpreters being a problem-solving tactic. The interpreter refrains from using the exact equivalent to a rather general term that aptly conveys the meaning.

#### Victory Speech 2008 (Al-Jazeera)

Our campaign was not hatched in the halls of Washington — it began in the backyards of Des Moines and the living rooms of Concord and the front porches of Charleston.

In this NP allusion, Obama states the different American cities at which his campaign begins and pinpoints very intimate places in houses like backyards, living rooms and front porches to strengthen the rapport with ordinary American citizens. The interpreter generalizes the NP allusions adding the modifying adjectives المدن to convey the meaning of simplicity and ordinariness, without resorting to particularly stating the exact NP allusions. The relative phrase التد بناها, can be considered a completion for the modified nominal group. The interpreter rephrases the SD rendition using different linguistic items, not faithful to the original but rather reasonable, being unable to assimilate, collect or retain the names of the places.

# Commencement Address at Rutgers Remarks 2016 (Al-Jazeera)

I come here for a simple reason -- to finally settle this pork roll vs. Taylor ham question.

This rendition is culture bound with a rather problematic KP allusion. The phrase refers to an internal issue related to New Jersey State. The *question* referred to in the SD is the debate over calling the processed meat which New Jersey is so much famous for, 'Taylor ham' after the first manufacturer of this type of on-the-go meat or calling it 'pork roll' rather describing its shape and components (Commisso, 2021). The term seems rather idiomatic, more known to Americans. Nevertheless, the interpreter ingeniously retains the humorous effect of

Obama's joke generalizing the meaning as being a matter of voting for or against two opposite entities or concepts. Although the KP allusion is not expounded overtly, its implicature is pertinently approximated by generalizing the idea behind the KP allusion.

#### • Morphosyntactic Transformation

This strategy rather exhibits the dexterous, interpretive competence of the interpreter. S/he alters the morphological, syntactic structure of the SD rendition to expresses the meaning using different TD linguistic units. Mostly this strategy yields rather accurate equivalents, even though in different constructions, conveying the same pragma-semantic hues.

#### **Commencement Address at Rutgers Remarks 2016(Al-Jazeera)**

One of the newest members of the Big Ten. Home of what I understand to be a Grease Truck for a Fat Sandwich.

وهناك ذكريات العشر الكبار والمعروفة هذه المنطقة بأكلاتها الشعبية الشهيرة.

The rendition is culturally loaded with NPs and KPs allusions. The Big Ten is "one of the oldest college athletic conferences in the United States, formed in 1896 by the Universities of Chicago, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin and Purdue and Northwestern" (Britannica, 2022). Rutgers University has joined recently in its proceedings. Besides, Obama states a compliment for Rutgers, which is famous for its 'Fat Cat' cheeseburger with lettuce sandwiches. The year 1979 has witnessed the first contrivance of the fat sandwich, which "was crafted in a grease truck at Rutgers", "the line has expanded and ingrained itself as an unshakable facet of the Rutgers culture" (Bohorquez & Biryukov, 2016). However, due to the rather quick pace of Obama in this part of the speech, and due to the inability of the interpreter to identify the referent in the NP allusion, he transfers the name of the conference resourcefully as He reformulates it in an existential clause employing the plural الكبار و أصبحت أحدث عضو ينضم لمؤتمر a rendition rather different from بذكريات the researcher's suggested interpretation). As for the rest of the rendition, he resourcefully changes its morphosyntactic construction using a general, open-end TD phrase expressing the which کلات شعبیة which opens interpretation for many denotative meanings of such type of food. Although the TAs do not get the exact type of sandwiches through the TD KP, they do not lose track of meaning as the pragma-cultural meaning is aptly conveyed.

#### **Democratic National Convention 2016 (Al-Hurra)**

I was worn out. She was doing everything I was doing, but just like Ginger Rogers, it was backwards in heels.

وأنا تعبت. كانت تفعل كل شيء أفعله أنا و لكنها كانت نشيطة. وفي كل مرة اعتقدت أنني كسبت السباق جاءت من الخلف و كان أداؤها أكثر قوة.

This type of allusion is what Leppihalme (1997) calls stereotyped allusions, being a well-known quote to the extent of being a cliché. It refers to Ginger Rogers; Fred Astaire's dancing partner who does all his moves but backwards wearing high heels, i.e., with extra difficulty. Such saying has originated in 1982 in Frank and Ernest cartoon by Thaves, who believes that, "sure he (Astaire) was great, but don't forget that Ginger Rogers did everything he did, ...backwards and in high heels" (1982, n.p.). This stereotypical allusion needs some manipulation in order to convey the intended meaning of agility and superiority. Obama wants to give credit to Hillary Clinton by celebrating her as a solid, sturdy fighter who does everything he does during the competing campaign to be the Democratic candidate for American presidency, even excelling him sometimes. The morhosyntactic structure of the rendition is rather altered. The phrase but just like Ginger Rogers is substituted by the interpreter as aptly replaces the شيطة , the modifier و لكنها كانت نشيطة proper noun Ginger Rogers being a great, sounding dancer full of vigor and life. The dependent circumstantial clause وفيي كل مرة اعتقدت أنني كسبت is to clarify the context of presidential campaign when Obama and Hillary are rival contenders. Although the interpreter gets the circumstantial adverbial of place backwards wrong, by interpreting it as the connotative meaning is plausibly rendered in this TD جاءت من الخلف clause with a past finite verb. Moreover, the pragmatic meaning of superiority and brilliance is subtly conveyed by the decisive independent clause کان أداؤها أكثر intensified by the superlative modifier کان أداؤها أكثر قوة ; a connotation so much close to that conveyed through the proverbial stereotyped allusion of Ginger Rogers.

## Cairo Speech 2009 (Al-Jazeera)

We are shaped by every culture, drawn from every end of the Earth, and dedicated to a simple concept: E pluribus unum -- "Out of many, one."

وقد صاغتنا كل الثقافات المختلفة المستمدة من كل بقاع الأرض المختلفة، وكرسنا أنفسنا لمبدأ واحد وهو مبدأ قوة كيان يقوم على القوة في الإتحاد. وكيان واحد من بين مجموع من الأفر اد المختلفين.

The KP allusion in this SD rendition from Cairo speech is a Latin well-known logo expressing America, as "the 'melting pot' of cultures" (Forkner, 2018, p.3). The interpreter elaborately conveys the semantic, syntactic and rhetorical shades of the allusion by interpreting it using two TD renditions, rephrased by certain morphosyntactic structures that parallel the repetition of the allusion once in Latin and once in English in

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the SD rendition. The clause contains two nouns that express the main concepts of the American motto الإتحاد and الإتحاد and الإتحاد intensifies the connotative meaning of strength. Then the interpreter aptly reformulates the morphosyntactic structure of the motto to render the meaning in different wording based on opposite adjectival groups واحد and مجموع and المختلفين and opposite nominal groups مجموع had المختلفين reflecting the idea of oneness and unity. Even though America comprises different religious, ethnic and cultural identities, this is its very point of strength.

#### • Omission

The next three strategies are emergency ones, which the interpreter may resort to for very tight situations under severe cognitive and time pressure. For instance, lingua-cultural difficulties or other time constraints may lead to omission of incomprehensible, untranslatable aspects, or simple repeated or redundant elements.

## Farewell Speech 2016 (Extra News)

It is that spirit -- It is that spirit, born of the Enlightenment, that made us an economic powerhouse -- the spirit that took flight at Kitty Hawk and Cape Canaveral.

In his farewell speech, Obama's SD rendition is an enthusiastic call for Americans to retain the diligent spirit of their fathers, reminding them of previous achievements and breakthroughs. The allusions are two NPs, the first is the *flight at Kitty Hawk* which refers to a space flight affiliated to NASA under the name Apollo 14. While *Cape Canaveral* is an allusion to a historical event that took place on May 5, 1961 when "Astronaut Alan B. Shepard, Jr., was launched from Complex 5 at Cape Canaveral by a Redstone Booster on the first U.S. manned space flight (NASA, 1991, p. 1). The interpreter cannot hit on the correct equivalence of the allusions so the phrase that contains the two NPs is omitted without even compensating for such deleted information.

# 13<sup>th</sup> Amend 150 Years- Speech 2012 (Al-Jazeera)

And so abolitionists and freedmen and women and radical Republicans kept cajoling and kept rabble-rousing, and within a few years of the war's end at Appomattox, we passed two more amendments guaranteeing voting rights, birthright citizenship, equal protection under the law.

The SD rendition is a KP historical allusion with an NP at its end, through which Obama attacks the abolitionists, freedmen and women and

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the Republicans as impeding the steps of democracy and freedom. He then refers to the American civil war and the campaigns at Petersburg and Appomattox where "the struggle was long and costly and only culminated with the conquest of the rebellious Confederacy, the preservation of the Union, and the end of slavery, (Maass, 2015, pp. 5-6). He goes on to brag that by the end of the war, the Democrats passed two amendments on the U.S. constitutional law. The interpreter, maybe for not keeping pace with Obama's speech, omits the NP Appomattox sufficing only with the noun الحرب As for the preceding KP, the rendition is rather awkward and inaccurate. The interpreter deletes the KP allusion with its underlying historical shades altogether. She fails to even convey the superfluous denotative meaning and interprets the KP using a phrase structurally, pragmatically and even semantically far beyond the intended SD خوقهم

#### Transcoding

This strategy is a problem solving one resorted to by the interpreter in case of inability to grasp the underlying, generic meaning of the SD rendition. Thus, s/he decides to use a word-for-word transference of linguistic items retaining their surface structure to provide the basic level of faithfulness to the SD message.

## **Democratic National Convention 2016 (Al-Hurra)**

Ronald Reagan called America "a shining city on a hill." Donald Trump calls it "a divided crime scene" that only he can fix.

The allusion is a stereotyped well-known phrase usually employed by American politicians, especially by the ex-president Ronald Regan. It is supposed to be said by priest John Winthrop to the Puritans on board of the ship to New England in 1630 (Mass moments, n.d.). Three centuries later, Ronald Reagan revived this quote, as a slogan for what came later to be known as American exceptionalism. Although the allusion has historical and political hues, the word-for-word transcoding of the surface structure of the linguistic units renders the meaning rather comprehendible. Moreover, the contrast between the concept of the Democrats (exemplified by Regan) and that of the Republicans (exemplified by Trump) about America is palpable enough.

#### • Parallel reformulation

Although being an emergency strategy, parallel reformulation does not provide an accurate or faithful rendition. Being unable to grasp the meaning of the SD message, or unable to keep pace with the speaker, the interpreter totally reformulates the SD rendition in a variant structure and

meaning in a rather plausible construction that achieves acceptability but not accuracy.

## Farewell Speech 2016 (Extra News)

To Joe Biden, the scrappy kid from Scranton who became Delaware's favorite son.

The KP allusion refers to Joe Biden Obama's vice president at that time. The modified noun, according to Cambridge dictionary is sturdy character "having a strong, determined character, and willing to argue or fight for what you want" (Cambridge dictionary, n.p.). Obama pays him tribute as being famous, politician, who has the support of the people in his hometown in Scranton and then later in the city of Delaware. The interpreter does not hit the meaning of the KP allusion and rephrases the structure of the SD rendition to give a conceivable meaning so much pertinent to the context of Obama's praise for his vice president and the support he gives him. He even opts for elaborate semantic choices as and be words that explicitly describes the contextual SD situation.

## 13th Amend150-Year Speech

For another century, we saw segregation and Jim Crow make a mockery of these amendments. And we saw justice turn a blind eye to mobs with nooses slung over trees.

Jim Crow is an allusion for racial discrimination. It particularly lends itself to discrimination against black people. Began as a song title which later refers to "a pejorative term for any black person and was consequently applied to racial segregation as officially sanctioned under so-called Jim Crow laws in the southern United States up to the 1960s" (Manser, 2009, p. 251). This NP allusion is pertinent to the later KP mobs with nooses slung over trees, which alludes to racial discrimination against black people in America during the struggle against slavery, which culminated in Civil war. Slave owners used to hang slaves who called for, struggled or rebelled against slavery. The interpreter rephrases the image gestalt using parallel reformulation. The plural noun mobs is erroneously interpreted as gangs العصابات (not عبوع) for instance) and the rest of the phrase with nooses slung over trees is omitted. The interpreter reformulates the rendition construction by compression and omission, as she misinterprets the meaning of the KP allusion.

#### 3 Findings

The above qualitative, quantitative analysis shows results concerning the usage of allusions in Obama's speeches under study and the usage of different interpretive strategies to handle them during SI process. As for allusions, they are employed by Obama in many instances to draw an invisible link of cultural, historical, religious and political background. The most frequently used type is the NP allusion with a percentage above 70%, followed by KP with a percentage above 25% and the least percentage with only one occurrence is stereotypical allusion.

Besides, Obama frequently employs NP allusions referring to previous US presidents, leaders and public figures of American heritage, like Lincoln, Tubman, Douglass, and King. He in a way establishes an association of such long queue of presidents especially founders, insinuating deep-rootedness, grandeur and opulence. In other instances, he refers to American scientists and achievers Norman Borlaug, George Washington Carver, the Grace Hopper, Edison, the Wright Brothers and Steve Jobs, as a kind of shaking enthusiasm and a reminder of past greatness that is still thriving in his time and has to continue in the future.

Obama also employs KP allusions in many instances as a rhetorical code assimilated by members of his cultural background. In many instances, KP allusions function as time and effort saviors, being economical, condensed and pragmatically and semantically loaded. Some of these KP allusions are so much culturally based, like in: We need to teach our kids that it's not just the winner of the Super Bowl who deserves to be celebrated, but the winner of the science fair, which is aptly interpreted as:

لا نحتاج أن نعلم أطفالنا أن أبطال كرة القدم الأمريكية هم الأبطال وإنما أيضاً الطلابَ الذين يفوز ون بالمسابقات العلمية.

The Super Bowl "the season-ending championship game of the National Football League, is by most measures the most significant annual sporting event in the United States" (Matheson, 2009, p. 3). Obama wishes to revive the spirit of science and discoveries. He wants to convey that not only Sport champions who deserve fame and popularity but science wizards deserve to be equally celebrated.

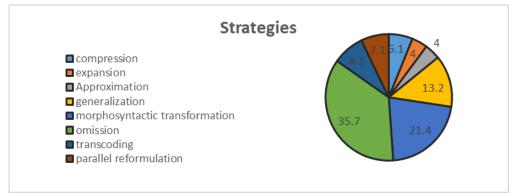
KP allusions sometimes are used to convey emotional and political hues far beyond their surface structure, like in: *I've travelled to Dover to meet the flag-draped caskets of 18 Americans returning home to their final resting place*. Such KP (correctly rendered by the interpreted as reformed in their country flag as a token of gratitude and exaltation. Besides, it arouses empathy and compassion with such patriots who give their lives for their

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country, fighting battles against terrorism, a concept, which Obama radicalizes as being the American savior from terrorism and violence at home or abroad.

The interpretation strategies employed to render the allusive implicatures are quite assorted and operative. This can be elucidated more through the following table and figure:

Strategy	Frequency of Usage	Percentage Approximately
Compression	6	6.1 %
Expansion	4	4 %
Approximation	4	4 %
Generalization	13	13.2 %
Morphosyntactic	21	21.4 %
transformation		
Omission	35	35.7 %
Transcoding	8	8.1 %
Parallel reformulation	7	7.1 %
Total	98	100 %



Compression is used in a few instances with nearly 6.1 %, in a kind of summing up for the allusions under analysis and for the rest of the rendition to gain time to be able to keep pace with Obama's speech and to convey the message with as much accuracy as possible. In most of the examples, compression is aligned with omission and generalization. Such strategy is mostly applied to NP allusions numerated in one rendition. Being unable to assimilate them all, the interpreter suffices with substituting them with general nominal groups in a compressed form and omitting the exact NP allusions or some of them.

Generalization is employed mainly for the very reason of using compression. It is effort and time saving strategy that evades the translator the peril of skipping or misinterpretation. It guarantees the least level of accuracy. As previously mentioned, generalization is usually

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connected with compression. However, it is employed with a percentage more than double that of compression, 13.2%. For, it is employed in cases when the allusion is not fully comprehended by the interpreter and s/he resorts to use a more general linguistic item to be in the safe side, like in: For white Americans, it means acknowledging that the effects of slavery and Jim Crow didn't suddenly vanish in the '60s

The interpreter does not seem to get the allusion of Jim Crow, yet figures out it has to do with the American history so he interprets it as such.

As for transcoding, it provides the least, basic rendition of all with 8.1 % (a percentage more than approximation and compression for instance). The interpreter in most cases of such word-for-word strategy does have the time to assimilate the allusion or render it correctly so s/he resorts to literal rendition. In case of NP allusions, the NP is rendered as it is even if the contextual and cultural connotation behind its usage are not clear enough. As for KP, sometimes such rendition is faithful, but not acceptable and sounds rather weird like interpreting the "Not In My The interpreter does not only نوت إن ماى نيم "لا باسمى" The interpreter does not only suffice with the superfluous rendition of the morphosyntactic structure, but he transliterates the very words of the campaign. Although such strategy may seem an emergency saving strategy, it sometimes results in erroneous renditions, like interpreting the allusion to the great World II commander in chief who fought against Japan Douglas MacArthur faultily in: We won't have a scene of the Emperor of Japan and Douglas MacArthur in a surrender as:

The SD means seeing them both in concession not one surrendering to the other.

Being T.V. professional interpreters, the interpreters of the speeches under study do not often resort to parallel reformulation (7.1% is not a big ratio), which mostly depends on inventing TD renditions that are not only different from the original SD renditions but also denotatively and connotatively altered. Though such renditions may seem plausible, they are not accurate nor faithful. Such strategy is rarely detected in NP allusions. It is mainly employed in KP allusions, being the ones who require changes in structure and meaning to fill in interpretive gaps and time lags, like in interpreting: *Our aircraft continue to launch from the USS Harry Truman, now in the Mediterranean* as its lags.

Though such T.V. interpreters are supposedly dexterous and professional, they resort to omission with the highest percentage of

35.7%, a ratio that is not so far from the half. In most cases, crowdedness of linguistic input is the reason behind omission. As shown above, generalization, parallel reformulation or even approximation can be the key to solving incomprehensible allusions implicatures. Nonetheless, omitting the allusion (especially NPs being easily compensated with other linguistic items) is due to the inability to assimilate all such SD in-take, while aptly conveying the meaning. The easiest interpretive decision is to omit the allusion whatsoever. NPs like *Dust bowl* (southern Plains in the U.S., which suffered from dust storms), *Seals* (name given to special commandos in the U.S. army), *Third Reich* (name of the official Nazi regime in Germany pre and during World War II) are all deleted. This is mainly due to the interpreter's inability to keep pace with the speaker and to save time for other basic items in the allusive renditions.

The second most frequently used strategy is morphosyntactic transformation with a percent that is nearly fifth of the occurrences. This strategy in particular brilliantly exhibits the linguistic, cultural and interpretive competence of the interpreters of the speeches under study. They reformulate the linguistic fabric of the NPs, KPs and even stereotyped allusions, in a way that sometimes lends itself to faithful paraphrasing but most of the time substitution. to accurate Professionalism is quite apparent in rendering NPs like: Corps of Cadets الرجال والنساء في القوات men and women in uniform , طلاب الكليات العسكرية , البيت الأبيض oval Office, حملة الأعلام waving the red, white and blue, المسلحة برنامج الرعاية الصحية and Medicaid سلاح البنادق الملكي King's African Rifles Such SL allusions are not only accurately rendered, but are also المسنين meticulously substituted with acceptable, cultural TL equivalents that pertinently convey the basic meaning with all its background hues.

Approximation and expansion are the least employed strategies. Approximation is a rather friendly strategy, by which the interpreter renders the closest equivalent to the SD allusion. It is mainly actualized by rephrasing of the allusion either NPs, like interpreting Situation room as غرفة القيادة. Expansion is equally used on a limited scale. Being always under time and cognitive pressures, the interpreter does not have the luxury to add extra linguistic items to the SD, but attempts to keep pace with using the least linguistic items possible. The instances in which morphosyntactic items are employed to further explicate the allusions are limited to adding a nominal modifier to explain the entity of the NPs, like adding a look Volkswagon Beetle or عماعة to al-Shabaab.

#### 4 Conclusion

SI is a demanding process cognitively and linguistically. Interpreting political speeches with important consequences and worldwide impact is even more demanding. MI is one of the most pressurizing, compelling modes of interpretation, as the interpreter is denied many means of assistance provided by the semiotic resources and the multimodal context. Therefore, interpreting political speeches remotely through T.V. is coercing per se. What can make it even more challenging is having allusive elements that need cultural, historical, religious, political and contextual background to assimilate. Political implicatures exemplified in NP, KP and stereotypes allusions are identified in the speeches under study according to Leppihalme (1997) classification, which proves to be systematic and pertinent. Production and emergency strategies proposed by Riccardi's (2005) are applied to the SD allusive renditions. As employed by the different professional interpreters in different T.V. channels, they prove to be varied, operative and functional in rendering the lingua cultural dilemma of allusions. they prove to be valid, indicative, Moreover, methodological in analyzing the allusive instances identified in Obama's political speeches.

The strategies focused on in the present study are those of production and emergency being pertinent to the linguistic focus of the study. They are mainly; compression, expansion, approximation, generalization, morphosyntactic transformation, omission, transcoding and parallel reformulation. The most frequently employed of all is omission and the least are approximation and expansion.

Eventually, it can be inferred that, MI requires even more interpretive expertise than SI. It stipulates linguistic competence, wide knowledge and cultural resourcefulness on the one hand, and large cognitive memory, quick response and alert monitoring on the other hand. As culture bumps, allusions are challenging to translators and even far more challenging to interpreters. However, strategies like morphosyntactic transformation (accurate substitution of allusive elements), generalization, compression and approximation, can be valid, purposeful and efficient solutions for the rhetorical problem of allusive implicatures.

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