



UNIVERSITY *of*
RWANDA

**QUALITY ASSURANCE AND CULTURAL SENSITIVITY: THE CASE STUDY OF
INTERPRETING TABOO FROM ENGLISH AND FRENCH TO KINYARWANDA AND
VICE VERSA**

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DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is the result of my work except where specifically acknowledged, has been passed through the TURNITIN anti-plagiarism system and found to be compliant, and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Rwanda or any other institution.

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DEDICATION

In recognition of her invaluable support throughout my research, I dedicate this work to my beloved wife Annonciata.

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ABSTRACT

This study claims that interpreting taboo from English and French to Kinyarwanda and vice versa can affect negatively the quality of interpreting due to cultural factors. Therefore, it explores the negative consequences of interpreting taboo and investigates relevant strategies to cope with them.

The methods adopted for conducting the research were the following: questionnaires to and semi-structured interviews with interpreters, as well as a comparison of interpreting performances. All these methods helped to identify the difficulties the interpreters face when dealing with taboo and the frequency of strategies they use in the case of such difficulties.

In order to assess the quality of the interpreting rendition, the study mainly adopted the list of quality assessment criteria by Schjöldager (1996). Her list is comprised of comprehensibility and delivery, language, coherence and plausibility, and loyalty.

Findings obtained at the end of the analysis first show that linguistic taboos in Kinyarwanda, English and French cultures include but are not limited to words related to sex, race, ethnic group, blasphemy, bad language (swearing, cursing, insults), sexual taboo (sexual organs, bodily functions) and scatological taboo (excrements). Secondly, they indicate that ignoring or using taboo while interpreting from English and French to Kinyarwanda and vice versa may have severe consequences on the message, the listener and the interpreter. The message may be unfaithful, implausible, misleading, distorted, diluted or lost. The listener may be shocked, embarrassed or offended. The interpreter may be marginalized as someone who talks “dirty”. Finally, the findings show that interpreters resort to various strategies to cope with challenges posed by taboo language. On the one hand, the strategies include, for euphemistic purposes, equivalence, paraphrasing, omission, addition and substitution. On the other hand, they are comprised of literal interpretation and equivalence techniques for faithfulness and linguistic accuracy purposes.

In view of the above, this study recommends schools of interpreting and/or interpreting associations to organize specialized training on interpreting taboo, to monitor the practice of interpreting taboo and to draft guidelines on interpreting taboo. It also recommends research on interpreting taboo from the psycholinguistic, ethical and listener’s perspectives.

Keywords: taboo, linguistic taboo, culture, interpreting quality, interpreting strategies, euphemism

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

SL: Source Language

ST: Source Text

TL: Target Language

TT : Target Text

T1 : Interpreter 1

T2 : Interpreter 2

T3 : Interpreter 3

T4 : Interpreter 4

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CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

“Translators and interpreters have two barriers to overcome: the first being the linguistic barrier and the other a cultural barrier. Ignoring one aspect and separating it from the other can be a risky business and can lead to negative consequences.” (Mouallem 2015:50)

1.1.Introduction

This study deals with two key subjects: taboo and interpreting. The former is culturally loaded while the latter is a communication process though culture and communication are closely interrelated. At the outset, this Chapter clarifies the definition and scope of interpreting and taboo. It further states the objectives, significance, problem, research questions, scope and organisation of the study.

1.2.Definition of interpreting

For Laver and Mason (2018), interpreting is “the oral translation by an interpreter of utterances spoken in one language into another, for the benefit of one or more listeners unable or only partly able to understand the original language. Equally, the term applies to a sign-language interpreter signing a translation either of messages in a different sign language, or of oral messages”. Interpreting may be simply defined as the oral transfer of Source Language (SL) message to Target Language (TL). Its purpose is to facilitate communication between parties who do not share a common language.

1.3.Definition and scope of taboo

The Oxford Advanced Learners’ Dictionary (OALD) (2002: 1322) defines a taboo as “a cultural or religious custom that does not allow people to do, use or talk about a particular thing as people find it offensive or embarrassing”. Breaking a taboo is negatively perceived by the society and may even bring about punishment. The OALD (ibid) specifically defines taboo words as “words

that many people consider offensive or shocking, for example because they refer to sex, the body or people's race".

Radcliffe-Brown cited by Kaya (2015:10) indicates that the word "taboo" is derived from the Polynesian word "tabu", adding that the word means: 'to forbid', 'forbidden', and can be applied to any sort of prohibition. He further specifies that a rule, an order issued by a chief, an injunction to children not to meddle with the possessions of their elders, may all be expressed by the use of the word tabu.

Abrantes (2005 as cited in Mouallem 2015:49) divides taboo into three following topics: fear, shame and politeness. Any abnormal behaviour in such areas as marriage rituals, sexual practice, excremental functions, food and the treatment of the dead risks breaking a taboo. Concerning specifically verbal taboo, it applies to spoken words including, but not limited to, swear words, verbal insults, and words concerned with sex and excretion.

Taboo behaviour is regarded as very offensive or embarrassing. Therefore, a community may outcast a taboo breaker or even give him or her a formal punishment. Someone who flaunts taboo may be publicly humiliated, imprisoned or even killed. For this reason, people avoid taboo behaviour and censor their language.

Around the world, an act or word may be taboo in one culture and not in another. A word may be offensive in one language and not in another so that interpreters should be cautious when interpreting. For example, in the Netherlands, it is discouraged to address people by their first name initially while it is not in Rwanda.

In the Rwandan culture, as Ngirabakunzi (2005:5) puts it, each Rwandan should be *imfûra* (respectful person) both through his/her behavior and way of speaking. This affects interpreting for example in case of interpreting sex related matters in conference interpreting, rape related crimes in court interpreting, or body parts and functions in medical interpreting.

1.4. Correlation between cultural and linguistic taboo

According to Fromkin (2003, as cited in Ngirabakunzi, 2005:14), “when an act is taboo, reference to this act may also become taboo”. But for Leach (1966 as cited in Ngirabakunzi, 2005:14), “verbal taboos are not necessarily related to behavioural taboos. For him some words may be taboos in themselves for linguistic (phonemic) reasons, and the causal link, if any, is then reversed”. So, Vetter (1971, as cited in Ngirabakunzi, 2005: 14) points out that “taboos can be classified as behavioural or linguistic but both categories are controlled by culture and have different types of sanctions dictated by the society”. For the specific case of Rwanda, Ngirabakunzi (2005) discussed the meaning and impact of taboo words and more particularly taboo words about sexuality in Rwandan culture and he concluded that “sexuality taboo words have an impact on their hearers and readers as well as their users, but the latter are the most marginalized because they somehow become taboo in their own community” (Ngirabakunzi 2005: 62).

However, what was once taboo may become non-taboo and vice-versa. For example, it was taboo in ancient Rwanda to pronounce the word “ubwiru” but it is no longer taboo. For Mouallem (2015:49), “This change in the status of what is nowadays considered to be taboo, and what is not, demonstrates the rapid changes within different societies; it also highlights one of the difficulties in interpreting taboo since an interpreter needs to stay abreast of what is currently acceptable and what is not.”

1.5. Objectives of the study

The general objective of this study consists of exploring the impact of linguistic taboo on the interpreting performance from Kinyarwanda to French and English and vice versa. In this context, the present study has three specific objectives. First, the study aims to investigate the issue of taboo among Rwandan interpreters to see what topics and subjects fall under the rubric of linguistic taboo in Kinyarwanda, English and French. Second, it investigates the appropriateness or inappropriateness of ignoring taboo when interpreting. Finally, it attempts to identify the discourse strategies likely to help an interpreter strike a balance between the use and avoidance of taboo while interpreting from a English and French to Kinyarwanda and vice versa.

1.6. Significance of the study

This study endeavours to address the gap in the existing literature on interpreting taboo since, as far as I know, there is not much literature on interpreting taboo and no study at all on interpreting taboo from English and French to Kinyarwanda and vice versa. My study also contributes to formulating guidelines to interpret taboos that may be used in practice and in training at interpreting institutes. So, this study is important to interpreting studies, interpreters, interpreting institutes and interpreting clients.

1.7. Problem statement

Interpreters, like other professionals such as doctors and lawyers, have to abide by certain rules. In this context, it has been questioned if the interpreter has the right to do any changes in the source language or whether it is always ethical to adapt or change the source language or not.

The interpreting codes of ethics on the one hand state that the interpreter should be faithful to the source language, avoid adding or omitting anything from the source language and preserve the tone and register of the source language. On the other hand, they encourage interpreters to respect cultural variances and be sensitive and attentive to the cultural sensitivities of the individuals or groups they serve. As the target language culture regarding taboos forbids people to express explicitly some feelings, words, gestures or actions, the interpreter is caught in a dilemma. Should he/she interpret taboo or not? When interpreting from English and French to Kinyarwanda and vice versa, Rwandan interpreters may refuse to interpret taboo words such as swear words, insults, genital organs and sexual functions, and thus make misinterpretations. They may also decide to interpret taboo words and thus offend or embarrass their audience. This dissertation endeavours to address this issue to help the interpreter to make the right decision when faced with interpreting taboo.

1.8. Research questions

Based on the stated objectives, this study, therefore, addresses the following three research questions about the Rwandan interpreting community:

- 1) What subjects and topics fall under the rubric of taboos in Kinyarwanda, English and French?
- 2) Is it appropriate for an interpreter to ignore taboo when interpreting from English and French to Kinyarwanda and vice versa?
- 3) What are effective strategies to deal with taboo while interpreting from English and French to Kinyarwanda and vice versa?

1.9. Scope of the study

In this paper, taboo analysis is limited to linguistic taboo, specifically taboo words and expressions in oral speech and literature in Kinyarwanda, English and French. The oral literary genres are comprised of riddles, proverbs, jokes and swearing. The oral interaction relates to actual cases of interpreting discourses.

This study examines interpretations of taboo expressions from Kinyarwanda to English or French and from English or French to Kinyarwanda. All language pairs include Kinyarwanda, which is both the national and official language of Rwanda. English and French, as official languages of Rwanda, are also considered both as source and target languages.

The interpreting strategies employed in interpreting the taboo expressions and the potential reasons behind the interpretational decisions are revealed through questionnaires submitted to different interpreters and through consecutive and simultaneous interpretations of discourses loaded with tabooed expressions.

As for quality assessment, it is based on assessment criteria designed by Schjoldager (1996): comprehensibility and delivery, language, coherence and plausibility, and loyalty. These criteria initially designed for simultaneous interpreting are adapted to consecutive interpreting. The assessment is conducted on recorded consecutive and simultaneous interpretations of tabooed expressions and on actual experiences of interpreting taboo both in community and conference interpreting, which are revealed through questionnaires and interviews.

1.10. Organisation of the study

Chapter One provides the introduction to the study, including definitions of terms used; Chapter Two discusses the existing literature on taboo within the context of culture, semantics, sociolinguistics, pragmatics and interpreting studies. Chapter Three provides the theoretical and analytical framework as well as the methodology of my research; Chapter Four presents, analyses and discusses findings on interpreting taboo from foreign languages to Kinyarwanda and vice versa; Chapter Five concludes the study and makes recommendations.

1.11. Conclusion

This study claims that, due to cultural factors, the interpretation of taboo expressions may negatively impact the interpreting quality. Hence, its objectives, research questions, scope and organisation focus on formulating strategies and guidelines to cope with this challenge in order to uphold the interpreting quality. It stands among studies on linguistic taboo which will be reviewed in the next Chapter.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

“The concept [of taboo] plays a central role in forming the cultures which can be said to be the main reason why so many disciplines are interested in theorizing it”

(Horlacher 2010 cited by Kaya 2015:10).

2.1. Introduction

My dissertation “*Quality Assurance and Cultural Sensitivity: The Case Study of Interpreting Taboo from English and French to Kinyarwanda and Vice Versa*” tackles the issues of both taboo and interpreting. It is not the first and not probably the last to deal with taboo. This Chapter first explores linguistic taboo in Kinyarwanda, English and French, with a special emphasis on Kinyarwanda. Then, it looks at taboo from various perspectives including the semantic, sociolinguistic, pragmatic and interpreting perspectives.

2.2. Linguistic taboo in Kinyarwanda, English and French

Official languages of Rwanda include Kinyarwanda, English and French. Language as a means of communicating ideas, emotions and desires, is also the main vector of culture. So, reference to cultural taboo is made through words expressed in various oral Kinyarwanda, English and French discourses including everyday oral interaction and oral literature.

2.2.1. Linguistic taboo in Kinyarwanda

Rwanda has some deep-rooted cultural taboos. They range from sexual taboos to religious taboos through scatological taboos.

Bigirumwami (1974) compiled a wide variety of behavioural and linguistic taboos in the Rwandan culture. The taboos apply both to human beings and animals, men and women, boys and girls, children and adults.

Examples of behavioural taboos compiled by Bigirumwami (1974) that I translated into English are the following:

- a) It is tabooed to playfully attempt to kill a girl with an axe; this causes the girl to die unmarried.
- b) It is tabooed to cross over a child who is not yet able to walk; in case a person steps over such a child, he or she comes back and steps over him or her again, failing which the child cannot walk.
- c) A servant avoids sitting on his master's seat, failing which he does not inherit anything from his master.
- d) It is tabooed to eat the meat of a dead calf and drink milk from its mother; violation of this taboo causes the cow to suffer from breast disease and barrenness.
- e) A person is strictly forbidden to kill a wagtail or even break its egg, failing which all his or her children would die.
- f) It is tabooed for a man to make his bed while his wife is still alive; this causes the man's early death.
- g) It is tabooed for a woman to walk between standing men; this causes the men's early death.
- h) It is tabooed for a girl to piss in her brother's pen with cows, failing which all cows die;
- i) A woman is forbidden to utter the name of her father-in-law and her mother-in-law; she is also forbidden to utter the name of her husband's paternal and maternal uncle and paternal and maternal aunt. It is tabooed for a woman to utter names of elders, especially her father-in-law and mother-in-law, failing which she decimates members of her husband's family and she causes her children to suffer from dermal ulcers called "ibyuzukuru".

Examples of linguistic taboos are listed in the table below:

Table 1: Examples of linguistic taboos

N°	DON'T SAY	SAY
1	Urugorî roramênetse (The crown is broken)	Urugorî rurakâangaranye (The crown is disturbed)
2	Kumesa ingobyi (To wash a cloth used to carry a baby on the back)	Guhânagura ingobyi (To clean a cloth used to carry a baby on the back)

3	Yamennye amatâ (He spilt milk)	Yabiikiriye amatâ (He spilt milk)
4	Gukûura amatâ mu mavûta (To transform milk into butter)	Kwâavura/gusôbaanura (To transform milk into butter)
5	Umwâana yamêze amêenyo (The child's first teeth appeared)	Umwâana yeêze (The child is mature)
6	Kuzîinga ingobyi y'ûumwâana (To fold a cloth used to carry a baby on the back)	Kugûna ingobyi y'ûumwâana (To fold a cloth used to carry a baby on the back)
7	Kumanika ingabo/igisaabo (To hang a shield/churn)	Kujîisha ingabo/igisaabo (To tie up a shield/churn)

Table 1 above shows inappropriate language in column 2 and appropriate language in column 3. In fact, some matters such as those related to cows and children are sacred in Rwandan culture and need special language register, which is somewhat indirect instead of being straightforward, such as where the use of *guhânagura ingobyi* (to clean a cloth used to carry a baby on the back) is preferred to *kumesa ingobyi* (to wash a cloth used to carry a baby on the back).

Concerning the taboo on the father-in-law's name, Bigirimwami (1974) further discloses the strategy used to avoid pronouncing the father-in-law's name called *gutsîinda* (euphemism). He refers to *gutsîinda* as a way of respecting parents, failing which untimely death and disaster occur.

Here are a few examples from Bigirimwami (1974) regarding the way of changing names in the context of *gutsîinda*:

- a) Ruvuzandekwe: Rudâhinyûka
- b) Daatâbukwê: Sogôkuru
- c) Maabukwê: Nyogôkuru

According to Bigirumwami (1974), women also avoid explicitly naming referents of their father-in-law or mother-in-law's names as shown in the table below:

Table 2: Euphemisms for father-in-law and mother-in-law

Name of father-in-law or mother-in-law	Referent	Euphemism (gutsiinda)
Karahamuheto	umuheto (<i>bow</i>)	umuroônko (<i>bow</i>)
Makoombe	ibikoombe (<i>valleys</i>)	imicyâamo (<i>plains</i>)
Muhoozi	guhora (<i>to keep silent</i>)	gucêceka (<i>to keep silent</i>)
	umuhoro (<i>machete</i>)	umusereza (<i>machete</i>)
Byâabagabo	umugabo (<i>man</i>)	umugaanji/umushayîja/umureênderi/umushemêza (<i>man</i>)
Gataama	intaama (<i>sheep</i>)	inyâbuhôro (<i>the peaceful one</i> / imfûra (<i>the noble one</i>))
Gatabaazi	gutabaara (<i>to rescue</i>)	guhurura (<i>to go out against</i>)
Kabeba	imbeba (<i>mouse</i>)	injârajazi (<i>the one which goes from place to place</i>)
Sêmutwâ	umutwâ (<i>Twa ethnic group</i>)	umuûngaanda (a surname for Twa ethnic group)
Nyirâbakoôbwa	umukoôbwa (<i>girl</i>)	inkumî (<i>young lady</i>)
Nyirâmugorê	umugorê (<i>woman</i>)	umuhetê (<i>woman</i>)/umubyêeyi (<i>mother</i>)
Nyirârwooga	kôoga (<i>to wash</i>)	gutsiriita (<i>to rub</i>)
Nyirangoma	ingoma (drum in general)	ishaakwe (specific kind of drum)

Mukâamukamâ	gukâma (to milk)	kwiinikiza (to milk)
Nyirâbakôra	gukôra ku kiintu (to touch something)	gukâbakaba ikiintu (to grope)
Nyirârukûundo	gukûunda (to love)	gushiima (to appreciate)
	baankuûndiye (may they allow me)	baanshobôkeye (may they be flexible to me)

In Table 2 above, it is shown that, in order to avoid mentioning referents to names of their father-in-law or mother-in-law, women resort to different figures of speech such as synonyms [ex.: *gucêceka* (keep silent) instead of *guhôra* (keep silent)], near-synonyms [ex.: *gushiima* (appreciate) instead of *gukûunda* (love)], surnames [ex.: *umuûngaanda* (a surname for Twa ethnic group) instead of *umutwâ* (Twa ethnic group)], metaphors (ex.: *imfûra* (the one which is noble) instead of *intaama* (sheep)), metonymy [ex.: *ishaakwe* (drum), which is a specific type of drum, instead of *ingoma* (drum), which is a drum in general], and change of language register [ex.: *umuroônko* (bow), which is used in panegyric language, instead of *umuheto* (bow), which is used in popular language].

In line with the above, a woman whose mother-in-law is called *Nyirâmashyô* does not reply *Amashoongorê* to someone who greets her saying *Amashyô*; she rather replies *Amûuki* (honey) to avoid referring to the word *Amashyô* (herd of cows) which is in her mother-in-law's name, or she simply nods.

There are other verbal expressions that Rwandans consider to be bad language, alleging that a person who utters them is shameless, brings bad omen and deprives the remainder of days of people to whom the verbal expressions are directed.

Such inappropriate language is illustrated in Table 1 above.

Kagabo (1992) makes an in-depth analysis of *gutsîinda* strategy. Kagabo (1992) holds that the semantic use of *gutsîinda* refers to the following facts:

- avoid, for a woman, to pronounce the names of her in-laws and their relatives except for example her husband's brothers, sisters and cousins;
- avoid pronouncing the names of other persons respected by a social group;
- avoid mentioning the name of an insect, animal or thing because mentioning its name brings bad luck or may cause its unwanted presence.
- bypass certain realities repressed by the collective consciousness, which are deemed to be derogatory.
- express by euphemism superstitious ideas: for example, the mention of *Nyabiîngi* and certain endemic and/or epidemic diseases is avoided because Rwandans identify the name to the thing.

Kagabo (1992) also points out three rules governing the use of euphemisms in Rwandan culture, namely respect, fear and decency.

According to Kagabo (1992), the rule of *gutsîinda* was based on respect and a consequent punishment was linked to the transgression: whoever overstepped the prohibition of *gutsîinda* dedicated his or her descendants to the disease of dermal ulcers called *ibyuûzukurû*. This dermal disease, in popular belief, implies a symbolic negative reaction for punishing non-compliance. The socially recognized and admitted transgression is the one that takes place within the framework of *kubaandwa* and in the joking relations of *gutêerana ubuse* and *gutêerana ububyâarâ*.

As for fear, it is, according to Kagabo (1992), a direct consequence of the cultural notion of "umwaâku" (bad luck or misfortune). In Rwandan society, certain people, animals and things are attributed the character of bringing bad luck. When one is obliged to name them, he or she automatically uses a euphemism, so language becomes a way of social life. In this context, the clans of *Abacyaâba* and *Ababaanda* are identified with their totemic representative, respectively *impyisî* (hyena), euphemistically called *Biheehe* or *Mahuumâ* (the screamer), and *ibirûunga* (volcanoes). Still within the framework of popular beliefs, the names of certain diseases whose virulence was legendary remained taboo so as not to attract them to oneself. Among them, there are *iserû* (measles) also called *akaâteeye* (the thing that became epidemic), *ibinyorô* (yaws) and

mburugu (syphilis) also called *umwaâtsi* (grass). For Kagabo (1992), the explanation would lie in what is called the "magic" power of speech and especially its exorcising powers.

Regarding decency as one of the rules governing *gutsîinda* in Rwandan society, Kagabo (1992) asserts that the privileged domain of the taboo concerns everything related to sexuality (sexual organs, sexual behaviour, etc.) and excretory functions as well as their products. Every Munyarwaanda is called to be "imfûra" (respectful) and to exalt this virtue in his or her physical and linguistic behaviour. However, it should be pointed out that most euphemistic terms relating to sexuality and scatology have become part of everyday language and are no longer felt as euphemisms; in other words, the process of "gutsîinda" is updated. This is the case of *gufuungura* for *kuryâ* (to eat), *kwîituma* for *kunnya* (to relieve oneself), *kwîihagarika* for *kunyâara* (to urinate), etc...

The linguistic process that Abanyarwanda use for "gutsîinda" is "*kugênekereza*". Kagabo (1992) defines "Kugênekereza" as a mental operation to find an adequate euphemism. Kugênekereza, which consists of making switches, thus lies within the relationship between language and thought. This technique of creation is given to each individual capable of juggling with the linguistic aesthetics offered by Kinyarwanda. As such, "euphemism is a particular form of semantic neology: it operates changes of meaning by using various lexical creation processes offered by language: metonymy, synecdoche, metaphor, etc... which are combined with other processes of morphological neology such as derivation, composition, truncation, etc.... These processes are not the only ones that produce euphemisms; the discourse strategy offers other resources in forms of address, proper terms, etc..." (Kagabo 1992:250, Translation mine)

Concerning metonymy, Nkejabahizi (2007) talks about the use of sexual symbolism that precisely uses metonymic substitution procedures such as the use of the word *umukoôndo* (navel) or simply an overly generic word such as "thing" as illustrated below:

- *Umugorê yacûzwe ku mukoôndo ati: Ryaângombe ryaa mâamâ naakubona nôone*

(A woman felt a tingling in her navel and said Ryangombe of my mother, I wish I could see you today.)

- *Umujâ yasâambanye na Shêebuja ati: nyiri akaantu yaashyikiriye*

(A maid made love with her master and said: the one to whom the little thing belongs is well served.)

Nkejabahizi (2007:78-81) further holds that symbolism intervenes in the wish to say something but not daring to say it as one would like to do so, and being obliged to seek ways of saying it while making people believe that one is not saying it. For example, to an explicit question: *kukî ukuundâ gusâambana* (why are you so adulterous?) that was put to a woman, she answered with a metaphor saying: *agaseke kadatâ umuzizî ntikaanteeranya n'înshutî* (I will never quarrel with a friend because of the little basket that never empties). *Agaseke* is normally distinguished by the beauty of its well-applied motifs in a harmony of impeccable form and colour, but above all by its almost sacred and inviolable character. *Agaseke* must always be closed by its lid "*umutemêri*" which is the symbol of virginity... In her reply, the adulterous woman minimizes the significance of her misconduct by saying that she cannot be blamed for her generosity, comparing her sex to an ocean from which one can draw without ever emptying it.

According to Nkejabahizi (2007: 80), it is often through figures of speech and circumlocutions that one speaks of "indecent" things, trying to say covertly what one perceives clearly as in the following example:

- *Nyiramigirimigaâmba baâmukubise inkoni mu mabûno, ati: ngaahô naânge naavugirwa n'îngoma*

(Nyiramigirimigaâmba was beaten in her buttocks with sticks and she said: finally, for me too the drums are resounding)

For Nkejabahizi (2007), the /mu/ in Kinyarwanda translates interiority. One will never say *gukûbita mu mabûno* in the sense of hitting the buttocks; one will say *gukûbita ku kibûno*. Thus the fact of using the /mu/ (in) and the plural /amabûno/ instead of /ikibûno/ is symbolic, and this same procedure is found in the riddle:

Q. *Maamâ arusha nyoko amabûno manîni* (my mother's buttocks are bigger than your mother's ones).

A.: *Igisaabo* (the churn)

Nkejabahizi (2007) adds that this wellerism is easily understood if one associates it with another put in the mouth of a Mutwa who went to greet a nun and started tapping gently on her thighs saying:

Izi ngoma zaawe ntizîgasiibe gukûbitwa umurishyo nyakûgira imâana.

(May your drums never stop being beaten by your own drumsticks, may God be with you)

Here, of course, gukûbitwa imirishyo is a symbol for having sex.

Masked or oblique language is also revealed through the use of indefinite prefixes such as /ha/, which is a place prefix, but what is the place? It is everywhere and nowhere as illustrated below:

-Umukeêcuru yarêebe igitsîna kê, ati: hashaa je hâarashâkuje.

(Looking at her sex an old woman cried out: this is an old place but it made a lot of noise)

However, the decency rule mentioned in the case of “gutsîinda” is sometimes flouted, as Nkejabahizi (2007:72) points out. Nkejabahizi (2007) gives examples where the flouting is not very explicit such as in children’s games and where the flouting is very explicit such as in proverbs, wellerisms, riddles and insults. He illustrates this in the following proverbs, wellerism, swearing and riddles cited in Nkejabahizi (2007):

a) Proverbs:

- Nshimwê y'ûmugorê ibyiimbiisha igituba ("I want to be praised" of a woman causes the vagina to swell).

-Uwîcaye naabî ababaza imbere yê (the one who is in a bad posture makes the front of herself suffer, that is to say her sex).

- Ntaa mugorê usâaza atâgizê umûbwiira ngo erekera inô (no woman grows old without someone telling her "turn here", that is to say, offering to make love to her").

b) Wellerism:

Nyirambigirambîzi yîcîiye ururâsaago ku gituba, haanga kuva, ati: turatûuranye, ejô nzoongera

(I know -what I'm doing has scarified the vulva and, seeing that it was not bleeding, said: we're neighbours, tomorrow I'll do it again)

c) Swearing:

-*Ndagashyirwamô urusêenda* (May someone put pepper in me, that is to say, in the sex)

- *Ndagakubitwa intôosho ishyûushye mu maguru* (May someone slap a red ball between my legs)

- *Ndakaryiivunaguriramô* (May I thrust pieces of spear inside me)

- *Ndagataambikiza imbere y'âbacûzi* (May I sit with my legs spread out in front of an assembly of blacksmiths).

d) Riddles:

Q: *Igira inyuma y'înzû, ukubîtwe n'înkubâ* (Go behind the house, you will be struck by lightning)

A.: *Ahô nyokôbukwê yîiyûhagira* (Your mother-in-law taking a shower)

Q. *Ca bugufi, ucê nyokôbukwê indîba y'înnyo* (Bend down and break your mother-in-law's ass)

R. *Igikôro* (the yam)

Obscener riddles are noted by Murebwayire (2012) as illustrated below:

Q.: *Inkoni nziizâ imera ahaâga* (A beautiful stick grows in a not easily accessible terrain)

R.: *Imborô ya mûsaaza waawe* (Your brother's penis)

Q.: *Nyoko ntaaswerwâ, aradiimbarwa* (Your mother is not penetrated, she gets beaten up)

R.: *Isêkuru* (Mortar)

Q.: *Gatiinze kâzaryooha* (It will take long, but it will eventually become delicious)

R.: *Agatuba k'ûruhîinja* (The vagina of a newborn baby)

Q.: *Kiva kîviitse* (It [container] overflows while it is surrounded with plants to keep it from overflowing.)

A.: *Imborô mu gituba* (The penis inside a vagina)

Q.: *Imbûga nziizâ iboneka ahaâga* (A beautiful courtyard is in hostile terrain)

A.: *Igituba cyaa mûshiki waawe* (Your sister's vagina)

Noticeably, literature offers a wide range of words, phrases, and expressions that break through the social mask of modesty.

Murebwayire (2012) refers to such a breakthrough as aggressiveness. She further divides aggressiveness into two categories: verboscatological aggressiveness and verbosexual aggressiveness.

Verboscatological aggressiveness is “literally "filthy" language, of repugnant impropriety, using words designating or describing anal and urinary excretions as its main medium. It also sometimes mentions other bodily secretions such as snot, spittle, etc., which are not mentioned” (Murebwayire 2012:143, Translation mine). Murebwayire (2012:143) further indicates that scatological language is mainly used by young children and young shepherds, who most often use it as a recreational activity. This activity is reproved but can also play an educational role through playmates who mock and taunt a fellow shepherd whose behaviour or act is not appreciated, to publicly shame and especially correct him or her. Hence the pedagogical dimension of these taunts. Besides, adults (parents and educators) allow children to free themselves from the tensions generated by a rigorous family and social education, by allowing them to utter vulgarities that are not allowed in the presence of adults.

Regarding verbosexual aggressiveness, Murebwayire (2012) refers to it as verbal coarseness with sexuality as a theme. Its highest aggressive form consists of shepherds’ insults directed at the insulted person’s parents, especially his mother.

Examples of aggressive verboscatological and verbosexual language are found below:

a) Aggressive verboscatological language:

Uboonye ahô uneeyê, waa nyoni we (Do you see where you’ve defecated, you bird!)

Uneeye mu kêebo ka Yoboka (You’ve defecated in Yoboka's little basket)

Ubeeshyera abâana ba Yoboka (And you claim that the children of Yoboka did it!)

Haguruka uyaryê (Get up and eat them [faeces]).

b) Aggressive verbosexual language:

- *Gashaahurwe* (May you be castrated)
- *Gatoore nyoko!* (Fuck your mother)
- *Karye agashîno kaa nyoko!* (May you eat your mother's clitoris!)
- *Gace nyoko amabêere!* (May you cut off your mother's breasts)
- *Gashaahure sô!* (May you castrate your father)

2.2.2. Linguistic taboo in English and French

In the French and English languages, linguistic taboo or swearing can be categorized into several types. Ruth Wajnry cited by Bowen (2007) distinguishes three kinds of swearing: cathartic swearing, abusive swearing (insulting) and social swearing (marking solidarity). The expressions "Oh fuck, my computer just crashed", "Fuck you, asshole!" and "How the fuck are ya doin', you old bastard?" are respectively cathartic swearing, abusive swearing and social swearing. In this subsection, I will focus on abusive swearing in French and English pointed out by Bowen (2007) as detailed below.

In the United States, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) is responsible for enforcing laws regarding obscene, indecent or profane programming. It is primarily concerned with foul language. On the one hand, there are no certain words that are always considered unlawful. On the other hand, innuendo alone can be sufficient to incur a fine. Since 1987, the FCC has deemed as indecent all explicit references to such things as masturbation, ejaculation, breast size, penis size, sexual intercourse, nudity, urination, oral-genital contact, erections, sodomy, bestiality, menstruation and testicles. The French equivalent of the FCC is the CSA (Conseil Supérieur de l'Audiovisuel). The CSA is primarily concerned with protecting children from violent or corrupting images. Interestingly, the FCC's rules seem to apply to adults as well, since sexual innuendo a child would not understand is still considered indecent.

One could infer from the respective roles of the FCC and the CSA that the United States and France view foul language much differently. In English, such language is referred to as dirty or bad. In

French, bad words are called *gros mots* (big words) or, less frequently, *un langage salé ou épicé* (salty or spicy language). In France, swearing is a commonly employed method of releasing anger or aggression and is seen more as being humorous than genuinely offensive. In America, formal punishments for swearing (washing mouths with soap, suspension from school, even tickets) are far from uncommon. Ironically, this multiplies the power of swear words in America, rendering them more forceful than any word the French language has to offer.

Linguistic taboos arise from social ones; the offensiveness of a given word is in more or less direct correlation with that of the act or object referred to. In English, the vulgar language commonly refers to deviant sexual acts, religion and body parts. In French, the insult often refers to an action that the speaker verbally “inflicts” on the insulted party. The structure of insults in French and English is strikingly different. For example, the English insult "Fuck you" has no subject (As in, "I fuck you") and it is not a command (as in, "Fuck yourself"). To express the strong sentiment present in “Fuck you” in French, one would use an expression including the speaker's direct involvement, as in "*je t'emmerde*" "*je t'encule*" or "*je te pisse à la raie*", which could respectively be translated literally as "I put you in the shit", "I sodomise you" or "I urinate in your nether fissure".

These formulations are awkward in English because of the presence of the subject. Insults in English, in fact, virtually never include the subject. This lack of a subject in insults could be evidence of general insecurity on the part of English speakers. By omitting himself or herself from the insult, the speaker places himself or herself in an ambiguous, and therefore protected, position. He or she is never implicated, even when the insult includes a verb. It is either a command (i.e. "go fuck yourself", "go to hell") or an observation (i.e. "asshole" "bitch"). In French, if the insult includes a verb and is not a command, the subject is usually present.

A major difference between French and English vulgar language involves body parts and sexual acts, which are vilified in English. We have, for example, the male insult "suck my dick." The speaker is verbally dominating the hearer, and the fact that there is no female equivalent could lead one to speculate that this insult is an overcompensation insecurity. Further evidence of this male power reinforcement is the employment of the word “pussy” to indicate that the hearer is not brave or powerful (masculine) enough. The connotations of the words “cunt”, “dick” (head) and

“asshole” further illustrate the alienation of the body, as well as expressions such as “this sucks” and “this blows”, which reduce oral sex to a power struggle. Many vulgar English expressions related to sexual acts or body parts are words whose translations do not have the slightest negative connotation in French. *La chatte* is a familiar and mildly offensive word for the female sex organ, never used for a person. “Dick” does have a French counterpart: one can be called *une (tête de) bite*, but its meaning is closer to that of *couillon* (testicle), meaning somewhat stupid.

Taboo avoidance (gutsîinda in Kinyarwanda) has generated a wealth of strategies to cause the hearer to think of the word or concept all without actually saying it. Speakers will employ any number of strategies from lowering their voice to a whisper to following the obscenity with “Pardon my French” and to pronouncing the first consonant of the swear word, then finishing with another word, such as *sh...oot* and *f...rick*.

Different cultures have employed different procedures to restrain taboo language. Take, for example, how the media deals with words such as *fuck* and *cunt*. As the taboo on these words relaxed, we can see f*** turn to f**k or to f*ck. There is no example in the French media of this asterisking. French culture is as a general rule more accepting of *les gros mots*, and this could explain the lack of asterisks. No word in French has enough “shock power” to justify hiding it.

Insults and vulgar language reflect the mind-sets of the speakers in a given society. The observable differences in the behaviour of the French and the Americans, for example, have parallels in their languages, which could help to speculate on the motivations behind behavioural and societal differences. Vulgar language in particular is an open book, as it defies the taboos that tend to restrict open communication about a culture, and it is worth taking care to examine it and to evaluate its implications before trying to suppress it entirely.

From the above, it is noticeable that linguistic taboo in Kinyarwanda, French and English can be expressed through ordinary conversations, formal speaking and various literary genres such as riddles, proverbs, wellerisms and jokes. It is also clear that the speakers of Kinyarwanda, English and French have behavioural differences when they speak taboo language.

2.3. Semantic aspect of taboo

Semantics is the field of linguistics concerned with the study of meaning and meaning change “of every kind of constituent and expression in language, and also of the meaning relationships between them” (Allan 2001:6). From this perspective, some scholars have studied the semantic history of taboo words. For example, Edwards (2015) investigates the diachronic usage and semantic shift for *shit*, along with the societal attitudes towards this term, both past and present. Hughes cited by Edwards (2015: 7) also treats the phenomenon of swearing and presents a picture of how the Bigsix (*shit, piss, fart, fuck, cock* and *cunt*) have been used over the centuries. Edwards (2015) reveals an interplay between language, culture and taboo terminology. His analysis demonstrates that, as attitudes in society change, language also changes and thus results in a semantic shift of meaning and taboo status.

On his side, Vogel (2014) develops the semantics which analyses taboo language as at the extreme of impoliteness. He focuses on the aspects of the meaning of taboo expressions that support a valid inference about the speaker’s evaluation vis-à-vis offensiveness of interlocutors.

2.4. Sociolinguistic aspect of taboo

Regarding research on taboo in the field of sociolinguistics, Trudgill (1988, as cited in Mouallem, 2015:48), holds that sociolinguistic studies mainly focus on taboo words regarding their origins, the reasons behind their use and the effect of their use on society. For example, Allen and Burridge (2006, as cited in Mouallem, 2015:48) consider the evolution of words through the use or avoidance of taboo words while other scholars, including Bousfield (2010, as cited in Mouallem, 2005:48), look at the impoliteness and communication aspects of taboo.

In her sociolinguistic analysis of the offensiveness of swear words, Beers-Fägersten (2007) points out that the demarcation between what qualifies or does not qualify as swearing is not clear. She says: “The greater the potential of a word to offend, the likelier the word is to be considered a swear word...swear words are highly offensive. Some words are consistently judged to be more offensive (abrasive, aggressive, impolite, profane, upsetting, etc.) than others, with sexual terms generally rated most offensive, followed by excretory terms which, in turn, are typically judged

more offensive than sacred terms... Specifically, *fuck*, *shit*, *cunt* and *motherfucker* (in varying orders) have been rated as the most offensive” (Beers-Fägersten 2007:15).

In this context, “swear words used denotatively or injuriously are considered to be most offensive, while the metaphorical use of swear words in in-group, social interaction tend to be judged as least or not at all offensive” (Beers-Fägersten 2007:33).

Among researchers on the sociolinguistic aspect of taboo, there is also Sa’d (2015) who holds that taboo, euphemism and (im)politeness are highly intertwined and considerably influenced by such factors as age, gender, social distance and so on. In her sociolinguistic analysis of taboos, Sa’d (2015) especially points out discourse strategies to deal with taboo such as the use of code-switching (expressing the tabooed topic in a foreign language word instead of the native language), euphemism (an expression that refers to something that people hesitate to mention lest it cause offence, but which lessens the offensiveness by referring indirectly in some way), circumlocution (substituting a descriptive phrase for a tabooed word) and topic avoidance (skipping such sensitive topics as politics). However, some researchers, such as O’Neill (2011 cited by Sa’d 2015:123), have made it clear that using euphemistic language is associated with dishonesty and deceitful behaviour.

Ghounane (2014:86) further notes that “the attitudes of speakers towards the use of taboos differ according to their gender, age and the educational background”. Those social factors are important as she for example shows that “Tlemcen females are more inclined than males to avoid the use of taboos in mixed-sex groups, especially when they discuss the subject of sex. Consequently, both males and females may have positive attitudes towards using or discussing taboo topics in single-sex groups” (Ghounane 2014:74). In the same vein, sociolinguistic studies of taboo have shown, according to Pedraza (2018), that linguistic taboo is conditioned by age, gender, level of education or social class and by the context in which it is used. Pedraza (ibid.) further says that sociolinguists have informed that more direct or dysphemistic expressions are used in an informal register by the middle and upper classes, by middle age groups and by men, in contrast to lower social classes and women, who prefer indirect or euphemistic expressions. Fägersten (2007:32) further holds that “females, with whom swearing is traditionally not associated, are more sensitive to the possible

offensiveness or inappropriateness of swearing, but more tolerant of swearing within one's social group"

2.5. Pragmatic aspect of taboo

Pragmatics may be simply defined as the study of language in context. So, "Translation and interpretation can be viewed as processes of decision-making where solutions are made and then re-examined and modified, as new information is added in the construction of the context" (Malmkjcer 2018:104). From the pragmatic perspective, a taboo is influenced by contextual factors. "Swearing is influenced by pragmatic (contextual) variables such as the conversational topic, the speaker-listener relationship, including gender, occupation, and status, and the social-physical setting of the communication with respect to whether the swearing takes place in a public or private location, one's jurisdiction over the location, and the level of formality of the occasion" (Jay and Janschewitz 2008:272). Furthermore, Dewaele (2004, as cited in Jay and Janschewitz, 2008:274) demonstrates that the emotional force of swear words is highest in one's mother tongue and gradually declines in subsequent languages. In this regard, Jay and Janschewitz (2008:275) point out that "native speakers' knowledge of swearing appropriateness is contextually flexible; able to dictate a number of ways in which swearing can be appropriate or impolite".

This research also draws on studies in the field of pragmatics such as Austin's speech acts (1962), Searle's indirect speech acts (1969), Grice's maxims of communication (1975), Leech's politeness principle (1983), and Sperber and Wilson's principle of relevance (1995). In fact, mechanisms to express or avoid expressing taboos are based on those principles and maxims regarding the flouting or respect of those principles or maxims.

2.6. Interpreting studies on taboo

Apart from semantic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic studies on taboo, interpreting studies have also investigated taboo. One of the interpreting studies on taboo was conducted by Mouallem (2015). She states that "Interpreters look at taboo differently according to their cultural and religious background; gender also plays a role in their choice of whether they deal with taboo or not"

(Mouallem 2015:48). She goes on to say that raising awareness on what is taboo, be that spoken or body language taboo, and what would happen if the taboo was not dealt with correctly during interpreting events, should help interpreters in accepting the need to interpret such things.” (Mouallem 2015:48). She further observes that “many students have either refused to interpret specific speeches because they were given by someone they disagreed with politically, or they would not interpret certain words, even in medical settings, because they considered them to be taboo, such as bodily functions, ladies’ undergarments and certain body parts; yet all those are vital for effective communication between a doctor and a patient” (Mouallem 2015:48) and she suggests that “guidelines and training in practicing those guidelines would help greatly in such situations.” (Mouallem 2015:48).

As for Hashemian et al. (2014:28), when investigating the applied strategies in the translation of taboo expressions in dubbed movies, from English into Persian, they find out that domestication is highly adaptive to the target language culture since audio-visual translators try to render taboo expressions in a way that target language does not find it offensive with their cultural values. Hashemian et al. (2014:28) specify that “deletion”, “translating taboos to non-taboo expressions in TL culture,” and “euphemism” are the applied strategies, while, in a few cases, foreignization is applied through translating taboo words into their taboo equivalent in TL culture. In any case, according to Mouallem (2015:50), the role of interpreters should be clarified as to whether they should interpret or not interpret cultural matters such as taboo because the decision to avoid interpreting taboo may be damaging and have either legal or financial dire consequences.

In this context, interpreting codes of ethics may be necessary. Conference interpreting, court interpreting, medical interpreting, and other types of community interpreting have codes of ethics. A code of ethics is essential for interpreters to preserve standards to adhere to and for bringing about accountability, duty and trust to the professionals. The codes of ethics are authored by interpreters’ associations including AIIC (Association Internationale des Interprètes de Conférence), IMIA (International Medical Interpreters Association) and CCIA (*California Court Interpreters Association*). Ethical principles range from linguistic accuracy and completeness to impartiality through confidentiality. Distinct codes of ethics share some common principles but

differ in other aspects. In respect to accuracy, courts in the U.S. for example expect the interpreter to be extremely literal, as Mikkleson (1998:21) points out: “Interpreters are expected to convey every element of meaning of the source-language message, without adding, omitting, editing, simplifying, or embellishing. In other words, they must maintain the tone and register of the original message, even if it is inappropriate, offensive, or unintelligible”. In any case, from the ethical point of view, it is worth knowing if the interpreter can make any change, addition or omission in the source language or if he/she has the right to reflect his/her own point of view or mislead the listener.

2.7. Conclusion

Five outstanding scholars treated linguistic taboo in Kinyarwanda: Bigirumwami (1974) compiled a great wealth of linguistic taboos in the Rwandan culture, Sibomana (1991) compiled a great variety of insults in Kinyarwanda, Murebwayire (2012) studied the aggressive aspect of verboscatological and verbosexual Kinyarwanda language, Kagabo (1992) made an in-depth analysis of *gutsîinda*, a strategy to avoid the offensiveness of linguistic taboo, and Nkejabahizi (2007) talked about the use of sexual symbolism through metonymic substitution procedures. This study intends to complete their work by looking at the aspect of interpreting linguistic taboo from English and French to Kinyarwanda and vice versa. To clearly identify this aspect, the next Chapter will define the theoretical, analytical and methodological framework that will be used.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL, ANALYTICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. Introduction

This Chapter deals with different interpreting theories likely to be applied to interpreting taboo. It further points out the framework for analysing the interpreting quality and strategies. It is also about methodology, more specifically about methods of data collection and sampling used for the present study.

3.2. Theoretical framework

The research draws on major theories of researchers such as Franz Pöchhacker and Anne Schjöldager. In her study, Schjöldager (1995, as cited in Du Plessis, 2016: 20) identifies norms such as adequacy (interpreters should copy the source text's formal features) and substitution (interpreters are permitted to say something that does not seem related to the source term provided that it is plausible in the context). Schjöldager (1995, as cited in Du Plessis, 2016: 22) also holds that "different working conditions would invariably lead to differences in quality –both in terms of source-text fidelity and in terms of target-language acceptability" As for Pöchhacker (2016:88), he proposes "interaction models of interpreting representing the social, situational and communicative relations obtaining between the various parties involved in the process of interaction". Reference is also made to Wadensjö (1998, as cited in Du Plessis, 2016: 15) whose work discusses the role of the interpreter as not being a mere conduit, but an active participant in the interpreting process.

My theoretical framework is also based on the Skopos theory by Reiss and Vermeer (1984), Nida's (1964) dynamic equivalence, and domestication and foreignization strategies by Venuti (1995) which are relevant for both translation and interpretation. The most important principle of Reiss and Vermeer (1984, as cited in Williams, 2013:53) is that the purpose of a translation/interpretation determines the translation/interpreting strategy and the shape it takes in the host culture. Reiss and Vermeer (1984, as cited in Williams, 2013:53) also hold that a translator/interpreter does not

convey more or less information than the source language (SL) author; he or she conveys different information differently. For them, the translator/interpreter translates according to the expectations of the target language (TL) culture (or what he or she assumes them to be). As for Venuti (1995, as cited in Williams, 2013), he identifies the decision of most translators who produce a fluent English text and whose translation strategy results in the domestication of the foreign text so that the translation reads like an original English work. Venuti (1995, as cited in Williams, 2013:98) also identifies foreignizing strategies or ‘abusive fidelity’ that resist the dominant cultural values in the Anglo-American world. Nida’s dynamic equivalence (1964) which stresses the importance of transferring meaning not form, is also resorted to regarding strategies to deal with taboo.

3.3. Analytical framework

This study intends to analyse the quality of interpreting taboo expressions and the strategies used to achieve the interpreting quality. As such, the quality analysis is made through the lens of quality assessment benchmarks established by various scholars including Schjöldager (1996), Bühler (1986), Kurz (1989) and Gile (1995) while the strategies analysis is mainly based on Brownlie’s (2007) self-censorship techniques.

3.3.1. Quality assessment benchmarks

Different scholars list quality assessment criteria. Bühler (1986) points out quality assessment criteria including native accent, pleasant voice, fluency of delivery, logical cohesion of utterance, sense of consistency with the original message, completeness of interpretation, correct grammatical usage, and use of correct terminology. As for Schjöldager (1996), her list of quality assessment criteria is comprised of comprehensibility and delivery, language, coherence and plausibility, and loyalty, and she emphasises comprehensibility and delivery as priorities in the hierarchy. For her, if a listener cannot understand the interpreter, other qualities are not relevant at all. On his side, Gile (1995) argues that interpretation quality can be viewed as a subjectively weighted sum of several components: the fidelity of the target-language speech, the quality of the interpreter’s linguistic output, the quality of his or her voice, the prosodic characteristics of his or her delivery, and the quality of his or her terminological usage.

Even though interpreting quality may be assessed differently from various subjective perspectives and is thus essentially ‘in the eye of the beholder’, there is considerable agreement in the literature on some criteria that come into play when assessing the quality of interpreting. Concepts such as accuracy, clarity or faithfulness are invariably considered very important even if the terminology may vary from one author to the other or from one text to the other. Pöchhacker (2001) holds that these core criteria of interpreting quality are associated with the product-oriented perspective and focus primarily on the faithful target-text. Pöchhacker (2001) further argues that the notion of clarity (or linguistic acceptability, stylistic correctness, etc.) relates to the second aspect of quality, which could be described as listener or target-text oriented. For my study and through adaptation of the above-mentioned scholars’ assessment criteria, I assess interpreting taboo based on the following components of interpreting quality: the fidelity of the target-language speech, the quality of the interpreter’s linguistic output and the quality of his or her terminological usage.

3.3.2. Interpreting strategies for taboo expressions

The primary aim of this study consists of examining the strategies used in interpreting taboo expressions from English and French to Kinyarwanda and vice versa since linguistic taboos constrain the interpreting process. References to issues such as religion, sex, obscenity, profanity may pose a serious challenge for the interpreters. The interpreters need to handle the differences existing in the source and target linguistic and cultural systems. The interpreters’ task is even made more difficult by the taboo language present in the source language, which forces interpreters to devise some solutions to transfer the source language into the target language.

The effect of social factors such as family and event managers may also act as a restrictive factor and lead the interpreters to consciously or unconsciously censor their language use. In this situation, it is more difficult for interpreters to transfer the source language content into the target language and interpreters frequently adopt censorial solutions.

Two situations can be envisaged when interpreting such SL expressions that could be considered as taboo. In the first situation, the interpreter may decide to avoid resorting to any self-censorship. In the second situation, the interpreter may refuse to convey the tabooed content into the TL. In the latter situation, the interpreter simply opts for censoring. Censoring the use of language in the

TL is a form of intervention to the SL through some interpreting choices, which results into unfaithful interpretation.

In this study, interpretations of SL data with taboo references are analysed to check whether there is deviation from lexical faithfulness in the target language. The changes that occur due to the employed strategies are shown under each strategy.

Some scholars have pointed out more or less similar self-censorship techniques for translation which may also be used for interpreting. They include Brownlie, Isbuga-Erel and Chesterman.

Brownlie (2007 cited by Kaya 2015:26) observes some techniques of self-censorship that cause changes when the source text is compared to the target text. Those techniques include addition, omission, substitution, literal translation, toning down and code-switching.

In a study by Isbuga-Erel (2008 cited by Kaya 2015:26), self-censorship is said to affect the following translation techniques: addition, omission, euphemism, explication, over-explicitness, transliteration and domestication (cultural adaptation). Isbuga-Erel (2008 cited by Kaya 2015:27) asserts that translators make shifts from the ST because of cultural, social, political and ethical considerations in the target culture

As for Chesterman (1997 cited by Kaya 2015:29), he suggests three groups of strategies: syntactic, semantic and pragmatic. Syntactic strategies cause structural changes; semantic strategies are concerned with the changes in the meaning while pragmatic strategies involve the choice of information in the TL governed by the translator's knowledge of the translation's possible readership. The analysis used in this research focuses on the changes made in the TL affecting structure and meaning basing on contextual information.

The translation strategies for transferring the taboo expressions can also be linked with Allan and Burridge's (2006 cited by Kaya 2015:29) classification of euphemism, orthophemism (neutral expression which is neither offensive nor overly polite) and dysphemism (replacement of inoffensive expressions with offensive ones, non-taboo expressions with taboo expressions).

Other worth mentioning strategies to cope with interpreting difficulties are found in Ribas (2012). They include generalisation, omission, paraphrase, use of common sense and summary and may be part of the strategies that various interpreters use while interpreting taboo expressions that this study explores.

3.4. Methodology

In this section, I give a detailed account of the methods of data collection and sampling that I chose for my research methodology.

3.4.1. Methods of data collection

There are various methods of data collection. They may be qualitative or quantitative. The dissimilarities between qualitative and quantitative methods, according to *Differences Between Qualitative and Quantitative Research Methods* (n.d), are summarized below.

Qualitative methods resort to detailed interviews, focus groups and reviews of documents. They mainly use the inductive process to formulate theories or hypotheses. They are more subjective because they describe a problem or condition from the perspective of those who experience it. They are text-based and need no statistical tests. They provide unstructured or semi-structured response options. They can be reliable since they largely depend on the skill and rigor of the researcher. However, they are less generalizable.

As for quantitative methods, they use surveys, structured interviews and observations, and reviews of records or documents for numeric information. They primarily use the deductive process to test pre-specified hypotheses that make up a theory. They are more objective as they provide observed effects of a phenomenon. They are number-based and use statistical tests for analysis. They provide fixed response options. They can be reliable since they largely depend on the measurement instrument used by the researcher. They are more generalizable.

In my research, I use a mixed approach: a quantitative approach through a questionnaire and a qualitative approach through an interview. The quantitative part of the research aims to discover

the incidents that interpreters face when handling taboo and the strategies they choose when such incidents occur, while the qualitative part focuses on the process and meaning of their responses.

All participants in the study complete a questionnaire regarding interpreting taboo. Structured and semi-structured interviews are used to collect data from interpreters. According to Nunan (1992) and May (2005) cited by Ngirabakunzi (2005:30), a structured interview is a formal oral interview whereby the researcher has a list of predetermined questions which are asked following their respective order, while a semi-structured interview is an interview whereby the researcher does not possess a list of predetermined questions but just has a general idea of the interview's outcome.

Apart from interviews and questionnaires, I review documents including both online and in print books and scholarly articles to collect data.

3.4.2. Sampling methods

According to Taherdoost (2016:20), "sampling is taking a subset from chosen sampling frame or entire population. Sampling can be used to make inference about a population or to make a generalization in relation to existing theory". I used sampling to generalize the difficulty of interpreting taboo in Kinyarwanda, English and French. In the process, I went through five (5) stages.

At the first stage, I clearly defined the target population. My target population is made of both professional and non-professional interpreters, who include male and female, young and old.

At the second stage, I selected a sampling frame, i.e. a list of actual interpreters from whom a sample was drawn and whose names are kept confidential.

At the third stage, I chose a sampling technique from two types of sampling techniques: probability (or random) sampling and non-probability (or non-random) technique.

Instead of choosing probability sampling which means that every person in the population has an equal chance of being included in the sample, I chose non-probability sampling often associated with case study research design and qualitative research. My case study focuses on small samples and intends to examine the real-life phenomenon of interpreting taboo, not to make statistical inferences about the wider population.

Within non-probability sampling, there are, among others, convenience sampling and purposive sampling. Convenience sampling consists of choosing participants because they are often easily available. In this context, I included classmates and co-workers who are interpreters as part of the sample since it was easier than targeting unknown individuals.

Purposive or judgmental sampling is, according to Maxwell (1996 cited by Taheerdoost (2016:23) a strategy in which particular settings, persons or events are selected deliberately to provide important information that cannot be obtained from other choices. So, I included some participants because there was important information that couldn't otherwise be obtained. Purposive sampling was thus used to select court interpreters, conference interpreters, community interpreters and students in interpreting studies.

At the fourth stage, I determined the sample size. To avoid sampling errors or biases, a sample needs to be of adequate size. Given my aims and the manipulation that I used in data analysis, my sample size was fifteen (15) interpreters.

At the last stage, I collected data. After establishing the target population, sampling frame, sampling technique and sample size, I collected data through questionnaires, interviews, and actual interpreting events that were recorded.

However, the response rate, that is the number of cases agreeing to take part in the study, was not one hundred percent. Due to various reasons including refusal to respond, ineligibility to respond and inability to respond, nine (9) interpreters responded to the questionnaire, three (3) accepted to be interviewed and four (4) interpreters volunteered to interpret the corpus with taboo expressions content.

3.5. Conclusion

Basing on Schjöldager's criteria for assessing interpreters' performances and various translation theories including equivalence, foreignization, domestication and Skopos theories, this study analysed answers to questionnaires and interviews as well as interpreters' actual performances. All this aimed to find challenges faced when interpreting taboos as well strategies to cope with them. The discussion of those challenges and strategies as well as the findings are presented in the following Chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Introduction

This Chapter presents, analyses and discusses findings gathered through questionnaires, interviews and a comparative case study. The first part is based on questions formulated in the questionnaire and interviews and contains findings from descriptive statistical analysis, i.e. frequencies and percentages based on the variables of the study. The respondents are comprised of nine (9) interpreters including one (1) woman and eight (8) men, four (4) with at least ten (10) years of interpreting experience and five (5) with less than ten (10) years' experience. Eight (8) of them hold exclusively Rwandan nationality while one (1) of them has dual Rwandan and Congolese nationality. The interpreters' language pairs are as follows: Kinyarwanda-French, Kinyarwanda-English, French-English, English-French, French-Kinyarwanda and English-Kinyarwanda.

The second part consists of a comparative analysis of four (4) interpretations of taboo content from literary genres (proverbs, riddles, jokes) and ordinary social interaction (swearing, training sessions, forms of address), with the primary aim to reveal the interpreting strategies employed in transferring the taboo references. The compared interpreters include one professional interpreter and three freelance interpreters. All of them are Rwandan nationals and their language pairs are Kinyarwanda-French, Kinyarwanda-English, French-English, English-French, French-Kinyarwanda and English-Kinyarwanda.

4.2. Presentation, analysis and discussion of respondents' answers to questions

The answers are grouped under themes, analysed statistically according to interpreting theories and processes including skopos theory, dynamic equivalence, foreignization and domestication, and discussed in relation to their meaning and implication on interpreting quality.

4.2.1. Perception of taboo

In the questionnaire, the respondents were asked **what they considered to be taboo in Rwandan and/or foreign culture**. Their answers are shown in the table below:

Table 3: Perception of taboo

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage
Sexism	6	66.6%
Racism	3	33.3%
Ethnicity	3	33.3%
Ageism	1	11.1%
Religious taboo (blasphemy)	3	33.3%
Bad, offensive language (swearing, cursing, insults)	2	22.2%
Sexual taboo (Bodily functions)	8	88.8%
Scatological taboo	2	22.2%
Impoliteness	0	0%
None	0	0%
Other: kissing in public	1	11.1%
Other: pornography	1	11.1%

Sexual taboo is top on the list of taboos as it is ticked by most respondents (88.8%). It is followed by sexism (66.6%). Racism, ethnicity and religious taboo are each considered taboo by 33.3% of respondents. This perception of taboo is in line with OALD's definition of taboo as shocking words referring to sex, the body or people's race. It further fits into Abrantes classification of taboos into three categories: fear-based taboos (death, diseases), shame-based taboos (sex, bodily functions) and politeness-based taboos (insults).

Respondents' answers and the definition of taboo reveal that some taboos are universal such as sexual taboo. However, the answers further reveal that some taboos are culture-specific such as ageism which may be specific to western cultures as it is hardly mentioned by respondents.

This implies that the perception of taboo may differ from culture to culture, from social group to social group and even from person to person. From the interpreting perspective, the cultural, social and personal perception of taboo by the speaker, the interpreter and the audience is worth taking into account for delivering good interpreting quality.

4.2.2. Cases of taboo encountered while interpreting

In the questionnaire, the respondents were asked the **cases of taboo that they faced while interpreting** from Kinyarwanda to English/French and vice versa. Their answers are shown in the table below:

Table 4: Cases of taboo encountered while interpreting

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage
Sexism	2	22.2%
Racism	0	0%
Ethnicity	2	22.2%
Ageism	0	0%
Religious taboo (blasphemy)	0	0%
Bad, offensive language (swearing, cursing, insults)	2	22.2%
Sexual taboo (Bodily functions)	5	55.5%
Scatological taboo	1	11.1%
Impoliteness	0	0%
None	0	0%
Other	0	0%

Most respondents (55.5%) said that they encountered the case of sexual taboo. Other cases of taboo that respondents encountered are, in decreasing order of frequency, sexism (22.2%), ethnicity (22.2%), offensive language (22.2%) and scatological taboo (11.1%). They did not encounter any case of racism, ageism, religious taboo or impoliteness.

The high occurrence of sexual taboo language and the average occurrence of taboo related to sexism, offensive language, scatology and ethnicity mean that interpreting events are not immune from taboo language, however formal they may be and wherever they may take place. Even the types of taboo that the respondents did not encounter are likely to occur.

Therefore, the interpreter's preparation for an interpreting event should not overlook taboo language. Interpreters should be conversant with interpreting strategies that are relevant to interpreting taboo and be ready to use them anytime, anywhere.

4.2.3. Strategies for dealing with interpreting taboo

In the questionnaire, the respondents were asked **how they would deal with interpreting taboo**. Their answers are shown in the table below:

Table 5: Strategies for dealing with interpreting taboo

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage
Omit totally	0	0%
Introduce new content which is not in the SL (addition)	1	11.1%
Lower the harshness of the taboo (euphemism)	3	33.3%
Use exact equivalence in the TL (keeping tone and level of taboo)	4	44.4%
Substitute with a less harsh expression	5	55.5%

Code-switch to a foreign language	3	33.3%
Explain to other people that the words are not mine	2	22.2%
Not sure/ Don't know	0	0%
Other: interpret literally if there is no equivalent	1	11.1%

This question is key to my research. Respondents suggested strategies for coping with the difficulty of interpreting verbal taboo including substitution (55.5%), euphemism (33.3%), equivalence (44.4%), code-switching (33.3%), distancing oneself from speaker (22.2%), addition (11.1%) and literal interpretation (11.1%). The most recurring strategy is by far substitution. It aims at reducing the harshness of taboo words. As mentioned earlier, Schjöldager (1995, as cited in Du Plessis, 2016: 20) pointed out that interpreters are permitted to use substitution, that is to say, something that does not seem related to the source term provided that it is plausible in the context. As such, interpreting may be compared to Rwandan oral literature which, according to Nkejabahizi (2007), sometimes resorts to metonymic substitution such as the use of the word *umukoôndo* (navel) as a substitute for female sex as illustrated below:

- *Umugorê yacûzwe ku mukoôndo ati: Ryâangombe ryaa mâamâ naakubona nôone*

Apart from substitution, euphemism, equivalence and code-switching are widely suggested techniques for interpreting taboo expressions. Euphemism is an excellent technique since it gets across the same message as the source language but without the same precision and emotional touch as the source language. Equivalence is also a very good technique since, in view of the skopos theory which argues that target language should function as intended within its socio-cultural context, the taboo language may be omitted if it infringes the target culture, provided the purpose of the speaker is achieved. However, finding equivalents in different cultures is extremely difficult. As for code-switching, it may be good as far as the interpreter is concerned since it helps him or her use foreign expressions that spare him or her from embarrassment but it hampers appropriate communication to the audience and is subject to foreignization which makes the target language sound foreign.

Among the least proposed strategies are addition (11.1%) and literal interpretation (11.1%). According to Brownlie (2007 cited by Kaya 2015: 26), the addition of phrases can produce a less offensive target language. As for literal interpretation, it has the advantage of faithfulness to the source language message and it is worth using as far as it is idiomatic. One respondent suggested that it should be used in case no equivalence exists. But it may not consider differences in culture and distort the message or embarrass the audience in the case of taboo.

From the discussion above, it is clear that tinterpreters resort to various strategies to cope with challenges posed by taboo language. All those strategies have some advantages and disadvantages. This implies that, though some guidelines may be necessary for helping in interpreting taboo, the interpreter is free to choose the appropriate strategies depending on interpreting variables including the topic, source and target language cultures, speaker, audience, mode of interpreting and setting.

4.2.4. Appropriateness or inappropriateness to ignore taboo when interpreting

In the questionnaire, the respondents were asked if **it is appropriate to ignore taboo when interpreting**. Their answers are shown in the table below:

Table 6: Appropriateness or inappropriateness to ignore taboo when interpreting

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage
No, we need to be faithful	6	66.6%
No, there are consequences if we ignore taboo	3	33.3%
Yes, it is embarrassing	0	0%
Yes, we must discourage this kind of speaking	1	11.1%
Yes, other people will think the dirty talk belongs to the interpreter	2	22.2%

One of my research questions is to know if ignoring taboo when interpreting is appropriate. The majority of respondents (99.9%) answered “no” while the minority of respondents (33.3%) answered “yes”. The respondents also provided reasons behind the appropriateness or inappropriateness of ignoring taboo when interpreting. Some of those who answered “no” (66.6%) argued that interpreters need to be faithful while some others (22.2%) said that there are consequences if interpreters ignore taboo. Besides, some of those who answered “yes” (11.1%) explained that taboo speaking should not be encouraged while some others (22.2%) argued that interpreters may be marginalized as people who talk “dirty”.

Concerning the ignorance of taboo while interpreting, Sa’d (2015), in her sociolinguistic analysis of taboos, pointed out topic avoidance, that is skipping such sensitive topics as taboo, as an interpreting strategy but O’Neill (2011 cited by Sa’d 2015:123) associated such strategy with dishonesty and deceitful behaviour. So there is a conflict between the interpreter’s code of ethics which requires faithfulness and taboo interpreting which is embarrassing.

Following the majority rule and O’Neill’s opinion cited above, ignoring taboo in interpreting can lead to adverse consequences such as unfaithfulness to source language and deception of listeners. Therefore, I encourage interpreters to avoid such dire consequences and be as faithful as possible. In this regard, I also encourage interpreters, especially novice interpreters, to be accustomed to taboo interpreting and thus avoid embarrassment.

4.2.5. Examples of linguistic taboo and strategies used to deal with it

In a bid to investigate real-life use of interpreting strategies to deal with taboo language, the respondents were asked to give examples of occurrences of linguistic taboo in their interpreting career. Their answers are grouped in the table below under the subjects of interpreting setting, interpreting strategy and taboo topic:

Table 7: Examples of linguistic taboo and strategies used to deal with it

Interpreting setting	Taboo topic	Interpreting Strategy
Workshop	Condom use	-
Workshop	Insult	-

Workshop in the presence of religious leaders	Sexual and reproductive health	Omission of taboo words
Conference	Rape	-
Conference	Ex-Elshabab soldiers confessing that they raped women and cut men's penises	-
Meeting	Gender mutilations in Maasai Community	Use of a more general term for female genital organs. Example: Interpreting "igituba" by "imyaânya myîibarukiro" (reproductive organ) instead of being specific and say "igituba" (<i>vagina</i> in English and <i>engwali</i> in Maasai language)
Informal meeting	Ethnicity	Equivalence and adaptation
Leadership meeting	Sex	-Substitution: Example: Interpreting "amatâko" by hips instead of buttocks -Equivalence : Example : Interpreting « kibûno mpâa amaguru » by « sauve qui peut »
Interview between an investigator and a sexual violence victim	Sexual violence	Substitution: Example: Interpreting "Vaginal penetration" by "kwîinjiza mu gitsîna" instead of "kwîinjiza mu gituba"

One out of nine respondents (11.1%) said he never encountered the issue of interpreting taboo. Other respondents (88.8%) acknowledged they experienced interpreting taboo and their answers were analysed basing on three variables: setting, topic and strategy of interpreting. Regarding the setting, taboo language occurred in four different settings: workshop (3 times), conference (2 times), meeting (3 times), and interview (1 time). This shows that taboo language is not limited to informal settings and is used in a wide range of settings. As for topics, they range from sex which has been predominantly referred to seven (7) times (88.8%) to insult which has been mentioned only once (11.1%). Concerning strategy, some respondents (44.4%) did not mention the strategy that they used to deal with taboo language while some others said that they used substitution (22.2%), equivalence (22.2%), generalisation (11.1%), adaptation (11.1%) or omission (11.1%). Substitution and equivalence may fit well with domestication which makes the target language sound like the original language.

All this implies that interpreters should be prepared to verbal taboo anywhere anytime. They should especially expect to deal with sex taboo which is predominant, though, basing on one respondent who never experienced verbal taboo in his interpreting career, taboo is not pervasive in all interpreting events. Most importantly, interpreters should be equipped with appropriate strategies to enable them to demonstrate high quality interpreting performance.

4.2.6. Negative effects of avoiding literal interpreting of taboo

In the questionnaire, the respondents were asked **what they consider to be negative effects of avoiding literal interpreting of taboo language**. Their answers are shown in the table below:

Table 8: Negative effects of avoiding literal interpreting of taboo

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage
Distortion of source language meaning	6	66.6%
Loss of source language message	4	44.4%

Dilution of source language meaning	6	66.6%
Loss of communication	5	55.5%
Nonsense in the target language	2	22.2%
Loss of emotional aspect of source language	4	44.4%
Misleading the listener	5	55.5%
Other	0	0%

Distortion of language message means that information not contained or not implied in the original is added or information contained or implied in the original is omitted (loss of source language message). When a message is diluted, it is softened, made unclear or ambiguous.

The message is distorted or diluted when for example, a person translates the word *vagina* by *imyaânya myîbarukiro* (reproductive organ). There is a distortion because the interpreter adds the idea of reproduction which is not in the original. There is also dilution because the interpreter refers to reproduction organs in general and not specifically to the vagina and hence the message is unclear and ambiguous.

The message may also lose its force. If for example the swear word *son of a bitch* is translated *inyâna y'ïmbwâ* instead of *Waâ kinyêendâaro we*, there is a loss of emotional force of source language which focuses on insulting the message recipient's mother.

Apart from distorting and diluting the message, the interpreter may also mislead the listener. For example, if an interpreter renders *L'âge légal vient avec les poils* as *Ikigâragaza ubukurê ni ubwaânwa* (Maturity is shown by beard) instead of *Ikigâragaza ubukurê ni insya* (Maturity is shown by pubic hair), the interpreter misleads the listener since he or she replaces *insya* (pubic hair) by *ubwaânwa* (beard).

Distortion of source language and dilution of source language are considered by most respondents (66.6%) as negative effects of avoiding literal interpretation of taboo expressions. Other negative consequences are loss of communication and misleading of the listener which have been

considered as such by 55.5% of respondents, and loss of source language message and loss of emotional aspect of source language, which have been pointed out by 44.4% of respondents. All the consequences above mentioned are so detrimental to quality interpreting that the interpreter needs to ponder judiciously before avoiding the literal translation of taboo words.

4.2.7. Negative effects of literal interpreting of taboo

In the questionnaire, the respondents were asked **what they consider as negative effects of literal interpreting of taboo?** Their answers are shown in the table below:

Table 9: Negative effects of literal interpreting of taboo

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage
Offending the listener	6	66.6%
Embarrassing the listener	5	55.5%
Marginalizing the interpreter	4	44.4%
Other: Miscommunicating the accurate message	1	11.1%

In the *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics* (1996), taboo words are terms that are avoided for religious, political or sexual reasons. They are considered offensive or shocking because, for example, they refer to sex, scatological functions, people's race, people's ethnic group, people's disability, etc. A taboo term is usually replaced by a euphemism. For example, if the sentence *Open defecation is prohibited* is interpreted as *Kwūtuma mu gasōzi birabūjijwe*, the interpreter uses a euphemism for *kunnya*, which is the literal interpretation of defecation but which offends or embarrasses the listener. If the interpreter uses the term *kunnya*, he or she is marginalized since he or she is considered impolite or rude.

As shown in the table above, respondents believe that literal interpreting of taboo either offends listeners (66.6%) or embarrasses them (55.5%) or marginalizes interpreters (44.4%) or leads to miscommunication (11.1%). In fact, uttering taboo terms may have negative effects on both interpreter and listener. On the one hand, according to Beers-Fägersten (2007), sexual terms are

generally rated most offensive to listeners, followed by excretory terms which are judged more offensive than sacred terms. On the other hand, interpreters who utter such taboo terms may become taboo themselves.

Considering these negative effects, interpreters should be able to handle their interpretation sensitively to avoid offensiveness, embarrassment and the interpreter’s marginalisation. One way to achieve this is to learn appropriate techniques to use inoffensive target language without betraying the source language.

4.2.8. Reaction to source language speaker’s use of taboo language

In the questionnaire, the respondents were asked **how they react to source language speaker’s use of taboo language** Their answers are shown in the table below:

Table 10: Reaction to source language speaker’s use of taboo language

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage
Acceptance	4	44.4%
Indifference	5	55.5%
Embarrassment	2	22.2%
Shame	1	11.1%
Fear	1	11.1%
Mocking the speaker	1	11.1%
Mocking the message	1	11.1%
Other	0	0%

The question relates to the interpreter’s attitudes towards the speaker’s message. The interpreter’s attitude towards taboo language may be positive (acceptance), neutral (indifference) or negative (rejection). In case of acceptance and indifference, it is not a big deal because, other things being equal, the interpreter transfers the message of the speaker. But in case of rejection, the interpreter is reluctant to get across the speaker’s taboo language due to an attitude of shame, fear or embarrassment. This case is of great concern because the interpreter may refuse to transfer the

speaker’s message. For example, a Muslim interpreter may show contempt against a speaker who disrespects his or her religion (blasphemy) and refuse to interpret his or her message.

The respondents’ reactions to the use of taboo language vary from indifference (55.5%) to mocking the speaker (11.1%) or the message (11.1%) through acceptance (44.4%), embarrassment (22.2%), shame (11.1%) and fear (11.1%). These different reactions have different impacts on the interpreter’s performance. The impact will be either positive in case of acceptance or neutral in case of indifference or negative in the event of mocking the speaker, mocking the message, embarrassment, shame and fear. The negative reaction of many interpreters to the speaker’s use of taboo language is a challenge to cope with. To avoid the negative reaction which negatively impacts performance, interpreters are advised to practice acceptance or at least indifferent attitudes towards taboo which were adopted by some of our respondents.

4.2.9. Impact of interpreting taboo on interpreting qualities

The respondents were asked **how interpreting taboo impacts the interpreting qualities**. Their answers are shown in the table below:

Table 11: Impact of interpreting taboo on interpreting qualities

Interpreting Quality	Positive/No Impact	Negative Impact
Idiomatic language	No impact in case of command of both languages and cultures,	Message not clear due to culturally charged idioms, distorted language, difficulty to understand idiomatic expressions, negative impact due to tone softening, avoidance of repetition of idioms.
Fluency		Lack of fluency due to struggling to use an acceptable

		form of language, time and energy consuming when guessing the right words to use for both speaker and interpreter, loss of naturalness of the interpreter's output due to use of euphemism, use of less harsh word, fluency disturbance and voice breaks, interpreter's hesitations and pauses
Pleasant voice		Unpleasant voice due to lack of confidence and embarrassment, lowering the tone, voice intonation changes, interpreter's stuttering
Convincing voice		Lack of conviction due to embarrassment or shame, the voice is emotionally impacted
Loyalty		Lack of full loyalty due to escape of taboo language, a message may be diluted in trying to soften the tone brought in by the source language taboo; hesitations, omissions and distortions make the message questionable.

Coherence	Somehow coherent	Some taboos may not be conveyable in the TL, which may affect the clarity of the message; the interpreter may lack a proper equivalence; hesitation or silence may produce a loophole within one chunk of message or disconnection between two/many pieces of information
Plausibility		A person cannot be plausible while he or she is ashamed; lack of proper idiomatic equivalence in TL may lead to an artificial message

The respondents unanimously (100%) posit that interpreting taboo leads to flouting interpreting qualities. According to respondents, the speaker’s message may be distorted or unclear, as earlier pointed out under Table 8. The message may also be questionable and artificial if, for example, the interpreter makes long hesitations before uttering a sex-related taboo word. Besides, the intonation may be negatively affected by the extreme difficulty of uttering expressions rated as highly offensive such as fuck, shit, cunt and motherfucking. One respondent even said that the aggressiveness of taboo words may lead an interpreter to make voice breaks and stutter. As such, the interpreter cannot speak fluently as he or she struggles to replace abrasive taboo expressions such as profanities and obscenities with euphemistic expressions. Worse, the interpreter may not be loyal to source language because, while struggling to avoid taboo language, he or she makes omissions or additions or he or she weakens the message. Further, his or her discourse may be incoherent since some taboo expressions are not conveyable in the target language. For example, the Rwandan swear expression *Gasure inyô n’îinyâmuunyo usomêze amâazi y’ûbugarî* is virtually untranslatable. Concerning plausibility, a message may not be plausible or logical in case of

omission of tabooed ideas or words. For example, one of my informants interpreted the proverb *Umutwâ ararêengwa agatwiika ikigega* as *A Mutwa can burn a granary*. This interpretation is illogical since the interpreter omitted the taboo idea that the Twa are prodigal. Regarding coherence, the interpreter's hesitation or silence before uttering or omitting taboo expressions may also produce a loophole within one piece of message or disconnection between two/many pieces of information.

The roots of underperformance in interpreting taboo are ethical bias, cultural illiteracy, emotional arousal and linguistic incompetence. The flouting of interpreting qualities is related to ethical bias in case an interpreter betrays his or her loyalty towards the source text. It is due to cultural illiteracy in case of ignorance of cultural equivalences in both source and target language. It is emotionally challenging as far as the interpreter is unable to control the emotions of shame, embarrassment or fear that taboo language may arouse. It stems from linguistic incompetence due to ignorance of idiomatic expressions.

So, is it possible to interpret taboo and demonstrate interpreting qualities? Yes, if the interpreter commits to be idiomatic, fluent, loyal, coherent and plausible and if he or she endeavours to be vocally pleasant and convincing. Such commitment is only achievable through training and intensive practice. Interpreting schools should also provide guidelines in the area of interpreting taboo, failing which interpreting taboo would be a communication disaster.

4.2.10. Use of eye contact in interpreting taboo

In the questionnaire, the respondents were asked **if they maintain or avoid eye contact when interpreting taboo**. Their answers are shown in the table below:

Table 12: Use of eye contact in interpreting taboo

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage
Maintain eye contact	3	33.3%
Avoid eye contact	5	55.5%
Other: Both	1	11.1%

The majority of respondents (55.5%) avoid eye contact while interpreting taboo. Avoiding eye contact means that they feel shy or uncomfortable in tabooed social interaction. The uncomfortable feeling eventually leads to an unconvincing voice and a lack of fluency. One informant admitted that matters of taboo are so sensitive that the interpreter avoids a direct look from the audience because she has something to hide, which may be for example four-letter words, swear words or blasphemous words.

However, some confident respondents (33.3%) asserted that they maintain eye contact while interpreting taboo and, by the same token, maintain their fluency and convincing voice.

One respondent told me, through an interview, that he maintains or avoids eye contact depending on his audience. He explained that he maintains eye contact when he is addressing his peers while he avoids eye contact when he is speaking to a younger generation, elders or authorities.

All in all, most interpreters have difficulty maintaining eye contact and thus violate an important aspect of social interaction so that they should be trained to maintain eye contact even in cases of verbal taboo.

4.2.11. Use of gestures in interpreting taboo

In the questionnaire, the respondents were asked **if they mimic or ignore shocking gestures when interpreting taboo**. Their answers are shown in the table below:

Table 13: Use of gestures in interpreting taboo

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage
Mimic the gestures	7	77.7%
Ignore the gestures	2	22.2%

Gestures may convey emphasis, give detailed explanations or contribute emotional force. Such gestures may be for example the use of hands to simulate sexual activity. According to the questionnaire survey, 77.7% of respondents mimic the speaker's gestures so as to maximize their elocution. They want to be as communicative, as convincing and as clear as possible. As such, gestures are fundamental to effective communication. The 22.2% respondents who ignore the

gestures do so, certainly not out of ignorance of their communicative significance, but out of high sensitivity to their shocking aspect. This implies that interpreters who fall into the 22.2% group need to learn to absorb and then overcome the taboo shock. All interpreters should also be careful while using gestures because they may have different meanings depending on cultures. For example, the thumbs-up means *Great! I like it!* in the United States of America while West Africans find it offensive.

4.2.12. Importance of knowing source and target language cultures

In the questionnaire, the respondents were asked **if knowledge of both language cultures helps the interpreter deal with taboo**. Their answers are shown in the table below:

Table 14: Importance of knowing source and target language cultures

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage
Agree	8	88.8%
Disagree	1	11.1%
Not sure/don't know	0	0%

The question seeks to know if the interpreter's knowledge of the cultures of his or her language combination may facilitate his or her interpreting of culturally linked words, including taboo words.

For example, when one informant was interpreting from English to Kinyarwanda in a church, he rendered *Greet one another with a holy kiss as Muramukaniishe guhooberana kweerâ* (Greet one another with holy hugging) instead of *Muramukaniishe gusomana kweerâ* to avoid using the word *gusomana* (kiss) which would be inappropriate and even embarrassing because he was aware that kissing is not used as greetings in Rwandan culture, though it is acceptable in the English culture.

According to 88.8% of respondents, the knowledge of both language cultures helps the interpreter while dealing with taboo. As pointed out in the literature review, an act or gesture or word may be taboo in one culture and not in another, a word may be offensive in one language and not in another,

so that interpreters should be cautious when interpreting. In other words, interpreters should know the cultures of both source and target language to avoid unclear, shocking or embarrassing words or gestures.

More than knowing language cultures, interpreters should interiorize them. In an interview, I asked if interpreters find it easier to interpret taboo into or out of their mother tongue (Kinyarwanda) and 100% of interviewees answered they find it easier to interpret taboo out of their mother tongue than into their mother tongue. They explained that taboo words bear a personal and sensitive stamp in their mother tongue while it doesn't feel real when you say them in a foreign language. This issue of directionality leads me to conclude that it is more difficult to interpret taboo language to Kinyarwanda than to a foreign language. To overcome this cultural issue, the interpreter is advised to develop not only linguistic competencies but also cultural competencies. However, since an investigation into the actual use of interpreting strategies to deal with taboo language revealed that most respondents interpreted taboo language either from or to Kinyarwanda, the focus of training should probably be bi-directional rather than just into the mother tongue.

4.2.13. Importance of guidelines on interpreting taboo

In the questionnaire, the respondents were asked **if guidelines on interpreting taboo would help them when faced with it**. Their answers are shown in the table below:

Table 15: Importance of guidelines on interpreting taboo

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage
Agree	7	77.7%
Disagree	0	0%
Not sure/don't know	2	22.2%

The vast majority of respondents (77.7%) agreed that guidelines on taboo interpreting would help them when faced with interpreting taboo. This opinion is from both experienced and novice interpreters, which means they do not have guidelines on interpreting taboo. As nobody disagreed to the importance having such guidelines, schools and centres of interpreting should develop such

guidelines, if they don't exist, and avail them to their students. As such, interpreters would not be caught off-guard in case of interpreting taboo.

To conclude, findings from the questionnaire and interviews show firstly that taboo words have a negative impact on the interpreting qualities consisting of linguistic accuracy, excellent delivery, comprehensibility and loyalty, secondly that interpreting taboo into mother tongue is more embarrassing than into foreign languages and thirdly that guidelines are necessary for using relevant strategies to overcome these challenges. Besides, cultural knowledge of Kinyarwanda, French and English languages is imperative for a high quality of interpreting taboo into or from those languages.

4.3. Case study of strategies used in interpreting taboo

This dissertation claims that the process of production of the target language by the interpreter is under the influence of cultural constraints. The situation can be more difficult in cases where the source language which is regarded as taboo in the source culture is imported into a target culture. Therefore, this study presumes that the interpretation of taboo expressions can be problematic and that interpreting quality depends on certain skills and strategies. In this regard, this section presents strategies used in specific cases of interpreting taboo and discusses their linguistic and cultural effectiveness. The taboo words are related to sex, shit, ethnic group, racism, swearing and inappropriate language register. They are contained in folklore including proverbs, riddles, jokes, swear words and other oral utterances in Kinyarwanda, English and French. The Kinyarwanda proverbs were drawn from Crepeau&Bizimana (1979) while the Kinyarwanda riddles, jokes and swear words were drawn from Sibomana (1991) and Murebwayire (2012). The recorded oral texts containing the tabooed expressions were submitted to four different interpreters (T1, T2, T3 and T4) who interpreted them before a small group of three people, using simultaneous interpretation (for T1 and T2) and consecutive interpretation (for T3 and T4) in the context of testing their interpreting performance. (Refer to Appendix 3 for transcriptions of all four recorded interpretations)

To render taboo expressions, the strategies used by the four interpreters, namely T1, T2, T3 and T4, are discussed below.

4.3.1. Strategies used to interpret sexual taboo

Table 16: Examples of interpreting sexual taboo

Kinyarwanda	English Interpretation	Interpreting Strategy
Utâazi ikimûhatse, arora imborô ya sê igitsuûre <i>(Disrespecting authorities is risky)</i>	TL1: An ignorant person ignores his boss's authority.	Paraphrasing
	TL2: If you do not respect your boss, you can say anything then.	Paraphrasing
	TL3: A foolish man ignores orders of his master.	Paraphrasing
	TL4: If you do not know your boss you just wander doing nothing	Paraphrasing
Kinyarwanda	French Interpretation	Interpreting Strategy
Utâazi ikimûhatse, arora imborô ya sê igitsuûre <i>(Disrespecting authorities is risky)</i>	TL1: Celui qui ne sait pas son maître ou son chef, dévisage le pénis de son père	Literal
	TL2 : Celui qui ne reconnaît pas son chef lui profère des injures	Addition
	TL3 :-	
	TL 4 : Si tu ne connais pas celui qui est ton responsable, tu fais n'importe quoi	Equivalence
English	Kinyarwanda Interpretation	Interpreting Strategy

<p>In the event of unprotected sexual intercourse, sperm ejaculated from the male penis enters the woman's reproductive system. The sperm travels through the uterus to the fallopian tube, contacting the egg to fertilize it. The fertilized egg moves down the fallopian tube to reach the womb and becomes attached to the spongy lining of the womb. The fertilized egg begins to grow, which is called pregnancy.</p> <p>Fistula is a hole between the bladder and the vagina or the rectum, or both-it is a childbirth injury caused by prolonged, obstructed labor, without timely medical attention such as a Ceasarian section. During unassisted prolonged labor, the sustained pressure of the baby's head on the mother's pelvic bone damages her soft tissues, creating a hole between the vagina and the bladder and/or rectum. Eventually, the dead tissue sloughs off and</p>	<p>TL1: Mu gihe habaayê guhûza ibitsîna ntâa bwîiriinzi, amasohoro y'ûmugabo yiinjira mu gitsîna cy'ûmugorê ndêtse akajya mu myaânya yê myîibarukiro. Izo ntaanga zirakomeza, zikagera muu nda ibyâara, bigahuura n'îigî kugira ngo bibê urusoro. Iryo gî ryaahuuyê n'întaanga y'ûmugabo birageenda bikajya mu nda ibyâara, iryo gî cyâangwâ urwo rusoro rutaangira gukûra. Ibyo nî byô biitâ gutwîita.</p> <p>Harimô iyiîndi nyama yô muu nda umuuntu yaakwiitâ <i>fistula</i>, iyô uumwâana urî muu nda abagaanga batîitâaye ku mubyêeyi hâkiri kare, mu gihe haabaâyehô uko gukômereka ngo babê baamubâaga, bishobora kwâangiza umutwê w'ûurwo ruhîinja cyâangwâ ibiîndi bibâzo, hagatî y'înda ibyâara y'ûmugorê, mu gitsîna cyê hashobora gukômereka, bigatuma igitsîna cy'ûmugorê hâri uburyô cyaangîrika, bikaba byâamutera guhôra avâ cyâangwâ sê akaba</p>	<p>-Literal -Paraphrasing -Euphemism -Omission</p>
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<p>damages the structure of the vagina. As a result, urine and/or feces constantly leaks through the vagina.</p>	<p>yâakwîituma arikô bînyuze mu gitsîna cyê.</p>	
	<p>TL2 : Iyô umuuntu akozê imibônano mpûuzabitsina idakîngiye, umugabo asohorera mu myaânya myîibarukiro y'ûmugorê, amasohoro ajya kurî nyabâbyeeyi acîye mu mwôoroheerâ ujyâana intaanga y'îngorê, iyô bimazê guhûura bîjya mu mwôoroheerâ ujyâ murî nyabâbyeeyi, igî rigataangira gukûra, icyo reerô ni cyô twiitâ kô umuuntu yatwiisê. Hari gukômereka hagatî y'îmyaânya myîibarukiro y'ûmugorê cyâangwâ sê innyo, biteerwa n'ûukô umuuntu yatiinzê mu rweererero, akaba arî bwô babyaazâ umuuntu bâkoreesheje <i>césarienne</i>. Uruhîinja reerô iyô rukirî mu nda, iyô umugorê yatiinzê ku bise, ashobora gutûma umutwê w'ûumwâana ucûkura umwoobo hagatî</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Literal - Omission - Paraphrasing - Euphemism

	<p>y'ûruhago n'înyo, hâarangirika ku buryô ukô imyaânya myîibarukiro y'ûmugorê yarî itêeye ihiindûka, ikâangirika ; haanyuma agataangira gutônyanga inkâri cyâangwa sê akaba yâakwiituma bînyuze mu myaânya myîibarukiro y'ûmugorê.</p>	
	<p>TL3 : Iyô ukozê imibônano idakîngîye, urasohora intaanga zikajya mu myaânya myîibarukiro y'ûmugorê, intaanga reerô zaakwiinjîra murî nyabâbyeeyi, zigahuura n'întaanga ngorê, ubwo nyîne ukaba umuteeye inda. Igî rikozwê n'întaanga ngabo n'întaanga ngorê rikazaamuuka rikajya murî nyabâbyeeyi, iryo gî rigataangira gukura, icyo gihe ni bwô bavugâ kô umuuntu atwiitê.</p> <p>Indwâara yô kujôjooba iteerwa n'âgasebe kabâ kâacitse hagatî y'ûruhago n'îmyaânya myîibarukiro y'ûmugorê. Icyo gihe icyo gisebe cyâangwâ icyo</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Omission - Paraphrasing; - Euphemism; - Literal

	<p>gikomêre kiiza mu gihe umubyêeyi yabyaayê bîgooranye cyâangwâ sê igihe habaayê ikosâ mu kumûbaaga. Mu gihe umubyêeyi yabyaayê wêenyinê ntâa mugaanga, atâbyaariye kwaa mugaanga, ntâa n'umubyaâza uhâri akajya ku gise âânya munini, akagitiindahô, umutwê w'umwâana ukomeza gusunika ushâaka gusohoka, wâangiiza uducê tw'îmyaânya myîibarukiro tw'îmbere twoorôheereye ubwo hagahita hâaza umweênge cyâangwâ igikomêre hagatî y'îmyaânya myîibarukiro y'înyuma y'umugorê n'ûruhago. Iyô hamazê reerô gucîika icyo gisebe, igikûrikiraho ni uko umugorê ahorâ ajôojooba inkâri cyâangwâ sê imyaanda ikômeye ari yô mabyî, akajya ahôra ajôojooba.</p>	
	<p>TL4 Mu gihe habaayehô guhûza ibitsîna, amasohoro yavuuyê mu gitsîna cy'umugabo yîinjira mu myaânya myîibarukiro y'umugore. Ayo masohoro</p>	<p>-Literal -Euphemism -Paraphrasing</p>

	<p>ajya mu muyoborantaanga, haanyuma akajya mu kiîndi gicê cy'ûmuyoborantaanga, aho ngâahô agahuura n'îigî bigatuma iryo gî rifata yâa masohoro. Iryo gî reerô iyô ryaafashe yâa masohoro, rîyajyaana mu wuûndi muyoboro biitâ <i>fallopian tube</i> mu Cyôngerezâ, haanyumâ ukayijyaana muu nda, nyabâbyeeyi y'ûmugorê haanyumâ iyo nyabâbyeeyi ikaba ifite akaândi kaantu gashamîkiyehô kajyâ aho ngâaho muu nda, haanyuma iryo gî rigataangira gukûra, akaba arî byô bibyaarâ gutwîita.</p> <p><i>Fistula</i> cyaangwâ kuva, <i>fistula</i> ni umwoobo urî hagatî y'ûrura runîni ndetsê n'îgitsîna gorê bijyaanâ ahô biitâ kurî <i>rectum</i> cyaangwâ kuu nzira y'ûmwooyo cyaangwâ kurî ibyo byôombî. Reerô ni ugukômereka bîteewe n'ûukô umwâana aba arîmô kuvûuka haanyuma igihe umwâana yatiinzê kuvûuka akaba arî byô biteerâ</p>	
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	<p>iyô ndwâara biitâ fisituûra cyaangwâ kujôojooba kubêera kô babâ bâtaabaashije kuvuura uwo muuntu hâkiri kare, cyaane cyaane mu gihe baamukoreye icyiîtwa <i>césarienne</i> cyâangwâ mu gihe baari bârimo kumûbaaga.</p> <p>Iyô reerô habaayehô kuvûuka k'ûumwâana byâatiinze, imbâragâ ziteewe n'ûmutwê w'ûumwâana biteera uturemangiingo tumwê na tûmwe twoorôshye haâfi yô ku myaânya myîibarukiro y'ûmugorê, bigatuma utwo tunyaangiingo twâangirika bigatuma reerô havamô akaantu kamezê nk'ûmwoobo hagatî y'îgitsîna ndêtse n'ûrura runîni cyaangwâ kurî “rectum” heegêreye umwooyo.</p> <p>Icyo gihe reerô twâa turemangiingo iyô twaângiritse ni bwô habâhô ikibâzo ku ruhaânde rw'îgitsîna, ibyo ngîbyô reerô bigateerwa nô guhôra umuuntu avâ cyaangwâ ajôojooba inkâri cyaangwâ</p>	
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	umwaanda cyaangwâ icyô twîita amabyî bikamanuka byêerekeza ku gitsîna.	
French	Kinyarwanda Interpretation	Interpreting Strategy
L'âge légal vient avec les poils <i>(Legal age comes with pubic hair)</i>	TL1: Ikigâragaza ubukurê ni ubwaânwa	Substitution
	TL2: Ahamêze ubwaânwa hava ubwâana	Substitution
	TL3: Ahaâje ubwaânwa, ubwaâna burahuunga	Substitution
	TL4: Imyâaka y'ûbukurê izana n'însya	Literal

Concerning sexual taboo, interpreters used the following strategies: equivalence, substitution, paraphrasing, omission, addition and literal translation. Equivalence was used once and it helped to render the message of source language without embarrassing the speaker or shocking the audience. The usage of equivalence spared the interpreter from the embarrassment of uttering such taboo expression literally translated as “*imborô*” (penis). Substitution was used three (3) times. All three interpreters substituted a more or less vulgar word “*insya*” (toison pubienne) with a more culturally acceptable word “*ubwaânwa*” (beard). Substitution was meant to overcome the embarrassment caused by the use of a taboo word. Paraphrasing was also used eight (8) times when interpreting the proverb “*Utâazî ikimûhatse, arora imborô ya sê igitsuûre*”. All three interpreters could not find an equivalent proverb in English and they resorted to paraphrasing, which disregarded the sexual connotation of the proverb.

Besides, the interpreters used euphemism four (4) times. Two interpreters refrained from straightly using the Kinyarwanda word for “vagina” and instead explained its reproductive function (imyânya myîibarukiro). In doing so, they intended to reduce the embarrassment and shock it may cause to listeners. Another strategy that was used three (3) times is “Omission”. Interpreters TL2 and TL3 skipped the Kinyarwanda word for “penis” in contrast with TL1 who used its literal translation. The omission contributed to avoiding shocking words while the literal interpretation,

though it is shocking, contributed to the clarity and precision of the TL message. Addition was also used once. In fact, TL1 added the idea of insulting which is nowhere expressed in the proverb “*Utâazi ikimûhatse, arora imborô ya sê igitsuûre*”.

In brief, the strategies of substitution, paraphrasing, omission and addition were intended to get across a message which is culturally relevant at the expense of faithfulness, the strategy of literal interpretation intended faithfulness to the original message at the expense of cultural sensitivity while the strategy of equivalence was both culturally and linguistically relevant.

4.3.2. Strategies used to interpret scatological taboo

Table 17: Examples of interpreting scatological taboo

Kinyarwanda	English Interpretation	Interpreting Strategy
Usâanze innyo isînziriye agira ngo yiiboneye inkôvu (<i>Appearance is deceptive</i>)	TL1:-	
	TL2: If you see an anus, you can confuse it with wildwood	Literal
	TL3: Don't judge a book by its cover	Equivalence
	TL4: If you find a sleeping anus, you think you have found scars	Literal
Kinyarwanda	French Interpretation	Interpreting Strategy
Usâanze innyo isînziriye agira ngo yiiboneye inkôvu (<i>Appearance is deceptive</i>)	TL1:-	-
	TL2: - Celui qui ne sait pas observer l'anus le confond à une cicatrice	Literal
	TL3: L'habit ne fait pas le moine	Equivalence

	T4: Quelqu'un qui rencontre un anus dormir pense qu'il vient de voir les séquelles	Literal
English	Kinyarwanda Interpretation	Interpreting Strategy
The toes you step on today may be attached to the ass you have to kiss tomorrow	TL1: Amano ugeendêrahô buri muûnsi, ashobora kuzaagufasha kuyageenderahô ejô	Equivalence
	TL2: Uta imvûra ikagutaanga mu rugô	Equivalence
	TL3: Inkoni ikûbise mûkaasô uyireenza urugô	Equivalence
	TL4: Amabyî aziîca umwâana ntâamuvâ mu kabûno	Equivalence
French	Kinyarwanda Interpretation	Interpreting Strategy
Qui fait caca dans le chemin marche dedans quand il revient <i>(The trouble someone causes returns to their own head)</i>	TL1: Uwiîtuma muu nzira, iyô agarûtse ayakaandagiramô	- Euphemism - Omission
	TL2: Inkûbisi y'âmabyî irayîitârukiriza	Equivalence
	TL3: Ugûhima atîirêtse agusurira mûryaamye	Equivalence
	TL4: Amabyî aziîca umwâana ntâamuva mu kabûno	Equivalence

For interpreting taboo words, the technique of literal interpretation was used four (4) times, twice by TL2 and twice by TL4. Both in French and English, TL2 and TL4 were not so much embarrassed to use the term “anus” for “*innyo*”. Equivalence was also used nine (9) times: four (4) times by TL3, two (2) times by TL2, two (2) times by TL4 and once by TL1. Equivalence allowed TL3 to avoid the French and English taboo word “anus” and the Kinyarwanda words “*ikibûno*” (ass) and “*amabyî*” (shit). Equivalence also allowed TL3 to use a less disgusting word

where he used “gusura” (fart) instead of “kunnya” (shit). However, equivalence was not at all times able to avoid taboo words such as where the word “amabyî” (shit) was used by TL2 in the expression “*Inkûbisi y’âmabyî irayîitârukuriza*”. Euphemism was also used once where TL1 preferred to use the word “*kwîituma*” which is less disgusting than the word “*kunnya*”. As for TL1, he simply omitted the word “*amabyî*” and replaced it with a pronoun, assuming that his audience can guess the noun that does not need to be named specifically.

For interpreting scatological taboo words, interpreters used four techniques: literal interpretation, equivalence, euphemism and omission. The most frequently used strategy was equivalence (9 times) followed by a literal interpretation (4 times), while the least used strategies were omission (1 time) and euphemism (1 time).

All the strategies contributed either to avoid taboo words or lessen their impact, except for literal interpretation which was probably used due to linguistic incompetence.

4.3.3. Strategies used to interpret ethnicity related taboo

Table 18: Examples of interpreting scatological taboo

Kinyarwanda	English Interpretation	Interpreting Strategy
Umutwâ ararêengwa, agatwiika ikigega <i>(When the Twa become overly satisfied, they destroy the source of their satisfaction)</i>	TL1: -	-
	TL2: A Mutwa can burn the granary	Literal
	TL3: -	-
	TL4: -	-
Kinyarwanda	French Interpretation	Interpreting Strategy
Umutuutsi umuvura amêenyô, ejô akayâguhêkenyera <i>(The Tusti are ungrateful)</i>	TL1: -	Omission
	TL 2 : Jamais vous ne verrez un Tutsi qui n’est pas ingrat	-Literal -Omission
	TL3:-	-Omission
	TL4: -	-

Only interpreter TL2 mentioned the ethnic groups of Twa and Tutsi and the alleged ingratitude of Tutsi.

In my post-interpreting interview with TL1 and TL3, I asked them the reason why they did not interpret the ethnicity related proverbs. TL1 answered that he was not comfortable uttering stereotypes about ethnic groups while TL3 answered that he was unable to find equivalent proverbs in English or French.

All four interpreters resorted to the omission strategy either due to self-censoring or lack of equivalence. As such, the avoidance of taboo can lead to unfaithful interpretation, loss of communication or nonsense in the target language.

4.3.4. Strategies used to interpret racist taboo

Table 19: Examples of interpreting racist taboo

English	Kinyarwanda Interpretation	Interpreting Strategy
A black guy walks into a bar with a parrot on his shoulder and asks for a beer. The bartender brings a beer and notices the parrot on his shoulder and says, “Hey that’s really neat. Where did you get it?” The parrot responds, “In the jungle, there’s millions of them.”	TL1:-	-
	TL2: -	-
	<p>TL3: Umugabo w’umwiirabura yiinjiye mu kabari, atwâaye gasukû ku rutûgu, nuuko asaba icupâ, umukôzi wô mu kabari azana icupâ, haanyuma abona wâa mugabo afite kaa gâsukû ku rutûgu, nuuko aravûga ati: [...] wayikuuye hê? [...] gasukû iramûsubiza iti: nayikuuye mu ishyaamba, zirahâri nyiînshi</p>	-

	<p>TL4: Umwiîrabura yiînjiye mu kabari afite gasukû, haanyuma uûmuha inzogâ abona afite yâa gasukû, aramûbwiira ati : iyi wayikuuye hêhê, hanyuma gasukû irasûbiza ngo mu ishyaamba hariyô nyiînshi, hariyô amamirîyooni n'amamirîyooni</p>	Literal
French	Kinyarwanda Interpretation	Interpreting Strategy
<p>Les Français sont aussi cons que les nègres <i>(The French are as stupid as the Blacks)</i></p>	<p>TL1: Abafaraansâ na bô baâri ibicûucu nk'âbiîrabura</p>	Literal
	<p>TL2:-</p>	-
	<p>TL3: Abafaraansâ nî ibicûucu nk'âbiîrabura</p>	Literal
	<p>TL4: Abafaraansâ na bô nî ibicûucu nk'âbiîrabura</p>	Literal
French	Kinyarwanda Interpretation	Interpreting Strategy
<p>Q: Comment appelle-t-on un homme intelligent en Belgique ? <i>(How do you call an intelligent person in Belgium?)</i> R: Un touriste. <i>(A tourist)</i></p>	<p>TL1 : Mu Bubirigi, umuuntu w'ûmunyâbweenge yitwa gutê ? Umukeerarugeendo</p>	Literal

	TL2 : Mu Rwanda umunyâbweenge bamwiita ndê? Bamenyâ	Adaptation
	TL3: Mu Bubirigi umuuntu w'ûmuhaânga bamwiita ngo ikî? Mukeerarugeendo	Literal
	TL4 : Ni gûte biitâ umugabo w'ûmunyâbweenge, umugabo uzî ubwêenge mu Bubirigi? Bamwiita umukeerarugeendo	Literal

The joke about the black guy was meant to mock black people as people who live in the jungle. TL4 attempted a literal translation of the joke but he missed its point, while TL1, TL2 and TL3 omitted the racist aspect of the joke probably due to their misunderstanding of the joke.

The joke about Belgians was meant to satirize Belgians as people who are not intelligent. TL1, TL3 and TL4 made a literal translation of the joke but the point was not clear. TL2 attempted to adapt the satirical joke to the Rwandan context but the translation was neither racist nor satirical as the original joke.

The joke about the French people was meant to depict the blacks as examples of foolishness. TL1, TL3 and TL4 literally translated the joke and conveyed the same idea as the original joke.

For interpreting the above-mentioned jokes, the strategies used were literal interpretation and adaptation. Literal interpretation means that interpreters are not so much embarrassed to crack a racist joke, meaning that the severity of racism may be lower in Kinyarwanda than in French and English. However, the adaptation strategy shows that the interpreter is reticent to utter racist intentions.

4.3.5. Strategies used to interpret disability-related taboo

Table 20: Examples of interpreting disability-related taboo

Kinyarwanda	English Interpretation	Interpreting Strategy
Nahuuye n'ûwiîruka atâgirâ iyô ajoyâ: umusazi <i>(I met a person who was running around: a fool)</i>	TL1:-	-
	TL2:-	-
	TL3: I crossed someone rushing to nowhere: a mad man.	Literal
	TL4: I met with a running person with no direction: a fool or a mad person	Literal
Kinyarwanda	French Interpretation	Interpreting Strategy
Nahuuye n'ûwiîruka atâgirâ iyô ajoyâ: umusazi <i>(I met a person who was running around: a fool)</i>	TL1 : J'ai trouvé un badaud : un fou.	Literal
	TL2 : J'ai vu une personne en errance : un incensé.	Literal
	TL3: -	-
	TL4: J'ai rencontré une personne courir sans direction, sans connaître la direction : un fou	Literal
English	Kinyarwanda Interpretation	

In the land of the blind, the one-eyed man is king	TL1: Mu gihûgu k'împumyi uûfite ijîisho rimwê aba arî umwaâmi	Literal
	TL2: Mu gihûgu k'împumyi, uûfite ijîisho rimwê ni wê mutwaâre	Literal
	TL3: Mu gihûgu k'împumyi uw'îjîisho rimwê arayobora	Literal
	TL4: Mu gihûgu k'împumyi uw'îjîisho rimwê arayobora	Literal
French	Kinyarwanda Interpretation	Interpreting Strategy
Dans le royaume des aveugles, les borgnes sont rois. <i>(In the land of the blind, the one-eyed man is king)</i>	TL1: Mu isî y'împumyi, uûfite ijîisho rimwê ni wê mwaâmi	Literal
	TL2: Utajyâ ibwaâmi abeeshywa byiînshi	Equivalence
	TL3: Mu gihûgu k'împumyi uw'îjîisho rimwê arayobora	Literal
	TL4: Mu bwaâmi bw'împumyi uûfite ijîisho rimwê ni wê uyôbora	Literal

All interpreters used literal interpretation to render the Kinyarwanda word “*umusazi*” (fool), the French word “*aveugle*” (blind) and the English word “blind” instead of using euphemistic expressions “person living with mental disability” and “*umuuntu ubaâna n'ûbumûga bwô kutâbonâ*” (visually impaired person). This shows that taboo related to disability is historically new and not yet internalized by interpreters.

However, TL2 also used the equivalence strategy to translate the French proverb about the blind and by the same token avoided using the new taboo word “împumyi” (blind). Equivalence allowed him to overcome the difficulty of uttering taboo words.

4.3.6. Strategies used to interpret swearing

Table 21: Examples of interpreting swearing

Kinyarwanda	English Interpretation	Interpreting Strategy
<p>Yeêwe Mukâasêezike, yâa mborô ya sô wâanyu uzâayiragîre nêezâ, umuûnsi wô kuyîbaaga nzaaguha amabya yâayo</p> <p><i>(Dear Mukasezikeye, please keep well your uncle's penis and I'll give you its testicles on the day of cutting it)</i></p>	TL1: -	-
	TL2: This penis of your uncle you have to graze it properly, at the butchering I will reward you	Literal
	TL3: -	-
	TL4: Mukasezikeye, the dick of your uncle keep it well, keep an eye on it once it is time to cut it I will give you the testicles	Literal
Kinyarwanda	French Interpretation	Interpreting Strategy
<p>Yeêwe Mukâasêezike yâa mborô ya sô wâanyu uzâayiragîre nêezâ umuûnsi wô kuyîbaaga nzaaguha amabya yâayo</p> <p><i>(Dear Mukasezikeye, please keep well your uncle's penis and I'll give you its testicles on the day of cutting it)</i></p>	TL1: Madame Mukasezikeye voilà le pénis de ton oncle mais prend soin de ça,...	Literal
	TL2: gardez bien ce pénis de ton oncle	Literal
	TL3: -	
	TL4: Mukasezikeye, le pénis de ton oncle, continue à bien le garder [.....] je vais te donner les testicules	Literal

English	Kinyarwanda Interpretation	Interpreting Strategy
Son of a bitch	TL1: Waa nyâna y'îmbwâ we!	Equivalence
	TL2: Waa nyâna y'îmbwâ	Equivalence
	TL3: Waa nyâna y'îmbwâ we!	Equivalence
	TL4: Waa kinyêendîaro we!	Equivalence
French	Kinyarwanda Interpretation	Interpreting Strategy
Mange de la merde (<i>Eat shit</i>)	TL1: Karye amabyî	Literal
	TL2: Karye amabyî	Literal
	TL3: Waa mabyî we	Dysphemism
	TL4: Karye amabyî	Literal

The examples above about swear words comprise both scatological and sexual content. Concerning the example of insult in Kinyarwanda, TL1, TL2 and TL3 entirely omitted to interpret it. In fact, the insult falls into the category of shepherds' insults that Murebwayire (2012) considers as the highest form of aggressiveness and interpreters may have been embarrassed to interpret it. Only TL4 dared to interpret it literally using such sexual taboo words as dick and testicles in English and "pénis" and "testicules" in French. Regarding the swear expression "son of a bitch", all four interpreters found its equivalence, not as an interjection, but as an insult. Thus, they unwillingly did the dirty job of insulting. As for the French expression "mange de la merde" (eat shit), it was interpreted literally by TL1, TL2 and TL3. The vulgar and disgusting word "*amabyi*" (shit) was used. TL4 went even farther by shifting from wishing someone to eat shit to identifying him or her with shit. TL 4 used a dysphemism and was more offensive than the SL: instead of resolving the taboo problem, he worsened it.

4.3.7. Strategies used to interpret language register related taboo

Table 22: Examples of interpreting language register related taboo

Kinyarwanda	English Interpretation	Interpreting Strategy
Umwaâmi yaatâanze <i>(The king has passed away)</i>	TL1: The king is deceased	Equivalence
	TL2: The King died	Generalisation
	TL3: The King is dead	Generalisation
	TL4: The king is dead	Generalisation
Kinyarwanda	French Interpretation	Interpreting Strategy
Umwaâmi yaatâanze <i>(The king has passed away)</i>	TL1: Le roi est décédé	Equivalence
	TL2: Le roi est décedé	Equivalence
	TL3: Le roi es décedé	Equivalence
	TL4: Le roi est mort	Generalisation
English	Kinyarwanda Interpretation	Interpreting Strategy
Your Highness the Queen	TL1: Nyagâsani Mwaâmikazi	Equivalence
	TL2: Nyagâsani Mwaâmikazi	Equivalence
	TL3: Umwaâmikazi	Omission
	TL4:-	-
French	Kinyarwanda Interpretation	Interpreting Strategy
Le roi est malade <i>(The king is sick)</i>	TL1: Umwaâmi ari mu isasiro	-
	TL2: Umwaâmi yaabêeranye	Equivalence
	TL3: Umwaâmi ararwâaye	Literal
	TL4: Umwaâmi yaciiye akabogi	-

It may be sometimes taboo to use inappropriate linguistic register, or in other words, politically incorrect language. If an interpreter's choice of language is inappropriate, the listeners get irritated

and the interpreter’s other qualities become less relevant. In the examples above, some interpreters used appropriate registers that allowed them to avoid taboo words while some others did not make it. For example, TL2, TL3 and TL4 failed to use the equivalent register when they used the verb “die”, which is used for all people in general, instead of euphemisms such as “decease” or “pass away” used in the case of the king’s death. In the same vein, TL4 transgressed the rules of decency when he said “Le roi est mort” instead of saying politely “Le roi est décédé”.

In the case of the interpretation of “Your Highness the Queen” to Kinyarwanda, the interpreters used the right equivalence but TL3 was liable to omit the expression “*Nyagâsani*” which actually translates the reverence owed to the queen.

Concerning the interpretation of “Le roi est malade” (The King is sick), TL1, TL2 and TL4 attempted to use the equivalence strategy but only TL2 succeeded. TL1 and TL4 failed due to linguistic and cultural incompetence. TL3 used a literal interpretation which may be correct for ordinary people but which sounds incongruous for the king. So the best strategy for using the appropriate register would be equivalence as far as it is correctly used.

All the strategies used for coping with verbal taboo as well as their frequency in the case study are shown in the table below:

Table 23: Frequency of strategies for coping with verbal taboo

	Literal Interpretation	Equivalence	Paraphrasing	Omission	Euphemism	Substitution	Addition	Dysphemism	Adaptation
TL1	8	5	2	3	2	1	0	0	0
TL2	10	7	2	2	1	1	1	0	1
TL3	7	6	2	3	1	1	0	1	0
TL4	14	4	2	0	1	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	39	22	8	8	5	3	1	1	1

In terms of frequency, the most used strategy is literal interpretation (39 times) followed by equivalence (22 times), paraphrasing (8 times), omission (8 times) and euphemism (5 times) while the least used are adaptation, addition and dysphemism. Thus, interpreters quite often prefer to be faithful to the message despite the embarrassment involved in interpreting taboo. However, they also resort to omission or paraphrasing of SL message probably due to shame or avoidance of offensiveness.

In terms of quality, interpreters use different strategies for effective interpretation depending on the social, cultural and linguistic constraints upon them, though equivalence was revealed to be at the same time culturally and linguistically relevant. I evaluated the interpreters' performance and asked interpreters to make a self-evaluation regarding the quality of their performance. The evaluation scale looks like this: Extremely Good: 9-10; Very Good: 7-8; Good: 6; Not bad: 5; Bad: 2-4; Very bad: 1; Extremely bad: 0. TL1, TL2 and TL4 rated themselves as good. TL3 rated himself as not bad. I rated TL2, TL3 and TL4 as good while I rated TL1 as bad. The overall score is good, which means that performance improvement of interpreting taboo is needed.

4.4. Conclusion

Findings through questionnaires, interviews and interpreting case studies reveal that sexual taboo, ticked by 88.8% of respondents, is top on the list of taboos and the most recurring strategy for coping with linguistic taboo is by far substitution ticked by 55.5% of respondents. They also show that distortion of source language and dilution of source language are considered by most respondents (66.6%) as negative effects of avoiding literal interpretation of taboo expressions. The respondents unanimously posit that interpreting taboo leads interpreters to flout interpreting qualities. The vast majority of respondents (77.7%) also agree that guidelines on taboo interpreting would help them when faced with interpreting taboo. This respondents' recommendation leads me to the recommendations and general conclusion in the next and final chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE: GENERAL CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

“Interpreting requires more than language competence”

(Taibi&Mataoui 2016:87)

5.1. Introduction

Taboo is a challenging area of discourse for interpreters and their audience. If not handled appropriately, taboos may harm communication in interpreting settings. Throughout this thesis, challenges encountered while interpreting taboo and strategies for overcoming those challenges have been studied. This Chapter makes a summary of findings basing on research questions and suggests recommendations towards improvement of the quality of interpreting taboo.

5.2. Identification of taboo

Interpreting taboo expressions stands as a challenging task for interpreters. In interpreting taboos, the interpreter is constrained to pay attention to certain cultural considerations. So, this paper addressed what is considered as taboo in society in line with the first research question to identify subjects and topics that fall under the rubric of taboos in Kinyarwanda, English and French.

According to various definitions, the taboo is, due to its offensiveness or embarrassing aspect, a social prohibition that may be considered universal or culture-specific, behavioural or linguistic. It is universal in the sense that subjects of taboo may be found in all cultures. Universal subjects of taboo include sexual taboo (sexual organs, sexual functions) and scatological taboo (urination, defecation). Taboo is culture-specific in the sense that some behaviour may be taboo in one culture and not in another culture. Culture-specific taboos include the prohibition to name the father-in-law or mother-in-law in the Rwandan culture, which is called “gutsîinda”. Taboo may be behavioural: for example, in the Rwandan culture, it is tabooed to playfully attempt to kill a girl with an axe since this causes the girl to die unmarried. Taboo may also be linguistic or verbal as when someone utters swear words.

Though different scholars proposed different but equally relevant classifications of taboo, this research retained Abrantes’ classification by which taboos fall into three categories: fear-based taboos (death, diseases), shame-based taboos (sex and bodily functions) and politeness-based

taboos (swear words, insults). Within this classification, what my respondents consider as taboo in the Rwandan and foreign cultures are the following: sexism, racism, ethnicity, ageism, blasphemy, bad language (swearing, cursing, insults), sexual taboo (sexual organs, bodily functions, kissing in public, pornography) and scatological taboo (excrements).

5.3. Consequences of ignoring taboo when interpreting from English and French to Kinyarwanda and vice versa

To avoid taboo language that some interpreters consider to be bad, offensive or disgusting, they prefer either to omit taboo words or make unjustified additions or changes to the original message when interpreting. So, in response to the second research question to know if it is appropriate for an interpreter to ignore taboo when interpreting from English and French to Kinyarwanda and vice versa, responses to my questionnaire reveal that a non-negligible minority of respondents (33.3%) believe that it is appropriate to ignore taboo when interpreting because taboo speaking should not be encouraged or because interpreters may be marginalized as people who talk “dirty”. In my case study, the omission of interpreting taboo was also frequent because it occurred thirteen (13) times. However, the omission of taboo words may have dire consequences on the interpreting quality in terms of loyalty and coherence. Concerning coherence, the avoidance of taboo language may render the TL message unclear and implausible. As taboo expressions are meaningful units of the SL message, the TL message loses some meaning when they are left out. Regarding loyalty, the omission of taboo expressions in TL leads to unfaithfulness to SL and the interpreter is liable to dishonesty or deception of listeners. This may in turn have negative consequences in real life. For example, in medical interpreting, if an interpreter deliberately refuses to utter “bad” words, he or she may not allow the doctor to make an informed decision, which may be detrimental to the patients’ health. However, the interpreter may avoid such a situation and contribute to the improvement of patients’ health by being loyal to SL message even if it contains “bad” words. Equally in court interpreting, if the interpreter avoids uttering some “disgusting” words, he or she may mislead the judge into rendering an unjust judgement. Therefore, interpreters are encouraged to avoid such dire consequences and be as faithful as possible. According to Mikkleson (1998:21) worth quoting again, “Interpreters are expected to convey every element of meaning of the source-language message, without adding, omitting, editing, simplifying, or embellishing. In other words,

they must maintain the tone and register of the original message, even if it is inappropriate, offensive, or unintelligible”.

According to findings, distortion of source language and dilution of source language are considered by most respondents (66.6%) as negative effects of avoiding literal interpretation of taboo expressions. Other negative consequences are loss of communication and misleading of the listener that have been considered as such by 55.5% of respondents, and loss of source language meaning and loss of emotional aspect of source language that have been pointed out by 44.4% of respondents.

5.4. Dealing with taboo when interpreting from English and French to Kinyarwanda and vice versa

The third and key research question has been *“What are effective strategies to deal with taboo while interpreting from English and French to Kinyarwanda and vice versa?”* Interpreting strategies consist of mechanisms and decisions that take place between the problem in the original speech and its solution in the interpreted speech, and the problem here is considered as the use of taboo speech.

According to the findings, strategies for coping with the difficulty of interpreting verbal taboo that interpreters would use include substitution (55.5%), euphemism (33.3%), equivalence (44.4%), code-switching (33.3%), distancing oneself from the speaker (22.2%), addition (11.1%) and literal interpretation (11.1%). The strategies that respondents actually used include substitution (22.2%), equivalence (22.5%), generalisation (11.1%), adaptation (11.1%) or omission (11.1%). In light of the case study, interpreters employed the following strategies: literal interpretation (39 times), equivalence (22 times), omission (8 times), paraphrasing (8 times), euphemism (5 times), substitution (3 times), addition (1 time), dysphemism (1 time) and adaptation (1 time).

Interpreters resort to various strategies to cope with challenges posed by taboo language and the interpreter is free to choose the appropriate strategies depending on interpreting variables including the topic, source and target language cultures, speaker, audience, mode of interpreting and setting. The interpreter should make an informed decision based on the advantages and disadvantages of

each strategy. For example, he or she should choose or reject literal interpretation after considering the negative consequences of the literal interpretation of taboo words such as offending the listener, embarrassing the listener and marginalizing the interpreter, and the negative consequences of avoiding literal interpretation such as distortion of source language, dilution of source language, loss of communication, misleading of the listener, loss of source language meaning and loss of emotional aspect of source language.

5.5. Recommendations

In view of the challenges encountered or likely to be encountered in interpreting taboo and considering the strategies used or likely to be used for coping with those challenges, this paper gives a set of recommendations related to training on interpreting taboo, practice of interpreting taboo and research on interpreting taboo. The recommendations are submitted to schools of interpreting, interpreting associations and researchers.

5.5.1. To schools of interpreting

This study has shown that interpreting taboo is a difficult task requiring cultural sensitivity and linguistic competence. There are thousands of terms that are deeply rooted in the culture so that, if not well handled, interpreting taboo can lead to terrible consequences such as death sentence by a judge or misdiagnosis and bad treatment of patients by healthcare professionals. Therefore, I recommend schools of interpreting to include in their training modules about:

- a) Cultural literacy;
- b) Communicative competencies;
- c) Reduction of the embarrassment factor in interpreting taboo;
- d) On-campus and off-campus acquisition of socio-cultural competencies.

5.5.2. To interpreting associations and schools

This study has highlighted a great variety of strategies that can be used to cope with interpreting taboo. It has also pointed out that the interpreter is free to choose the appropriate strategies depending on interpreting variables including the topic, source and target language cultures, speaker, audience, mode of interpreting and setting. However, for the sake of providing a practical and ethical framework for interpreting taboo, I recommend interpreting associations and schools:

- a) to draft guidelines for interpreting taboo;
- b) to monitor the practice of interpreting taboo and the adherence to the guidelines towards the improvement of the quality of interpreting taboo.

5.5.3. To researchers

This study has been limited to interpreting taboo from Kinyarwanda to English or French and vice versa. It has also assessed the quality of interpreting from the cultural and linguistic perspectives as well as from the Rwandan interpreter's point of view. Therefore, I recommend further research on interpreting taboo

- a) from a psycholinguistic perspective to investigate the interrelation between linguistic and psychological processes that take place when someone is interpreting taboo;
- b) from an ethical perspective for exploring the moral, religious and ideological constraints on interpreting taboo in the Rwandan context;
- c) from the listener's point of view to explore the impact of interpreting taboo on the Rwandan audience.

The knowledge of ethical and psycholinguistic barriers on interpreting taboo may help to solve some ethical and psycholinguistic issues related to interpreting taboos. As for the knowledge of the impact of interpreting taboo on the Rwandan audience, it may lead to better handling of the audience when interpreting taboo.

5.6. Conclusion

Interpreting taboos is a challenging task for interpreters, requiring the use of certain interpreting strategies including literal interpreting, equivalence, euphemism, paraphrasing, generalization, substitution, addition and omission depending on their communicative effectiveness. With the basic claim that linguistic taboos constitute an important constraint on the interpreting process, this study focused on their impact on the quality of interpreting and showed that they lead to the violation of interpreting qualities due to ethical bias in case an interpreter betrays his or her loyalty towards the source text, cultural illiteracy in the case of ignorance of cultural equivalences in both source and target language, lack of emotional control as far as the interpreter is unable to control the emotions of shame, embarrassment or fear that taboo language may arouse, unconvincing message delivery in the case of hesitations, breaks or stuttering and linguistic incompetence in the case of ignorance of idiomatic expressions.

In this respect, the study also exposed negative consequences of moving away from literal interpreting of taboo language including but not limited to distortion of source language, dilution of source language, misleading of the listener, loss of source language message and loss of emotional aspect of source language. In a bid to counter the negative consequences, an analysis of strategies employed in transferring taboo expressions was made and it disclosed that the strategy of equivalence is both culturally and linguistically effective while the most used strategy is literal interpretation followed by equivalence and omission.

A case study of interpreting from English and French to Kinyarwanda and from Kinyarwanda to English and French further revealed that the interpreting quality is low and needs improvement. In this context, further studies focusing on the relationship between interpreting taboo and psycholinguistics and ethics are necessary to shed more light on the listener and interpreter oriented aspect of interpreting taboo.

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APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaire

This questionnaire is part of a study on issues related to interpreting taboo in the Rwandan linguistic and cultural context. The questions are asked to experienced as well as novice interpreters. Your answers will indicate difficulties encountered in interpreting taboo from English and French to Kinyarwanda and vice versa and strategies to cope with them.

Code:

Age (optional):

Sex: Male Female

How long have you been an interpreter?

Please answer the following questions based on your knowledge and experience.

1. Which of the following would you consider to be taboo in Rwandan and/or foreign culture? (Please tick as many as appropriate)

- Sexism
- Racism
- Ethnicity
- Ageism
- Religious taboo (blasphemy)
- Bad, offensive language (swearing, cursing, insults)
- Sexual taboo (genital organs, bodily functions)
- Scatological taboo
- Impoliteness
- None
- Other (Indicate them)

2. What cases of taboo have you faced while interpreting from English and French to Kinyarwanda and vice versa? (Please tick as many as appropriate)

- Sexism
- Racism
- Ethnicity
- Religious taboo (blasphemy)
- Ageism
- Bad, offensive language (swearing, cursing, insults)
- Sexual taboo (genital organs)
- Scatological taboo
- Impoliteness
- None
- Other (Indicate them)

3. How would you deal with interpreting taboo? (Please tick as many as appropriate)

- Omit totally
- Introduce new content that is not in the SL (addition)
- Lower the harshness of the taboo (euphemism)
- Use exact equivalence in the TL (keeping tone and level of taboo)
- Substitute with a less harsh expression
- Code-switch to a foreign language
- Interpret literally if there is no equivalent
- Explain to other people that the words are not mine
- Not sure/ Don't know
- Other (Indicate it)

4. Is it appropriate to ignore taboo when interpreting from English and French to Kinyarwanda and vice versa?

- No, we need to be faithful
- No, there are consequences if we ignore taboo
- No, -----(other reason)
- Yes, it is embarrassing
- Yes, we must discourage this kind of speaking
- Yes, other people will think the dirty talk belongs to the interpreter
- Yes, -----(other reason)

5. If you dealt with interpreting taboo, please describe at least one occurrence of linguistic taboo that you faced and the strategy you used to deal with it

6. Which of the following do you consider as negative effects of avoiding literal interpreting of taboo? (Please tick as many as appropriate)

- Distortion of source language meaning
- Loss of source language message
- Dilution of source language meaning
- Loss of communication
- Nonsense in the target language
- Loss of emotional aspect of the source language
- Misleading the listener
- Other (Indicate them)

7. Which of the following do you consider as negative effects of literal interpreting of taboo? (Please tick as many as appropriate)

- Offending the listener
- Embarrassing the listener
- Marginalizing the interpreter
- Other (Indicate them)

8. How do you react to the source language speaker's use of taboo language? (Please tick as many as appropriate)

- Acceptance
- Indifference
- Embarrassment
- Shame
- Fear
- Mocking the speaker
- Mocking the message
- Other (Indicate it)

9. How does interpreting taboo impact the following interpreting qualities?

- Idiomatic language

- Fluency

- Pleasant voice

-
-
- Convincing voice
-
-

- Loyalty
-
-

- Coherence (the message makes sense)
-
-

- Plausibility (logical message)
-
-

10. When interpreting taboo, do you

- Maintain eye contact
- Avoid eye contact

11. When verbal taboo is accompanied by offending gestures, do you

- Mimic the gestures
- Ignore the gestures

12. Knowledge of both language cultures helps me deal with taboo

- Agree
- Disagree

- Don't know

13. Guidelines on taboo interpreting would help me when faced with it

- Agree
- Disagree
- Not sure/ don't know

Thank you for your participation!

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What challenges did you face when interpreting taboo?
2. How did you deal with the challenges?
3. Was it easier for you to interpreter taboo to Kinyarwanda or out of Kinyarwanda?
4. How do you rate your interpreting performance? Extremely Good? Very Good? Good? Not bad? Bad? Very bad? Extremely bad?

APPENDIX 3: TRANSCRIPTIONS OF T1, T2, T3 AND T4 INTERPRETING

T1 INTERPRETING FROM KINYARWANDA TO ENGLISH

❖ PROVERBS

Imborô y'ûmutiindi isiga abâana bâshira ikajya gushaaka abaândi/*A rich man does not care about his responsibility.*

Utâazi ikimûhatse, arora imborô ya sê igitsuûre/*An ignorant person ignores about his boss, boss's authority.*

Umugorê baâmukubitiye gusâambana ati: naasekwa n'ûutâarakimêze/*A woman caught in fornication laughed and said: anyone stone me.*

Umukoôbwa wahîiriwe yibwiira kô akirushâ abaândi/*A fortunate woman is proud of herself.*

Umwâana w'ûundî ni wê unnyâ amabyî anûuka/*Someone else's child is a wrong doer.*

Ikimûga kiruta igitûuro/*Better a sick person than a dead person.*

Utâazi umurêera, amureereesahô amabya/*He who doesn't know Umurera,....*

❖ RIDDLES

Inkoni nziizâ imera ahaâga: imborô ya mûsaaza waawe/*The penis of your brother is nothing.*

Imbûga nziizâ iboneka ahaâga: igituba cyaa mûshiki waawe /*Sex of your sister is nothing.*

Nyoko ntâasweerwâ aradiimbaarwa: isêkuru/*Your mother never, never make a mistake.*

❖ JOKE

Sêemuhanuka yagâambiriye gusâambanya Nyirârunyônga abura ahô yaamuturûka, yaanamûtumaho undi âkamusubiza amwîiyama n'îbitûtsi bitagira îngano. Bûkeeye Sêemuhanuka ahiimba amayêri yô kumwôoneeshereza, azana inkâ zê, aziturira mu burô bwa Nyîrarunyônga, mâze wê arageenda yigaramira mu burô rwaagatî, abeeyuura uruhû arukubira kuu nda, mâze “rwâamo” irêeguka, ireeba heejuru!... Babwiira Nyirârunyônga bati inkâ zaakuyogooreje

umurimâ. Ni bwô amanûkanye n'âbahuungû bê n'âbuûzukurû bê n'âbakazâana, inkâ bazuuhira ibibaando, bazikuura mu murimâ.

Nyirârunyônga reero siinzî ukô yaje kurâbukwa ahô Sêemuhanuka yigâramiye, yiifata ku kâanaanwâ aramwêenyuura ati: Nyirârunyônga kô baambeêshyera ngo nkuunda imborô, ati n'îyi niitôoreye!

Na wê reerô abeeyuura inkâanda, ayiisokahô; yagapfe, yagapfe, reka sînaakubwiira. Abuzuûkuru bê bâboonye nyirâkuru yâashiishikaye baaza bâaje kureeba icyô ahugîyehô, basaanga yîcaye heejuru ya Sêemuhanuka. Bâgize bati: reka tuuzê duhanê iyo mbwâ y'ûmushuumba yakoôneeshereje. Nyirârunyônga ati: nimuundêke mwiîngire. Nimwigêendere, ndamwîifâsha, baâna baange mwe. Barîgeendera. Arîko haaza gusîgara akuûzukurû kê gatôoyâ, kaza guhêengereza kati: esê ibyo bishoongônoka nî ibikî nyogôku? Undî ati: ni ibyuûya by'âbakîranyi.

A man called SEMUHANUKA wanted to have sexual affairs with NYIRARUNYONGA but did not know how to go about it. He tried to fuck her but NYIRARUNYONGA was unwilling, then SEMUHANUKA decided to bring his cows to NYIRARUNYONGA's field. Then he exposed himself naked and his penis got erected. When NYIRARUNYONGA came with her sons and daughters in law, they took away the cows from the fields, suddenly NYIRARUNYONGA saw SEMUHANUKA laying down naked, and she said ooh, lucky to find an abandoned penis. Then she sat on that erected penis, up and down, then her sons wondered: what is she doing? They found her sitting on SEMUHANUKA's penis, they begged her: let us come and punish that stupid guy, huum my sons, let me handle it myself. But one grand-son left behind asked: what is leaking my grandmother? She said: we are wrestling. This is the sweat of wrestlers.

❖ SOCIAL REGISTER

Nyakuubahwa Perezida wa Repubulikâ/ *President of the Republic.*

Nyirîcyûubahiro Musenyêri/ *Highness Bishop.*

Umwaâmi yaatânze/ *The king is deceased.*

Umwaâmi yaabêeranye/ *The king is sick.*

T1 INTERPRETING FROM KINYARWANDA TO FRENCH

❖ PROVERBS

Imborô y'ûmutiindi isiga abâana bâshira ikajya gushaaka abaândi/*Un coureur des jupons n'est jamais satisfait.*

Utâazî ikimûhatse, arora imborô ya sê igitsuûre/*Celui qui ne connaît pas son maître ou son chef, dévisage le pénis de son père.*

Umugorê baâmukubitiye gusâambana ati: naasekwa n'ûtâarakimêze/*Une femme prise dans l'adultère dit : que celle qui n'a pas de vagin....*

Inkûunzi y'îmiryaango ikobora rugoongo/*Une femme qui veut avoir beaucoup d'enfants se retrouve sans clitoris.*

Umwâana w'ûundî ni wê unnyâ amabyî anûuka/*Un enfant d'autrui sent mauvais.*

Ikimiyira kiruta amabyî/*Entre deux maux, on choisit le moindre.*

Uûsaanze innyo isîinziriye agira ngo yiiboneye inkôvu/*Celui qui trouve un anus....*

Umwâana ushîra isôni, bwiira anêeye rimwê/*Un enfant sans pudeur meurt de faim.*

Utâazi umurêera, amureereesahô amabya/*Celui qui ne connaît pas Umurera joue avec lui.*

❖ RIDDLES

Inkoni nziizâ imera ahaâga: imborô ya mûsaaza waawe/*Une rose pousse dans les épines: c'est le pénis de ton frère.*

Byuumve uhorê: umusuzi wa sô/*Ne dévoile pas le secret familial.*

Imbûga nziizâ iboneka ahaâga : igituba cyaa mûshiki waawe/*Le vagin de ta sœur ce n'est rien.*

Nyoko ntâasweerwâ aradiimbaarwa: isêkuru/*Ta mère ne commet jamais d'erreur.*

Nahuuye n'ûwiîruka atâgirâ iyo âajyâ: umusazi/*J'ai trouvé un badaud: un fou.*

❖ JOKE

Sêemuhanuka yagâambiriye gusâambanya Nyirârunyônga abura ahô yaamuturûka, yaanamûtumaho undi âkamusubiza amwîiyama n'îbitûtsi bitagira îngano. Bûkeeye Sêemuhanuka ahiimba amayêri yô kumwôoneeshereza, azana inkâ zê, aziturira mu burô bwa Nyîrarunyônga, mâze wê arageenda yigaramira mu burô rwaagatî, abeeyuura uruhû arukubira kuu nda, mâze “rwâamo” irêeguka, ireeba heejuru!... Babwiira Nyirârunyônga bati inkâ zaakuyogooreje umurimâ. Ni bwô amanûkanye n'âbahuungû bê n'âbuûzukuru bê n'âbakazâana, inkâ bazuuhira ibibaando, bazikuura mu murimâ.

Nyirârunyônga reero siinzî ukô yaje kurâbukwa ahô Sêemuhanuka yigâramiye, yiifata ku kâanaanwâ aramwêenyuura ati: Nyirârunyônga kô baambeêshyera ngo nkuunda imborô, ati n'îyi niitôoreye!

Na wê reerô abeeyuura inkâanda, ayiisokahô; yagapfe, yagapfe, reka sînaakubwiira. Abuzuûkuru bê bâboonye nyirâkuru yâashiishikaye baaza bâaje kureeba icyô ahugîyehô, basaanga yîcaye heejuru ya Sêemuhanuka. Bâgize bati: reka tuuzê duhanê iyo mbwâ y'ûmushuumba yakoôneeshereje. Nyirârunyônga ati: nimuundêke mwiîngire. Nimwigêendere, ndamwîifâsha, baâna baange mwe. Barîgeendera. Arîko haaza gusîgara akuûzukuru kê gatôoyâ, kaza guhêengereza kati: esê ibyo bishoongônoka nî ibikî nyogôku? Undî ati: ni ibyuûya by'âbakîranyi.

SEMUHANUKA voulait lier l'amitié avec NYIRARUNYONGA mais n'avait pas les moyens de l'aborder. Un jour il trouva les moyens d'amener ses vaches pour les faire paître pour qu'il trouve l'opportunité de la rencontrer. Alors, il se mit à l'ecart tout nu, ainsi son pénis était trop excité. Quand elle a su que les vaches étaient dans son champ, Nyirarunyonga descendit avec ses fils et ses belles filles, c'est ainsi que NYIRARUNYONGA trouva SEMUHANUKA tout nu, elle s'exclama en disant, mais dis donc, on me traite de coureur d'hommes, mais je viens de trouver un pénis abandonné, c'est ainsi qu'elle se mit à le faire, et c'était vraiment bon. Un petit fils voyant sa grand-mère en mouvement, il était curieux. Il la trouva sur SEMUHANUKA et s'exclama en disant : vraiment nous venons à ton secours pour punir ce monsieur. Elle dit : cher petit fils, laisse moi le punir, ça ne fait rien, je vais m'en occuper. Un petit fils dit : qu'est-ce que je vois sur ma grand-mère ? Elle lui dit, c'est la sueur.

❖ SWEARING

Yeêwe Mukâasêezike, yâa mborô ya sô wâanyu, uzâayiragîre nêeza, umuûnsi wô kuyîbaaga, nzaaguha amabya yâayo/*Madame MUKASEZIKEYE, voilà le pénis de ton oncle mais prend soin de ça et un jour apprête toi à en tirer conséquences.*

❖ SOCIAL REGISTER

Nyakuubahwa Perezida wa Repubulikâ/*Son Excellence Monsieur le Président de la République.*

Nyirîcyûubahiro Musenyêri/*Excellence Monseigneur.*

Umwaâmi yaatâanze/*Le roi est décédé.*

Umwaâmi yaabêeranye/*Le roi est malade.*

TI INTERPRETING FROM FRENCH TO KINYARWANDA

❖ PROVERBES

Mes couilles au bord de l'eau ça fait un radeau/ *Amabya arî mu mâazi amêze...*

L'amour c'est regarder ensemble dans la même direction, comme la levrette/ *Urukûundo rumezê, waarugereranya nô kureeba mu cyêerekezo kimwê nk'ûmishîno.*

L'âge légal vient avec les poils/ *Ikigâragâza ubukurê nî ubwaânwa.*

Qui fait caca dans le chemin marche dedans quand il revient/ *Uwûtuma muu nzîra iyô agarûtse ayakaandagiramô.*

Il n'y a que les imbéciles qui ne changent pas d'avis/ *Ibicûucu nibyô bitaahindûra, nibyô bitava ku izima.*

Dans le royaume des aveugles, les borgnes sont rois/ *Mu isî y'împumyi, ufîte ijûsho rimwê niwê mwaâmi.*

❖ RIDDLES

Q : Comment savoir quand un homme a eu un orgasme?

R: Il roule sur le côté et commence à ronfler/ *Ubwiirwa n'ûiki kô umugabo ayashizwê ?Araangwa nô kugona.*

Q: Qu'elle est la différence entre un chien et un mari?

R: Au bout d'un an, le chien est encore excité quand la femme rentre/ *Itâandukaniro hagafî y'ûmugabo n'ûimbwâ ni ukô imbwâ yô nyuma y'ûumwaka irakomeza ikagaragaza ubukaaka bwâayo iyo umugorê yiinjîye.*

Q: Comment appelle-t-on un homme intelligent en Belgique ?

R: Un touriste/ *Mu Bubiligi, umuuntu w'ûmunyâbweenge yîitwa gûte. Igisûbizo : umukeerarugeendo.*

❖ JOKES

-Avez-vous déjà touché le vagin d'une femme avec vos oreilles?

-

Non

- Alors c'est que vous êtes nés avec un casque! / *Waaba wârîigeze ukôrakora ukôreesheje amatwî. Igisûbizo. Oya, ubwo nî ukuvuga kô wavûukanye "casque".*

Combien prend-il de temps aux noirs pour chier une merde?

9 mois. / *Bitwaara igihe kinganâ ikî ku mwûirabura kugira ngô abyaarê ? Bitwaara amêezi icyeênda.*

❖ SWEARING

Fils de pute/ *Inyâna y'ûimbwâ.*

Va te faire enculer par une ourse/ *Urakariibwa n'împyisî.*

Mange de la merde/ *Karye amabyî.*

Les Français sont aussi cons que les nègres/ *Abafaraansâ na bô baârî ibicûucu nk'âbûirabura.*

Foutre Dieu! / *Mbeêga Mâana yaanjye!*

❖ SOCIAL REGISTER

Excellence Monsieur le Président de la République/ *Nyakuubahwa Perezida wa Repubulikâ.*

Excellence Monseigneur/ *Nyakuubahwa Musênyeri.*

Le roi est décédé/ *Umwaâmi yaatânze.*

Le roi est malade/ *Umwaâmi arî mu isasiro.*

La maison du roi est belle/ *Inzu y'ûmwami ifite uburaanga buhebûuje.*

TI INTERPRETING FROM ENGLISH TO KINYARWANDA

❖ PROVERBS

The toes you step on today may be attached to the ass you have to kiss tomorrow/ *Amano ugenderahô buri munsî, ashobora kuzagufasha kuyageenderahô ejô.*

- In the land of the blind, the one-eyed man is king/ *Mu gihûgu cy'împumyi ûufite ijûisho rimwê aba ari umwaâmi.*

❖ RIDDLES

Q.: What's in a man's pants that you just won't find in a girl's pants?

A: Penis/ *Ikiryâana mu ihururu, nicyô kiryanâ mu ipaantaro.*

Q: It's fun to do but you hate knowing your parents do it too. What is it?

A: Fuck/ *Aaaaa, biraryôoshye kubîkora arîko iyô arî ababyêeyi baawe babikozê birabâbaza.*

❖ **JOKES**

- Life is like a penis: women make it hard for no reason/ *Ubuzima bumezê nk'îmborô, abagorê nibô batumâ ikâkara ntâa mpaâmvu.*

❖ **SWEARING**

- Son of a bitch/ *Wa nyâna y'îmbwâ wê!*
- Screw your mother/ *Uragasweera nyoko!*

❖ **SOCIAL REGISTER**

Your Highness the Queen/ *Nyâgasani mwaâmikazi.*

The king is dead/ *Umwaâmi yaatâanze.*

The king is sick/ *Umwaâmi jaarwâaye.*

❖ **EXTRACTS FROM TRAINING SESSIONS**

In the event of unprotected sexual intercourse, sperm ejaculated from the male penis enters the woman's reproductive system. The sperm travels through the uterus to the fallopian tube, contacting the egg to fertilize it. The fertilized egg moves down the fallopian tube to reach the womb and becomes attached to the spongy lining of the womb. The fertilized egg begins to grow, which is called pregnancy.

Fistula is a hole between the bladder and the vagina or the rectum, or both-it is a childbirth injury caused by prolonged, obstructed labor, without timely medical attention such as a Cæsarian section. During unassisted prolonged labor, the sustained pressure of the baby's head on the mother's pelvic bone damages her soft tissues, creating a hole between the vagina and the bladder and/or rectum. Eventually, the dead tissue sloughs off and damages the structure of the vagina. As a result, urine and/or feces constantly leaks through the vagina.

Mu gihe habâye guhûza ibitsîna ntaa bwîiriinzi, amasohoro y'ûmugabo yîinjira mu gitsîna cy'ûmugorê ndetsê akajya mu myaânnya yê myîibarukiro. Izo ntaanga zirakomeza zikagera muu nda ibyâara bigahuura n'îgî kugira ngo bibê urusoro. Iryo gî ryaahuyê n'intaanga y'umugabo birageenda bikajya muunda ibyâara, iryo gî cyaangwa urwo rusoro ritaangira gukûra. Ibyo nibyô bitâ gutwîita.

Harimô iyîindi nyama yô muunda umuuntu yakwîitâ fistula, iyô umwâana urî muunda abagaanga batîitâye ku mubyêeyi hakiri kare mu gihe habayehô uko gukômereka ngo babê bâamubagâ, bishobora kwâangiiza umutwê w'urwo ruhûinja cyangwâ ibîindi bibâzo, hagatî y'înda ibyâara y'ûmugorê mu gitsîna cyê hashobora gukômereka, bigatuma igitsîna cy'ûmugorê harî uburyô cyâangirîka bikaba byamuteera guhôra avâ cyaangwâ sê akaba yâakwîituma arikâ binyuze mu gitsîna cyê.

T2 INTERPRETING FROM ENGLISH TO KINYARWANDA

❖ PROVERBS

The toes you step on today may be attached to the ass you have to kiss tomorrow/ *Uta imvûra ikagutaanga mu rugô.*

Excuses are like assholes; everybody has them and most of them stink/ *Akaabaaye icweende ntikoogâ.*

In the land of the blind, the one-eyed man is king/ *Mu gihûgu cy'împumyi, uufite ijîisho rimwê niwê mutwâare.*

❖ RIDDLES

Q: What's in a man's pants that you just won't find in a girl's pants?

A: Penis/ *Nî iki umugabo arusha umugorê? Inkoreesho.*

Q: It's fun to do but you hate knowing your parents do it too. What is it?

A: Fuck/ *Ahô waberêeye iri warâriboonye? Umwâana urôngora nyina.*

❖ JOKES

Life is like a penis: women make it hard for no reason/ *Ikibûumbye ubuzima nî nk'inyûubahiro. Abagorê bakomeza ibiintu ku busâ.*

A man is lying on the beach, wearing nothing but a cap over his crotch. A woman passing by remarks, "If you were any sort of a gentleman, you would lift your hat to a lady." He replies, "If you were any sort of a sexy lady, the hat would lift by itself/... *umugorê aravuga ati iyô uzâ kubâ uri umugabo kokô, umutîma waawe warî kuwêegurira ukurî. Arasubîza ati, iyô uzâ kubâ urî umugorê kokô utêeye amabengeêza, umutîma waawe warî kubyûbwûra.*

❖ SWEARING

Son of a bitch/ *Wa nyâana y'îmbwâ.*

You damned idiot/ *Gicuûcu.*

Walking piece of shit/ *Wâ mabyî wê.*

❖ SOCIAL REGISTER

Your Highness the Queen/ *Nyagâsani, mwaâmikazi.*

The Palace of King Henri is beautiful/ *Ingorô y'umwaâmi ni nzîzâ.*

The king is sick/ *Umwaâmi arabêeranye.*

❖ EXTRACTS FROM TRAINING SESSIONS

In the event of unprotected sexual intercourse, sperm ejaculated from the male penis enters the woman's reproductive system. The sperm travels through the uterus to the fallopian tube, contacting the egg to fertilize it. The fertilized egg moves down the fallopian tube to reach the womb and becomes attached to the spongy lining of the womb. The fertilized egg begins to grow, which is called pregnancy.

Fistula is a hole between the bladder and the vagina or the rectum, or both-it is a childbirth injury caused by prolonged, obstructed labor, without timely medical attention such as a Cæsarian section. During unassisted prolonged labor, the sustained pressure of the baby's head on the mother's pelvic bone damages her soft tissues, creating a hole between the vagina and the bladder and/or rectum. Eventually, the dead tissue sloughs off and damages the structure of the vagina. As a result, urine and/or feces constantly leaks through the vagina.

Iyô umuuntu akoze imibônano mpûuzabitsina adakîngiye, umugabo asohorera mu myaânya myûbarukiro y'umugorê, amasohoro ajya kurî nyababyeyi acûiye mu mwoorohera ujyâana intanga y'îngorê, iyô bimazê guhûura bijya mu mwoorohera ujyâ murî nyabâbyeyi, igî rigataangira gukûra, icyo reerô nicyô twiitâ ko umuuntu yatwiisê. Hari gukômeraka hagatî y'îmyaânaya myûbarukiro y'umugorê cyaangwâ se innyo, biterwa n'ûko umuuntu yatiinzê mu rweererero akaba aribwô babyaazâ umuuntu bakoreesheje césarienne. Uruhîinja reerô iyô rukirî muunda iyô umugorê yatiinzê ku bise ashobora gutûma umutwê w'umwâana ucukura umwoobo hagatî y'ûruhago n'înyo, hâarangiirika ku buryô ukô imyaânya myûbarukiro y'umugorê yari iteeye ihîndûka, ikâangiirika hâanyumâ agataangira gutônyaanga inkârî cyaangwâ sê akaba yâakwiituma bînyuze mu myaanya myiibarukiro y'umugorê.

T2 INTERPRETING FROM FRENCH TO KINYARWANDA

❖ PROVERBS

Mes couilles au bord de l'eau ça fait un radeau/ *Ntîa keezâ nk'ibisaabo byaanjye mu mâazi.*

L'amour c'est regarder ensemble dans la même direction, comme la levrette/ *Gukûundana ni ukujya mu cyêerekezo kimwê.*

L'âge légal vient avec les poils/ *Ahameze ubwaânwa hava ubwâana.*

Qui fait caca dans le chemin marche dedans quand il revient/ *Inkûbisi y'âmabyî irayitârukiriza.*

Il n'y a que les imbéciles qui ne changent pas d'avis/ *Ubugabo butiisûbiraho bubyara ububwâ.*

Dans le royaume des aveugles, les borgnes sont rois/ *Utajyâ i Bwaâmi abeeshywa byînshi.*

❖ RIDDLES

Q: Comment savoir quand un homme a eu un orgasme?

R: Il roule sur le côté et commence à ronfler/ *Umugabo uzamumenya utê? Araangwa nô kugona.*

Q: Qu'elle est la différence entre un chien et un mari ?

R: Au bout d'un an, le chien est encore excité quand la femme rentre/ *Impweerumwe n'ûmugabo bitaandûkaniye hê? Imbwâ ntiirambîrwa imbwâakazi yâayo.*

Q: Comment appelle-t-on un homme intelligent en Belgique?

R: Un touriste/ *Mu Rwaanda umunyâbweenge bamwiita ndê? Bamenyâ.*

❖ JOKES

Avez-vous déjà touché le vagin d'une femme avec vos oreilles?

-

Non

- Alors c'est que vous êtes nés avec un casque! / *Amatwî yaawe yaaba yârakôze ku magaanga y'ûmugorê? Wavûtse mû kireerê?*

Lors d'un entretien d'embauche:

- Avez-vous déjà été responsable dans un job?

- L'arabe dit: Non, mais le patron, dès qu'il y a une erreur, il dit je suis responsable/ *Mu gihe warî ugüye gushaaka akazi, wûgeze ubâ nyirâbayazaâna ku itûungana ry'ûmurimo? Oya cyeretse iyô byaâbaga byâananiye.*

❖ SWEARING

Fils de pute/ *Wâ kinyeendâaro we.*

Je peux sentir ta chatte! / *Mbeêga ukuuntu unuukâ!*

Va te faire enculer par une ourse/ *Kariibwe n'iimbwâ.*

Mange de la merde/ *Karye amabyî.*

Foutre Dieu! / *Vaana ibyo aho.*

❖ SOCIAL REGISTER

Excellence Monsieur le Président de la République/ *Nyakuubahwa Perezida wa Repubulikâ*

Excellence Monseigneur/ *Nyirîcyûubahiro Musênyeri.*

Le roi est décédé/ *Umwaâmi yaatâanze.*

Le roi est malade/ *Umwaâmi yaabêeranye.*

La maison du roi est belle/ *Ingorô y'ûmwaâmi irakîrana.*

T2 INTERPRETING FROM KINYARWANDA TO ENGLISH

❖ PROVERBS

Imborô y'ûmutiindi isiga abâana bâshira ikajya gushaaka abaândi/*An irresponsible father has always a new wife.*

Utâazî ikimûhatse, arora imborô ya sê igitsuûre/*If you do not respect your boss, you can say anything to them.*

Inkûunzi y'îmiryaango ikobora rugoongo/*A woman who likes to have many children will become weary.*

Uûsaanze innyo isînziriye agira ngo yiiboneye inkôvu/*If you see an anus, you can confuse it with wild wood.*

Umusazi arasara, akagwa ku iijaambo/*Even a mad man can make a sense.*

Umutwâ ararêengwa, agatwiika ikigega/*A Mutwa can burn a granary.*

Utâazi umurêera, amureereesahô amabya/*Whoever does not know the behavior of someone from Burera can take it for granted.*

❖ RIDDLES

Inkoni nziizâ imera ahaâga: imborô ya mûsaaza waawe/*A precious stone can be found in a furnace.*

Byuumve uhorê: umusuzi wa sô/*Don't say it: your father's gas.*

Imbûga nziizâ iboneka ahaâga: igituba cyaa mûshiki waawe/*A golden place can be found in a furnace: the vagina of your sister.*

Nyoko ntâasweerwâ aradiimbaarwa: isêkuru/*Your mother has marvelous movements: mortar.*

Gatiinze kâzaaryooha: agatuba k'ûruhîinja/*The product will be delicious: the child's vagina.*

Nahuuye n'ûwiîruka atâgirâ iyo âajyâ: umusazi/*I met an irresponsible pass by: a mad man.*

❖ JOKE

Sêemuhanuka yagâambiriye gusâambanya Nyirârunyônga abura ahô yaamuturûka, yaanamûtumaho undi âkamusubiza amwîiyama n'îbitûtsi bitagira îngano. Bûkeeye Sêemuhanuka ahiimba amayêri yô kumwôoneeshereza, azana inkâ zê, aziturira mu burô bwa Nyîrarunyônga, mâze wê arageenda yigaramira mu burô rwaagatî, abeeyuura uruhû arukubira kuu nda, mâze “rwâamo” irêeguka, ireeba heejuru!... Babwiira Nyirârunyônga bati inkâ zaakuyogooreje umurimâ. Ni bwô amanûkanye n'âbahuungû bê n'âbuûzukurû bê n'âbakazâana, inkâ bazuuhira ibibaando, bazikuura mu murimâ.

Nyirârunyônga reero siinzî ukô yaje kurâbukwa ahô Sêemuhanuka yigâramiye, yiifata ku kâanaanwâ aramwêenyuura ati: Nyirârunyônga kô baambeêshyera ngo nkuunda imborô, ati n'îyi niitôoreye!

Na wê reerô abeeyuura inkâanda, ayiisokahô; yagapfe, yagapfe, reka sînaakubwiira. Abuzuûkuru bê bâboonye nyirâkuru yâashiishikaye baaza bâaje kureeba icyô ahugîyehô, basaanga yîicaye heejuru ya Sêemuhanuka. Bâgize bati: reka tuuzê duhanê iyo mbwâ y'ûmushuumba yakooneeshereje. Nyirârunyônga ati: nimuundêke mwiînigire. Nimwigêendere, ndamwîifâsha, baâna baange mwe. Bariigeendera. Arîko haaza gusîgara akuûzukurû kê gatôoyâ, kaza guhêengereza kati: esê ibyo bishoongônoka nî ibikî nyogôku? Undî ati: ni ibyuûya by'âbakîranyi.

SEMUHANUKA wanted to make sex with NYIRARUNYONGA but did not find any way to approach her. He was sending for her but in a response to be sent.... One day SEMUHANUKA decided to graze in the eulesine of NYIRARUNYONGA and SEMUHANUKA laid down, had no clothes on the upper side and Mr. Peter stood readily. And the information reached to NYIRARUNYONGA that the cows were ravaging her eleusine and NYIRARUNYONGA with her grand children and sons came and were chasing away these cows. When NYIRARUNYONGA saw SEMUHANUKA, she was full of pleasure and said: this Peter, I will utilize it. She made up and down movements and the grand sons of NYIRARUNYONGA decided to come closer and said: let us punish this SEMUHANUKA. And NYIRARUNYONGA responded: I will finish him off by myself. And when the little grand children stayed and tried to peep and saw some liquid moving, they said: what is that? She said: this is sweating from wrestlers.

❖ SWEARING

Yeêwe Mukâasêezike, yâa mborô ya sô wâanyu, uzâayiragîre nêeza, umuûnsi wô kuyîbaaga, nzaaguha amabya yâayo/*This penis of your uncle you have to graze it properly, at the butchering I will reward you.*

Nyoko aragakubitirwa ahô yahiinzê yiikûbuurire ahô yaneeyê/*Let your mother be beaten....*

Ubona ahô uneeyê waa nyoni we/uneeye mu kêebo kaa Yoboka/ubeeshyera abâana baa Yoboka/haguruka uyaryê/uba wâambuye sô na bêne nyoko/*You leave here your shit; can't you see what you've done? It's your shit.... Share it with your family members.*

❖ SOCIAL REGISTER

Nyakuubahwa Perezida wa Repubulikâ/*You Excellency President of the Republic.*

Nyirîcyûubahiro Musenyêri/*Your Excellency Bishop.*

Umwaâmi yaatânze/*The King died.*

Umwaâmi yaabêeranye/*The King is sick.*

T2 INTERPRETING FROM KINYARWANDA TO FRENCH

❖ PROVERBS

Utâazî ikimûhatse, arora imborô ya sê igitsuûre/*Celui qui ne reconnaît pas son chef lui lance des injures.*

Inkûunzi y'îmiryaango ikobora rugoongo/*Une femme qui a besoin de beaucoup d'enfants finit par se casser.*

Uûsaanze innyo isîinziriye agira ngo yiiboneye inkôvu/*Celui qui ne sait pas observer l'anus le confond à une cicatrice.*

Umusazi arasara, akagwa ku iijaambo/*Même un incensé peut avoir de la raison.*

Umutuutsi umuvuura amêenyô, ejô akayâguhêkenyera/*Jamais vous ne verrez un Tutsi qui n'est pas ingrat.*

Utâazi umurêera, amureeresahô amabya/*Celui qui ne connaît pas une personne de Burera peut se faire acculer.*

❖ RIDDLES

Byuumve uhorê: umusuzi wa sô/*N'en dit rien: quand ton père pète.*

Imbûga nziizâ iboneka ahaâga: igituba cyaa mûshiki waawe/*C'est bien favori, mais pour rien: le vagin de ta soeur.*

Nahuuye n'ûwiîruka atâgirâ iyo âajyâ: umusazi/*J'ai vu une personne en errance: un incensé.*

Ziraca î Nyâbikâangagâ: insya z'ûmutwâakazi/*Le pubis d'une femme ou fille Mutwa.*

❖ JOKES

Sêemuhanuka yagâambiriye gusâambanya Nyirârunyônga abura ahô yaamuturûka, yaanamûtumaho undi âkamusubiza amwîiyama n'îbitûtsi bitagira îngano. Bûkeeye Sêemuhanuka ahiimba amayêri yô kumwôoneeshereza, azana inkâ zê, aziturira mu burô bwa Nyîrarunyônga, mâze wê arageenda yiigaramira mu burô rwaagatî, abeeyuura uruhû arukubira kuu nda, mâze

“rwâamo” irêeguka, ireeba heejuru !... Babwiira Nyirârunyônga bati inkâ zaakuyogooreje umurimâ. Ni bwô amanûkanye n’âbahuungû bê n’âbuûzukurû bê n’âbakazâana, inkâ bazuuhira ibibaando, bazikuura mu murimâ.

Nyirârunyônga reero siinzî ukô yaje kurâbukwa ahô Sêemuhanuka yigâramiye, yiifata ku kâanaanwâ aramwêenyuura ati: Nyirârunyônga kô baambeêshyera ngo nkuunda imborô, ati n’îyi niitôoreye!

Na wê reerô abeeyuura inkâanda, ayiisokahô; yagapfe, yagapfe, reka sînaakubwiira. Abuzuûkuru bê bâboonye nyirâkuru yâashiishikaye baaza bâaje kureeba icyô ahugîyehô, basaanga yîcaye heejuru ya Sêemuhanuka. Bâgize bati: reka tuuzê duhanê iyo mbwâ y’ûmushumba yakooneeshereje. Nyirârunyônga ati: nimuundêke mwiînigire. Nimwigêendere, ndamwîifâsha, baâna baange mwe. Barîgeendera. Arîko haaza gusîgara akuûzukurû kê gatôoyâ, kaza guhêengereza kati: esê ibyo bishoongônoka nî ibikî nyogôku? Undî ati: ni ibyuûya by’âbakîranyi.

SEMUHANUKA a voulu... Pour en arriver à son projet, elle est allée paître ses vaches dans l’éleusine de NYIRARUNYONGA. Et lorsque l’information est parvenue à NYIRARUNYONGA, cette dernière est venue avec ses fils et ses petits enfants ainsi que ses belles soeurs pour chasser de son champ ces vaches. Et lorsque NYIRARUNYONGA s’est aperçue de SEMUHANUKA qui était couché par terre, NYIRARUNYONGA s’est dit: personne ne m’en voudra pas de ce pénis qui est gratuit. Et lorsque ses fils et ses petits fils se sont aperçus des mouvements appliqués par NYIRARUNYONGA, ils ont dit: laissez-nous punir SEMUHANUKA. Et NYIRARUNYONGA de rétorquer: allez, moi même je vais le secouer. Et tout le monde s’en est allé sauf un petit fils qui était de très bas âge et qui a voulu bien voir et dit: alors, qu’est ce que je vois qui est en train de couler? Et NYIRARUNYONGA a répondu: ce ne sont que les traces de la sueur.

❖ SWEARING

Yeêwe Mukâasêezike, yâa mborô ya sô wâanyu, uzâayiragîre nêeza, umuûnsi wô kuyîbaaga, nzaaguha amabya yâayo/*Gardez bien ce penis de ton oncle....*

Ubona ahô uneeyê waa nyoni we/uneeye mu kêbo kaa Yoboka/ubeeshyera abâana baa Yoboka/haguruka uyaryê/uba wâambuye sô na bêene nyoko/*Qu’est-ce-que tu as fait là où tu as mis tes foecus? Que tu manges tes productions fécales.*

❖ **SOCIAL REGISTER**

Umwaâmi yaatâanze/*Le roi est décedé.*

Umwaâmi yaabêeranye/*Le roi est malade.*

T3 INTERPRETING FROM ENGLISH TO KINYARWANDA

❖ **PROVERBS**

The toes you step on today may be attached to the ass you have to kiss tomorrow/ *Inkoni ikûbise mûkasô uyireenza urugô.*

Excuses are like assholes; everybody has them and most of them stink/ *Ntaawubûra icyô avugâ cy'amatangirangoyi ku makosâ abâ yaakôze ndetsê rimwê na rimwê anâbeeshya.*

In the land of the blind, the one-eyed man is king/ *Mu gihûgu cy'impumyi uw'ijûsho rimwê arayobora.*

❖ **RIDDLES**

Q: What's in a man's pants that you just won't find in a girl's pants?

A: Penis/ *Ngo nî ikî kibâ mu ikabaturâ y'ûmugabo utabonâ mu ikariso y'umugorê? Imborô.*

Q: It's fun to do but you hate knowing your parents do it too. What is it?

A: Fuck/ *Ngo nî ikî wishûmira gukôra arîko ukababazwa n'ûko ababyêeyi baawe baagikozê? Nî ukuryâama ukôra imibônano mpûuzabitsina.*

Q: Why did so many black men get killed in Vietnam?

A: When the generals would yell, "Get down!" they would all start dancing/ *Ngo nî ukubêera ikî abiûratura beênshi biûshwe murî Vietnam? Nî ukubêera yuukô Abajenerâari iyô bateeraga induurû ngo barahâgurukaga bagataangira kubyîna.*

❖ JOKES

Life is like a penis: women make it hard for no reason/ *Ubuzima bumeze nk'imborô, abagorê baraburemereza nta mpaâmvu, batuma bûkomera.*

A man is lying on the beach, wearing nothing but a cap over his crotch. A woman passing by remarks, "If you were any sort of a gentleman, you would lift your hat to a lady." He replies, "If you were any sort of a sexy lady, the hat would lift by itself/ *Umugabo yarî yiiryamiye ngo yikingiye izûba n'âkagofeero, hatambuuka umugorê aramubwiira ati wowê iyô uba urî umugabo kokô nyawe uzî gukûundwaakaza, waakabaye iyo ngofeero uyîha umudaâmu akiikingira izûba aho kugira ngo abê arî wowê wikiingira ubwaawê, aramûsubiza ati naawe niiba warî umugorê ufite igikûundi, iyi ngofeero iba yâkugezehô kare, iba yâagurutse ikaaza ikakwiîyâmbika.*

A black guy walks into a bar with a parrot on his shoulder and asks for a beer. The bartender brings a beer and notices the parrot on his shoulder and says, "Hey that's really neat. Where did you get it?" The parrot responds, "In the jungle, there's millions of them."/ *Umugabo w'ûmwîrâbura yiînjiye mu kabari atwâaye kasukû ku rutûgu nuko asaba icupâ, umukôzi wo mu kabari azâana icupâ haanyumâ abona wâamugabo afite ka kasukû ku rutûgu n'uko aravûga ati: wayikuuye hê? Nuuko kasukû iramusubiza iti: nayikuuye mu ishyaamba, zirahari nyîînshi.*

❖ SWEARING

Son of a bitch/ *Wa nyâana y'iimbwâ wê.*

Screw your mother/ *Uragasweera nyoko.*

You damned idiot/ *Wê uri igicûucu, uri ikigôryi.*

Goddammit! / *Asyi wê.*

❖ SOCIAL REGISTER

Your Highness the Queen/ *Umwaâmikazi.*

The Palace of King Henri is beautiful/ *Ingorô y'umwaâmi Henry nî nziîzâ.*

The king is dead/ *Umwaâmi yaatâanze.*

The king is sick/ *Umwaâmi ararwâaye.*

❖ EXTRACTS FROM TRAINING SESSIONS

In the event of unprotected sexual intercourse, sperm ejaculated from the male penis enters the woman's reproductive system. The sperm travels through the uterus to the fallopian tube, contacting the egg to fertilize it. The fertilized egg moves down the fallopian tube to reach the womb and becomes attached to the spongy lining of the womb. The fertilized egg begins to grow, which is called pregnancy.

Fistula is a hole between the bladder and the vagina or the rectum, or both-it is a childbirth injury caused by prolonged, obstructed labor, without timely medical attention such as a Cæsarian section. During unassisted prolonged labor, the sustained pressure of the baby's head on the mother's pelvic bone damages her soft tissues, creating a hole between the vagina and the bladder and/or rectum. Eventually, the dead tissue sloughs off and damages the structure of the vagina. As a result, urine and/or feces constantly leaks through the vagina.

Iyô ukozê imibônano idâkiingiye, urasohora intaanga zikajya mu myaânya myûbarukiro y'ûmugorê, intaanga reerô zakwiinjîra murî nyabâbyeeyi, zigahuura n'intaanga ngorê ubwo nyîne ukaba umuteeye inda. Igî rikozwê n'intaanga ngabo n'intaanga ngorê zikazamuuka zikajya murî nyabâbyeeyi, iryo gî rigataangira gukûra, icyo gihe nibwô bavugâ kô umuuntu atwiitê.

Indwâara yô kujôojoba iteerwa n'âgasebe kaba gacitse hagatî y'ûruhago n'inyaânya myûbarukiro y'ûmugorê. Icyo gihe icyo gisebe cyaangwâ icyo gikomêre kiizâ mu gihe umubyêeyi yabyaaye bigoranye cyaangwâ sê igihe habaayê ikosâ mu kumûbaaga. Mu gihe umubyêeyi yabyaayê wêenyinê ntâa mugaanga, atabyaariye kwa mugaanga, ntâa n'ûmubyaâza uhâri akajya ku gise umwaânya munîni, akagitiindahô, umutwê w'ûmwâana ukomeza gusunika ushâaka gusohoka waangiiza uducê tw'inyaânya myûbarukiro tw'imbere twoorohêre ubwo hagahita hâza umwêenge cyaangwâ igikomêre hagatî y'inyaânya myûbarukiro y'inyuma y'ûmugorê n'ûruhago. Iyô hamazê reerô gucûika icyo gisebe igikûrikirahô nî ukô umugorê ahorâ ajôojoba inkâri cyaangwa sê imyaanda ikômeye ariyô amabyî akajya ahôra ajôojoba.

T3 INTERPRETING FROM FRENCH TO KINYARWANDA

❖ PROVERBS

L'âge légal vient avec les poils/ *Ahaâje ubwaânwa, ubwâana burahuunga.*

À un chacun sent bon sa merde/ *Nyirî umupfû ni wê ujà ahanûuka.*

Qui fait caca dans le chemin marche dedans quand il revient/ *Ugûhima atûrêtse agusurira mûryaamyè.*

Il n'y a que les imbéciles qui ne changent pas d'avis/ *Ubugabo butiisubirahô bubyara ububwâ.*

Dans le royaume des aveugles, les borgnes sont rois/ *Mu gihûgu cy'impumyi uw'ijûisho rimwê arayobora.*

❖ RIDDLES

Q: Comment savoir quand un homme a eu un orgasme?

R: Il roule sur le côté et commence à ronfler / *Waamenya utê kô umugabo yaraângije? Aryaamira urubavu, agataangira kunihira.*

Q: Qu'elle est la différence entre un chien et un mari ?

R: Au bout d'un an, le chien est encore excité quand la femme rentre/ *Nî iriîhe tâandukaniro hagatî y'ûmugabo n'ûmbwâ? Nyuma y'ûmwâaka imbwâ iba igîharaye umugorê wâayo, iba yûumva ikîmushaaka iyô ataashyê.*

Q: Comment appelle-t-on un homme intelligent en Belgique?

R: Un touriste/ *Mu Bubiligi umuuntu w'ûmuhaânga bamwiita ngo ikî ? Mukeerarugeendo.*

❖ JOKES

- Avez-vous déjà touché le vagin d'une femme avec vos oreilles?

-

Non

- Alors c'est que vous êtes nés avec un casque! / *Waaba wârîigeze ukâbakaba igituba cyaangwâ*

igitsîna cy'ûmugorê n'âmatwî yaawe? Oya. Niibâ arî ibyo ni ukuvûga kô wavûutse wâambaye ingofeero.

Lors d'un entretien d'embauche: Avez-vous déjà été responsable dans un job? L'arabe dit: Non, mais le patron, dès qu'il y a une erreur, il dit je suis responsable/ *Mu kizaamîni cy'âkazi umugabo bâaramubâjije bati: waaba wârîigeze ubâ umuyobozi? Umwâarabû arasûbiza ati: oya, icyakora umukorêesha waanjye iyô hâabaga hâabaye ikosâ yarâvugaga ngo ni nje warikozê.*

❖ SWEARING

Fils de pute/ *Waa nyâna y'ûmbwâ we.*

Je peux sentir ta chatte! / *Agatuba kaawe karanuuka.*

Mange de la merde/ *Karye amabyî.*

Les Français sont aussi cons que les nègres/ *Abafaraansâ nî ibicûucu nk'âbîrâbura.*

❖ SOCIAL REGISTER

Excellence Monsieur le Président de la République/ *Nyakuubahwa Perezida wa Repubulikâ.*

Excellence Monseigneur/ *Nyirîcyûubahiro Musênyeri.*

Le roi est décédé/ *Umwâami yaatânze.*

Le roi est malade/ *Umwâami ararwâaye.*

La maison du roi est belle/ *Ingorô y'ûmwaâmi nî nzîzâ.*

T3 INTERPRETING FROM KINYARWANDA TO ENGLISH

❖ PROVERBS

Imborô y'ûmutiindi isiga abâana bâshira ikajya gushaaka abaândi/*Adding fuel on fire.*

Utâazî ikimûhatse, arora imborô ya sê igitsuûre/*A foolish man ignores orders of his master.*

Umugorê baâmukubitiye gusâambana ati: naasekwa n'ûutâarakimêze/*Every human being is a sinner.*

Umukoôbwa wahîiriwe yibwiira kô akirushâ abaândi/*If you are merely lucky, you think you are the best or you are so smart.*

Ikimyîira kiruta amabyî/*Two is better than one.*

Uûsaanze innyo isînziriye agira ngo yiboneye inkôvu/*Don't judge a book by its cover.*

❖ RIDDLES

Inkoni nziizâ imera ahaâga: imborô ya mûsaaza waawe/*A delicious dish is cooked in a restricted kitchen: the penis of you brother.*

Imbûga nziizâ iboneka ahaâga: igituba cyaa mûshiki waawe/*The good grazing area is found in a restricted area: the vagina of your sister.*

Nahuuye n'ûwiîruka atâgirâ iyô ajoyâ: umusazi/*I crossed someone rushing to nowhere: a mad man.*

❖ JOKES

Sêemuhanuka yagâambiriye gusâambanya Nyirârunyônga abura ahô yaamuturûka, yaanamûtumaho undi âkamusubiza amwîiyama n'îbitûtsi bitagira îngano. Bûkeeye Sêemuhanuka ahiimba amayêri yô kumwôoneeshereza, azana inkâ zê, aziturira mu burô bwa Nyîrarunyônga, mâze wê arageenda yiigaramira mu burô rwaagatî, abeeyuura uruhû arukubira kuu nda, mâze “rwâamo” irêeguka, ireeba heejuru!... Babwiira Nyirârunyônga bati inkâ zaakuyogooreje umurimâ. Ni bwô amanûkanye n'âbahuungû bê n'âbuûzukuru bê n'âbakazâana, inkâ bazuhira ibibaando, bazikuura mu murimâ.

Nyirârunyônga reero siinzî ukô yaje kurâbukwa ahô Sêemuhanuka yigâramiye, yiifata ku kâanaanwâ aramwêenyuura ati: Nyirârunyônga kô baambeêshyera ngo nkuunda imborô, ati n'îyi niitôoreye!

Na wê reerô abeeyuura inkâanda, ayiisokahô; yagapfe, yagapfe, reka sînaakubwiira. Abuzuûkuru bê bâboonye nyirâkuru yâashiishikaye baaza bâaje kureeba icyô ahugîyehô, basaanga yîicaye heejuru ya Sêemuhanuka. Bâgize bati: reka tuuzê duhanê iyo mbwâ y'ûmushuumba yakooneeshereje. Nyirârunyônga ati: nimuundêke mwîinigire. Nimwigêendere, ndamwiifâsha, baâna baange mwe. Bariigeendera. Arîko haaza gusîgara akuûzukuru kê gatôoyâ, kaza guhêengereza kati: esê ibyo bishoongônoka nî ibikî nyogôku? Undî ati: ni ibyuûya by'âbakîranyi.

Once upon a time, a man called SEMUHANUKA wanted to fuck NYIRARUNYONGA but he failed. So, he created a trick where to lure NYIRARUNYONGA. He spread the news that his cows, his cattle were grazing in her plantation.

Then NYIRARUNYONGA came rushing to see someone who did that to her. Then SEMUHANUKA went in the bush naked, his penis was erected in the middle of the bush. Then when NYIRARUNYONGA was coming to see someone who is grazing her plantation, she immediately saw a penis. She said: now they always say that I like being fucked, I like men, I like sex but today I found myself a penis of my own. Immediately, she put off her clothes and immediately bent down and she could herself be fucked by SEMUHANUKA's penis. And the entire act, intercourse while going on, her children and grandchildren were watching, wondering what was going on. And NYIRARUNYONGA told them: don't worry, I'm punishing my wrong doer, just go away, there is no problem. And her little grandchildren who were just watching asked her: but we can see something flowing like water, what is it? She told them: as I'm fighting I'm sweating; I'm sweating as I'm fighting.

❖ SWEARING

Gacumite nyoko umucûritse nûmucurûura umucê rugoongo/*Fuck you mother.*

❖ SOCIAL REGISTER

Nyakuubahwa Perezida wa Repubulikâ/*His Excellency Mr. President of the Republic.*

Nyirîcyûubahiro Musenyêri/*Bishop.*

Umwaâmi yaatâanze/*The King is dead.*

Umwaâmi yaabêeranye/*The King is sick.*

T3 INTERPRETING FROM KINYARWANDA TO FRENCH

❖ PROVERBS

Umugorê baâmukubitiye gusâambana ati: naasekwa n'ûtâarakimêze/*L'erreur est humaine.*

Umwâana w'ûundî ni wê unnyâ amabyî anûuka. /*L'erreur des autres est insupportable.*

Ikimyiira kiruta amabyî/*Entre deux maux, il faut toujours choisir le moindre.*

Uûsaanze innyo isînziriye agira ngo yiiboneye inkôvu/*L'habit ne fait pas le moine.*

Umwâana ushîra isôni, bwiira anêeye rimwê. /*Un enfant gâté a toujours des ennuis.*

Inyîituurano y'ûmuhutû ni umusuzi/*L'homme est ingrat.*

❖ JOKES

Sêemuhanuka yagâambiriye gusâambanya Nyirârunyônga abura ahô yaamuturûka, yaanamûtumaho undi âkamusubiza amwîiyama n'îbitûtsi bitagira îngano. Bûkeeye Sêemuhanuka ahiimba amayêri yô kumwôoneeshereza, azana inkâ zê, aziturira mu burô bwa Nyîrarunyônga, mâze wê arageenda yigaramira mu burô rwaagatî, abeeyuura uruhû arukubira kuu nda, mâze “rwâamo” irêeguka, ireeba heejuru!... Babwiira Nyirârunyônga bati inkâ zaakuyogooreje umurimâ. Ni bwô amanûkanye n'âbahuungû bê n'âbuûzukuru bê n'âbakazâana, inkâ bazuhira ibibaando, bazikuura mu murimâ.

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Na wê reerô abeeyuura inkâanda, ayiisokahô; yagapfe, yagapfe, reka sînaakubwiira. Abuzuûkuru bê bâboonye nyirâkuru yâashiishikaye baaza bâaje kureeba icyô ahugîyehô, basaanga yîicaye heejuru ya Sêemuhanuka. Bâgize bati: reka tuuzê duhanê iyo mbwâ y'ûmushuumba yakoôneeshereje. Nyirârunyônga ati: nimuundêke mwîinigire. Nimwigêendere, ndamwiifâsha, baâna baange mwe. Bariigeendera. Arîko haaza gusîgara akuûzukururu kê gatôoyâ, kaza guhêengereza kati: esê ibyo bishoongônoka nîi ibikî nyogôku? Undî ati: ni ibyuûya by'âbakîranyi.

SEMUHANUKA a voulu toujours se coucher avec NYIRARUNYONGA mais en vain. Alors, il créa les moyens de la piéger; il envoya son troupeau paître dans son champ de maïs. Les enfants et les petits enfants de NYIRARUNYONGA vinrent l'informer de l'incident, alors immédiatement NYIRARUNYONGA alla voir ce qui se passait. Arrivé là bas, SEMUHANUKA s'est désabillé et s'est caché dans la brousse. Son pénis était déjà en érection. Quand NYIRARUNYONGA arriva, elle aperçut un pénis en érection et s'est dit: « J'aime coucher avec les hommes mais cette fois ci j'ai trouvé un pénis sans propriétaire, alors c'est mon pénis ». Elle se précipita sur ce pénis et l'introduisa dans son vagin et commença l'action. Ses petits enfants étaient là, la regardèrent et lui demendèrent: Grand mère qu'est-ce que tu fais là? Non, laissez tomber mes enfants, ce n'est rien, je suis en train de punir cet homme qui a abîmé ma plantation, allez vous en, il n'ya pas de problèmes. Alors un petit enfant qu'était assis là bas, a commencé à regarder très curieusement et a demandé: mais je vois quelque chose qui coule qu'est ce que c'est ça? Ell répondit: ce n'est rien, tu sais, c'est la sueur, je suis en train de combattre ce malfaiteur, alors j'ai sué.

❖ SWEARING

Gasure inyô n'îinyâmuunyo usomêze amâazi y'ûbugarî/*Va te faire foutre.*

❖ SOCIAL REGISTER

Nyakuubahwa Perezida wa Repubulikâ/*Excellence Monsieur le Président de la République.*

Nyirîcyûubahiro Musenyêri/*Excellence Monseigneur.*

Umwaâmi yaatâanze/*Le Roi est décédé.*

Umwaâmi yaabêeranye/*Le Roi est malade.*

T4 INTERPRETING FROM ENGLISH TO KINYARWANDA

❖ PROVERBS.

The toes you step on today may be attached to the ass you have to kiss tomorrow / *Amabyî azûica umwâana ntamuvâ mu kabûno.*

Excuses are like assholes; everybody has them and most of them stink / *Impââmvu ingana ururô, gushaaka impââmvu nî nk'ûmwooyo, buri wêese afite umwooyo arîko imyooyo myiînshi iranuuka.*

In the land of the blind, the one-eyed man is king/ *Mu gihûgu cy'împumyi uw'îjûisho rimwê arayobora.*

❖ RIDDLES

What's in a man's pants that you just won't find in a girl's pants? Penis/ *Ni ikî kirî mu myeênda y'ûmugabo udâshobôra kubona mu y'ûmugorê? Imborô.*

It's fun to do but you hate knowing your parents do it too. What is it? Fuck/ *Biraryôoha kubîkora arîko nanôone ntaabwo arî byiizâ ko sô abikorâ, ni ibikî? Guswêera.*

Why did so many black men get killed in Vietnam? When the generals would yell, "Get down!" they would all start dancing/ *Kubêera ikî abûrabûra b'âbagabo aribô bûshwe cyaane murî Vietnam? Iyô Umukurû w'îngabo yavûgaga, agasâkuza, bôose baâtaangiraga gucêeza, kubyîna.*

❖ JOKES

Life is like a penis; women make it hard for no reason/ *Ubuzima nî nk'îmborô abagorê barabikomeza kaândi ntaâ mpaâmvu.*

A man is lying on the beach, wearing nothing but a cap over his crotch. A woman passing by remarks, "If you were any sort of a gentleman, you would lift your hat to a lady." He replies, "If you were any sort of a sexy lady, the hat would lift by itself/*Umugabo yarî aryaame ku nkoombe z'îkiyâga haanyuma yûiyambariye ingofeero yayîshyize ku ruhaânde rw'îgitsina. Umugore yarâtaambuakaga arabîbona nuuko aramûbwiira ngo iyô uzâ kubâ urî umugabo witwâara neezâ, warî kuvaanamo ingofeero haanyumâ ukampa icyûubahiro. Umugabo aramusubiza ati naâwe iyo uzâ kubâ urî umugorê mwüzâ, ushâmaaje, ingofeero yari kwîkuuraho.*

A black guy walks into a bar with a parrot on his shoulder and asks for a beer. The bartender brings a beer and notices the parrot on his shoulder and says, "Hey that's really neat. Where did you get it?" The parrot responds, "In the jungle, there's millions of them."/ *Umwîrabûra yûnjiye mu kabari afite gasukû haanyuma umuha inzogâ abona afite ya gasukû aramubwiira ati iyi wayikuuye hehe, haanyuma gasukû irasûbiza ngo mu ishyamba hariyô nyûnshi, hariyô amamilîyooni n'âmamilîyooni.*

❖ SWEARING

Son of bitch / *Waa kinyêendâaro wê.*

Screw your mother / *Gasweere nyoko.*

Cum on your face / **Kisohôrere mu mâaso.**

Big bitch / **Waa ndaâya wê.**

Lick my ass/ *Kaankoombe muu nnyo.*

You damned idiot / *Waa mahêeru we y'îkigoôryi.*

Walking piece of sheet / **Waa nyô wê.**

Goddammit! / **Mahêeru.**

❖ EXTRACTS FROM TRAINING SESSIONS

In the event of unprotected sexual intercourse, sperm ejaculated from the male penis enters the woman's reproductive system. The sperm travels through the uterus to the fallopian tube, contacting the egg to fertilize it. The fertilized egg moves down the fallopian tube to reach the womb and becomes attached to the spongy lining of the womb. The fertilized egg begins to grow, which is called pregnancy.

Fistula is a hole between the bladder and the vagina or the rectum, or both-it is a childbirth injury caused by prolonged, obstructed labor, without timely medical attention such as a Cæsarian section. During unassisted prolonged labor, the sustained pressure of the baby's head on the mother's pelvic bone damages her soft tissues, creating a hole between the vagina and the bladder and/or rectum. Eventually, the dead tissue sloughs off and damages the structure of the vagina. As a result, urine and/or feces constantly leaks through the vagina.

Mu gihe habaayehô guhûza ibitsîna, amasohoro yavuuyê mu gitsîna cy'ûmugabo yinjira mu myaanya myûbarukiro y'umugore. Ayo masohoro ajya mu muyoborantaanga, haanyuma akajya mu kîndi gicê cy'ûmuyoborantaanga, aho ngâahô agahuura n'ûgi bigatuma iryo gi rifata yâa masohoro. Iryo gi rêerô iyô ryaafashe yâa masohoro, rîyajyaana mu wuûndi muyoboro bîta fallopian tube mu cyôngerezâ, haanyuma ukayijaana mu nda, nyabâbyeeyi y'ûmugorê haanyuma iyo nyabâbyeeyi ikaba ifite akaandi kaantu gashamîkiyehô kajyâ aho ngâaho muu nda, haanyuma iryo gi rigataangira gukûra, akaba arî byô bibyaarâ gutwîta.

Fistula cyâangwâ kuva, fistula ni umwoobo urî hagatî y'ûrura runîni ndetsê n'igitsîna gorê bijyaanâ ahû bîitâ kurî rectum cyâangwâ kuu nzira y'ûmwooyo cyâangwâ kurî ibyo byôombî. Reerô ni ugukômereka bîtewe n'ûukô umwâana abâ arîmô kuvûuka haanyuma igihe umwâana yatiinzê kuvûuka akaba arî byô biteerâ iyo ndwâara bita fisiturâ cyaangwa kujôojooba kubêera kô babâ bâtaayihaye umwâanya uhâagije kubêera kô babâ bâtaabaashije kuvuura uwo muuntu hâkiri kare, cyaane cyaane mu gihe baamukoreye icyûtwa césarienne cyâangwâ mu gihe baari bârimo kumûbaaga.

Iyô reerô habaayêhô kuvûuka k'ûumwâana byâatiinze, imbâragâ ziteewe n'ûmutwê w'ûumwâana biteera uturemangiingo tumwê na tûmwe twoorôshye haâfi yô ku myaanya myûbarukiro y'ûmugorê, bigatuma utwo tunyaangiingo twâangirika bigatuma reerô havamô

akaantu kamezê nk'ûmwoobo hagafî y'îgitsîna ndêtse n'ûrura runîni cyâangwa kurî "rectum" heegêreya umwooyo.

Icyo gihe reerô twâa turemangiingo iyô twaangûritse nibwô habâhô ikibâzo ku ruhaânde rw'îgitsîna, ibyo ngûibyô reerô bigateerwa nô guhôra umuuntu avâ cyâangwa ajôojooba inkârî cyâangwâ umwaanda cyâangwa icyô twûta amabyî bikamanuka byêerekeza ku gitsîna

T4 INTERPRETING FROM FRENCH TO KINYARWANDA

❖ PROVERBS.

Mes couilles au bord de l'eau fait radeau/ *Amabya yaanjye haâfî y'âmâazi bisa nk'îbikôra umurâba.*

L'amour c'est regarder ensemble dans la même direction comme l'ovrette/ *Urukûundo ni nkô kureeba mu cyêerekezo kimwê cyaangwâ tukabigereranya n'ûmushîno nk'ûuko imishîno ireebâna.*

L'âge légal vient avec les poils/ *Imyâaka y'ûbukurê izana n'insya.*

À un chacun sent bon sa merde/ *Ntawaânga ibyê binuukâ.*

Qui fait caca dans le chemin marche dedans quand il revient / *Unêeye mu nzira ageenda mu mabyî yê igihe arî kugaruka cyaangwâ amabyî azûica umwâana amvuva mu kabûno.*

Il n'y a que les imbeciles qu ne changent pas d'avis/ *Cyeretse ibigôryi bitagirâ ubwêenge nibyâ bitajyâ bîhinduka.*

Dans le royaume des aveugles, les borgnes sont rois/ *Mu bwaâmi bw'împumyi ufite ijîisho rimwê niwî uyôbora.*

❖ RIDDLES

- Comment savoir quand un homme a eu un orgasme ?
- Il roule sur le côté et commence à ronfler/ *Ni gûte umuuntu amenyâ kô umugabo yasohôye ? Yüzengurutsa ku ruhaânde, aryama ku ruhaânde, agwa ku ruhaânde haanyumâ agataangira kugona.*
- Quelle est la différence entre un chien et un mari ?
- Au bout d'un an, le chien est encore excité quand la femme rentre/*Itâandukaniro riri hagamî y'ûmbwâ ndetse n'ûmugabo ufite umugorê cyaangwâ washâatse umugorê. Mu gihe cy'ûmwâaka imbwâ ihorana ibyishiimo iyô umugorê ataashyê.*
- Comment appelle-t-on un homme intelligent en Belgique ?
- Un touriste/*Ni gûte biitâ umugabo w'ûmunyâbweenge, umugabo uzî ubweenge mu Bubiligi? Bamwiita umukeerarugeendo.*

❖ JOKES

- Avez-vous déjà touché le vagin d'une femme avec vos oreilles ?
- Non.
- Alors c'est que vous êtes né avec un casque/ *Waaba wârakôze ku gitsîna cy'umugorê ukorêsheje amatwî? Oya. Ubwo ni ukô wavûutse waambaye ingofeero.*

Lors d'un entretien d'embauche :

- Avez-vous déjà été responsable dans un job?
- L'arabe dit : Non, mais le patron, dès qu'il y a une erreur, il dit je suis responsable/ *Mu gihe harimô gutâangwa akazi babajije umugabo bati mwaba mwarabashije kugira imirimo muyobôra mu kazi? Umwâarabû arabâbwîra ati: oya, arîko umuyobozi waanjye avuga yuukô igihe habaaye ikosâ ariyyê bireebâ, ariyyê nyirâbayaâzana.*

- Combien prend-il de temps aux noirs pour chier une merde ?
- Neuf mois / *Esê bifata igihe kinganâ ikî ku bîrabura kugira ngo bannyê, bitumê: amêezi icyeênda.*

❖ **SWEARING**

Encule une mouche/ *Gasweere isaazi.*

Fils de pute / *Waa kinyêendâaro we.*

Je peux sentir ta chatte/ *Ndûumva umunuuko waawe.*

Va te faire enculer par une ourse/ *Gasweerwe n'ûrusâmagwe.*

Mange dans la merde/ *Karye amabyî.*

Les Français sont aussi cons que les neigres/ *Abafaraansâ nabô ni ibicûucu nk'abiûrabura.*

Foutre Dieu/ *Mahêeru.*

❖ **SOCIAL REGISTER**

Excellence Monsieur le Président de la République/ *Nyakuubahwa Perezida wa Repubulikâ.*

Excellence Monseigneur/ *Nyirîcyûubahiro Musenyêri.*

Le roi est décédé/ *Umwaâmi yaatânze.*

Le roi est malade/ *Umwami yaciye akabogi.*

La maison du roi est belle/ *Î Bwaâmi ni heezâ.*

T4 INTERPRETING FROM KINYARWANDA TO FRENCH

❖ **PROVERBS**

Imborô y'ûmutiindi isiga abâana bâshira ikajya gushaaka abaândi/ *Le pénis du pauvre laisse les enfants mourir et va chercher les autres.*

Utâazî ikimûhatse, arora imborô ya sê igitsuûre/ *Si tu ne connais pas celui qui est ton responsable, tu fais n'importe quoi.*

Umugorê baâmukubitiye gusâambana ati: naasekwa n'ûutâarakimêze/*Une femme a été battue à cause de faire l'amour et elle s'est moquée des autres en disant: celle qui peut se moquer de moi c'est celle qui n'a pas de vagin.*

Umukoôbwa wahîiriwe yiibwiira kô akirushâ abaândi/*Une fille qui a de la chance dans son ménage pense qu'elle fait mieux le sexe que les autres.*

Umwâana w'ûundî ni wê unnyâ amabyî anûuka/ *Celui qui n'est pas votre enfant peut puer et tu peux le sentir*

Uûsaanze innyo isîinziriye agira ngo yiiboneye inkôvu/*Quelqu'un qui rencontre un anus dormir pense qu'il vient de voir les sequelles.*

Umwâana ushîra isôni, bwiira anêeye rimwê/*Un enfant sans respect passe la journée après avoir chier une seule fois.*

Ikimûga kiruta igitûuro/*Mieux vaud une personne handicapée qu'un mort.*

❖ RIDDLES

Inkoni nziizâ imera ahaâga: imborô ya mûsaaza waawe/ *Un bon bâton pousse dans une mauvaise position: le pénis de ton frère.*

Byuumve uhorê : umusuzi wa sô/*Ecoute et reste silencieux : le pet de ton père.*

Imbûga nziizâ iboneka ahaâga: igituba cyaa mûshiki waawe /*Une belle parcelle se trouve dans un mauvais endroit: le vagin de ta soeur*

Nyoko ntâasweerwâ aradiimbaarwa: isêkuru/ *On ne fait pas l'amour à ta mère, on creuse: le mortier*

Gatiinze kâzaaryooha: agatuba k'ûruhîinja/*Le meilleur vient bientôt: le vagin d'un bébé.*

Nahuuye n'ûwiiruka atâgirâ iyo âajyâ: umusazi/ *J'ai rencontré une personne courir sans direction, sans connaître la direction: un fou*

Ziraca î Nyâbikâangagâ: insya z'ûmutwâakazi/*Ça passe à Nyabikangaga: le poil pubien d'une femme Twa*

❖ JOKES

Sêmuhanuka yagâambiriye gusâambanya Nyirârunyônga abura ahô yaamuturûka, yaanamûtumaho undi âkamusubiza amwîiyama n'îbitûtsi bitagira îngano. Bûkeeye Sêmuhanuka ahiimba amayêri yô kumwôoneeshereza, azana inkâ zê, aziturira mu burô bwa Nyîrarunyônga, mâze wê arageenda yigaramira mu burô rwaagatî, abeeyuura uruhû arukubira kuu nda, mâze “rwâamo” irêeguka, ireeba heejuru!... Babwiira Nyirârunyônga bati inkâ zaakuyogooreje umurimâ. Ni bwô amanûkanye n'âbahuungû bê n'âbuûzukurû bê n'âbakazâana, inkâ bazuuhira ibibaando, bazikuura mu murimâ.

Nyirârunyônga reero siinzî ukô yaje kurâbukwa ahô Sêmuhanuka yigâramiye, yiifata ku kâanaanwâ aramwêenyuura ati: Nyirârunyônga kô baambeêshyera ngo nkuunda imborô, ati n'îyi niitôoreye!

Na wê reerô abeeyuura inkâanda, ayiisokahô; yagapfe, yagapfe, reka sînaakubwiira. Abuzuûkuru bê bâboonye nyirâkuru yâashiishikaye baaza bâaje kureeba icyô ahugîyehô, basaanga yîcaye heejuru ya Sêmuhanuka. Bâgize bati: reka tuuzê duhanê iyo mbwâ y'ûmushuumba yakoôneeshereje. Nyirârunyônga ati: nimuundêke mwiîngire. Nimwigêendere, ndamwîifâsha, baâna baange mwe. Barîgeendera. Arîko haaza gusîgara akuûzukurû kê gatôoyâ, kaza guhêengereza kati: esê ibyo bishoongônoka nî ibikî nyogôku? Undî ati: ni ibyuûya by'âbakîranyi.

Semuhanuka voulait faire l'amour avec Nyirarunyonga mais ne savait pas comment le faire et où commencer. Aussi quand il envoyait des gens pour lui dire, pour l'informer, Nyirarunyonga leur rétorquer avec beaucoup d'insultes. Un petit matin Semuhanuka a pensé à des trucs à utiliser pour faire manger ses vaches, pour emmener ses vaches pour qu'elles puissent détruire les plantes dans le champ de Nyiraruyonga, en utilisant ses vaches. Il a lâché ses vaches dans une plantation de blé, et puis, il a dormi dans le blé au milieu, il a enlevé ses vêtements fabriqués dans la peau d'un animal et puis son pénis a regardé vers le ciel, donc il était en érection.. Et puis on a informé Nyirarunyonga que les vaches sont en train de détruire ses plantations. Et puis elle est descendue avec ses fils et ses gendres et ils ont fouetté les vaches pour les chasser du champ. Et puis Nyirarunyonga après avoir aperçu Semuhanuka dans une plantation avec son pénis en haut en érection, elle a été émue et a dit : on dit toujours que moi Nyirarunyonga j'aime le pénis, mais j'ai vraiment la chance d'avoir cela, c'est la chance parce que c'est venu dans mon champ. Et puis elle est allée, s'est accroupie sur le pénis et a commencé à faire des

hauts et des bas et des va et vient. Alors ses petits-fils sont venus, ils venaient voir ce qui a fait que leur grand-mère tarde et puis ils ont vu la grand-mère assise sur Semuhanuka. Et puis ses petits-fils ont dit : vraiment on doit venir t'aider à punir cette putain de berger qui a envoyé les vaches pour qu'elles viennent détruire nos plantations. Et puis Nyirarunyonga a dit : non laissez-moi l'achever seule. Et puis l'un de ses petits-enfants est venu et il a dit : eh grand Maman, je vois les liquides qui descendent, qu'est ce qu'il y a ? Et puis la maman a répondu : c'est la sueur des gens qui font le combat d'élites.

❖ **SWEARING**

Yeêwe Mukâasêezike, yâa mborô ya sô wâanyu, uzâayiragîre nêeza, umuûnsi wô kuyîbaaga, nzaaguha amabya yâayo/*Mukasezikeye, le pénis de ton oncle, continue à bien le garder, le jour de son abattage, je vais te donner les testicules.*

Gacumite nyoko umucûritse nûumucurûura umucê rugoongo/*Que tu fasse le sexe avec ta mère en sens inverse et quand tu la renverses que tu lui casse le clitoris.*

Nyoko aragakubitirwa ahô yahiinzê yiikûbuurire ahô yaneeyê/*Que ta mère soit battue là où elle a planté et qu'elle passe en courant là où elle a jeté sa merde.*

❖ **SOCIAL REGISTER**

Nyakuubahwa Perezida wa Repubulikâ/*Son Excellence Monsieur le Président de la République.*

Nyirîcyûubahiro Musenyêri/*Son Eminence Monseigneur.*

Umwaâmi yaatânze/*Le roi est mort.*

Umwaâmi yaabêeranye/*Le roi est malade.*

T4 INTERPRETING FROM KINYARWANDA TO ENGLISH

❖ **PROVERBS**

Imborô y'ûmutiindi isiga abâana bâshira ikajya gushaaka abaândi/ *The poor's penis leaves sick children and goes to make others.*

Utâazî ikimûhatse, arora imborô ya sê igitsuûre/ *If you do not know your boss you just wander doing nothing.*

Umugorê baâmukubitiye gusâambana ati: naasekwa n'ûutâarakimêze/A *woman was beaten because of having sexual intercourse and she laughed and said: the one who can laugh at me, the one who can make fun of me is the one who has no vagina.*

Umukoôbwa wahiîriwe yîibwiira kô akirushâ abaândi/A *lucky woman thinks she is better in bed than others.*

Umwâana w'ûundî ni wê unnyâ amabyî anûuka/ *If the child is not yours you can even smell his shit.*

Ikimyiira kiruta amabyî/ *Shit smells more than the noise evacuation.*

Uûsaanze innyo isîinziriye agira ngo yîiboneye inkôvu/ *If you find a sleeping anus, you think you have found scars.*

Umwâana ushîra isôni, bwiira anêeye rimwê/ *An disrespectful child goes to the toilet or shits once a day.*

Ikimûga kiruta igitûuro/*Better being physically disabled than a dead man, a corpse.*

Umusazi arasara, akagwa ku iijaambo. /*Even fools are sometimes right.*

❖ RIDDLES

Inkoni nziizâ imera ahaâga: imborô ya mûsaaza waawe/A *good stick pushes at the wrong place: a dick of your brother*

Byuumve uhorê: umusuzi wa sô /*Listen but keep quiet: your father's fart.*

Imbûga nziizâ iboneka ahaâga: igituba cyaa mûshiki waawe /*The right playground or the right space pushes in the wrong space: the vagina of your sister.*

Nyoko ntâasweerwâ aradiimbaarwa: isêkuru /*You mother is not fucked; she is just being dicked: a mortar.*

Gatiinze kâzaaryooha: agatuba k'ûruhînja / *The good thing is yet to come: the vagina of a baby.*

Nahuuye n'ûwiîruka atâgirâ iyo âajyâ: umusazi/*I met with a running person with no direction: a fool, a mad person*

Ziraca î Nyâbikâangagâ: insya z'ûmutwâakazi/ *They are just going through Nyabikangaga: pubic hair of a Twa lady.*

❖ JOKES

Sêemuhanuka yagâambiriye gusâambanya Nyirârunyônga abura ahô yaamuturûka, yaanamûtumaho undi âkamusubiza amwîiyama n'îbitûtsi bitagira îngano. Bûkeeye Sêemuhanuka ahiimba amayêri yô kumwôoneeshereza, azana inkâ zê, aziturira mu burô bwa Nyîrarunyônga, mâze wê arageenda yigaramira mu burô rwaagatî, abeeyuura uruhû arukubira kuu nda, mâze “rwâamo” irêeguka, ireeba heejuru!... Babwiira Nyirârunyônga bati inkâ zaakuyogooreje umurimâ. Ni bwô amanûkanye n'âbahuungû bê n'âbuûzukuru bê n'âbakazâana, inkâ bazuuhira ibibaando, bazikuura mu murimâ.

Nyirârunyônga reero siinzî ukô yaje kurâbukwa ahô Sêemuhanuka yigâramiye, yiifata ku kâanaanwâ aramwêenyuura ati: Nyirârunyônga kô baambeêshyera ngo nkuunda imborô, ati n'îyi niitôoreye!

Na wê reerô abeeyuura inkâanda, ayiisokahô; yagapfe, yagapfe, reka sînaakubwiira. Abuzuûkuru bê bâboonye nyirâkuru yâashiishikaye baaza bâaje kureeba icyô ahugîyehô, basaanga yîcaye heejuru ya Sêemuhanuka. Bâgize bati: reka tuuzê duhanê iyo mbwâ y'ûmushumba yakooneeshereje. Nyirârunyônga ati: nimuundêke mwiîngire. Nimwigêendere, ndamwîifâsha, baâna baange mwe. Barîgeendera. Arîko haaza gusîgara akuûzukuru kê gatôoyâ, kaza guhêengereza kati: esê ibyo bishoongônoka nî ibikî nyogôku? Undî ati: ni ibyuûya by'âbakîranyi.

Semuhanuka planned to have sex with Nyirarunyonga but did not know where to start and whenever he was telling people to inform her that he wanted to have sex with her, she would reply with a lot of insults. The following day Semuhanuka thought of tricks to be used in order to bring his cows to Nyirarunyonga's crops. He went to the crops, he released the cows and went in the middle of wheat plantation, took off his skin made clothes covering his dick. And his dick was in erection; it was looking in the air. People informed Nyirarunyonga that the cows

are ravaging her crops. She went down running with her grand children and started beating the cows in order to chase them out of the plantation. Then Nyirarunyonga all of a sudden saw Semuhanuka lying on the ground, his face looking in the sky and she was just astonished, talking to herself: they always say that I Nyirarunyonga like dicks but this is the one ...I'm lucky, this is the one I found. She took off her clothes and went to the dick, started to play with it up down, up down, up down. The grand children were just wondering what she was up to. When they came they found her sitting at Semuhanuka. They said: let us come and punish that wicked shepherd who brought his cows to damage crops. And Nyirarunyonga said: let me entangle him, you can go, I will just help myself, I will kill him myself. And one of the grand children came and said: I can see some liquid going out and the grand mother said: no don't worry, these are the sweats of people who are just fighting, who are wrestling.

❖ SWEARING

Yeêwe Mukâasêezike, yâa mborô ya sô wâanyu, uzâayiragîre nêeza, umuûnsi wô kuyîbaaga, nzaaguha amabya yâayo/*Mukasezikeye, the dick of your oncle keep it well, keep an eye on it, once it is time to cut it I will give you the testicles.*

Gacumite nyoko umucûritse nûumucurûura umucê rugoongo/*May you fuck your mother in reverse position, if you want to bring her in a reverse position cut her clitoris.*

Nyoko aragakubitirwa ahô yahiinzê yiikûbuurire ahô yaneeyê/*May your mother be beaten where she has grown her crops and if she is running may she slide in her shit.*

❖ SOCIAL REGISTER

Nyakuubahwa Perezida wa Repubulikâ/ *Your Excellency, the President of the Republic.*
Nyirîcyûubahiro Musenyêri /*You Eminence Bishop.*

Umwaâmi yaatânze/*The king is dead.*

Umwaâmi yaabêeranye/*The king is sick*