DAVID KATAN AND MUSTAPHA TAIBI

TRANSLATING CULTURES

An Introduction for Translators, Interpreters and Mediators

Third Edition

Translating Cultures

This bestselling coursebook introduces current understanding about culture and provides a model for teaching culture to translators, interpreters and other mediators. The approach is interdisciplinary, with theory from Translation Studies and beyond, while authentic texts and translations illustrate intercultural issues and strategies adopted to overcome them.

This new (third) edition has been thoroughly revised to update scholarship and examples and now includes new languages such as Arabic, Chinese, German, Japanese, Russian and Spanish, and examples from interpreting settings. This edition revisits the chapters based on recent developments in scholarship in intercultural communication, cultural mediation, translation and interpreting. It aims to achieve a more balanced representation of written and spoken communication by giving more attention to interpreting than the previous editions, especially in interactional settings. Enriched with discussion of key recent scholarly contributions, each practical example has been revisited and/or updated.

Complemented with online resources, which may be used by both teachers and students, this is the ideal resource for all students of translation and interpreting, as well as any reader interested in communication across cultural divides.

Additional resources are available on the Routledge Translation Studies Portal: http://routledgetranslationstudiesportal.com

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Contents

Figures and tables

Figures

Tables

Preface to the third edition

When Routledge asked me (David) if I wanted to work on a third edition, 15 years after the original publication of the second edition, I was clearly flattered. What had begun as a local project for my own students at the Interpreters' School in Trieste had now been adopted by two international publishers. First, St Jerome, to whom I owe an enormous debt of gratitude, mainly in the name of Mona Baker, who continued to support my writing, asking for encyclopedic entries on culture and translation and for a second edition of this volume. Routledge took over, and quite soon afterwards, started discussing a third edition. I was very uncertain given Routledge's simple but exhaustive requirements: to update and make more international. Updating work on 'culture', and in particular intercultural communication, was one area that was needed. But also, 'culture' was no longer an exotic or an optional add-on to Translation Studies. A large swathe of scholars were already integrating 'culture' into its ever-broadening field, from audiovisual to public service translation; quite apart from the development of 'cultural translation' whose remit, though, has little to do with interlingual translation.

What was necessary now was to anchor the edition more firmly within the new fields, and I also needed to move from a bicultural to a multicultural viewpoint, especially with regard to the practical examples, which were not only very local to the UK and Italy but were also very dated. Many were taken from (paper) news articles concerning events that even the British and the Italians would have difficulty in relating to 20 years on.

I began thinking of sharing what was looking like an enormous task. Routledge meanwhile were sending questionnaires to a number of academics who were using *Translating Cultures*, asking about the feasibility of a new edition. By happy chance, the respondent who replied in most detail, with some extremely useful suggestions, was the same academic who had just published a volume entitled *Community Translation*, one of a number of new fields in Translation Studies. This field, also known as Public Service Translation, takes for granted that translation is *for* a particular readership that has particular needs, and consequently a translator's (or interpreter's) job is that of 'mediation'.

To my happy surprise, Mustapha Taibi's book itself had taken on board many of the ideas present in *Translating Cultures*, and had made frequent reference to the volume. Not only that. Mustapha was also able to bring in a much more international and intercultural view, having grown up, studied and worked both in the Arab World and in Spain, while now teaching Translation and Interpreting in Australia. I had found my co-author. I must also thank Mustapha for his meticulous attention to coherence and detail, and for insisting on time limits, which meant that this 12-month project took only two years rather than five.

When Routledge approached me (Mustapha) for an opinion, I wrote:

> The book provides a comprehensive overview of cultural issues relating to communication in general and translation, interpreting and mediation in particular. It covers a wide range of theories and contributions from different disciplines, which facilitate an in-depth understanding of what cultural differences are based on, how they work in intercultural communication, what challenges they may give rise to, and how these challenges may be overcome, especially in a professional context such as interpreting and translation.

I suggested further elaboration on the notion of 'mediation' and clarification of boundaries between roles such as 'cultural mediator' and 'interpreter'. I also thought that interpreting was not given its fair share in the second edition. The different settings for interpreting, and community interpreting in particular, offer relevant and challenging sites for both theorists and language service professionals to grapple with cultural frames and intercultural 'mediation'. In relation to this, I also suggested that the chapter on Interactional Communication could be enriched with further discussion and examples from community and other interpreting settings.

So, when David invited me to co-author the third edition, I was thrilled at the opportunity to contribute to this seminal work. Together we have updated the book in terms of scholarly literature and alignment with developments in the relevant professions, and we have diversified the examples, drawing on different genres, cultural contexts, institutional settings and languages. We hope the new edition offers readers an even more useful resource.

Preface to the second edition

This book, now in its second edition, has had a long gestation. Many people have helped and given their valuable advice and time along the way. The first edition would never have seen the light of day without the firm guidance of John Dodds. Many other colleagues from the Interpreters' School in Trieste gave their support in many different ways; in particular, Federica Scarpa, Francesco-Sergio Straniero and Chris Taylor. Eli Rota gave extremely useful feedback regarding Neuro-Linguistic Programming (NLP), and the Meta-Model in particular; while Carol Torsello's close reading was responsible for the improvements in the linguistic analysis. Many of the newspaper examples have been culled from Pat Madon's informal but effective cuttings service

David Trickey has directed my reading in cross-cultural communication and has been a constant sparring partner on all things cultural for well over 20 years.

For the second edition, the book has been almost totally rewritten, and every single figure has been revised. My thanks go to Licia Corbolante for her help on localization, to my dissertation students who have all contributed in some way to the improvements, and I am also truly grateful for Lara Fabiano's proofreading and studied comments. Inevitably, though, in ironing out inconsistencies, updating, and inserting new ideas, information and examples, new inconsistencies will have crept in. These may be interpreted as 'breaking news' in the lively new discipline of intercultural translation.

The book, naturally, is dedicated to Patty, Thomas and Robert.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank all our colleagues who have contributed to the revision of this book, either through insightful discussions or by providing and/or checking examples in different languages. We are unable to mention everybody, but the following people must be acknowledged: Masako Ogawa and Robert Mailhammer (Western Sydney University), Wei Teng (University of Canterbury, New Zealand), and Ludmila Stern (University of New South Wales).

David's family should be honoured, not only for putting up with the "Dad's on Skype with Mustapha" syndrome but also for taking an unusually active interest in the project. Thomas, now also a communications coach, in particular meticulously read every page of the draft chapters, adding his own extremely long, but also pithy comments such as "So?", "Example?" and "Really?", which riveted us, if not the rest of the family, over many breakfasts. These comments and discussions have enriched the book greatly. We also thank Jonathan Katan (QC) for his help with the legal texts.

A big thank you goes to Jabir, Mustapha's little son, who helped with printing, fetching books and even typing, and also for his patience while tirelessly asking "What chapter are you up to?"

We both heartily thank Routledge for their unending patience as we unflinchingly broke our own self-imposed deadlines with Swiss-German precision more times than we care to remember. In particular, we would like to thank Louisa Semlyen and Eleni Steck for their support and understanding.

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Introduction

HORATIO
O day and night, but this is wondrous strange!

HAMLET
And therefore as a stranger give it welcome.
There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in our philosophy.

'Translating across cultures' and 'cultural proficiency' have become buzz words in translating and interpreting. Back in 1996, Mona Baker warned that many scholars had already begun to adopt a "'cultural' perspective … a dangerously fashionable word that almost substitutes for rigour and coherence" (Baker 1996:17). Anthropologists, who were the traditional custodians of the field, complained that "Everyone is into culture now" (Kuper 1999:2). Indeed, 'culture' became "top look-up" in 2014, according to the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* (2021). Its (over)use has led some anthropologists to seriously jettison the term (Agar 2006). As one anthropologist stated, "studying culture today is like studying snow in the middle of an avalanche" (cited in Agar 2006:2).

In translation, the term took centre stage with "the cultural turn in Translation Studies during the 1980s" (Snell-Hornby 2006:47; see also 47–67). The 'cultural turn' itself began life much earlier in the field of Cultural Studies, a discipline focussing on contemporary ideologies, politics and how the media manipulates thought. For this discipline, 'cultural translation' involves analysing the dynamics of conflicting models of reality and how they effect or suffer change as a result of contact both at an individual level and at the level of communities. Translation Studies also began to interest itself in the effects or changes as a result of intervention on the text, as well summed up by translation theorist Susan Bassnett (2014:25): "In the same way that the surgeon, operating on the heart, cannot neglect the body that surrounds it, so the translator treats the text in isolation from the culture at his or her peril".

For linguists this means that understanding the text in question, whether original (source) or translated (target), is not only a question

of vocabulary and the grammar, but also a question of assessing the nature of the situation; accessing and understanding what is implied or referred to, in what way, by whom and so on. This is the focus of *Translating Cultures*. Interestingly, Bassnett is also equally a Comparative Literatures scholar, and hence equally at home discussing cultural translation, which occurs in literature when novels are written by what Indian-born author Salman Rushdie (1991:17) called "translated men". In this case, the 'translation' is to do with the intralingual usurping of the colonial language by a subject of colonialism for a post-colonial readership.

Our focus here is on interlingual communicating of meanings across language and cultural divides. Hence translation is understood as Intercultural Communication, an often-used epithet; for example, in 2012 by the International Federation of Translators to promote International Translation Day. The simple question is, what is the 'cultural' that affects communication in translation?

The aim of this book, then, is to answer this question, and in so doing to put some rigour and coherence into this fashionable word. It explains what translators, interpreters and other mediators should know about the cultural factor and its importance in communication, translation and interpretation. As such, it aims to provide the context of culture marginalized or missing in books or courses focussing on either translation theory or translation practice, and to provide an understanding of translation theory and practice for those working in intercultural communication. Most importantly, in clarifying 'culture', it aims to raise awareness of its role in constructing, perceiving and translating reality.

This book, then, should serve as a framework for interpreters and translators (both actual and potential) working between any languages, and also for those working or living between cultures who wish to understand more about their intercultural successes and frustrations.

The book is divided into three main parts:

Part I: Framing culture: the culture-bound mental map of the world
Part II: Shifting frames: translation and mediation in theory and practice
Part III: The array of frames: communication orientations.

Framing culture: the culture-bound mental map of the world

Part I outlines the complexity of translation, and shows how even simple technical language can easily create problems that Google Translate cannot cope with, given its limited analysis and understanding of context. Differences across languages, as will be seen, often

have their roots in differences across a variety of contexts, ranging from those of the immediate situation to those involving culture. We begin by discussing how the concepts of context, community and culture have been approached.

We then move on to organizing 'culture' – and approaches to teaching it – into one unifying framework of Logical Levels, which will then form the backbone of the book itself. Throughout this book, culture is perceived as a system for making sense of experience. A basic presupposition is that this organization of experience is never an objective representation of 'reality'. It is instead a simplified and distorted model that makes sense to one group of people but should not be expected to be universal. So, cultures act as frames within which external signs or 'reality' are interpreted. Logically then, we should not expect that the language used to express these culture-bound models of reality may be directly translatable. We then discuss how and in what ways those who interpret and translate should intervene on the text, and the subtly separated roles of the translator/interpreter and the cultural mediator.

Part I concludes with an in-depth analysis of how individuals perceive, catalogue and construct reality, and how this perception is communicated through language. The approach is interdisciplinary, taking ideas from Anthropology, such as Gregory Bateson's Logical Typing and meta-message theories; Bandler and Grinder's Meta-Model theory; Sociolinguistics; Speech Act Theory; Sperber and Wilson's Relevance Theory; and Hallidayan Functional Grammar.

Shifting frames: translation and mediation in theory and practice

Part II begins with a discussion of the strategies a translator, interpreter or cultural mediator needs to adopt to account for culture-bound frames. It includes a brief overview of how culture has been associated with translation. Translation itself, following Nida (1976:65), is here viewed as "essentially an aspect of a larger domain, namely, that of communication". Steiner (1975:47) in his aptly titled book *After Babel* takes an even wider view of translation: "inside or between languages, human communication equals translation". Hence, translation is discussed within the wider context of communication.

This stance entails making the basic differences in translation theory clear. Either translation is principally an activity of transferring or converting text from one language to another, or as we propose, a service with the aim of ensuring communication for people who do not have the necessary language skills. We focus on a number of procedures (such as chunking and use of the Meta-Model) designed to account for and mediate the context of culture and (re)frame the

language for the new listener or reader. In all cases, practical examples of translations with commentary are provided.

The array of frames: communication orientations

Part III provides an outline of the major influences that cultural orientations can have on communication. It begins with an explanation and taxonomy of cultural orientations. The main thrust concerns the communication orientation, and Edward Hall's Theory of Contexting. This theory discusses the changing importance of implicit and explicit communication between cultures in the transmission of a message. Communication itself is divided into transactional (the transmission of information) and interactional (relational) types. Cultural orientations are then discussed according to their relevance in either transactional or interactional communication. As a result, commonly understood pragmatic features of languages, such as lexical density, clarity, (in)directness and politeness, are linked to culture. Examples are given, and mediation procedures are discussed. Generally, indicators are given as to likely linguacultural orientations, as well as the pan-cultural situational factors. Emphasis is placed on the variety of factors that may affect communication style or response and the motivations that logically may give rise to those behaviours. Paralinguistic and non-verbal features of languacultures are touched on, and again are linked to cultural orientations.

Apart from our own input, regarding our own spheres of experience, the main sources in the literature come from interculturalists, such as Hofstede, Lewis and Trompenaars, who provide a mixture of qualitative and quantitative information regarding cultural motivations and communication. Practical examples are also taken both from the press and from published translations.

Part I

Framing culture

The culture-bound mental map of the world

1 The translator, interpreter and cultural mediator

The aim of this chapter is to:

- Discuss some of the difficulties involved in language transfer;
- Introduce translation and interpretation as activities that involve more than language transfer;
- Introduce the concept of cultural mediator;
- Discuss the nature of mediation in translation, interpreting and cultural mediation;
- Clarify the boundaries between the roles of translators/interpreters and cultural mediators.

1.1 Translation … and culture

1.1.1 Technical translating

> "Google's free online language translation service quickly translates web pages to other languages.
>
> Use this web site translator to convert web pages into your choice of language: …"

At first glance it would seem that technology, such as Google Translate, can seamlessly do the job for us. Google translates the proposition or the dictionary denotative meaning, and little or no loss or distortion of meaning need ever occur. Second, there is no doubt that, today, technical terms are becoming easier to translate. Concerted international efforts are now being made to harmonize legislation and codes of practice across borders (the European Union being just one case in point) and dramatic improvements are being made through ever-expanding online solutions, such as search engines, specialized glossaries, corpus-based tools, Computer-Aided or Machine Translation (CAT/MT) tools, and translator forums (see, for example, 'The Translator's Research Toolbox', Ted Translators 2019). Multiterm Glossaries, in particular,

working in tandem with Translation Memory programs mean that a car manual, for instance, will already be 50–75% translated before the translator even lays hands on it. Machine Translation systems, such as Moses, SYSTRAN or DeepL, provide a first draft that bureaucrats and others can then decide to bin, take essential notes from or have properly translated.

Communication at this level has no extra-linguistic context: The text is the authority, and it is clearly spelled out. Anthony Pym (2000:189) calls translation at this level "NANS" ("no-addition-no-subtraction"). It is the type of translation that would be subsumed under effortless communication as described by Reddy's (1993:295) "conduit metaphor", which suggests that understanding language is a process of encoding and decoding, like "a marvellous technological duplicating machine". This form of culture is indeed now global, with business and industry working to the same standards throughout the world. Negotiation of meaning is reduced to the minimum. The language provides, as far as possible, its own context. In fact, Peter Newmark (1988:6) was entirely correct when he stated: "No language, no culture is so 'primitive' that it cannot embrace the terms of, say, computer technology". The fact that it might be necessary to use more text to explain the concept, because the world is categorized in different ways, is certainly not a problem, neither for the translator nor for the target language reader. For example, "to watch sheep by night" sounds perfectly natural in English, yet requires five words. In the Quiché language (Guatemala), however, only one word is necessary (Beekman and Callow 1974:54–55). It is also at this technical level that the client is most aware of and notices the shortcomings of a translator/interpreter. An interpreter or translator without the technical language of, for example, aviation insurance, will clearly not be effective. As a result, many companies are improving their in-service language training instead of hiring external language professionals (Kondo and Tebble 1997:161–162; Olohan 2016:18–19).

The translator, too, is fully aware of having the same problems, as any native speaker called upon to translate patent law, industrial plant specifications or medical papers will know. What can the non-specialist translator make of the following opening sentence from an article on computer systems, entitled 'Location Awareness in Community Wireless LANs' (Ferscha *et al.* 2001:1)?

> We have developed a multi-user team awareness framework, Campus Space, that on-the-fly and transparently collects and interprets position information of mobiles from the signal to noise ratio of IEEE 802.11 radios, and cartographically mapped RFID tags respectively.

There are a number of terms here that are polysemous, and whose meaning changes according to whether the term is being used in a specialist sense. The first is the idiomatic expression "on-the-fly", which might mean (general sense) that the "position information of mobiles" is collected quickly, or (specialist sense) that the information is collected without interrupting a computer program that is already running.

The second is the nominalized adjective "mobile". The most usual general meaning is 'mobile phone'; but in the text, we have 11 references to 'mobile devices', five to 'mobile users' or 'clients' and two each to 'mobile objects' and 'mobile stations'. In these cases, a professional interpreter or translator will not only need to have a near-native command of both languages, but also need to know how best to find equivalences. The internet has been of phenomenal assistance in providing not only online translation assistance in a variety of forms, but also immediate access to almost unlimited supplies of similar texts (or genres) written in the target language by native-language speakers. The assistance, though, comes at a price. It will take time for the non-specialized translator, compared to the non-English-speaking IT specialist, who will already have learnt the English terms.

The extract below poses further problems. It is taken from a steel rolling mill brochure, and is a fairly literal translation from the original (in Italian), but whether it is an appropriate translation is another matter:

> One of the main features of the complete machine are cantilevered tundish cars running on tracks on an elevated steel structure for rapid change of the tundish 'on the fly'.

Grammatically it is correct. However, very few native speakers of English would understand the meaning, and more importantly, they would not know if any *faux pas* had been made in the translation process. Comparison with other, well-written, technical texts would tell us that the translation at the level of discourse is not appropriate. An improvement would be to break the sentence into two and at least add a verb:

> One of the main features of the complete machine are the cantilevered tundish cars. These run on tracks on an elevated steel structure, which ensures a rapid change of the tundish 'on the fly'.

However, the native speaker, having decided that 'complete' could be omitted and having simplified the sentences to a perfectly cohesive piece of discourse in English, will still have problems with "tundish 'on the fly' ". 'Tundish' is easily found. It is a large funnel with one or more holes at the bottom, used especially in plumbing or metal-founding. A quick internet search will show us that 'on the fly' collocates with tundish, but so does 'fly' – neither of which require inverted commas in English. Also, from this extract, neither 'fly' nor 'on the fly' has a transparent meaning for the non-specialist. It would then take much more further reading to be able to decide which 'fly' is more appropriate, whether "rapid" is tautologous (due to 'on the fly') and whether "the tundish" is preferable to "tundish" or "tundishes".

The real problem of understanding the meaning remains. A non-native speaker fluent in metallurgy and the continuous cast steel process will almost certainly be able to comment on the translation at the level of meaning, and may well be able to provide a less accurate but more meaningful translation. Indeed, as Scarpa (2020:146) notes, "translators who are not already expert in a specialised domain … run the risk of translating a concept in the TL imprecisely or even downright incorrectly". Challenges arise not only as a result of

> terms specific to a discipline which are normally used only by domain specialists (e.g. *lathe*, *calcium oxide*, *polymer* etc.) but also general-language words that are used with a more restricted meaning (e.g. in physics the adjectives *ideal, significant* and *effective*).
>
> (Scarpa 2020:146)

Table 1.1 is an example of a further problem for the aspiring translator. It is a relatively simple translation of food labelling. Received wisdom would tell us that harmonized European Union (EU) regulations and the labelling of ingredients would be a simple case of word-for-word translation. We would naturally expect the same type of lexical problem as we found above with translation at the technical level. However, the problems at this level are that each country has its own preferred way of doing things, in this case labelling.

The differences between the technical labelling required are notable, as are the numerical discrepancies. Even though all countries follow the European food labelling laws and technical requirements, only some of the items on the label are compulsory at an EU level, such as date of expiry. How countries deal with technical information, and what they deem to be important, is certainly not pan-cultural.

The extent to which translators need to know about cross-cultural differences in legislation regarding food labelling, marketing and promotion is discussed by Candace Séguinot (1995). She notes (65–66), for example, that in Quebec, 'infant formula' is known as '*lait maternisé*'. However, the Food and Drug Act specifies that the term has to be

Table 1.1 Product labelling in different countries

Italian	French	Portuguese
DESSERT A BASE DI YOGURT E PREPARAZIONE DOLCIARIA ALLA FRUTTA	YAOURT AUX FRUITS	IOGURTE MEIO GORDO COM FRUTA
Ingredienti: yogurt (latte parzialmente scremato, fermenti lattici vivi) preparazione dolciaria alla frutta (24%) (frutta*, zucchero, amido modificato, gelificante: pectina, aromi) *vedi coperchio per la specificazione della frutta.	Ingrédients: Lait demi-écrémé, préparation de fruits 24% (soit fruits: 12%), sucre, arômes, ferments lactiques.	Ingredientes: leite meio gordo fermentado (1.8% M.G.), preparado de fruta (11%), aromas, açúcar.
Da consumare entro: vedi coperchio. Conservare in frigo a +4°C.	Conservation à + 6°C maximum. A consommer jusqu'à (voir couvercle).	Consumir até: ver tampa. Com L. bulgaricus e S thermophilus. Conservar entre +0° C e +6°C.
Prodotto in Germania		Produzido na UE

'*préparation pour nourrissons*', "which no speaker actually uses". In this case, the dictionary correctly cites the term used by speakers, but the term itself is forbidden by legislation. This is part of the 'something extra' a translator or interpreter will need to know. Not for nothing is the internet replete with language providers specializing in "Food Labelling". As one provider points out, "A label cannot simply be translated literally, substantive knowledge is required" (Labelchecks 2017). While Séguinot (1995:56) focusses on the translator's need to understand the cultures towards which they are translating, De Mooij (2004:196) states that "if advertising is translated at all, the translator should closely co-operate with the copywriter/art director team and not only translate but also advise about culture-specific aspects of both languages".

Specific French language requirements for labelling in Quebec include the following:

- Every "inscription" on a product, its packaging, container, leaflet, brochure, or card supplied must be in French
- If there are multiple languages on a product label, French must have "greater prominence" than the other languages
- Toys or games that require the use of non-French vocabulary for their use are forbidden unless there is an equivalent French product available on the Quebec market *(Charter of the French Language, Section 54)*

(LAT Multilingual n.d:n.p.)

An even more striking difference concerning consumer protection *within* the EU can be seen in the following labelling practices for a 'Whirlpool' microwave cooker. In ten European languages (excluding French), we have the equivalent of:

> OPTION: 8 YEAR GUARANTEE FOR SPARE PARTS: details inside.

In French, the 'translation' tells us that the optional guarantee does not apply in France.

> *CETTE GARANTIE OPTIONNELLE DE 8 ANS NE S'APPLIQUE PAS EN FRANCE — Voir les modalités des garanties légales et contractuelles dans le livret d'information sur le SAV.*

As a final example, we can see how legal restraints, norms and socio-cultural differences can combine to produce what might, at first glance, seem a bizarre set of (non) parallel texts.

The Super Disc Shot (Figure 1.1) is made in Italy, and carries the usual safety warning in a number of languages. This shot is clearly marked as unsuitable for British or French children under the age of eight (for good measure, emphasized in bold in French), while in the country of production (allowing stereotypes to flourish), children in their 36th month may start shooting.

We then have the Swedish, Finnish, Danish, Norwegian and Dutch versions. Local norms have dictated the fact that the Norwegian, for example, has an extra warning: "INCORRECT USE OF THIS PRODUCT MAY CAUSE PERMANENT HEARING DAMAGE TO CHILDREN". The Dutch, instead, are warned about throwing the caps into the fire at home. The Arabic text shows no trace or attempt at a translation of the warning, but rather a straightforward marketing message. The suitability of the shot for children is in the context, and can be presumed to be left to the judgement of the buyer. What is highlighted in the Arabic text is that this product can be trusted, through the fact that it is made in Italy and can be vouched for by an exclusive agent. Although we cannot generalize based on one or two examples, these different versions show how socio-cultural norms and practices do impinge on the way technical information is presented, and will determine the aspects to be highlighted.

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هذا هو الأنتاج الأصلي المصنوع
في إيطاليا من قبل ألعاب إبديسون
لا توثقوا من التقليد
الوكيل الوحيد لشركة اديسون الإيطالية

السيد / محمود على حسن
اسكندرية ٤ ميدان التحريرالمنشية
تيلفون ٨١٠٣٧٧ فاكس ٨١٩٠٢٨

SUPER DISC
160 COLPI-COUPS
SCHUSS-SHOT

MUNIZIONE DI SICUREZZA NON CLASSIFICATA TRA I PRO-
DOTTI ESPLODENTI E CONFORME ALL'ART. 2 COMMA 2 D.P.R.
313 DEL 27/9/91.
NON ADATTO AD UN BAMBINO DI ETÀ MINORE DI 36 MESI.
ATTENZIONE: NON-SPARARE VICINO AGLI OCCHI/ O ALLE
ORECCHIE
NON TENERE LE CAPSULE SCIOLTE IN TASCA

AMORCE   GROUPE K 1
N° D'AGREMENT: AD/ AM/ 57703
POUR UNE UTILISATION SURE DU PRODUIT, RESPECTER LES
PRÉCAUTIONS D'EMPLOI.
L'UTILISATION DE CE PRODUIT DOIT S'EFFECTUER
CONFORMÉMENT AUX RÉGLEMENTATIONS RELATIVES A LA
PROTECTION DE LA SÉCURITÉ PUBLIQUE ET DE
L'ENVIRONNEMENT.
NE CONVIENT PAS A UN ENFANT DE MOINS DE 8 ANS.
ATTENTION: NE PAS TIRER A PROXIMITE DES YEUX OU DES
OREILLES.
NE PAS GARDER DES CAPSULES EN VRAC SUR SOI

WARNING! DO NOT FIRE INDOOR OR NEAR EYES OR EARS.
DO NOT CARRY CAPS LOOSE IN A POCKET.
Alastair Cowan Ltd. Bath

VARNING! SKJUT INTE NÄRA ÖGON ELLER ÖRON. BÄR INTE
LÖSA SKOTT I FICKAN.

VAROITUS! EI SAA LAUKAISTA LÄHELLÄ SILMIA TAI KORVIA
TASKUSSA EI SAA PITÄÄ IRRALLISIA NALLEJA.

ADVARSEL! SKYD IKKE I NÆRHEDEN AF ØJNE OG ØRER. HAV
IKKE KNALDHÆTTER LØST I LOMMEN

ADVARSEL! SMELL IKKE NÆR ØYNE ELLER ØRER. HA IKKE
KRUTTLAPPER LØST I LOMMEN FEIL BRUK AV DISSE
PRODUKTENE KAN FØRE TIL VARIG HØRSELSSKADER
HOS BARN!

AMORCES - N. UN '0022 "1.4S"

IC/ 15 B) RID - NIET LOS IN DE BROEKZAK BEWAREN
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WARNING: DO NOT SHOOT CLOSE TO EYES OR EARS
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OF 8 YEARS
WARNING: DO NOT SHOOT CLOSE TO EYES OR EARS
DO NOT KEEP CAPS LOOSE ON YOUR PERSON

ENGLISH:
WARNING: DO NOT FIRE INDOOR OR NEAR EYES.
DO NOT KEEP CAPS LOOSE IN A POCKET

SWEDISH:
WARNING! DO NOT SHOOT CLOSE TO EYES
OR EARS.
DO NOT KEEP CAPS LOOSE IN A POCKET

FINNISH:
WARNING! DO NOT SHOOT CLOSE TO EYES
OR EARS
DO NOT KEEP CAPS LOOSE IN A POCKET

DANISH:
WARNING! DO NOT SHOOT CLOSE TO EYES
OR EARS
DO NOT KEEP CAPS LOOSE IN A POCKET

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WARNING! DO NOT SHOOT CLOSE TO EYES OR
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DO NOT KEEP CAPS LOOSE IN A POCKET
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C. 15 B)-RID   - DO NOT KEEP CAPS LOOSE IN A
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Figure 1.1 Super Disc Shot

1.1.2 Internationalization and localization

With localization, we move to the boundaries of the traditional def-
inition of "translation proper", which the Russian linguist Roman
Jakobson famously defined as "an interpretation of verbal signs by
means of some other language" (2012 [1959]:127). 'Localization'

was originally coined to define the way software needed to be reengineered for different languages and cultures, but now the term is used more generally to describe the tailoring of an existing product to the needs of a specific local market. This might include anything from changing the colour and the packaging design of the product to adapting the language, layout and visuals of the accompanying instructions manual (O'Hagan and Ashworth 2002; Anastasiou and Schäler 2010). Localization is also used to describe any web product which "is designed separately with specific local appeal", such as local editions of *Time* and *Newsweek* (O'Hagan and Ashworth 2002:67). 'Internationalization', on the other hand, is "the design of a product so that it can be easily adapted to foreign markets" (Cronin 2003:13).

India is an interesting example of issues regarding internationalization and localization. In 1995, telecommunications were in the Stone Age, with only one telephone per 200 houses in India, and terrestrial lines were few and far between. India then invested resources in state-of-the-art satellite technology, allowing it to move directly from reliance on public phones to personal mobile phones. The technology and the support infrastructure were delivered mainly from China through an internationalized language (English) that the technicians had learned. However, as late as 2013, while India had the second largest mobile phone ownership in the world, profits from phone use were among the lowest. China Mobile, for example, was making five times as much money because they had localized their software so that users could text and access the internet in Mandarin Chinese (Mirani 2013).

The reason lay in the lack of localization to India. The sub-continent has 23 official languages, with Hindi being the most popular. Though English is the second most widely spoken, the vast majority of the population are not proficient speakers. The problem was that most phones came with an English-only operating system software (i.e. not internationalized), making localization out of the question. As a result, the majority of users only phoned, and operators were unable to capitalize on any of the other features, such as texting, internet searching, etc., which all had to be accessed through a QWERTY Latin-script layout keyboard.

Internationalized software is now available, which means that smartphone touchscreens can display Devanagari script keyboards for the Hindi speakers, a Bengali keyboard for the Bengalis and so on. So, while at a purely technical level, globalization is pushing successfully to an internationalized English, "Local languages are … key in convincing the next billion users to come online" (Bhattacharya 2017:n.p.). Indeed, just one year later, the country had nearly half of its 1100 million mobile subscribers already online (COAI 2018:n.p.).

Those involved in GILT "Globalisation, Localisation, Internationalisation and translation" (Anastasiou and Schäler 2010:n.p.)

use the term 'locale' to distinguish one language-culture combination from another, whereas linguists and anthropologists tend to use the term 'linguaculture' or 'languaculture' (Agar 1994). GILT has now become a multi-million-dollar industry (Lommel and Ray 2007), with relatively small individual multinationals spending up to $500,000 or more annually on content localization, and expecting to spend more in the future (Smartling 2017).

Localization is seen by some to go beyond 'translation proper' because it focusses on difference rather than 'invariance' (see Mossop 2017; Katan 2018a). Yet localizing is the only way to translate when it comes to helping people get online. What we will be suggesting here is that all those involved in translation, interpretation and mediation should become aware of 'the locale' and consider the fact that in all probability they will be dealing with a classic localization situation, that of "the Receiver who does not share the same linguistic and cultural backgrounds as the Sender" (O'Hagan and Ashworth 2002:66–67). Let us look at an early example of what we now take for granted, our localized devices, and the amount of translation which accounts for difference that went into creating the seamless interfaces with which this book also was revised. The example (Table 1.2) is taken from internal Microsoft documents[1] warning localizers of typical localization problems when translating software and manuals from (American) English.

Table 1.2 Typical localization issues when translating software and manuals

Type of problem	Microsoft comments on (US-based) culture-bound language or icon which will need to be localized	
Fonts, sizes	Keyboard layouts, default paper and envelope sizes, character sets, text directionality (left-to-right; right-to-left; horizontal; vertical)	
Format of technical strings (word order)	Street name and number:	US: 7 Kennedy Rd Italy: Via Garibaldi 7
	Date format:	UK/France: 17/03/05 US: 03/17/05
	Week format:	UK/US: Sun.–Sat. Italy: Mon.–Sun.
	Time format:	UK/US: am/pm France/Japan: 24-hr clock
	Separators:	UK/US/Japan: 1,247.7 Italian/Arabic: 1.247,7 France: 1 247,7
Multiple problems linking programming language to explanation in the text	Written text not necessarily related to keyboard actions: e.g. "Press the Assistant button" or "Press CTRL + U to underline"	

Table 1.2 Cont.

Templates (e.g. CV)	Date and place of birth	Default UK/Italy; US optional
	Sport and hobbies	Default US/UK; Italy optional
	'Elegant' accompanying letter	Italy optional

Icons, artwork	Artwork should be adapted to local markets; e.g. pictures of baseball players should be replaced with pictures of soccer players; other recurrent pictures to be localized include pictures of US school bus, Shakespeare
Culture-specific names	Localize names: e.g. "The update is filled with colourful themes … from Cathy to Doonesbury"
Cultural (US)-specific information	Delete country-specific information: e.g. "All you need to do to get your local weather from MSN is insert your zip code"; "These Microsoft products are available at Shop.microsoft.com, or from a licensed reseller"

Local (market) practices	Product comparisons	Legal in UK and the US but not in all other countries: e.g. "the most powerful browser" should be changed to "a powerful browser"
	Family name	Avoid "Use your mother's maiden name as password" – in many countries, there is no change of name on marriage
	'Live to work' orientation	Not all cultures find a "four-day holiday with an intercontinental flight" plausible: change to eight days

Style and register: "is the US style suitable to the TL market (direct versus indirect; personification of applications; colloquialisms, etc.)?"	Make the style more formal or eliminate (for Italy in particular): e.g. Clippit (Microsoft's first Office assistant) F.Y.I (for your information) Post Mortem Sites that you're not so sure about go into another bucket Make your gaming experience a blast! Say cheese! Simple tools make it easy to import photos from scanners and cameras Take the Web by storm!

1.1.3 ... Culture

Translation is clearly more than just a conduit process of decoding and encoding. And it is not only software and web page designers that have realized this. As the Economist Intelligence Unit (2012:n.p.) affirms, the corporate world "has at least recognised a new reality in which the right products and services must also now be allied with the necessary cultural sensitivity and communication skills in order for companies to succeed in markets away from home". The culture "away from home" is but one facet, and we will investigate many others in the following chapters. Remaining in the world of business, *The Economist* (2017:n.p.) notes that "Mergers and acquisitions often disappoint" due as much to "clashes of culture" as to aligning of systems. Each company – indeed each branch or department – has its own accepted set of priorities. This means that accepted business practices vary not only at a national level and between companies (such as Apple and Microsoft or Huawei) but between individual offices as well. So, a useful way of thinking about 'culture' is in terms of a "community of practice" (Wenger 2010), whereby seemingly similar groups may work in very different ways.

Translating for communities of practice requires language professionals with the necessary cultural sensitivity and communication skills to intervene and negotiate the cultural gaps. Indeed, while the European Union's "etranslation" service already provides instant translation for 26 languages, Project Director van Genabith (2018:n.p.) made it clear that Machine Translation (MT) provides only a raw translation that will always need human intervention because "translation is not translating some words with other words but is also cultural transfer, negotiating between one culture and another culture".

At a global level, the historian Carlo Ginzberg (1999:21) raises the issue of what he called "cohabitation between cultures", asserting that the more cultures are rooted within their own realities, the more knowledge and social life are fragmented "into a series of incommunicable points of view, in which each group is enclosed within its own relationship with the world". He then quotes a feminist scholar, Donna Haraway (1988:589), who sees the solution in translation. But the type of translation she focusses on to help cultures cohabit is neither objective nor technical, but "interpretative, critical and partial".

Pym (2000:190), in discussing cooperation, comes to a similar conclusion: "In short, our training programmes should progressively be oriented to the production of intercultural mediators, people who are able to do rather more than just translate".

The next sections, in fact, discuss the potential role of a translator or interpreter as a cultural mediator, able to mediate the non-converging

worldviews or maps of the world, so allowing the participants to cooperate to the degree they wish.

1.2 The cultural mediator

The term 'cultural mediator' was first introduced in Stephen Bochner's (1981) *The Mediating Person: Bridges between Cultures*. Three decades later, the Council of Europe (2011) defined (inter)cultural mediation as follows:

> Intercultural mediation is a multifaceted role in which the mediator acts essentially as an outside third party and cultural intermediary between a person or community and an institution's departments. Mediators are often referred to as "go betweens", "facilitators", "conciliators" or "negotiators" because of their interpersonal skills and their abilities to bring people together around collective issues.
>
> (Council of Europe 2011:40)

Recently, the (inter)cultural mediator has been particularly associated with the phenomenon of global migration, the settlement of groups of people in new social and cultural environments, and ensuing interpersonal and public service needs. As Francisco Raga Gimeno (2011:3) puts it, the *raison d'être* of intercultural mediators "is to contribute to improving the communication of foreigners, especially migrants from developing countries, with the local community in general and with public service professionals in particular" (our translation from Spanish).

Raga Gimeno (2011) notes that the profile of an intercultural mediator is far from being consistent in terms of training, working conditions or expected role: Cultural mediation is still an emerging activity that draws upon and overlaps with other professions such as social work, social mediation, psychopedagogy, translation and interpreting. TIME Project Partnership (2016:20–34) also provides an overview of the overlap and inconsistency surrounding the concept in the European Union. In a general sense, however, the cultural mediator's role touches on the role of a mediator in any other field, from arbitrator to therapist. Taft (1981), in his contribution to Bochner's volume on the subject, defines the role as follows:

> A cultural mediator is a person who facilitates communication, understanding, and action between persons or groups who differ with respect to language and culture. The role of the mediator is performed by interpreting the expressions, intentions, perceptions,

and expectations of each cultural group to the other, that is, by establishing and balancing the communication between them. In order to serve as a link in this sense, the mediator must be able to participate to some extent in both cultures. Thus, a mediator must be to a certain extent bicultural.

(Taft 1981:53)

According to Taft (1981:73), a mediator must possess the following competencies in both cultures:

- **Knowledge about society**: history, folklore, traditions, customs; values, prohibitions; the natural environment and its importance; neighbouring people, important people in the society, etc.
- **Communication skills**: written, spoken, non-verbal.
- **Technical skills**: those required by the mediator's status, e.g. computer literacy, appropriate dress, etc.
- **Social skills**: knowledge of rules that govern social relations in society and emotional competence, e.g. the appropriate level of self-control.

Similarly, Raga Gimeno (2011) identifies three types of communicative activities and related skills required of cultural mediators:

1) Linguistic (including translation and interpreting of verbal communication, knowledge of terminology, appropriate register, etc.);
2) Explicitation (e.g. of cultural beliefs, interactional patterns, administrative norms and procedures);
3) Negotiation and conflict resolution techniques.

In relation to knowledge and explicitation of interactional patterns, Raga Gimeno stresses the need for robust training in intercultural communication (politeness-related behaviours and communication styles, paralanguage, perception and management of time and space, social values, role of gender, social class and so on).

The mediator needs not only "two skills in one skull" (Taft 1981:53) but "in order to play the role of mediator, an individual has to be flexible in switching his [sic] cultural orientation". Hence, a cultural mediator will have developed a high degree of intercultural sensitivity and will be able to judge the success of translation solutions according to particular cultural situations. We will return to these issues when discussing belief systems, particularly in Chapters 4, 7 and 8; but now we should look more closely at the translator and the interpreter as 'cultural mediators'.

1.3 The translator and interpreter

Theories of the translation process itself are discussed in Part II. Here, we will concentrate on what being a 'cultural mediator' means for those involved in translating texts or interpreting for people.

1.3.1 The interpreter

The interpreter has long been thought of as a discreet, if not invisible, black box and as a walking generalist translator of words. As Sandra Hale (2014:322) notes, this view is untenable "because language and culture are intertwined and accurate interpreting cannot be achieved at the basic word level. … words in interaction only take on meaning according to context, situation, participants and culture". As a 'cultural mediator', the interpreter will need to be a specialist in negotiating understanding between cultures.

A move in this direction has already been made. Masaomi Kondo, who was president of the Japan Association for Interpretation Studies and senior member of the International Association of Conference Interpreters in Geneva, already concluded in 1990: "*essentially speaking*, the debate is closed. The word-for-word correspondence between the source and the target has *virtually* no place in our work" (Kondo 1990:62, emphasis in the original). This was the first move towards the more extreme communicative role of a cultural mediator who "may never be called upon to engage in the exact translation of words, rather he [sic] will communicate the ideas in terms that are meaningful to the members of the target audience" (Taft 1981:58).

However, the essay Kondo wrote is entitled 'What Conference Interpreters Should *Not* Be Expected to Do' (emphasis added). He makes the point that very often some cultural mediation is necessary to account for the cultural gap between interlocutors in intercultural negotiations and diplomatic encounters; but that the interpreter also risks overinterpreting or misinterpreting – and, as a result, even losing their job – if they take on the role of a cultural mediator who reads messages culturally and provides clarificatory comments so that the addressee better understands the culturally encoded messages of the speaker. Kondo argues that the responsibility for the success of communication lies with the primary parties themselves, including having to spell out what they need to convey, being aware of cultural differences and variations in corporate practices, formulating their messages based on that awareness, and assuming responsibility for what they believe to be shared knowledge. Though Hale agrees that the interpreter must be aware of contextual issues, she aligns strongly with Kondo's belief that "Professional interpreters are impartial mediators, interested in the communication process rather than the outcome of

the interaction" (Hale and Liddicoat 2015:19). And this is still the professional conference interpreter view (Setton and Dawrant 2016:359). (See the last section in this chapter for a discussion of role boundaries.)

In line with the above, interpreter (and translator) codes of ethics often stress the requirement that interpreters (and translators) act with a sense of detachment and neutrality, limiting themselves to the transfer of messages, and abstaining from any alteration, softening or strengthening of messages. These codes derive from The International Federation of Translators' Charter, which (apart from small amendments) goes back to 1963. Much more recently, the Australian Institute of Translators and Interpreters (AUSIT) drew up a new *Code of Ethics and Code of Conduct* – the result of intense discussions between academics and practitioners (Katan 2018b:19–20). However, as is illustrated in the following excerpts (AUSIT 2012), if anything, 'non-intervention' is even further underlined:

4. IMPARTIALITY

Interpreters and translators observe impartiality in all professional contacts.

Interpreters remain unbiased throughout the communication exchanged between the participants in any interpreted encounter. Translators do not show bias towards either the author of the source text or the intended readers of their translation.

Explanation: Interpreters and translators play an important role in facilitating parties who do not share a common language to communicate effectively with each other. They aim to ensure that the full intent of the communication is conveyed. *Interpreters and translators are not responsible for what the parties communicate, only for complete and accurate transfer of the message. They do not allow bias to influence their performance; likewise, they do not soften, strengthen or alter the messages being conveyed.*

6. CLARITY OF ROLE BOUNDARIES

Interpreters and translators maintain clear boundaries between their task as facilitators of communication through message transfer and any tasks that may be undertaken by other parties involved in the assignment.

Explanation: *The focus of interpreters and translators is on message transfer.*

Practitioners do not, in the course of their interpreting or translation duties, engage in other tasks such as advocacy, guidance or advice. Even where such other tasks are mandated by particular

employment arrangements, practitioners insist that a clear demar-
cation is agreed on between interpreting and translating and other
tasks. For this purpose, interpreters and translators will, where the
situation requires it, provide an explanation of their role in line with
the principles of this Code.

(AUSIT 2012:5–6, emphasis added)

Many scholars, on the other hand, have been advocating a more
active and visible role for interpreters, including as agents who mediate
between the different worldviews of the interlocutors. The American
interculturalist Richard Brislin (1981:213) was an early proponent.
He expanded the role of the interpreter, suggesting, for example, that
the interpreter should inform the participants before the meeting to
clarify the proceedings. His specific suggestions regarding "speculative
strategies" (slightly adapted here) revolved around the interpreter as
chair or referee:

• The interpreter works with all parties before the event to be
  interpreted. This means, for example, going through any texts to
  check for any possible cross-cultural problems;
• Interpreters [are] to be given explicit permission to stop a confer-
  ence if they feel a misunderstanding is causing difficulty;
• Interpreters [are] to prepare materials for cross-cultural meetings for
  participants to read, including desirable behaviour, and intercultural
  communication points.

Annelie Knapp-Potthof and Karlfried Knapp (1981:183), in their
contribution to Bochner's volume, were among the first to suggest
that the interpreter should become a visible third party, and "within
certain limits may develop his or her own initiatives, introduce new
topics, give comments and explanations, present arguments, etc.".
Since then a host of terms have been used to refer to a profession
based on "more than a focus on language and discrete interpreting
skills" and which "needs to take account of the wider context of
practice, expectations of interlocutors, professional ethics and institu-
tional, domain-specific and lay language use" (Tipton and Furmanek
2016:2).
    As we have seen, this interventionist stance not only goes against
interpreter codes of ethics such as AUSIT's, but against a general
Western orientation with regard to the meaning of 'professional' in
'professional interpreter'. In some other cultural contexts, on the
other hand, some types of interpreter intervention and initiative are
not only acceptable but also expected. Takimoto, for instance, reports

that the Japanese business interpreters in his study recognized the importance of the Australian code of ethics, but thought more flexibility was needed. They perceived themselves as "active participants in intercultural communicative situations" and "more dynamic and proactive than the traditional stereotype towards interpreters implies" (Takimoto 2006:47). Examples of active participation included voicing an opinion, advising on business protocol, selective or summarized interpreting, and interrupting or seeking clarification on behalf of the client (because, it is argued, Japanese businesspeople are less likely to do so).

Research into interpreting in other domains such as community settings (e.g. in hospitals or immigration centres) and in the media (e.g. talk shows) shows quite conclusively that interpreters consistently intervene proactively, to ensure that communication continues smoothly across the interpersonal and cultural divides (e.g. Roy 1993; Wadensjö 1998; Mason 2000; Katan and Straniero-Sergio 2001; Davitti 2013; Tipton and Furmanek 2016; see also *Cultus* [2015] on 'The Intercultural Question and the Interpreting Professions').

Back in 1996, Humphrey and Alcorn drew a "philosophical shift in the history of sign language interpreting". The barometer needle on the front cover was shown as shifting from 'machine conduit' towards 'bilingual/bicultural mediation'. Another book, *Sign Language Interpreting*, by Melanie Metzger (1999) actually had *Deconstructing the Myth of Neutrality* as its subtitle. The 2000s presented us with a well-documented interpreter's "zone of uncertainty" (Inghilleri 2005; Merlini 2009), whereby the interpreter is torn between institutional norms and more human and communicative values.

A further disarming issue, which can only exacerbate uncertainties, is that the majority of the interpreters involved are still *non*-professional, barely visible, and are still treated as conduit messengers. There are few high-profile role models to look to. One particular exception that we know of is the Italian–English media interpreter, Olga Fernando (Katan and Straniero-Sergio 2001). She is a professional university-trained interpreter. Not only has she been praised in the Italian national press for her "sensitivity", but she also received an MBE from Queen Elizabeth II in recognition of her work in 2005 (Caprio 2020). Much more importantly, she is always addressed by her name – and never as "the interpreter".

Also well known, and by his name, is Jack Jason, an American sign interpreter who interprets for deaf actress Marlee Matlin. According to her, and to a number of others (e.g. Kelly and Zetzsche 2012:167–170), Jason is the best interpreter in the world; they give similar reasons: "His voice is pleasant and confident but can convey a tremendous range of emotion" (Kelly and Zetzsche 2012:170), which includes the ability to convey the subtext and cry.

1.3.2 The translator

The idea of a translator as a mediating agent is not new. George Steiner (1975:45) pointed out that "The translator is a bilingual mediating agent between monolingual communication participants in two different language communities". Taft (1981:58) asks whether a mediator is a translator. His own answer, as we have already seen, is that translating is one of the skills, but that a mediator is more than a translator. Basil Hatim and Ian Mason (2013 [1990]:223–224) also use the term mediation, suggesting that: "The notion of mediation is a useful way of looking at translators' decisions regarding the transfer of intertextual reference" (p. 128).

   They continue, in the chapter entitled 'The Translator as Mediator', with the following:

> The translator is first and foremost a mediator between two parties for whom mutual communication might otherwise be problematic and this is true of the translator of patents, contracts, verse or fiction just as much as it is of the simultaneous interpreter, who can be seen to be mediating in a very direct way.
>
> (Hatim and Mason 2013 [1990]:223)

Hatim and Mason conclude with two specific ways in which a translator is a 'mediator':

- **Bi-cultural vision**: the translator is uniquely placed to identify and resolve the disparity between sign and value across cultures.
- **Critical reader**: the translator is a 'privileged reader' of the source language (SL) text. She or he will have the opportunity to read the text carefully before translating, and therefore is in a position to help the target reader by producing as clear a text as the context would warrant.

Lance Hewson and Jacky Martin (1991), in their *Redefining Translation: The Variational Approach*, agree that the translator is also a critic. As they say,

> Certain texts have been subjected to what one might call an intense and loving scrutiny, producing a 'hyper-reading' (Ladmiral 1979) of the original to the extent that people might well consult a translation in order to have a better (or more complete) understanding of the original.
>
> (Hewson and Martin 1991:143)

One particular example is the translation of Shakespeare, which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Albrecht Neubert and Gregory Shreve (1992:54) went one stage further with the concept, suggesting that translations should serve as "knowledge breakers between the members of disjunct communities". Edwin Gentzler (2001) adds to this idea with the point that a text is always a part of history. He points out that the student of contemporary translation

> is enmeshed in the entire network of multiple languages, discourses, sign systems, and cultures, all of which are found in both the source and translated texts and which mutually interact in the process of translation. The number of borders being crossed in one translation are always multiple.
>
> (Gentzler 2001:203)

With regard to who the translator is, Hans Vermeer (1978) described the translator as "bi-cultural", and Mary Snell-Hornby (1992) described him/her as a "cross-cultural specialist". Hewson and Martin talk of 'The Translation Operator as a Cultural Operator' (1991:133–155) and discuss "the identity and motivations of the translation operator" (1991:160). Though they do not provide details, they are clear on one point: "Our aim is simply to underline once again the [Translation Operator's] socio-cultural identity as being one of the many factors which account for translation being what it is" (1991:161). Hatim and Mason (2013 [1990]:11) make the same point: "inevitably we feed our own beliefs, knowledge, attitudes and so on into our processing of texts, so that any translation will, to some extent, reflect the translator's own mental and cultural outlook, despite the best of impartial intentions".

Artemeva (1998:287) describes the difficulties she had, as a "writing consultant", working with technical (Russian to English) translators who first "expressed surprise at, and then rejected, my explanations about differences in the structure of English and Russian texts, different rhetorical patterns, and different emphasis on reader awareness". She concludes by saying "they need to be taught how to adapt to different ways of writing, how to learn on the job, how to understand other cultures, and the like to become better communicators".

Yet, similar to the "professional" concerns raised by interpreters, a number of translation scholars have argued that translators should (re)turn to a focus on language (Singh 2007:77–78), or to what Mossop (2017) calls an "invariance orientation". Mossop (2017:332) believes that practising translators are (and should be) focussed on text wordings that in their opinion mean "more or less the same" as

wordings in the source text. The context and 'difference' or 'diversity' are not, Mossop believes, part of 'translation' (for a response, see Katan 2017). The well-known linguist David Crystal (2013:41) agrees, and makes the same point that Kondo makes regarding interpreting: "I do not expect my translator to be a mind-reader" (for a comment, see Katan 2016a, 2018b).

1.4 Clarification of roles

It has become commonly accepted that translation and interpreting involve and require more than linguistic transfer, though whether translators and interpreters should be involved in these extra activities, as we have seen above, is a moot point. Indeed, it is already the case that many of the more clearly creative aspects of translating and interpreting are being carried out by professional 'others'. We have already touched on the localization industry and Artemeva's (1998) 'writing consultant'. In film translation, the category of 'dialogue adaptors' represents "a refusal to be considered translators [due to an] emphasis on the artistic, creative and most prestigious aspects of their professional activity" (Pavesi and Perego 2006:100; see also Zanotti 2014). The same is true for transcreators, who distance themselves from translators (Katan 2016a, 2018b). Given the capabilities of computer-aided translation, it is imperative that 'translation proper' *does* focus on difference, and hence on intercultural communication, if translators and interpreters are to survive as a profession (Katan 2016a). At the same time, a lack of a clear understanding of the nature and limitations of the (cultural) mediation involved in the work of translators, interpreters and cultural mediators often leads to confusion of roles and expectations, and contributes to these professionals' zone of uncertainty.

The Head of the government's Intercultural Mediation Unit in Belgium, Hans Verrept (2008), for instance, believes that the intercultural mediator's duties include not only 'interpreting' itself, but many other roles such as acting as a culture broker (explaining the world of one party to the other), providing practical help and emotional support, engaging in conflict mediation when necessary, acting as an advocate, advising professionals on issues facing ethnic minority members, and providing health education to patients.

Tipton and Furmanek (2016:8–9) in their volume subtitled *A Guide to Interpreting in Public Services and the Community* suggest a number of core competences, which relate closely to Verrept's views:

Tipton and Furmanek's Core Competencies

Linguistic – including strategies for handling culture-specific references;

Thematic – including how to identify gaps in cultural knowledge in relation to a limited-proficiency speaker's country of origin;
Interpersonal – including attention to psychosocial support;
Technological – including terminology management and use of social media;
Business-related – including time and customer relations management;
Developmental – including managing working with others and responding to pressure and change.
Intercultural
Awareness of different types of social disadvantage;
Knowledge of cultural changes in service user countries of origin;
Awareness of the nature of power asymmetries operating in relevant domains;
Awareness of the nature of the professional intercultures generated between interpreters and institutional service providers.

Pöchhacker (2008) provides an illuminating deconstruction and discussion of the notion of 'mediation', especially as it relates to (community) interpreting and, to a lesser extent, translation. Pöchhacker starts from the dictionary meanings of 'mediation' as:

1) Intercession between conflicting parties with a view to achieving reconciliation or mutual understanding;
2) Action or function of an intermediate channel of transmission.

The first sense is closer to social and cultural mediation; the other is closer to translation and interpreting, as is explained in the following lines. Pöchhacker then distinguishes between three types of mediation (see Figure 1.2): cultural/linguistic (intercultural relations), cognitive (conceptual relations), and contractual (social relations).

The cultural and linguistic mediation involved in translation and interpreting consists of comprehension of the source text or discourse in its original linguistic and cultural context and rendering it in a manner that is appropriate in the target language and culture. This closely parallels Hatim and Mason's (2013 [1990]) point above regarding the translator as an agent with bicultural vision and critical reading skills. Cultural mediation in this sense is a process that is quite different from cultural mediation as a profession or activity, as outlined, for example, by Verrept (2008) above.

Pöchhacker's 'cognitive mediation' also resonates with Hatim and Mason's (2013 [1990]:11) point that text processing for translation involves a level of subjectivity, which consists of or results from
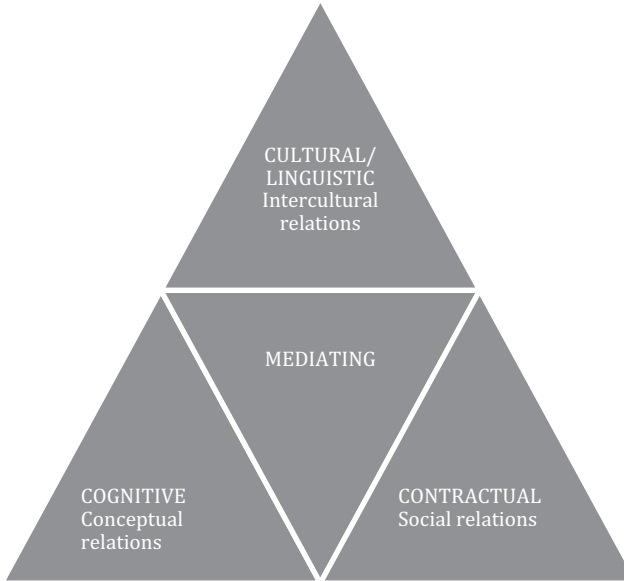
Figure 1.2 Dimensions of (translating and interpreting as) mediation (Adapted from Pöchhacker 2008:16)

the translator/interpreter feeding their own beliefs, knowledge and attitudes into the comprehension and reformulation of texts.

Finally, 'contractual mediation' is understood as the action or role of managing social relations and resolving conflicts or differences, including intercultural ones. Cognitive mediation, and linguistic and cultural mediation (in the communicative sense) apply naturally to interpreting and translation. Contractual mediation, on the other hand, is problematic, as it relates to different professional activities and profiles, including the role of intercultural mediator as outlined above. "Every interpreter [or translator] is a mediator (between languages and cultures), but not every mediator is an interpreter [or translator]" (Pöchhacker 2008:14).

Pöchhacker calls for a distinction between intercultural/social mediators on the one hand and interpreters (and, we would add, translators) on the other. He goes on to state:

> The two can be expected to coexist – side by side, most likely in a constructive, complementary relationship, and even in the same person, provided that the dually qualified professional and his or her clients are aware that the service provided in a given interaction is either interpreting or mediation, and in either case founded on a state-of-the-art model of professional practice.
>
> (Pöchhacker 2008:24)

Although we have reservations regarding the "in the same person" part, the idea of two broad fields of professional practice (interpreting/translation versus social/cultural mediation) co-existing and constructively complementing each other sounds reasonable. Martín and Phelan (2010) also agree that the two roles are distinct and complementary, as mediators may speak the relevant languages but lack interpreting skills, and interpreters have the latter but are not equipped to deal with intercultural conflicts.

Translators and interpreters generally 'mediate' between cultures in a figurative and implicit sense. Cultural mediators, on the other hand, mediate between people from different cultural backgrounds in a literal and contractual sense: advising, ironing out differences and avoiding and/or resolving conflicts. Translators and interpreters mediate implicitly by aiming for and producing what Hale (2014:328) refers to as a "pragmatically accurate rendition"; that is, a translation or interpretation that takes into account the context, including the cultural background of the speakers or writers, and encapsulates the intended message as part of the translation or interpretation. This does not exclude the option of occasionally (and explicitly) commenting on intercultural issues that cannot be handled in this manner. Indeed, Hale clarifies that even codes of ethics such as AUSIT's do not prohibit, in extreme circumstances, "alerting parties to potential cross-cultural misunderstandings when they cannot be bridged in a pragmatically accurate rendition" (2014:328).

How much room there is for translator or interpreter intervention will depend on the setting, contractual relations, translation/interpreting brief, mode of translation/interpreting and so on. These contextual factors are sometimes overlooked in the discussion of translator/interpreter leeway and intervention as a language professional with cultural knowledge. For instance, the differences between Kondo's (1990) cautious stance and Takimoto's (2006) findings mentioned earlier could have an explanation in the fact that Kondo was referring to conference or diplomatic interpreting for high-profile leaders, while Takimoto's study was about business interpreting. Among other aspects, conference interpreting involves time constraints, which means that even if the interpreter wanted to clarify or alert participants to cultural issues, they would not have the time. High-profile interpreting has its own limitations (power relations, language sensitivities, real-life stakes, etc.). Business interpreting, on the other hand, may be more relaxed, and the interpreter may be working for one of the parties, unlike a community interpreter, for example, who is hired by a public service.

Again, as Kondo (1990) points out, an interpreter will have to tread very carefully when it comes to active participation in the communication process. However, we would like to add that this word of caution needs to be nuanced and conditioned to the different understandings of active participation and the context in which the interpreter is working.

Awareness of the setting and the parameters and requirements of each communicative situation will allow the interpreter to judge when it is appropriate to intervene and how. As Bancroft (2015) summarizes, involvement may be perceived as undermining the autonomy of the main parties, exercising power, or an error of judgement. Although the academic world is, in theory, generally pushing for a more active and visible mediator, practical instances of it are, more often than not, met with ideological entrenchment. Pym, for example, asks: "[A]re we really prepared to condone all those talk-show interpreters who truncate and twist the subjectivity of their foreign guests so as to slot them into the dictates of genre and Berlusconi commerce?" (Pym 2001:135).

The same is still true for the translator, where any idea of deliberately making changes to the form of the text, and manipulating the words to aid further understanding across cultures, is still viewed with suspicion not just within the profession, but also by many respected scholars. For example, although the translation scholar Juliane House is sympathetic to the idea of intervention, she concludes that in general, "it would be wiser not to intervene at all" (2008:16) because of the risks of misinterpreting the readers' interests or needs. As we have stressed, the Western community at large still sees the translator and interpreter as a walking dictionary with fluent copying skills, and not as a cultural mediator.

However, this is not always the case. Intercultural management consultants Fons Trompenaars and Charles Hampden-Turner suggest that the interpreter "in more communitarian cultures will usually serve the national group, engaging members in lengthy asides and attempting to mediate misunderstandings arising from culture as well as language" (2012:77).

For translators, interpreters and cultural mediators alike, it is an essential requirement to have a good understanding of cultural differences and how cultures operate. This takes us to the teaching of culture for these professionals. According to Newmark (1988:17), much of the analysis of the cultural aspect of the SL text "may be intuitive". The following chapters will investigate that intuition, and should form part of the formal learning about culture and the way it guides how we communicate and how we mediate.

Note

1 We are grateful to Licia Corbolante of Microsoft, Dublin for this information and for the opportunity to look at the internal documents.

2 Defining, modelling and teaching culture

The aim of this chapter is to:

- Discuss the various definitions of culture;
- Introduce various models of culture;
- Discuss various approaches to the teaching of culture;
- Introduce the concept of ethnocentrism and culture-bound behaviour.

2.1 On defining culture

"Whenever I hear the word 'culture' … I release the safety-catch of my pistol". This quotation is often attributed to Hermann Goering, but it actually comes from *Schlageter* by Hanns Johst (Palmer 1981:13).

People instinctively know what 'culture' means to them and to which culture they belong, though it is notoriously difficult to define. Often, culture is understood as a manifestation of a nation-state – "An independent political state formed from a people who share a common national identity (historically, culturally, or ethnically)" (Oxford English Dictionary 2020) – and an average of 93% of EU citizens interviewed "feel attached to their 'country'" (European Union 2018:5). Given that the "don't know" replies were generally zero, with an absolute maximum of 2%, individuals do have a clear idea of where they belong culturally. Equally, the mere fact of feeling attached does not tell us what this means in practice nor whether (or not) other groupings (such as ethnic or religious) create more attachment.

One of the oldest and most quoted definitions of culture was formulated by the English anthropologist Edward Barnett Tylor (1958 [1871]:1). It is, for example, used by the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (2000) to introduce the topic, and Edward Sapir (1994:35, 37, 40, 44) refers to this definition widely: "Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society".

By 1952, American anthropologists Alfred Louis Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn (1952) had compiled a list of 164 definitions. Their own lengthy definition was as follows:

> Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiment in artefacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values. Culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other hand, as conditioning elements of future action.
>
> <div align="right">(Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952:181)</div>

By the 1980s we have the following comment from *Teaching Culture* (Seelye 1978:413): "I know of no way to better ensure having nothing productive happen than for a language department to begin its approach to culture by a theoretical concern for defining the term"; while *The Encyclopaedia of Language and Linguistics* (Asher 1994:2001) confirmed that "Despite a century of efforts to define culture adequately, there was in the early 1990s no agreement among anthropologists regarding its nature".

Interculturalists, such as Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (2012:28), admit that "In 25 years we have seldom encountered two or more groups or individuals with identical suggestions regarding the concept of culture". Today, the discussion includes ideology, with many wondering if the definition of one also includes the other (Fawcett 1998:106; Darder 2012:24–31).

Defining culture is important, not as an academic exercise, but because defining it delimits how it is perceived and taught. Put simply, if we define culture as "a particular civilization at a particular period" (Collins Online Dictionary 2020), then we will teach history, such as 'England in the nineteenth century'. This definition of culture we might call high culture or Culture (with a capital 'C'). High culture is external to the individual and relates to a particular and restricted body of knowledge learned, and to a particular (upper) middle-class upbringing. It tends to be associated with 'well-educated', 'refined', 'culture vulture', 'cultured' and so on. Culture for these people is fixed in a past time, such as 'The Golden Age', 'the old days' or some other appropriate time marker.

If, on the other hand, we define culture in terms of "lifestyle" or "the ideas, customs, and art of a particular society" (Collins Online Dictionary 2020), we will be teaching national folklore, sports, hobbies, and some of the following (Galloway 1985):

- The Frankenstein approach: a taco from here, a flamenco dancer from there, a gaucho from here, a bullfight from there;
- The 4-F approach: folk dances, festivals, fairs, and food;
- The Tour Guide approach: the identification of monuments, rivers and cities;
- The 'By the Way' approach: sporadic lectures or bits of behaviour selected indiscriminately to emphasize sharp differences.

The culture under discussion in this book is not visible as a product, but is internal, collective and acquired rather than learned. Acquisition is the natural, unconscious learning of language, behaviour, values and beliefs through informal observation, hearing and interaction. Learning, on the other hand, is formal and involves conscious teaching. The culture we are principally interested in is acquired before the formal learning of Culture at school.

The word comes from the Latin *cultus*, 'cultivation', and *colere*, 'to till'. The metaphorical extension is apt. Seeds continually absorb elements from the land, or rather the ecosystem, to ensure their development. In the same way, people continually absorb vital elements from their immediate environment that influence their development within the human system.

However, the traditional teaching of culture to translation and interpreting students, and to language students in general, has not focussed on culture as a shared system for interpreting reality and organizing experience (a possible definition for culture). A course on the subject, in many academic institutions, may include a module on literature and history, and grounding in certain national bureaucratic and political institutions. What is fascinating is that when the students graduate, they are more proficient in these subjects than the vast majority of people they will be translating or interpreting for. Whether or not they are culturally proficient is another matter.

The definition of culture proposed here is in terms of a shared mental model or map of the world. This includes Culture – though it is not the main focus. Instead, the main interest here lies in 'what goes without being said' and the 'normal'. This 'normal' model of the world is a system of congruent and interrelated beliefs, values, strategies and cognitive environments which guide the shared basis of behaviour. Each aspect of culture is linked in a system to form a unifying context of culture, which then identifies a person and his or her culture.

Most of the 164 definitions cited by Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952), in fact, relate to a part of this definition of culture. As a first step in the organization of the various approaches to culture, Gail Robinson (1988:7–13), from the Center for Language and Crosscultural Skills

in San Francisco, grouped the various definitions into two basic levels: external and internal.

Culture definitions relating to …
- *External* behaviours: language, gestures, customs/habits
- Products: literature, folklore, art, music, artefacts
- *Internal* ideas: beliefs, values, institutions[1]

She then suggests that each of the definitions can be seen in terms of a variety of approaches. Each of these approaches will affect the teaching style and content of a course on culture:

Approach	Approach focusses on …
• Behaviourist:	discrete behaviours or sets of behaviours, shared and observed
• Functionalist:	shared rules underlying behaviour, and observable through behaviour
• Cognitive:	the form of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relating, and otherwise interpreting them
• Dynamic:	the dynamic interplay of internal models and external mechanisms

We will now look at each of these approaches in turn, and briefly discuss the teaching methodology implied.

2.2 Approaches to the study of culture

- Behaviourist
- Functionalist
- Cognitive
- Dynamic

2.2.1 Behaviourist

One book which exemplifies the Behaviourist approach is the once popular *Life in Modern Britain*. The book was originally published

by (emeritus professor) Peter Bromhead in 1962, and by 1995 was in its 18th edition. The book opens with a panorama of Britain and its people, from which the following extract is taken:

> The British do not kill thrushes or blackbirds or sparrows. Cornish fishermen do not slaughter mackerel wholesale; nor are they happy when others deplete the sea to satisfy today's demands. In the past hundred years the British have done much to spoil their country, but they have done more to preserve its character, its green variety and its modest scale.
>
> (Bromhead 1985:6)

This is a good example of a Behaviourist approach: selected facts about what people do or do not do. This approach can load the student with facts of dubious relevance, banalities, and, of course, an implicit view that what the British choose to do, or not do, is naturally better or superior. One wonders what an imaginary Pedro Bromcabeza might have included if he ever wrote *La Vida en la España Moderna* on what the Spanish have done to preserve the community, family life, regional cooking and so on. Britain, seen from this viewpoint, would have won no points whatsoever.

The Behaviourist approach – and to some extent some of the other approaches below – tends to be ethnocentric. Ethnocentrism is the belief that the worldview of one's own culture is central to all reality (Bennett 1993:30) or that one's ethnic/cultural group is more important than others (Schaefer 2008:465; Neuliep 2018:187; Bizumic 2019). As a logical result, this belief in the intrinsic superiority of the culture to which one belongs is often accompanied by feelings of dislike and contempt for other cultures. An ethnocentric approach to the teaching of British, or any other, culture does not help the student to reason or to empathize, let alone translate. Ethnocentrism allows for little or no contextualization of described behaviour, and does not foster an investigation as to why such behaviour might logically take place.

Beverly McLeod's (1981:47) definition of culture in 'The Mediating Person and Cultural Identity' indicates what lies at the heart of the problem in teaching 'culture'. Culture is, she says, "what seems natural and right". Joyce Valdes (1986:vii), at the time Director of the Language and Culture Center at the University of Houston, agrees. She argues that people are culture-bound (which is also the title of her book). Being culture-bound, people do not see the confines of their own culture, but instead focus on those of other cultures: "Most people of whatever nation, see themselves and their compatriots not as culture but as 'standard' or 'right', and the rest of the world as made up of cultures".

2.2.2 Functionalist

The Functionalist approach to culture is a definite move away from Behaviourist ethnocentrism and purports to be above individual cultures. Such an approach looks at the value-laden reasons behind the behaviour. This is the realm, for example, of Cultural Studies as it is taught at present. Mona Baker (1996:13) points out that "However much they might differ in their attitudes to and understanding of the meaning of culture, scholars working within cultural studies tend to think of culture in political terms", and politics is seen in terms of good and bad ideologies. The Functionalist approach tends to stay locked within a judgemental frame based on one culture's dominant, or preferred, values; scholars tend to focus on power relations and the domination of one national culture, creed, gender or sexual orientation over another. The culture under investigation in this book is considered wider than politics, and will orient a group of people towards dominating or accepting domination. Our task, as translators, interpreters and mediators in general, is to understand others; and to understand what makes sense (for them) rather than argue that we, and only we, have the truth.

Returning to Bromhead (1985:11), he does state the reason for the behaviour cited. In talking about London and how it has changed since 1921, he explains: "So much impermanence, change and movement have made the people more innovative, the place more lively, so full of surprises, that nothing is surprising".

As we shall see when discussing the Meta-Model in Chapter 6, this type of language does not help to clarify culture. In this particular case, it would seem that the substantive catalyst – that is, "impermanence, change and movement" – is also the underlying cause. 'Impermanence' in itself cannot *cause* London to be more lively – and 'liveliness' is only one of a number of possible responses to impermanence. The reaction to change depends on other factors, such as a culture's tolerance of uncertainty, whether it prefers to focus on the future rather than on the past and so on. It is these factors that form the basis of the Cognitive approach.

2.2.3 Cognitive

This approach attempts to account for the way the brain works in linking a particular cause and a particular effect. It tends to use the concepts of modelling, and talks of mapping, underlying patterns and the culture-bound categorizing of experience. Howard Nostrand (1989:51), for example, talks of a culture's 'central code': "The central code … involves above all the culture's 'ground of meaning'; its system of major values, habitual patterns of thought, and certain prevalent

assumptions about human nature and society which the foreigner should be prepared to encounter".

Various authors have also used the analogy of computer programming to explain these habitual patterns of thought. For example, Geert Hofstede (1991), one of the most influential writers in the field, states:

> Using the analogy of the way computers are programmed, [we] will call such patterns of thinking, feeling, and acting *mental programs*, or … *software of the mind*. … Culture is the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another.
>
> (Hofstede 1991:4–5)

Hofstede does accept that there are differences between a human brain and a computer, in that the human brain can react and change in unexpected and creative ways. His thesis is, though, that each culture will have a set software which every member of that culture will acquire, to a greater or lesser extent.

This view of culture suggests that, in learning about any other culture, one needs first to learn about how one's own internal programming functions in one's own culture. This is a move away from the Functionalist approach. Those who write about or are involved in intercultural training at this level (in marked difference to Bromhead) explicitly state who they are, and where their own preferred patterns lie. Claire Kramsch (1993:11), for example, who has written a great deal on teaching culture, calls herself "a French woman, Germanist and teacher of German in the United States" (at MIT). She is convinced that language students cannot be expected to fully understand another set of institutions or even authentic material, such as newspaper articles, because the students (almost literally) cannot see past their own culture:

> The issue that is raised by the use of real-life materials is that culture is a reality that is social, political and ideological, and that the difficulty of understanding cultural codes stems from the difficulty of viewing the world from another perspective, not of grasping another lexical or grammatical code.
>
> (Kramsch 1993:188)

2.2.4 Summary of Behaviourist, Functionalist and Cognitive approaches

To summarize, the Behaviourist approach tends towards ethnocentricity. It is taught in terms of institutions and culture with a 'C'. The Functionalist approach attempts to look at what lies behind the

behaviour and account for it. It does this, though, through culture-bound evaluations, made within the context of one particular culture.

The Cognitive approach emphasizes the context and boundaries. It suggests that cultures model reality in different (rather than better or worse) ways. The teaching at this level includes the presentation of generalized models of culture. These are very useful models for providing a general framework of culture; and indeed, much of this book is devoted to explaining them.

However, all these models suffer to the extent that they treat culture as a frozen state. They also suggest that mediation between cultures is relatively straightforward. Valdes (1986), in fact, has the following optimistic words as the subtitle to her book: *Bridging the Cultural Gap in Language Teaching*. Kramsch (1993) categorically does not agree:

> What we should seek in cross-cultural education are less bridges than a deep understanding of boundaries. We can teach the boundary, we cannot teach the bridge. We can *talk about* and try to *understand* the differences between the values celebrated in the [American] Coca-Cola commercial and the lack or the existence of analogous values in its Russian or German equivalents. We cannot teach directly how to resolve the conflict between the two.
>
> (Kramsch 1993:228, emphasis in the original)

Though this might sound like an admission of defeat, it is in fact an acceptance that there is another approach to culture, what Gail Robinson (1988:11) terms the 'symbolic' definition of culture, which is the subject of the next sub-section.

2.2.5 Dynamic

The fourth approach to culture is to perceive it as a dynamic process. Robinson (1988:11) notes that "The concept of culture as a creative, historical system of symbols and meaning has the potential to fill in the theoretical gaps left by Behaviourist, Functionalist and Cognitive theories", which to a large extent represent what House (2018a:49) calls "old thinking about culture". According to this newer thinking, culture is not an independent fact to be found by consulting books, cognitive maps or any other static system. It is more like a 'habitus': "a system of durable, transposable dispositions", of "internalised structures, common schemes of perception, conception and action", the result of inculcation and habituation, simultaneously structured and structuring, and directed towards practice (Bourdieu 1990:53–60). This may also be called a semiotic approach to culture (see Barthes 1993 [1957]).

Culture, then, at this level is viewed as a dynamic process, constantly negotiated by those involved. It is influenced but not determined by past meanings and it establishes a precedent for future meanings. This is particularly pertinent to what Linguistics, Intercultural Education and Ideology scholar Adrian Holliday (2019:3) calls "small cultures": "cultural environments, small social groupings or activities wherever there is cohesive behaviour". Small cultures are similar to the communities of practice mentioned in Chapter 1. What unites these small cultures is their transient 'on-the-go' status. Larger languacultures change too, though the dynamism of change in speaking and writing norms is, as Li (2008:16) puts it, "at a glacier pace" (see Chapter 11).

Clearly, there is a dialectic process going on between small-culture communication practice and large-culture values; and also between internal models of the world and external realities. So, teaching at this level cannot simply be reduced to offering prescriptive norms (see Katan 2019).

There are three important conclusions to be drawn from viewing culture at this level. First, rather than the teacher being the only active person, students or trainees become actively involved in learning through reflecting on their own culture-bound ways and experience. This is best organized through simulated or actual intercultural encounters, thus making sojourns abroad an essential component of any course on culture or translation.

The second point to note is that 'culture' is not 'a thing' but a sense of what defines and distinguishes us from others. It is a form of "collective narrative" (Baker 2006) that a group believes in and values because "the stories … are told and retold by numerous members of a society over a long period of time" (2006:29), or as the influential anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973:5) put it: "man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun".

The third point to note is that because culture is not static, change is possible not only individually but also in society as a whole. In fact, many believe this is the case, as the global village becomes more of a reality. Less positively, many believe that this levelling will also entail a move towards the lowest common denominator: McDonaldization.

2.3 McDonaldization or local globalization?

The dynamic process of globalization of culture can be clearly seen in the increasing uniformity of dress styles and of eating habits worldwide: "A Big Mac will taste the same in Moscow as it does in New York, Tokyo, Toronto or Rio", as a McDonald's official said when the chain was introduced to the Russian capital (Remnick 1988). 'McDonaldization', according to George Ritzer (2018:1), who coined

the word, is "the process by which the principles of the fast-food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as the rest of the world". The fast-food principles are those of rationalization: a studied programmable system which attempts to standardize both the process and the product. According to Ritzer, there are four major principles:

- Efficiency: product ordered and consumed in minimum time;
- Calculability: product or service is calculable in terms of quantitative aspects such as size, cost, etc.;
- Predictability: product range identical at home and abroad and reproducible worldwide;
- Control: of both employees and customers in terms of standardized practices, e.g. waiting and sitting times, operational checklists.

Rationalization also pervades the language (verbal and non-verbal) to such an extent that counter staff worldwide are observed for performance down to the last discrete detail. The box below is a much-shortened summary of the performance evaluation sheet used at McDonald's for service counter operations (Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars 1993:42–43):

Greeting the customer	Yes	No
1) There is a smile	_	_
2) It is a sincere greeting	_	_
3) There is eye contact	_	_
Assembling the order		
1) The order is assembled in the proper sequence	_	_
2) Grill slips are handed first	_	_
3) Drinks are poured in the proper sequence	_	_
4) Proper amount of ice	_	_
Asking for and receiving payment		
1) The amount of the order is stated clearly and loud enough to hear	_	_
2) The denomination received is clearly stated	_	_

Asking for and receiving payment	Yes	No
3) The change is counted out loud	_	_
4) Change is counted efficiently	_	_
5) Large bills are laid on the till until the change is given	_	_
Thanking the customer and asking for repeat business		
1) There is always a thank you	_	_
2) The thank you is sincere	_	_
3) There is eye contact	_	_
4) Return business was asked for	_	_

The dynamic process whereby McDonaldization is changing the behaviour of consumers worldwide may also be seen at a deeper level: a globalization of values. At the level of behaviour, the American hamburger, jeans and trainers, followed by Hollywood entertainment have, superficially, united the world. In fact, many authors believe, with Kaynak, that:

> the growing significance of global communication … blurs national differences. Age and lifestyle may be more important than national culture. …adolescents the world over have more in common with their peers in other countries in terms of their tastes than with other age groups from the same culture.
>
> (Kaynak, cited in Séguinot 1995:65)

However, there are two main points to mention here. First, as we shall investigate in more detail later, the blurring of differences is at a visible level. What does not blur are the more important yet invisible elements of what actually makes up a culture. As Kramsch (1993:227, emphasis in the original) affirms, "it is a fallacy to believe that because Russians now drink Pepsi-Cola, Pepsi *means* the same for them as for Americans". Likewise, while McDonald's is generally associated with more economical meals, in China it was (at least in 2008) "a status symbol, still somewhat perceived as an upmarket restaurant" (Streed and Cliquet 2008:211). And, more recently, McDonald's has become "a Status Symbol in Smaller Cities of India" (Manohar 2019). As Manohar (2019:n.p.) says: "Having grown up in a city devoid of 'Mac-D', where only the rich kids could bring back Happy Meal toys and day-old burgers from another city, the recent opening of a McDonald's seems to say we're finally cool".

Second, the four principles of McDonaldization are not, in fact, applicable worldwide. In terms of predictability, for instance, McDonald's also sells different products in different countries, such as vegetarian and lamb burgers in India, where cows are revered; or salmon sandwiches in Norway (Streed and Cliquet 2008:211). Even less predictable are products such as the Sticky Rice Roast Pork Burger launched in Thailand (Jenks 2005) or the McNoodles containing chicken and Thai sauces on sale only in Austria, as mentioned by travel journalist Jake Leavy (2018). Even though fellow American Quentin Tarantino publicized similar seemingly small differences in Europe in the film *Pulp Fiction* more than 25 years ago, Leavy (para. 1) feels it necessary to prepare his readers: "you may be in for a shock to know that the [McDonald's] menu is not the same in every country":

Pulp Fiction

[Vincent] "But you know, the funniest thing about Europe?"

[Jules] "What?"

[Vincent] "It's the little differences … In Paris you can buy a beer in a McDonald's … And you know what they call a quarter pounder with cheese in Paris?"

[Jules] "No. They don't call it a quarter pounder with cheese?"

[Vincent] "No, they've got the metric system. They wouldn't know what the fuck a quarter pounder is."

[Jules] "So, what do they call it?"

[Vincent] "They call it a Royale with cheese."

[Jules] "A Royale with cheese?"

[Vincent] "That's right."

[Jules] "And what do they call a Big Mac?"

[Vincent] "A Big Mac's a Big Mac, but they call it Le Big Mac."

[Jules] "Le Big Mac." [laughter]

(Tarantino 1994:n.p.)

Microsoft software developer Bill Gates knows to his cost that localization is required in order to cater for the needs and expectations of different target groups. He describes the "hundreds, sometimes thousands of new articles" that were written when localizing the *Encarta* encyclopedia into five different languages (Gates 1997:n.p.). Below is how the US and British "local, educated realit[ies]" (Gates' words) talked about the same event: the invention of the incandescent light bulb:

US: In 1878 and 1879, British inventor Joseph Swan and American inventor Thomas Edison simultaneously developed the carbon-filament lamp.

GB: In 1878 [Swan] demonstrated an electric light using a carbon wire in a vacuum bulb. Thomas Edison arrived independently at the same solution the following year.

It may be relatively easy to accept that history is open to interpretation – but this is just the tip of the iceberg. The American anthropologist Edward T. Hall (1990 [1959]:83) gives us a nice example of local, Mexican, understanding of what should not have been open to interpretation – at least as far as the visiting Americans were concerned. Urban speed limits of 15 mph had been introduced in Mexico in the 1930s. The Americans working there were constantly getting speeding fines from a particular traffic policeman when they were driving one mile an hour above the legal speed – and, in rage, paid the fine.

The principle of fines for speeding had been interpreted differently in Mexico, according to the local informal way of doing things. In Mexico, at that time, almost everyone knew someone who could help in tearing up the ticket once it had been written. Hence, except for the most serious of offences, it was possible not to pay. The American understanding and application of the rule starts from another viewpoint. The traffic police will only give a ticket for the most serious of offences; that is, not at 16 mph, but at over 20 mph, at which point there is no discussion.

What happens is that a system, a way of doing things or a historical narrative, dynamically adapts (or is adapted) to an already existing way of doing things. The interaction between imported systems and local cultural contexts results in glocalization, "the process in which phenomena that spread, flow, or are diffused, from one 'place' to another have to be, and indeed are, adapted to the new locality in which they arrive" (Robertson 2014:21). For multinationals like McDonald's, dynamic adaptation to local cultures is often required to ensure successful expansion. As Paarlberg (2013) notes, chains that perform best are those that adapt to local preferences. MTV, for example, had to move away from its "one music – one planet" motto and one-language strategy, and now caters for local varieties of popular culture worldwide. As of 2020 there were more than 200 independent local MTVs:

Some MTV differences:

- A top show on MTV Italy is 'MTV Kitchen', where musicians show off their favourite recipes.

- In Indonesia, MTV broadcasts a "funky but respectful" call to prayer five times a day.
- A majority of content on MTV India is drawn from Bollywood.

As many authors have noted (e.g. Jenks 2005; Wilson *et al.* 2013; Marginson 2014), globalization often results in the global co-existing with the local in different forms, arrangements and levels of inter-action. This applies to markets, products, services, social practices, spaces, institutions and so on. The result of global localization is, in fact, a potentially richer culture, with the choice of whether to go global or local being decided on a day-to-day basis.

This dynamic process of interaction between the global and the local culture has been taken up in recent business development models. In fact, as we are seeing, the importance of local cultures is being taken extremely seriously by big business, and the models underline the fact that the more a company develops, the more important the cultural factor becomes.

2.4 Models of culture

- Trompenaars' Layers
- Hofstede's Onion Model
- The Iceberg Theory
- Hall's Triad

The approaches to culture we have just discussed are not mutually exclusive, and none of them by themselves totally cover all aspects of culture. The various theories – Behaviourist, Functionalist, Cognitive and Dynamic – operate at different levels, in much the same way as translation and the cultural factor, which we discussed earlier. We will now look at a number of models that aim to unite these approaches. They have all been suggested by social anthropologists who are also, as it happens, business consultants.

Modelling is a process that simplifies how a system functions. We mentioned above that learning facts is not enough, and that bridges between cultures cannot be taught. Models, on the other hand, can be taught and are much more useful in understanding how culture functions. The business training programmes now available include courses on communication and culture, and they generally pro-vide models of culture and cross-cultural (or change-management)

communication skills rather than simple facts about a country or rules of conduct.

The models discussed below come from some of the major influences on training in culture for the business community: Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner; Hofstede; Brake, Medina-Walker and Walker; and E.T. Hall. All the models provide useful ways of understanding culture, and they will be referred to later when discussing language and translation.

2.4.1 Trompenaars' layers

Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner have been studying culture and how it affects business for more than 20 years. They have lectured and trained personnel in a range of multinational companies on the subject, and have also written a number of authoritative guides. One, originally published by The Economist Books, is entitled *Riding the Waves of Culture* and includes a chapter devoted to the meaning of culture (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 2012:27–38). Their interpretation is in the form of a model comprising three concentric rings or 'Layers of Culture' (Figure 2.1).

Trompenaars' Layers of Culture

- The outer layer: artefacts and products
- The middle layer: norms and values
- The core layer: basic assumptions

The outer layer is the most visible layer. Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner call this 'explicit'. This is the level of culture with a capital
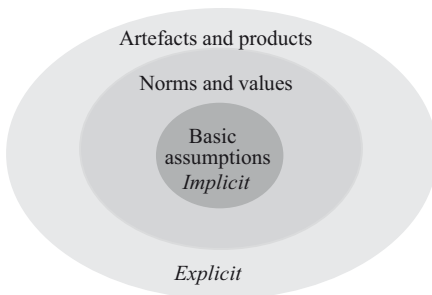

Figure 2.1 Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner's (2012:29) Layers of Culture

'C': the artefacts and products. The organization of institutions, such as the legal system and bureaucracy, is included here. The middle layer differentiates between norms and values. The norms relate to social rules of conduct. They concern, and to a large extent dictate, how one should behave in society. Values, on the other hand, are aspirations, which may never actually be achieved.

Finally, we have the core, which, as the word suggests, is not visible. Trompenaars' term is 'implicit'. This is the heart of culture, and its most inaccessible aspect. It contains basic assumptions about life which have been handed down unconsciously from generation to generation. These unquestioned assumptions may have little to do with the present, but they have much to do with long-forgotten survival responses to the environment.

2.4.2 Hofstede's onion model

Geert Hofstede is one of the most influential authors in the field. His landmark research came to the fore in the 1980s, and is still core material for International Business courses, as at the University of London (Parkinson 2020). We will see later applications in translation research. His chapter on defining culture is actually entitled 'Levels of Culture' (Hofstede 1991:7, 9), and specifically uses the metaphor of "skins of an onion", not in reference to any tears, but simply because there are superficial and deeper layers, which Hofstede suggests are as shown in Figure 2.2.

The main difference between Trompenaars' model and Hofstede's model is that Trompenaars has a tripartite view of culture (like Hall, as we shall see), while Hofstede has two main layers: practices and values. Hofstede groups symbols, heroes and rituals under practices (as compared with Trompenaars' artefacts and products, norms and values) and makes it clear (Hofstede 1991:8) that "the core of culture
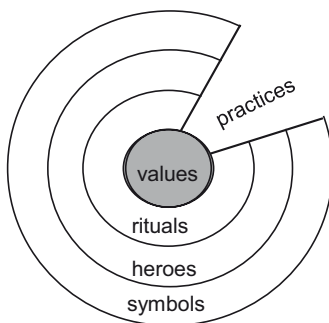

Figure 2.2 Hofstede's Levels of Culture

is formed by *values*" (emphasis in the original). We will first look at 'practices' in a little more detail.

Practices

The 'symbols' represent the first level of practices. They are semiotic signs recognized as belonging to a particular group such as words, gestures, pictures, objects, dress and so on. A symbol is any perceivable sign that communicates a meaning. Hofstede includes these in the outer, most superficial layer because, like a hairstyle, they can be changed easily.

For those who speak two or more languages, changing the language is also easy, but it does not necessarily mean that there has been any cultural switch. Comedians, in fact, take great stock in sending up the English who manage to speak French while remaining English in every other respect. Many bilinguals find themselves in the same position: They are bilingual but not bicultural, and hence lay themselves open to being "fluent fools" (Bennett 1997).

Next come 'heroes'. Hofstede is unusual (in the intercultural field) in highlighting the importance of real or imaginary heroes. Semioticians, instead, such as Umberto Eco and Ronald Barthes, focus much of their work on how screen heroes construct cultural identities. Hofstede focusses on the advent of national film and television, and the creation of culturally diverse role models. It is certainly true that Rambo and Superman provide (and reflect) one particular culture's belief in the superhero: the outsider who single-handedly defeats evil in society. It would be difficult to imagine either of these as being the national heroes of any other culture. On the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, Ian Fleming's British secret agent is anything but an outsider, and he could never take on American behaviour and say, "My name's Bond, Jim Bond".

On the other hand, superficially, a number of heroes are pan-cultural. If we look at Italy and the United States and compare children's heroes, we find that they do travel between the cultures, highlighting cultural similarities. Italy has adopted Mickey Mouse (or rather *Topolino*) as its own Italian hero, with his own Italian-written and -produced magazine, which is "still the best-selling Disney magazine in the world" (Castelli 1999a:n.p.). What is particularly interesting, though, is that all the Disney characters, all with local names, are much more part of the Italian collective memory than in the United States. *The Phantom* comic strip, too, having outlived its useful life in the United States, happily lives on in Europe and in Australia.

According to Italian *Martin Mystery* writer Alfredo Castelli, even though 80% of domestic comic production in Europe is European-made, local writers all follow the "iron rule", ensuring that comics

continue to be characterized by "American" main characters and settings. Castelli explains that although *Martin Mystère*'s adventures are set in Italy, Martin himself is presented as an occasional American lecturer who lives in Washington Mews, New York. In fact, Italian fans of this fictional French-American hero rang the doorbell of 3 Washington Mews, expecting to find him there. Alfredo Castelli wrote to the real resident apologizing: "The resident – a Mr. Claxton, working for NYU – was very kind with me, and answered that, indeed he was surprised by the strange pilgrimage to his home, still stranger as the *pilgrims* were all Italians" (Castelli 1999b:n.p.).

On the other hand, Pinocchio (outside Italy) is associated with Disney rather than with the Italian author Carlo Collodi, and is a major Hollywood hero in his own right, having netted two Academy awards: "Count the number of truly classic animated films and the list would begin with *Walt Disney's Pinocchio* … a timeless adventure for all who have a dream in their heart".[2] What remains to be seen is whether Roberto Benigni's version will change Pinocchio's epicentre in any way.

Finally under 'practices', we find 'rituals'. According to Hofstede (1991:8), these are "technically superfluous in reaching desired ends, but, within a culture, are considered as socially essential". Rituals permeate all communication. For example, in any conversation (except for restricted or artificial language talk) there is a ritual 'ice-breaking' or introductory rapport-building chat, whether the context is an international conference, a negotiation, a presentation or a casual encounter. Each context will have its own culturally appropriate introductory ritual. In Italian there is a tendency, in casual conversation, to comment on personal appearance, health and family. In English, the accent is on the weather and activities (work, routines, etc.); while in Malay, conversations tend to open with a food question ("Have you eaten yet?").

Mode of address is another example of ritual. Each languaculture speaker knows instinctively when to use the *tu/vous* (or equivalent) informal/formal address terms. But explaining the hidden rules (relating to relative status, age differences, how well the interlocutor is known, the setting and even who else is listening in) to others is another matter. Other honorifics provide similar problems, especially in translation. The examples in the following table show how there is often no literal translation of what are fixed formulaic expressions, though stock translations of the most popular terms can now be found in dictionaries.

Conversation rituals are often so much a part of our way of doing things that we could have difficulty identifying them, let alone understanding that another culture might have a different ritual system altogether.

Language	Expression	Literal meaning	Use
Arabic (Lebanese)	بدك شي؟ [baddak shee]	Would you like anything?	Goodbye/see you soon
Chinese	你说的没错! [Nǐ shuō de méi cuò]	What you've said is not wrong	You're right/ Exactly/You're right, but…
French	*Veuillez fermer la porte*	(imperative) You want to close the door	Could you please close the door
Spanish	*Caballero, …*	Gentleman/ knight	To address a man formally/politely
English	Your honour	Your honour	Ritual address to a judge

The important point that Hofstede (1991:8) makes is that symbols, heroes and rituals are visible, and can therefore be subsumed under practices: "their cultural meaning, however, is invisible and lies precisely and only in the way these meanings are interpreted by the insiders. The core of culture … is formed by values". The idea of the visible/invisible in culture is certainly not new, and one of the most enduring metaphors is that of the iceberg.

2.4.3 The Iceberg Theory

The Iceberg Theory has, in fact, been used to describe culture for many years. In the 1950s, the theory was popularized as a result of the work by Edward T. Hall. In particular, in *The Silent Language* (1990 [1959]:61) Hall briefly mentions "the iceberg analogy", referring in particular to Freud's well-known metaphor to explain the inaccessibility of the unconscious mind. As Hall notes, this analogy was one of many being used to explain that the most important part of culture is completely hidden, and that what can be seen is, as the cliché has it, 'just the tip of the iceberg'.

Other (visible/hidden) divisions included Clyde and Florence Kluckhohn's 'explicit' and 'implicit', and Ralph Linton's distinction between 'covert' and 'overt'. Linton was one of the most influential psychologists regarding role theory, and revered by Hall as a great teacher (1990 [1959]:xii). The two American anthropologists Clyde and Florence Kluckhohn have been similarly lauded, and their individual and joint works are still considered authoritative texts.

Hall remains one of the great popularizers of twentieth-century Anthropology and was also, well before Hofstede and Trompenaars, a highly successful business consultant, cross-cultural skills trainer

and writer. Hall also provides the essential link between studies on meaning in language and meaning in culture. His theory on contexting is discussed in detail in Part III.

The Iceberg Theory has since been adopted by interculturalists. One early group was a team of American management consultants, Brake *et al.* (1995:34–39). They suggest a division as follows:

> Laws, customs, rituals, gestures, ways of dressing, food and drink and methods of greeting, and saying goodbye. These are all part of culture, but they are just the tip of the cultural iceberg.
>
> The most powerful elements of culture are those that lie beneath the surface of everyday interaction. We call these value orientations. Value orientations are preferences for certain outcomes over others.
>
> (Brake *et al.* 1995:36)

The term 'value orientations' was, in fact, first coined by Florence Kluckhohn in 1953 (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961). The orientations, as listed by Brake *et al.* (see Figure 2.3), Hofstede, Trompenaars and Hall, are shown below the waterline and will be discussed in detail in Chapter 9.

2.4.4 Hall's Triad

Hall, as we have mentioned, has written a great deal on culture, though only some of what he has written is quoted today. As we note above, Brake *et al.* (1995) along with many other intercultural consultants continue to use the Iceberg Theory. Hall, though, rejected the "bipolar way of analysing" culture (1990 [1959]:62) and suggested the addition of a further 'Formal' level to make a 'Triad of Culture' (also mentioned in passing by Harris and Moran [1991:39–40]). Though Hall does not specifically refer to the iceberg analogy again, it is clearly inferable that his Formal "take[n] for granted" (1990 [1959]:63) level lies sometimes above, and sometimes below Freud's conscious iceberg waterline. Hall's Triad has been widely adopted by intercultural scholars and trainers, who, perhaps erroneously, often refer to it as Hall's Iceberg Model or Theory.

However we name the theory, Hall's triadic approach, which includes this intermediate "taken for granted level", is extremely useful the translation scholar Kobus Marais takes a similar triadic approach quoting the semiotician Floyd Merrell. Merrell (in Marais 2019:132) discusses three general classes of thinking, of which the middle is "tacit":

> (1) conscious, cognitive, conceptual, intellectual, involving chiefly signs of symbolicity and explicitness, (2) tacit doing of the
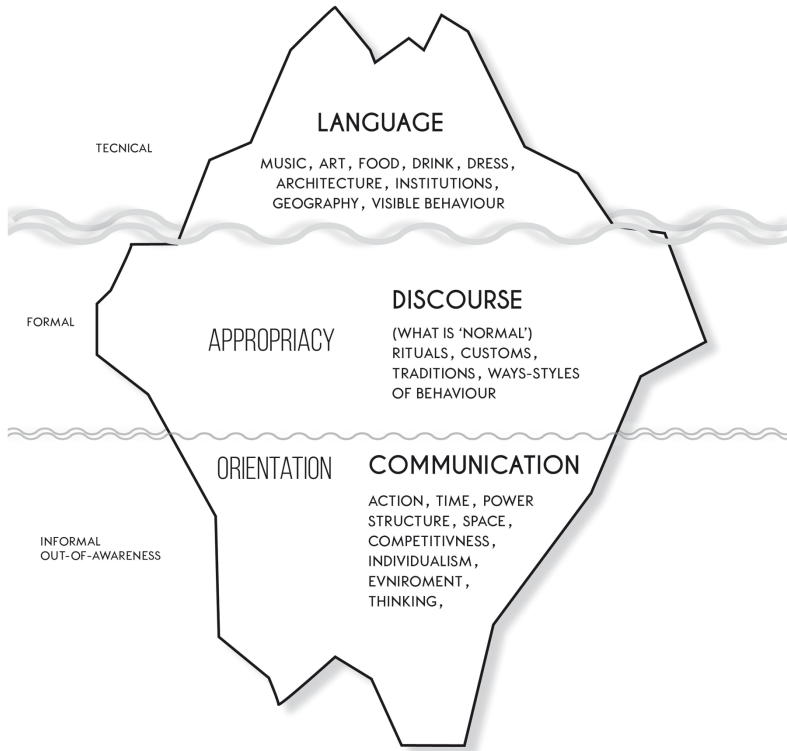
Figure 2.3 The Cultural Iceberg (adapted from Brake *et al.* 1995:39)

bodymind, consisting chiefly of implicitly made and taken signs of indexicality and iconicity, and (3) visceral evocations and responses, at the deeper most level of feeling.

(Merrell 2000, quoted in Marais 2019:132)

Marais (2019:132) continues, rightly pointing out (as we also do) that "The problem with translation studies, and most of the humanities, is that it focuses on class one (with perhaps some attention to class two), but it virtually ignores class three".

We will look here in more detail at Hall's three Levels of Culture, specifically with regard to communication.

Hall's three Levels of Culture

- Technical culture
- Formal culture
- Informal culture *or* out-of-awareness culture

Technical culture

This is communication at the level of empirical evidence. The language refers to tangible or at least measurable entities, and has no meaning outside itself. Let us take the word 'time'. In general, what 'time' refers to will depend on context and culture. Technical time, on the other hand, refers only to the technical understanding of the concept and can be broken down into its 'isolates' and analysed. One of its basic isolates is 'a second', which we all have a feel for. However, very few people would be able to define a second. A technical 'second' has no feeling, but can be unambiguously defined:

> A second is the basic SI unit of time: the duration of 9 192 631 770 periods of radiation corresponding to the transition between two hyperfine levels of the ground state of caesium-133.2
>
> (Collins Online Dictionary 2021)

Textbooks and manuals, in theory, are written at this level of culture. In practice, as we have already seen with *Life in Modern Britain*, there is a lot more going on. Yet it is also true that two engineers, for example, can discuss the tolerance levels of metals at this level with little or no communication problem, and they will also extrapolate the meaning of 'on the fly' better than a non-expert native speaker will.

In Linguistics, this is equivalent to the denotative level. Roger Bell's (1991:98–99) *Translation and Translating* explains very clearly the concept of the denotative meaning of a word, utterance or complete text. The meaning is "referential, objective and cognitive and, hence, the shared property of the speech community which uses the language of which the word or sentence forms a part". 'Denotation' tends to be described as the definitional, 'literal', 'obvious' or 'common-sense' meaning of a sign.

Teaching at this level isolates the parts, analyses and then recombines them. This is how grammar, or rather syntax and semantics (which is the study of idealized meaning) are taught. The language, at this level, is taught as an independent and idealized system. Some languages are, by their very nature, 'technical'. These are the restricted languages such as Seaspeak. As David Crystal (1987:56) says, "The language is so tightly constrained by its context that only a small degree of variation is permitted … They usually consist of routinely formulaic constructions, with a conventionalised prosody or typographical layout, and a limited vocabulary".

The idea of English as an international language and the use of a standardized international technical language are attempts at making

both language and culture technical. The most extreme examples of this are the so-called universal second, artificial or auxiliary languages, such as Esperanto, which are culture-free. The fact that they are culture-free may well account for their lack of global success compared to English.

As we have seen with the McDonald's example, it is possible to analyse the isolates of conversation technically, breaking down the interaction into a series of mechanical moves:

Thanking the customer and asking for repeat business	Yes	No
1) There is always a thank you	_	_
2) The thank you is sincere	_	_
3) There is eye contact	_	_
4) Return business was asked for	_	_

Technical culture, then, is scientific, analysable and can be taught by any expert in the field. In a technical culture (apart from the study of theoretical areas such as particle physics) there is only one right answer, which will be based on an objective technical principle. The objectivity is, of course, an ideal. As translation scholar Federica Scarpa (2020:87), in her volume on technical translation, points out, "similar concepts and procedures of scientific inquiry produce different conceptualisations and rhetorical structures in the scientific discourse of different languages".

Formal culture

Hall calls his second Level of Culture 'formal'. It is no longer objective, but is taken for granted, and is part of an accepted way of doing things. It can be, and indeed is, taught. This is the culture of traditions, rules, customs, procedures and so on. We are generally not aware of the conventions surrounding (in Hall's words) the routines of life, but awareness is immediate when the convention is flouted. For example, if a child (brought up in many countries) forgets to say, "thank you" at the appropriate moment, an adult will invariably prompt him or her with a question such as, "What do you say?" or "What is the magic word?" Children, in fact, learn this form of culture through trial and error with their family, and then later in school. They soon learn the accepted way of doing things. The language of these routines of life would now, in Linguistics, be called genres.

Though genres are not usually analysed in everyday life (and hence are part of formal rather than technical culture), they are scientifically

studied and are technically taught to others – as, for example, the McDonald's sequence mentioned above. So, this formal level of culture is sometimes above and sometimes below the conscious waterline. In translation, much of the communication that is routine remains so, but the routine often changes. For example, an analysis of seemingly similar service-counter conversations between customers and assistants at bookshops in the UK and Italy found that "different patterns of action are 'proper' " (Gavioli 1993:390).

Informal culture

By suggesting the term 'informal' for his third Level of Culture, Hall means that there are no 'rules' as such. This form of culture is neither taught nor learned, but acquired informally and, even more importantly, 'out-of-awareness'. According to Hall, this term was coined by the Washington psychiatrist Harry Stack Sullivan to distinguish that part of the personality which we are conscious of ('in-awareness') from that part which is visible to others but is outside our own awareness. This concept relates back to Freud, who believed that the conscious self is not, in fact, 'master of the house'. We are, he claimed, governed by the Unconscious (the out-of-awareness), which is formed from crucial memories in childhood and guides our adult life.

It is this out-of-awareness level that we respond to emotionally and identify with. It is the "not-what-she-said-but-how-she-said-it" level. In terms of Speech Act Theory, it is the illocutionary force of a proposition that we respond to, rather than the locution. As Hall suggests, we react out-of-awareness at this informal level – rather than at the technical level. Writing about translation, Margherita Ulrych (1992:254) also stresses that we judge and react to words at the level of connotative meaning. These are "the culturally or socially determined value judgements that are implicit in the semantics of a word".

It was Roland Barthes (1967 [1964]) who popularised the terms 'denotation' and 'connotation'. He pointed out that connotation, unlike denotation, depends on knowledge of the context to understand the full meaning. 'Connotation' is used to refer to the sociocultural and 'personal' associations (ideological, emotional, etc.) of the sign. Connotations will change according to class, age, gender, ethnicity and so on. So, words, and more generally signs, become more 'polysemic' – more open to interpretation. At the informal level, there is no longer an authoritative dictionary meaning, and the effectiveness of connotation lies in the writer's and reader's ability to link the text to the out-of-awareness shared map or model of the world. As Christopher Taylor (1998:41) says in his guide to using dictionaries: "it is difficult for the lifeless printed page to capture all possible

uses of a word, and even more difficult to provide a list of all possible translation options".

An extract from almost any novel (or recording of any conversation) brings out the fact that it is the unconscious part of our brain that dictates our response. The extract below, from Tom Wolfe's book *The Bonfire of the Vanities*, captures the out-of-awareness emotive force of communication. The book is set in New York, and Wolfe (1990:xvii) explains in his 'Introduction' that his objective was to produce "highly detailed realism based on reporting, a realism that would portray the individual in intimate and inextricable relation to the society around him".

In the first few pages of the book, we find the protagonist, Sherman McCoy, a Wall Street bond trader, leaving his luxury apartment to take the dog for a walk. After entering the lift (or rather elevator), he is joined by a neighbour, Pollard Browning:

> Browning looked Sherman and his country outfit and the dog up and down and said, without a trace of a smile, "Hello, Sherman". "Hello Sherman" was on the end of a ten-foot pole and in a mere four syllables conveyed the message: "You and your clothes and your animal are letting down our new mahogany-panelled elevator".
>
> (Wolfe 1990:13)

Only someone steeped in the culture of a Park Avenue coop apartment could appreciate and react to Browning's, "Hello Sherman". Sherman's reaction was not governed by his conscious mind, but by something much deeper:

> Sherman was furious but nevertheless found himself leaning over and picking the dog up off the floor.
>
> (Wolfe 1990:13)

In terms of Speech Act Theory, picking up the dog is the perlocutionary effect; that is, the effect the utterance has on the hearer or the response it triggers. This effect is produced, as Sherman finds, out-of-awareness.

The Triad

Any activity can emphasize any of the three levels. It is also possible to change level almost instantly, as the following dialogue – a typical parent–child interaction – illustrates. As the parent becomes more aware of the need to focus consciously on the situation, so his language moves from the informal to the formal, and finally, spelling out the situation, the language becomes technical:

- Informal   "Pookins, pick up your clothes, will you?" (no reply)
- Formal   "Steffy, please pick up your clothes." (no reply)
- Technical   "Stephanie Tinker, I have so far asked you twice to pick your clothes up and put them on the chair. I am warning you that I have no intention of asking you a third time. Is that clear?"

Chapter 3 looks in detail at frames and levels. It explains how they interact and help to orient individuals in attaching meaning to what they hear, see and feel.

Notes

1 Robinson's understanding of 'institutions' is clearly different to that generally taught on a course of the same name.
2 Back-cover text to Walt Disney video *Pinocchio* (emphasis added).

3 Frames and levels

The aim in this chapter is to:

- Introduce the idea of the 'meta-message' and framing;
- Introduce the theory of Logical Levels;
- Link the various levels to theories of culture;
- Introduce the concept of 'congruence';
- Differentiate between culture-bound and non-culture-bound behaviour.

3.1 Frames

- Meta-message
- Context
- Bateson's frames
- Tannen's frames
- Prototypes

We have already discussed the fact that culture exists on a number of levels. Here we will take up the nature of levels themselves and how they function in communication. The "Hello Sherman" example from Chapter 2 illustrates how even the simplest of messages come with another message. The English anthropologist Gregory Bateson (1972:178, 1988:122–137) pointed out that all animals communicate about their communication, and this 'communication about' (1988:124) he called 'meta-communication' (following Whorf). More specifically, it is this meta-message which carries the force of the message and provides a clue to its interpretation.

The Greek suffix *meta* originally meant 'after, between or among'. In Linguistics it now means 'about'. Hence, 'meta-language', for example, is language used to talk about language, such as talking about 'verbs', 'nouns', 'actors', 'parataxis', etc. For Bateson, and in this book, *meta* is a higher-order, or rather, a more encompassing Logical Level which provides the key to interpreting the meaning of the level encompassed.

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│                                         │
│                                         │
│               I hate you                │
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│                                         │
│                                         │
│               I love you                │
│                                         │
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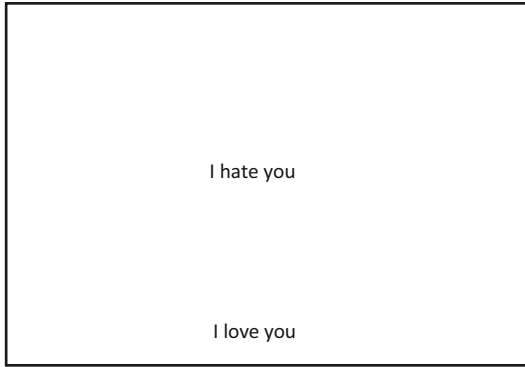
Figure 3.1 A paradox

Bateson (1972:184–192) also discussed the closely related term 'frame', originally in the 1940s, as did Goffman (1974). The relationship between the 'context' and 'frame', as understood by Bateson, is that 'frame' is an internal psychological state, and makes up part of our map of the world, whereas 'context' is an external representation of reality. A frame is not 'real' in the same way as our map of the world is not the actual territory it represents. It is more of an indication of the "sort of thinking in interpreting" (Bateson 1972:187). Erving Goffman (1974:10) follows suit by defining frames as "principles of organization which govern events".

Following Bateson, a frame can be thought of as a picture frame, though he also warns (1972:187) that "the analogy … is excessively concrete". What is within the picture, and hence the frame, is to be understood in terms of the title of the picture; while what is outside the picture, and its frame, is to be understood from a wider frame. This wider frame will, however, affect our interpretation of the picture. These frames can be added to, each affecting the interpretation of what is framed below. The example Bateson used to explain the theory of frames is simplified as shown in Figure 3.1.

The two sentences in the frame create a paradox and are basically nonsensical. It is no accident, in fact, that Bateson's original work on framing came from his study of schizophrenia. However, if we frame the statements, we have the beginnings of a hierarchy of meanings. Once 'I love you' frames 'I hate you', we can begin to see a hierarchy of interpretations. The outer frame will explain how the inner frame is to be interpreted. In this case, we might entitle the 'I hate you' frame 'play' (see Figure 3.2).

Further, wider frames will similarly bring in more important reference points. For instance, the frame may be framed by a response: "You're always saying that". Hence, 'play' has been met with 'derision',

I hate you

PLAY

I love you

Figure 3.2 Paradox framed and resolved

reducing its value. In general, as Bateson (1972:187) says, the picture frame tells the viewer that a different form of interpretation is necessary. There are always at least two possible interpretations: one from inside the frame, and one from outside. For example, at an art gallery, we can either associate totally with the picture and forget the wider context of the gallery itself, or we can focus on the gallery as a whole and interpret the picture in relation to the other paintings, or to the theme of the exhibition. When we associate totally with the picture, there is the possibility that we mistake it for reality, as can happen when we are totally engrossed in a film. The picture is a symbol, yet sometimes the symbol, as Bateson again notes, becomes as important as the reality it represents:

> Finally, in the dim region where art, magic, and religion meet and overlap, human beings have evolved the 'metaphor that was meant,' the flag which men will die to save, and the sacrament that is felt to be more than 'an outward and visible sign, given unto us'. Here we can recognize an attempt to deny the difference between map and territory.
>
> (Bateson 1972:183)

We have already mentioned, as a basic presupposition, that culture may be likened to a map. But the map, as we shall see, may have little to do with the territory it purports to portray. The map, a series of signs, as Barthes (1993 [1957]) explains, is a myth. Barthes' focus was on exposing the myth as a misrepresentation, if not a lie. His objective was to weaken the power of the myths and the ideologies feeding them. For our purposes, thinking in terms of maps is a more useful metaphor when considering culture and translation, because our first task is (continuing the analogy) to chart the reality as perceived by

others. A map is designed to cover a specific area. It tells us what to expect and it also orients us inside that area. A map also has very definite borders, in the same way as our understanding of an event has a culture-bound frame.

Tannen (1993a:9) is clear that frames are culturally determined, as is Goffman (1974:18). Tannen follows Bateson in understanding a frame as an interpretative device, though she would probably prefer the metaphor of a moving film rather than a static picture or a map. Tannen and Wallet (1993:73) define frame and schema in the following terms:

"[A frame] refers to participants' sense of what is being done".

"[Schema:] [a] pattern of experience and assumptions about the world, its inhabitants and objects".

For a full discussion of the history and the various meanings of the term 'frame', see Deborah Tannen's *Framing in Discourse* (1993a, 1993b) and, in particular, her chapter entitled 'What's in a Frame?'. The terms 'meta' and 'meta-levels' have been widely developed in Neuro-Linguistic Programming (NLP) (e.g. O'Connor 2013:221–237). This discipline, a branch of Cognitive Psychology, grew directly out of the teachings of Bateson. It adopts frames to help clarify problems in human communication. Regarding translation, Rojo López (2002) applies frame semantics to illustrate how translation can distort understanding if languaculture-bound mental constructs are not taken into account, while Hans Boas (2013) discusses how FrameNet, based on Fillmore's frame semantics, can provide translation equivalents through the syntactic explicitation of numerous semantic frames in a variety of languages. Baker (2006:106–139) takes the notion of 'frame' beyond the sense of a static framework for the interpretation of reality to the sense of ideological 'framing' in translation and interpreting; that is, as "an active strategy that implies agency and by means of which we consciously participate in the construction of reality" (Baker 2006:106).

Another term related to frame, used by linguists, is 'prototype',[1] which is the ideal or idealized example held in a frame. The prototype envisaged will depend on individual and culturally shared life experiences. So, a prototypical breakfast drink, a 'coffee', leaves vague the size and style of cup (or mug) as well as the type of coffee (e.g. black/white, filter/espresso/instant). Clearly, the prototype (for this example 'coffee') will be 'fuzzy' or vague given the fact that "the words used to express the membership criteria are not any more precise than the concept that one is trying to pin down" (Hofstadter and Sander 2013:55), as we shall see in more detail during the discussion of the Meta-Model in Chapter 6.

To summarize, every message contains another message: the meta-message. The meta-message is located at a wider level and frames the message, and hence includes connotations. The frame itself is an internal mental representation, which can also contain an idealized

example or prototype of what we should expect. Many of these frames together make up our map of the world.

3.2 Logical Levels

- Russell's Logical Typing
- Bateson's Logical Typing
- Dilts' Logical Levels

One of the originators of the concept of hierarchical levels of meaning was Bertrand Russell, who introduced the theory of 'Logical Typing' (Whitehead and Russell 1910). He postulates the fundamental principle that whatever involves all of a collection cannot be one of the same collection. Many solutions to problems of miscommunication rest on this very principle, and will be referred to often in this book, especially when discussing culture, language and translation. Bateson (1972) worked on the theory further:

> the theory asserts that no class can, in formal logical or mathematical discourse, be a member of itself; that a class of classes cannot be one of the classes which are its members; that a name is not the thing named; that 'John Bateson' is the class of which that boy is the unique member; and so forth…. The error of classifying the name with the thing named – or eating the menu card instead of the dinner [is] an error of *logical typing*.
>
> (Bateson 1972:280, emphasis in the original)

He also noted that context, if it were to remain a useful concept, must be subject to logical typing: "Either we must discard the notion of 'context', or we retain this notion and, with it, accept the hierarchic series – stimulus, context of stimulus, context of context of stimulus, etc…." (Bateson 1972:289).

Tannen (1993a:6) notes that Bateson's findings have been more keenly taken up by researchers in communication and psychology than by linguists; in fact, the development discussed below has its roots in communication systems and family therapy. For example, one of the pioneers in the development of Bateson's findings is Robert Dilts, a co-founder of Neuro-Linguistic Programming (NLP). NLP theory, if not practice, has much to offer Linguistics, culture and translation, as the original definition illustrates:

> 'Neuro' … stands for the fundamental tenet that all behaviour is the result of neurological processes. 'Linguistic' … indicates that neural

processes are represented, ordered, and sequenced into models and strategies through language and communications systems. 'Programming' refers to the process of organizing the components of a system …to achieve a specific outcome.

(Dilts *et al.* 1980:2)

The stated aim of NLP is the study of excellence and the modelling of how individuals structure their experience; that is, how individuals construct their map of the world. Apart from the discipline's original area of interest, self-help and therapy, results-driven communication areas such as advertising and marketing readily took NLP ideas on board. One of the guiding principles behind NLP is Dilts' work on Logical Levels, which he developed following Bateson to explain how individual learning, change and communication function. Dilts initially isolated five levels, a hierarchy of frames that all biological or social systems operate within. The same levels operate whether we are talking about an individual, an organization or a culture.

Similar frameworks for the organization of the communication process have been created by linguists and ethnomethodologists.[2] One of the principal differences, though, between this particular classification and others is that here, following Russell (1903), Whitehead and Russell (1910) and Bateson (1972:279–308), the levels are *hierarchically* ordered and interrelated, in that the higher level organizes the information on the level below. The reverse can happen, but this is less usual. A more recent view of the same model questions the hierarchy, and suggests a network which links all levels into a more flexible system (e.g. O'Connor and Seymour, 2011:77–82). This newer model allows for many more logical types of motivational trigger, but also complicates reality. So, for the purposes of this volume, we will adopt Russell and Bateson's approach (as developed by Dilts), which provides a clear, simple and usable model of reality. The levels are shown in Figure 3.3.

Before discussing how the Logical Levels relate to culture or communication, we should explain in a little more detail what each level represents.

3.2.1 Environment: Where and When

The basic level is the surrounding environment. This is the sum of external factors or constraints affecting an organization or process. It is who or what can be seen, heard, or felt through the senses, in time and space. The environment could be an international conference, a one-to-one meeting, or, in the case of Sherman McCoy, an oak-panelled elevator in a luxury coop apartment in New York.

	Who?
Identity Role	
Values Beliefs	Why?
Capabilities Strategies	How?
Behaviour(s)	What?
Environment	Where? When?
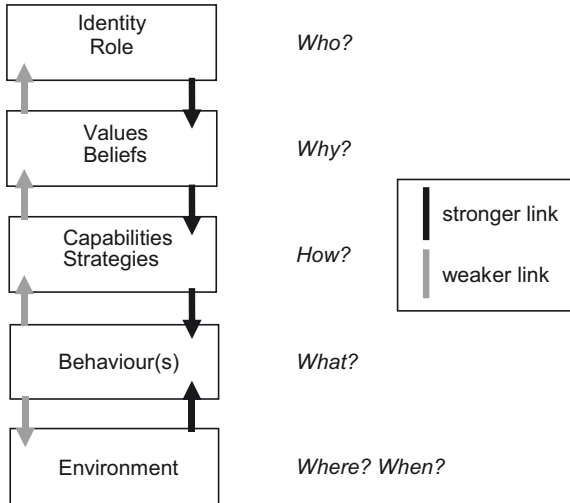
Figure 3.3 Dilts' Logical Levels of organization in systems

3.2.2 Behaviour: What

Organizations and individuals react to and operate on the environment through their behaviour. Behaviour can be verbal or non-verbal, and will generally (but not always) be visible to interlocutors such as Pollard Browning (see Chapter 2), who is on hand to watch Sherman stooping down to pick up the dog. Verbal behaviour by an organization could be a formal presentation of the case against an international conference resolution or a more informal tweeting of the same message. Alternatively, adopting an 'actions speak louder than words' approach, an individual might decide to walk on a protest march or slam the table and walk out of a meeting, a signature behaviour of Donald Trump.

3.2.3 Capabilities: How

Without appropriate skills or knowledge (capabilities), desired behaviour cannot be accomplished. Capabilities also relate to patterns of behaviour, routines that form part of a strategy. This is the level of appropriateness, pragmatics and norms that are instrumental in the organization of discourse and genre. The knowledge, strategies and skills necessary are not as immediately apparent as the behaviour itself, so they lie partially submerged in the terms of the Iceberg Theory. Our capabilities are part of our cognitive environment or mental map, and organize our visible verbal or non-verbal behaviour. This is the first level that frames the interpretation of behaviour.

At the international conference, the delegate will need to know how to make a coherent case against the resolution, and will also need good presentation skills to deliver her speech to motivate the audience. Trump's even more performative behaviour is noted as "the slam-the-table-and-walk-out-tactic" (Hemmer 2019), and is therefore a conscious strategy designed to bring about further concessions from the other party. Sherman McCoy's behaviour is based not only on his ability to pick up the dog, but also on his knowledge of the rules of social conduct, and the ability to understand the intended meaning (the meta-message) behind Pollard Browning's intonation pattern.

3.2.4 Beliefs: Why

The next organizational level is that of beliefs. This is a complex area, and includes many facets: core beliefs, values, orientations, attitudes and criteria. Depending on one's values and beliefs, certain strategies will be selected, resulting in a particular behaviour in response to the environment. Beliefs are mental concepts, theoretical constructs, held to be true or valid, and are formed in response to perceived needs. They provide the idealized examples (for instance, of conduct) for the frames, and as such provide us with expectations about what the world should be like. For example, the delegate at the international conference will need to be convinced that her organization's approach is the right one, or at least has merit, if she is to convince the other participants. Trump, and any others who use the "slam-the-table-and-walk-out" tactic, will believe that brinkmanship and direct expressive action are the best (and possibly the only) way to achieve goals. Sherman, on the other hand, believes that he is a good citizen and that good citizens should follow the rules of social conduct. If he did not believe this, even if he had the knowledge, he would not have picked up the dog.

The application of beliefs will, of course, as already noted, depend on actual capability. The delegate will need more than just a belief in the cause and a belief in her skills. She will actually need to have good communication competences, presentation skills, have prepared her speech and so on. Similarly, we may, for example, believe we can speak a second language. But if we do not have a sufficient command of it, then, objectively, our performance will be limited.

Beliefs are the vital motivational factor and can stimulate capabilities to such an extent that one can, in fact, bluff one's way through areas where there is no genuine capability. Indeed, self-confidence is generally a prerequisite in any assessment or professional situation. So, a belief in one's abilities to interpret at a conference, translate a manual, or mediate in an international emergency situation will enable

capabilities, skills and encyclopedic knowledge to be employed to their maximum.

On the other hand, beliefs can be limiting rather than permitting. For example:

- I can't do *(the translation)*
- I'm not up to doing *(the interpretation)*
- It's impossible to pass *(the exam)*
- What if I can't do (*the job)?*

No matter what one's actual capabilities are, if one has such limiting beliefs, the resulting performance will tend to fulfil the negative prophecies because the capabilities will, to a large extent, be blocked.

3.2.5 Values: Why

Beliefs embody values. Our core values are the basic unconscious organizing principles that make up who we are. Once they are formed, they very rarely change. If they do change, then our identity, who we are, will also change. Attitudes, on the other hand, are more flexible and can change in time or through force of argument without affecting core values.

Values embody what is important to us and act as fundamental principles to live by. As Hofstede (1991:8) aptly puts it, "values are feelings with an arrow to it: they have a plus and a minus side". The values with a plus sign are what motivates us. They are polar opposites and tend to be expressed as nominalizations. The values that translators and interpreters are traditionally expected to espouse, for instance, are usually expressed in codes of ethics in the form of nouns such as 'fidelity' (as opposed to 'creativity'), 'confidentiality' (as opposed to information sharing or disclosure), 'non-involvement' or 'impartiality' (as opposed to 'intervention' or 'advocacy') (e.g. AUSIT 2012).

NLP distinguishes between general guiding values and values in a particular situation. NLP calls the latter 'criteria'. Criteria guide choice in a context, as in the previous examples, and motivate us either 'away from' or 'towards' particular options. The decisions to be made can include everything from general lifestyle to what film to watch, and from type of career choice to menu decisions. The specific behaviour that satisfies a criterion (a contextualized value) is termed a 'criterial equivalent'. In general, we will use the all-embracing term 'values' when talking about general values or criteria, though we will also use the term 'criterial equivalent'. This will be particularly useful when discussing the different ways in which cultures interpret the behaviour they witness. People see a behaviour and assume that it is equivalent

to a particular criterion or value. This 'assumption' is, of course, only valid within individual maps of the world.

To find an individual's criterial equivalent, we can ask the following question: "How do you know that [a value in a particular context] is being achieved?"

Q: How do you know that [successful communication with X in context Y] is being achieved?

A: When I see nodding/smiling/…; when there is no interruption; when X talks about self/when X asks me questions; when X listens and doesn't talk/when I feel good; … /when X tells me, etc.

3.2.6 Identity: Who

Values and beliefs will be determined by the type of person, organization or culture in a particular context. In linguistic terms, this corresponds to the role that is being played (e.g. person holding authority, specialist or information provider/seeker). In organizational terms, we have, for example, a state petrochemicals company, a limited partnership, a university or a committee. We have already stated the identities of our example cases: Sherman McCoy (Wall Street bond trader), organization delegate, and Donald Trump (former US President).

There is nothing to stop us from investigating the Logical Levels of the above using different perceptual labels. The delegate may be seen as a "spin doctor" or "liar" if her facts do not tally or "an amateur" or "loser" if her performance is lacklustre. Donald Trump's tactics have been labelled those of "a performer" rather than those of "a leader" (Hemmer 2019:n.p.). Finally, Browning will probably label Sherman McCoy as a "slob" and not – as Sherman would have preferred – "a respected member of a Park Avenue coop apartment".

3.2.7 Levels of culture

With regard to a definition of culture, we can see that the approaches discussed earlier define aspects of culture at only one or some levels, and that culture, like any other organization or process, operates at all levels. Saville-Troike's (1986:47–48) ethnomethodologist definition of culture most closely encapsulates the theory of interrelated Logical Levels: "Culture encompasses all of the shared rules for appropriate behaviour that are learned by individuals as a consequence of being members of the same group or community, as well as the values and beliefs that underlie overt behaviours".

Table 3.1 Logical Levels

	Hall	NLP (Dilts)	Robinson	Hofstede	Trompenaars
Iceberg	Triad	Logical Levels	Definitions	Onion/Levels	
Visible	Technical	Environment	*Observable:*	*Visible:* Behaviour	*Explicit:* Artefacts and products
		Behaviour	Behaviourist	Symbols Heroes	
Partially submerged	Formal	Capabilities Strategies	Functionalist	Rituals Practices	Norms and values
Submerged	Informal or out-of-awareness	Beliefs Values	*Not observable:* Cognitive	*Invisible:* Values	*Implicit:* Basic assumptions
		Identity	Dynamic/ Symbolic		

Table 3.1 links the NLP Logical Levels to the theories of culture discussed so far.

3.3 Culture and behaviour

- Culture is only one of the filters affecting behaviour
- Individuals are members of many cultures
- Small/large cultures and culture 'on the go'
- The distribution of culture: culture is a cline
- Congruence
- Ecological fallacy

3.3.1 Culture is a filter

The first point to be made is that (national) culture is only one of the filters responsible for affecting behaviour. This is rather like saying that members of a political party may accept the underlying party culture; but, at the same time, may well side with another political party on an individual vote. There will also be times when there is no party line, and a free vote takes place. In this case, members will vote according to individual conscience (beliefs and values).

3.3.2 Individuals are members of many cultures

Second, we are all members of a number of different cultures. So, while we are in the environment of one culture, we may well be responding as members of a second culture. Men and women, for example, are as different in their ways of doing and being as any other different cultures. The problems in translating meaning from woman to man, and vice versa, are highlighted in Tannen's *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation* (1992; see also Maltx and Borker 1992). Tannen's first chapter is tellingly entitled 'Different Words, Different Worlds'.[3] A more recent survey of male and female communication, focussing exclusively on toilet graffiti (Ktena 2018), analysed graffiti in over 100 men's and women's public bathrooms in the UK. The differences give very clear objective evidence as to what and how men and women communicate within their own private worlds. Admittedly this is a survey of only the groups that choose to communicate on toilet walls, but the fact that in 40 cases of the word "love" being used, 39 were by women, demonstrates a very different verbalization pattern. Also, the 39 instances all referred to affection for people. The single case in the men's bathroom was "Alex loves pussy", which suggests an unedifying difference at the level of values.

Cultural difference can be manifested in a wide variety of ways. Some of the differences we have little or no choice over (such as ethnic group), while other cultural differences may be the result of more personal choice (such as religion) (cf. Scollon *et al.*'s 2012 voluntary/ involuntary identities/discourse systems).

Little/no choice	More personal choice
• Race	• Neighbourhood
• Gender	• Friends
• Family	• Education
• Region	• Corporate culture
• Social class	• Profession
• Religious background	• Community of practice
• Generation	• Hobbies/interests

Adapted from Brake *et al.* (1995:72)

3.3.3 Small/large cultures and cultures 'on the go'

Culture in this volume is generally understood as large culture; that is, geographical region or language group. The cultures of more personal choice have also been categorized, as we have already noted, in terms

of 'small culture' or 'communities of practice'. Nestling within or across large cultures, they will have their own distinctive identities that will encompass distinctive communication styles, rules of appropriacy and so on; the main difference being that small cultures are much more transient, and are more likely to adapt at each level including that of identity.

3.3.4 The distribution of culture

A further point to remember with regard to culture and behaviour is the fact that every culture allows for a certain deviation or eccentricity. Hence, we will find a distribution of behaviour ranging from totally stereotypic of culture 'A' to atypical, and then finally as unrecognizable as culture 'A' behaviour (see Figure 3.4). Between the two there will be fuzzy cut-off points.

Behaviour	*Typical*	*Atypical*	*Unrecognizable*
e.g. Greeting friends in Italy	**Kissing on the cheek** 2 cheeks	Shaking hands	Rubbing noses
e.g. Greeting friends in Britain	Warm smile	**Kissing on the cheek** 1 or 2 cheeks; more generally an air kiss with audible 'mwahh'	Rubbing noses
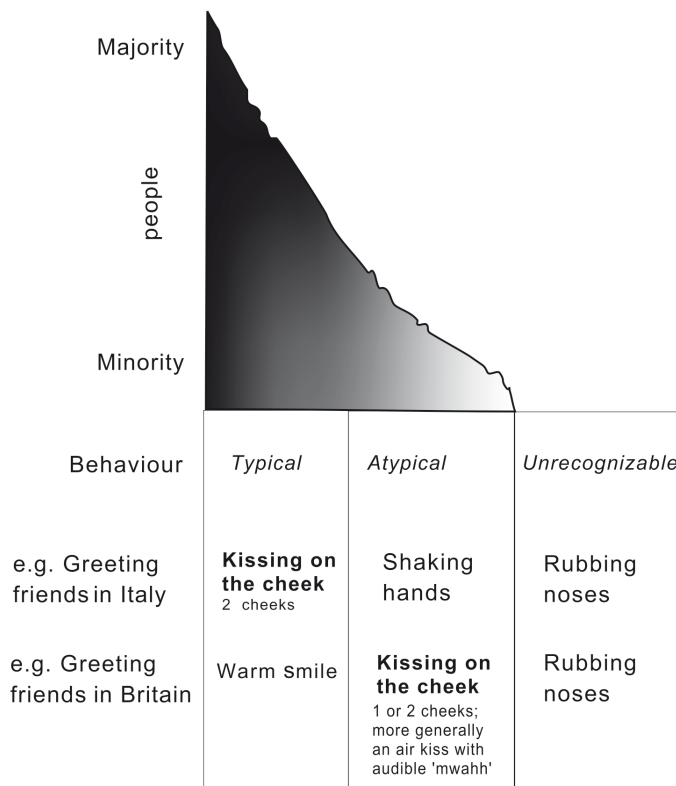
Figure 3.4 Culture-bound behavioural distribution curve: greeting friends

A second culture will display the same type of behaviour curve, but the typical behaviour will have shifted, as, for example, with regard to time (Figure 3.5). Both cultures recognize kissing on the cheek as a sign of friendship, though the behaviour is atypical in Britain. The modality of the kiss is also different. Both cultures, though, would feel the same way about rubbing noses. So, there will be people within each culture who behave in the same way, but also many who do not. As a result, the behavioural distribution curves will not quite overlap.

The answer to the question, "When is late, late?" and subsequent tolerance of 'lateness' will depend upon what is typical within a culture. For culture 'A', it is normal or typical to consider 5 minutes after the appointed time (for a dinner invitation) as 'late'. Culture 'B', on the other hand, typically considers 20 minutes after the agreed time as late. Clearly, in both cases, there will be a large portion of the population who will be more or less flexible in their toleration of late arrivals. So, there will be culture 'A' people who act like culture 'B' people – but they will be in the minority. The vast majority (of 'A') will already have stretched their toleration of lateness after 30 minutes. Likewise, there will be a minority of culture 'B' people who are sticklers for time. The vast majority (of 'B'), though, will find 30 minutes comfortably within their toleration of difference.

Interestingly, in particular with regard to the equivalence debate in translation, behaviour that is deemed equivalent will almost invariably be at a different point on the distribution curve of the other culture, as Figure 3.5 illustrates.

Wierzbicka (e.g. 2003) shows how apparently equivalent behaviours and speech acts (e.g. advising, requesting, inviting, etc.) may overlap, but will not necessarily be exactly the same across cultures, or convey the same cultural values.
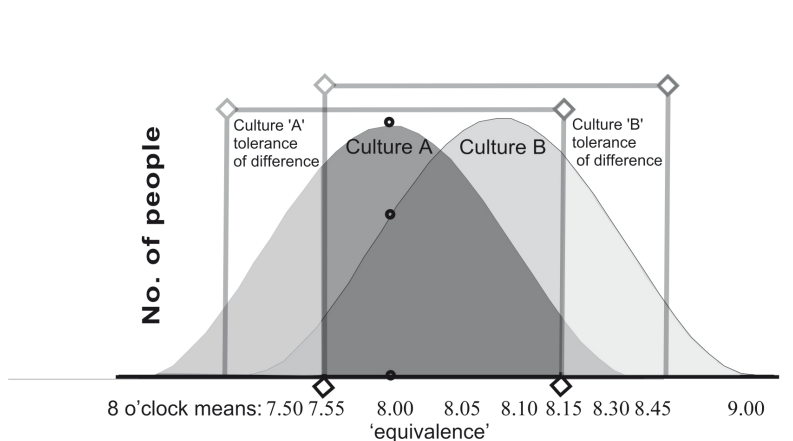
Figure 3.5 Behavioural distribution curve: when is 'late' late?

3.3.5 Congruence

An important point in the Logical Levels Theory concerns congruence. We act according to our beliefs and values, but the levels may not all be working congruently. Incongruence occurs when there is an internal conflict of values or beliefs. Returning to Tom Wolfe's book and Sherman McCoy, life begins to turn sour on him when he has to juggle two incongruent beliefs. In the extract below, he is attempting to prove to his wife that he is not in the middle of an affair (emphasis in the original):

> [Sherman's wife, Judy:] "Please don't bother lying."
> [Sherman:] *"Lying* – about *what*?"
> She was so upset she couldn't get the words out at first. "I wish you could see the cheap look on your face."
> "I don't know what you're *talking* about!" The shrillness of his voice made her laugh.
>
> (Wolfe 1990:25)

His incongruence shines through both visually and audibly and is due to a clash of two incompatible beliefs. One important belief comes out in the following short conversation Sherman imagines he might have with his wife:

> "Look, Judy, I still love you … and I don't want to change any of it – it's just that I, a Master of the Universe, a young man still in the season of the rising sap, deserve *more* from time to time, when the spirit moves me."
>
> (Wolfe 1990:11, emphasis in the original)

Here, his identity is "Master of the Universe", which permits him to believe that he can deserve more than just his wife (albeit only from time to time). However, this belief about himself clashes with another fundamental belief, as explained to him by his girlfriend – the object of his rising sap:

> "You know the difference between you and me, Sherman? You feel sorry for your wife, and I don't feel sorry for Arthur."
>
> (Wolfe 1990:22)

A Master of the Universe cannot feel sorry, but a sensitive husband can. Sherman believes that he is both. So, the only way he can act logically is by verbally lying about the existence of another woman, thereby (a) protecting what he believes he deserves, and (b) at the same time

attempting to avoid upsetting his wife. However, the meta-message his wife receives is that he himself is unable to believe what he is saying. And this is non-verbally crystal clear through "the cheap look" on his face and "the shrillness of his voice".

Bateson (1972) points out the supremacy of non-verbal communication in conveying sincerity:

> When boy says to girl, "I love you", he is using words to convey that which is more convincingly conveyed by his tone of voice and his movements; and the girl, if she has any sense, will pay more attention to those accompanying signs than to the words.
>
> (Bateson 1972:412)

This type of external incongruence is part of daily life but actually has its own internal congruence and is not normally thought of as a thought disorder. Instead, as Sherman admits to himself:

> The Master of the Universe was cheap, and he was rotten, and he was a liar.
>
> (Wolfe 1990:27)

So, his behaviour is, in fact, congruent with a slight modification to the beliefs he has about his identity. He is still a Master of the Universe, but sitting uncomfortably with this identity is the realization that he is also "a liar".

This triple identity (Master of the Universe, sensitive husband, liar) is reminiscent of schizophrenia, which is in fact generally categorized as an incongruent thought disorder. Yet, even here, there is internal congruence. Ribiero (1993:110) is one of the contributors to Tannen's *Framing in Discourse*. She found, in her discussion on psychotic discourse, that as the patient in question underwent her psychotic crisis, so her role (identity) and her behaviour changed. The patient alternately took the role of a variety of participants: a patient talking to the doctor (present), a daughter talking to her mother, a sister talking to her sister, and a variety of other people – none of whom were present. "What emerges is that [the psychotic patient] uses language to mirror the different functions that each participant has in her discourse. On this level of analysis, she never 'misfires' ... a rather unexpected accomplishment for a 'thought disordered patient'!"

It was Austin (1962) who introduced the concept of 'misfiring'. He has had a very considerable influence on the development of analytical philosophy since the Second World War. He points out that certain conditions have to be met before words can mean what they are intended to and successful communication take place. These he termed 'felicity conditions'. One of his 'infelicities' was 'insincerity',

which resulted in what he called an 'unhappy situation'. His pupil Searle (1969:39–43) developed Austin's ideas, terming one of the felicity conditions 'the sincerity condition'; that is, the speaker's belief that the proposition is true.

If we turn now to the Logical Levels of culture, we can only (in general) be members of a particular culture if, as a first condition, we believe we are (although, in some cases, we may be pigeonholed as members of a given culture without believing that we are). We also need to 'sincerely' share or simply follow some beliefs about values, strategy, behaviour and appropriate environments (cf. Ecological fallacy in the next sub-section). In the same vein, if behaviour is to be seen as part of culture, it will have to be congruent with a set of beliefs shared by that culture. Sapir (1994:36), in his posthumously published lecture notes, points out that "culture is not mere behaviour, but significant behaviour" and goes on to say: "We might even say that the test of whether a type of behaviour is part of culture is the ability to historicize it … as meaningful". What he is suggesting is that culture-bound behaviour is part of an analysable historical tradition. So, for behaviour to be culture-bound, it will have to be proved to be congruent with that tradition of observable culture-bound behaviours. Barthes (1993 [1957]:129) said something very similar: "We reach here the very principle of myth: it transforms history into nature".

3.3.6 Ecological fallacy

Finally, we should be aware of Hofstede's (1991:112) reference to the 'ecological fallacy' (see also Katan 2009:14). It would be a fallacy to say that all the underlying cultural values are held to be true by every person in that culture. The term is used in statistics to explain the error that occurs when one makes conclusions about individuals based only on analyses of group data. What is true, however, is that every person within a particular culture is likely to identify certain underlying cultural values and associated beliefs and patterns of behaviour as congruent with that same culture. He or she would not necessarily identify *with* all those values.

So, the examples given in Chapter 4 will illustrate the various levels of culture that lie within the cognitive environment of that culture rather than within every individual member.

3.3.7 Summary

All communication is bounded by frames, and it is these frames that orient the addressee as to the meta-message. The meta-message is non-verbal, but is relayed through the quality of the voice, gestures, or may simply be implicit from the context.

The Logical Levels function as a hierarchical series of meta-messages linking behaviour in an environment to a pattern of strategies (how), and organized by a set of values and beliefs (why). These are all framed at a higher level by the role or by the identity. The Logical Levels Model provides a unifying framework within which all the approaches to culture can function. There will always be congruence between the levels.

There are many cultures one will be a member of, and any of these may act as an important frame responsible for behaviour. Finally, culture is not the only factor influencing behaviour; and culture-bound behaviour itself is on a cline from typical, through atypical to unrecognizable.

Notes

1 Prototype theory was developed by Eleanor Rosch (see, for example, Rosch 1978) and discussed in detail by George Lakoff (1987). Snell-Hornby (1988) was the first to formally apply the theory to translation. See also Bell's (1991) 'ideal type', and Tymoczko (1998) on prototypes in 'Computerised Corpora and the Future of Translation Studies'.
2 Halliday and Hasan, for example, proposed a communication model, 'the context of situation', which, as they say (Halliday and Hasan 1991:11) "serves to interpret the social context of a text, the environment in which meanings are being exchanged"; see discussion in Chapter 10.
3 Since then, a number of even more popular books have appeared, each highlighting the differences, such as: *Men Are from Mars, Women Are from Venus* (Gray 2005), *Why Men Don't Listen and Women Can't Read Maps: How We're Different and What to Do about It* (Pease and Pease 2001), or *What Men Say, What Women Hear* (Papadopoulos 2009).

4 Logical Levels and culture

The aim of this chapter is to:

- Give a comprehensive view of how culture reveals itself at each Logical Level;
- Give practical examples of cultural differences;
- Introduce translating and interpreting issues in terms of Logical Levels.

4.1 Environment (Where and When)

What follows is a brief discussion of some aspects of the perceived environment responsible for influencing culture-bound behaviour. The years 2019–2021, which coincided with the revision of this volume, may well be seen as pivotal in putting 'environment' at the foreground of anyone's agenda, given the impact of global warming and the Covid-19 pandemic. While the response was individual, communities and cultures tended to perceive, interpret and react differently to what scientists were able to tell us about the reality. Here, we will focus only on an example list of those aspects of the environment that are known to influence cultural identity, thinking and communication in significantly different ways. The degree to which meaning(s) will be culture-bound, and its effect on communication, and hence relevance for translation, will naturally vary according to the immediate situation. The translator, interpreter and mediator should always be on the lookout for these mainly hidden forms of significance, and then decide to what extent and how to account for them.

4.1.1 Physical environment

The effect of the urban–rural (or mountain–valley) divide on personality has been much discussed in sociology (e.g. Dewey 2015). In general, the differences are seen in terms of the urban fostering more 'Culture' (civilized, literate, refined), heterogeneity and openness to change. A famous example is the Arab poet Ali Ibn Al-Jahm (approx.

804–863): coming from a desert environment, he inappropriately praised the (urban) caliph Al-Mutawakkil with similes such as "loyal as a dog" or "brave as a billy goat". But after he moved to Baghdad, the prosperous and sophisticated capital of the time, his poetry changed. It became more refined and his imagery more joyful and cultivated (Al-Misri 2012:286). Another example is Leonardo Zanier, a contemporary poet from an enclosed mountain community in the Northern Italian Alps. Zanier (1995:17) clearly expresses the close relationship between the physical environment (enclosed valleys, geographical boundaries) and the unfulfilled desire of the inhabitants to have a choice regarding their lives. It should also be noted that while the poet was already using a laptop to compose his poems in the 1980s, he chose to write in the indigenous language of the area, "a very basic, minimal and essential language, in line with the isolated mountain culture" (Katan 2001a:161). The extract below comes from a collection of Zanier's (1995:17) poems which dwell on the life of the Alpine emigrants who were obliged to find work abroad, and is entitled *Free … To Have to Leave:*

Friulian dialect	English
a chel desideri di libertât	to that desire to be free
ch'a nu vîf denti	which within us lives
encja se nassûts	even if born
tra un cil cussì strent	under such a narrow sky

Today, there are very few cultures physically cut off from other cultures unless by choice or through living on the wrong side of the digital divide. Yet, as Zanier's poems suggest, physical boundaries can still narrow our skies or horizons and thus become cultural boundaries. Indeed, as Sapir points out: "A people's response to their environment is conditioned by their cultural heritage; *it is not an immediate response. We see nothing beyond what we are trained to see*" (1994:73, emphasis added).

The fact that a group of people can still 'see' and react as if they were enclosed by 'narrow skies' shows that the power of *as if* in modelling our perception of the world has not gone unnoticed. The philosopher Vaihinger (1924) entitled his book on the subject as *The Philosophy of 'As If'*; and NLP uses this sleight of mind as an effective tool in taking more control of the human ability to believe that constructed myths are reality. Today, social media strengthens the power of 'as if' (i.e. as if

we were all neighbours) and, therefore, our ability to connect globally. At the same time, as Kramsch and Hua (2016:45) note, "Rather than connect people, such environments risk isolating them in communities of like-minded peers".

It seems to be a basic need in many cultures to anchor the interlocutor to a particular physical environment. One of the first questions to ask someone on a first meeting is, "Where are you from?" With the answer to this question, we begin (and often, alas, conclude) our understanding of the interlocutor. Though we may never have had any direct or indirect contact with that individual, we will construct a set of behaviours for him or her based on certain value judgements and beliefs that we have about people living in that particular place. So, we tend to attach an identity to a geographical area.

North/South/East/West	Translation/Explanation
Civilization ends at Watford Gap.	There is no civilization north of London.
Nordici tutti polentoni.	(Using the texture and taste of polenta to say) The Northerners are sluggish and boring.
北方人普遍都很豪爽、很大度，而南方人比较细心重礼节。	(In China) Northerners are forthright and generous, while Southerners are more punctilious.
أهل الصعيد أهل الشجاعة والشهامة	The people of Upper Egypt are brave and magnanimous.

At a micro level, through human design and management, communities have been segregated into the 'haves' and the 'have nots', with expressions such as "born on the wrong side of the tracks" identifying the location of the 'have nots'. In industrial countries, the more deprived communities were on the 'East side', due in part to the way smoke blew from factories (Heblich *et al.* 2016) during the industrial revolution and from steam trains. Today, in the UK, the 'postcode lottery' is a term coined to ironically express the fact that educational, health and other social service provision varies significantly across postcode boundaries, thus predisposing the identification of the area (and the people) in terms of class. In the United States, even when two neighbourhoods look similar, have access to exactly the same school and contain similar-income families, one's zip code is a visible sign of how children living there will fare economically and socially as adults, as shown by this extract from *The New York Times*.

> Detailed Maps Show How Neighborhoods Shape Children for Life
>
> The part of this city east of Northgate Mall [Seattle] looks like many of the neighborhoods that surround it, with its modest mid-century homes beneath dogwood and Douglas fir trees. Whatever distinguishes this place is invisible from the street. But it appears that poor children who grow up here – to a greater degree than children living even a mile away – have good odds of escaping poverty over the course of their lives.
>
> (Badger and Bui 2018:n.p.)

So, given this background, it is not surprising that American writer Tom Wolfe (1990) uses well-known addresses in his novel *The Bonfire of the Vanities* to identify the people talked about. The hero is introduced via his address in the first paragraph of the second chapter:

> At that very moment, in the very sort of Park Avenue co-op apartment that so obsessed the mayor … Sherman McCoy was kneeling in his front hall.
>
> (Wolfe 1990:9)

And other characters are introduced in a similar way …

> … from the swell-looking doorway of 44 West Seventy-Seventh Street emerged a figure that startled him.
> [The three assistant district attorneys] had been born a million miles from Wall Street, meaning the outer boroughs, Brooklyn, Queens, and the Bronx. To their families, their going to college and becoming lawyers had been the greatest thing since Franklin D. Roosevelt.
>
> (Wolfe 1990:33)

As Hall (1982) points out:

> In the US we use space as a way of classifying people and activities, whereas in England it is the social system that determines who you are. In the US your address is an important cue to status (this applies not only to one's home but to the business address as well).
>
> (Hall 1982:138)

Addresses, such as those above, can be translated at the technical level, but the meta-message, that is, any identifying connotations, may be totally lost.

Comedy routinely uses 'place' to achieve comedic effect, which creates issues in particular for audiovisual translation. Katan

(2018c:62) gives the following example from a popular BBC TV sketch show of the 2000s (Tate *et al*. 2004).

Two female office workers are sitting and chatting:

> CATHERINE TATE: Guess where my hairdresser is from.
> [audience laughter]
> COLLEAGUE: Norfolk!
> CATHERINE TATE: Norfolk! Norfolk! They don't have hairdressers in Norfolk!
> [audience laughter]

Traditional dubbing or subtitling will never be able to recreate genuine audience laughter. What is lost is the culturally shared contextual knowledge about Norfolk (e.g. it is still largely rural). So Katan suggests adopting abusive titling and pop-ups as a form of thick translation to allow the new viewers to literally 'see' the implicatures.

4.1.2 Climate

The climate we live in is also an essential part of our environment and is closely related to our culture. The dampness of Northern Portugal and the heat in Saudi Arabia have an effect on, and are part of, the culture.

The iconic English film *Brief Encounter* (directed by David Lean in 1945), voted in 2010 as the best romantic film of all time (*The Guardian* 2010), recounts the story of two middle-class, middle-aged married people who fall in love and almost have an affair. But being "sensible human beings", nothing happens. Laura links her restraint directly to climate: "Do you know, I believe we should all behave quite differently if we lived in a warm, sunny climate all the time. We shouldn't be so withdrawn and shy and difficult".

Source: www.imdb.com/title/tt0037558/characters/nm0424743

Climate, and the meaning of the weather, is not immediately pan-cultural. The weather, stereotypically a national British preoccupation, is the subject of headlines at much milder levels than would be the case in Southern Europe or in any of the Americas.

According to Bill Bryson, an American writer and naturalized British citizen, who has written much on language and travel:

> A Londoner has a less comprehensive view of extremes of weather than someone from the Middle West of America. What a Briton

calls a blizzard, would in Illinois or Nebraska, be a flurry, and a British heat wave is often a thing of merriment to much of the rest of the world.

(Bryson 1991:15)

He also regales his readers with a *London Evening News* headline: "BRITAIN SIZZLES IN THE SEVENTIES" (1991:15). The 70s refers to degrees Fahrenheit. If literally translated into Celsius, we would have "Britain Sizzles in the 20s", which would clearly result in merriment for much of the rest of the world.

However, with climate change, Britain has indeed started to sizzle at 30–40 degrees Celsius in the summer, which is already having an impact on society. Simon Lewis, professor of Global Change Science at University College London and the University of Leeds, outlines how global warming affects "the experience of living in the UK":

[M]any aspects of society will require deep and difficult changes, including to our own mindsets. In the summers of the future, particularly in the south of England, we will regularly live in Mediterranean-type conditions. Adapting our national infrastructure, particularly around maintaining our water supplies, updating our housing stock as it is built to retain heat, and altering how we manage our land to avoid further catastrophic fires, will all be required. It is under-appreciated that climate change will transform the very fabric of the experience of living in the UK.

(Lewis 2018:n.p.)

And it is certainly true that the film *Brief Encounter* is likely to be seen as belonging to a colder time.

When a definite change in climate occurs, and consequently the experience changes, so can cultural priorities at the level of values. Brislin (1993:5–6) cites an article by Arsenault which discusses how the introduction of air-conditioning (a man-made change to the local climate) in the Southern United States made an impact on "the cultural value of Southern hospitality". Originally, in response to the hot and humid summers, people used to sit outside on their porches and would chat to one and all. After the 1950s, with the introduction of air-conditioning, the focus of attention changed from the outdoors and the community to the sitting room and the concerns of the immediate family.

4.1.3 Space

The natural environment can be oppressive, as Zanier (1995:17) illustrated: high valley sides and enclosing mountains frustrating "that

desire to be free". On the other hand, one of the stereotypical images of the United States is that it is a country where there is space to do everything. At least part of this stereotype is borne out in reality, as Hall (1990 [1959]:141) notes: "The size and scale of the United States and the feeling of open spaces are overpowering to visitors who are accustomed to the smaller scale of Europe".

Hall also suggests that the presence or absence of physical space is a determining factor in the culture-bound meaning of 'private' and 'public' space. Physical space needs are discussed at length in *The Hidden Dimension* (1982:123), which also includes a useful chart of approximate accepted mainstream North American distances (in feet and inches) and the associated language:

	US	example	language
Intimate	touch—18"	family in private	intimate
Personal	18"—4'	family in public	informal
Social	4'—12'	business	formal
Public	25'+	speech making	frozen

(Hall 1982:123)

Hall noted that these distances, or "space bubbles" as he calls them, are culture-specific. The Mediterranean and Arab cultures will find these distances too restrictive, while Asian cultures, for example, will regard these distances as too close, especially when gender is taken into account. The British place a high priority on private space. In comparison with the Americans, they are particularly restrictive as to who is allowed into those private spaces. According to Hall, this is a strategy in response to the lack of physical space in Britain.

Dialogue (or liaison) interpreters, involved in face-to-face interpreting, will need to be acutely aware of how their physical presence, spatial positioning, and organization of the three-cornered space will influence communication (Wadensjö 2014 [2001]). They also need to be aware of cultural relativism in relation to personal space and interpersonal contact, and the potential implications of space-related behaviours. An Arab client, for instance, may find it appropriate to sit very close to an Arabic community interpreter of the same sex; they may even touch them on the arm, shoulder or knee while narrating a story or answering questions in an interview. The interpreter, as a bicultural agent, needs to understand this as culturally appropriate behaviour, but at the same time be aware that it might be perceived by the other party (e.g. police officer, judge, doctor) as a breach of impartiality and professional conduct.

We now move on to briefly discuss some of the more man-made aspects of the environment which influence culture, and our response to it.

4.1.4 The built environment

Individual buildings set the scene for the identification of institutions or social groupings: the campus, the company offices, and in particular, the reception. We all tend to size up an institution by its entrance: 'imposing', 'warm', 'run down' and so on. This feeling is then generalized to the whole institution and to the people working there.

We also automatically change behaviour according to the building. On entering mosques or churches, and clubs (gentleman's, golf or dance), there are usually specific written rules about appropriate dress and behaviour. The same is also true, but with unwritten rules, from the managing director's office to a friend's living room.

In business, the size and position of the office, the type of furniture, and indeed whether or not one has an office, is an indication of one's corporate identity. The criteria, though, are culture-bound. In an open-plan office, for example, those who are close to the window would be regarded as having a better position in the West. In Japan, however, as the Managing Principal at Japan Intercultural Consulting explains, until recently there was

> the phenomenon of the *madogiwazoku* – literally, the tribe that sits by the windows. Employees whose services were no longer needed, but that the company could not or did not want to fire, would be given a pleasant spot by the window to while away working hours by reading the newspaper.
>
> (Kopp 2014:para. 3)

However, Kopp continues, given the difficulties in laying off staff, the downturn in the economy has resulted in a crowding of the surplus employees around too few windows. "So in recent years, many Japanese companies have been turning to another method, the *oidashibeya*, literally the [windowless] banishment room or the expulsion room" (Kopp 2014:para. 4).

4.1.5 Dress

Dress style can be seen as part of the environment, and is usually the first sign of identity. The level of formality in clothes usually coheres with formality in behaviour, though the meaning of 'informal' or 'casual' is strictly culture-bound. An American information site for legal professionals states:

while 'business casual' has entered the lives of everybody from bankers to tech professionals to insurance agents, few have mastered its strange rules. For instance, at one law firm, signature golf shirts are acceptable, but not short-sleeved shirts. At another, khakis are permitted, but not capri pants.

<div align="right">(FindLaw 2020:n.p.)</div>

The site also raises the issue of culturally specific attire in the workplace, which not only identifies the wearer's provenance, but (for some onlookers at least) will also attribute other identifying characteristics to the wearer. For example, the site suggests that a legal employee in an American office (in 2020) sporting dreadlocks will result in them being labelled as "radical, liberal, and more approachable" (n.p.), while wearing a saree will indicate that they "won't speak English" (n.p.). While these beliefs need to be taken with a pinch of salt, they are a clear indicator that what is normal dress in one environment, triggering no particular response, may (unwittingly) communicate a powerful message within another environment.

Thamer Al-Subaihi (2012), a journalist who grew up largely in the United States, talks about his return to the United Arab Emirates. He entitles his piece 'Clothes Make the Man, and Highlight Cultural Differences', and begins with his father's insistence that he change his American clothes for the local flowing white *kandura* robe.

Calling a truce, we eventually settled on my wearing a kandura only on formal occasions. However, each time I was obliged to wear this unfamiliar garb, I could not feel comfortable; I felt as if I was representing an alternative person who had little to do with me. To me, the kandura was more than just a change of clothes; it represented a lifestyle I was completely unfamiliar with.

Returning to the Emirates recently, at a less rebellious stage of my life, I was able to look at the kandura more objectively. … I began feeling more comfortable in the garment and kept it on longer. Feeling more at ease, I started venturing out in it - and it was at this time when the differences in wearing the kandura were most apparent.

The most immediate of these was the comfort it provided in the local climate. … Another major difference was the way I was treated. I was instantly given respect that is absent to me in western clothes. Where people had inconsiderately attempted to cut in line in front of me, they were now keeping their respectful distances. Security guards who had previously asked me where I was headed or what my business was there did not think twice about hurriedly letting me through. Salespeople, previously

> indifferent to my existence, were now laying on customer ser-
> vice thick and heavy.
>
> Dressing as a local did have a few drawbacks. Many expatriates,
> for example, apparently unfamiliar in interacting with Emiratis,
> would hardly make eye contact – let alone be willing to engage in
> conversation. …
>
> In addition, unfixed prices would soar as high as local summer
> temperatures whenever I queried about a particular item in my
> whites. In a social experiment I liked to conduct, I frequently
> returned, dressed as an expatriate, to ask about the same article,
> and without question, the prices would miraculously plummet.
>
> (Al-Subaihi 2012:n.p.)

At a practical level, all those involved in face-to-face cross-cultural
encounters, such as interpreters, should dress appropriately if they are
to be regarded as professional and competent. As Robson (2013:81)
notes, although an interpreter's "major concern should be how they
'dress' their language (…) their bodily presentation also receives
attention". As healthcare interpreter Rashelle LeCaptain writes:

> Customers and patients need to be able to recognize an interpreter
> upon their arrival to the encounter. You should be able to pick out
> a medical interpreter anywhere in the facility. Interpreters provide a
> specific service and they should be proud to show it.
>
> (LeCaptain 2014:n.p.)

However, what an 'appropriate' or 'professional' look means is
culture-specific. Italy and France will tend to the more formal in
comparison with Americans. If specific dress codes are unavailable
from professional bodies, agencies or workplaces, general cultural
orientations will need to be checked (see Part III), but more import-
antly, open eyes, previous contact and the use of a cultural advisor
will always be the best strategy in deciding what is appropriate.
Dress code will also vary from one setting to another: An interpreter
working with high-profile politicians or businesspeople would gener-
ally be expected to dress more formally than an interpreter in social
services, for instance.

Translators, who deal with texts rather than face-to-face encounters,
need to be aware of the culture-bound meaning behind references to
dress. Often a literal translation will be of little help to a target audi-
ence. This is quite simply because each culture or community of prac-
tice has very strong beliefs about the identity portrayed through dress
style. For many, "you are what you wear". Accounting for this form
of visual communication in audiovisual translation, and even more

in audio description (for the blind) is touched on in volumes such as Pedersen (2011), Ranzato (2015) and Romero Fresco (2019).

4.1.6 Olfaction

We generally notice and comment on food and drink primarily through the visual channel, with taste and smell as a supplement. With regard to perfume, however, we notice the importance of the olfactory organ. But what constitutes a 'perfume', a 'smell' or an 'odour' depends also on one's cultural upbringing. Interpreters working full days (and often obliged to work through lunch or dinner) take note. Translators, especially those working on promotional material or literary texts, should be aware of the connotations, symbolism and challenges associated with olfactory references. Scent strategist Olivia Jezler (interviewed by King 2018) explains, for example, that which fragrances count as 'perfume' changes according to national market because of historical cultural associations; and how the same term (such as 'lavender') actually relates to a different fragrance according to country. Below is an example of some of the differences she noticed between Brazil, the United States and Europe.

Smell	Country	Perception	Preference
Lavender	US	Relaxing	Floral, not the smell of real lavender
	Europe		Real lavender from the fields
	Brazil	Invigorating	
Rose	UK	Tradition	Widely used in perfumes
	US	Old-fashioned	Not widely used in perfumes
	Brazil	Household	Associated with floor/toilet cleaners

As people in many Asian countries rarely consume dairy products, they can perceive the fermentation of dairy products emitted by sweat glands. Hence, Westerners 'smell' as far as Asians are concerned. Westerners, on the other hand, complain about the overpowering smell and taste of the Asian durian fruit. Most Westerners describe the experience of eating it as a cross between chewing gum and inhaling lavatory cleaner. Although the fruit is banned on public transport in countries such as Japan, Thailand and Singapore, it is treated with the greatest of respect in Malaysia, and selected fruits are often brought by friends when invited for dinner.

The British stereotype of the Mediterranean (and the French in particular) includes the smell of garlic. 'Garlic' for the British collocates with the verb 'to reek' (i.e. to have a strong and unpleasant smell). For Anglo-American meat-eaters, the smell of frying bacon, as bestselling US author Tiffany Reisz (2017:39) writes, is "like heaven, like love, like home and family and Sunday mornings…". For differing reasons, some people from Asian and Mediterranean cultures, Jewish and Muslim, along with vegetarians, will probably instead feel at best indifferent, but more likely physically revolted. Whatever the culture, olfaction is part of what Hall (1982:47) calls "the hidden dimension". He observes that "The body's chemical messages are so complex and specific that they can be said to far exceed in organization and complexity any of the communication systems man has yet created as extensions [such as the computer]". That said, O'Hagan and Ashworth (2002) predicted that website translators would

> include both sensory and olfactory information. [Also] a future bakery website could be furnished with olfactory and tactile sensations whereby the visitor could smell the freshly baked bread and feel its texture. This in turn will allow translators to better understand the verbal descriptions and in fact may eliminate the need for language facilitation altogether in some cases.
>
> (O'Hagan and Ashworth 2002:150)

4.1.7 Temporal setting

In Western cultures, time can be seen to pass – and ingenious devices have been devised to measure it. Though time cannot actually be observed, change can be, so we reasonably talk about time periods as if they constituted a framework for a specific culture, such as those outlined by British journalist Harry Wallop (2014) in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Stereotypical characteristics of different generations (from Wallop 2014)

Generation	Period	Stereotypical characteristics
Z	Mid-1990s to the early 2000s	First tribe of true digital natives or "screenagers", keen to volunteer and aware that an education is to be treasured
Y or Millennial	1980–2000	A selfish, self-regarding generation. "Let me take a Selfie" is their catchphrase
X	Early 1960s–early 1980s	Saddled with permanent cynicism … burdened with an almost permanent state of anxiety
Baby Boomers	1945–early 1960s	Idealistic and uncynical, who tuned in, got high, dropped out. And sold out the moment they were able to buy a house or car

Literary and artistic styles change over time; and yet many literary critics argue as to whether a text needs to be analysed with respect to its temporal setting. Structuralists, for example, argue that there is no meaning outside the text and that the time of writing, or the time of reading, has no effect on interpretation. This is clearly not the case, given the number of new interpretations of classic texts over time, as shown by two different examples in the box below:

Harry Potter through the Focus of Feminist Literary Theory: Examples of (Un)Founded Criticism

This paper questions the problems of multiple readings from the viewpoint of feminist literary theory.

(Mikulan 2009:288)

Twenty-First-Century Critical Revisions

Designed to offer a critical pathway and evaluation, and to establish new critical routes for research, this series addresses two main themes across a range of key authors, genres and literary traditions. The first is the changing critical interpretations that have emerged since 2000. Radically new interpretations of writers, genres and literary periods have surfaced as new critical approaches are applied. The second is the substantial scholarly shifts that have occurred, through the emergence of new editions, editions of letters, and competing biographical accounts.

(Cambridge University Press 2019:n.p.)

In conclusion, to quote from Sapir's lecture notes once again (2002:75): "What is important is environment as defined by culture – what the natives have unconsciously selected from the environment, and their cultural evaluation of it".

4.2 Behaviour (What)

This level of culture informs us about what a culture does, its perceived actions and reactions. It is the level of dos and don'ts that a culture tells itself, through proverbs or old wives' tales, for instance. In the following table is some thankfully old-fashioned behavioural advice on getting a daughter married (in Turkey).

Traditional dos and don'ts in Turkey	Meaning
Kyz'y kendi haline byrakyrsan ya davulcuya varyr ya zurnacyya	Do not leave it to your daughter; she'll either marry the drum player or the clarinet man. [The implication is that they may look and sound interesting but they don't earn good money or have a high status.]
Yki bayram arasy evlenmek uðursuzdur.	It is unlucky to marry between the two fetes [Ramadan and Sacrifice Feast].

Each culture has its own rules of behaviour, and this observation has been noted for some time. The traditional aphorism for both tourists and businesspeople, "when in Rome do as the Romans do", comes from St Ambrose (c. 339–397), the bishop of Milan. He was asked the following question by St Monica and her son St Augustine: "In Rome they fast on Saturday, but not in Milan; which practice ought to be observed?" He actually said, *"Si fueris Romae, Romano vivito more; si fueris alibi, vivito sicut ibi"* (If you are in Rome, live in the Roman style; if you are elsewhere live as they live elsewhere).

The French have also adopted the aphorism: *"à Rome il faut vivre comme les Romains"*. Interestingly, the Italians themselves have decided to ignore *Sant'Ambrogio*. Their 'equivalent' is *"Paese che vai, usanze che trovi"* (*CID* 1995)("the countries you go to, the customs you find", or "different country, different customs"). The Chinese have a similar proverb: 入乡随俗 (When entering a village, follow its customs). In all cases, the advice is actually at the level of environment – there is no explicit advice on how to behave.

Since St Ambrose's day, guides to behaviour can be found everywhere. They tend to be categorical, laying down behavioural rules, many of which change from time to time. One well-known guide in England was entitled *U and non-U*, a guide to upper-class language usage published originally by Alan Ross as an essay, and then incorporated in Nancy Mitford's highly popular *Noblesse Oblige* (1959). According to Oxford professor of Linguistics Simon Horobin, writing in 2016, although the rules have changed, U and non-U terms still instantly pigeonhole speakers to a social class, as the title of his contribution clearly states: 'Toilet or Lavatory? How Words Britons Use Betray Our National Obsession with Class' (Horobin 2016). He concludes by saying that, although there has been a move to a more egalitarian and "straight-talking" society:

> Having guests to your *house* (not *home* or *property*) for *dinner*, *supper* or an *evening meal* (never *high tea*) remains a minefield of

linguistic etiquette: do you serve them *pudding*, *sweet*, *dessert* or *afters*; show them to the *lounge*, *sitting room*, *front room* or *living room*; offer them a seat on the *settee*, *sofa*, or *couch*, direct them to the *toilet*, *lavatory*, *loo* or *WC*?

(Horobin 2016:n.p.)

Such apparently innocent choices, which will also need to be made by translators and interpreters, are still likely to prompt people to make judgements about class. The accepted practice and the rules themselves will change, as we have already seen in our discussion on 'Time' in the previous section.

4.3 Capabilities/Strategies/Skills (How)

- Language channel and style
- Rituals and strategies

At this level, the focus is no longer on *what* is read, seen, heard or felt, but on *how* individual acts of behaviour string together within a frame, *how* a message is transmitted and *how* it, or the frame, is perceived. The frames tell us what to expect; and we tend to assess or judge in terms of what we expect.

4.3.1 Language channel and style

With regard to how a message is sent and understood, there are a number of culture-bound factors affecting interpretation. These are discussed in depth in Part III. However, it will be useful to give an idea of a number of practical differences before going into detail.

The medium is the means by which a message is conveyed from one person to another. There are three main channels:

- Written;
- Spoken;
- Non-verbal.

The choice of medium, and how it will be used, will depend on a number of pan-cultural factors. However, we must stress, as Mead (1994) does, that:

cultural factors also play a part, and you cannot jump to the con-clusion that the same factors that influence your perception of the

appropriate medium are significant for the other culture. In other words, you need to consider the cultural implications of your selection before committing yourself.

(Mead 1994:175)

Appropriacy is always affected by context, and how the context is perceived. We all use mobile phones, but when it is appropriate to use them will depend also on a culture's toleration. For example, in comparison with a number of other nationalities, Swedes are more likely to chat on the phone while paying at the shop (Baron and Hård af Segerstad 2010), while the Japanese *keitai* sub-culture of mobile phone 'as extension of self' (already a phenomenon in 2005) has normalized phone use at the family table significantly more than in other countries (Nakamura *et al.* 2016).

Not only is channel appropriateness culture-bound, but voice is too. Research is beginning to show that perception and interpretation of prosody is culture- (or language-) bound, such as whether the voice portrays intimacy, formality, stress or relaxation (Yanushevskaya *et al.* 2018). More anecdotally, Hall (1982:142), for example, notes that appropriate loudness varies from culture to culture: "In England and in Europe generally, Americans are continually accused of loud talking". Interestingly, Gesteland (2012:76) describes an encounter between American and Egyptian businesspeople that shows how "soft-spoken business people …run into problems when communicating face-to-face with more expressive counterparts". In this case, an American who was "unusually restrained and soft-spoken for an American" made his Egyptian counterparts fall asleep while going through contract terms "in a low monotone". For the Americans, loudness is part of their openness, showing that they have nothing to hide. The English, on the other hand, interpret loudness from within a different cultural frame. We have already mentioned that space is an important variable affecting culture, and Hall believes that soft speaking is another important strategy for the English as a response to the lack of space.

As the lexico-grammar changes according to space bubble, community interpreters and mediators need to be particularly aware of how their own space bubble will be interpreted and tune their voice and language accordingly. And, as before, translators working in audiovisual translation (AVT) – and in particular, subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing – will need to consider how to 'translate' the varying significance of sound.

Finally, Hall and Hall's advice (1989:28–29) to those hiring interpreters is to make sure that the interpreter's accent and dialect are acceptable to both parties, and that their use of language reflects "a good level of education". They point, in particular, to problems with the Japanese, who simply may not be "forthcoming" if the

interpreter has an inappropriate style. The French and Germans are also mentioned as sticklers for a "well-educated" and "well-mannered" style. The authors finish by noting that "This facet of communication cannot be overstressed, yet it is one of the most frequent violations of the unwritten laws of communication abroad".

In British English, in particular, *how* we speak has been the subject of earnest debate for some time. Most of the (British) frames contain negative stereotypes about accent, as George Bernard Shaw famously remarked in the Introduction to *Pygmalion* (2003 [1916]:1): "It is impossible for an Englishman to open his mouth without some other Englishman despising him". Anna and Giulio Lepschy (1988:12) note the class connotation of accent in Britain and confirm that "The situation is quite different in Italy … The distinction between Italian and dialect has no formal correlation with social hierarchy … and cuts right across class barriers".

Fortunately, foreign accents do not always generate such an automatic negative response among the British. Indeed, many are used to positively promote products, as discussed by UK-based audio translation agency Matinée Sound & Vision (2017).

The impact of foreign accents in advertising

Foreign accent	Evaluation	Associated goods	Example UK English-language advert
Spanish	Sophisticated, sultry, seductive	Luxury goods (perfume, underwear, jewellery)	'Uno de 50' Unique Jewellery from Spain
Indian	Informative and friendly	New technology	Mozilla Webmaker
French	Cool and stylish	Fashion	Lancel Paris accessories
Chinese	Harmonious and wise	Natural products, healthy foods	Molton Brown Blossoming Honeysuckle & White Tea range

Source: Based on Matinée Sound & Vision (2017:n.p.)

4.3.2 Rituals and strategies

We have already noted the existence of rituals in Chapter 2.4. Communication acts are often formalized, and indeed fossilized, as a

set of rules or action chains. Communities of practice will all develop their own ways of conducting business. At a cultural level, within Japan, for example, the formal business introduction still begins with a bow and an exchange of business cards. No mention is made of position in the company. In the West, it is usual to shake hands and to exchange names and position verbally. The business card, which is still popular, will usually be exchanged during leave-taking.

Guides to behaviour can either be at the level of isolated 'dos' and 'don'ts' or they can be at the level of strategies. Strategic rules are more useful than behavioural rules because they can be applied to a number of contexts, and they involve a variety of behaviours.

Much strategic (or patterned) behaviour occurs out-of-awareness. The meta-messages are clearly understood within the intended cultural frame. However, in cross-cultural encounters, misunderstanding of the unconscious strategy (or pattern) can easily take place.

If we take business as an example, the maxim 'business is business' may well be true, but the meta-messages received while discussing business may well be misperceived, and can affect the business itself. Three short examples will suffice. The removal of the business jacket is perfectly acceptable behaviour in many business situations, but the meta-message differs significantly. In Anglo-Saxon countries (Britain, the United States and Germany, for example), removal can often signify getting down to work in a warmer, more cooperative atmosphere. If this is associated with rolling sleeves up/ *die hemdsaermel hochkrempeln*, then the meta-message is that the participant is ready to 'get down to business' and work hard on the subject at hand. In Italy, there is the same expression for rolling sleeves, but it is only used in professional situations figuratively. The same strategic behaviour (removing the jacket) can actually mean 'let's relax and get more comfortable', and tends to take place only among people who know each other. Rolling sleeves up is simply unprofessional.

Leaving aside open-plan environments, an open door at work is another, usually unconscious, strategy with a number of alternative meta-messages. If you are American, it will suggest 'I'm open for business'. A closed door signifies that privacy is required, and may well be viewed negatively. If, on the other hand, the door is closed in Germany, the signal is 'everything is in order, and it's business as usual'. An open door here suggests disorder, untidiness and maybe disrespect (Kramsch 1993:209).

Finally, as Sapir (1994:105) points out in his lecture notes, what counts as appropriate business strategy in one country may well be regarded as banditry in another. Below is an example of two interpretations of the same act. The Italian words (in the left-hand column) can be interpreted as either good or bad business practice.

To a large extent this connotation will depend on one's values or cultural orientation:

Italian word	Positive interpretation	Negative interpretation
raccomandazione	recommendation	string-pulling
tangente	cut/commission	bribe/kickback
regalo	gift	palm-greasing
clientelismo	patronage	nepotism

4.4 Values

Our map of the world contains many values. These will be in a hierarchy of 'feeling' or importance. We have already noted one difference between a British and an American hierarchy. The British tend to value privacy over openness, while Americans tend to value openness over privacy. Hence, given the choice of talking to a stranger about the weather or about your private life, a British trait will typically tend towards the former while an American may well be towards the latter. Similarly, as Gesteland (2012:45) notes, some cultures (e.g. Arabs, Asians or Latin Americans) value harmony over clarity and directness of communication, while others (e.g. Europeans, North Americans, Australians or New Zealanders) do the opposite. This area will be developed in Chapters 9, 10 and 12.

An important distinction can be drawn between a hierarchy of values (such as openness before privacy) and a cluster of values. A hierarchy will mean that one value will prevail over another. A cluster, on the other hand, is a group of values that act together and determine a particular orientation or, in Hofstede's terminology, cultural 'dimension'. Groups of people tend to behave according to particular orientations, and it is at this level that culture can be observed.

An interesting point made by Florence Kluckhohn (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961:1–49) in her work on value orientations is that in any culture there will be both a dominant and a variant orientation.[1] The dominant orientation will tend to be the orientation valued by those in power. The variant orientation will tend towards the opposite end of the orientation cline and will often be held by those who historically do not have power.

4.5 Beliefs (Why)

The fact that people who are part of different cultures do things differently in similar environments is determined by a system of values

articulated in terms of beliefs. Beliefs provide the motivations and the reasons for doing or not doing things. Hence, they provide the reasons for following certain strategic rules of conduct. These beliefs will determine which particular guide to follow, whether it be the Bible, the Torah, the Koran (or Qur'an), *Das Kapital* or even *How to Win Friends and Influence People*.

4.5.1 Ideological environment

Ideology is an example of a strong set of guiding beliefs, particularly about political, economic, social and cultural affairs held by the majority of people within a society. Religions, too, are part of the ideological environment, as they too may regulate a society's day-to-day affairs. As we discussed earlier, word meaning can be understood on three levels: a technical (denotative) level, a formal level, or an informal (connotative) level. The informal, out-of-awareness level is the one we react to. The connotative meanings below, for example, will depend on ideological beliefs:

Word	Meaning according to belief
Fundamentalist:	saviour/strict follower
	fanatic/bigot
Capitalism:	freedom to manage property for profit
	exploitation of man by man
Privatization:	the country is better off
	the country is worse off
(The political) left:	Communism (and danger to freedom)
	freedom/social equity
(The political) right:	Fascism (and danger to freedom)
	freedom/liberal practices

When an ideology is associated with significant groups of people living in the same area it becomes territorialized. Fundamentalist religious groups (e.g. Muslim, Christian or Zionist) often have fiercely contested physical borders. During the Middle Ages, the Crusades were part of a conflict over control of the Holy Sites. Today, the Israeli West Bank barrier effectively separates Israel from genetically similar groups of people in Palestine. The wall represents the territorialization of different belief systems. Within each religious group, too, the internal ideological and territorial divisions may be just as strongly entrenched, as during The Troubles in Northern Ireland. For a while,

the Belfast 'peace walls' accentuated division between two Christian communities.

The continuation of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict has for decades epitomized the relation between ideology and identity/territory beliefs/claims. It continues to demonstrate how mutually exclusive worldviews (religious, political and ethnic) and collective interests may impinge on peaceful co-existence. In the case of Northern Ireland, the peace agreement could only be brokered once John Hume and Gerry Adams, respectively for the Northern Ireland Protestants and for the Irish Catholics, were able to sign a preliminary joint statement in 1993, based on the belief that: "We both recognise that such a new agreement is only achievable and viable if it can earn and enjoy the allegiance of the different traditions on this island, by accommodating diversity and providing for national reconciliation" (Hume and Adams 1993:para. 9).

Even today, the language used to describe the 1993 accord is "controversial and tinged with partisan overtones" (Steinberg 2019:2). In general, for the Catholics and moderates, the agreement is commonly referred to as the Good Friday Agreement. For the staunch Protestant unionists, on the other hand, it is the Belfast Agreement.

The strength of belief regarding the importance of territory is epitomized by the Balkan states. Historically, these states have been at war over territory to such an extent that we have since used the verb 'to balkanize' to mean 'divide a territory into small warring states'. The more a group of people identify their beliefs with a physical environment, the more balkanization will take place. These boundary conflicts are often clearly visible linguistically, which translators and interpreters will have to be aware of. Here, mediation may not be possible.

Between 1991 and 1995, there was a war in Croatia. That much people agree on. The technical term for the war, though, is in dispute, because the relative terms belie a series of much deeper beliefs about the truth. In Croatia itself, the war is primarily referred to as the 'Homeland War' (*Domovinski rat*) and also as the 'Greater-Serbian aggression' (*Velikosrpska agresija*). Serbians, on the other hand, using what is still the same language (Serbo-Croat), call it the 'War in Croatia' (*Rat u Hrvatskoj*). In English it is usually known as the 'Croatian War of Independence'. The translator, translating into Serbo-Croat, should be aware who her primary model reader is likely to be; for example, Serb or Croat (see also Katan 2019:127).

4.5.2 Proverbs

Culture-bound beliefs can be analysed through common sayings and proverbs. Nancy Adler (2008:81), a cross-cultural specialist at McGill

University, suggests listening for these and asking oneself, "What does a society encourage, and what does it prohibit?" She goes on to produce an interesting list of North American proverbs. These embody beliefs that Americans hold to be true. However, according to the Collins Online Dictionary (2021), a proverb is more than just a belief, it is a "commonplace fact of experience". Hence, we can agree with Adler that proverbs contain beliefs which are very deep-seated and, in the case of the Collins Online Dictionary, so out-of-awareness that they are believed to be true. Adler (2008:84) lists the general values attached to the proverbs, and we have added an example of criterial equivalence for each general value:

Proverb	Value	Criterial equivalence
Cleanliness is next to godliness	Cleanliness	A shower every day
A penny saved is a penny earned	Thriftiness	Adverts/coupons with 10 cents off
Time is money	Time/Thrift	'Billable time'
Early to bed, early to rise, makes one healthy, wealthy and wise	Diligence/Work ethic	'Partying' restricted to weekends
God helps those who help themselves	Initiative	The self-made man
No rest for the wicked	Guilt/Work ethic	Working lunches
You've made your bed, now sleep in it	Responsibility	Third-party liability insurance for all
The squeaky wheel gets the grease	Aggressiveness	Lobbying
Don't count your chickens before they hatch	Practicality/Time	Working for short-term profits
A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush		High pro-capita consumption, low pro-capita savings

The values in this table have culture-bound meaning or criterial equivalents. So, values can be interpreted in different ways. If we take 'practicality' as an example, a criterial equivalent regarding an academic or business lunch might well be a sandwich in the office, because it saves time. The criterial equivalent for other cultures (French, and

to a certain extent Italian) may well be in terms of a restaurant where there is a quiet corner to talk, or where service is efficient.

We also notice that Americans believe practicality to be linked with the idea of the present, and that the future is not practical. Other (Anglo-) American proverbs show similar beliefs about 'present time':

- Time flies.
- There's no time like the present.
- Take care of today, and tomorrow will take care of itself.
- Time waits for no man.
- Time and tide wait for no man.
- Never put off till tomorrow what may be done today.

Other cultures – the Japanese, for instance – believe that practicality includes the future.

七転び八起き
Fall seven times, stand up the eighth time.

実行力なき洞察力は白日夢である。洞察力なき実行力は悪夢である。
Vision without action is a daydream. Action without vision is a nightmare.

Highly practical and successful company policy in Japan, for example, stretches over decades. Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (2012:157–158) note: "It is obvious that the relatively long-term vision of the Japanese contrasts with the 'quarterly thinking' of the Americans". As a striking example, the authors mention how the Japanese submitted a business plan that extended over 250 years in a bid to buy the operations of Yosemite National Park in California.

4.6 Identity

Culture, as we have seen, is what we identify with. At the highest level, 'humankind' is a culture that we all belong to, though there are many, particularly those at war, who choose to focus on other levels of identification and identify the enemy as 'non-human'. We have mentioned identification at the level of continent (America, Europe, Asia), country, region and so on. Cultures also traverse geographical and political borders and are sometimes more usefully categorized ethnically, linguistically or religiously. We have also mentioned the smaller and more transient 'on-the-go' cultures, the communities of practice.

To be a member of a culture, one will need to share beliefs at every level of culture. Below is a sample set of beliefs which are generally said to be congruent with being Australian. That said, we should remember the 'Ecological fallacy', which suggests that these beliefs have to be part of our cognitive environment rather than active beliefs:

Belief at the level of …	Australian cognitive environment
Value:	• fair go for everyone • democracy • mateship and loyalty • freedom
Strategy:	• positive discrimination • establishing acknowledgement of traditional owners as a norm (ceremony/message recognizing Aboriginal ownership of the land)
Behaviour:	• voting • speaking out against abuse • saying, "I'd like to begin by acknowledging the Traditional Owners of the land on which we meet today" • sharing beer in company, and saying, "There's nothing better than enjoying a cold beer with a few mates"
Environment:	• shared public spaces (e.g. parks, playgrounds, free barbecue facilities, etc.)

A set of beliefs congruent with a Spanish identity would be on the following lines:

Belief at the level of …	Spanish cognitive environment
Value:	• *la familia viene primero* (family comes first) • *solo se vive una vez* (we only have one life/ enjoy life as much as you can) (cf. you only live once) • *a quien madruga Dios le ayuda* (God helps those who rise early/are hard workers)
Strategy:	• *comer bien* (eating well) • *fiestas de pueblo* (regular local festivals, including food, drink and partying)

Belief at the level of …	Spanish cognitive environment
Behaviour:	• *¡Los españoles usan aceite de oliva para todo!* (Spanish people use olive oil for everything!) • *salir de fiesta* (partying)
Enviornment:	• *hogar dulce hogar* (home sweet home) • *no hay nada mejor que la comida casera/ la dieta mediterránea* (nothing is better than home-made meals/the Mediterranean diet)

Anna Wierzbicka (1992:31–116; see also 2010) notes the fundamental importance of three Russian values: *duša/*'soul', *sud'ba/*'fate/destiny', and *toska/*'yearning/a painful feeling/nostalgia'. These three concepts permeate Russian conversation, language and literature. The range of meaning is wider, and the effect of these words deeper, than in English because they are core values. The mediator, translator or interpreter will be extremely aware that these and all core values are directly and inexorably connected to identity. In translating the core value, the translator or interpreter will be concerned about compensating for the lack of connection in the mind of the target-culture reader. This will be discussed later in Chapter 7.

4.7 Imprinting

- Lorenz's Imprinting
- Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs
- Dilts' Developmental Model
- Bernstein's Codes theory
- Hasan's HAP/LAP theory
- Enculturation

Beliefs about identity are such an important aspect of culture that it is useful to look at how they are formed. The Austrian zoologist and founder of ethology, Konrad Lorenz (1977 [1954]) is credited with first discovering that early experience is crucial in forming life-long beliefs about identity and relationships. In the 1930s, he discovered that ducklings on seeing him first, rather than the mother duck, happily 'believed' that he was their mother. Every time he moved, they followed. Later introduction of the real mother could not overturn

that first experience. Reality, as Lorenz realized, had very little to do with the matter. He called this type of process 'imprinting'. Dilts (1990:102), among others, has extended this idea to people, defining an imprint as "an identity-forming experience … It is a reflection on your identity".

Imprints generally become core beliefs. They are the widest, or deepest, frame of reference, and all day-to-day living is carried out within these frames. There are no further frames readily available from which imprints can be viewed. As such, imprints are difficult to identify, as they are completely out-of-awareness.

Like ducks, people are ready to process certain inputs from the environment at certain times of development. For example, a human child can recognize its mother within 24 hours of birth, but is unable to distinguish the dog from the cat until much later. Clearly, it is more important for the child to locate his or her mother (assuming she is the provider of food and security) than the cat or dog.

According to the psychologist Abraham Maslow (1970), the acquisition of beliefs about the world occurs according to a Hierarchy of Needs. Physical survival (physiological needs) is the first need to be satisfied, and any beliefs relating to higher, less fundamental needs will have to wait. Maslow proposed a five-fold classification of motives and needs as shown below (Figure 4.1). It should be remembered that this triangle is to be framed within Maslow's own model of the world, which perceives 'self-actualization' as the final stage. There are those who see this stage as a necessary step before 'spiritual mission' or 'enlightenment'.

Self-actualization

Power
Esteem

Affiliation

Safety

Physiological

Western culture (individualist and lay belief system)
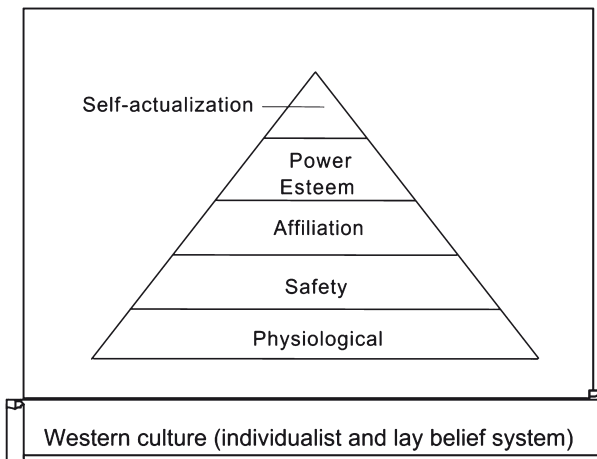
Figure 4.1 Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

Dilts (1990:135) has adapted Maslow's hierarchy, relating it specifically to Logical Levels. His levels are discussed below.

4.7.1 Biological level

As we have already mentioned, the first imprinting is 'biological'. The human baby's first needs are to survive in an environment, and he or she learns very quickly how to deal with dependency on food. How the baby deals with this reality will have long-term effects.

4.7.2 Emotional level

The second stage is 'emotional': "Where are my bonds?", "What is my territory?", "How do I/others feel?" This stage develops at home and forms much of the cultural imprint. A two-year-old will be aware of his/her private space and possessions, including "*my* toy", "*my* room" and "*my* Mummy". As Sheppy (2009:10) notes, children in their early years also "become aware of their own mood swings and begin to recognise the signs of other people's changing thoughts and feelings".

Later, as the child's perception of his/her environment grows, the reality of group territory (whether it be Sarajevo, the Falls Road in Belfast, Catalonia, Kurdistan, or the Gaza Strip) and the 'us/them' divide will be inculcated through parents and tested with peers. Ethnic conflict has its roots here. Well before school age, a child will already respond appropriately to culture-bound beliefs about the family, privacy, socially accepted distances, possession and eating habits (see also Brislin 1993:6–8 and Samovar *et al.* 2017). Italian children, for example, who have lunch at kindergarten, learn to say "*Buon appetito*" before eating their meal. With parental encouragement, this is repeated until it becomes an automatic response at every meal.

4.7.3 Intellectual level

The next stage is 'intellectual'. This is equivalent to the Logical Level of capabilities, strategies and skills. At this stage, the child (particularly at school age) begins to develop the ability to understand symbols and process them efficiently.

During adolescence, the child is ready to consolidate decisions about his or her 'social' role. This is the level of beliefs, and in particular beliefs about identity. The educational sociologist Basil Bernstein (1972) and systemic linguist Ruqaiya Hasan (1989, 1991, 1992) both found that the prerequisites for decision-making about

role are learned through the parents' language input. Bernstein's original thesis, that social class influences language, caused much controversy, particularly as it became clear that he effectively said that lower-class children had a more restricted language (restricted code), and that this restricted language resulted in a more restricted view of the world. However, his findings have been defended by Halliday (1992:70–71) and by Hasan. Hasan, in particular, developed Bernstein's theory through her studies of mother-and-child language from the two traditional social classes, renaming them as 'high' and 'low autonomy'. She came to the conclusion that children from Lower Autonomy Professions (LAPs) learn from their parents that they too have low autonomy in the world.

Clearly, it would be simplistic to suggest that all LAPs learn that they have low autonomy, or even that their use of language determines their position in society. What we can say is that language (as we shall see in Chapter 6) is one of the filters through which we learn about the world. Hasan suggests that the way in which mothers explain the world and its rules becomes a strong model for the children to follow. Her results show that the LAP mothers' conversations tended to follow a particular pattern: Rules are laid down, but not explained. If we take this finding to its logical conclusion, children may learn that rules are a fixed reality – and are not to be questioned.

This possible hypothesis takes us insidiously close to Aldous Huxley's (1955 [1932]) dystopia, *Brave New World*. In his book, children were born pre-programmed in test tubes; production was divided into alphas, betas, gammas and deltas; each group was destined to a higher or lower level of autonomy in work, and every individual was genetically adjusted to their predestined level. However, the quotation below is not from science fiction, but from Hasan (1992, emphasis in original): "Both the HAP and the LAP groups are adjusted to their social positioning. *In natural everyday discourse, speakers speak their social position*".

The presuppositions of NLP therapy are very close to this: people in need of help speak their limited world; and through precise linguistic intervention, therapists can help their clients have more options in life. Bateson's (1975) introduction to *The Structure of Magic* explains how the originators of NLP

> succeeded in making linguistics into a base for [human interaction] theory and simultaneously into a tool for therapy. … Grinder and Bandler have succeeded in making explicit the syntax of how people avoid change and, therefore, how to assist them in changing.
>
> (Bateson 1975:x)
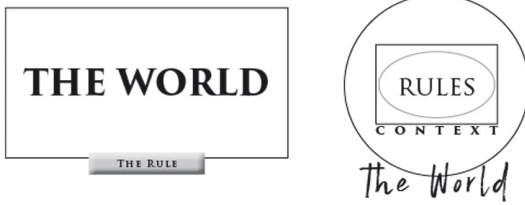
Figure 4.2 A HAP and LAP view of the world

Children from Higher Autonomy Professions (HAPs) generally learn the language of change. They learn that rules have contexts and justifications (further frames), and that therefore, like the picture in the art gallery, these rules can be admired or criticized from a distance. The difference is that for many LAPs, rules *are* the world and cannot be questioned. HAPs, instead, learn that rules are part of the wider world and can be changed in response to wider world needs. These children, through language forms learned from their parents, have a richer model of the world, one that furnishes them with beliefs about their power to influence change. The two worlds can be shown as in Figure 4.2. The LAP world, on the left, is smaller and has rules as its frame. The HAP world, on the right, is larger, as there is a wider frame of reference through which rules can be interpreted.

In Psychology, this learning of the rules is known as socialization; in Cultural Studies, it is known as enculturation: "the modification from infancy of an individual's behaviour to conform with the demands of social life" (Collins Online Dictionary 2021). Modification, as we have already suggested, begins at home (see also Brislin 1993:95) through what Bernstein originally referred to as parental appeals. According to Sapir (1949:197) and Bernstein (1972:485), these appeals are a principal means of social control.

4.7.4 Aesthetic level

The next level is the 'aesthetic'. At this level people begin to "develop awareness of things for what they are" (Dilts 1990:135). This is the level of self-realization and is equivalent to personal identity in the Logical Levels Model. According to Maslow, Dilts and others (see Guirdham 1990:21–30), only when these lower-level needs have been satisfied does one have the time to look at the world and appreciate it. At the lower levels, the chief concerns are using or exploiting the world for biological, survival or role needs. In the 'civilized' world, this higher level of imprinting takes place at school.

4.7.5 Meta level

The final level goes beyond the satisfaction of self and looks towards purpose in life. This is the 'meta' level. At this level, identity and evolution are considered not only from a personal but also from a social point of view. At this stage, the person begins to look for a higher purpose. This is equivalent to the spiritual level or 'mission' in the Logical Levels Model, and will be discussed in the following section.

The various levels of imprinting, Logical Levels and the developmental stages are shown in Figure 4.3 below. Along the horizontal axis, from left to right, is the timeline, from birth to adulthood. By the time one is an adult, one is expected to have moved from concern with biological needs to concern for the aesthetic needs and beyond. Vertically, we can see how the Logical Levels Model links with the developmental model. Biological needs are at the level of behaviour (all attention is focussed on doing). At the capabilities level, intellectual imprinting takes place (the focus is on how). The following level, beliefs, relates to societal imprinting while identity relates to aesthetic imprinting (realization of self). The final stage, not yet discussed as part of the Logical Levels Model, is the spiritual level, which compares to the meta-development stage.

It should be remembered that these models are idealized simplifications of reality, and are only logical for those cultures that place individual self-realization, for example, over social belongingness.
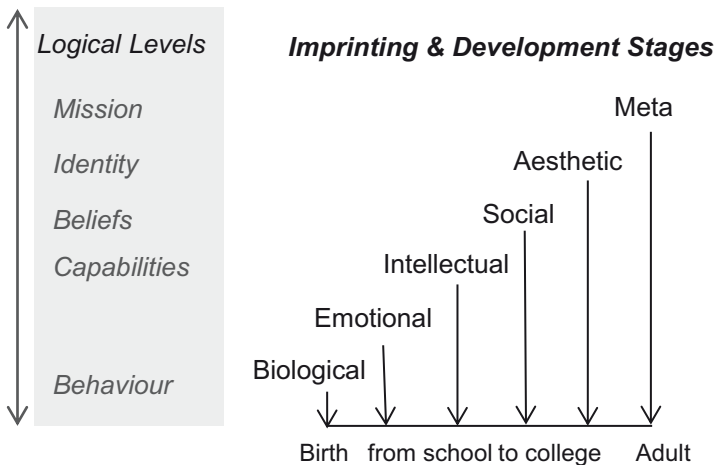
Figure 4.3 Dilts' imprinting and development stages

4.8 The model as a system

- Role changes
- Level changes
- A dynamic model of culture
- Habitus and Logical Level clashes

We can now use the Logical Levels Model in a variety of ways. First, we can identify the traditional view of a translator, interpreter or mediator, then we can look at how the levels interact within the system.

4.8.1 Role changes

Below is an example of the congruent Logical Levels associated with being a translator:

Identity:	a translator
Values:	language, text, words, invariance, fidelity; knowledge, accuracy, precision, perfection, solitude, patience…
Beliefs:	the source text is sacred; a professional translator does not alter the text
Capabilities:	language and contrastive language proficiency, information mining skills…
Behaviour:	reading, researching, writing, checking, correcting, rewriting…
Environment:	a commissioner, a brief; a source text, CAT tools…

When beliefs about role identity change, and the translator becomes a type of cultural mediator, all the other levels are affected. Logically, at the level of values, the orientation towards 'text' changes to that of texts, contexts and readers; and the translation strategy, or approach, becomes 'user-centred' (see, for example, Suojanen *et al.* 2015). Similarly, the visible behaviour of a traditional interpreter, for example, will change from the discreet 'black-box' approach mentioned earlier to more active participation and coordination. The translator, as a mediator, should also become more active in obtaining information. This will include involving the participating agents to clarify the frames of the translation. Translation becomes more of a

collaborative, team-based, experience. Gentzler (2001:79) notes the importance given, for example, to 'the initiator' of the translation process and also to the translation brief. Aspects in the brief to be clarified will include reasons for the translation (the skopos), information on the target reader, the target culture, and similar target-culture texts.

With regard to the translation of promotional material, Séguinot (1995:60) lays great stress on the fact that "without access to the product or information about the service", a translator cannot do his or her job. Christina Schäffner (1995:81), citing the Finnish translator Justa Holz-Mänttäri, says the same: "You can't give quality without access to all the information available. [Holz-Mänttäri] never signs a contract unless she has a guarantee that she can talk to the producers, and that they will take her to the factory for example". Taibi (2018), referring to the translation brief in Community Translation, notes that it is usually understood to be provided by the initiator or client, but it should be subject to negotiation between the initiator or requester and the translator for two reasons:

> (1) the requester (in many cases a public service) may not necessarily have as much cultural and sociolinguistic knowledge about the target readership as the translator; (2) community translators are also bound by the ethical expectation to empower end users (often members of minority groups) and take their interests and perspectives into consideration.
>
> (Taibi 2018:18)

It has already been mentioned that the translating-interpreting habitus is still extremely restricted (see also Katan 2016a, 2018b). So, most translators are clearly not in a position to expect such a level of cooperation, at least not at the beginning of their career. Following Dilts and Maslow, they (along with fledgling interpreters and mediators) will be at the biological level: survival in a small and competitive market. The aesthetic level, that of quality, will be the desired aim – but insistence on all the information at all costs will not ensure survival. In the not-too-distant future, as the market becomes increasingly aware of the importance of culture, so a mediator's insistence on information *will* be essential for survival.

There are, of course, many other aspects to being a mediator. Most of the changes will be cognitive or internal, requiring little change in the external environment. Strategies will change. The translator, interpreter or cultural mediator will need to be able to demonstrate cognitive flexibility, be able to change viewpoint (disassociation) and be able to mind shift (see Part II). Capabilities will include, first of all, language proficiency, along with a conscious understanding of cultures.

Cultures here include all contextualizations, both those of the source and those of the target reader, as well as the prevailing norms of the professional community of practice that the mediator, translator or interpreter is part of.

Norms themselves are of many types, and Chesterman's (2016) breakdown into reader expectancy and professional community norms is useful, while Toury's definition (2012) fits in well with that of the Logical Levels framework:

> Norms have long been regarded as the translation of general values or ideas shared by a certain community – as to what would count as right and wrong, adequate and inadequate – into performance 'instructions' appropriate for and applicable to concrete situations.
>
> (Toury 2012:63)

The mediator, translator or interpreter needs to be in a position to manage the various norms and, in particular, decide to which point she can flout or offend the norm, and to what extent she may be proactive or indeed be an activist against a norm to fulfil deeper mediational values.

Values, for translators and interpreters, will no longer focus exclusively on language and the text (whether source or target), but on the Logical Levels of culture and of the readers, not to mention valuing text function(s), communication and mutual understanding. There will be two values in particular which will permit a translator, interpreter or cultural mediator to work well. First, they will appreciate 'difference' in all its forms; and second, 'context' will be valued, in that all translation decisions will be context-dependent. Clearly, what constitutes the context (i.e. which aspects of the understanding of reality will be privileged) will depend on the translator's or interpreter's judgement. This will mean that these professionals will depend on their own assessment as much as on guidelines. At the level of identity, their habitus may move out of the submissive and subservient to that of the collaborative, (pro)active participant, if not consultant, much in the way of transcreators.

Finally, referring back to Dilts' meta-level, a sixth Logical Level, 'mission', will be more evident. The mission goes beyond identity and answers the question: "What is my role in society?" In the case of the translator, interpreter or cultural mediator, the mission will be to improve understanding rather than only to translate accurately. In many contexts, the mission will extend to social agency in the form of a contribution to education, human rights, and empowerment of disadvantaged groups (e.g. Inghilleri 2008; Taibi and Ozolins 2016; Taibi 2018).
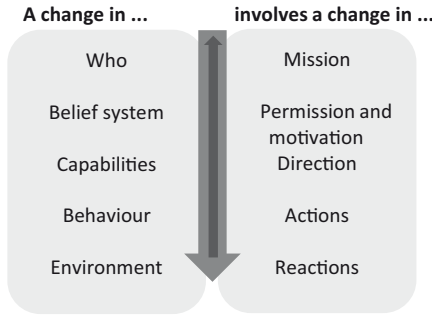
Figure 4.4 Dilts' Logical Levels and change

Logical Level	Logical Levels of translator as 'mediator'
Environment:	a client (user, model reader), an initiator, a brief; a source text, CAT tools…
Behaviour:	proactive asking for clarification, involvement with other agents in the translation process; reading, writing, accessing, checking, correcting, rewriting
Capabilities:	language and culture, communication, social, technical, translation skills
Strategies:	disassociation, mind shifting, mindfulness
Values:	culture, communication, understanding, difference, mediation, intervention, flexibility
Beliefs:	integrity of cultures, cultural relativity of values, contextual translating principles
Identity:	cultural mediator, bicultural person; collaborator, consultant
Mission:	to bring further mutual understanding; aid in knowledge enrichment

In general, any change in a higher level will affect all lower levels (less so the other way round). Figure 4.4, above, provides a schematic illustration of how Dilts (1990:209–210) understands the changes in the Logical Levels.

4.8.2 Attribution theory

Our ethnocentric approach to other cultures and the basic principles of cross-cultural communication can be analysed through the Logical Levels Model. The term 'ethnocentric' entails the belief that one's own culture embodies universal values and truths, or simply that one's

own way of doing things is, or should be, the normal way for all. Consequently, all other-cultural behaviour will be evaluated according to one's own cultural set of values. The result will be that other cultural ways will always be marked out as 'different' and either exotified (e.g. ethnic food/fashion), tolerated or eliminated (e.g. arranged marriages). The process of using (internal) beliefs and values to interpret others' visible behaviour is, of course, 'logical' and coherent with our necessarily limited map of the world. When we take the process to the next stage (identity) and attribute character traits to the other's behaviour, we may well be compounding a misperception and a misinterpretation into a misevaluation. Assuming that improving communication is part of a 'mediator's' remit, it is important to understand how translation can either strengthen or reduce this series of misattributions.

Attribution theory[2] was first discussed by Fritz Heider in 1958. Citing research, he suggests that perception of behaviour depends on our own personal position; that is, attributor or attributee. When interacting with others, we will tend to attribute their behaviour in terms of volition or other personal factors regarding their personality. On the other hand, we will tend to attribute our own behaviour in terms of the situational. A good example of the attributor position is that of the manager or university professor who is unable to complete a job on time due to overwork, pressing engagements, or a similar reason. The subordinate, or student, who likewise is unable to complete his or her task, will, on the contrary, be thought of (as an attributee) as being lazy, badly organized or untrustworthy.

The importance of this theory cannot be underestimated in cross-cultural communication. Native speakers can hear grammatical inaccuracy and can therefore contextualize any errors in terms of language learning. However, they are unlikely to have the same conscious awareness of linguistic or behaviour appropriacy (rather than accuracy), especially when the non-native speaker has a reasonable command of the language. As a result, the native speaker is likely to attribute the inappropriacy to some personal factor rather than to the speaker's – or their own – communication or cultural (in)competence. Every time we have a negative reaction to someone's behaviour, we are attributing our own meaning to that behaviour, and hence we apply an aspect of our own congruent Logical Level system to the behaviour. A few seconds' thought will allow us to realize that this is a form of mind reading and that behaviour, like language, makes sense in its own context (see also Lalljee 1987:41).

The iceberg diagram (Figure 4.5) below shows how the Logical Levels and Attribution combine to produce intercultural misperception, misattribution and miscommunication. As the diagram illustrates, a culture B hearer (for example, British) hears an imperative such as "tell me!" (the formally correct translation of either the formal Italian
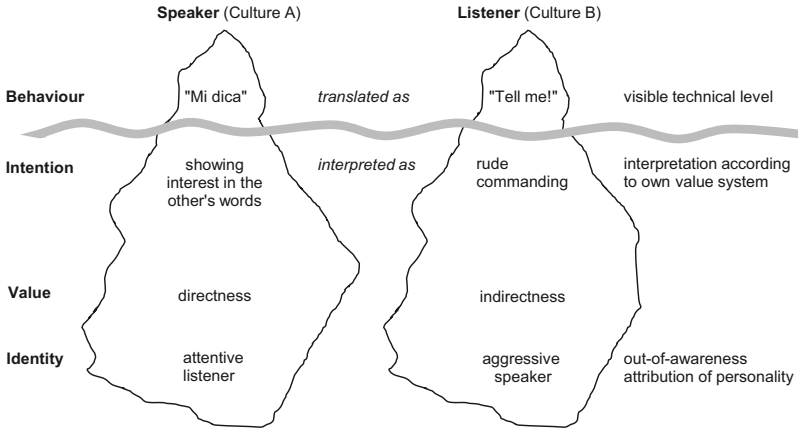
Figure 4.5 Culture-bound misinterpretation

subjunctive *mi dica* or the informal imperative *dimmi*) from an interpreter or directly from a culture A speaker. The actual meaning is "Yes, I'm listening". In the British culture, the imperative is appropriate in certain situations; for example, to indicate anger, authority or urgency. If this is not the context, then various values important to culture B may not be satisfied, such as deference, indirectness and so on. The resulting (mis)attribution of these imperatives is impoliteness, rudeness or aggression.

On the other hand, in culture A (Italian, for example), directness in language may well be positively valued. Hence, what is a positive communication behaviour in culture A is interpreted as a negative personal trait by a culture B observer. When culture B observers notice a repetition of the negatively valued behaviour, the trait becomes generalized to a form of negative stereotype. Scollon *et al*. (2012:43–59) devote a complete chapter to miscommunication due to inappropriate politeness strategies and suggest that when an inappropriate politeness strategy is used, the event may be misinterpreted in terms of power. Politeness strategies are discussed further in Chapter 12.

Culture-bound communication can be analysed with the Logical Levels Model through a simple set of clarification questions. There is a specific question form to be used relating to each level, which then helps to distinguish the various aspects of culture:

Clarification question	Logical Level
Where/When?	Environment
What?	Behaviour
How?	Capabilities

Clarification question	Logical Level
Why?	Beliefs
Who?	Identity

These clarification questions are not entirely new. In 1902, the writer Rudyard Kipling published his *Just So Stories* (1966 [1902]), referring to six honest serving men:

I keep six honest serving men
(They taught me all I knew);
Their names are What and Why and When
And How and Where and Who.

(Kipling 1966 [1902]:42)

The linguist Roger Bell (1991:7–10) also uses these serving men in his volume on translation to investigate a text's semantic meaning, communicative value, and place in time and space, as well as the participants involved. As we have already mentioned, organizing these questions into a hierarchy of Logical Levels can further add to their value.

Let us now see how we can apply them to clarify the context of culture. We can imagine a visible behaviour such as taking off one's shoes in a particular environment, such as a mosque entrance. With this information, we can begin to construct a cultural identity that is congruent with this behaviour using the clarification questions below:

Clarification question	Behaviour
Where/When?	• mosque, particularly prayer area, at all times
What?	• taking off shoes at entrance, and (optional) reciting certain prayers
How?	• placing shoes in a bag or on shoe rack
Why?	• to follow the implicit and explicit rules relating to mosques • to show respect to a place labelled "the House of God" • belief in humility, cleanliness and respect for others
Who?	• a believer • a Muslim • a member of this religious group

This hierarchical system of Logical Levels is a step towards contextualizing culture. Though NLP theory now talks of 'neurological levels' and opines that the levels are no longer hierarchical, we still believe that thinking in terms of hierarchy is useful when modelling culture. A number of linguists have considered communication in similar hierarchical systemic terms. Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990:29), for example, have proposed what they call a moral order. The important point they make is that when change is introduced at the top, so change is induced further down the order: "A person taking on, or being thrust into, a role is like a change coming to be located at a certain point in physical space and engendering a field in its environs".

They continue by explaining that only a certain number of speech acts are possible in the surrounding space. In NLP terms, the surrounding space is at the level of the environment while the speech acts are behaviour. The speech acts in the surrounding space, according to Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990:30), are oriented by "the system of rights, duties and obligations – that is, by the conversational force field". The system of rights, duties and obligations referred to is at the level of strategies and beliefs, and the force field can be compared to the logical element in the Logical Levels Theory. The authors envisage speech acts as being constrained by a moral order that changes with changing roles. For the moral order to function, they emphasize the importance of speaker sincerity, which is closely related to the NLP concept of congruence between levels.

4.8.3 Habitus

Another way of describing the system is to use Bourdieu's habitus theory (1990), which explains cultural comfort zones and characteristic ways of acting, often summarized as socialized norms or tendencies that guide behaviour and thinking; and as "the way society becomes deposited in persons in the form of lasting *dispositions*, or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel and act in *determinate* ways, which then guide them" (Wacquant 2005:318). Bourdieu himself describes habitus as people's "ordinary relations to the world" (1990:78). What is noteworthy is his focus on the fact that change can take place, but when we move out of our traditional habitus and comfort zone, tension is created. The result is often for the translator or interpreter and for the mediator, a new "zone of uncertainty", as touched on in Chapter 1.

As systems are, for the most part, hidden, so it takes time to understand how internal maps of the world will need to negotiate those aspects of the external reality that clash. The example below (Figure 4.6) shows how the traditional identity of the media interpreter (on Italian talk shows) is still tending to clash at a number of

Logical Levels both with the habitus of the broadcaster and that of the TV audience.

As can be seen from the model (developed in Katan and Straniero-Sergio 2001), it is the traditional interpreter's beliefs about invisibility, the supremacy of the text and equivalence that are being challenged by the habitus of Italian TV talk shows. What appears to be happening is that the interpreter is being judged, no longer on source text/target text criteria, but in terms of audience share and entertainment value. In particular, the traditional media interpreter is having to come to terms with the need to satisfy the audience's 'comfort factor' through entertainment, rather than rely primarily on fidelity to the text. This is also due to the broadcaster's active control of the interpreter's abilities. The interpreter is visible and is 'directed' on stage. He or she will be told when to intervene (rather than faithfully interpret the guest), and may well be truncated, paraphrased and at times 'overruled' by the presenter or other guests who may offer their own translations. Even more importantly, the interpreter is also 'required' to perform as a participant. The verb 'to require' suggests a clash with a traditional interpreter's model of the world. As far as the broadcaster and the viewers are concerned, though, the interpreter has 'an opportunity' to become visible and perform. The real clash is that evaluation of interpretation quality is no longer restricted to the professional interpreter, the interviewer, the foreign guest or to an objective evaluation of discourse equivalence, but to the deadly use of the remote control
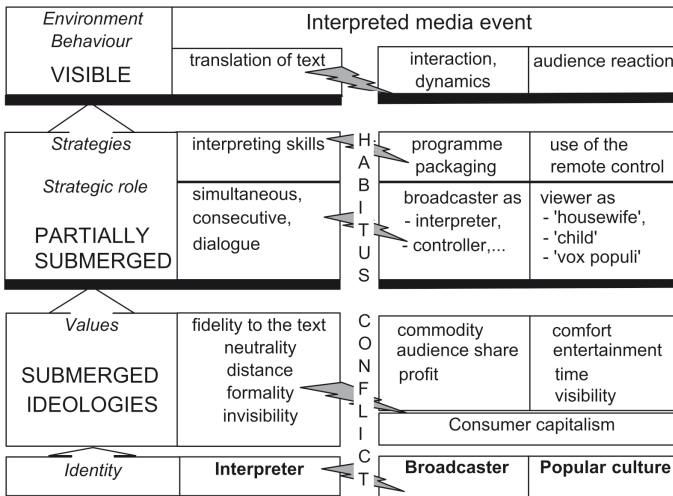
Figure 4.6 The media interpreter and TV habitus

to change the channel, and to the consequent repercussions in terms of audience share.

Clearly, to be a successful professional interpreter on Italian talk shows, the hierarchy of values must also embrace those of this particular TV habitus. Many will see this habitus as a threat to professionalism (see Pym 2000), while others will understand the opportunities available in *combining* the traditional sets of values with their developing abilities as performers. As successful mediators, they will be able to choose when entertainment needs will override those of fidelity, and when the opposite will also be true. See Figure 4.6.

Notes

1 These concepts were originally discussed by Kluckhohn between 1950 and 1953. The original article is reprinted in Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961).
2 For a discussion of other work on Attribution, see Selby (1975) and Lalljee (1987).

5   Language and culture

The aim in this chapter is to:

- Identify the links between language and culture;
- Introduce Malinowski's contexts of situation and culture;
- Discuss the Sapir–Whorf Hypothesis (strong and weak, lexical and grammatical versions);
- Discuss political correctness in terms of language and culture;
- Develop the idea of categorization;
- Discuss lexical gaps, borrowing and coining.

5.1 Contexts of situation and culture

Anthropologists were pioneers in the study of culture. In its infancy, the discipline was certainly ethnocentric, focussing on what were seen as 'exotic', ' uncivilized' or 'primitive' cultures. In 1911, Franz Boas, a German and one of the fathers of modern Anthropology, discussed the links between language, thought and primitive culture. Boas felt that language was not in itself a barrier to thought, but that there was a dynamic relationship between language, culture and thought. His key point was succinctly put as follows: "the form of the language will be moulded by the state of that culture" (Boas 1986 [1911]:7). More than a century later, his thoughts are still very relevant, and it is to him that we owe the term 'cultural relativism'. In her Preface to the book *Culture Bound: Bridging the Cultural Gap in Language Teaching*, Valdes (1986:1) stated: "his work inspired a generation of anthropologists and sociologists before the applied linguists took up the subject of the effect of culture on language and vice versa". Like Boas, Bronislaw Malinowski, who was Polish, was also a founding father of Anthropology and an outsider (Eriksen and Nielsen 2013:48). Both men were also interested in language, albeit that of the 'primitive' cultures. Malinowski coined the terms 'context of situation' and 'context of culture', and noted that a language could only be fully understood – that is, have meaning – when these two contexts (situation and culture) were implicitly or explicitly clear to the interlocutors. He

actually coined the term 'context of culture' in his 1935 work (Malinowski 1935:18), but, as the 1938 republication of his original 1923 paper illustrates, he was already discussing the meaning of language in terms of a wider context of culture: "language is essentially rooted in the reality of the culture …it cannot be explained without constant reference to these broader contexts of verbal utterance" (1938 [1923]:305).

He studied the inhabitants of the Trobriand Islands and their language (Kiriwina). Given their overt exoticness, he was able to realize how much would be lost if he translated Kiriwina conversations into English with no contextualization. Most importantly, he realized that he would need to add a commentary to make explicit what was implicit for the Trobrianders. Below is his first, word-for-word translation of a native monologue:

Tsakaulo	kaymatana	yakida;	tawoulo	ovanu;
We run	front-wood	ourselves;	we paddle	in place;
Tasivila	tagine	soda;	isakaulo	ka'u'uya
we turn	we see	companion ours	he runs	rear-wood
Oluvieki	similaveta	Pilolu		
Behind	their sea-arm	Pilolu		

Little sense can be made as the immediate situation of the narrative could not be inferred by the English audience. The English reader could not have understood that the Trobriander was, for example, sitting round with a group of eager listeners, recounting the day's fishing trip; and, in this extract, was talking about guiding the boats home. A version for outsiders might have sounded something like this:

In crossing the sea-arm of Pilolu [between the Trobriands and the Ampphletts], our canoe sailed ahead of the others. When nearing the shore we began to paddle. We looked back and saw our companions still far behind, still on the sea-arm of Pilolu.

More importantly, though, Malinowski realized not only that the immediate environment needed to be clarified for the English, but also that Trobriand traditions and beliefs were encoded in the texts, and were not immediately understandable in translation. These included

the fact that the fishing expedition would finish in a race, and that the speaker here was evidently boasting. Only when these two factors were taken into account could the texts be said to have meaning. First, knowing that the speaker was now explaining a race, the term *kaymatana* (front-wood) becomes a technical term for competitions, as in 'leading canoe', and includes "a specific emotional tinge comprehensible only against the background of their tribal psychology in ceremonial life, commerce and enterprise" (Malinowski 1938 [1923]:301). To understand something of this emotional tinge, we could refer to a more recent equivalent where speed is of the essence. Harry Potter (in the film *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*; Columbus 2001), still unaware of the Hogwarts context of culture, receives a state-of-the-art competition witch's broomstick. It is his friend Ron who becomes emotional on realizing that it is a leading broomstick that will help Harry win the all-important Quidditch school games:

HARRY: It's a broomstick…
RON: That's not just a broomstick, Harry. It's a Nimbus 2000!

(Columbus 2001:n.p.)

The emotional tinge in the Malinowski example is in "*tawoulo ovanu*" ("we paddle in place"). This signals the fact that the sail is lowered as shallow water is reached and is used metaphorically to mean that the race is all but over.

Though Malinowski was primarily an anthropologist, he offered much more insight into the role of language in producing meaning than his fellow linguists. Indeed, Lyons (1981:16, emphasis in the original) points out: "There have been times in the recent past, notably in America in the period between 1930 and the end of the 1950s, when *linguistic semantics*, – the study of meaning in language – was very largely neglected". The reasons were due to the linguists' focus on the technical level of language: the word and how words combined (syntax). Meaning, of course, is highly subjective, changeable and indeed vague, hardly a subject for technicians. The word 'meaning' itself is open to a number of different definitions (Lyons 1981:30–31). Semantic meaning may be part of formal culture, but 'the meaning' in the sense of what the interlocutor understands is part of the informal culture – and therefore was even less regarded as worthy of study. Translation, too, suffered in the same way. It was largely taught, not in terms of meaning, but as a behaviourist grammar-translation activity.

'Context' began to receive more attention in 1933 when the American linguist Leonard Bloomfield (1984 [1933]) published *Language*. He

drew on Behavioural Psychology for his understanding of meaning, which he illustrated with Jack and Jill. The example, summarized here, is as follows. Jill spies an apple tree. She makes a noise with her larynx, tongue and lips, and the obedient Jack vaults the fence, climbs the tree, takes the apple, brings it to her and places it in her hand. So, according to Bloomfield, meaning depends on "the situation in which the speaker utters it and the response which it calls forth in the hearer" (1984 [1933]:139). The definition of meaning in later developments such as Pragmatics is quite similar: "meaning is a matter of what effect the speaker intends to produce in the hearer by making an utterance" (Goatley 2005:668). The social background is important for Bloomfield (1984 [1933]:23), though he does not actually mention culture and its effect on the act of speech: "The occurrence of speech … and the wording of it … and the whole course of practical events before and after [the act of speech], depend upon the entire life-history of the speaker and of the hearer".

Sapir, on the other hand, an anthropologist like Malinowski, and also a student under Boas, was convinced not only of the importance of the social background but also that Language Studies in the future would turn to a 'concept of culture'. He introduced his essay on 'Language, Race and Culture' (1963 [1921]:207) with these words: "Language has a setting … language does not exist apart from culture". In Britain, the linguist J.R. Firth developed a number of Malinowski's ideas, but limited himself to the concept of a context of situation.

According to Halliday and Hasan (1991:9), the importance of a cultural framework in Linguistics was not extensively studied until 30 years later with Hymes' work and his definition of the ethnography of communication in 1962. This led to a renewal of interest in the different ways in which language is used in different cultures. Hymes (1974:4) dedicated one of his books in memory of Edward Sapir and pointed to the importance of examining cultural values and beliefs for their bearing on communicative events. Nowadays the view that meaning in communication is context-, if not culture-bound, is axiomatic in Pragmatics, Semiotics, Intercultural Communication and Translation Studies, among other disciplines (e.g. House 2016; Tymoczko 2014 [2007]; Wierzbicka 2003). Indeed, one of the axioms of Semiotics and Linguistics is that the meaning of a sign/language expression is arbitrarily assigned according to context, and is therefore bound by culture and situation.

Halliday, a former pupil of Firth, takes up Malinowski's notions of context of situation and context of culture. However, like Firth, it is the context of situation that he explained in detail, not the context of culture. Halliday and Hasan (1991) explain why below:

We have not offered, here, a separate linguistic model of the context of culture; no such thing yet exists … But in describing the context of situation, it is helpful to build in some indication of the cultural background and the assumptions that have to be made if the text is to be interpreted – or produced – in the way … the system intends.

(Halliday and Hasan 1991:47)

The Logical Levels Model discussed earlier should go some way towards clarifying the factors (linguistic and non-linguistic) involved in the cultural background.

Two of the most vigorous exponents of the role of culture in language were, of course, Sapir and his pupil Whorf. It is a testimony to their ground-breaking and controversial ideas that they are still discussed today. The Sapir–Whorf Hypothesis has an obligatory place in all contemporary textbooks that touch upon the subject, even though the hypothesis was first published before the Second World War. Indeed, the hypothesis takes centre stage in the award-winning 2016 sci-fi film *Arrival* in the quest to understand how to communicate with the aliens:

IAN DONNELLY: If you immerse yourself into a foreign language, then you can actually rewire your brain.
LOUISE BANKS: Yeah, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. It's the theory that the language you speak determines how you think and…
IAN DONNELLY: Yeah, it affects how you see everything.

(Villeneuve 2016:n.p.)

The next sections look at the theories of Sapir and Whorf and how they can help contribute to the discussion on the context of culture.

5.2 The Sapir–Whorf Hypothesis

Wittgenstein (1994:25, emphasis in the original) famously said, "That the world is *my* world, shows itself in the fact that the limits of that language (*the* language I understand) mean the limits of *my* world". In this section we will focus on those limits, as we discuss the even more well-known Sapir–Whorf Hypothesis.

Sapir (1929:214), as mentioned earlier, like Malinowski, was convinced that language could only be interpreted within a culture. However, he went further, suggesting that "no two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not

merely the same world with different labels." This well-known quotation forms part of what is loosely known as the Sapir–Whorf Hypothesis, of which there have traditionally been two versions: the strong and the weak. In the strong view, language actually determines the way the language user thinks, which would suggest, for example, that bilinguals would automatically change their view of the world as they change language. This view has few supporters today. Steven Pinker in *The Language Instinct* is adamantly critical of the theory: "The idea that thought is the same thing as language is an example of a conventional absurdity: a statement that goes against all common sense" (Pinker 2010:57). Most researchers, from cognitive psychologists (e.g. Andrade and May 2004:170) to translation scholars, agree that the strong version is unsustainable. It would mean, as Hatim and Mason (2013 [1990]:29) point out, that people, hence translators and interpreters too, would be "prisoners" of their native language and would be "incapable of conceptualizing in categories other than those of our native tongue. It is now widely recognized that such a view is untenable".

Halliday (1992:65) would also not call himself a supporter of this strong version of the hypothesis, though he does state that "grammar creates the potential within which we act and enact our cultural being. This potential is at once both enabling and constraining: that is, grammar makes meaning possible and also sets limits on what can be meant". This weak version of the Sapir–Whorf theory has many more supporters in Anthropology, Linguistics and Translation Studies. For example, R.J. Reddick (1992:214), in an essay in honour of the linguist Robert E. Longacre, states: "We cannot foreground reality in discourse unless we have unmediated access to it, and we never do. Our perceptions are always mediated by our assumptions, our beliefs, and, in fact, by the language we speak".

Supporters of the weak version suggest that language is one of the factors that limit or distort our understanding of reality. Hatim and Mason (2013 [1990]:105), for example, state: "languages differ in the way they perceive and partition reality [which] creates serious problems for the translator". Yet our understanding of this relationship has not really developed much since Malinowski. Indeed, a review of the film *Arrival* (Villeneuve 2016), by a senior linguist at the Smithsonian Institution, Ives Goddard, concludes "that the film offers a thought-provoking example of how integral language is to our lives – and yet how little we know about how it works, even today. It's not really about aliens … It's about us" (cited in Panko 2016). According to the Logical Levels Model, what makes us all aliens for other cultures is, as Reddick suggests, our differing core beliefs and values.

We will now focus on how language does influence our perception and look in a little more depth at what Sapir and Whorf actually had to say, particularly about lexis.

5.3 Lexis

- Lexical labels
- An example: political correctness
- Categorization
- Lexical and conceptual gaps

Sapir and Whorf differed in their understanding of the term 'language'. For Sapir, at least in his early years, the key to cultural reality was in the lexicon. As far as he was concerned, language was a case of labelling lexis, and behind that label was a different reality rather than simply a different label. As mentioned earlier, how far this is true is still a subject of discussion. One early study on lexical labels was carried out by Rogelio Diaz-Guerrero and Lorand Szalay (1991:24–25). They interviewed 100 Mexican and 100 North American college students and asked them to make a list of words they associated with a head-word, or what they called "stimulus themes", such as 'equality' and 'the United States'. The "rather lengthy response lists are particularly informative in revealing what a particular group feels is important, what they pay attention to, what they feel sensitive about, and what they are collectively predisposed to overlook and ignore". Below (Figure 5.1) is their 1991 'semantograph' of Mexican and American responses to the labels 'United States' and '*Estados Unidos*'.

The results show that the 'psycho-cultural distance' between the labels 'United States' and '*Estados Unidos*' represented different realities. For the North Americans, 'United States' had a fairly technical meaning in terms of 'states' and 'America'; and there was also a strong feeling of love and patriotism. For the Mexicans, '*Estados Unidos*' was anything but technical. The lexical item cued historic frames of exploitation and war, as well as comparative frames with their perception of their present context of culture. Then, and indeed now, '*Estados Unidos*' represents what Mexico does not have: money, wealth, power and development. Maps of the world, for the lexicon at least, are culture-specific. Accounting for these differences in meaning, as we discussed in 'Beliefs (Why)' (Chapter 4.5), should be part of the remit of a translator, interpreter or cultural mediator.

More recently, Lomas (2018) has discussed how lexical differences between languages demonstrate how different cultures map the

UNITED STATES

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS

▬▬ by Americans   ▬▬ by Mexicans

AMERICA / STATES   EXPLOITATION / WAR

LOVE   MONEY
PATRIOTISM   WEALTH

GOVERNMENT   POWER
POLITICS   CULTURE

FREEDOM
JUSTICE   PEOPLE   PROGRESS
UNION   GRINGOS   DEVELOPMENT

                        COUNTRY
                        CULTURE
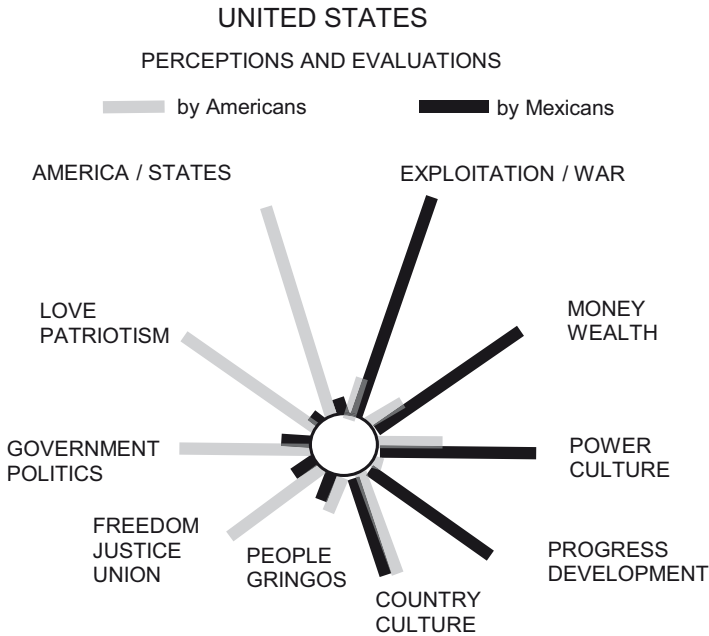
Figure 5.1 Perceptions and evaluations of 'United States'

experiential world differently. Lomas focusses on well-being across cultures and scans a number of multilingual concepts relating to three broad areas: feelings, relationships and development. He notes that comparison of apparently equivalent terms in different languages (e.g. 'love' and its German cognate '*liebe*') may show an overlapping similarity, but not necessarily an identical meaning nor exactly the same associated experiences (as we pointed out in Chapter 3). More importantly, Lomas provides a number of other culture-specific examples (e.g. the Japanese concepts '*wabi-sabi*' [acceptance of transience, passage of time, and imperfection], '*mono no aware*' [empathy towards things, transience of things] and '*yūgen*' [elegance and grace, subtlety, mysterious sense of beauty]) which show that some cultures identify and name experiences and aesthetic values which other cultures do not label, or at least not in the same manner. This does not mean that people whose cultures do not have exact terms for such notions are unable to experience or long for them, but the naming makes such experiences, desires or values more recognizable and more accessible, and allows the relevant cultural groups to develop a more sophisticated understanding of these concepts (Lomas 2018:16). The value of such culture-specific or untranslatable words (see 5.3.3 'Lexical and conceptual gaps') is twofold:

(a) they can help us understand and articulate experiences with which we may already be vaguely familiar but for which we lack a corresponding concept; and

(b) they can lead us to seek out and cultivate new experiences, with the possibility of expanding and enriching our existential horizons.

(Lomas 2018:1)

5.3.1 Political correctness

However, we do not have to travel to two different languages to see how the lexicon channels thought. In the nineteenth century, an English editor, Thomas Bowdler (1853), published an expurgated edition of the works of Shakespeare. He felt that Shakespeare's use of language was at times offensive to the reader, so he expurgated, as his book title explains "those words and expressions … which cannot with propriety be read aloud in a family". Since then, the term 'to bowdlerize' has denoted the attempt to remove or substitute language deemed to be indecent; that is, language that might offend. Those who are convinced of the effectiveness of this approach believe that using a euphemism, or leaving implicit an explicit word, will direct the reader to think in a different way.

More recently there has been a great deal of bowdlerizing in different parts of the world under the guise of bias-free language, or politically correct (PC) language; and this necessarily affects the acceptability of a translation, and raises questions about the role of the translator/interpreter. The target is not so much 'decency' as 'sensitivity', and creates an ethical problem for translators (Hermans 2009:93). The aim of the PC movement is, according to Bryson (2016:502), "to make language less wounding or demeaning to those whose sex, race, physical condition or circumstances leave them vulnerable to the raw power of words". The PC view is that if an evaluative or offensive word is replaced with a standard or technical term, then the evaluation or the offence is also removed, as illustrated by the newspaper article reproduced below.

Independent, Saturday 24 January 2015
Rose Troup Buchanan

THOUSANDS SIGN PETITION ASKING GOOGLE TO REMOVE HOMOPHOBIC SLURS FROM TRANSLATION SERVICE

Nearly 40,000 people have signed a petition requesting Google amend its new translate service so it no longer includes homophobic slurs.

The online petition, started by campaigning group All Out, has reached 37,833 people since its launch last week.

Typing in the word 'homosexual' had brought up pejorative nouns such as 'faggot' and 'poof'.

The petition explains that Google is "listening out" for feedback following the launch of the improved service, which offers written translations of 90 languages, last week.

Since the petition's launch, Google have amended their service – which it claims is used by 500 million people – so that it no longer includes the slurs.

In a statement released to Gay Star News, the company said: As soon as we were informed that some of our translations for certain terms were serving inappropriate results, we immediately worked to fix the issue.

"We apologize for any offense this has caused people. Our systems produce translations automatically based on existing translations on the web, so we appreciate when users point out issues such as this."

Source: www.independent.co.uk/life-style/gadgets-and-tech/
thousands-sign-petition-asking-google-remove-homophobic-slurs-
translation-service-10000343.html

Some examples of the types of changes being sought are outlined in the style guide for academic writing produced by The Open University (2008) in England. The guide dedicates two pages to language style and a further 17 pages to writing which

aims to create the conditions whereby people are treated solely on the basis of their merits, abilities and potential, regardless of gender, colour, ethnic or national origin, age, socio-economic background, disability, religious or political beliefs, family circumstance, sexual orientation, or other irrelevant distinction.

(The Open University 2008: 4)

The Open University, according to its official publication, is convinced that "language reflects and enshrines the values and prejudices of the society in which it has evolved, and is a powerful means of perpetuating them" (The Open University 2008:4). Some of the areas specifically covered with regard to political correctness are listed in the box below.

• **age "Language is a powerful method of structuring attitudes about old age"**

Words to avoid
mutton dressed as lamb
dirty old man
old fogey, old codger, old dear
old folk
the elderly

• **cultural diversity**

Words to avoid	*Words to use*
non-white, coloured	words denoting ethnic origin: e.g. African-American, Black American, etc.
Red Indian	Native American
Eskimo	Inuit

• **disability**

Words to avoid	*Words to use*
X is a polio victim	X has polio
the disabled	disabled people
mental handicap	people with learning difficulties
The blind/visually challenged	blind or partially sighted person, person with little or no sight, visual impairment

• **gender**

Words to avoid	*Words to use*
unspecified he/she	s/he, he or she, they
modifiers: e.g. woman doctor	doctor
generic 'man' (noun)	humanity, humankind, human species, human race
man (verb)	operate, staff, work at

Similar guidelines have been published in other parts of the world. Guerrero Salazar (2014), for example, critically reviews a number of guides, guidelines and recommendations that were addressed to the

media in Spain and South America with a view to making the language used to refer to people with disabilities more politically correct. Examples include '*discapacidad*' (disability) instead of '*minusvalía*' (handicap, with an additional literal meaning of 'less value'), '*persona con discapacidad*' (person with a disability) instead of '*discapacitado*' (handicapped or disabled), and '*persona con distrofia muscular*' (person with muscular dystrophy) rather than '*víctima de distrofia muscular*' (victim of muscular dystrophy). She notes that the media have an important role in achieving change: without them such linguistic guidelines have little impact (Guerrero Salazar 2014:279).

Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990:235–238) devote an entire publication to the use of pronouns, and they cite research which establishes that (the English) language is biased against women. The examples they give concern gender-indeterminate nouns and pronouns ('man' as in 'mankind'; 'doctor'; the generic 'he', etc.). Though these are generic words, they generally give rise to thoughts of men rather than women. This, the authors state, gives rise to what they term 'indexical offence'.

Whether or not we have indexical offence, the use of language does affect thought. The first response *is* determined by the language. One only needs to look at a list such as the one supplied below by Bryson (2016:25–26), borrowed from Martin Montgomery (1986:178), to see how language takes on meaning within a culture and tends to condition our thoughts. In each paired opposite, there is a difference in connotation:

Master	Mistress
Bachelor	Spinster
Governor	Governess
Courtier	Courtesan

In all cases, these paired sets of words do not simply denote gender differences but power (on the left), and submissiveness and inconsequence (on the right). As Montgomery (1986:178) says, reflecting on the same gender pairing, "It is striking … that words associated with women should be consistently downgraded in this way. Such a tendency lends support to the claim that English, at least, is systematically skewed to represent women as the 'second sex'."

Though publications are now very careful to be technically politically correct, (unconscious?) slip-ups occur, belying the fact that adhering to correct in-house style has little to do with a writer's actual mental model of the world. The following examples from the *Daily*

Express suggest that the underlying assumption is that escorts are usually women and police officers are men:

- "PORT's first victim was Anthony Walgate, 23, a fashion student and part-time male escort…" (*Daily Express*, 24 November 2016)
- "Morgan was duly asked to report to the local police station and there he was interviewed by two female police officers at 4.45 a.m on January 13, the day after the murder." (*Daily Express*, 22 December 2016)

Google Translate, moreover, still mindlessly translates according to the dominant norm. Kayser-Bril (2020:n.p.) found the following results:

Language direction	Term	Meaning	Google Translate
German–Spanish	*vier Historikerinnen und Historiker*	four male and female historians	*cuatro historiadores* (four male historians)
German–Italian	*Die Präsidentin*	the female president	*il presidente* (male president)
German–French	*Der Krankenpfleger*	the male nurse	*l'infirmière* (female nurse)

Established novelists, such as Mark Twain, have had their original texts curtailed as part of an intralingual translation for a new audience (see extract from an article in *The New York Times* below).

The New York Times, 6 January 2011
Michiko Kakutani

"All modern American literature," Ernest Hemingway once wrote, "comes from one book by Mark Twain called 'Huckleberry Finn'." Being an iconic classic, however, hasn't protected "Adventures of Huckleberry Finn" from being banned, bowdlerized and bleeped. It hasn't protected the novel from being cleaned up, updated and "improved."

  A new effort to sanitize "Huckleberry Finn" comes from Alan Gribben, a professor of English at Auburn University, at Montgomery, Alabama, who has produced a new edition of Twain's novel that replaces the word "nigger" with "slave." Nigger, which appears in the book more than 200 times, was a common racial epithet in the ante-bellum South, used by Twain as part of his characters' vernacular

speech and as a reflection of mid-19th-century social attitudes along the Mississippi River.

Mr. Gribben has said he worried that the N-word had resulted in the novel falling off reading lists, and that he thought his edition would be welcomed by schoolteachers and university instructors who wanted to spare "the reader from a racial slur that never seems to lose its vitriol." Never mind that today nigger is used by many rappers, who have reclaimed the word from its ugly past. Never mind that attaching the epithet slave to the character Jim – who has run away in a bid for freedom – effectively labels him as property, as the very thing he is trying to escape. …

Source: www.nytimes.com/2011/01/07/books/07huck.html

Enid Blyton's *Noddy* children's books, written in 1949 (and immensely popular in Britain), had to go through a number of rewrites after the end of the 1980s. To counter criticisms of sexism in their animated series, the BBC introduced a character called Dinah Doll to Toy Town. She was "a black, assertive, ethnic minority female" (BBC 1999:n.p.). The character Big Ears became White Beard, and Mr. Plod the policeman became Officer Plod (for the American market). The most important rewrite, though, involved the deletion of one of the principal characters, a loveable soft black-faced doll, named Gollywog. He had to go, because part of his name, 'wog', connotes "a black or dark-skinned person or an immigrant who does not speak English" (BBC 1999:n.p.). However, "Pleasing every sensitivity is often difficult. When the Golliwogs became goblins in 1989, protests were received from Scandinavian countries who believed their trolls were being insulted" (BBC 1999:n.p.). A story in the *Daily Telegraph* offered the following thoughts on the matter:

Eradicating certain words from fiction does not mean that the feelings they reflect in the real world cease to exist. Children nowadays are described as having learning difficulties and what has happened? Other children have started to refer to them as 'LDs,' which is no different from calling them 'morons' or 'spastics' is it?
(*Daily Telegraph*, 3 March 1995)

Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990:247) would certainly agree that neutral words take on their own connotations. They describe the attempt to find a PC equivalent of 'Mr' for women. The problem that needed solving was that there is a sexual connotation (or meta-message) of 'unavailable' with 'Mrs' and 'available' with 'Miss'. The solution was the technical 'Ms'. However, like all technical words used informally,

there is a meta-message. Leaper (2014), in a chapter in *The Oxford Handbook of Language and Social Psychology*, notes that research on the use of 'Ms' reveals both positive and not-so-positive findings. While the title 'Ms' is now commonly accepted in mainstream English language usage and contributes to reducing gender bias, there is research showing that, for some younger women at least, 'Ms' is used for single women who are over the age appropriate for 'Miss'. Paradoxically, the author notes, if this view became common, the technical term that was a neutral solution would define women not only in terms of their relation to men (marital status), but also in terms of age (Leaper 2014:65).

In Anglo-Saxon countries in particular, the idea that language should not offend or demean (particularly with regard to gender, race, appearance or behaviour) is basically accepted, even if the conservative press complains about the extreme applications. Back in the 1990s, Halliday (1992) noted that:

> We [in Australia] have a Scientific Commission on Language and Sex to deal with the situation (and note in this connection that it is *assumed* that by working with language you can change social reality, which makes sense only if you accept that reality is construed in language).
>
> (Halliday 1992:72, emphasis in original)

Diversity Council Australia (DCA) promotes inclusion in the workplace "with a focus on individuals that have been historically disadvantaged or under-represented in the labour market" (Diversity Council Australia 2018:1), such as women and minority ethnic groups. The DCA *Words at Work* guide, for instance, stresses the importance of language in creating a healthy work environment where everybody is valued, and nobody is discriminated against. Interestingly, the guide states: "Inclusive language is not about being 'politically correct' – it is about using language which is respectful, accurate, and relevant to everyone" (Diversity Council Australia 2016:5). Many Australian universities, local governments, and companies also have an 'inclusive language guide', a 'watch your language guide' or a similar reference document. ABC (2018:n.p.), for instance, reported that Qantas had been "in the headlines for forwarding a Diversity Council of Australia recommendation, suggesting staff think about gendered language used each day such as 'mum' and 'dad' in favour of gender-neutral terms such as 'parents'". Tony Abbott, the former Australian Prime Minister, was reported in the same article as saying that this was "political correctness that's gone way over the top".

There are a number of important points to be made here with regard to lexical choice, culture and cross-cultural communication. First, surface lexical choice clearly does influence thought. Second, surface

structure does not necessarily mirror underlying thought. Third, what is most interesting about the PC phenomenon is not the debate itself, but the fact that it is treated in different ways in different cultures. Fourth, as in any other respect, cultures, societies and languages are dynamic and may evolve towards more or less political correctness.

In relation to the third point, cultures, countries and even local communities vary in terms of understanding, awareness and/or implementation of politically correct language. In less democratic countries, 'political correctness' is understood in the literal sense of the word 'political': There is more awareness and caution in relation to how people refer to political leaders or the regime than in relation to ethnic, religious or gender groups. In some democratic countries such as Italy there is still "great resistance towards language changes and implementation of non-sexist recommendations to erase gender discrimination" (Leonardi 2017:27). As Tobias Jones (2003:118) explains to his British readers: "It quickly becomes clear that Italy is the land that feminism forgot". In South Africa, the post-Apartheid era brought with it heightened awareness of language and discrimination, and a number of laws intended to leave behind a long history of racial abuse – both verbal and non-verbal. However,

> there are still many enclaves in the country where racism goes unchallenged. Thousands of schools, for reasons of class and economy, are not yet multiracial, and there is little doubt that racist terms and prejudices are still acquired at home and at school in those places.
>
> (de Klerk 2011:43)

The United States is where the PC phenomenon had its origins (Esposito 2019:4–5) and where it was felt most. More than anything else, this demonstrates Sapir's main point that there are different realities behind different languages. As mentioned earlier, these must be mediated if translators are not to offend (or bemuse) their readers or editors.

The Washington Post, 14 December 2017
Simona Siri

Simona Siri is an Italian freelance journalist based in New York. …
    Having a misogynist running the country has repercussions. And no, I am not talking about the United States and President Trump. I am talking about my own country, Italy, where having the notoriously sexist Silvio Berlusconi in power for more than 20 years, on and off, is showing its effects – largely in the very different and disturbing way the #MeToo movement has played out in Italy. Very few women have

come forward, and men have faced few consequences. More alarming is the fact that in Italy no politician has been implicated – nor any high-profile writer, CEO, doctor, TV personality or journalist.

Right now, the climate in the two countries could not seem farther apart. In the United States, there is a widespread sense that the country is experiencing a fundamental shift in terms of power dynamics between men and women in the workplace. In Italy, the #QuellaVoltaChe movement (the equivalent of #MeToo – it means "that time that") generated 20,000 tweets in the first week and a lot of discussion online. Then it quietly was buried among the topics that no one really wants to address. …

Source: www.washingtonpost.com/news/global-opinions/wp/2017/12/14/the-metoo-movements-disturbing-failure-in-italy/

The United States is probably the best example of the social and linguistic dynamism mentioned in the fourth point above. Donald Trump, for example, was well known for unleashing his politically incorrect language and lexical repertoire against ethnic and religious groups (e.g. Muslims, South American migrants), political opponents (e.g. Hillary Clinton, protesters against his rallies), and the media (e.g. CNN), among others. Esposito and Finley's (2019) volume, conveniently entitled *Political Correctness in the Era of Trump*, shows both the societal and ideological currents aiding the rise of the Trump phenomenon and the major impact his unrestrained discourse (and policies) has had on American values, social cohesion and public discourse. In the Introduction, Esposito (2019:4) notes that "the deep antipathy against PC that currently exists in the U.S" contributed to Trump's victory, which suggests that his rise to power was a consequence rather than a cause of the societal change in beliefs and discourse. At the same time, the figure of a president who uses racist and demeaning language can also break the 'discourse ceiling'; that is, create a cultural environment where discursive abuse is tolerated and more common. Indeed, there are trends which suggest that Trump's discourse emboldened some Americans not only at the level of language but also in terms of behaviour: "hate crimes reached a 5 year high in 2016, spiking towards the end of the year, soon after Trump's presidential victory" (Esposito 2019:15). Trump's mandate will be remembered for the Black Lives Matter protests – the result of viral footage of the behaviour of a white police officer killing an unarmed Black man.

5.3.2 Categorization

One fundamental aspect of Sapir's theory is that of categorization. Though not all writers agree with the Sapir–Whorf Hypothesis, it is

generally accepted that we do organize our perception so that we put what we see into a predefined category. For example, when looking at something for the first time in a shop window, we are able to say, "Look at that chair. Isn't it unusual?" Thus, it is possible to talk about the unusualness of something never seen before. This leads us to the importance of expectations, which have already been discussed in Chapter 3 in terms of frames and prototypes.

Sherlock Holmes was a master in categorization. On watching a woman hesitating outside his front door from his upstairs window, Holmes casually mentions to Watson: "I have seen those symptoms before. Oscillation upon the pavement always means an *affaire de Coeur*" (Conan Doyle n.d.:n.p). Without this skill he would have lost most of his clients. Later, linguists formalized this cognitive ability, as in Abelson and Black (1986), who state:

> A fundamental supposition throughout our work is that knowledge is schematised, that is, organised in chunks or packages so that, given a little bit of situational context, the individual has available many likely inferences on what might happen next in a given situation.
>
> (Abelson and Black 1986:1)

According to Psychology professor Edward Smith (1990:33–34), categorization is paramount: "We are forever carving nature at its joints, dividing it into categories so that we can make sense of the world … Coding by category is fundamental to human life because it greatly reduces the demands of perceptual processes." George Lakoff (1987:5) devotes his book, subtitled *What Categories Reveal about the Mind,* to the subject: "Categorisation is not to be taken lightly; there is nothing more basic than categorisation to our thought, perception, action, and speech".

But there is a fundamental distinction to be made between categorizing or labelling referential meanings, and labelling where culture is involved. Both Lakoff and Pinker agree that the categorization of snow in the Sapir–Whorf debate is a red herring:

> Possibly the most boring thing a linguistics professor has had to suffer … is the interminable discussion of the 22 (or however many) words for snow in Eskimo.
>
> (Lakoff 1987:308)

> No discussion of language and thought would be complete without the Great Eskimo Vocabulary Hoax. Contrary to popular belief, the Eskimos do not have more words for snow than do speakers of English. They do not have four hundred words for snow, as it has been claimed in print, or two hundred, or one hundred, or forty-eight, or even nine.
>
> (Pinker 2010:64)

The origin of the hoax makes for fascinating reading. What is more important is that categorization at this level is technical. 'Snow' is a categorization of the environment. This, in Dilts' hierarchy, is the lowest level, and as such has little influence on higher levels of values and beliefs.

Those who spend the winter months skiing will have a higher number of special words for snow. This fact will not make the skiers see the world in general any differently; though, as with any technical specialization, they will differentiate types of snow – and ski accordingly. Labelling (in the literal sense) of packets in supermarkets is another example of categorization at the level of environment. For example, traditional durum wheat 'spaghetti' in Britain is usually labelled, "Italian spaghetti". In Italy, the same type of spaghetti is further categorized according to diameter. Barilla, for example, organize their spaghetti line as follows: from the thinnest number 1, 2 or 3, *spaghettini*, to the thicker no. 5, *spaghetti*; then on to no. 7, *spaghettoni*, up to size 13.

A change in labelling becomes more important when it is, to use Lakoff's words, conceptual – that is, when higher Logical Levels (beliefs and values) are involved. We have already noted that 'United States' is conceptually different to *Estados Unidos*. Similarly, categorizations such as 'good manners', 'unethical' or 'fashionable' will vary across cultures, and different labels will include similar, overlapping or different concepts. Most of the examples in the following chapters regarding cross-cultural meaning and translation focus on different conceptual labels.

5.3.3 Lexical and conceptual gaps

Apart from different ways of categorizing what is seen, such as 'snow', 'spaghetti', and the 'United States', languages can actually lack the concept itself. Examples of words from different languages which have no conceptual equivalent in English are listed in the box below. Bryson (1991:4) suggests, "we must borrow the terms from them or do without the sentiment":

French	*sang-froid*	composure, self-possession in a difficult moment
German	*schadenfreude*	delight in another's misfortune
Hindi	कर्मका (*karma*)	(basically) belief that your actions determine your fate
Spanish	*macho*	exhibiting pride in demonstrating typically masculine characteristics: prowess in strength, sex…

The concepts above are now part of the English language. Other categorized concepts, such as those below, for the moment, the English language does without.

Arabic	(tarab) طرب	rapture or enchantment as a result of either joy or sadness, usually associated with music
Danish	*Hygge*	instantly satisfying and cosy
Xhosa	*Ubuntu*	compassion, reciprocity, dignity, harmony and humanity

It is thanks mainly to the translation practitioners who decide to adopt 'loan' or 'retention' procedures that these terms enter the target language (for procedures, see Gottlieb 1997; Pedersen 2011; Ranzato 2015; Scarpa 2020. See also our Chapter 8 on chunking). Not all, however, are happy with borrowing. A number of countries have academies whose job it is to keep a check on language imports, and periodically recommend their own national or transnational labels. The Académie française, the Real Academia Española and several language academies in the Arab World are cases in point. A translator or interpreter would be wise to check the current political mood of the (national, corporate and any other) culture being translated into, and respect the preferences of that reality.

Also, as many who are concerned about Anglo-American hegemony note, other languages throughout the world are borrowing English to such an extent that many local people are feeling cut off from their own language-culture and suffer from 'epistemicide' (Bennett 2007). Kowner and Rosenhouse (2008:12–13) provide three broad motives for this borrowing activity:

1) "Need to coin new terminology and concepts": in a world where English-speaking countries, especially the United States, are leading

technological and scientific advances and where "80% of Internet sites are in English" (2008:6), it is understandable that speakers of other languages find it more convenient to use English loanwords than wait for new terms to be coined in their own language.

2) "Tendency to emulate a dominant group": communities tend to linguistically and culturally imitate other communities which are politically or economically dominant to gain prestige (see also Bryson 1991:174; Sayahi 2014:125; Yelenevskaya 2008:106).

3) "Tendency to create a special jargon in closed groups": this is usually the case for professionals such as doctors or engineers. An English-based jargon can also be used by certain classes (e.g. the educated) or age groups (e.g. young people) as a sign of group identity or prestige.

English, on the other hand, tends to invent (though this is usually a last resort for traditional translation). The English lexico-grammar system lends itself to the short and simple. The coining of new words from old is common, particularly in American English. The first settlers to America literally invented new compound words from old ones, partly to categorize aspects of their new environment unseen or rare in England. Below are some compound examples, sewing together two familiar concepts to produce a new one:

> jointworm, glowworm, eggplant, canvasback, copperhead, rattlesnake, bluegrass, backtrack, bobcat, catfish, bluejay, bullfrog, sapsucker, timberland, underbrush.

As Bryson (2016:26) points out, "These new terms had the virtue of directness and instant comprehensibility – useful qualities in a land whose populace included increasingly large numbers of non-native speakers – which their British counterparts often lacked".

The way the American language has developed also reflects a different way of thinking. There is an emphasis on transparency and clarity in the individual words themselves, whereas the British can be more obscure:

US	GB
sidewalk	pavement
eggplant	aubergine
doghouse	kennel

The fact that the English and the Americans feel uncomfortable in each other's linguistic shoes is further testimony to different ways of thinking. Here, for example, is an extract from the very first episode of a UK TV series on Channel 4 (2015) called *Very British Problems* where "Comedians and celebrities talk about the peculiarities of the British psyche" (IMDB 2020:n.p.). Interestingly, the very first programme focusses on "our over-friendly American cousins'" use of "Have a Nice Day" (Channel 4 2015:n.p.). The well-known British actor Nigel Havers replies:

> Have a nice day? I say please … that's up to me to "have a nice day". I don't need *you* to tell me to have one. I'm having a very nasty day at the moment. I don't know how it's going to go but [it's] nothing to do with you!
>
> (Channel 4 2015:n.p)

The success of the Channel 4 series suggests that this out-of-awareness response is shared by those who identify themselves with Britain. It leads us to a discussion of the patterns (and varieties) of language, and how they are related to culture.

5.4 The language system

- Whorf's theory
- An example: advertising
- Interplay between language and culture

Whorf's understanding of the interface between language and culture lay not so much in the lexis (the labelling) but in the underlying patterns. His main interest was in the grammar – or language as a system. According to Mühlhäusler and Harré, Sapir was also moving towards a more grammatical or pattern approach to language in his later writings. They cite the following extract from a Sapir lecture in 1931:

> Language is not merely a more or less systematic inventory of the various items of experience which seem relevant to the individual … but is also a self-contained, creative symbolic organisation, which not only refers to experience largely acquired without its help but actually defines experience for us by reason of its formal completeness.
>
> (Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990:3)

Whorf built on Sapir's later work, and based his theories on the form and the function of language tense systems. He argued that there existed two types of language: temporal and timeless. In Hopi, a Native American language, the tense system is not organized primarily by time, whereas the Indo-European system is. Pinker (2010:63), on the other hand, citing the anthropologist Ekkehart Malotki, argues exactly the opposite. The controversy continues. We are fortunately not particularly concerned with Hopi, but we will find that, within the Indo-European system, the use of language reflects cultural priorities, not only with regard to time but also with regard to every other aspect of the environment. In the next sub-section we will see how the structure of the language itself does have an effect on the translation of certain cultural values.

5.4.1 Advertising

A striking example of how the language system reflects different realities comes from advertising. The linguistic label, or strapline, in an advertisement cannot simply be translated. In fact, few, if any, international marketing strategies have ever been successful using a language-based professional translator for a major campaign or to translate the slogan. Instead, new professions are taking up this demand, such as localizers, transcreators and copywriters (Katan 2016a). All these professions, compared to 'translators', accept the idea that cultures are different, and that the whole text has to be redesigned, because selling the same product to different countries is not the same as selling to the same world with different labels (Séguinot 1995; Munday 2004:208–211; Bassnett 2014:28–29; Sulaiman and Wilson 2019:57–61). The following are some well-known examples of gaffes in the non-transcreation of advertisements:

Translated imports	Origin	Destination	Back-translation
GM slogan: Body by Fisher	US	Belgium	Corpse by Fisher
Come alive with Pepsi	US	Taiwan	Pepsi brings your ancestors back from the grave
Nothing sucks like an Electrolux	Sweden	US	Electrolux is the worst quality/ Electrolux performs outstanding oral sex

Translated imports	Origin	Destination	Back-translation
Parker (ballpen) won't leak in your pocket and embarrass you	US	Mexico	Parker won't leak in your pocket and make you pregnant
KFC finger-lickin' good	US	China	We'll eat your fingers off

Séguinot (1995:58–59) gives a number of examples of other ways to produce advertising gaffes. These have less to do with the translator's skill, but much more to do with his or her control of the design, layout and destination of the final translated text. Pitfalls include automatic hyphenation of electronic texts, nonsensical chopping or shortening of sentences to fit in with layout, and arbitrary selection and use of pictorial material. All of these pitfalls point towards the need for the translator to take a more active part in the process of communicating with the target culture.

A report in the American magazine *Business Week* (25/4/92:32) brought to light a very real problem in communication across cultures. The Nike athletic shoe company wanted to translate their slogan 'Just Do It'. The problem was that the translated slogans did not catch the dynamic feel of 'Just Do It'. Arguably, the worst case was in Japan. The company headhunted a successful Japanese manager, Yukihiro Akimoto, and brought him to America for a four-month immersion in Nike culture and operations. He stopped smoking and began to run. His employees even followed suit:

> But in many respects, Akimoto just didn't get it when it came to the Nike brand. As he was preparing to leave for Tokyo, Knight says, he began presenting Nike executives with possible Japanese translations for 'Just Do It'. One alternative sounds more like 'Hesitation makes Waste'. The Nike team were horrified. "We said 'No! Don't translate it!'"
>
> (*Business Week* 25/4/92)

In Japanese, as *Business Week* points out, the language system cannot create a 'Just Do It' semantic equivalent. However, this is not just a semantic problem. As we have already noted (in Chapter 4.5.2), Japan's competitive advantage is due to long-term thinking, and not to just doing it. So, neither the concept nor the language comes naturally to Japanese culture.

This takes us back to Whorf's (1956) (stronger) version of the Sapir–Whorf Hypothesis:

The background linguistic system (in other words the grammar) of each language is not merely a reproducing instrument for voicing ideas but rather is itself the shaper of ideas, the program and guide for the individual's mental activity, for his analysis of impression, for his synthesis of his mental stock in trade.

(Whorf 1956:212)

More recently, Nike's advertising campaigns in Japan seem to show more successful attempts to grapple with language and cultural differences and use them to convey a 'Just Do It' equivalent. Their *Minohodoshirazu* campaign by Wieden + Kennedy Tokyo relies on the notion of 'place', which is central to the Japanese culture, and reframes an insulting expression into an empowerment slogan:

In Japan, the phrase 'minohodoshirazu' (which translates to "don't know your place"), is typically used as an insult directed at people who are seen as overly ambitious.

However, Nike believes that "not knowing your place"—not placing limits on yourself—is a necessary mind-set for athletes. By combining the idea of minohodoshirazu with Japanese athletes challenging their limits, we wanted to give the phrase a surprising, positive meaning.

We aimed to inspire Japanese youth with Nike's Just Do It spirit by giving them an opportunity to reevaluate and redefine a traditional phrase.

(Wieden + Kennedy 2016:n.p.)

The campaign shows an awareness of the cultural mindset that guides and shapes the audience's interpretations of linguistic signs, and a conscious effort to reframe those signs and interpretations within a context that caters for and promotes the company's brand and culture. As the English subtitles of the advertisement explain, the slogan sets itself against traditional Japanese socialization messages such as "Make today another day of listening to others", "do not stray off your path", "Don't attempt to do things you cannot do" and "Remember your place" to appeal to potential Japanese customers, especially the youth, with footage of "athletes flying in the face of traditional minohodoshirazu" (Wieden + Kennedy 2016:n.p.).

5.4.2 Interplay between language and culture

It is clear that there is a link between language and the context of culture. Indeed, as Eriksen and Nielsen (2013:66), citing Bateson, remarked, "the main problem may be that the [Sapir–Whorf] hypothesis cannot – on some level or other – *not* be true". As Peter Farb

(1973:186–187) says in *Word Play: What Happens When People Talk*, "The true value of Whorf's theories is not the one he worked so painstakingly to demonstrate", but "the close alliance between language and the total culture of speech".

It should also be clear that, at a lexical level, any language can adopt a circumlocution or gloss to explain any concept. Roman Jakobson (2012 [1959]:129) went further in his much-quoted paper 'On Linguistic Aspects of Translation': "Languages differ essentially in what they *must* convey and not in what they *may* convey". However, people (including translators and interpreters) tend not to realize that their own perception (through language) is, in fact, bound by their own culture. And here Pinker actually does agree (2010):

> Finally, culture is given its due, but not as some disembodied ghostly process or fundamental force of nature. 'Culture' refers to the process whereby particular kinds of learning contagiously spread from person to person in a community and minds become coordinated into shared patterns.
>
> (Pinker 2010:57)

And it is to the creation of these shared patterns that we now turn in Chapter 6.

6 Perception and Meta-Model

The aim of this chapter is to:

- Discuss the filters affecting perception of reality;
- Introduce the Meta-Model as a tool for analysing perception and meaning;
- Give practical examples of how language acts as both a means of – and a limitation on – communication.

Two Americans, John Grinder, professor of Linguistics, and Richard Bandler, his student with a particular interest in Cybernetics, were approached by Bateson to model the language of some successful therapists. The result of this project was the Meta-Model (Bandler and Grinder 1975): a model to explain systemically how the therapists used language to enlarge their clients' perception of reality, and how their clients equally used language to limit perception. In his Introduction to their book, Bateson says:

> It is a strange pleasure to write an introduction for this book because John Grinder and Richard Bandler have done something similar to what my colleagues and I attempted fifteen years ago … to create the beginnings of an appropriate theoretical base for the describing of human interaction. [They] have succeeded in making explicit the syntax of how people avoid change and, therefore, how to assist them in changing.
>
> (Bateson 1975)

The thesis proposed in our book is that multicultural communication also involves change and requires a wider perception of reality. Those who require the services of translators and interpreters will need mediators who can, like therapists, assist them in assimilating discourse, spoken or written, from within another context of situation and culture.

Grinder and Bateson followed the same semiotic school of thought: The sign is not the thing itself and the mental map is not the

territory. The originators of the metaphor (according to Bandler and Grinder) were two philosophers. The first was Hans Vaihinger (1924):

> It must be remembered that the object of the world of ideas as a whole is not the portrayal of reality – this would be an utterly impossible task – but rather to provide us with an instrument for finding our way about more easily in the world.
>
> (Vaihinger 1924:159–160)

The second source of the map/territory metaphor was Albert Korzybski (1958:58–60), who was also a scientist, linguist and founder of the Institute for General Semantics in America: "A map is not the territory it represents, but, if correct, it has a similar structure to the territory, which accounts for its usefulness". In any communication, according to this theory, there is a Universal Modelling of reality that functions in the same way as a map.

A mapmaker has to make choices about how much information is to be processed and what aspects need to be highlighted to make the map meaningful and useful. The result is, clearly, deletion of some of the material that is deemed irrelevant for the map. There will also be distortion of the relevant material. For example, roads and landmarks will be made disproportionately large. Their features will also be generalized to fit a standard recognizable pattern in terms of colour, shape and size. Rivers are a standard blue on many maps. On British maps, motorways are a darker blue. On Italian maps, they are green.

We buy different maps according to our need. Walking maps distort the size of the mountain huts. A motorist's map has no huts but identically-sized service stations. Tourist maps represent ruins all of the same shape, larger than the towns or villages they are in; and, for that matter, often more visible on the map than in reality. The rest of the town, countryside or even country will be omitted to highlight what is of interest.

Human representation, like cartographic representation, will always be a scaled-down model of reality, and so the model of the world, like any other model, involves three necessary and basic changes:

- Generalization
- Distortion
- Deletion

Apart from different, individual and culture-bound ways of perceiving, human perception itself distorts and deletes much of what objectively exists in the outside world. We will look first at the various perception filters.
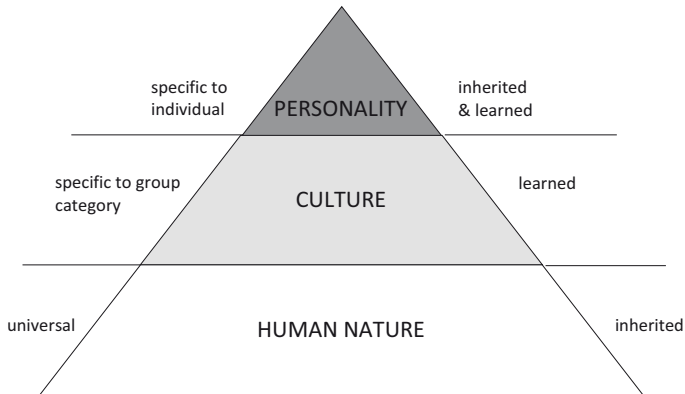
Figure 6.1 Hofstede's perception filters

Hofstede (1991:6) sees perception as involving "three levels of uniqueness in human programming" (Figure 6.1). We will now discuss these three filters, and add a fourth: language.

6.1 Filters

1) Physiological
2) Socialization/culture
3) Individual
4) Language

6.1.1 Filter 1: Physiological

The first level, or filter, is universal. Our only contact with the outside world is through the way we interpret information relayed by our senses. Hall (1982:41) quotes the psychologist Franklin P. Kilpatrick on the perception of space: "We can never be aware of the world as such, but only of … the impingement of physical forces on the sensory receptors". To make matters worse, our sensory receptors are not even the best on the evolutionary market. The rods and cells in our eyes are able to collect information from the visual spectrum, but only from the 380–680 million microns wavelength range, which is only a part of the actual visual field. Unlike nocturnal animals, we cannot, for example, see in the dark; and hence, in common with many languages, we use 'dark' metaphorically for the unknown, the difficult or the dangerous:

In English…

- to be kept in the dark
- to darken with anger
- the darkest hour
- a dark horse
- darkest Africa
- the Dark Ages
- the Dark Lord (evil character in, for example, *Star Wars*, *The Lord of the Rings*, and the Harry Potter series)

Our hearing is equally limited. Our ears do not hear sound above 20,000 cycles per second, but dogs' ears, for example, can. The human world of hearing and vision is a constant limitation. The world of touch, however, is not only limited but is also not a constant. Different areas of skin vary in sensitivity to touch, pressure and pain. For example, our sensitivity to pressure is so acute on the forehead that displacement of air is felt before even the lightest touch. The thick soles of our feet, on the other hand, need a pressure of 250g/mm before the nerves start responding. They are 100 times less sensitive than the forehead. It is, in fact, this variety of filters that helps us make sense of the world and survive within it: the soles of our feet have developed a lack of sensitivity to allow us to walk; and our eyes are more sensitive to daylight than to low light, which complements the body's other daytime needs.

So, as members of the human race, we all select the same limited reality. Most of the time we are not aware of our handicap: it is our world, to which our sensory receptors are perfectly adapted. These are our neurological constraints (Bandler and Grinder 1975:8).

6.1.2 Filter 2: Socialization/culture

However, even after selecting only part of the natural environment to be aware of, our neurologically accessible world is still very large. Accessing everything that is perceivable would lead to severe mental overload. It would, for example, be overbearing to actually process every sound within hearing distance at a party, so the brain unconsciously makes decisions about what to listen to. Selective listening is also called 'the cocktail-party phenomenon' (coined by Cherry in 1953; see Bronkhorst 2015). Consciously, we are able to focus on one conversation, and cancel out others. Unconsciously, we suddenly 'hear' (or foreground), for example, the utterance of our own name. This suggests that there is a pre-attentive stage and "a feedback loop in attentional control, triggering enhancement of to-be-selected input" (Bronkhorst 2015:1465). So, we are primed to take on board a highly

particular and limited selection of the world. The particular perception we have of reality varies from individual to individual, but not at random. There is, in fact, a variety of loosely aggregated groups of people who tend to share the same perceptions. For example, a group of timber merchants walking through a forest will tend to agree on what they are looking at and how to evaluate the forest. Naturally, there may be some discussion over their conclusions, but in contrast with a group of wildlife conservationists (or still-life artists, picnickers or trials bike enthusiasts), there will be remarkable agreement.

Each community of practice, or 'culture', will have a different impression of the same forest because they will select to see, hear and feel different aspects of it according to perceived relevance, which may have little to do with the present environment. This selection is the result of socialization or enculturation; that is, the "informal teaching and learning" a person goes through to become a member of their culture, society or group (Scollon *et al.* 2012:162–163). Following Confucius, we may say that we are all born similar but learn to be different, and to respond differently to the same reality.[1]

6.1.3 Filter 3: Individual

We also, of course, react according to individual identity. Individual constraints depend on the genetic framework we were born with as well as our own unique personal history. In the nature/nurture controversy, both are seen here to affect perception. Even identical twins growing up in the same family will have their own identity, and their own individual reactions to the same environment.

6.1.4 Filter 4: Language

However, it is also through language that we hear and learn about the world. As Halliday (1992:65) explains, language itself construes reality. The introduction to the latest edition of *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (Baker and Saldanha 2020:xxvi) highlights exactly the same belief "that language not only reflects but construes reality". This construction is subject to the Universal Modelling of reality and is modelled to our needs. So, in communicating our understanding of the world, a further filter, language, constrains and distorts reality, as Alice discovered:

> [Humpty Dumpty:] "There's glory for you!"
> "I don't know what you mean by 'glory'," Alice said.
> "I meant, 'there's a nice knock-down argument for you!'"

"But 'glory' doesn't mean 'a nice knock-down argument'," Alice objected.

"When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said in a rather scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean – neither more nor less."

(Carroll 1981:n.p.)

In Chapter 5, we noted that language influences rather than determines thought. However, the language label does determine our first response, just as it did for Alice. In the next section we look at further examples of how the language labels filter the way we think.

6.2 Expectations and mental images

We have already discussed the principles of categorization. Here we will focus on how much we depend on making use of our own internal categorization rather than actually listening to what we hear or reading what we see. Experimental evidence to demonstrate this (at least with regard to our default response) can be found in research carried out by psychologists. One of the first significant results came from the work of the American psychologists Carmichael, Hogan and Walter (Carmichael *et al*. 1932). They conducted an experiment with what they called stimulus figures, to gauge the effect of language on visually perceived form. The stimulus figures they used are reproduced below (Figure 6.2).

They divided volunteers into two groups. In each group, one person described what she or he saw while the other drew what he or she
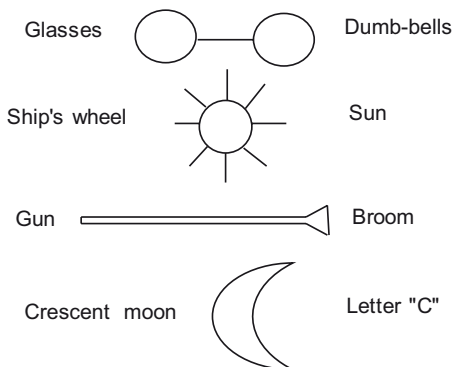
Figure 6.2 The original stimulus figures
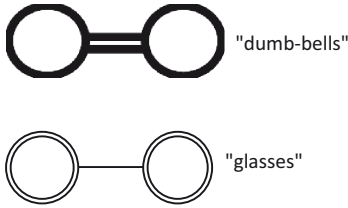
Figure 6.3 The reproduction as dumb-bells and glasses

heard the other describe. The first group was given the symbols with the labels on the left-hand side, while the second group was given the same symbols but with the labels on the right-hand side. The resulting pictures drawn invariably reflected the linguistic label rather than the drawing instructions. For example, the 'dumb-bells' were drawn with a double line between the two circles, while the 'glasses' were drawn with double circles (Figure 6.3).

In all cases, the reproductions were influenced by the linguistic label. This implies that the word which is heard is made to fit a pre-existing image of what, for example, 'dumb-bells' or 'glasses' look like. It is this strategy which makes correction of our own spelling mistakes, and proofreading, such a difficult activity.

Consider the following well-known expressions:

PARIS
IN THE
THE SPRING

ONCE
IN A
A LIFETIME

A BIRD
IN THE
THE HAND

We tend not to see the repetition of the definite and indefinite articles, as the linguistic cue is made to fit an internal lexico-grammatical pattern. We unconsciously take more notice of what we believe should be the

pattern, overriding any actual visible evidence to the contrary. There are many other examples of this in the literature. Kuhn (2012:62–63; also Bandler and Grinder 1975:17) cites one well-known example of an experiment with a pack of playing cards using some anomalous colours, such as a red (instead of a black) six of spades. Without any awareness of the anomaly, the card was immediately fitted by all the subjects to one of the conceptual categories (either spades or hearts) they had learnt through prior experience. With a further increase of exposure to the anomalous cards, subjects did begin to hesitate and show confusion, such as: "I can't make the suit out, whatever it is".

So, sensory signals are encouraged to fit preconceptions, and our general strategy is to use the information gained from the sensory system as a cue for representation, rather than the representation itself. Sperber and Wilson (1995:186), best known for their work on Relevance Theory, suggest that the interpretation process is not only instant and unconscious, but so automatic that it is generally a relatively peripheral process. They suggest that perception of reality depends on closeness of fit with, or accessibility to, an "internal organization of a stereotypical event"; in other words, a prototype. The ideas of closeness of fit and stereotypical event follow closely Brown and Yule's (1983:64–67) framework. In *Discourse Analysis*, they introduced the 'Principle of Analogy', suggesting that we interpret according to past experience of similar genres, and that we naturally expect things to conform to previous experience.

Closure is another well-known aid to perception, which again tends to limit what is perceived to what fits recognized patterns. This involves automatically and unconsciously closing any gaps, filling the spaces with internal representations. Cloze tests rely on this ability. The word 'cloze' itself is an adaptation of the idea of closure (Collins Online Dictionary 2021).[2] These language tests delete every fifth or seventh word. The student then has to close the gaps relying on his or her internally generated understanding of the lexico-grammatical pattern:

> Cloze Test:
>   It took Alan Turing, the brilliant ____ mathematician and philosopher, to make the ____ of a mental representation scientifically respectable. ____ described a hypothetical machine that could ___ said to engage in reasoning.

All the examples discussed in this section on perception and language are linked to prototype theory, which, as we have mentioned, is based on typical cases and expectations. On this point Pinker (2010:72) demonstrates that meaning is determined very largely by mental

images; a conclusion he drew after trying to disprove that language determines thought.

As our understanding of the world depends on a previous construction of a suitable mental image, it is consequently very difficult to be objective about reality, or to state what is actually, objectively and intrinsically true 'out there'. This is particularly evident when we find ourselves in a new situation. As Lakoff and Johnson (1980:162) state, "truth is relative to understanding, and the truth of … a sentence is relative to the normal way we understand the world by projecting orientation and entity structure onto it".

So, we have firmly established that the real world and our understanding of it are two different things. First, there are neurological constraints limiting our capacity to perceive; and second, we tend to take more notice of what we expect, our internal image, than what we could theoretically perceive. In the next sections we will examine how this Universal Modelling of reality applies to language.

6.3 The Meta-Model

Modelling, as Margaret Berry (1989:17) states in *An Introduction to Systemic Linguistics*, is an important tool in Linguistics, and is also central to Systemics. As she points out, "the term *model* has for the last few years been an extremely fashionable word in disciplines ranging from the sciences to education and theology". Not only are models fashionable but they have revolutionized work in Cybernetics, Information Theory and Linguistics. The study of language went through a revolution when Noam Chomsky (1965) presented his model; another revolutionary contribution is the Hallidayan (systemic or functional) grammar, which is still an influential model of language and discourse. We should always remember that model-makers, including ourselves, then attempt to make the model more detailed to account for all variation and change.

In the same way, an old story has it that when the mapmakers tried to show the king his territory on a map, the king was not satisfied. He wanted a better map. The mapmakers continued to improve their map, but to no avail as it still did not contain everything on it. At this point, the building that housed the map was simply not large enough. Eventually the walls of the Map Institute were taken down to allow space for all the detail. Finally, of course, the map was so detailed that it could not be seen: it was indistinguishable from the territory it was mapping.

So, for a map or a model to be useful, it must generalize, distort and delete much of what is real. Bandler and Grinder (1975) suggest this is central to the way humans perceive, interpret and communicate. Bandler and Grinder have made this process of simplification explicit

through another model – which they termed the Meta-Model. It identifies those language patterns which are generalizations, distortions and deletions – that is, simplistic models of meaning – and then clarifies the shorthand we use to communicate. The Meta-Model also checks for where simplistic communication obscures meaning, and includes specific questions to clarify and challenge imprecise language.

Chomsky's formalist model, on which the Meta-Model was originally based, suggests that for every surface structure there is a more complete deep structure. As native speakers speak or write, they make a series of choices. In his theory, these choices are basic patterns or transformations of the form that speakers use to communicate their experience. Chomsky (1965) suggests that native speakers intuitively know if the surface structure is well-formed grammatically, irrespective of whether it is meaningless. For example, native speakers intuitively accept that "the slithy toves did gyre and gimble in the" is syntactically incomplete, even if they have never heard of Lewis Carroll's work.[3] Native speakers also know that "the slithy toves did gyre and gimble in the wabe" is complete, or in Chomsky's terms, well-formed.

The Meta-Model does not specifically use Chomsky's phrase grammar or transformational rules, but it does make use of the basic principle of 'well-formedness' to investigate meaning, which Chomsky's model deliberately excludes. Sperber and Wilson (1995:188) also adopt a similar approach to investigate meaning. They analyse semantic rather than syntactic incompleteness, as does Eugene Nida, the father of modern translation (Newmark 1995). Nida simplified and adapted Chomsky's model to include the context for his translation theories. In one of his many articles on the subject, he calls for "a deep structure approach … to fully identify the extent of equivalence and the need for supplementation or redistribution of semantic components" (1976:72–73).

6.3.1 Assumed sharedness

The speaker only needs to refer to what is shared – the rest of what is shared can be inferred. This is the basis of conversational inference (Gumperz 1977) and is essential to communication. However, as Scollon *et al.* (2012:10–11, 16, 242) also point out, one of the greatest problems in cross-cultural communication is the fact that speakers and writers assume that the surface language refers the reader or listener to the same shared semantic base.

The example below illustrates the difference between semantic well-formedness and shared information, and comes from a personal conversation which took place in a delicatessen in Trieste.

Client:	*Un panino con prosciutto.*	A ham roll.
Assistant:	*Cotto?*	Cooked?
Client:	*Sì.*	Yes.
Assistant:	*Misto?*	Mixed?
Client:	*Mi scusi?*	Sorry?

In every utterance, information is missing from the surface structure. However, the interlocutors are able to refer to a shared full representation – except in the last instance, where the utterance is both semantically incomplete and unshared. The full representation of the language, with little or no inference, might be as follows:

> Client: I would be obliged if you could prepare me a bread **roll** with some slices of **ham** inside.
> Assistant: You would, I presume, prefer **cooked** rather than raw ham inside the roll?
> Client: **Yes** thank you, I would prefer cooked ham inside the roll.
> Assistant: Am I also right in thinking that you would prefer **mixed**, lean and fatty pieces of ham as they come off the bone, rather than lean ham?
> Client: I am **sorry** but I was not able to make a full semantic representation or indeed infer meaning from your last utterance due to a lack of a sufficiently shared model of the world. Would you kindly give me a more explicit surface structure so that I may be able to access a relevant frame of interpretation, make a mental representation and then decide how to answer your question? Thank you.

The function of the Meta-Model is to bring to the surface what is hidden, which is what makes it so useful for translation and interpreting. We should anticipate the fact, however, that the Meta-Model itself in clarifying complete representations can only point towards what is actually happening between speaker and hearer (or writer and reader). To quote Sperber and Wilson (1995:176) again, "Semantic representations of natural-language expressions are merely tools for inferential communication".

Yet a full semantic representation is more than just a tool. Potentially, it gives us access to the full representation of an individual's (culture-bound) underlying beliefs and values. The cluster of assumptions, beliefs and values will support the text, allowing it to fit logically into a model of the world, rather like joining the dots to form a picture. What is particularly interesting is that this process is largely unconscious.

The world

Deletion Distortion Generalization

FILTER 1   physiological

                  social engineering
FILTER 2   culture-bound beliefs and values

FILTER 3   individual beliefs and values

Map of the World
the semantically complete linguistic representation
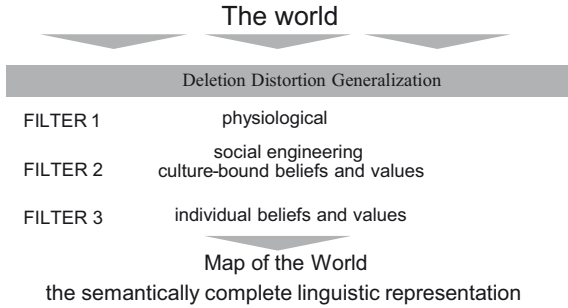
Figure 6.4 Creation of the map of the world

As Roger Fowler (1977:21) points out in *Linguistics and the Novel*, "'choice' and 'favour' are not necessarily conscious. A writer's construction may betray his patterns of thought without his [sic] intending that they do so." These, generally unconscious, "choices" and "favours" will not only reflect a speaker's or writer's individual thought patterns, but also be influenced (constrained or directed) by the meaning potential of the grammar system itself, the particular context of situation, and the underlying context of culture.

The processes involved, following the universal process of modelling, can be seen in Figure 6.4. It shows how the three filters delete, distort and generalize reality so that it can fit our map of the world. The model of reality, as we have said, can be fully expressed semantically.

In general, much of this information (potentially available as a complete linguistic representation) is not conveyed in speech or in print, either because some of the representation will be assumed to be shared, or because the grammar and stylistic considerations actually encourage a change or a reduction of the representation. Hence, we have the fourth filter, language, which also deletes, distorts and generalizes what could be more completely represented. The result (Figure 6.5 below) is a surface structure which is semantically incomplete.

As we have seen, the main function of the Meta-Model is to reverse the sequence of the arrows and to point to the filters that are most responsible for the resulting surface representation. By focussing on explicitness, we can raise awareness of the ambiguity and vagueness in language and communication. Most of the time, as Joanna Channell (1994) notes,

Most speakers of English are not particularly aware of the frequency of vague language use (until it is pointed out to them) and this fact is in itself of interest. It shows that vagueness in communication is part of our taken-for-granted world, and that we normally do not notice it.

(Channell 1994:4)
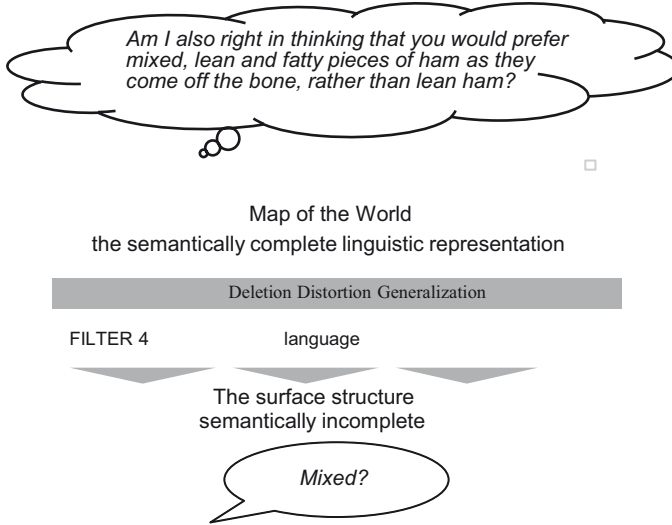
Figure 6.5 Representation of the map of the world

Cross-cultural communication is an example of the fact that the world cannot be taken for granted. Communication with aliens, as mentioned earlier in reference to the film *Arrival* (Villeneuve 2016), is even more so (see box below).

Entertainment Weekly, 21 February 2017
Kevin P. Sullivan

How *Arrival*'s screenwriter turned sentence structure into suspense

[…] The sci-fi film follows Louise Banks (Amy Adams), a linguistics expert who is tasked with communicating with aliens who have landed in Montana. From the outsider perspective, her task is simple: find an answer to the question, "What is your purpose on Earth?" But as Louise explains in the scene below, expressing an idea is a trickier proposition than they first imagined …

[LOUISE] Okay, so this is where we want to get. Right? This question [What is your purpose on Earth?].

[COLONEL WEBER] [nods]

[LOUISE] To get there, we have to make sure they understand what a question is, and the nature of a request for information along with the response. Then there is clarifying the difference between a

specific 'you' from a collective 'you.' We don't want to know why Joe Alien is here, we want to know why all of them landed …

Purpose requires an understanding of intent. Which means we have to find out if they make conscious choices or if their motivation is so instinctive they don't understand a 'why' question, and biggest of all, we need to have enough of a vocabulary with them so we understand their answer.

[COLONEL WEBER] [nods and surrenders to her …]

Source: Sullivan (2017:n.p.)

The Meta-Model, as we have stressed, is designed to clarify vagueness in communication. Hence it can alert the mediator to any potential miscommunication, and can also clarify the limits of the system of possibilities that language and thought are created from. It can also help in unravelling the speaker's or writer's culture-bound map of the world, and hence improve the mediator's ability to understand texts in terms of culture-bound attitudes and beliefs. With regard to translation and interpreting, we have pointed out in Chapter 1 that, as Hatim and Mason (2013 [1990]), for example, affirm, the mediation of translators and interpreters is key to mutual understanding between interlocutors who do not share the same linguistic and cultural systems. To achieve this mutual communication, translators and interpreters use both the language output of the writer/speaker and the cultural and situational context to determine their intended meaning. Then they take the reader's/addressee's background into consideration to convey the intended message. They often engage in explicitation, addition, deletion and/or adaptation to allow the culture-bound maps of the writer/speaker and the reader/addressee to communicate (see, for example, House [2004] and Saldanha [2008] on explicitation). Whether these strategies are appropriate will depend on the translational genre, context, setting and the expectations of the actors involved.

The following sections explain in more detail how the analysis of the three Universal Modelling processes – generalization, distortion and deletion – can increase the understanding of the cultural and experiential worlds at the basis of the original act of speaking or writing. As a consequence, we can more definitely point towards the psychological intentions of the originator of the message.

6.4 Generalization

- Need for generalization
- Universal quantifiers (explicit and implicit)
- Clarification questions

Halliday (1968:100–101) made the point that "Our experience is in fact organized on many levels at once, and we abstract from it a whole lot of different layers of generalization". A generalization occurs when one example is taken as representative of a number of different possibilities (O'Connor 2013:132). For example, an utterance such as "Cats are nice" will be the result of a specific learning or experience relating, possibly, to a reaction to a particular cat at a particular time. This experience is then expanded to the level of the universe.

Frederic Bartlett (1932:206), one of the founders of modern Psychology, was among the first to note that an individual "has an overmastering tendency to simplify, to get a general impression of the whole", and his book is still cited in the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (Deacon-Fox 2020:320). He linked this simplification to the notion of 'schemata', citing a neurologist (Sir Henry Head) who claimed that "schemata modify the impressions produced by incoming sensory impulses in such a way that the final sensations of position or of locality rise into consciousness charged with a relation to something that has gone before" (Bartlett 1932:206).

Bartlett's own experimentation led him to note how quickly subjects were able to determine meaning when faced with images that they could compare (albeit unconsciously) with "some 'standard' or conventional representation" (1932:27). This readily available 'representation', of course, saves the inordinate amount of time that would need to be spent explaining and specifying something that has already been learnt. Schema theory is now an important part of Cognitive Psychology, developed in the first instance by Piaget. The whole of prototype theory and frame analysis (see Chapter 3.1) relates to schema theory and our ability to generalize reality to fit our model of the world. These theories have been extensively discussed in the field of Bible translation by Wendland (2015).

The less positive aspect of generalization is that it limits the model of the world. It relies on what was previously learnt as representing reality, and thus reduces choice and any possibility of an alternative. "Cats aren't nice", for example, shuts the door on any new cat, who may well exhibit a very different behaviour.

Specific and explicit linguistic signs of generalizations are universal quantifiers (described in the next sub-section). Also, many of the deletions and distortions, discussed later in 6.5 and 6.6, become implicit generalizations.

6.4.1 Universal quantifiers

Universal quantifiers, by their very name, are all-encompassing. They do not allow for any exception. Typical universal quantifiers are as follows:

> All, always, each, every, any, never, nowhere, none, no one, nothing, nobody.

Stating a rule

Every country has the government it deserves (Joseph de Maistre).
   *Trois heures, c'est **toujours** trop tard ou trop tôt pour tout ce qu'on veut faire.*
   (Three o'clock is **always** too late or too early for anything you want to do.) (Jean-Paul Sartre, trans., OUP)

Advertising

Spain: *Media Markt: **Todos** queremos **todo***
(Media Markt: We **all** want **everything**)

Algeria: حلاوة الروضة: تذوقها مرة تطلبها كل مرة
(Rawda sweets: try them once, you'll order them **every** time)

United States: There are certain things **every** man wants … Pizza Hut knows what **every** man, woman and child wants

Translation scholar generalizations

All translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose (Hermans 1985:11).
   Translation **always** involves a process of domestication (Venuti 1995a:203).
   If variability goes all the way down to the level of the individual, we cannot ignore the implication that **every** translator or interpreter inevitably intervenes when translating or interpreting (Verschueren 2007:76).

Political discourse (implied generalizations)

"He [North Korean leader Kim Jong-un] speaks and his people sit up at attention. I want my people to do the same," the president [Donald Trump] told the Fox News Channel program Fox & Friends. (Pramuk 2018:n.p.).

Implied generalization made explicit

When the North Korean leader speaks, **all** his people sit up and listen. I want **all** American people to do the same.

Clearly, none of the above generalizations is tenable. However, language users often make such generalizations to make a point (note the generalization here too).

   The universal quantifier is often implicit in stereotypes. We have already seen examples in Chapter 4.1 such as "The people of Upper

Egypt are brave and magnanimous" or "Northerners are forthright and generous, while Southerners are more punctilious". The implication in such statements is that all the people referred to behave in a stereotypical manner all the time, which is, again, untenable.

6.4.2 Clarification

In generalization, the specific context, details and nuances are lacking, and the implication is that the utterance is of universal validity. The first part of Trump's statement above implies that all North Koreans listen to their leader. The second part apparently indicates Trump's wish that all Americans would listen to him. Both parts need clarification in the sense of the context or contexts in which the statement is true. In relation to the first half (about North Koreans), we may want to ask: Do all North Koreans always listen to Kim Jong-un? Are there any dissidents who refuse to listen? With regard to the second half, the CNBC reporter makes a point of relevance here when he notes: "It is unclear whether Trump referred to Americans broadly or executive branch staff" (Pramuk 2018:n.p.). This needs clarification. Finally, especially for translators and interpreters, not only are such clarificatory questions needed, but also questions about the 'spirit' or 'tone' in which the statement was made. Pramuk's (2018) report frames Trump's statement as a "joke".

6.5 Deletion

- Modality: intrinsic and extrinsic
- Unspecified referential index
- Missing performatives
- Value judgements
- Comparatives and superlatives
- Stance adjuncts

6.5.1 The use of deletion

Deletion takes place on two levels: syntactic and semantic. We have already noted lexico-grammatical deletion. "I like", for example, will leave the listener waiting for the object, whether it be a pronoun or a noun phrase. As it stands, "I like" is ill-formed. On the other hand, "I like cheese" is syntactically well-formed. A native speaker would also realize that though we now have all the necessary elements, others could be added to give a full representation of the 'who', 'what', 'when', 'where' and 'how' exactly concerning cheese. A further expansion of "I like cheese" could be: "I usually like a few slices of Dutch Gouda cheese with my toast for breakfast at weekends". This

full representation is unlikely to coincide with another's understanding of "I like cheese".

With regard to deletion, the meaning of a sentence may be implied, vague or ambiguous, as in the following well-known examples:

Investigating FBI agents can be dangerous.	'Investigating' as an adjective or gerund.
Time flies.	'Time' as an imperative verb or a noun.
The rabbit is ready to eat.	'Rabbit' as subject (an animal) or object (the dish to be eaten).

This type of ambiguous formulation is often at the basis of jokes, as more than one interpretation is possible. It is also an important device in literature and is the basis of poetic effect.

Linguistic deletion, in fact, allows the hearer to create an array of possible closures, and hence fully participate in the communication act. Let us take two examples from Shakespeare. The first is from *Othello*, where the trustworthy and down-to-earth maid Emilia is giving her sound opinion of men:

> Tis not a year or two but show us a man, they are all **stomachs** and we all but **food**; They **eat** us **hungerly,** and when they are **full,** they **belch** us.
>
> (Act III, Scene 4)

The use of metaphor is an example of semantic incompleteness, given that metaphorical references are applied to objects or actions that they resemble but do not actually denote.

By only applying a resemblance we have an incomplete surface representation of what Emilia meant exactly. The rich possibilities implied by this resemblance are, of course, the basis of poetic effect. Diane Blakemore (1992:9), one of the developers of Sperber and Wilson's Relevance Theory, says with regard to the same passage: "It is impossible to spell out what she meant without distortion or loss of meaning. There is no single proposition that Emilia meant." Poetic effect is achieved not only through metaphor but also through the use of unspecified language, as in the second quotation from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*:

> To be or not to be: that is the question.
>
> (Act III, Scene 1, lines 55–56)

The verb 'to be' is one of the most unspecified verbs in the English language, while the type of 'question' is also not spelt out.

Translators, as we can see from the examples below, find dealing with semantic incompleteness as challenging as any other area of translation. With regard to *Hamlet*, we can see how there is a conscious attempt over time to improve on previous solutions by changing where to retain and where to reduce semantic incompleteness:

Spanish:
Existir ó no existir: esta es la qüestion (To exist or not to exist: this is the question)

(Luis Fernández de Moratín 1798)

Ser o dejar de ser: he ahí el problema (To be or to stop being: that is where the problem lies)

(William Macpherson 1873)

¡Ser ó no ser! ¡La alternativa es esta! (To be or not to be: the choice is this)

(William Macpherson 1885)

Italian:
Essere o non essere. Tutto qui (To be or not to be. Everything here/ That's all)

(Gerardo Guerrieri for Zeffirelli's film, 1964)

Essere, o non essere … questo è il nodo (To be, or not to be … this is the knot/the intractable question)

(Goffredo Raponi, Liber Liber, 1999)

Essere o non essere, questa è la domanda… (To be or not to be, this is the question [that requires a Yes/No answer].)

(Alessandro Serpieri, Marsilio, 2003)

As we have already mentioned, it is not only in poetic language that deletion exists; deletion is also an essential feature of all language. The following examples are from a scholarly publication and a novel:

Scholarly publication: The textual factor of translational competence entails the translator's discourse proficiency, that is to say translators and interpreters are required to be conversant with written and spoken discourse (Bednarek 2014:3).

Novel:

| *Signorina – chiese.* | 'Signorina,' he asked. |
| *Dimmi.* | 'Yes?' |

Perché *piange?*	'Why are you crying?'
Perché sono sfortunata in amore	'Because I'm crossed in love.'
Ah!	'Ah!'

Source: Italo Calvino, Pesci grossi, pesci piccoli, trans. Archibold Colquhoun.

The above examples seem clear enough. There is no obvious vague language, yet much of the full semantic representation has been deleted. In "conversant with written and spoken discourse", we are not told how "conversant" translators and interpreters need to be, nor what types, fields, etc. of written and spoken discourse they are required to master to be "discourse proficient". But in general, we feel that we have enough information, as does the boy in the *Signorina* extract.

The usefulness of deletions is clear in everyday talk once they are compared to registers of language that attempt to render, in the surface structure, a faithful reflection of the total possible representation. A perfect example is legal text, which is so explicit as to render it unreadable for the layperson. Below, for example, is an extract of Lord Diplock's words outlining, as clearly as possible, what constitutes a crime:

> Conduct which constitutes a crime consists of a person's doing or less frequently omitting to do physical acts, and the definition of the crime also contains a description of physical acts or omissions, though it may, and in English law generally does, also require that the physical acts or omissions which constitute the described conduct should be done with a particular intent, either expressly cited in the definition or to be implied from the mere fact that Parliament has made the described conduct punishable.
>
> (Russell and Locke 1992:176)

Though the language contains no legal terminology, its quest for completeness makes for opaque reading. The problem with this 84-word-long sentence is its high 'fog' factor, or lexical density (Halliday 1987:60). If we make the text above less explicit through deletion, the meaning is rendered clearer to a non-legal audience: "Conduct which is a crime consists of a person doing (or omitting to do) something with intent, either expressly cited or implied by Parliament as punishable".

Lexical density is only one element of readability and accessibility, and it varies from one language to another (e.g. Sung *et al*. 2016 for Chinese; Al-Tamimi *et al*. 2014 or Al-Wahy 2019 for Arabic) and from

one text type to another (Scarpa 2020:20–22; Taylor 1998:38–40). As in the example above, deletion contributes to improving readability by reducing lexical density and structure complexity. This is extremely relevant for translators in particular. As several authors (e.g. Baker 1996; Xiao and Yue 2009) have shown, translations tend to show less lexical density than original texts. Taylor (1998) suggests that

> the measuring of lexical density can provide a parameter in assessing whether a translator has achieved the right register and balance of technical expression. It is also useful with corpus-based devices, to see whether different parts of texts are more term-dense than others, and organise a translation accordingly.
>
> (Taylor 1998:39)

Apart from reducing lexical density, another important use of deletion is cohesion (see Halliday and Hasan 1976).

Deletion can, however, also interfere with communication, either because the surface representation is no longer connected to a speaker's model of the world (linguistic deletion) or because the speaker's particular model of the world itself has deleted much of the world.

The following sub-sections will focus on those deletions in the surface structure that point to a speaker's map of the world rather than deletion due to cohesion or shared understanding. They will cover the following areas:

- intrinsic modal possibility
- intrinsic modal necessity
- missing referential index
- restricted codes
- missing performatives
- value judgements
- missing comparatives and superlatives
- adjuncts

6.5.2 Modality

According to Downing and Locke (2006:379), modality is one of the most important ways in which interpersonal meaning can be expressed. It is the expression of an attitude of the speaker towards a reality: "modality is said to express a *relation* to reality, whereas an unmodalized declarative treats the process *as* reality" (emphasis in original). Generally, modality is expressed either through an auxiliary verb (can, may, should, etc.) or through a full lexical verb (wish, need).

Other possible ways are through adverbs and adverbial clauses (possibly, probably, certainly) and adjectives (it is necessary/vital that).

Modality can be divided into two basic areas: extrinsic (or epistemic) modality and intrinsic (root or deontic and dynamic) modality. Extrinsic modality concerns the modality of propositions and the degree of truth or certainty to be attached to them. It covers the possibility, probability or certainty that a proposition is true according to one's own model of reality. In each of the following cases, we can add 'as far as I know':

Assessment	Reality/fact	
It can't be	raining	
You can	get coffee on the train	as far as I know
They might	be there already	

Intrinsic modality, on the other hand, is a sign of an individual's personal involvement. The speaker 'does' or 'performs an act' while uttering. The performance (Austin 1962) will generally be in terms of the speaker's attempt to influence or control self and others:

Control	Reality/fact	
You can	have an ice-cream now	
We can't	go on meeting like this	I have decided.
I can't	allow myself any more chocolate	

More than anything else, the difference between the two modalities is one of Logical Level. Extrinsic modality is an utterance at the level of environment or behaviour (the world out there), while intrinsic modality is a surface sign that the speaker is (re)acting at the level of beliefs and values (what I think, believe or decide). Both levels can provide us with much information about our constructed model of the world.

We will divide intrinsic modality into necessity and possibility. Both intrinsic modal possibility and necessity set the individual and culture-bound limits of choice, either by implying (limiting) beliefs about the world or by stating what is considered possible.

Intrinsic modal necessity

Intrinsic modal necessity expresses levels of obligation. It can range from advisability through to inescapable duty or requirement:

> must, have to, need, should, ought to, it is necessary …
>
> China **must** admit it's a superpower – and start playing by global rules.
> > (Pritzker 2018:n.p.)
>
> El cine español **tiene que** ser más ambicioso si quiere llegar a lo más alto.
> > (The Spanish film industry **has to be** more ambitious to reach the top.)
> > > (Spanish film director Juan Antonio Bayona)
>
> **Requirements (handed down to us from translation scholars in history):**
>
> Only an idiot would go ask the letters of the Latin alphabet how to speak German, the way these dumbasses [the papists do]. You've **got to** go out and ask the mother in her house, the children in the street, the ordinary man at the market. Watch their mouths move when they talk, and translate that way.
> > (Martin Luther, quoted in Robinson 1997:87)
>
> The translation **should** give a complete transcript of the ideas of the original.
> > (Tytler, quoted in Robinson 1997:211)
>
> [The translator] **must** be our tour guide.
> > (Herder, quoted in Venuti 1995a:99)
>
> [O]nly writers can take such liberties [to introduce new calques] … In a translation, **it is advisable** to use traditional forms of expression.
> > (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995 [1958]:38)

All the extracts above lay down what appear to be universal truths or professional standards. However, these truths and standards are, in fact, no more than intrinsic modal necessities – limiting beliefs held by the speaker in relation to reality and professional practice.

Intrinsic modal possibility

Intrinsic modal possibility includes ability and permission, and sets the limits to options as perceived by the speaker or writer. It is realized principally through 'can', 'could', 'may' and 'might'. When permission is denied, those responsible for the denial are often not stated, as in the following example:

> Police **cannot** be trusted to police themselves.
>   (David Bayley, cited in Prenzler 2009:153)

The reply to the challenge "According to whom?" would be reference to respected specialists (such as law scholar David Bayley) and to the documented cases of organizations that have covered up misconduct.

Permission to act in a particular way may be refused because of more local 'house rules', as in this apocryphal confrontation:

> Every grand London hotel claims to be the site of the legendary confrontation between Maitre D' and trouser-suited female person. "I'm sorry, madam, you **cannot** go into the dining room like that. Ladies in trousers are not properly dressed."
>   (*The Independent*, 15/12/93)

In both these cases, reference can be made to demonstrable facts, either the logical conclusion of a mass of evidence or house rules. One could contest the statement, but the important point is that there is objective evidence or there are (tacit) rules that can be cited.

The use of the intrinsic modal possibility is often hidden in the surface structure and can often appear to describe the world as it is. 'Can' and 'cannot', in particular, are often used by speakers to give the impression that what they are saying is extrinsic when, instead, they actually refer to a personal (and maybe unshared) belief. For example, the comments below demonstrate a personal understanding or model of the world which is presented as a universal rule. Needless to say, some groups of people act as if it were:

> Sans amour on **ne peut** rien faire. Il faut tout faire avec amour.
>   (Without love one **can't** do anything. Everything must be done with love.)
>   (French-Armenian singer Charles Aznavour, 1924–2018)

You **can't** impeach a president that has the greatest economy of the history of our nation.

(Donald Trump, 1 November 2019)

In both cases, the surface structure regarding conduct is stated as an established extrinsic rule rather than an intrinsic (subjective) viewpoint. Often, the limits actually define the limits of the speaker's world, which are then generalized (through deletion) to become a universal rule for the whole of society:

Moreover, the UN **cannot** continue to rely on key member states to provide force protection intelligence for its increasingly complex peacekeeping missions.	Barry (2012:14)
Iran **cannot** continue to be taken advantage of by unilaterally adhering to an agreement the US has broken.	Fitzpatrick (2017:142–143)

These intrinsic modals of (universal) possibility and necessity have the general logical form as follows: *Something* (such as my own personal beliefs) prevents/makes *something* else possible or necessary. As the examples above show, the first *something* is deleted from the surface structure. Clarification of the full representation would contextualize the utterance and would help us to decide if the speaker is describing his or her own internal beliefs and is therefore performing (being intrinsic) rather than describing (being extrinsic).

At times, speakers do make the limits of perceived worlds explicit as surface structure. The actress Gwyneth Paltrow, talking about dieting on *The Oprah Winfrey Show* (*Metro* 2008:n.p.), is clearly conscious that the limits she refers to are intrinsic: "I just **cannot** diet. I think maybe it's the idea that you **can't** have something … I just **can't** do it". Greta Thunberg, talking to *Time* magazine, who had named her "2019 Person of the Year" (SBS News 2019:n.p.), is equally conscious of the enormous number of people in the world whose vision of the world is dangerously limited: "We **can't** just continue living as if there was no tomorrow, because there is a tomorrow. That is all we are saying."

The limits in the above cases have been clarified. However, they are still incomplete representations of the speaker's reference point. The yardstick (values) against which they are able to decide "thus far and no further" (or "thus far is not far enough") is missing. According to Downing and Locke (2006:391), "That something [missing] in each

case represents a set of laws, whether natural laws, moral laws, laws of physics, of good manners, and perhaps many more". That is why, the authors add, an utterance with 'can' or 'can't' may have so many interpretations, depending on the context and the type of law, norm or belief that applies. Translators and interpreters cannot disregard this principle (another example of intrinsic modality with 'cannot').

Clarification

There are a number of key questions that can be used to contextualize the speaker's point of view and to clarify the speaker's world and its borders:

1) By challenging with universal quantifiers: never/ever/always/all:
   - Must these regulations *always* mean some restriction of personal freedom?
2) By looking for exceptions, which again illustrate the existence of boundaries:
   - Can you imagine *any* circumstance in which *X* would not be true?
3) By making the reason explicit:
   - *What* makes it impossible to agree to the changes?
   - *What* prevents (you) from agreeing to the changes?
   - *What* would happen if you did agree to the changes?

Answers to these questions will show the rules by which a person lives and which filters are most responsible.

6.5.3 Unspecified referential index

Lyons (1981:220) begins his chapter on Reference with the title 'Worlds within Worlds: The Subjectivity of Utterance'. 'Reference', as he explains, is "the relation that holds between linguistic expressions and what they stand for in the world", whereas the 'index' is the point of reference. The referential index may be missing either due to the language filter (e.g. cohesive and other stylistic reasons) or due to culture/socialization.

The use of the pronoun is generally a clear index (hence a linguistic deletion) pointing to a referent, as in the well-known (to some) "We are not amused". The reader, though, will only be able to attach the index to a referent through his or her knowledge of the context. In this case, the knowledge is culture-bound and refers to the 'Royal we', as supposedly used by Queen Victoria.

The language filter

Generally available information is deleted because it is assumed to be shared (Halliday and Hasan 1976:33, 142). As another example, let us look at this protest song popularized by a musical duo, The Proclaimers (1988). The song title is 'Cap in Hand' and we hear the singers telling us that they cannot understand why **someone else** is ruling "**our**" land. It continues with more use of "**we**" and "**us**" against an unspecified "**they**" and "**them**".

The specific referential indices have been deleted, and we are left with examples of universal perception and generalizations. The context here (both linguistic and extra-linguistic) points to more specific referential indices. The music duo are Scots who sing with a marked regional accent and are widely known supporters of Scottish Independence. The listener can now clearly link "we", "our" and "us" to 'Scots'; "someone else" and "they" can now be identified as 'the English'. We have clarified the deletions, but we still have generalizations, and hence we still do not know 'who exactly' this protest song 'Cap in Hand' refers to.

The grammarians Quirk and Greenbaum (1990:85) distinguish two types of reference: generic and specific. In this particular case, the extra-linguistic context makes it clear that we are talking about a specific rather than general group of 'the English': the (British) Prime Minister and his/her government. So, a generalized negative feeling about a different people has now been contextualized to a smaller specific group of individuals. Interpreters, in particular, are faced with the problem of missing (or ambiguous) referential indices, for which American President Donald Trump was frequently criticized:

> Miwako Hibi, a professional broadcast interpreter, tells about her experience when she was translating Trump's victory speech in 2016 and how he has introduced spontaneously the name Reince. Ms Hibi figured out who he was referring to only when the camera [showed] closer images of the mentioned person. Fortunately, the interpreter was saved by the fact that in Japanese, the subject can be neglected in a sentence. However, another name has caused misinterpretation, when by saying *secretariat* he meant a different person than expected.
> (Polilingua 2019:n.p.).

Clarification

To clarify unspecified referential indices, the procedural questions are:

- Who specifically is being referred to?
- What exactly is being referred to?

Culture/socialization

The second reason for deletion of the referential index in the surface representation is socialization. 'Restricted' and 'elaborated' codes are terms used by Bernstein for the different ways of conveying meaning in a social context (which were briefly discussed in Chapter 4.7). Restricted code users, for example, delete nouns from the surface structure. Bernstein's (1972:478) study of the language of middle-class and working-class children showed that "The working-class children are more likely to select pronouns as heads (especially third person pronouns). Where pronouns are used as heads, the possibility of both modification and qualification is considerably reduced." This lack of modification occurs when there is no deeper semantic representation. The use of 'we' or 'they' is not actually connected to a specific referent, to any first-hand experience, but to vague and unchangeable 'them' and 'us'. However, as both Bernstein and Hasan report, it is not only in terms of unspecified referential indices that people (and in particular, the working class) limit their map of the world, and hence choice in life.

In a publication on HAPs and LAPs, Hasan (1992) also shows how deletion limits a child's possible world (see Chapter 4.7). The example below shows how a LAP mother tends to reply to a child's question in the LAP world:

> MOTHER: Put it up on the stove and leave it there.
> KAREN: **Why**?
> MOTHER: **'Cause**.
> KAREN: That's where it goes?
> MOTHER: Yeah.
>
> (Hasan 1992:288)

When the mother then asks questions, the children already have a model response, effectively limiting whatever innate language potential they might have:

> MOTHER: But you'd be glad when you go back to school, won't you?
> KAREN: No.
> MOTHER: **Why?**
> KAREN: **'Cause**.
> MOTHER: 'Cause why?
> KAREN: 'Cause Rebecca don't go to my school anymore.
> MOTHER: Who's Rebecca?
> KAREN: The little girl in my school.

> MOTHER: Did she leave?
> KAREN: Yeah.
> MOTHER: **Why?**
> KAREN: **'Cause**.
>
> (Hasan 1989:256)

Hasan's research shows clearly that the 'Why?/'Cause' routine lies firmly within the LAP world and that Karen, for example, has already learned to delete a host of possibilities. Hasan's conclusion is as follows:

> The children learn something from the typical absence or irrelevance of what mothers say a propos their questions … But if a why question typically draws no answer, or if it draws the simple response, '*cause*, then is it really reasonable to expect that one will go on believing in the efficacy of *why*?
>
> (Hasan 1991:107, emphasis in original)

HAP children, on the other hand, will learn to link references to an individual source, thus constantly enriching their view of the world:

> JULIAN: When I get as old as you and Maree likes me, could we marry each other?
> MOTHER: No, because Maree is your cousin.
> JULIAN: Oh.
> MOTHER: 'Cause cousins aren't allowed to marry.
> JULIAN: Why?
> MOTHER: 'Cause the law says they're not.
>
> (Hasan 1992:270)

According to Hasan (1989:258): "The implication is that [HAP] mothers would be likely to provide additional and fuller information to explicate and make precise the referential application of their questions and replies". This is a refined extension of Bernstein's (1972:480–481) elaborated and restricted code theory, which caused so much controversy in the 1970s. According to Brislin (1993:99–105), various other ethnomethodological researchers studying class in a variety of cultures have noticed the same differences with regard to parent–child interaction. They claim that the working class throughout the world tends towards reducing interaction between children and adults, while the middle class tends to encourage this interaction.

However, as Montgomery (2008:160–169) argues, overgeneraliza‐
tion about social class and 'restricted/elaborated' codes is likely to lead
to stereotyping. Montgomery (2008:169) suggests that the different
'codes' or tendencies are neither mutually exclusive nor comparable in
terms of a better–worse cline. People are not necessarily trapped in one
socio-economically determined code, but may shift from one code to
another depending on the situation and relationship (solidarity, shared
knowledge, etc.).

6.5.4 Missing performatives

"Grammarians have not, I believe, seen through this 'disguise' and
philosophers only at best incidentally" (Austin 1962:4).

Austin introduced the concept of 'performative utterances' in the
early 1960s, and his ideas were widely adopted through to the end of
the 1970s. He proposed that a performative act takes place when an
utterance performs an act, as in: "I name this ship Mr Stalin" – and the
ship is effectively named as a result of these words. However, this prin‐
ciple has been extended by Austin himself, among others, to the effect
that behind every sentence there lies a hidden performative. Quite
simply, in saying something, one is also performing an act.

Austin (1962:103) believed that the illocutionary force of an
utterance "could be made explicit by the performative formula".
Strawson (1964:451) agreed, saying that the performative can "make
explicit the type of communication intention with which the speaker
speaks, the type of force the utterance has". John Robert Ross's
(1970) 'Performative Hypothesis' suggests the same idea: "declarative
sentences … must also be analysed as being implicit performatives,
and must be derived from deep structures containing an explicitly
represented performative main verb" (Ross 1970:223). There are
few supporters of this view today, as pointed out by Geoffrey Leech
(1983:174–175) in his 'Performative Fallacy'. Leech (1985:325)
rightly states that "it seems unnatural to argue that every single direct
statement is fundamentally an indirect statement".

However, making the cross-cultural (or rather, the culture-bound)
aspect of communication explicit entails framing the statement with
its performative reference. For example, the following direct
statement, from the book *301 Simple Things You Can Do to Sell
Your Home Now and for More Money than You Thought*, is
presented as a generalized (and not culture-bound) rule: "An entire
house with off-white walls comes across as flat, and flat walls will
de-jazz your house" (Clark 2007:248). We need to ask: According to
whom? Is the writer also the original creator of these thoughts, or
the animator/interpreter/reporter? Are these beliefs individual, cor‐
porate or cultural? Have they been handed down as a tradition? Do

we know the source? Once we have made the source explicit, we can have a clearer idea of the applicability and (relative) universality of the statement. In this particular case, the "off-white walls come across as flat" is certainly culture-bound in the sense that the American author sees white as only one of the many colour choices available – and expects her readership to agree. Yet, as Bonney (2016) points out:

> You don't need to look much further than the incredible Greek, Japanese, Moroccan, and Scandinavian interiors (among many others) of days past to know that white walls and a sense of clean minimalism (often offset by more colorful handmade textiles and artwork) have been popular and coveted long before the contemporary take on this trend.
>
> (Bonney 2016:n.p.)

For many households and cultures, white walls mean cleanliness, purity, open space, flexible decoration and so on. The solution is to mediate these two opposing beliefs by framing the statements in the same way as discussed in Chapter 3.1:

- In some cultures…
- For Americans…
- According to Greek tradition…
- For many modern households…

In terms of performative action, such statements can be framed, for example, as a writer/speaker:
- reporting other people's opinions
- advising based on their opinion
- suggesting according to their expertise

This explication of the full semantic representation in normal speech is generally unnecessary, because, as Austin (1962:141) says, it is "too obvious to be worth saying". Again, this reminds us of the "taken-for-granted world" in Channell's *Vague Language* (1994). "Obvious" is itself a deletion of Austin's (possible) full semantic representation. The question, to clarify the deletion, is "Obvious to whom?"

Leech (1983:181), in his discussion of the 'Performative Fallacy', explains clearly when and why the performative is made explicit: "it occurs, understandably enough, when a speaker needs to define his speech act as belonging to a particular category". Generally, as Leech makes clear, a speaker does not need to consider his or her utterance as belonging to a particular category because the category, in this case

the culture, is taken for granted. Whenever we speak about social or culture-bound rules (the dos and taboos, manners, etiquette and so on), we do not connect them to a particular speaker or category because the rule is all-encompassing and includes every speaker. In short, these are imprinted rules. Bernstein (1972:485) categorizes three principal types of parental appeal that become imprinted rules:

Imperative form	Don't do that.
Positional appeals	Little boys don't cry.
Personal appeals	I know you don't like X but [*reason*] Y.

In all these cases, the form of language used "transmits those aspects of culture that are not to be questioned" (Saville-Troike 1986:48). This is a form of instrumental conditioning, the child being usually rewarded or punished in some way depending on his or her response.

Of the three examples, the personal appeal is the most explicit, allowing for what Bernstein (1972:486) calls "the individualized inter-personal context". In this case, the hearer understands that there is a rule, and that the rule is part of the external world. The imperative is also implicitly clear about limits being dictated by the speaker. It is the positional appeals that are the most difficult to unravel: "The essence of a positional appeal is that in the process of learning the rule, the child is explicitly linked to others who hold a similar universal or particular station". This type of appeal presupposes a universal rule which both speaker and hearer must obey. Apart from there being no exceptions, there are also no limits. For example, in "little boys don't cry", information has been deleted which would reveal which little boys exactly, in what situations, until what age, and also the reasons and beliefs underlying the expected behaviour.

However, the most important deletion is the performative, to be clarified by asking "According to whom?" and "What is the speaker/ originator doing through this statement?" By disconnecting the surface structure from its original reference structure, specific parts of the society's contextualized experience have been deleted. It is, of course, very likely that the speakers will be repeating the same surface structure that they heard from their home environment and had simply internalized without question. As we have already mentioned, present behaviour is often related to a historical response to past perceived needs.

As a result of lack of specification, meaning in discourse is generalized to imply that the rules are the same for all people and cultures all the time – and that rules are unchangeable. Though it may seem

paradoxical, translation scholars, themselves, are not immune to falling into the same universal (i.e. culture-bound) trap – as we shall see later.

Clarification

To clarify a missing performative and relativize the utterance to the speaker, or to his or her culture, we need to ask the following questions:

- According to whom specifically

  are all-white walls fashionable/bland?
  are little boys not allowed to cry?

- According to what

  regulations/rules of conduct/traditions specifically?

6.5.5 Value judgements

Value judgements[4] are opinions, subjective assessments based on values, rather than facts based on objective evidence.

Adjectives: good, bad, important, essential, professional, polite, rude
Adverbs: well, badly, absurdly, inevitably
Comparisons: better, worse, more effective; best, the most, the least

For example, Hermans' (2014 [1999]:121) personal opinion of Jose Lambert's writing is stated as a fact: "Many of his articles are **marred** by **woolly** phrasing, **circuitous** statements and **tortuous** lines of arguments". More importantly, as in the example of off-white walls above, value judgements tend to delete the performative and the criteria used to make the judgement. This deletion fosters the implication that the values behind the judgement are shared by all concerned. For example, in "A **good** translator will almost invariably supply extra information in the L2 text" (Neubert and Shreve 1992:76), we do not know what constitutes a "good" translator, and we are free to attach our own criteria.

In the extract below, we are encouraged to take as factual the "success", "aggression", and "unreceptiveness" of British and American publishers. In both cases, it would be useful for the critical reader to frame such judgements with the author's name, and add "according to":

[British and American publishers] have reaped the benefits of **successfully** imposing Anglo-American cultural values on a vast foreign

readership, while producing cultures in the United Kingdom and the United States that are **aggressively** monolingual, **unreceptive** to the foreign, accustomed to fluent translations that invisibly inscribe foreign texts with English-language values and provide readers with the narcissistic experience of recognizing their own culture in a cultural other.

<div align="right">(Venuti 1995a:15)</div>

Value judgements, such as those above, rarely further cross-cultural communication. This is because the values will be held either by a limited faction, or the values will be culture-bound – as the following example heard on ZFM American Forces Radio News (7/1/96) illustrates. It is from a news report of a snowbound Sunday in Washington, DC. The President of the United States was reported going to church: "The President was well dressed for the event in blue jeans and a flannel shirt".

Many Europeans would have difficulty in agreeing with this value judgement, bearing in mind the discussion on dress in Chapter 4.1. Contextualizing the statement, we can say that the President of the United States of America was well dressed according to an American set of values (of individual practicality, comfort and universalism).

Clarification

To connect these judgements to the speaker or writer's mental representation, we need to clarify them by asking:

• *Right/wrong/well*	according to whom?
	according to which set of culture-bound values?

6.5.6 Comparatives and superlatives

Any sentence that uses comparatives or superlatives without stating 'in comparison to what' is deleting some information from the surface representation. John Morley (1993:412) notes the advertising strategy of deleting the point of comparison. The industry makes ample use of this style as witnessed by the endless number of examples that range from "OMO washes whiter" to "Vortex kills germs longer". The fuzziness of the surface strapline allows the listeners or readers to fill in the missing details for themselves. Morley, in fact, attempts to retrieve the missing comparative for Vortex: "Longer than what? Longer than

any other product? Longer than it did last year? Or longer than a barrowful of horse manure would?"

Superlatives are also very much part of the advertising genre, with 'best' possibly the most recurrent. Another washing powder advert sums up how much can be done with the comparative and superlative of 'good'. It is difficult, reading the text, to believe that this can be anything else but a spoof on washing powder advertising, yet the voice-over, as Morley notes, depicts an intelligent, successful woman talking to equally intelligent and successful people:

> Most washing powders tell you they're good. Even better
> and they're right.
> But I'll tell you Radion Micro is the best yet.
> New Radion Micro
> Better than good
> Better than ... even better
> It's the best yet.
>
> (Morley 1993:410)

If we were to retrieve the missing comparatives and superlatives (among other deletions) from our knowledge of the genre, and in particular of other washing powder commercials, we would have the less effective (fictive) version below. Many, if not all, of the statements, though, will be untenable if actually based on objective testing. Hence, the advertiser does not explicitly state them. Instead, the advertiser relies on the never failing, but wholly unrealistic, human ability of closure:

> Most producers of washing powder tell you their product is good enough to wash clothes according to minimum washing standards as laid down by Detergents Regulation (EC) No 648/2004. They will also tell you that their products perform even better than the minimum standards and we believe these producers are right.
>
> But I'll tell you that Radion Micro is the best washing powder on the market, beating the minimum washing standards by at least 0.034%, which is 0.021% more than the best other washing powder performance (based on an aggregate selection of not totally replicable laboratory tests, performed under particular conditions; and certainly not statistically significant).
>
> This means that we believe the new Radion Micro product (see specifications in Appendix 1) is better than any of the good washing powders on the market today.
>
> We also have scientific evidence (see Appendix 3) to prove that Radion is better than the Persil washing powders that have been

advertised using the strapline "even better than all the other washing powders on the market today".

So, we have reason to believe that Radion is the best washing powder on the market – so far.

Clarification

To fill in the deleted comparative or superlative, the questions to ask are:

- Compared to what?
- According to what yardstick?

Very often, the clarification will lead to culture-bound differences; for example:

Statement		According to…	more specifically…
The meeting	went on for too long	*our* idea of use of time	our company's *modus operandi*
	was badly handled	the way *we* handle meetings	the Anglo-American way

6.5.7 Stance adjuncts

Examples: naturally, hopefully, in fact, in reality, obviously, clearly, of course

The three adverbs in the extract below appear to be describing what the writer could see. However, one of the three adverbs is not stating a fact but a value judgement:

… three men, **obviously** locals, were eating their lunch **steadily** and **silently**.

The Observer (12/1/1992)

The two adverbs after the second comma, "steadily" and "silently", describe how the three men were eating. "Obviously", though, is not describing a 'how' but is an evaluative comment made by the writer of the article. Eating steadily and silently is more directly observable, compared to 'the fact' that the men were locals.

An evaluative comment by a speaker on the content of the clause, as with "obviously", is called a 'stance adjunct' (Downing and Locke 2006:36, 73– 74, 234). Stance adjuncts are most often realized by adverbs, prepositional groups and by both non-finite and finite clauses. They are usually clearly positioned before or after the clause they are commenting on, as a sign that they are a comment; for example "**Naturally**, he spoke to me when he saw me". However, the unconscious brain tends not to notice the position of the adjunct, but does take note of the sound and look. As a result, stance adjuncts can interfere with communication. The surface structure (e.g. 'naturally', 'obviously') looks like an adverb describing an observable 'how'. In reality, these adjuncts represent an author's personal evaluation – which will not necessarily be obvious to a new readership.

Clarification

First, it is necessary to check if the adverb can be transformed into an 'anticipatory it' in the form "It is X that". If this is the case, then we have an example of a stance adjunct. For example, "Naturally, he spoke to me" can be transformed into: "It is natural that he spoke to me". Also, "obviously" can be transformed into "it is obvious that…", while "steadily" makes little sense as "it is steady that…".

Second, we need to recover the performative, and so the clarifying question is: "To whom is it *X* that…?" For example: "To whom is it *obvious* that the men were locals?" The full representation is now: "It was obvious to **me** that the men were locals".

6.6 Distortion

Both generalizations and deletions distort reality in the sense that what is said reduces the detail, making it progressively more difficult to connect to the full representation or specific frame. The following section, instead, focusses on language that actually distorts or transforms what is real or objectively verifiable. The reader or listener, in this case, is led to a different – though equally specific – frame of reference. We have already mentioned the human need to make sense of the world, and one way in which this is done is to distort it to fit our preconceptions. Bartlett, in his 1932 work, had already coined the term "conventionalisation" to explain the way one cultural reality is distorted by another: "Here is an element of culture coming into this group from another. What are the main principles of the changes it must undergo before it finally settles down to an accepted form in its new social setting?" (1932:268). Guirdham (1990) notes:

> We are very hesitant to accept any information that does not fit with our existing ideas and beliefs. We therefore select and distort our

new observations, so that the initial impression can be preserved. There is a lot of evidence that impressions once formed are resistant to change.

(Guirdham 1990:68)

This universal tendency, which Guirdham terms 'the locked-in effect', is very similar to the Principle of Analogy mentioned in 6.2. It is, in general, a useful strategy – otherwise values and beliefs might radically change, resulting in an identity crisis. The other side of the coin is the ease with which speakers can manipulate their audience, as Sperber and Wilson (1995:63) point out: "Journalists, professors, religious or political leaders assume, alas often on good grounds, that what they communicate automatically becomes mutually manifest".

6.6.1 Nominalization

Halliday (1992:68) uses the term 'thinginess' to describe nominalization. This useful term can be employed to ask about the degree of thinginess a thing (noun) has. The thinginess of 'hill', for example, is very different from that of 'sky'. Even more different is the thinginess of 'chair' compared with 'war', 'government', 'shopping' and so on. Some of these nouns are not really things but are ongoing processes which have been frozen. The sky changes in a way that a hill does not, and 'wars', 'governments' and 'shopping' are all dynamic processes that have been momentarily frozen. Individuals actively fight, govern and shop.

According to Downing and Locke (2006:162–165), nominalizations are transformations of verbs (de-verbals), attributes (de-adjectivals) and circumstances, into things or rather nouns. Nominalization, as the same authors affirm, replaces human agency with an abstraction. This process is therefore clearly a distortion of reality. The distortion also hides a deletion: the subject of the nominalization. Take, for example, the following sentence:

The war in [*location*] is terrible.

Clearly, it is fighting which hurts, but not even fighting in itself. People fight. The full representation should be:

[named people] fighting [named people] is terrible.

Clearly, there will almost always be a good reason for using this language shorthand, as usually we know who is fighting whom. Nominalization, in fact, is a particularly efficient way of reducing time spent on explicit communication. However, as Critical Discourse

Analysis literature has made clear (e.g. Van Dijk 2008; Fairclough 2013), it is also one of the key linguistic tools that are used to delete meanings, obfuscate or distort facts and influence perceptions and mental models.

Halliday (1992:77–79) is also concerned about "the trend towards thinginess". Though he limits his discussion to the rise of scientific and bureaucratic English, his conclusions regarding the rise in the use of nominalizations are relevant to any discussion on clarity and contextualization in language: "The reality construed by this form of discourse [thinginess] became increasingly arcane and remote from the common-sense construction of experience … it had already come to be felt as alienating, a world made entirely of things" (1992:78–79).

As we have noted, nominalizations delete the subject (the agent). As a result, responsibility for utterances can be omitted. This phenomenon has been put to good use by those who prefer not to name names, such as politicians whose surface structures delete any common-sense construction of experience, as Halliday (1992:77–78) also points out.

The following is an example of political discourse. Kenneth Baker (British Home Secretary at the time) gave a speech to a packed Parliament and to about 6 million people watching television. He was discussing the legal system in England after 16 years of public protest against the wrongful imprisonment of a number of Irishmen and others. One particular group of six Irishmen (The Birmingham Six) had been given life sentences for their involvement in an IRA attack. Sixteen years later, they were released: victims of a miscarriage of justice. Kenneth Baker's words on that occasion were as follows:

> It is of fundamental importance that the arrangements of criminal justice should secure the speedy conviction of the guilty and the acquittal of the innocent. When that is not achieved public confidence is undermined.
>
> (UK Parliament 1991: Column 1109, para. 2)

In these two sentences there is no actor or agent. The listeners to these words have no idea *who* or *what* exactly has undermined public confidence or *who* believes that the issue is important now (rather than before). In short, references to specific individuals responsible for imprisoning the six Irishmen were deleted.

The translation scholar Jeremy Munday (2016) notes exactly the same process:

> the choice of a nominalization and passive such as "The decision made at the meeting was to reject your appeal" may hide a reality

that could otherwise be expressed by an active "I and the other members of the Committee have decided that we are rejecting your appeal".

(Munday 2016:145)

So, the translator, interpreter or cultural mediator needs to be sensitive not only towards the hidden full semantic meaning in a particular nominalization, but also to the appropriacy of duplicating it rather than considering a more active intervention (such as changing a nominalization to a verbal form).

Clarification

To check if a word or expression is a nominalization, we need to test if it can be de-nominalized and then turned into a verb, as below:

> - Put the presumed nominalization *importance/arrangements/ government/...* into one of the blank spaces:
>
>   ongoing _____
>   _____is/are ongoing
>
> - Clarify the nominalization by turning it into a verb, adjective or circumstance:
>
>   Who or What is *arranged/important/governing...*?
>   Who *arranges/is arranging* what?

6.6.2 Presupposition

Presuppositions are also hidden distortions of reality. They play tricks with what is theme and rheme, given and new information. Each clause is organized, as a message, into a theme and a non-theme or rheme (Halliday 2014: 88–89). In English, the theme is at the beginning of the clause and normally coincides with 'given' information. In fact, according to Dressler (1992), the *ordo naturalis* is to move from given to new information – especially in English. Halliday (2014:114–115) suggests that the clause (theme–rheme) and information unit (given–new) are parallel but related systems that enable discourse or text to flow. By organizing clauses into themes and rhemes or given and new information, writers/speakers manage to connect elements or stretches of text to what was mentioned or known earlier.

What was mentioned or known earlier will be assumed to be shared. So, the presupposition is that there was something that had gone on before, and 'that something' is shared information. This is precisely where distortion can take place. For example, a frequent question in

Mediterranean countries, which many British people have problems replying to is: "Which do you prefer? The sea or the mountains?" The question is posed by people from hotter climes. The reason for the problem is a difference in presupposition, which is culturally based. In general, climate-change notwithstanding, the British go on holiday looking for the sun, continental Europe being a favourite destination. Italians, Spaniards and other Mediterranean Europeans go on holiday too, but generally *away from* the heat to the sea or to the cooler mountains. So, the Mediterranean question presupposes that the interlocutors have already suffered the stagnant heat in towns or at least in the plains and wish to move to the two most convenient places that offer respite.

Clarification

The presuppositions can be clarified or challenged by asking what objective evidence there is to suggest that X is the case:

- How do you know specifically that   (*fill in with the presupposition*)

- What leads you to believe that   *there is a store manager*?
          something is going on?

6.6.3 Mind reading

Mind reading occurs when someone presumes to know about another person's thoughts (ideas, beliefs or feelings) without any objective evidence. We depend on this strategy in our day-to-day communication, as Channell (1994) illustrates in the following extract of a conversation:

C: Or have something completely different
B: Yeah that's right
C: Like a barbecue with a you know a
B: Yeah
C: Whatsit theme
B: Yeah

(Channell 1994:161)

B is literally reading C's mind at every turn, yet will be following his/her *own* picture of what C is talking about. So far in the conversation, B's mental representation is not clashing with C's words. And, as we

have mentioned earlier as a general principle ('Principle of Analogy' in 6.2 and 'locked-in effect' in 6.6), B will tend to fit C's words to his/her own frame. This makes communication much quicker, but on the other hand, there is no guarantee that the two mental representations are similar, unless there is feedback, as in the following example where "whatsisname" is named by the listener:

> "Where's Sandra? … did she come in?"
> "Gone t'bed. Came in a while ago."
> "And whatsisname?"
> "Cliff went home."
>
> (Lodge 1988)

In both the above examples, the speaker is explicitly asking the interlocutor to mind read ("you know?" and "whatsisname?"), and the communication is successful. One further point needs to be made in favour of mind reading before discussing the dangers in communication. Mind reading may not be explicit, yet it may still be a conscious activity; in which case, a label of 'intuition' or 'sixth sense' may well be added. This sixth sense is not actually mind reading but more often the result of heightened sensitivity to the non-verbal cues we have already discussed regarding 'Environment' and 'Behaviour' in Chapter 4 (see also Pease and Pease 2001:27–28). As Bateson (1972:412) among others points out, the non-verbal channel is a stronger channel of communication. In the case of interpreters in interactional settings, sensitivity to non-verbal signs is as important as language competence, as it enables the interpreter to capture the semiotic ensemble of multimodal expression and to understand the client's interactional moves (Pasquandrea 2012; Perez González 2014). This is not to say, however, that the interpreter's role is to read one interlocutor's mind for the benefit of another.

Also, clearly, there is a difference between listening and watching for non-verbal signals and believing that one can 'know' another's mind. Hasan's study of mother-and-child talk demonstrates that LAP mothers tend to resort to implicit mind reading more frequently than HAPs. Hasan (1991:101) noted, in particular, the LAP preference for 'assumptive' questions. A speaker selecting an assumptive question "believes she knows the other so well as to assume knowledge of the likely, normal, and/or desirable behaviour on the other's part". In any communication this can be dangerous, but in cross-cultural communication it is a recipe for misunderstanding at all levels. Hasan suggests that HAPs have beliefs that allow them to communicate more

effectively. The belief is based on what Hasan (1991) calls "the principle of individuation", which states that:

> Each of us as an individual is a unique being, and the intentions, beliefs, opinions of each one of us are private to each; they are, in principle, inaccessible to our conversational *others* without verbal mediation. Unless relatively specific and explicit verbal exchanges occur, the *other's* subjectivity cannot be accessed: one cannot assume *reflexive relation*, acting on the presumption that the other is just like us, ourselves.
>
> (Hasan 1991:100, emphasis in original)

LAPs and interculturally incompetent speakers, on the other hand, tend to behave as if the opposite were true; that is, they can read someone else's mind. The importance of identifying cultural presuppositions is beginning to be realized in areas such as court interpreting (e.g. Eades 2010:92–98) and community interpreting (e.g. Fatigante 2013; Baraldi and Gavioli 2015).

6.6.4 Cause and effect

The existence of cause and effect, an agent causing a change, is part of the natural world. In Physics, the universal rule is that every action has a reaction. An extreme example is the Butterfly Effect. This was named after a talk by the American meteorologist Edward Lorenz entitled 'Does the Flap of a Butterfly's Wings in Brazil Set Off a Tornado in Texas?'[5] He pointed out that a tiny change in the right place can have huge consequences. Not only in the physical and animal world is there cause and effect, but in the human world too. People too can cause, coerce and manipulate.

What is not universal, though, is the perception, scope and conditions for something or somebody to affect another directly. According to Nancy Bishop (1992:300–302), in her essay in honour of Longacre, "What can cause what is defined by a culture's worldview … What is considered coercion or manipulation is also culturally defined". In Linguistics, Downing and Locke (2006:130; see also Palmer 1996:147–169) add that "The notion of agency is a complex one, which includes such features as animacy, intention, motivation, responsibility and the use of one's own energy to initiate or control a process". The complexity of the notion is very rarely conscious, it is part of our out-of-awareness culture. When we say, "lightning damaged the house" or "prices are affecting trade", at the surface level we are attributing varying degrees of animacy, intention, motivation and responsibility to 'lightning' and 'prices'. As Downing and Locke state, these are

examples of easily identified metaphorical transfer from normally inanimate and unwitting agents to animate agents.

However, at times we have more of a problem separating the metaphor from the reality (see Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Below are two examples, one from Spain and the other from Morocco, of good advice or old wives' tales, depending on whether you believe in the cause-and-effect framework or believe that the surface structure is a distortion of reality:

Old wives' tale or good advice	Translation
Si duermes desnudo, te resfrías	If you sleep naked, you'll catch a cold.
الترابي خصهم يتلحفو بالبطانية عاد يخرجو، وإلا يضربهم الريح	A baby should be wrapped in a blanket to go out; otherwise, they will catch a cold/ pneumonia.

The above examples concern environmental cause and effect. However, neither of the above environmental conditions can actually cause, for example, a cold. Cold temperatures simply provide a context that favours agents such as viruses to cause the common cold or pneumonia. More importantly, both sayings perceive the cold as an agent to be wary of. In Nordic countries, the opposite view is prevalent. Norwegians, for example, learn at an early age the saying, "*Det fins ikke dårlig vær, bare dårlige klær*" (There is no bad weather, only bad clothing). The general (and equally unsubstantiated) belief is, as Lee (2013:n.p.) tells us, that outside in the cold is healthier than inside in the warm; so, "Nowadays most day-care centres in Sweden put children outside to rest. It's common to see rows of prams lined up in the snow at nap-time, with youngsters fast asleep inside."

Other cause–effect distortions are to do with human behaviour and psychological states. Statements by American engineers, for example, like "the behaviour of the French caused the meeting to break up" are semantically ill-formed. The behaviour of an individual cannot directly cause a response in the way that if you boil water it will turn to steam. The response will always depend on how the behaviour is interpreted by (in this particular example) the Americans, and their own map of the world, which, together with individual dispositions, will orient their own range of (preferred) responses. So, some of the responsibility for the response lies with those responding – as it is they who decide how to respond. For example, we can refer back to Chapter 2.2 and

Bromhead's cause-and-effect remark (1985:11) about London: "So much impermanence, change and movement have made the people more innovative, the place more lively, so full of surprises, that nothing is surprising". As we have already noted, the 'impermanence' is the stimulus, not the agent. The response in this case, according to Bromhead, is positive. However, this particular distortion of reality is especially dangerous for communication when we have a negative response. And this is what happens during culture shock. We make other people responsible for our feelings (whether positive or negative). Some semantically ill-formed ethnocentric examples are given below:

> The disorganization of [*culture B*] **makes** me frustrated.
>
> Their habits **revolt/disgust/upset** me.
>
> It **makes** me so angry that they can never say what they mean.
>
> Questionnaire reply from a French group of engineers (Nikola Hale 1996:108): "I like their [American] habit of staying focused on the topics of the agenda at meetings, but it **drives** me crazy because this reduces their ability to be flexible, innovative and open to new ideas".
>
> And below is an all-purpose generative cause–effect culture shock sentence:
> Their total disregard for [*fill in the noun of your choice*] really [*fill in with suitable emotive verb of your choice*] me.

By the same token that change could not cause London to be exciting (a highly relative value judgement anyway), it is highly unlikely that one person or culture can actually technically cause a certain response. With regard to both positive and negative effects of other people's behaviour, O'Connor and Seymour (2011:103) state: "Thinking that you can force people to experience different states of mind, or that other people can force you into different moods is very limiting, and causes a great deal of distress".

Clarification

We can clarify the supposed cause and effect by asking this question:

> • Does the act/event technically *cause* the response or is the response due to other factors such as socialization or individual character?

In general, cause and effect can be challenged by asking:

- How specifically *does X cause Y*?
- What would have to happen *for X not to be caused by Y*?
- Does X always (in all contexts) *cause Y*?

As mentioned above, cause and effect are part of the physical world we live in, but perception of the two and of the relation between them is not universal. As a case in point, Trudgen (2010:68–80) cites cases of Aboriginals in Australia whose perception of causality with regard to health is significantly different to that professed by Western medicine. The problem, as a health worker explained, is that "they don't understand the causation of diseases and sickness and their effects on the body, so the clinical procedures don't make any sense to them" – even in translation (Trudgen 2010:105). In fact, one particular Aboriginal, an elected member on a government commission who "did much of the interpreting" (2010:98), took more than ten years to understand that his own eating and smoking habits were causing the diabetes that was causing kidney failure, which was resulting in muscle fatigue around the heart. Understanding and acceptance only came when the "difference in world views" (2010:101) was made clear to him.

Notes

1 *Ren zhi chu xing ben shan/Xing xiang jin, xi xiang yuan* (Man by nature is good/People's inborn characters are similar, but learning makes them different), from Scollon *et al.* (2012:166).
2 The tests were originally developed in Gestalt Theory. They are discussed by Wilson Taylor (1953) in his article 'Cloze Procedure: A New Tool for Measuring Readability'.
3 This is from the nonsensical poem 'The Jabberwocky', in Carroll's (1981) *Alice Through the Looking Glass*.
4 Bandler and Grinder (1975:107) list the words in the box under lost performatives but call them simply 'cue words'. O'Connor (2013) uses the term 'judgements'. Here we will use the term 'value judgements' to indicate that the judgements are related to a (culture-bound) set of values.
5 Reported in O'Connor and Seymour (2011:207). This example is a useful metaphor to describe the cause–effect process, but it deliberately ignores two fundamental aspects of reality: gravity and friction.

Part II

Shifting frames

Translation and mediation
in theory and practice

7 Translation/mediation

The aim of this chapter is to:

- Discuss two models of translation: decoding–encoding and frame-based;
- Illustrate how frame theory is relevant to the translation process;
- Underline the fact that translation is a form of cross-cultural communication;
- Point out that translation is subject to Universal Modelling and can benefit from a conscious use of the Meta-Model;
- Discuss mediation processes such as 'adaptation', 'facilitation', 'distortion' and 'manipulation'.

7.1 The translation process

- The decoding–encoding model
- The importance of frame
- The cognitive creation model
- The translation process and culture

7.1.1 Decoding–encoding or cognitive creation

A number of models describing the translation process have been suggested over the past 50 years. One of the earliest, and still cited, proposed by Nida (Nida and Taber 1969:484), depends on the conduit metaphor mentioned in Chapter 1: the source text language is broken down into smaller parts, analysed, and then reformulated in other words – as if the text were being processed through a pipe. The emphasis can either be on the surface level, or as Nida proposes, on the fuller representative deep level (see Figure 7.1).

An alternative model suggests a more holistic process. In the translator's mind there is a "virtual translation" (Neubert and Shreve 1992:14), which is "a composite of the possible relations between a source text and a range of potential target texts". The virtual
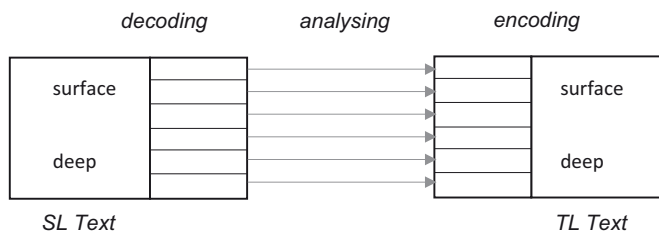
Figure 7.1 The decoding–encoding translation model

translation "accounts for [author and translator] knowledge, thoughts, and feelings. It includes their aims, intentions, needs and expectations." Chesterman (2017:335), too, talks of a "virtual process … the possible strategies for the translation … possible courses of action leading to possible solutions". The idea of a virtual translation will be used here to describe that out-of-awareness understanding a translator/interpreter has of the text and the feel he or she has of the text that has yet to be created in the target language.

Holmes (1988:96) proposed a similar theory regarding the translation process in his ground-breaking paper entitled 'The Name and Nature of Translation Studies'. His 'mapping theory' adopts a map metaphor similar to that discussed in this book:

> I have suggested that actually the translation process is a multi-level process. While we are translating sentences, we have a map of the original text in our minds and at the same time a map of the kind of text we want to produce in the target language.
>
> (Holmes 1988:96)

Wilss (1989:140–142) also draws attention to the 'Multi-Facet Concept of Translation Behaviour'. He takes a culture-oriented approach to translation and focusses extensively on the importance of context, but disagrees with the idea of a mental map. Though he notes Fillmore's (1977:61) suggestion that "one mentally creates a kind of world", he only fully agrees with Fillmore on the subject of frames. This, he says with regard to translation, is "more to the point".

More importantly, Wilss highlights two very different strategies for translating. The first strategy uses algorithmic knowledge: "If X in Source Text, then Y in Target Text". Wilss points out, even if he does not agree with the map or the virtual translation theory, that the second strategy involving "heuristic procedures" and "frames" must be employed to solve translation problems.

Snell-Hornby (1988:29), in her *Translation Studies: An Integrated Approach*, also advocates a heuristic perspective. Her integrated

approach is actually based on Lakoff's (1982) ideas and Rosch's (1978) research on prototypes and categorizations. Rosch identified two levels of category. Her research showed that at the lower level, categorization is based on the function, as in 'a chair' is for sitting on. At the higher level (e.g. 'furniture'), the category is less functionally detailed but carries greater cultural significance. "The essential point", according to Snell-Hornby (quoting Lakoff 1982:20 and adding her own emphasis), is that "At that [higher] level things are perceived holistically, *as a single gestalt*, while for identification at a lower level, specific details have to be picked out" (1988:29).

Interest in the Gestalt Theory in translation has since been mute, though there has been some discussion by Chinese scholars (e.g. Zhang 2008). Frame theory, and in particular, use of the frame metaphor, on the other hand, is firmly established in Translation Studies (Snell-Hornby 2006:110; see also Wendland's 2015 survey of Bible translation theories). Two of the early developers were Neubert and Shreve, who suggest that translators access grouped linguistic and textual knowledge. At the text level, this grouped knowledge has been given various names, which include 'text type' and 'genre'; and levels of grouping have been subdivided into frames, schemas, plans and scripts. In terms of scripts, a professional interpreter forms a basic idea of the moves of, for example, a conference delegate, who will make some opening remarks, agree, disagree, propose and conclude. As the delegate speaks, so the virtual text begins to take on form. The interpreter will already have a number of prototypical scripts, organized by genre, setting, culture and so on, ready to give substance to the virtual text (see also Gile 2009:174–175; Setton and Dawrant 2016:257–258).

However, the main area of interest here is the frame. Neubert and Shreve (1992:60), for example, define frames in terms of organization of experience and knowledge repertoires: "This organization of experience may be referred to *as framing* and the knowledge structures themselves as *frames*" (emphasis in the original). This is not to be confused with 'framing' in its active or activist sense, as used by Baker (2020:103): "setting up structures of anticipation that guide others' interpretation of events, usually as a direct challenge to dominant interpretations of the same events in a given society". In this latter sense of 'framing', translators themselves may influence their readerships through their translation choices and the ensuing narrative (Baker 2020).

Unfortunately, Vannerem and Snell-Hornby (1986:190), following Fillmore's categorization, use the term 'frame' differently to signify "the linguistic form on the page", while they reserve the term 'scene' for what we have been calling 'frame': "the reader/translator's personal experience". The ideas expressed, however, fully coincide with those of

other translation theorists: that the frames activated by the text "are very closely linked to the socio-cultural background of the language user in question".

Hönig (1991:79–80, emphasis in the original) simplifies Fillmore's 'scene-and-frame' distinctions, suggesting "*Scheme* and *frame* stand for different parts of the reader's expectation structures, they are structured domains of long-term memory". His understanding, also following Tannen's definition, is that frames are a combination of prior knowledge, generalizations and expectations regarding the text. As the text is read, so it is checked against expectations and degree of fit with other similar known or possible texts. As this process unfolds, a meaningful, but still virtual, text begins to develop in the mind of the translator (though Wilss, as we have noted, dissents here). From the meaningful but wordless text, the translator then sketches a pattern of words in the target language. This new pattern of words is equally frame-bound. In fact, Cognitive Translation scholar Halverson (2017) hypothesizes that culturally salient cognitive structures (such as prototypes) exert a "gravitational pull" in the translator's mind, resulting in either an under- or over-representation in translation.

The difference between the decoding–encoding approach and the frame-driven approach is summed up by Bell (1991:161), who states that "Current thinking among translation theorists … insists that a translated text is a new creation which derives from careful reading; a reconstruction rather than a copy". However, though most theorists today would agree with Bell, Kapsaskis (2018:6) points out that it has still to be resolved "whether translation is to be understood in terms of imitation/ reproduction/ resemblance or of creation/ originality/ difference" (see also Katan 2018b).

The diagram below (Figure 7.2) shows the difference between the decoding–encoding (copy) model, and the map or virtual text (creation) model. As can be seen, there is a looser connection between SL and TL text. Both texts feed into and out of the virtual text. This approach suggests that someone takes holistic control and coordinates the frames. As the arrows in the diagram suggest, and as pointed out in Chapter 1, the looseness or tightness of the connection between original and translation will depend on the contexts of situation and culture, including, among other things, the genre at hand, the mode of translation, and the translation brief.

The idea of 'source' and 'target' should also be framed. Marais (2019:12), for example, suggests 'incipient' and 'subsequent', to remind us that the translation in hand will be a frozen moment for us, but is actually only a moment in a more fluid process along a communication continuum. He also criticizes the focus of Translation Studies on language (rather than communication), suggesting that scholars should focus on 'sign systems' rather than limiting themselves
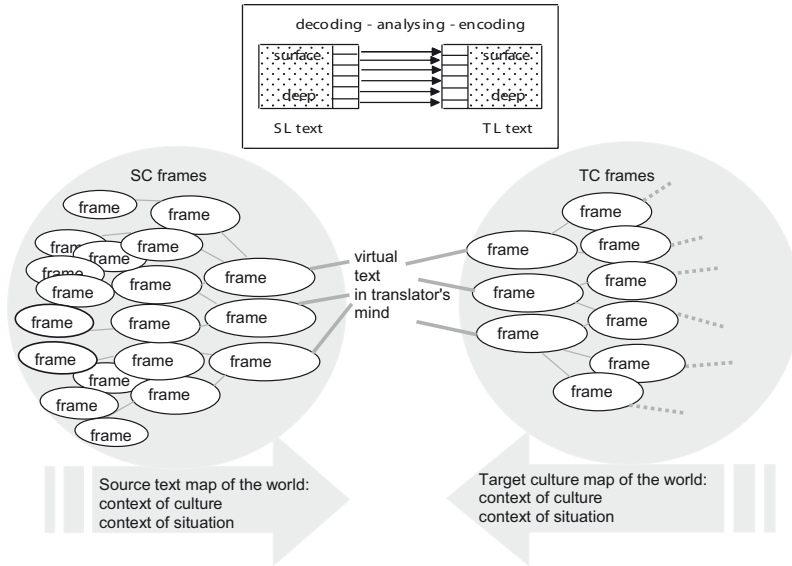
Figure 7.2 The cognitive creation translation model

to texts. We would agree that the virtual text should be understood more multimodally and more multimedially, and include all forms of sensory perception (see also Perez González 2014).

7.1.2 The translation process and culture

Snell-Hornby (1988:39–64), in her chapter 'Translation as a Cross-Cultural Event', states that the translation process can no longer be envisaged as being between two languages, but between two cultures involving "cross-cultural transfer", integrating Fillmore's concept of scenes-and-frames. Bassnett (2014), along with Snell-Hornby (2006:50–60), is most associated with the cultural turn in Translation Studies. She begins her seminal work, *Translation Studies* (originally published in 1980), with the title 'Central Issues: Language and Culture', and this comment: "In the same way that the surgeon, operating on the heart, cannot neglect the body that surrounds it, so the translator treats the text in isolation from the culture at his or her peril" (2014:25).

In fact, what makes an effective translator is her ability to understand and recreate culture-bound frames wherever necessary. In our view, a translator will be able to understand the frames of interpretation in the source culture and will produce a text which would create a comparable (rather than equivalent) set of interpretation frames to be accessed in the target reader's mind.

Of course, 'comparable', itself, is a deletion of the criteria; and in some ways is no more helpful than its outmoded predecessor 'equivalent'. The major shift, though, is in orientation. A translator mediating between cultures accepts that difference is the norm, and that there is no single 'correct' translation. The word 'correct' will always need to be contextualized: "Correct for whom, in what context, according to what norms?" Toury (1980, 2012) ably answers the question: the constantly changing, and conflicting, socio-cultural norms in the receiving culture. And this idea of mutability is very much in line with Marais, mentioned earlier.

The language of negotiations might help in explaining the mediation task involved in translation. Both texts (ST) and (TT) will have surface 'positions' (text), and will also have hidden 'interests' (cognitive effects) and 'needs' (functions). The cognitive effects will be in terms of the types of frame cued. It is the translator's task to discover the array of needs and look for creative options (through concessions, offers and straight trade) to satisfy the interests and requirements of both sides. This leads directly to the idea of prioritizing negotiable (and non-negotiable) areas, and of course, each 'side' will also have different strengths and weaknesses. In fact, as Even-Zohar (1978:16, emphasis in the original) points out, "There can obviously be no equality [read 'equivalence'] between the various literary systems and types. These systems maintain *hierarchical* relations, which means some maintain a more central position than others, or that some are *primary* while others are *secondary*." Toury (1980:18) expands this polysystem theory, explaining that texts contain clusters of properties, meanings and possibilities. All translations privilege certain properties/meanings at the expense of others.

As Hermans (2014 [1999]:110) affirms, the "polysystem theory has benefited translation research by placing translation squarely in a larger field of cultural activity". This larger field is rapidly expanding through a number of criticizable turns (see Baker and Saldanha 2020:xxvi), such as the sociological turn (e.g. Wolf and Fukari 2007; Angelelli 2014; Buzelin and Baraldi 2016), which frames not only the text and its contexts, but also the translator's status and contexts. More recently, we have the 'outward turn', which takes its cue from Cronin's volume on Eco-Translation (2017), and suggests "that the field needs to expand outwards, to improve communication with other disciplines, to move beyond binaries, to engage with the idea of translation as a global activity and to configure the planetary into all our thinking" (Bassnett and Johnston 2019:187).

As Bassnett and Johnston accept, this all-embracing global (though not yet interplanetary) approach to translation does not mean that a translator can disregard 'the text' itself. A successful translator must be aware of the importance of both text and context, which means

both the words and the implied frames in both source and target texts. These macro frames are important, as they focus on the ability and authority of the translator to act on the text, and consequently on the ethics of (in)action. However, this volume, though situated within a 'call for action', is most concerned with the mechanics and strategies of the practice itself, and not with views on any hierarchical relations.

The next sections divide the discussion on text, context and translation into the three principal aspects of Universal Modelling: generalization, deletion and distortion.

7.2 The Meta-Model and translation

The idea that one needs to understand the underlying intention of a writer to translate effectively has become a cornerstone of translation theory. In his 1923 treaty on translation, Walter Benjamin (1968 [1923]:77, emphasis in the original) said: "The task of the translator consists in finding that intended effect *[Intention]* upon the language into which he is translating which produces in it the echo of the original".

This aim, though, has been criticized for a number of reasons, including the fact that many writers are not entirely conscious of their intentions; and most of the time cannot even be asked about them, as explained in Wimsatt and Beardsley's (1946) seminal 'Intentional Fallacy' article (see also Mambrol 2018).

However, intention, whether conscious or not, can be extracted from the text, as discussed in Chapter 6.3. To do this, a translator must be able to create a full linguistic (and contextual) representation of the text, which is where the Meta-Model can become a useful instrument. As Dilts (1983 V:6) says, "The Meta-Model can provide substantial insight into the structure of thought and speech when applied to any personal, philosophical or political enquiry".

Nida (1976:71), as a Bible translator, was particularly interested in the structure of thought, and was active in attempting to translate the thoughts of God as clearly and as closely as possible to the original. For this reason, he adopted what he called "an essentially deep structure approach to certain problems of exegesis", which we briefly touched upon in Chapter 6.3. However, one of Nida's reasons for applying a deep structure approach is based on the belief that at the full representation level, the syntactic structures of various languages are similar. This belief has since been justly criticized (Gentzler 2001:47–50); and Chomsky (1965), in fact, has always warned that though there is a universal deep structure grammar, there is no necessary conduit correspondence between languages:

> The existence of deep-seated formal universals … implies that all languages are cut to the same pattern, but does not imply that there is any point by point correspondence between particular languages. It does not, for example, imply that there must be some reasonable procedure for translating between languages.
>
> (Chomsky 1965:30)

Our aim here does not, in fact, clash with this criticism because we are not looking for any linguistic correspondence between languages. What we are interested in is a speaker or writer and their message as meant within their particular construction of reality. Once we have understood the full extent of the message within its own reality, we have the beginnings of a virtual translation. In fact, Gentzler (2001) does accept that:

> Whether one accepts Chomsky's beliefs on how the human mind is structured or not, his deep structures, postulated to contain all the necessary syntactic as well as semantic information for a correct transformation into surface structure and interpretation, lend themselves well to the translation practitioner trying to represent an 'underlying' message in a second language.
>
> (Gentzler 2001:47)

This point is of great importance for the translator and interpreter. Nida (1976:72) goes into more detail, making two points in favour of investigating deeper structures with regard to the underlying message, both of which are particularly relevant today for those working cross-culturally. First, Nida continues, one can more readily identify the semantic structures when investigating subsurface levels. This means that a translator will be in a position to determine more accurately the extent of equivalence and the need for supplementation or redistribution of semantic components. Second, at the deeper levels of structure, one can more easily determine the symbolic relations and their hermeneutic implications.

Yet, very importantly, Nida (1976:75) also makes it clear that Chomsky's theory, or rather theories (standard, extended standard, generative semanticist), "involve certain important limitations" for translation. Nida makes two points here. First, he contends that theories only account for propositional meaning, and not for the connotations, focus, emphasis or foregrounding. Second, he also realizes that the theory depends on an ideal speaker and hearer, and as a result, on linguistic facts rather than actual contexts. He finishes his criticism of Chomsky with the following point: "Language cannot be discussed as though verbal communication occurs in a cultural vacuum".

Beekman and Callow (1974:169) also mention the importance of a deep structure approach to bring out the fullness of the text. They suggest a series of 'elicitation procedures', a rudimentary form of the Meta-Model, to be used in translation. They have in mind a language helper (a native source-language speaker), what we would call a 'cultural informer' (see Katan 2016b). We would suggest here that translators, interpreters and others should use the Meta-Model themselves to consciously locate the deletions, distortions and generalizations in the source text. Translators should also be conscious of their own modelling strategy in the production of the target text.

We will now look briefly at generalization, deletion and distortion in translation.

7.3 Generalization

Languages, as we have noted, categorize reality, when in reality there is no categorization. These unconscious generalized categories of everyday life are, of course, culture-bound. Many of the categories overlap perfectly, others less so. The fact that languages categorize in different ways brings us to the first main area of Universal Modelling: differences in generalization. However, as the same modelling process is universal to all languages, so, further generalization can be performed by the translator/interpreter to reduce distortion (discussed in detail in Chapter 8).

In fact, Baker (2018) discusses the conscious use of this factor to improve translations when faced with non-equivalence, under the title 'Translation by a More General Word (Superordinate)':

> This is one of the commonest strategies for dealing with many types of non-equivalence, particularly in the area of propositional meaning. It works equally well in most, if not all, languages, since the hierarchical structure of semantic fields is not language-specific.
> (Baker 2018:25)

7.4 Deletion

- Implicit (from the ST)
- Hidden or absent (in the ST context of culture)
- Addition/deletion (in the TT)

Beekman and Callow (1974:49) emphasize that surface structure deletions (implicit information) are also an important area to focus on: "One of the problems that face a translator whose mother tongue

is an Indo-European language is that of recognizing the presence of implicit information in the original".

Though they limit their discussion to the Bible and to Indo-European languages, the same can be said about any translation into any language. The three areas translators should look at in their search for evidence of deleted material (according to Beekman and Callow) can be summarized as follows:

• **Immediate context:**	of the original and translated texts; the same paragraph or an adjacent one
• **Remote context:**	elsewhere in the document, and in other related texts
• **Cultural context:**	the implicit information which lies outside the document, in the general situation which gave rise to the document, the circumstances of the SL writer and SL readers, their relationship, etc.

Larson (1984:42) uses a different taxonomy, suggesting a different approach to translation. For her, the immediate and remote context is 'implicit', whereas the cultural context is 'absent', as in the following adaptation:

Text:	"Despite fire, Notre Dame cross and altar still standing" (CBS News, 16/04/2019).
Implicit (remote):	The cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, and world-famous cultural icon, suffered extensive damage in a devastating fire, while at least some of the church furniture escaped damage.
Absent (cultural context):	For Christians, the altar and the cross carry inestimable symbolic value. The fact that these two artefacts remain standing after the entire roof of the cathedral had fallen, represents a sign from God that all was not lost.

For translators and interpreters, both implicit and absent contexts are part of the message, and must be accounted for where appropriate. We will use the term 'implicit' here to mean what can be made explicit

from the text; and the term 'context of culture' for that which is absent from the text, but can be retrieved through implicature[1] or associative ties (Neubert and Shreve 1992:59) within the particular text.

Foreign news reporters are one category of 'translators', or 'journalators' (Van Doorslaer 2012; Filmer 2014), who constantly have both the implicit information and the context of culture in mind as they attempt to give their readers a fuller representation of events occurring abroad. We will now look at a couple of examples showing how newspaper articles have made explicit what was either implicit or in the context of the source culture.

7.4.1 Implicit → explicit (addition)

As Hatim and Mason show (2013 [1990]:94), it is already fairly standard practice to add or delete according to the accessibility of the frame. They cite *The Guardian*'s translation of an article published by *Le Monde*. The journalator as a mediator has supplied the missing or less accessible frame regarding Nouméa, while deleting the explicit reference to Australia and New Zealand, as these frames would already be more than implicit for the reader of *The Guardian*:

Le Monde	*The Guardian*
Qui le 10 juillet au soir, dans le port d'Auckland en Nouvelle Zélande a posé deux bombes sur la coque du Rainbow-Warrior…?	But who in **Auckland** harbour on the evening of July 10 placed two mines on the hull of the Rainbow Warrior?
Les deux auteurs directs de l'attentat ont quitté Auckland … l'un pour Nouméa, l'autre pour Sydney (Australie).	The two men who carried out the attack … left Auckland, … one for Nouméa, **in the French Pacific territory of New Caledonia,** and the other for Sydney.

Source: Hatim and Mason (2013 [1990]:84, 87, 94)

The example below is from the English edition of the Spanish newspaper *El País*, dated 14 March 2020, a couple of days after the World Health Organization declared the coronavirus a global pandemic. The text is not a direct translation of one particular Spanish original, but appears to include both original writing in English and English versions of several news items from the Spanish edition of the newspaper.

> *El País*, 14 March 2020
> English version by Susana Urra
>
> **Madrid region orders restaurants and bars to close from Saturday onward to slow coronavirus spread**
>
> *Valencia follows suit, while Murcia confines 376,000 people in several coastal towns for two weeks*
>
> […] On Friday afternoon authorities in the region of Murcia announced confinements in **the popular coastal towns** of Cartagena, San Javier, San Pedro del Pinatar, Los Alcázares, La Unión, Mazarrón and Águilas. …
>   The regional premier, Fernando López Miras, blamed the move on the "irresponsible behavior" of a large number of people from Madrid who are taking the school quarantine period "like a vacation." …
>   **The Spanish monarchs**, Felipe VI and Letizia, took a coronavirus test on Thursday and the results came back negative, said the royal household in a statement.
>
> Source: https://english.elpais.com/society/2020-03-13/madrid-orders-restaurants-and-bars-to-close-from-saturday-onward-to-slow-coronavirus-spread.html

As highlighted in the text above, what is of interest here is that the English version refers to "the popular coastal towns", while another section in the Spanish edition refers to *sus municipios costeros* (its coastal towns). The English edition thus adds "popular", which is assumed as known for the Spanish readers. Similarly, the English edition adds "Spanish" when referring to the monarchs, while these are usually referred to as *los Reyes* (the Royals) in Spanish media. While the addition of information such as nationality or profession is not unusual when translating for a new national or cultural readership, the addition of "popular" above also activates a frame absent for the non-Spanish readers: this addition allows them to understand the link between Madrid residents taking quarantine as holidays and the health risks associated with mass tourism in coastal towns.

7.4.2 The context of culture

The previous examples dealt with information that is implicit; that is, retrievable from the structure of the text or related encyclopedic knowledge that competent outsiders may be expected to acquire. In these cases, the reader is able to process the information, and gain what Sperber and Wilson (1995:108–117) call "a contextual

effect": the effect on the listener or reader after making a deduction through linking the surface structure translation with the added deep structure explicitation. The effects may be strong or weak depending on the relevance of the text and the frames brought to mind.

We mentioned earlier that translators and interpreters also need to account for insider-oriented information that is implicit in the context of culture. We should also consider that the context of culture can be perceived at a number of different levels, from environment (e.g. institutions) to beliefs and values (cultural orientations) and identity. The following extracts show how a text producer (reporter, translator, etc.) has been aware of their readers' frames of reference. The first set of examples below illustrate how various 'translations' have mediated the culture gaps by adding information.

Mediation through addition, or explication, may be made as above through an unobtrusive "stealth gloss" (Grunebaum 2013:158), an artful addition of a definition or words in the TT, which goes unnoticed by the target reader, such as the example below from *The Rough Guide to Ireland* (Clements *et al*. 2015) and its official translation into Italian (emphasis added; see also Casagranda [2017] for discussion):

Original	Official translation	Back-translation
the eastern banks north and south of the Liffey – aka 'Canary Dwarf'	*le banchine orientali situate a nord e a sud del Liffey (chiamata* **scherzosamente** *'Canary Dwarf'* **alludendo al più grande Canary Wharf delle Docklands di Londra***)*	the eastern banks to the north and to the south of the Liffey (**jokingly** called 'Canary Dwarf' **alluding to the bigger Canary Wharf in the London Docklands**)

Interestingly, in this particular case, although the 'extralinguistic cultural reference' (Pedersen 2011) "Canary Wharf" has been made explicit, and the frame of interpretation (*scherzosamente*/jokingly) has been provided, the term "dwarf" has not been translated. Instead, the translator chose to allow the reader to interpret the frame ('how') without any explanation of the content ('what').

Journalators and other cultural informers will often domesticate, and make use of target culture frames or references to help the reader visualize and associate more closely with concepts and experiences in other cultures. Thus, through target culture analogy, the source culture can be more fully understood:

Al Jazeera English, 7 August 2013
Mohamed Ali

Columbus, Ohio – Every month I visit a small grocery store in a non-descript building in Columbus, Ohio, where I live, to use a service that keeps Somalia alive: "Hawala", the traditional money transfer system used throughout the Middle-East, Africa and South Asia. **Similar to Western Union**, Hawalas present a way to easily transfer money from one country to another, using a wide network of agents and central clearinghouses that make such transfers quick, cheap and reliable. …

Source: www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2013/8/7/overzealous-western-banks-pose-new-threat-to-war-ravaged-somalia

To bring the foreign *hawala* transfer system concept closer to the English readers, it is explained with a domesticating simile and then a gloss.

In a similar vein, an English translation of a guidebook on Venice also manages to capture the vision of the Venetian *brìcole* through the addition of a domesticating simile and gloss.

Venezia: Guide del Touring Club Italia (1984:21)	*The Heritage Guide: Venice* (1999:27) (translated from the TCI guidebook)
… i palazzi aprono direttamente sull'acqua rive d'ingresso e portoni, segnalati da **brìcole dipinte***, logge e polifore, …*	… palazzi, their entrances and portals and landing jetties opening directly out onto the water. Each palazzo is marked by **painted "bricole," the barber's pole-like mooring masts**, and fronted by loggias and mullioned windows.

This use of domesticating similes is much more effective than a simpler dictionary translation or gloss, which tells us that *brìcole dipinte* are 'painted navigation poles'.

More prosaically, on the next page of the same guide to Venice, is a cultural substitution of the Italian personalities (Foscolo and Canaletto) with just one American (Hemingway), and a generalization of "among a hundred others":

> *[…] non è difficile capire l'ammirazione che questa via d'acqua ha suscitato nei secoli in poeti, musicisti, pittori, **da Byron a Foscolo, da Canaletto a Canova a Wagner**, i quali in gran parte ebbero dimora sulle sue rive per periodi più o meno lunghi della loro vita*. (p.22)
>
> It is no wonder that painters and poets, musicians and writers have always expressed such great admiration for the canal. **Byron, Canova, Wagner, Hemingway, among a hundred others**, all spent lengthy periods of their lives on or near its banks. (p.28)

In addition to similes, metaphors and cultural substitutions, footnotes can also be used to provide the necessary context of culture. The use of footnotes (or side or endnotes) has certainly increased over the years. Katan (2019:129) reports a doctoral study of 13 translations of Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* into Italian during the twentieth century. The first four, up to the Second World War, averaged around four footnotes. From 1951 to 1997 there was an almost steady rise, from an average of around 50 to a heady 196 extra-textual translator additions, which range from footnote translations of the segments in French, explanations of the Biblical and other literary references, to the clarification of the meaning of the medical term 'consumption' in eighteenth-century Britain. Brontë wrote that Helen's "complaint was consumption, not typhus", which is duly translated as "*il suo disturbo era la consunzione, non il tifo*". However, the footnote explains that "consumption was the popular term for tuberculosis" (our translation), giving the outsider reader more insight into Brontë's world than the contemporary reader in English.

7.4.3 Explicit → deletion

All the above examples have added words to the texts to make what was implicit, or in the context of culture, accessible for the target text readers. At times, as we have hinted, the reverse should also take place. Though this method does little to increase knowledge of the source culture's way of being or doing, deletion is, at times, an extremely useful solution.

Deletion of the original context of culture will often be the norm for technical culture given its focus on transferring the 'what' (i.e. the content) from one language to another. Localization is a case in point. Nida (1997) noticed the use of deletion with regard to formal culture (appropriacy, form, style):

Intelligent secretaries in North America know how to delete overtly complimentary statements from Latins, and to add appropriate expressions of greeting and friendship from their North American bosses. Otherwise, Latinos will think that American businessmen will be reluctant to do business with Latinos who appear to be too flattering and insincere.

(Nida 1997:37)

It is, perhaps, telling that it is secretaries rather than translators that Nida is referring to. In Zeffirelli's (1999) film *Tea with Mussolini*, an Italian businessman dictates a letter to be typed. The very English secretary (played by Joan Plowright) intervenes, correcting and reducing the dictated baroque Italian commercial letter to a short prosaic typed note:

BUSINESSMAN: Caro Signor Keegan, most famous and respected *mercante* di Manchester
SECRETARY: Dear sir
BUSINESSMAN: I am in *grande gratitudine* for the massive and *importante* bundle of silk which will bring *lacrime allegre* in the eyes of *molte moltissime signore donne* Florentine
SECRETARY: Thank you for the consignment of fabric. It is up to your usual standard.
BUSINESSMAN: Please accept *signore* my most humble compliments and *sincerisimi* and good wishes
SECRETARY: Yours sincerely

(Zeffirelli 1999:n.p.)

Regarding informal culture (why particular words are chosen and the values that guide the choice), we need to distinguish between two levels of value-laden terms: "common usage" and "non casual" (Voegelin 1960:57). Common usage, or casual language, is the use or repetition of language that would go unnoticed, or would not be identified as differing from other comparable texts within that culture. Non-casual, on the other hand, is the individual use of language that in some way has literary value (see Katan 2015). What is of most interest in translating cultures is the translation of common usage.

Wierzbicka (1992:31–35) gives a good example of the problem of translating the commonly used Russian term *duša* ('soul'). She points out (1992:63) that, as the "universe of Anglo-Saxon culture often seems to be characterized by *bezdušie*, lack of *duša*", a faithful translation leads to an oddness for the target text reader, and would give prominence where none was originally given. This easily leads

to 'exoticizing' (Nord 2005 [1991]) of the foreign culture and to further strengthening of the strangeness of 'the other' (see Katan 2019). Wierzbicka (1992) gives the example below to illustrate her point. It is from Robert Chandler's translation of Vasily Grossman's (2011 [1980]:71) novel *Zhizn'i sud'ba (Life and Fate)*:

> I'm used to looking into people's eyes for symptoms of diseases – glaucoma, cataract. Now I can no longer look at people's eyes like that; what I see now is the reflection of the *soul*. A good *soul*, Vityenka! A sad, good-natured *soul*, defeated by violence, but at the same time triumphant over violence. A strong *soul*, Vitya! … Sometimes I think it's not so much me visiting the sick, as the other way round – that the people are a kind doctor who is healing my soul.
>   (Quoted by Wierzbicka 1992:31; emphasis added)

Her advice is to use other partial synonyms or eliminate some of the references to *duša* altogether. One possible solution might be as follows:

> [W]hat I see now is the reflection of the soul. Ah! Vityenka's good! Sad, good-natured, defeated by violence, but at the same time triumphant over violence. A strong soul, Vitya! …

We will see a further example of translator intervention to redress the emotional valence on a Russian text in Chapter 12.

An example of non-casual use that signals important individual value frames is illustrated by Robert Harrison, professor of Italian Literature. He notes (2011), in Machiavelli's *The Prince*, that the word *virtù* occurs 59 times in the original Italian text, whereas in the Norton critical translation,

> you'll notice that the translator refuses to translate the Italian word *virtù* with any consistent English equivalent … So for those of you who read *The Prince* in English, you may not fully appreciate the extent to which Machiavelli's political theory is wholly determined by his notion of an enduring antagonism between *virtù* and *fortuna*.
>   It is in fact impossible to translate with one English word the Italian *virtù*, but it's important that we come to terms with what Machiavelli means by it, because it has everything to do with his attempt to divorce politics from both morality and religion. He knew full well that he was taking a traditional word and evacuating it of all its religious and moral connotations.
>   (Harrison 2011:n.p.)

Harrison (2011:n.p.) does actually suggest a possible translation: "ingenuity". But, clearly, the translator will need to juggle with a number of shifting frames at once, and it is only from the virtual text that a feel for the right set of target-culture words and co-occurrences will be generated. This will be discussed further in the section on 'Chunking and cultural values' (Chapter 8.3.3).

However, on a cline of deletions, lexical items relating to values should be allowed to remain prominent compared with those relating to style. The problem for the translator mediating between cultures is to decide what is non-casual and what is common usage, and to what extent it relates to important deeper (cultural) values. Arabic, like the Italian example above, has a very different common-usage style orientation compared to English. Fakhri (2004:1119 [Abstract]) affirms that the "main features of Arabic discourse such as repetition and high-flown, ornamented expressions" may appear even in academic texts, which in English are expected to be neutral and detached. Hatim and Mason (1997:31–34) also note that Arabic has a higher threshold of tolerance for recurrence compared to English. As a purely stylistic feature, it would seem reasonable to reduce the oddness of repetition in the target text. In all cases, the translator will always need to check that the surface features are indeed only surface in meaning and do not cue other relevant frames.

As a case in point, Hatim and Mason (1997:28) themselves, in agreement with "an informal survey of mother-tongue readers", discuss a number of translations into English where lexical recurrence should have been retained in translation, noting that deletion left out reference to relevant values too. Karen Bennett (2014) also underlines the importance of retention over deletion. She takes the sociolinguistic term 'epistemicide' and applies it to the translation of academic discourse, whereby domestic beliefs and values are straitjacketed into an Anglo discourse norm, with the risk of actually losing academic enrichment.

One area of informal culture where deletion can be particularly useful is highlighted by Baker (2018:234): "A translator may decide to omit or replace whole stretches of text which violate the reader's expectations of how a taboo subject should be handled". Kuhiwczak (1995:236) and Hervey *et al.* (2000:24–26) cite the following as an example of how a quasi-taboo subject has been mishandled. The example also highlights the cultural problems involved in attempting to retain the form of the message. It is an extract from a bilingual promotional label that came with a pair of ladies' shoes (translation spelling as in the original, emphasis added):

Original Italian label	Official translation label
Complimenti! Lei ha scelto le calzature Blackpool realizzate con materiale di qualità superiore.	Compliments! You chosed the Blackpool shoes realized with materials of high quality
*La pelle, accuratamente selezionata nei **macelli** specializzati, dopo una serie di processi di lavorazione viene resa più morbida e flessibile.*	The leather, carefully selected in the specialized **slaughter-houses**, after different proceeding of manufacture, becomes softier and supplier.

Apart from the lexico-grammatical problems (e.g. 'chosed' for 'chose'; 'realized' for 'made' or 'proceeding' for 'treatment'), there are a number of cultural inappropriacies. The British brand name chosen might be associated with 'patent leather' and 'traditional quality' in Italy. In the UK, the seaside resort of Blackpool is more well-known for its theme park, which cues a very different set of frames. So, it is the task of the translator as cultural mediator to make any changes in connotation known to the client.

But the main point to be stressed here, following Baker's discussion on taboo subjects, is the sensitivity of those who do not work in the industry, to the treatment of animals. As French academic George Bataille wrote (quoted in Noys 2000:24), "We are deeply alienated from the slaughterhouse: firstly, we do not wish to see what happens there and secondly, its activities turn death into a productive and neutral event". In short, we (that group of people who happily consume animal products) do not wish to be reminded that our shoes began life in a slaughterhouse.

Though Italy scores lower on the Animal Cruelty Index than the UK or France, socio-cultural barriers in Italy have been preventing legislation recognizing, for example, animal sentience (The Animal Protection Institute 2020), making it more acceptable there to talk of slaughterhouses.

A more appropriate translation for the UK buyers of these shoes would be as follows:

Thank you for having chosen these shoes. They have been carefully made from the finest quality materials. The selected leather has been treated to make it soft and supple.
   or
   Your shoes have been carefully made from the finest quality materials.

Below is a further case, offered by Newmark (1993), of suggested dele-
tion to reduce (unintended) offence. He begins by quoting the English
translation of a tourist brochure advertising the beach resort of Jesolo
(near Venice):

> **Jollity in Jesolo**
>
> "We asked: Why Jesolo for your holidays?" … "Because", the well-
> rounded beauty in the illustration replies, "Jesolo can be reached
> so easily that my husband is able to come and see me every week-
> end, and each time he finds me more and more sun-tanned".
> I assume this is a close translation of the Italian original, and, as
> it is sexist, the translator should have left out the reference to the
> husband and confined him/herself to Jesolo's accessibility and its
> warm weather.
>
> (Newmark 1993:69)

We should first note that Newmark's comment "as it is sexist" lacks a
performative, and contains a value judgement. His implication is that
his evaluation is a general universally shared rule. Michaela Wolf
(1997:127) is not alone in claiming that translators need "profound
cultural knowledge" before they can begin to evaluate and generalize
about another culture's ways. With this cultural knowledge, it would
then be possible to consider an alternative set of Logical Levels for this
particular culture-bound behaviour. It is, for example, an Italian prac-
tice, for those who can, to escape from the heat and the humidity of
the urban areas to summer residences close to the beach, where tanning
is the main object. Those who cannot (often the husbands) join the rest
of the family when they can – at the weekend.

   Though we have focussed on the translator's decision to delete, this
operation is actually often made by the publishers. We have already
noted some examples of publisher deletion and bowdlerization in our
discussion of political correctness (Chapter 5.3). This use of deletion is
to safeguard the publisher from any adverse publicity or possible legal
action. At times, though, deletion can be a publisher's weapon to actu-
ally help sell a text. For example, Umberto Eco's *Il Nome della Rosa*
was consciously abridged for the American market:[2]

> [G]etting out the American edition required a bit of additional
> work, mainly reducing the Latin content by about 10 per cent so
> as not to scare off the less-erudite reader. The 200,000 hardcover
> copies sold so far in the US indicate that this was probably a wise
> move.
>
> (Gilbert 1983:F1:6)

However, neither Eco himself nor William Weaver, the translator, were involved.

As far as translators/interpreters are concerned, it is worth restating that the translation commission, text or discourse type and context/setting will determine the level of appropriateness of a given strategy or action (in this case, deletion/omission). For instance, a translator/interpreter working in a police or legal setting cannot leave out content explicitly expressed in an original statement, however offensive or culturally inappropriate it might be (e.g. Dueñas Gonzalez *et al*. 2012 [1991]).

7.5 Distortion and adaptation

- Lexico-grammatical distortion
- Foregrounding
- Adaptation: gains and losses
- Translation shifts: changes

In translation/interpreting assessment guidelines and professional codes of ethics, distortion is generally considered an accuracy error, which may vary from major to minor in terms of weight. Accuracy is understood as "optimal and complete message transfer into the target language preserving the content and intent of the source message or text without omission or distortion" (AUSIT 2012:5). In Chapter 6, on the other hand, we have discussed distortion in the sense of adaptation or filtering to fit one's map of the world or that of the intended audience. Distortion in the first sense tends to be unconscious and could be the outcome of comprehension or formulation challenges. In the other sense, it is more likely to be a conscious attempt to adapt the target text to its readership.

Distortion in the latter sense is neither good nor bad. It is a way of directing the addressee to what the speaker or writer considers important. Distortion as adaptation does not give us an objective picture of reality, but functions like a zoom lens, allowing the reader to focus on certain aspects, while leaving other aspects in the background.

There are a number of ways in which a message can be distorted in communication. First, languages differ in how their lexico-grammars show what is thematic, what is in focus and what is emphasized. Larson (1984:420), and the Bible translator Kathleen Callow (1974:49–69), among others, devote useful chapters to this surface-level distortion, using the term 'prominence'. Three important areas of difference that Larson emphasizes are as follows:

- The grammatical and lexical signals indicating the main theme of a discourse;
- The grammatical and lexical signals indicating background or supportive material;
- How focus and emphasis are signalled.

Distortion can occur through a faithful or literal translation. Where the original text relies on a marked word order to create a specific discursive or rhetorical effect, distortion can also occur when the translator opts for the default structure in the target language. Elimam (2013), for example, studied foregrounding through word order in the Qur'an and its English translations and found many minor distortions and translation losses in terms of meaning and focus as a result of 1) syntactical asymmetries between Arabic and English; and 2) the translator's choice of default English structures that do not reflect the rhetorical meaning conveyed through marked word order in the Qur'an. The following is an example, with some of the corresponding English translations cited by Elimam (2013:122):

والله يقدر الليل والنهار...

Back-translation: Only Allah determines day and night.

Published translations:

Abdel Haleem: God determines the division of night and day.
Fakhry: Allah determines the measure of the night and the day.
Asad: And God, who determines the measure of night and day.
Hilali and Khan: And Allah measures the night and the day.

In the original Arabic, fronting the noun 'Allah' conveys the meaning that only God determines day and night. This nominal structure (Subject-Verb-Object) is a marked choice and carries a specific function. In English, however, an SVO word order is the default structure. So, by choosing a default English structure to translate a marked word order in Arabic, the translators produced linguistically correct renderings but distorted the Qur'anic verse by missing its emphasized meaning (Elimam 2013:122–123).

7.5.1 Manipulation and adaptation

The example below reports the death of Roberto Calvi. He was the director of the Ambrosiano bank; and the Vatican church was one of its clients. He was, in fact, known as "God's banker". However, he

only became known to the British at large due to the fact that he died mysteriously in London after his bank went bankrupt. As *The Economist* reported (20/2/93, emphasis added), "The bank went under, and Calvi was found hanging – murdered, most people think – **beneath a bridge** in London". The name of the bridge was clearly not relevant. The Italian press, on the other hand, emphasized the name of the bridge, and translated it because of its perceived symbolic significance:

*Ed ecco riemerge l'ombra del cadavere del banchiere dagli occhi di ghiaccio, Il trovato morto sotto **il ponte dei Frati Neri** il 18 giugno 1982.* *Corriere della Sera* (02/04/93)	Once again the shadow of the body of the banker with the icy eyes re-emerges. He was found dead under **the bridge of the Black Friars** on 18 June 1982.

In present-day English, 'Blackfriars Bridge' simply denotes one of the bridges along the River Thames. It is a dead metaphor,[3] and cues no obvious extra frames. The translation into Italian, however, distorts the name of the bridge by highlighting the two original names: black + friars/*neri* + *frati*. Combining these two words cues a culture-bound myth and strong contextual effects: negative/occult (black) and Roman Catholic (friars).[4] So, the metaphor (*Frati Neri*) changes from dead to very much alive, and readily helped to associate the mysterious death of a Vatican banker (known as God's Banker) with a highly symbolic gesture made by members of an extreme Christian Democrat group associated with the Masonic lodge and the Mafia. So, the Italian translators/journalists or journalators made use of this translation option to convey their interpretation of the event with undoubted benefit for their reader.

   This form of distortion is an example of 'manipulation'. If we denominalize this word, we have 'to manipulate' (Collins Online Dictionary 2021):

- to handle or use, especially with some skill
- to negotiate, control, or influence (something or someone) cleverly, skilfully, or deviously

Many theorists are clearly concerned about the possibility of deviousness in a translation. However, the very act of translating involves skilful 'manipulation' as in the Collins Dictionary's first definition, and most of its second definition. Like 'distortion', 'manipulation' is often

used in a negative sense: "Conventionally manipulation, both translational and habitual is perceived as something negative …. Usually it is considered that manipulative strategies are resorted to both in everyday situations and in translation to hide one's true intentions" (Dukāte 2009:83). At the same time, as is shown below, many authors use the term to indicate control or influence, as in *The Manipulation of Literature* (Hermans 1985) or *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Frame* (Lefevere 1992). Dukāte (2009:73–74) notes that a number of authors use 'adaptation', 'application of cultural filter', 'shifts' or 'rewriting' to refer to more or less the same concept, but adds that 'manipulation' encompasses and is broader than all these. It might be helpful to use 'manipulation' for conscious translator intervention, especially when ideologically motivated, and use 'adaptation' or similar terms for the act of translating with intercultural communication in mind (catering for the target culture readership). However, there will always be a continuum between blatant and unscrupulous manipulation on the one hand and apolitical cultural mediation on the other. In both extremes, the notion of 'frame' is central.

Deviousness can occur in any translation. Faithful translations can often be as devious as any conscious manipulation of the text. In fact, it was due to a literal translation that President Nixon was convinced that the Japanese were devious in their negotiations (Kondo 1990:59). The interpreter's translation of the Japanese Prime Minister's words into English, though technically correct, led to an out-of-awareness misperception and misevaluation of the meaning. The result was a well-documented diplomatic fiasco (to which we will return in Chapter 12). Hence 'manipulation' (or adaptation) needs to be consciously understood and used, simply because it is part and parcel of the translation process – whether 'devious' or not.

Conscious 'manipulation' of the text in recent times was first proposed by Popovič (1970:78), who adopted the term 'shifts' in translation to show that losses, gains and changes are a necessary part of the translation process. Blum-Kulka (1986) devoted a chapter to 'Shifts of Cohesion and Coherence in Translation', and expressed the need to change the form to cohere with target-culture values. This was also discussed by Snell-Hornby (1988:23, emphasis added), who also described the rise of the "Manipulation School": "their starting point is the exact opposite of that represented by the linguistically oriented school …: not intended equivalence but *admitted manipulation*".

Bassnett, who falls under the umbrella of the Manipulation School, wrote "sameness cannot exist between two languages", and that once the goal of equivalent effect is relinquished, "it becomes possible to approach the question of *loss and gain* in the translation process" (2014:39, emphasis in the original). Bell (1991:6) agrees with

Bassnett, stating that equivalence is a "chimera". He goes on to say that "Something is always lost (or, might one suggest, 'gained'?) in the process". "Gains" in translation, Bassnett continued (2014:39), "can at times enrich or clarify the SL text as a direct result of the translation process".

Tymoczko (2016 [1999]) and Tymoczko and Gentzler (2002) affirm that translation is always a partial activity. Tymoczko (2016 [1999]) explains this, saying:

> some but not all of the source text is transposed and … translations represent source texts by highlighting specific segments or parts or by allowing specific attributes of the source texts to dominate and, hence, to represent the entirety of the work.
>
> (Tymoczko 2016 [1999]:282)

In fact, as Holmes (1973:68) noted, different translators, however faithful to the source text, will invariably produce their own and different renderings of almost any text. Any back-translations will further add to the differences, and, therefore: "To call this equivalence is perverse".

Rather than any search for equivalence, we should return to Benjamin's (1968 [1923]) main point. Translators or interpreters should focus on author intention or text function within a context of culture – and concentrate, in particular, on the facilitation of communication between original author/speaker and end receiver, although they should also be aware that not all translation/interpreting contexts have as their ultimate goal the facilitation of communication. So, rather than 'manipulation', it would be more useful to talk about the particular needs or objectives of the various parties involved (original text author, commissioner, translator/interpreter, hypothesized reader/actual addressee, institutional setting, etc.). Šarčević (2001:49, emphasis in the original), well-known for her work on legal translation, and the practical problems of translating EU law into Croatian, concludes with the following remark: "the goal of translators of the acquis [Community law] should not be fidelity to *the* source text but fidelity to the single instrument [of law] and to one's own language". We understand this to mean that translators are not expected to base their work on the surface structures of the source text, but on the spirit of the text and on the norms and expectations of the translation readership.

Returning to the language of negotiation, it is clear that if we wish to serve mutual interests (keep the spirit), we will need to make some (small) positional concessions regarding the form. Hence, rather than 'manipulate', it would be more useful to define 'facilitate' and 'mediate' (Collins Online Dictionary 2021):

Facilitate:	to make easier; assist the progress of
Mediate:	to resolve differences by mediation; to be in a middle or intermediate position (see Chapter 1.4)

We shall now look briefly at how translation has improved understanding, making it easier for the target reader to appreciate the author's (probable) intention. We have already noted how conscious deletion was employed in the English translation of *Il Nome della Rosa* to reduce the cognitive effort of reading every passage originally presented in Latin, thus boosting North American (and, no doubt, all English-speaking) sales. Clearly, though, as a text becomes more accessible, so the contextual effects are usually reduced. Yet, when the translator acts as a critical reader, increased accessibility can also mean increased contextual effect.

The example below (from Katan 1993b) is a particular case in point. It is an extract from Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*. Pandarus is telling Cressida that he thinks the beautiful Helen loves Troilus better than she does Paris. He continues:

PAND: I think his smiling becomes him better than any man in all Phrygia.
CRESS: Oh! he smiles valiantly.
PAND: Does he not?
CRESS: O! yes and 'twere a cloud in autumn.
PAND: Why go to then.
(Act I, Scene 2, lines 132–138)

The footnote to "a cloud in autumn", written by the editor of the *Arden Shakespeare*, is: "I do not understand this riposte" (Palmer 1982:111). The result is that for Palmer, and presumably for many lay readers, there is little or no contextual effect. The relevance has been lost. The following Italian translators, on the other hand, acting as critical readers have 'understood' this riposte.

Italian translation	Back-translation	Translator
Sicuro, come una nuvola d'autunno.	Certainly, like an autumn cloud.	Mario Praz, 1940
Oh sì! e pare una nuvola d'autunno.	Oh yes! and it seems like an autumn cloud.	Demetrio Vittorini, 1990

Italian translation	Back-translation	Translator
Sì. Come una nuvola d'autunno.	Yes. Like an autumn cloud.	Cesare Lodovico, 1965
Sì, e in autunno ci sono le nuvole.	Yes, and in autumn there are clouds.	Luigi Squarzina, 1977

In all four cases, the translators have interpreted the text for the reader by adding a conjunction or linking verb to the riposte. As a result, in Italian we now have an explicit ironic simile, which can render an array of potential contextual effects:

Object:	Troilus' smile
Image:	clouds in autumn
Sense:	wet, uninteresting, dismal

We now know that Cressida is not particularly enthralled by Troilus' smile. In Squarzina's translation, "Yes, and in autumn there are clouds", Cressida's feeling of 'So what?' is even clearer.

Returning to *Il Nome della Rosa*, William Weaver's translation has been praised by some of the most important literary critics (reported in Katan 1993a:152–153). Yet it is clear that he has distorted the original text. Apart from what has already been mentioned, in many small ways he has magnified the Englishness of Guglielmo, the English monk, so that he becomes for *The New York Times* (5/6/1985, emphasis added) "*Our* learned and ironic monk-detective" for the Anglo-American audience. One example will suffice:

Umberto Eco (1980:71)	Literal translation	William Weaver (Eco 1984:63)
[Ubertino:] "Castiga la tua intelligenza, impara a piangere sulle piaghe del Signore, butta via i tuoi libri."	[Ubertino:] "Chastize your intelligence, learn to weep over the wounds of the Lord, throw away your books."	[Ubertino:] "Mortify your intelligence, learn to weep over the wounds of the Lord, throw away your books."

Umberto Eco (1980:71)	Literal translation	William Weaver (Eco 1984:63)
"*Tratterrò* soltanto il tuo," sorrise Guglielmo.	"**I will** only **keep** yours," smiled William.	"**I will devote myself** only to yours," William smiled.
"Sciocco di un inglese."	"Foolish Englishman."	"Foolish Englishman."

Weaver, here, has "improved" on William's original witticism, by overtranslating the verb *trattenere* ('to keep', 'to detain', 'to hold', 'to use', Picchi 2002) with "devote myself to", letting the reader fully enjoy Ubertino's reply. This ironic exaggeration fits in well with English style. Leech (1983:145–146) suggests that "The best safeguard against deceit is to make sure the utterance is so much at variance with context that no one could reasonably believe it to be 'the whole truth and nothing but the truth'". He continues by pointing out that "English speaking culture (particularly British?) gives prominence to the Maxim of Tact and the Irony Principle". Weaver's use of this prominence has certainly heightened the contextual effects for the target reader.

The final two examples demonstrate extreme instances of intervening or 'manipulating' cross-culturally. The first one is Tanyus Abdu's translation of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. According to Hanna (2016:78–81), Abdu's translation produces a thematic change in Hamlet's "To be or not to be" monologue. The tragic language of the original is replaced with smooth and poetic Arabic, which gives the translation "a lyrical character". Hanna cites and back-translates Abdu's lines below to illustrate how one of the earliest translators of Shakespeare's work into Arabic dismisses the central theme and conflict (action versus inaction) and, instead, opts for lyrical lines on the peace and solace that death involves:

إذا كان الردى نوما سعيدا فكيف يخيفك النوم السعيد
هنالك حيث لا غدر فيخشى ولا حقد يشين ولا حقود
ولا حب بلا أمل وعمر تضيعه بما قد لا يفيد
ولا نفس تضيء بها الأماني فيطفئ نورها اليأس الشديد

If death is happy sleep, what makes you fear the happy sleep?
There one fears neither unfaithfulness, shameful envy, nor the envious

> Nor does one fear a hopeless love, nor a life wasted for nothing
> Nor a glimmering hopeful soul to be disheartened by great despair
>
> (Hanna 2016:80)

Hanna (2016:81) explains this thematic and aesthetic shift by 1) the fact that the translator had a particular performer in mind, the famous Egyptian singer Shaykh Salama Hijazi; and 2) the theatrical norms of the final decades of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth (singing was essential to theatre performance). Hanna also notes that Abdu also deletes, reducing 35 lines of Shakespeare's work into just 15 in Arabic.

The second example is an article in Italian (*Corriere della Sera*, 20/07/93), consisting of a very strong-worded reaction to a *Newsweek* report about the Italian military presence in Somalia in 1993.

ITALIA SOTTO ACCUSA: "INFORMAVA AIDID"	ITALY ACCUSED: "AIDID GIVEN THE TIP-OFF"
Puntano il dito contro il contingente italiano … L'accusa lanciata da 'Newsweek' è pesantissima. E infamante: "Gli italiani fanno spionaggio a favore del generale Aidid e contro le Nazione Unite".	The finger is pointed right at the Italian contingent … The accusation hurled by *Newsweek* is scathing. It is slanderous: "The Italians are spying for General Aidid against the United Nations".

The Italian newspaper 'translates' the *Newsweek* headline as above ("Aidid Given the Tip-Off"). The headline in the original article, though, is as in the box below: "Making a Mess of Things is a Team Effort". That said, the *Corriere della Sera* is entirely correct with regard to the message in the text itself.

Newsweek, 26 July 1993

The Pitfalls of Peacekeeping. United Nations: In War-Torn Somalia, Making a Mess of Things Is a Team Effort

… [Aidid] may have been tipped off. A US-run surveillance network has more than once caught members of Italy's UN contingent warning Aidid about operations against his forces, three western sources told *Newsweek*. Did the Italians warn Aidid? "Draw your own conclusions", said a senior US official. …

"Draw your own conclusions" leaves the reader with only one relevant implicature to consider. The contextual effects within an Anglo-American frame are that Italy is being blamed for the incident, at least until there is evidence to the contrary.

Like Abdu's translation above, the Italian report is an extreme example of a translation shift, and the target translation bears little or no formal equivalence to the original article. However, the Italian journalator has more than likely interpreted the illocutionary force of the senior US official. So, through intervention (or 'manipulation' and facilitation), the Italian reader has the opportunity to respond to the illocutionary force as *Newsweek* and the senior US official intended.

Chapter 8 discusses translation shift under the umbrella term of 'chunking'.

Notes

1 The term 'implicature' was coined by Grice (1975) to mean the exophoric linking that a hearer needs to make an utterance relevant.
2 Sari Gilbert, 'A Medieval Rose Takes Root' in *The Washington Post*, (9/10/1983, F1:6). See also the proceedings of the conference on the translation of *Il Nome della Rosa*, with the participation of Umberto Eco (eds. Avirovič and Dodds 1993). Two papers in particular focus on deletions: Chamosa and Santoyo (1993) and Katan (1993a).
3 Newmark (1988:106) divides metaphor into original, recent, adapted, stock (common), cliché and dead: "Dead metaphors, viz. metaphors where one is hardly conscious of the image".
4 Blackfriars Bridge lies in the borough of Blackfriars, where the monastery of the former Dominican order of monks was sited. The Dominicans were known as Black Friars because of their black mantle. In fact, the translation into *Frati Neri* is etymologically incorrect as *Frati Neri* are occult friars, not *Frati Domenicani*.

8   Chunking

The aim of this chapter is to:

- Outline the danger of local translation;
- Introduce the concept of chunking;
- Show how chunking can access frames;
- Give examples of chunking up, sideways and down;
- Give practical examples of chunking in translation: to establish text function for culture-bound lexis, behaviour and orientation;
- Discuss translation/interpretation tasks according to Logical Level.

8.1 Local translating

Hönig (1991:87) noted that trainees "love to learn and apply systemic language rules. But by applying these 'absolute' micro-strategic rules, they leave the mental reality of translating." More recently, Chesterman (2016:154) observes that trainees' understanding of the relation between original and translation is usually quite narrow and is often accompanied with a literal approach to translation. Trainees (particularly in their first year) tend to translate like machines, according to absolute semantic equivalence and, like machines, translate at the level of technical culture. In fact, one area where Machine Translation is used successfully is for the translation of explicit or restricted language texts, such as the medical translator apps used by emergency workers. The app searches through specific clinically organized categories to ask simple and relevant yes or no questions to the patient through text-to-speech translation of phrases that come built-in with the app. The term 'local' is used by Wilss (1989) to describe this type of decoding-and-encoding translation, and 'global' to describe cognitive re-creation based on frame analysis.

The terms 'local' and 'global' come from Sternberg's (1984:283) work on processing behaviour and intelligence. He claimed that "more-intelligent persons" tend to spend more time in "global (higher order) planning", a higher-order processing which takes the wider context into account. Their "less-intelligent" colleagues, on the other

hand, spend more time, like first-year translation trainees, on "local (lower order) planning".

The idea of local interpretation has also been put forward by Brown and Yule (1983:59). Their Principle of Local Interpretation is, however, universal. It "instructs the hearer not to construct a context any larger than he needs to arrive at an interpretation". This principle is very close to Wilson and Sperber's (1988:140) Relevance Theory. They suggest that an interlocutor's contribution will always aim at relevance, but that optimum relevance depends on the hearer being able to obtain "maximal cognitive effect for minimal processing effort". Both local and global processing strategies will follow these universal principles, but the results will be completely different. It is quite possible that local translating actually involves more cognitive effort than global translating.

A good example of local translating is the following student translation from Spanish into Arabic, taken from a brochure providing pregnancy advice, referring in particular to the mother and the foetus:

> *Lo habitual es que **su** peso aumente entre 9 y 13 kilos a lo largo de los 9 meses.*
>
> (**Your/His/Her** weight would normally increase from 9 to 13 kilos in the 9 months.)

This is an instance of where, grammatically, the pronoun in Spanish (as with many other languages) could refer to either the mother or the foetus. In general, the pronoun '*su*' may be used to refer to a third person (his, her) or to the addressee (a formal 'your') when there is some social distance, and deference politeness is required (as in the French '*votre*' or Italian '*suo*'). In the Spanish sentence, it is clear from the immediate context referring to weight increase that '*su*' refers to the mother:

> *Lo habitual es que **su** peso aumente entre 9 y 13 kilos a lo largo de los 9 meses.*
>
> (**Your** weight would normally increase from 9 to 13 kilos in the 9 months.)

A foetus *increasing* by a minimum of 9 kilos would be a jaw-dropping medical first rather than *normal*, given that the expected weight at birth is between 2.5 and 5 kilos maximum.

The student, however, translates '*su*' as referring to the foetus:

الوزن المعتاد هو أن يزيد وزنه بين 9 و 13 كيلوجرام على مدى 9 أشهر

(**The usual weight** is that **his weight** will increase 9 to 13 kg in 9 months.)

This particular student's translation leaves no doubt that he had made no mental image of the situation (pregnancy) while translating. Though this is probably an extreme example of failure to take the context into consideration, this form of translation is a typical case of local processing. These strategies are all-too-frequently adopted by intermediate second-language students. They tend to process information according to the surface text, without taking the context or the meta-message into account. It is this difference in the level of thinking which distinguishes an effective translator or interpreter from one who applies systemic language rules. Unfortunately, many trainees have learned to treat translation just like any other academic exercise, as a series of small segments of information, regardless of the fact that translation practice books stress the need for global pre-reading. For example, Gile (2009:79) notes that there is a consensus among translation and interpreting theorists, educators and practitioners that "Translation [with a capital 'T'] involves at least some degree of non-trivial comprehension of the source-language discourse – that is, that such comprehension goes beyond the simple recognition of words and linguistic structures", which is fully in line with Robinson's comment: "translators don't translate *words*; they translate *what people do with words*" (Robinson 2003:142). In a similar vein, Washbourne (2012:39) argues for a reading that situates the text in the world: "the surface-structure reading in which some novices engage betrays a text-involvement to the detriment of a world-involvement". He notes that professionals read strategically to construct meaning. Indeed, they tend to opt for a cyclical approach. They get a feel for the virtual text through actual translation while reading. Once they have a feel for the text, they will then return to the beginning and translate at professional speed.

Among other suggestions, Washbourne recommends that translator training curricula should integrate text processing tasks that develop students' ability to anticipate, activate and draw on existing schemas, metacognitively monitor their comprehension, and identify intertextual relations.

We have, of course, already talked of the translator as 'critical reader'. However, although the necessary behaviour is clearly spelled out, there are few specific guidelines on how to read to access frames, which will, in turn, produce the overall picture and virtual translation. One procedure which can aid trainees both in accessing these frames and in understanding the meta-message is called 'chunking'.

This procedure is also essential as a first step in mind shifting from one cultural reality to another. As we briefly mentioned in Chapter 4.8, this is an essential prerequisite for translators and interpreters. More specifically, by consciously applying the chunking procedure, trainees should be able to move away from the direct one-to-one absolute semantic equivalence towards translation that is based on contextual visualization and understanding.

8.2 Chunking

- Chunking up
- Chunking down
- Lateral chunking

The term 'chunking' has been taken from computing, and basically means to change the size of a unit. A unit can be made larger (chunking up), which means that, as more comes into view, we move from the specific to the general, or from the part to the whole. Moving in the other direction, we chunk down from the general to the specific or from the whole to the parts.

In NLP, chunking has been developed to show two points (O'Connor and Seymour 2011:146–148). First, meaning not only depends on context or frame, but there is also a continuous cline of frames: from sub-atomic to universal. Second, this cline reveals how the language of the sensory-based real world is linked to general, vague and metaphorical concepts. We can link, for example, the sensory-based "To live or to die" to the vaguer "To be or not to be" by chunking up to higher levels. In this case we move from the Logical Level of Behaviour to an expression of Identity.

In terms of language and translation, translators and interpreters need to be able to chunk up and down to establish the wider and narrower frames of reference of the source text. Chunking down is necessary for componential analysis to gain a better understanding of the semantic field of, for example, individual words. The Meta-Model is an example exercise in chunking down. The cultural mediation involved in translation also requires the translator to be able to chunk up, above the individual and different cultures, to more generic, culture-inclusive frames. Finally, translators and interpreters must be able to chunk sideways (or laterally) to find comparable frames in the target culture, as some of the examples in Chapter 7 showed (see Figure 8.1).

The process of moving from one level to another involves making associations. Translators, interpreters and cultural mediators will need

up   Culture-inclusive

Informal
out-of-awareness
vague language

Context of Culture

Context of Situation

Surface Structure (ST)

Generalization

Meta-model
Generalization
Distortion
Deletion

Deep Structure

Technical
Sensory-based
language

The Word

Componential Analysis

C
H
U
N
K
I
N
G

Generalization

FRAMES

across/lateral

C
H
U
N
K
I
N
G

down   Culture-specific
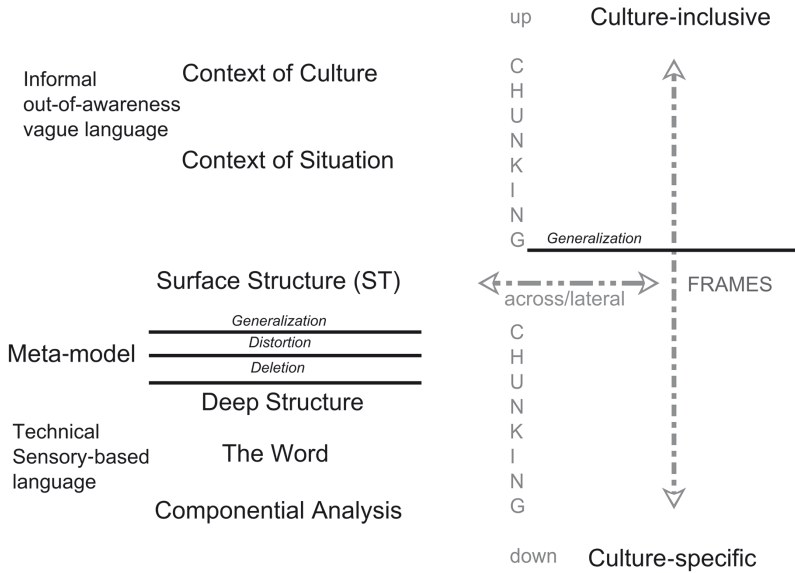
Figure 8.1 Chunking overview

to exploit their bicultural competence to develop a feel for which associations or frames are the most appropriate in each particular context. As Neubert and Shreve (1992:61) mention: "Matching cultural frames is an extremely important and difficult translation task". The 'feel' for appropriacy or matching is accounted for by the Principle of Local Interpretation and Relevance Theory. This means that the first frames to come to mind will, in general, be those which are most relevant.

A number of translation theorists have suggested a chunking strategy. Baker (2018) proposes looking for a more general word (chunking up) to overcome the problem of non-equivalence. Newmark discusses the importance of chunking down, which he calls cultural componential analysis (1988:83); while chunking is developed for medical translation in Montalt and González-Davies (2014 [2007]:177–180), and for audiovisual translation in Chiaro (2009:157–158; see also Grassilli 2013). Below, we explain how students can learn the strategy. NLP researchers are particularly interested in the 'how'. As we mentioned in Chapter 3, they have adapted Bateson's Logical Typing to make a model of human communication. One of the basic distinctions in learning that needs to be noted is between the observable behaviour (knowledge of 'what') and the not directly observable strategies (knowledge of 'how').

The question NLP researchers tackled was: "How can we learn to chunk?" The answer lies in the use of a series of formulaic procedural questions. These questions access interrelated frames in a way

similar to hypertext. Trainees who learn to apply these questions move away from the local word-for-word translation and are in a position to mediate effectively between contexts of cultures.

8.2.1 Chunking up

Here we begin with the specific and move towards what is more general. As an example, let us think of 'an armchair'. To step up to the next level – that is, to a more general level – one would ask, "What is *this* an example of?"

> What is (an armchair) an example of (in this context)?
>   *Or alternatively:*
>   What is (an armchair) part of (in this context)?
>   What is (an armchair) a type of (in this context)?
>   A logical answer could be 'chair'. To move up to the next, more general, level, the same question is asked:
>   What is (a chair) an example *or* part of *or* a type of?

In this particular case we arrive at 'furniture'. This is not the only answer, but in each case, there will be a relevant link (in Sperber and Wilson's [1995] use of the term 'relevant'). If we are more interested in functional relationships, the first chunk up (class association) would be 'a seat', because an armchair functions as a seat. To chunk up again, we ask: "*What is a seat an example of?*" Here, we could say 'support'. The more we chunk up, the more general the class, and at a certain point, the generalization becomes so general that it becomes meaningless.

   In lexical semantics, the more general class (e.g. seat, chair) is referred to as 'hypernym' or 'superordinate', while the more specific members of that class (e.g. armchair, stool) are called 'hyponyms' (see e.g. Cann 2011:459).

8.2.2 Chunking down

This is the reverse operation: from the general to the specific. The question to ask is "What is a specific example of *this group*?" This may lead us, in this case, from furniture, to chair and armchair. We can descend further to a particular type of armchair, and contextualize the armchair down to a particular armchair in the living room. We can also chunk down to the micro level by looking at the constituents, the material, the design and so on.

   The hyponyms included also give the translator valuable information about what is *not* included, and hence translatability at that level. For

example, if one were to say, "I had breakfast", then what is included in the superordinate 'breakfast' is the normal, expected breakfast of that cultural group. If the breakfast were in Southern India, chunking down may give us *rotis*, *dosas* or *idlis* with dips, spiced potatoes and so on. The translator's virtual text will provide information on what gaps need to be filled (and whether chunking laterally will be called for).

8.2.3 Lateral chunking

This is stepping sideways or laterally in much the same way as Edward De Bono's Lateral Thinking (1970). This procedure is particularly useful for mediating between cultures, and provides the type of mental gymnastics or mind shifting required to change the cultural frame. In chunking sideways, the translator, interpreter or cultural mediator is looking for alternatives that can more readily access source-culture frames. The question to ask here is:

What is another example of this class of things (in this context)?

or

What is at the same level as armchair?

Asking the question, "What is at the same level as armchair?", we could get: 'dining-room chair', 'sofa' and so on. Chunking sideways from 'chair', we arrive at 'stool', 'table', etc.

Bell (1991:240–254) provides a procedural model of the process. Though he does not specify how the model could be practically applied, his listing of relationships between encyclopedic entries is very similar (Figure 8.2 below).

As can be seen from the NLP chunking arrows on the right, Bell has, in fact, separated two levels of chunking. Both above and below the level of the word in question, one can chunk up, down or laterally. Bell distinguishes between two types of 'isa' (sic) meaning: either 'is a' or 'has'. In the first case, 'isa' is a case of chunking up, to the class of things a term is a member of. For example, "tiger isa (member of) 'big cat' which isa (member of) 'animal' ". In the second case, 'isa' (in the sense of 'has or includes as an example'), is a case of chunking down.

This second case, 'has-as-parts' and 'applies to', distinguishes a term from other things in that class. In the case of 'has-as-parts', if we chunk down from 'animal' to 'big cat', we may distinguish 'tiger' from other big cats by the fact it has a yellow-brown coat striped with black. The 'has-as-parts' chunking down is a defining characteristic, while 'applies to' is a variable association and will depend on the context. In
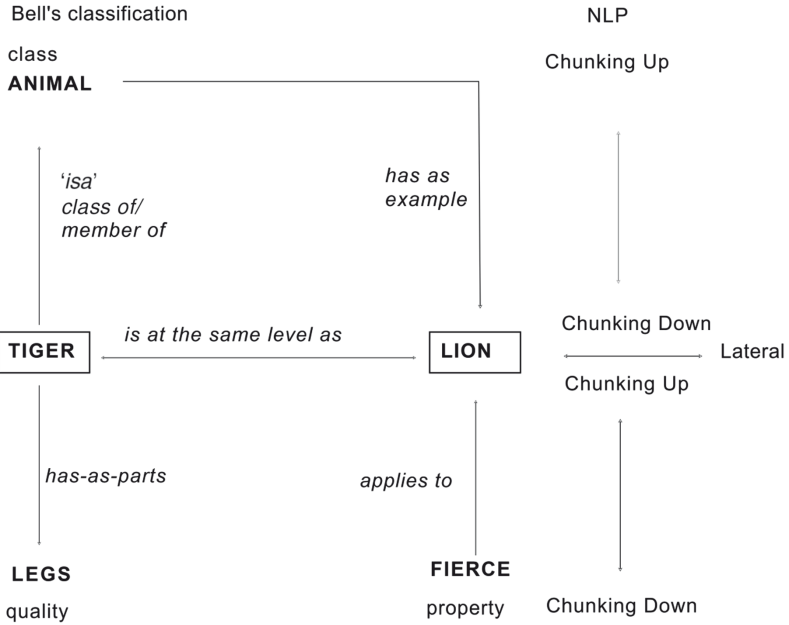
Figure 8.2 Bell's procedural model and NLP chunking

the case of the tiger, we may say that it is usually found in the forests of Asia, that it is becoming increasingly rare, and so on.

The links can be made in a number of ways. What is important is that each time links are made, relevant concepts are being added, providing a series of interlocking frames. It is this skill that is activated inside a professional translator's head and is an essential part of the global translation process. Trainees should practise chunking as a mental exercise in itself. Once students become consciously competent, the strategy can become internalized to become the unconscious strategy performed by professional translators, interpreters and other mediators. We will now look more specifically at how the chunking process may be applied to translation.

8.3 Global translation and mediation between cultures

- Text function
- Translation strategies
- Culture-bound lexis
- Culture-bound behaviour
- Culture-bound value orientations

8.3.1 Text function

When a reader reads, she or he brings a genre to mind. The closer the text being processed is to a known text type, the more fully it can be processed and a virtual translation be made. Chunking makes this procedure conscious. When trainees are faced with a text, however short, and this would include sentences used exclusively for grammar translation, they should chunk up asking the following question: "What is *this text* an example of?"

This would clearly give an idea of the text type or genre, and access similar known texts. Bell (1991:171) points out that by accessing the genre or text type, sense can be made of the new text, while Carl James (1988) asserts that recognition of genre and its rules is the translator's most important task. Neubert and Shreve (1992:48) note that one of the telling findings of Cognitive Psychology is that "text comprehension only occurs when the comprehender actively conjectures or projects the semantic content contained in the text". More recently, Colina (2015:159) asserts that the identification of the organizational and linguistic features of genre and text type facilitates comprehension and mental visualization, as do other types of situational schemas or background knowledge.

For many (e.g. Newmark 1981, 1988; Reiss 1981; Bell 1991), understanding of the text type is the principal key to translation strategy. Indeed, Riccardi (2002:115, emphasis in the original) suggests "to a great extent, technical texts must be translated or interpreted *semantically* and non-technical texts *communicatively*". The 'ill-formed' use of the universal modal operator of necessity or obligation ("texts must be translated") in this quotation should, of course, lead us to query the universality of the statement, as indeed the functionalist translation scholars do. Yet, Reiss, one of the pioneers of the functionalist Skopos Theory, also agrees that successful translation, as Gentzler (2001:72, emphasis in the original) notes, depends "upon identifying the *source-text typologies*, including the text's appeal or aim, and reconstructing those elements in the receiving culture".

Chunking down question: What are the constituent elements of this text?

Reiss (1981:124) herself suggests a similar question: Which basic communicative form is realized in the concrete text with the help of written texts?

Though her question may seem opaque, the possible replies she offers are very clear:

a) The communication of content – informative type
b) The communication of artistically organized content – expressive type
c) The communication of content with a[n instructional or] persuasive character – operative type

(Reiss 1981:124)

Chunking down will help in focussing on register and the other features that make the particular text under study an example of a particular text type. Lateral chunking will encourage trainees to consider other texts which would come under the same text-type heading.

The more this is done, the more students begin to get a feel for where the borders are between one text type and another. It also helps trainees to realize that a text-type label is often misleading, as a text will, in general, be hybrid or polyfunctional (Vermeer 1978; Hatim and Mason 2013 [1990]:141; Woodsworth 2002:131–132). A text, therefore, will not be bound by prescriptive norms that determine a particular translation strategy. As Snell-Hornby (1988:31) states: "Blend-forms" rather than a rigid typology of texts "are part of the conceptual system and not the exception".

8.3.2 Chunking from texts to cultures

As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, a virtual translation is a useful metaphor for the vision a translator has of what the target text and its associated frames will be like. The translator or interpreter, faced with choices, will test the alternatives against the feelings he or she has relating to the virtual text. Through chunking, they can decide whether to produce a more source-culture-oriented translation or a more target-culture-oriented one. In traditional translation theory, we have polarized extremes. For some examples over the centuries, see below.

Translation orientation:	
context-independent	context-dependent
source text	target text/culture
invariance	variance
Translation approach:	
faithful/literal	free/transparent/idiomatic
verbum e verbo	*sensum de sensu* (St Jerome)

metaphrase	paraphrase (Dryden)
alienating	naturalizing (Schleiermacher)
functional	dynamic (Nida)
direct	oblique (Vinay and Darbelnet)
local	global (Wilss)
semantic	communicative (Newmark)
overt	covert (House)
instrumental	documentary (Nord)
adequate	acceptable (Toury)
stable	dynamic (Hatim and Mason)
descriptive	interpretative (Gutt)
foreign as foreign	naturalization (Berman)
foreignization	domestication (Venuti)
resistancy	fluency (Venuti)
Chunk approach:	
no chunking/chunking down	chunking up/down/lateral

In general, each strategy pair pits source text loyalty against target text (or at times culture) loyalty. Strategies on the left-hand column tend to share an underlying belief that meaning is innate in the text, whereas the strategies on the right focus on how the text might be understood by a particular reader in a particular context. Modern origins of these alternative approaches can be found in Schleiermacher's lectures '*Ueber die verschiedenen Methoden des Uebersetzens*' (On the Different Methods of Translation) to the Prussian Academy of Sciences in 1813 (translated by Robinson 2013). He outlines two methods as a philosophical choice: "either the translator disturbs the writer as little as possible and moves the reader in [her or] his direction, or disturbs the reader as little as possible and moves the writer in [her or] his direction" (Robinson 2013:50). At an academic level there has been a radical shift since the 1980s from focus on the writer to focus on the reader (Gentzler 2001:71). The focus is most evident in Skopos Theory and the functionalist approach (Reiss and Vermeer 2014 [1984]) – though this radical shift is still only noticeable in academia (see Katan 2016b, 2018b).

Both source and target approaches are required for mediation, and both relate to chunking. The source-text approach focusses on the original words of the author, remains faithful to them and ignores the

real world of the target culture. In fact, Newmark (1988:46, emphasis added) mentions that the translator wishing to produce a semantic translation "may translate less important words by culturally neutral third or functional terms but *not by cultural equivalents*". In this case, the translator will chunk up from the specific source culture to a more general, all-embracing term. This term will tend to be less culture-specific the more we chunk up. Here, Venuti's foreignizing approach would vary from the semantic approach in that the goal would be (again following Schleiermacher) to move the reader in the original writer's direction without disturbing the writer. So, in theory, this cuts out both culturally equivalent and culturally neutral solutions. In reality, Venuti's foreignizing uses a fair amount of lateral chunking (see Katan 2019:125).

When the translator wishes to produce a more target-culture-oriented translation, using (in Newmark's words) a cultural equivalent, then she or he will continue chunking. First it will be necessary to chunk up and then laterally, to move away from the image of the source text. Then the translator will chunk down to move towards the sensory world of the target culture (see Figure 8.3). Venuti's (1998:18) own example can be useful here: "*Perché non mirare agli ultimi limiti?*" translates semantically as "Why not aim for the outmost bounds?" However, Venuti's analysis tells us that he first chunked up to determine that this line is an example of the main character's introspection and rationalization of an extreme psychological state. He then looked for and found an American cultural equivalent in an iconic 1960s science-fiction series called *The Outer Limits* (Stevens 1963–1965), which began with the following (for the time, extremely unnerving): "There is nothing wrong with your television set. Do not attempt to adjust the picture… You are about to experience the awe and mystery which reaches from the inner mind to – The Outer Limits". So, his final translation was "Why not shoot for the outer limits?"

The last three sub-sections of this chapter focus on how chunking can be used with regard to:

- Culture-bound lexis
- Culture-bound behaviour
- Cultural orientations

The extracts are from literary works; however, the principle remains the same, whatever the blend-form of text.
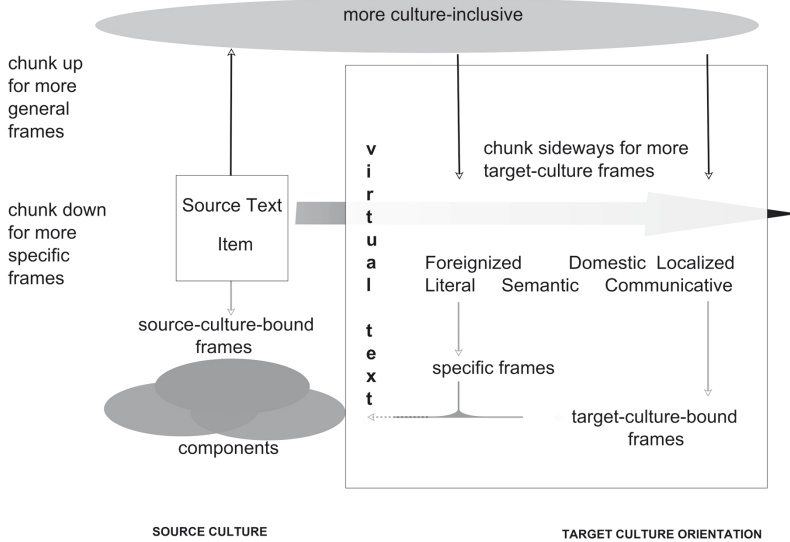
Figure 8.3 Chunking to generate choice

8.3.3 Culture-bound lexis

In Sue Townsend's (1985) popular work of fiction *The Secret Diary of Adrian Mole Aged 13 3/4*, Adrian has a friend by the name of Maxwell House. To deal with the name, the translator can chunk laterally, and quite legitimately simply borrow the name: "Maxwell House". This would, in general, be the most logical strategy with regard to personal names.

However, the fictional name here is not casual, and nor are the connotations. Christopher Taylor (1990:106–107) notes that the contraposition of Maxwell (first name) and House (surname) creates a comic effect. Maxwell is a normal first name, yet the collocation with House, at the time, accessed a totally different frame, that of quality instant or freeze-dried coffee. So, a translator wishing to retain the comic effect will need to isolate the contributing factors by chunking:

We find, by chunking up, that "Maxwell House" is 'a member of' (the class of):

- personal name (name + surname)
- brand of coffee (Maxwell House instant coffee)

If we chunk down, we notice that the personal name Maxwell House 'is composed of' (connotes):

> • *Maxwell*: distinction, class (UK and US); comedy (US)
> • *Maxwell* + *House*: is a coffee brand name with (at the time) a comic effect

The translator with these semantic constructs can then begin to work on the target culture. She or he will have a feel for what is needed from the variety of frames making up the virtual text and will then open up, for example, Italian frames by asking an appropriate procedural question. In this case, if we chunk across at the superordinate level of brand of coffee, the chunking-down question to ask is: "What is an example in the Italian culture of a brand name of coffee, which could be read as a distinct name + surname, and create a comic effect?" An answer might well be *Illy Caffè,* Italy's popular upmarket brand of coffee, which also includes a family name. This method would result in a target-culture-oriented translation. The virtual text, though, would tell us that Maxwell House is English, and that the whole context of culture is British. Clearly, having a friend called *Illy Caffè* would give him a continental flavour.

The natural step is then to ask, chunking sideways but now incorporating the new culture-bound example: "What is at the same level as Maxwell House and *Illy Caffè*?"; that is, what would create a comic effect for the target reader, but at the same time remain source-text oriented? This procedure borrows some of the features of *tertium comparationis* (e.g. Pym 2014:17), the quality that two things which are being compared have in common. In other words, we are looking for the invariant (such as: personal name/drink/comic effect) that can be used to measure the gap between two totally culture-bound terms. An inspired solution was "Teo Lipton" (Corbolante 1987). For an Italian, Lipton Tea, or rather *Tè Lipton*, is synonymous with Anglo-Saxon culture. The advertising of the product in Italy at the time was also deliberately comic: an American speaking Italian with a strong mid-Atlantic accent.

Figure 8.4 shows the principal stages in chunking.

8.3.4 Culture-bound behaviour

The following example is from Nobel Prize laureate Naguib Mahfouz's *Zuqāq al-Midaq* (*Midaq Alley*), together with its published English and German translations. The extract describes how Abbas Hilu asks for Hamida's hand through the mediation of Umm Kamil (Aubed 2019:858–859). What is of interest is the action of drinking *sharbat* as a cultural behaviour indicating engagement:
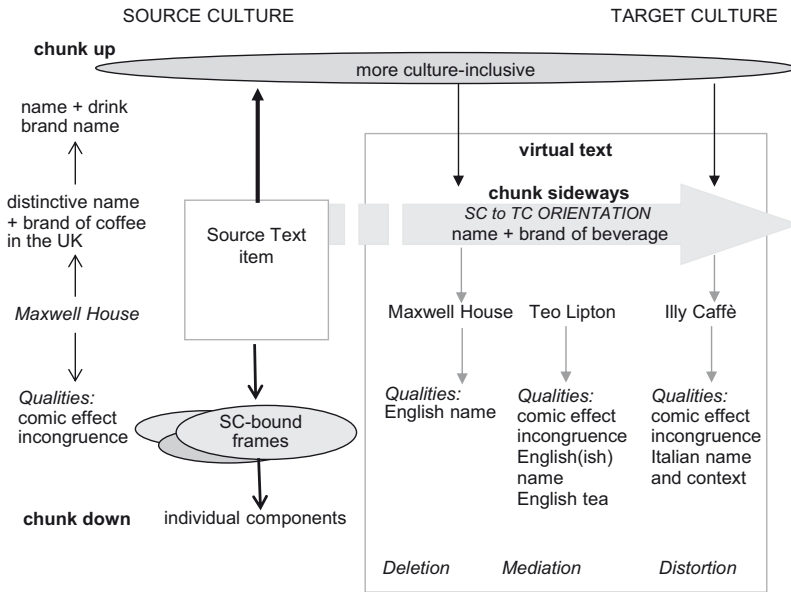
Figure 8.4 Translating and chunking: Maxwell House

هذا عباس الحلو ابن زقاقنا، وابنك، وابني يطلب إليك يد حميدة فابتسمت المرأة وقالت: أهلا بالحلو الذي هو حلو، ستكون ابنتي عنده وكأنها لم تفارقني... وتحدث عم كامل عن الحلو وأخلاقه، وعن الست أم حميدة وأخلاقها... وقرأوا الفاتحة وشربوا الشربات

"This is Abbas Hilu, born and bred in our alley and a son of yours and mine; he wants Hamida's hand in marriage." Her mother smiled and said: "Welcome to him indeed, the sweet boy. My daughter shall be his, and it will be as though she had never left me." Uncle Kamil went on talking about Abbas and his fine qualities, about Um Hamida and her fine qualities…

They read the opening verse of the Qur'an, as was the custom at all engagement parties. Then refreshments were passed around.

"Das ist Abbas al-Hilu, ein Sohn unserer Gasse, also auch Ihr und mein Sohn. Er bittet um die Hand von Hamida." Sie lächelte, "Ein herzliches Willkommen für al-Hilu, der, wie schon sein Name sagt, reizend ist. Bei ihm wird meine Tochter so gut aufgehoben sein, als hätte sie mich nie verlassen." Onkel Kamil fing ein wenig zu plaudern an, er sprach von Abbas und seinem guten Charakter und auch von Umm Hamidas zauberhafter Wesensart…

Man trank noch etwas, sprach die Fatiha, die ersten Verse aus dem Koran, wie das bei Verlobungen üblich ist.

(Aubed 2019:858–859)
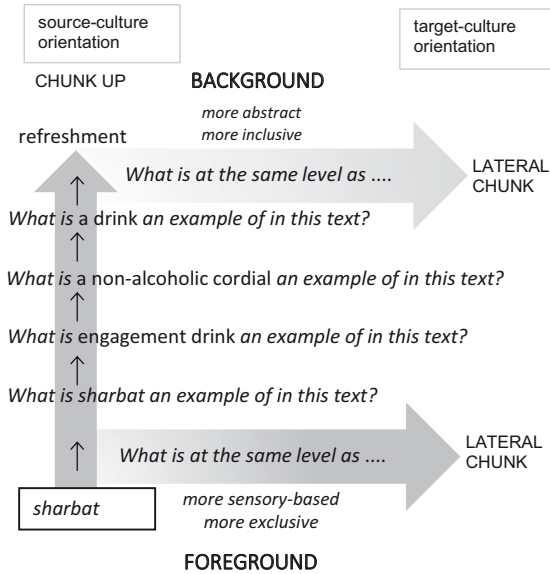
Figure 8.5 Chunking questions

The English version shows that the engagement is concluded as follows: "They read the opening verse of the Qur'an, as was the custom at all engagement parties. Then refreshments were passed around", while the German translation refers to reading "the Fatiha, the first verses from the Koran, as is customary for engagements" and, earlier, to having "something" to drink. In both cases we have an instance of explicitation of a cultural implicit (see Chapter 7 on cultural implicitness); namely, that reading *Fatiha* is a custom at engagement parties in Egypt and other Arab countries. As for the celebratory drinks, the English translator chunks up and renders the culture-specific and occasion-specific *sharbat* as "refreshments". Similarly, the German translator chunks up to the more general "drank something", which pragmatically means the people had beverages (see Figures 8.5 and 8.6).

One of the aims of the translator as a cultural mediator is to help the reader gain an insight into the source culture. One insight is provided in both the translations above by explicitly providing additional cultural context (that the setting related to engagement). Once that piece of information was added and the reader was made aware of what was going on, the English and German translators apparently did not deem it necessary to convey the culture-specific behaviour of drinking *sharbat*, hence the use of the various superordinates. What has been lost in the chunking-up process is the specificity of the refreshment (a sweet cordial made of fruits, lemon juice, rose water, sugar or honey,
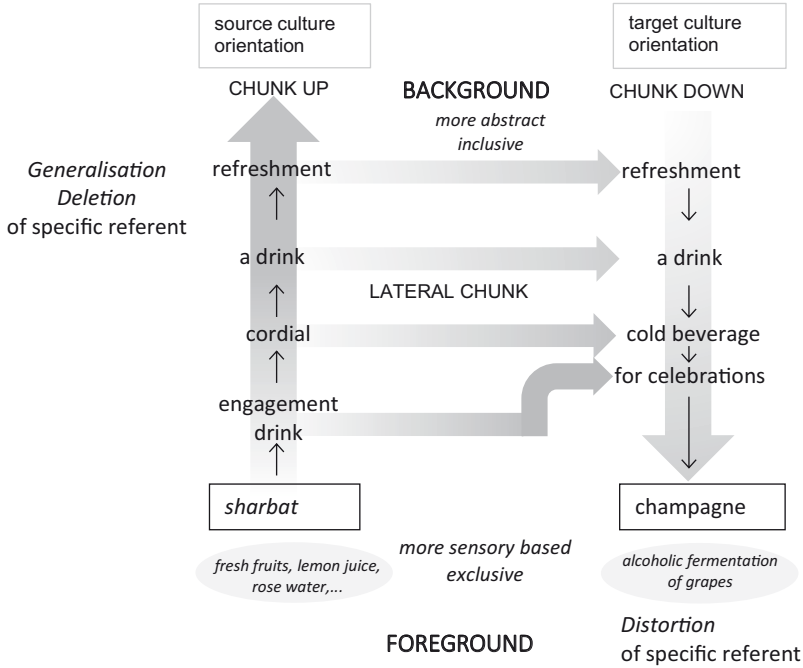
Figure 8.6 Translating and chunking: *sharbat*

among other options) and the fact that the *sharbat* is an essential part of the engagement ritual, as Egyptian films and soap operas often show. Naturally, chunking up or down may be more or less appropriate, depending on the nature of the text, the overall translator approach, and the position and function of the culture-specific behaviour (e.g. how relevant or important it is, whether it has been mentioned earlier and so on).

8.3.5 Chunking and cultural values

We have already noted Newmark's (1993:69) categorical assumption that the translation of the suntanning episode in Jesolo was sexist (see Chapter 7.4). We explained that this may have more to do with his misinterpretation of local traditions than any flouting of universally accepted values. If we apply a Logical Levels analysis, it becomes clear that monocultural readers of this text (Newmark included) will logically interpret and evaluate according to their own hidden, out-of-awareness value system (see Figure 8.7).

So, an unmediated translation will, through logical links, lead the reader to an ethnocentric set of values. This is hardly surprising if we take the Attribution theory and Logical Levels Theory (Chapter 4) into
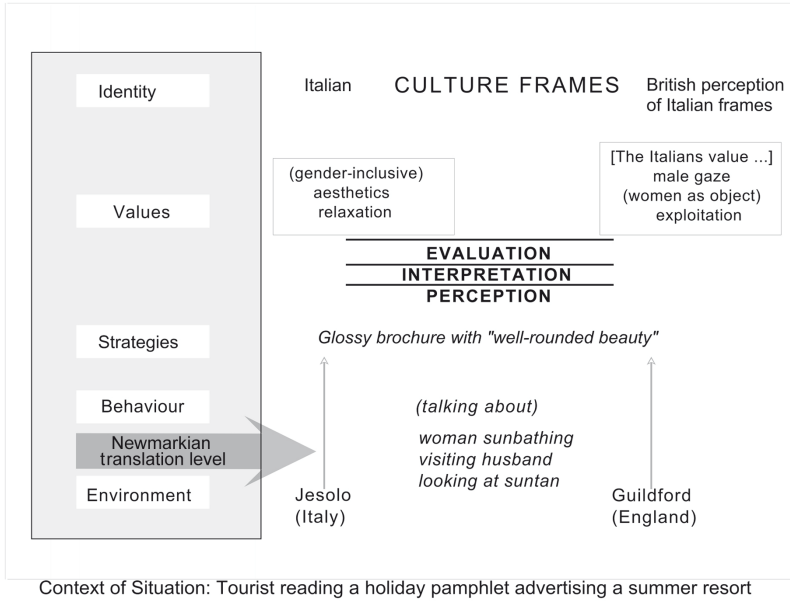
Figure 8.7 Translating without mediating values: suntan

account. Readers can only tolerate just so much difference. Any more difference and they – we all – become ethnocentric. The translator as a 'cultural mediator' needs either to be conscious of his/her own tolerance limits and deal with them or already be in a (meta) position to direct the reader to a comparable frame.

   For another example of cultural values (and how to mediate them), we return to the American writer Tom Wolfe (1990) and his chronicling of life in New York. Not unusually, there are many references to the price of things (emphasis in the original). To interpret the prices in terms of buying power in the year 2021, we need mentally to double the figures:

[Sherman McCoy:] "Once you had lived in a $2.6 million apartment on Park Avenue – it was impossible to live in a $1 million apartment! Naturally, there was no way to explain this to a living soul. Unless you were a complete fool, you couldn't even make the words come out of your mouth. Nevertheless – *it was so!* It was … *an impossibility!*" …

   He [Sherman McCoy] sat with his $650 New and Lingwood shoes pulled up against the cold white bowl of the toilet and the newspaper rustling in his trembling hands, envisioning Campbell,

> her eyes brimming with tears, leaving the marbled entry hall, on the tenth floor for the last time, commencing her descent into the lower depths.
>
> (Wolfe 1990:148–149)

The dollars, on a technical level, can be translated into any other currency with no problem whatsoever. But in what frame are we going to understand $650 shoes (or rather $1300 in 2021)? An American reader is likely to find the question strange. It is natural (in certain cultural contexts) to talk about the price of things; and, if it is at all possible to attach a price to something, as approximate as it may be, that price will surely be mentioned. Here, the dollars indicate the amount of effort, sacrifice and, ultimately, success that Sherman, the main character in the book, has had in life.

In other cultural contexts this is not so, which takes us to the out-of-awareness culture that Hall (1990 [1959]) cited in his Triad of Culture. French philosopher Pascal Bruckner (2017), for example, has written an entire book on the French aversion to speaking plainly about money, particularly by those who have it. Raymonde Carroll (1988:128–129), a former professor of French, explains that for her compatriots, "the face of an American could easily be replaced by a dollar sign, a sign of 'incurable materialism', of arrogance, of power, of 'vulgar', unrefined pleasure".

Essentially, the translator will need to be aware of the source-culture frame within which he or she can interpret 'money'. That being done, the translator will look for a sign, or criterial equivalent, in the target culture which fits the overall virtual text and which relates to this particular value frame. The words 'luxury' and 'designer' in Italian or in French would both act as a cue to accessing the same value frames as the American 'money'.

A close, non-chunked, or semantic translation leads the reader to a very different set of values, and hence distorts the writer's intention (as illustrated in Figure 8.8). This is an example of the danger of source-text 'foreignizing', which in theory aims to prevent ethnocentrism by "taking the reader over to the foreign culture, making him or her see the (cultural and linguistic) differences" (Venuti 1995b:4).

If we leave the foreign money as 'money', the translation will only *strengthen* the ethnocentric view that all American eyes are made up of Donald Duck dollars. As some pointed out during the debate with Venuti on the subject (Schäffner 1995:32), "what is intended to be a non-ethnocentric … translation … can be read as being extremely ethnocentric" (Robinson), and "literalism is not always a good way of
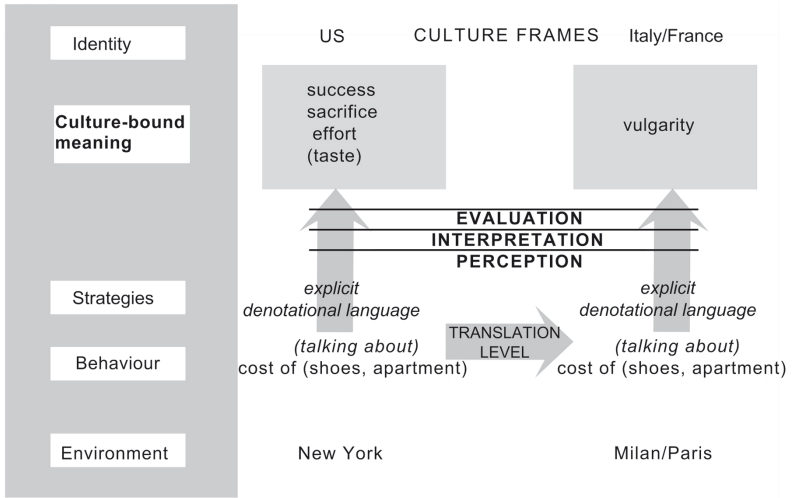
Figure 8.8 Translating without mediating values: money

being non-ethnocentric" (Baker). Indeed, this strategy of limited inter-vention may simply create an "eccentricizing" or "exoticizing" effect (Shamma 2005:63).

Language	Literal translation	Criticism
Spanish	*Como agua para chocolate* (Like water for chocolate)	This is a common Spanish expression referring to strong emotions (e.g. 'boiling mad'). It is also the title of a well-known novel and film. Its literal translation is meaningless in English, and "perpetuates a stereotype, a quaint, picturesque, Hispanic mind or mentality" (Robinson, in Schäffner 1995:32).
	El mundo es un pañuelo (The world is a handkerchief)	Using this literal rendition rather than the more idiomatic 'this is a small world' "is used to perpetuate condescending … stereotypes" (Robinson, in Schäffner 1995:32)

Language	Literal translation	Criticism
Arabic	أم المعارك (The mother of all battles)	While the Arabic expression refers to an existential war or battle, its literal translation during the First Gulf War "provided a convenient stereotype" (Baker, in Schäffner 1995:32).
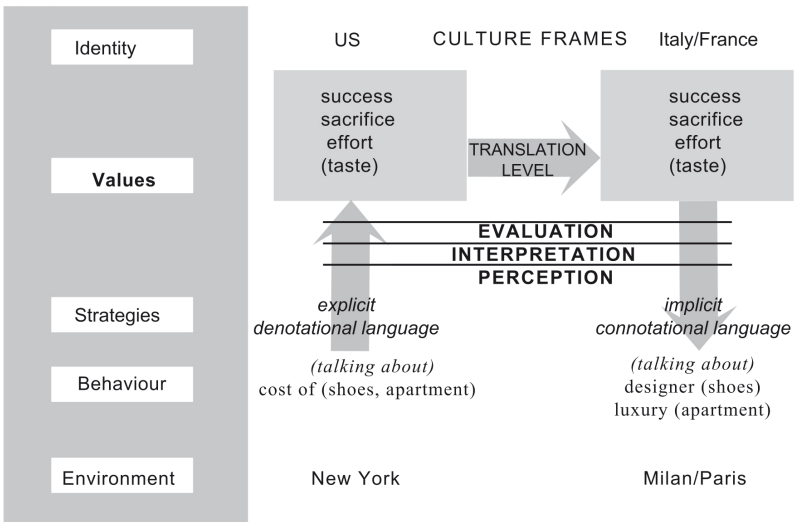
Figure 8.9 Chunking to mediate values

The chunking up tells us the general values that the shoes and the apartment are a member of. Lateral chunking takes us to the target-culture frame. Then we chunk down (in Italian or French in this case) to specific examples (criterial equivalents) which satisfy these values.

A translator can now help the target reader to access the same values (success, effort and taste) by substituting the sum of money with 'luxury', 'desirable' or 'designer' (see Figure 8.9). This strategy also obviates the need to account for inflation. We now have (back-translated):

[Sherman McCoy:] "Once you had lived in a **luxury** apartment on Park Avenue – it was impossible to live in a **merely desirable** apartment! Naturally, there was no way to explain this to a living

soul. Unless you were a complete fool, you couldn't even make the words come out of your mouth. Nevertheless – *it was so!* It was … *an impossibility!*" ...

He [Sherman McCoy] sat with his New and Lingwood **designer** shoes pulled up against the cold white bowl of the toilet and the newspaper rustling in his trembling hands, envisioning Campbell, her eyes brimming with tears, leaving the marbled entry hall, on the tenth floor for the last time, commencing her descent into the lower depths.

(Adapted for translation from Wolfe 1990:148–149)

8.3.6 The Logical Levels of a translator's/ interpreter's task

To conclude Part II on 'Translation and mediation in theory and practice', we can begin to clarify the task of the translator/interpreter as an agent mediating between two cultural worlds. In line with the functionalist theories of translating, the most important question to ask when called on to translate or interpret is, "What is it that's going on here?" This question was famously asked by Goffman (1974:9) with the full understanding that the question itself is reductive, and like everything else depends on context – and on point of view. Nevertheless, as a mediator, it is the translator's job to encompass the most likely interpretations, both from the source-text reader's view and that of the (virtual) target-text reader, with due attention to any other actor involved (such as the commissioner). The question can be asked at every level of the Logical Levels Model. One can chunk up from the environment or down from identity and role to get more information, all of which will then be fed into the virtual text.

The translator/interpreter should also be able to note where or at which level there is more 'going on' or where there is more at stake. Chunking laterally, what is more apparent: the context of situation or that of culture? Will it be more important, for example, to please the client, respect the original author or the reader? At the deepest level is the role and mission in society, where there should be 'logical' (coherent and ethically acceptable) 'goings on' that work for the identity level, that of a translator/interpreter as 'mediator'. Chunking down to the level of values and beliefs will bring into play the 'mediator's' own ethics. Within the text itself, what are the important culture-bound or other values? What is/was the declared reason for the translation, the skopos (the communicative goal)? If the goal is not explicit, then it will be the translator/interpreter's responsibility to make it so, through either enquiry and insistence on a brief, or by making visible autonomous decisions.

Table 8.1 The mediator's task by Logical Level

Level	What is going on?	Potential differences to be accounted for in the text	Potential differences to be accounted for between cultures
Environment	Where and when is this 'going on'? In what context of situation?	Lexico-grammatical resources, genre, intertextual links, specialized language	Physical, political, social environment: period, people, setting, artefacts; culturemes, encyclopedic knowledge, allusions, culture bumps
Behaviour	What is it that is 'going on'? What is to be translated?	Semantics: visible text, locution, cohesion	Visible action Frequency/use of: verbal and non-verbal behaviour
Strategies	How are these things 'going on'? How is it to be translated?	Pragmatics: illocutionary intent/force, register, organization of discourse, house rules, individual style, coherence	Communication preferences: development of ideas; spoken/written styles; habits, customs; norms, appropriacy, rules; languaculture
Values/ beliefs	Why are these things 'going on'? What is the purpose of the translation?	Intentions: message, hidden message, assumptions, presuppositions	Hierarchy of preferred value orientations: beliefs about identity and about what is 'right', 'standard' or 'normal'
Identity	Who is involved in this 'going on'? • original author • reader(ships) • commissioner • translator as copier/mediator/…	Actors: personalities, animated subjects	National, ethnic, gender, religious, class, role; individual personality and cultural provenance(s)
Role, mission in society	Is this 'going on' coherent with my role/ mission and the relevant social forces? How do I need to act with regard to the social forces?	Agency Text as agent of change or status quo: esteem, ethics (of actors), long-term perlocutionary effects	The social forces Power issues: hegemonies, ideologies; moral issues, professional issues

For the interpreter, as suggested in Chapter 1.4, we should also add the relativity of appropriate performance and the requirements of the setting. In each of the following situations, the client will have not only differing needs but also different beliefs about the interpreter's task: doctor and migrant patient discussing a delicate operation; prosecuting lawyer and defendant; talk-show host, guest and TV viewer; speaker and medical conference delegates; supplier and buyer on a tour of the factory, at the negotiating table and at dinner.

Once these types of questions are answered, it will be easier for the interpreter or cultural mediator to focus on the most appropriate strategies and choice of words.

Part III will focus on the array of possible orientations that make up value clusters. The more sets of values the translator, interpreter or mediator is aware of, the more able he or she will be to infer meaning behind behaviour in any context.

Part III

The array of frames

Communication orientations

9   Cultural orientations

The aim of this chapter is to:

• Discuss cultural myths;
• Introduce a taxonomy of orientations.

9.1 Cultural myths

> • Social constructions
> • Cultural icons
> • Norms versus values
> • Examples of national stereotypes

Rollo May, in his book *The Cry for Myth*, follows Barthes (1993 [1957]) in suggesting that there are two modes of communication: myth and rationalistic language. Myth, according to May, "orients people to reality, transmits societal values, and helps the members of the society find a sense of identity. Myths give significance to our existence and unify our societies" (May 1991:6). This type of myth is culture itself, as explained also by Schneider:

> Where norms tell the actor how to play the scene, culture tells the actor how the scene is set and what it all means. Where norms tell the actor how to behave in the presence of ghosts, gods, and human beings, culture tells the actors what ghosts, gods, and human beings are and what they are all about.
>
> (Schneider 1976:203)

Kramsch (1993:235) points out that most people do not realize that meaning is based on a "social construction of cultural myths". The heroes, for example, that Hofstede talks about (see Chapter 2) are often part of a culture's myths – what a society tells itself and believes about itself:

> On the reality of facts and events that constitute a nation's history and culture is superimposed a cultural imagination that is no less real. This cultural imagination or public consciousness has been formed by centuries of literary texts and other artistic productions, as well as by certain public discourse in the press and other media.
>
> (Kramsch 1993:207)

Today, it is rather less literary texts and the press, but more social media that dominates the public consciousness, with fake news and 'false stories' capturing more of the cultural imagination than any reality, as the following extract from *The Atlantic* shows:

[A] massive new study analyzes every major contested news story in English across the span of Twitter's existence … and finds that the truth simply cannot compete with hoax and rumor. …

Soroush Vosoughi, a data scientist at MIT who has studied fake news since 2013 and who led this study [said:] "And that is not just because of bots. It might have something to do with human nature."

…

A false story is much more likely to go viral than a real story. A false story reaches 1,500 people six times quicker, on average, than a true story does. And while false stories outperform the truth on every subject—including business, terrorism and war, science and technology, and entertainment—fake news about politics regularly does best.

Twitter users seem almost to *prefer* sharing falsehoods. Even when the researchers controlled for every difference between the accounts originating rumors—like whether that person had more followers or was verified—falsehoods were still 70 percent more likely to get retweeted than accurate news.

…

Why does falsehood do so well? The MIT team settled on two hypotheses.

First, fake news seems to be more "novel" than real news. … Second, fake news evokes much more emotion than the average tweet. …

Source: Meyer (2018)

The idea of myth, as mentioned earlier, was developed by Barthes in 1957 in his volume *Mythologies*. His understanding of myth is much wider than an antonym of reality: "Myth is a type of speech" (1993 [1957]:109), he wrote. It is a form of meta-language, meaning that language is used to speak *about* what is perceived: "it points out and it notifies, it makes us understand something and it imposes it on us"

(1993 [1957]:117). Quite how much we are influenced by myths can be seen from any investigation of the language of collective memory, which we use to tell us what is true or normal. Logically, though, what is in our memory, and certainly the language we use to articulate it, will always be a deletion, distortion and generalization of reality, even without the aid of social media or ideological spinning.

The Australian 'ANZAC spirit' is a good example of myths in collective memory. ANZAC stands for the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps, who took part in the First World War. For Australians, the ANZAC spirit represents "unique characteristics of courage, ingenuity and mateship" (Daley 2018:10). Australians generally believe that the ANZAC spirit has an important influence on their national character and their perception of themselves (Donoghue and Tranter 2015). As the ANZAC Day Commemoration Committee of Queensland puts it, "the Spirit of ANZAC is a cornerstone which underpins our Australian image, way of life and indeed is an integral part of our heritage" (2010, cited in Donoghue and Tranter 2015:450). "Mateship" in particular has become central to Australian identity and culture. This ANZAC spirit manifests itself especially in times of crisis or disasters: "During cyclones, floods, and bushfires, Australians come together" to rescue and support one another (Australian War Memorial 2019:n.p.).

Donoghue and Tranter (2015) point out that the influence which the ANZAC spirit has had on Australian society is the outcome of three main factors: mass media, political leaders, and symbolic and cultural representations such as Anzac Day Commemorations, films and art (2015:457–458). Myths, as in the case of the ANZAC spirit, unlike fake news, are based on or related to actual past events or practice; but they are often romanticized. In most cases, the images and values evoked have much more to do with a distorted memory of an idealized reality; omitting, for example, the atrocities of war. Indeed, Mayoh (2018) suggests that "Australia's image is built on a mateship lie". She describes an everyday incident with a driver whose car breaks down and stays on the road under Australia's scorching sun for 40 minutes, while other drivers drive past without stopping to help. What Mayoh's article shows is that while there is an idealized view of what the Australian culture is about (i.e. egalitarianism, mateship and fair go), there are also other values and priorities at play in real-life situations (such as individual safety and comfort).

Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (2012) give a further example of this paradox, differentiating between what they call values and culture-bound norms. Both are part of our imprinting, but norms are the practical rules guiding actual behaviour, whereas value-laden beliefs are ideals that we allow to be overridden by more pragmatic norms:

> For instance, in one culture people might agree with the value [read belief]: "Hard work is essential to a prosperous society." Yet the behavioural norm sanctioned by the group may be: "Do not work harder than the other members of the group, because then we would all be expected to do more and would end up worse off." Here the norm differs from the value [or rather, belief].
>
> (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 2012:30)

Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner, in fact, confuse beliefs with core values. The value 'work' is still satisfied in the new norm, but it is part of a constellation of values that will also contain the more valued 'collective good' and 'prosperity'. To a large extent, though, norms represent the intersection or habitus between desired values, based on a historical response to perceived needs, and the behaviour linked to the external environment of the present. Environments (like hairstyles) can change quickly along with behaviours (e.g. global entertainment pursuits). The driving motivations (core values, meta-programs) dictating *how* the behaviour is to be framed will already be fossilized. Though they do not change or change much more slowly, they do accommodate new behaviours and environments. Values, then, may refer to past – fossilized – norms. The important point to be underlined here, though, is that our sense of identity also includes icons that have never had anything to do with our own lives – except possibly as spectators.

Kramsch (1993:208) notes that what a culture believes about itself easily overrides any evidence to the contrary, something we have already seen with regard to mateship. She gives her own salient example about her compatriots (1993:207): "The French individualists? Any trip to Paris will show the visitor how conformist the French can be in dress and fashion. And yet, everyone believes that 'il n'ya pas plus individualiste que le Français'. That myth is tenacious."

Kramsch suggests that after distorting perceptions of our own culture – for example, through the media and the collective memory – we then compound the distortion by perceiving a second culture through the distorted perception of ourselves. Each ring around "reality" in Figure 9.1 takes us further from what is real, and more into the realms of myth. Intercultural dialogue doubles the myth-creating potential. Translators and interpreters mediating these two rings of distortion will need, in turn, to 'right' some of the distortion to allow the communication to develop as intended.

Hence, as Kramsch shows, the German image of America is partly an anti-image of itself: desolation and alienation, as seen, for example, in German film director Wim Wenders' vision of America. As Wenders himself openly admits, "The American dream is quintessentially an export of Europeans who fled a war-driven, divided continent and
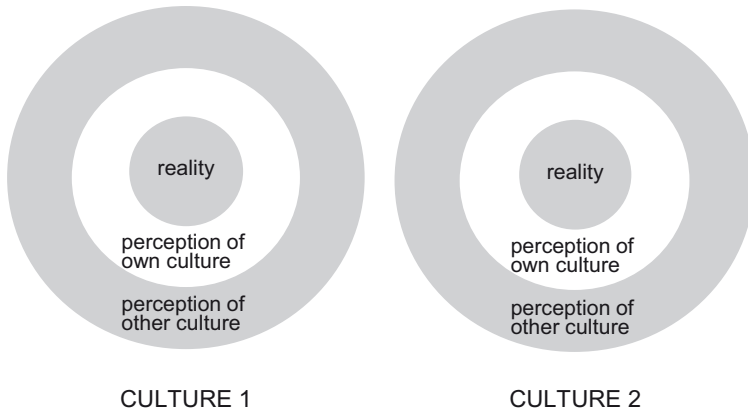
Figure 9.1 Kramsch's perception rings

painted their utopian version of a better humanity onto this new, promised land" (quoted in Sayej 2018:n.p.). This is a particularly important point for translation. As Venuti (1995b:47) says, "since all translation is fundamentally domestication and is really initiated in the domestic culture, there is, therefore, a fundamental ethnocentric impulse in all translation". Indeed, it is extremely difficult to perceive another culture except through our own ethnocentric map of the world. Bromhead's (1985) view of Britain (Chapter 2), which can only perceive other cultures in terms of British dominant values, as we have seen, is a perfect illustration.

Patronage, as explained by Lefevere (1992:15) is a further case in point. He argues that "the powers (persons, institutions) that can further or hinder" the translation of foreign writers commission new foreign novels or poetry according to how well they fit into the target culture's (distorted, generalized and deleted) perception of the source culture. A well-documented case is that of the Indian Nobel Prize-winning poet Rabindranath Tagore, as Dasgupta (2019) notes:

> Sometime in September 1914 he requested Edward Thompson, his first English biographer, to translate some of his short stories and bring out a selection of them that might appeal to the Western public. "Please make your own selection, for it is difficult for me to know which of my things will be *palatable to the English taste*".
> (Dasgupta 2019:n.p., emphasis added)

In this way, the ethnocentric perception of the other culture is automatically strengthened, and further domesticized. Equally, a more foreignizing translation can also strengthen an ethnocentric view of the

'other'. For example, Shamma (2005) shows that the foreignization in Richard Burton's translation of *The Arabian Nights* made Arabs appear even more exotic to the English reader. Arab behaviour was presented as so different and eccentric that it evoked and strengthened Victorian and other Western stereotypes about them (see also Katan 2019).

Fantasy, as we can see, is enhanced through focussing on perceived dissimilarity, as the opening paragraph of an article by study International (2018) illustrates:

> If you're dreaming of studying in the UK, you've probably already envisaged your new life spent drinking tea with the Queen, playing cricket on the weekend and gorging on Sunday roasts. This romanticised version of British culture does have some elements of truth – but read on to find out what life in the UK is really like…
>
> (Study International 2018:para. 1)

This worldwide interest in the British Royal Family continues unabated. According to a *Forbes* article by Cecilia Rodriguez, "Brand Sussex" (referring to two unassuming individuals, the former Prince Harry, the Duke of Sussex and his wife Meghan Markle) was being "studied almost daily by the global press" (Rodriguez 2019:n.p.). What fascinates much of the world outside the UK is what is believed to be quintessentially English. Most countries no longer have a monarchy or nobility (at least formally), so the view of Britain is, to an extent, seen through the image these countries have of themselves: a republic, a 'cycling' monarchy and so on.

Alfredo Castelli (1999a) noted exactly the same with regard to Europe and its love not only of the American Dream but also of American western comics:

> Europeans never got tired of western comics as has happened in the U.S. Italy, in particular, produces the world's best-selling Western strip Tex (500,000 copies monthly) … The explanation is simple: we tend to want (and to mythicize) what we don't own, and in Europe there is nothing comparable to the Western epics.
>
> (Castelli 1999a:n.p.)

Not only *Tex* but every other locally produced "American" cartoon strip is created according to "the iron rule" of comic writing. Alfredo Castelli (1999a:n.p), who created the detective/professor *Martin Mystère*, continues: "Though many of his adventures are set in Italy, Mystère 'is' American and 'lives' in Washington Mews N.Y". Castelli explains that this allows the local European reader to identify with the

character (in terms of personality) while at the same time accepting situations that at home would not be possible:

> [W]e can *pretend* to believe, for instance, that in America, a university professor like Martin Mystère can become famous and maybe rich; were the professor Italian, it would seem rather unrealistic, as we *do* know the problems that afflict our school system (probably the same as in American schools, but we can pretend not to know them).
>
> (Castelli 1999a:n.p.)

Hence, the (young) non-American reader is likely to generalize the distorted interpretation of America as a country where an academic may well be rich and famous to the rule that all professionals are rich and famous.

In the same vein, literary rewritings:

> are of crucial social and cultural relevance because they determine the 'image' of a literary work when direct access to that work is limited or nonexistent. Maria Tymoczko (1995) [argues] that the selection of texts and the particular mode of representation create an image which readers across the world take metonymically for that culture as a whole.
>
> (Hermans 2014 [1999]:128)

In mediating between cultures, a translator needs to fully relate to the target culture's imagined other, particularly when it comes to persuasive texts, as in the field of promotion. Tourism promotional texts and guides are genres where translators may well exploit the cultural preconceptions of the other (see, for example, Sulaiman and Wilson 2019). Dijkstra (2016:207) gives the example of the German translation of a Welsh guidebook, which "exoticized Wales as a 'fairytale' land of sorcerers and druids which lacked a vibrant contemporary culture".

As Barthes (1993:124–125) noted, once something is taken out of its original logical world, and translated into (or for) a new world, it becomes the object of mythicization. He explains how, as a tourist wandering through the Basque country in Spain, he does not "feel personally concerned" about the architecture. An individual house "does not call out to me, it does not provoke me into naming it". At home in Paris, though, on seeing a "Basque-style" house standing out from the more typical French-built houses in the neighbourhood (i.e. on seeing a 'translation' of the original), he feels obliged to mythicize it: "I feel as if I were personally receiving an imperious injunction to name this

object a Basque chalet: or even better, to see it as the very essence of *basquity*", even though (as he notes) there is little that is actually Basque left: "the barn, the outside stairs, the dove-cote, etc. – has been dropped; there remains only a brief order, not to be disputed". The few idealized features are immediately, and indisputably, distorted and generalized into his own culture-bound map of the world, and then evaluated against a French, Parisian or other non-Basque world.

9.2 Cultural orientations

In this section we distinguish between general orientations, also known as learning styles, and culturally formed orientations.

9.2.1 Orientations

- Meta-programs
- Chunk size
- Separate shapes – single picture

The word 'orientation' is another case of a nominalization (in this case, a de-verbal noun), suggesting a frozen state. The verb 'to orient' means "to discover the position of yourself in relation to your surroundings" (*Cambridge Dictionary* 2020). The adjective 'oriented' means "directed towards or interested in something" (*Cambridge Dictionary* 2020). People, in fact, tend to orient their way of doing things consistently over a wide range of circumstances, according to their character or personality. In NLP, these orientations are called "meta-programs": "perceptual filters that we habitually act on" (O'Connor and Seymour 2011:149). Orientations tend to be consistent, but this is not always the case:

> Metaprograms are systematic and habitual, and we do not usually question them if they serve us reasonably well. The patterns may be the same across contexts, but few people are *consistently* habitual, so metaprograms are likely to change with a change of context. What holds our attention in a work environment may be different from what we pay attention to at home.
>
> (O'Connor and Seymour 2011:149, emphasis in the original)

In Chapter 4.7, we noted that much of our imprinting is fully developed by the end of school age. Likewise, meta-programs (and

hence personality) are relatively fixed by that stage. But, as O'Connor and Seymour say above, our orienting can change across contexts.

It is our orientations which govern *how* perception is generalized, distorted and deleted. A well-known example of how an orientation distorts reality is as follows: a bottle that has been opened and drunk from can be perceived as being either half-empty or half-full. Our perception of it has little to do with that actual bottle and the quantity of liquid inside (reality). Perception is distorted to fit into the way we orient ourselves to the world in general. Our perception of the contents ultimately has to do with who we are – in this case, optimists or pessimists.

One of the orientation meta-programs suggested in NLP regards chunk size. The polar opposites of chunk size are the generalities (the context) or the details (the individual words themselves). This chunking orientation has an important place in Gestalt Therapy, and is now understood to be a major factor in learning (Sousa 2017:126–129).

To see how we normally and unconsciously chunk, we can look at the following example (Figure 9.2). The diagram can be perceived in at least four different ways, depending on this local/global orientation.

Example descriptions of this diagram are as follows:

1) There are three separate shapes.
2) There are some triangles, one upside down, in a picture.
3) There is a picture with two identical triangles and one upside down.
4) There is a (single) picture of triangles.

All four answers are correct, just like the bottle being half-full or half-empty. This sorting of information comes under a variety of names depending on the field and the application. The terms below come from Gestalt Psychology, Cognitive Psychology and Linguistics. Apart from 'sorting' and 'mismatching', which are only to be seen in NLP literature, the other terms now tend to be used across all disciplines:
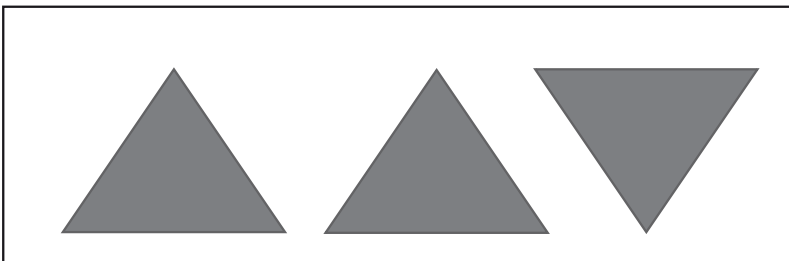
Figure 9.2 Testing orientation: local or global?

Separate shapes	Single picture
• field independence	field dependence
• sorting for different	sorting for same
• mismatching	matching
• deductive	inductive
• specific	general
• local/part	global
• analytic	synthetic
• atomist	holistic

Response 1 above shows a definite orientation towards the left-hand column (separate shapes), while Response 2 begins to notice the differences first, and then focusses on the picture. Answer 3, instead, begins at the right, focussing on "a single picture" and then moves to the left. Finally, Response 4 focusses exclusively on the whole: the *gestalt*. '*Gestalt*', from German, means perceived form; and the theory suggests that both *gestalten* and the experienced world are not associated elements but are in themselves dependent on the bigger picture.

It should always be remembered that the idea of binary polarization (local or global) is a convenient model (deleting, generalizing and distorting the far more complicated reality); and that any orientation is, as the word suggests, no more than a tendency towards one way of perceiving the world. Creating a taxonomy of these orientations is necessarily limiting. However, if we remember that none of the orientations operate in isolation, and that, as in grammar, we have levels of delicacy and exceptions, then we can begin to build a useful grammar primer of what actually happens in the context of culture.

9.2.2 Cultural orientations

- Kluckhohn's value orientations
- Hofstede's dimensions
- Brake's orientations

A cultural orientation is a shared meta-program: a culture's tendency towards a particular way of perceiving. The orientation or meta-program influences how reality is modelled; that is, which aspects are to be generalized, distorted and deleted. An orientation is based on a number of complex and interrelated (and sometimes conflicting)
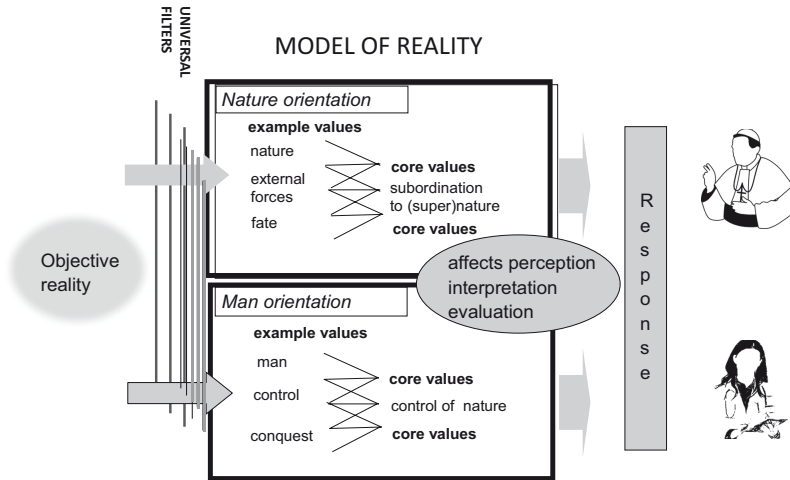
Figure 9.3 Cultural orientations

values, which, as we have seen, are also in dynamic relation with a number of other factors. At the heart lie the fixed and totally out-of-awareness core values. Figure 9.3 illustrates the relation between values and orientations.

There are relatively few core values. These generate a number of more context-defined values. A cluster or set of these specific values will result in a certain orientation towards or away from a particular way of perceiving, interpreting and behaving in a number of contexts. Reality, then, within a specific culture (from the smallest of communities of practice to the largest of supranational groupings) will be distorted, generalized and deleted to suit the orientation(s) shared by that community.

Many authors (and disciplines) have come up with a taxonomy relating to the Cultural Iceberg we introduced in Chapter 2.4. The table below (Figure 9.4), following on from the Iceberg-like taxonomies introduced in Chapter 3, now includes the level of orientations.

Florence Kluckhohn coined the term 'value orientations', and defined them as:

> complex but definitely patterned (rank-ordered) principles, resulting from the transactional interplay of three analytically distinguishable elements of the evaluative process – the cognitive, the affective, and the directive elements – which give order and direction to the ever-flowing stream of human acts and thoughts as these relate to the solution of 'common human' problems.
>
> (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961:341)

	Hall	Malinowski	NLP (Dilts)	Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck	Hofstede	Trompenaars
Iceberg	Triad		Logical Levels	Behaviour	Onion/Levels	
Visible	Technical		Environment		*Visible:*	*Explicit:*
			Behaviour		Symbols Heroes Rituals Practices	Artefacts and products
Partially submerged	Formal	Context of situation	Capabilities Strategies			Norms and values
Submerged	Informal or out-of-awareness	Context of culture	Meta-programs	Value orientations	*Invisible:* Dimensions	*Implicit:* Dimensions/ Orientations
			Beliefs Values	Values	Values	Basic assumptions
			Identity			

Figure 9.4 Iceberg-like models of culture with orientations

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961:10–20) suggested that there were five basic problems or concerns common to all human groups, and also mentioned a sixth common human problem, the conception of space, but admitted that the orientation had "not been worked out sufficiently well to be included":

1) What is the character of innate human behaviour?   *Human nature orientation*

2) What is the relation of man to nature (and supernature)?   *Man–nature orientation*

3) What is the temporal focus of human life?   *Time orientation*

4) What is the modality of human activity?   *Activity orientation*

5) What is the modality of man's relationship to other men?   *Relational orientation*

For each of these questions there are three possible responses that constitute a culture's (dominant or variant) value orientation (see table below).

It should be pointed out that every culture and every individual will, in theory, have access to every orientation, but will tend to favour the use of one orientation over the others; and conversely, will have difficulty in comprehending the other orientations. A professional mediating between people from different cultures, on the other hand, should have almost equal access to all (relevant) orientations.

Concerns	Orientations		
Human nature What is the basic nature of people?	**Evil** People are basically bad and need to be controlled. People can't be trusted.	**Mixed** There are both good and evil people in the world, you have to check people out.	**Good** Most people are good at heart. They are born good.
Man–nature relationship What is the appropriate relationship between man and nature?	**Subordinate to nature** People really can't change nature. Life is largely determined by external forces, such as fate and genetics. What happens was meant to happen.	**Harmony with nature** Man should, in every way, live in harmony with nature.	**Dominant over nature** The great human challenge is to conquer and control nature. Everything from air-conditioning to the 'green revolution' has resulted from having met this challenge.
Time sense How should we best think about time?	**Past** People should learn from history, draw the values they live by from history, and strive to continue past traditions into the future.	**Present** The present moment is everything. Let's make the most of it. Don't worry about tomorrow: enjoy today.	**Future** Planning and goal setting make it possible for people to accomplish miracles, to change and grow. A little sacrifice today will bring a better tomorrow.
Activity What is the best mode of activity?	**Being** It's enough to just 'be'. It's not necessary to accomplish great things in life to feel your life has been worthwhile.	**Becoming** The main purpose of being placed on this earth is for one's own inner development.	**Doing** If people work hard and apply themselves fully, their efforts will be rewarded. What a person accomplishes is a measure of his or her worth.
Social relations What is the best form of social organization?	**Hierarchical** There is a natural order to relations, some people are born to lead, others are followers. Decisions should be made by those in charge.	**Collateral** The best way to be organized is as a group, where everyone shares in the decision process. It is important not to make important decisions alone.	**Individual** All people should have equal rights, and each person should have complete control over their own destiny. When we have to make a decision as a group it should be based on 'one person one vote'.

Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (2012) follow Kluckhohn's dimensions, adding a further two taken from Parsons' (1982) five pattern variables. Hofstede (1991) originally proposed four orientations, which he termed 'dimensions', adapted from the sociologist Alex Inkeles and the psychologist Daniel Levinson (Inkeles and Levinson 1969:447). They suggested four issues, which qualified as common basic problems worldwide:

Inkeles and Levinson	Hofstede
1) Relationship to authority	Power Distance
2) Concept of self, in particular:	
a) The relationship between the individual and society	Individualism/Collectivism
b) The individual's concept of masculinity and femininity	Masculinity/Femininity
3) Ways of dealing with conflicts including the control of aggression and the expression of feelings	Uncertainty Avoidance

More recently, Hofstede has added two further dimensions. The fifth, the Long-term/Short-term dimension, is based on Michael Bond's research on Chinese values, and in particular, on long-term pragmatic Confucian values valuing future rewards (Hofstede *et al.* 2010). A short-term orientation (as in many Western countries) includes valuing present norms as well as past traditions. Hofstede terms the sixth dimension Indulgence/Restraint, based on Bulgarian sociologist Minkov's label. Indulgence societies tend to privilege free expression and gratification (e.g. Northern European and Anglo countries), while restraint societies (Eastern European, and some Asian countries) prefer to respect codes of conduct and 'face'. Updated statistics regarding these orientations can be found in Hofstede Insights (2020). Brake *et al.* (1995:39) have ten orientations, an amalgamation of Kluckhohn, Talcott Parsons, Hofstede and Hall.[1] A further publication should be mentioned, which also owes a debt to Hofstede and Hall. It is the provocatively titled *When Cultures Collide* (Richard Lewis 2018), and combines national dimensions into three broad categories: 'Linear-Active', 'Multi-Active' and 'Re-Active', or a combination of the three.

Dimension	Broad characteristics	Example cultures
Linear-Active:	plan, schedule, organize, pursue action chains using Platonic, Cartesian logic	German, Swiss
Multi-Active:	loquacious, centred on relationships and often pursuing multiple goals simultaneously, planning priorities according to personal requirements	Italian, Latin American, Arab
Re-Active:	prioritize courtesy and respect, prefer harmonizing, solidarity-based strategies; listening quietly and calmly to interlocutors and reacting carefully	Chinese, Japanese, Finnish

9.3 A taxonomy of orientations

A short explanation of all the orientations is given below. Where there is a significant difference in labels referring to a broadly similar orientation, the relevant authors have been shown. It should always be noted that the orientations are idealized generalizations, often work in combination and can result in very different actualizations according to the specific Logical Levels of the moment.

- **Action:**

Kluckhohn/Brake et al.	Hofstede	Trompenaars
• be/do	masculine/feminine	affective/neutral

- **Communication:**

Hall	Trompenaars	Hofstede
• High Context Communication (HCC)	Diffuse	Long term
• Low Context Communication (LCC)	Specific	Short term

The Action and Communication orientations are described in more detail later.

9.3.1 Environment

Brake *et al*.	Hofstede	Kluckholn	NLP	Trompenaars
• control	indulgent	dominant	proactive	inner-directed (internal)
• harmony		harmony		
• constraint	restraint	subordinate	reactive	outer-directed (external)

If we accept that cultures are animate agents for a moment, we can then say that they vary in their perception of the environment. Some may feel that they can control the environment, as in 'Just Do It' discussed in Chapter 5.4, and feel in charge of their own destiny. Others, at the opposite end of the cline, will believe that the environment has a measure of control over them. For example, the Italian term *'Purtroppo!'* (Unfortunately!), meaning here "Animate or inanimate others that I cannot be expected to have responsibility for, have worked against my best plans". More than often, it is supernatural forces, destiny or luck that are deemed responsible. In Arabic, we have *'In sha Allah'* (God willing), and in Spanish, *'El hombre propone y Dios dispone'* (Man proposes but God determines).

We have already mentioned the Aboriginal example (Chapter 6.6.4) demonstrating how cause and effect can be fundamentally culture-bound, and at times vital to successful healthcare interpreting. Another example, this time from the Netherlands–Belgium area, is provided by Bot and Verrept (2013:121). In the course of a consultation, a Moroccan patient mentions *Aicha Qandicha*, an evil spirit who is believed to influence a person's behaviour and ability to act. The interpreter needs to explain this cultural cause-effect belief to the healthcare worker; otherwise, the name *Aicha Qandicha* alone would "lead to confusion and loss of time".

A third perception of the environment is the dominant Native American and Eastern orientation, which is to operate in harmony with real or perceived environmental forces. The following extract from a talk by Indian spiritual guru and philosopher Osho (formerly known as Acharya Rajneesh) offers us a glimpse of how the two polar orientations differ in their fundamental perception of what really happened:

> When Hillary reached to the highest peak of the Himalayas, Mount Everest, all of the Western world reported it as a conquering – a conquering of Everest. Only in a Zen monastery in Japan, on a wall newspaper, it was written, "Everest has been befriended" – not conquered! This is the difference – "Everest has been befriended"; now humanity has become friendly with it. Everest has allowed Hillary to come to it. It was not a conquering. The very word 'conquer' is vulgar, violent. To think in terms of conquering shows aggressiveness. Everest has received Hillary, welcomed him, and now humanity has become friendly; now the chasm is bridged. Now we are not unacquainted. One of us has been received by Everest. Now Everest has become part of human consciousness. This is a bridging.
>
> (Osho International Foundation 2020:para. 1)

Another example of domination versus harmony is how Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians perceive sites such as the famous Uluru (the Aboriginal name for Ayers Rock). Aboriginal people consider it is their duty to respect the land, look after it, and maintain the traditions and stories associated with it. Uluru in particular, whose name means 'Earth Mother', is sacred for them. In recognition of the cultural and religious significance of the Uluru area, it was returned to its traditional owners in the 1980s, and it is now considered culturally insensitive to climb the rock (McKercher *et al.* 2008:370). For non-Aboriginal people, on the other hand, the rock has been "a place of tourism and commodification" and, among other things, it "offers a physical challenge" (Anderson 2010:89). Thousands of tourists continued to 'conquer' the site until 2019, when it was officially closed. McKercher *et al.*'s (2008) study on bloggers who wrote about their climb identifies eight themes explaining or justifying why people continued to engage in this activity. At least half of the themes are related to a sense of individualism, entitlement and personal choice: 1) "I am just a tourist"; 2) "Conscious, informed choice"; 3) "Secular pilgrimage" ("self-affirming act"); and 4) "Challenge or personal quest".

9.3.2 Time

Brake *et al.*	Hall	NLP	Trompenaars	Kluckhohn
• single-focus	monochronic fixed time	through time	sequential	past/present/future
• multi-focus	polychronic fluid time	in time	synchronic	—

Monochronic/polychronic time

Hall (1983) devotes most of his book to the cultural understanding of time. Monochronic time cultures perceive time as the frame. The focus is on the task rather than the relationship; and schedules are important and adhered to. According to Tannen (1992) and Pease and Pease (2001), men generally are more single-focussed than women. More recent research (e.g. Szameitat and Hayati 2019) also shows that men are more monochronic than women. With regard to national cultures, rather than gender, Northern Europeans and Americans also tend towards this orientation. Those with this orientation would consider it rude to interrupt a meeting, client or phone call to attend to another person. The word 'interrupt' is itself a monochronic term.

Polychronic or multi-focussed cultures, on the other hand, place greater emphasis on the relationship, and multi-tasking. Tasks will be completed according to relationship needs rather than time needs. In a bank, serving only one person, and not answering the phone or another important person would be considered rude. Mediterranean, Arab, South American and Asian cultures tend towards this orientation.

Fixed/fluid time

The terms 'fixed' and 'fluid' are analogous to monochronic and polychronic. Fixed-time cultures perceive time technically. A minute is 60 seconds: "Time is money", and can be spent, used or wasted. "On time" means technically 'on time', and apologies are expected between 1 and 5 minutes after, depending how close to fixed time the culture is. Time management, 'Just in Time' and 'Time and Motion' studies work well in these cultures. American, German and Swiss cultures are particularly conscious of technical time.

Fluid time defines punctuality with more flexibility, and is related to 'kairos' (the right or the appropriate time) rather than 'chronos' (the time on the clock). The Moroccan Arabic expression "أنا جاي دابا" suggests "I am coming now", which is kairos time. Translated into chronos time, this could mean anything from a quarter of an hour to a couple of hours. Similarly, "Subito" in Italian technically means "immediately", and is used to respond to a request for service, and actually means: "I have noted your request and will deal with it at the most appropriate time". In Russian, the expression "момент – сейчас приду" (Just a minute/moment, I'll be there right away) is "a vaguely flowing continuum that defies definition" (Visson 2007:135), and may translate into a chronos time of 10 or 15 minutes or longer.

In fluid-time cultures, delays are expected and tolerated, as we mentioned in Chapter 3.3.4 regarding the culture-bound understandings of 'late'. A meeting can start 15 to 30 minutes late

(*chronos* time), depending on the culture, without undue tension being created. Those with a fixed-time orientation, however, have difficulty in comprehending the informal but institutionalized Italian '*quarto d'ora accademico*' (the university 15-minute sliding start) or the Spanish '*cuarto de hora de cortesía*' (courtesy quarter of an hour). In both cases it is considered appropriate to *not* be punctual. It is always useful to check which time is being talked about (*kairos* or *chronos*). In the United States, for example, Mexican-Americans distinguish between strict '*hora inglesa*' (English time) and the more flexible '*hora Mexicana*' (Mexican time); Hawaiians, between '*Haole*' (*chronos*) time and Hawaiian time; while from Ancient Sanskrit we have the term '*desi*', referring to local or indigenous, and its employment in the more semi-serious contemporary 'Desi Standard Time' (DSE), the *kairos* "timezone imagined by those of Indian Subcontinental descent, resulting in a time from 30 minutes to 3 hours past the actual time" (Urban Dictionary 2020:n.p.).

Clearly, with the global move to more interaction on digital platforms, which are inherently *chronos* time, academia and business – at least on these platforms – have rapidly adapted their behaviour, whatever the underlying orientation.

Past/present/future

Past-oriented cultures emphasize tradition. Any change tends to take place over a long period and in relation to the past. The historical context is paramount to understanding the present, and history itself is highly valued. This is certainly true of Italy, Morocco, Spain and other parts of the world, where road and street names commemorate an event or personality in history. Television interviews (e.g. in Britain, Italy or the Arab World) tend to concentrate on the background of the subject in question, much to the irritation of the American guest who wants to talk about 'now'.

Present-oriented cultures, such as the 'Just Do it' United States, emphasize the here and now. "History is more or less bunk", said Henry T. Ford. The future also is not so important: "time waits for no man"; "take care of today and tomorrow will take care of itself". 'Long-term' planning tends to be in terms of five to ten years at most (Hall 1990 [1959]:141), as the box below illustrates.

Present Oriented Planning Characteristics

Many businesses develop strategic planning within a short-term, medium-term and long-term framework. Short-term usually involves processes that show results within a year. Companies aim

> medium-term plans at results that take several years to achieve. Long-term plans include the overall goals of the company set four or five years in the future and usually are based on reaching the medium-term targets. Planning in this way helps you complete short-term tasks while keeping longer-term goals in mind.
>
> (Markgraf 2019:para. 2)

Future-oriented societies can plan ahead to the next generation or further. We noted in Chapter 4.5.2 that Japanese business plans, for instance, tend to be more long-term than American ones (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 2012:157–158). One might assume that globalization would have brought about much more harmonization when it comes to financial planning, but a 2016 article on provision for old age in Washington, DC showed that Japanese-American Baby Boomers' rate of purchasing Long Term Care insurance policies (34%) was twice that of other American-born adults of the same generation (17%) (Iwasaki *et al.* 2016). Mediterranean countries also tend to have more of a future orientation in terms of relationships compared to Anglos. Once formed, any relationship is expected to be a long-term one, with dues and favours to be repaid over a long period. A future orientation is also a core feature of Hofstede's more recent addition to his cultural dimensions: Long Term Orientation (LTO). LTO, however, is less concerned with time itself than with Confucian values of thrift, delayed gratification, concerns for social status, and pragmatism (doing what works). Instead, a short-term orientation favours more access and openness, and is characterized by 'fast' and 'instant' thinking and following the norms (doing what is correct) rather than doing what works.

9.3.3 Space

Hall:

- Private/Public   Individual privacy versus more public use of space
- Distance/Proximity   Preference for distance/low physical contact versus proximity/high physical contact

Trompenaars:

- Specific orientation   Open access to personal life space, but access, position and authority, etc., segregated according to context

• Diffuse orientation	Selected entry to individual's private life space, but relationship, position, authority, etc., crosses contexts
Meyer:	
• Peach culture	Soft easy access to all to most individual space; however, there is an almost impenetrable private core
• Coconut culture	More difficult entry to any individual space; once entry is gained, all private space is accessible

The Japanese have an orientation towards public space and distance (rather than private space and proximity) with small communal living quarters, but very little physical contact. In comparison, an American or European house will tend towards the private, but higher levels of proximity are tolerated. We have already mentioned (in Chapter 4.1.3) Hall's appropriate distances for white North Americans when discussing culture at the level of environment. Typical appropriate distances for Southern Europe and South America will be closer – and will be perceived as much too close for the British.

Interpreters are expected to be aware of the physical distance between them and their clients, as there may be significant cross-cultural variation in expectations and practices (Wang 2019:290). Cultural relativism in relation to space is most noted in community interpreting settings, where clients from some cultural backgrounds (e.g. Arabs or South Americans) may sit too close to the interpreter and even touch them, which would compromise neutrality in the eyes of a service provider from a different cultural group. In healthcare settings, Burnard and Gill (2013) note,

> In Latin countries it is not unusual for people to stand very close to each other when speaking, and this may be accompanied by one speaker touching the other. In some Asian countries the comfortable distance between two speakers may be further apart, and no touching may take place.
>
> (Burnard and Gill 2013:165)

In the chuchotage mode in particular, proximity and touching may be problematic. As Alexieva (2002:223) points out, chuchotage involves a very close physical distance between interpreter and client (18–30-inch "casual-personal distance"). Clients from some cultural backgrounds may be more comfortable in this proximity than others.

Diffuse/specific

Space can also be perceived as psychological. Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (2012:101–121) develop psychologist Kurt Lewin's life space differences between Americans and Germans to show how the way individuals let others into their life (psychological space) tends to change with culture. Some cultural groups tend to divide psychological space into specific slices. This means that new acquaintances become intimate friends over a relatively short period (i.e. slice) of time, activity or sector, such as in the United States. A diffuse life space orientation, on the other hand, has a relatively guarded approach to acquaintances. However, once a relationship has been formed (whether business or personal), entry, including entitlements and obligations, is expected to all areas of private space. In Europe, Germany is a prime example of this orientation, while Italy also tends towards this system.

Almost synonymous with the specific/diffuse orientation is the 'peach' and 'coconut' culture, often discussed in business-oriented handbooks (e.g. Meyer 2014a; Hammond *et al.* 2018 [2011]). The peach cultures, such as the American, encourage soft easy access – but have an almost impenetrable core. The diffuse orientation, on the other hand, is likened to a coconut culture. The outer shell is extremely hard, and relatively difficult to gain access to, but once inside, there are no further barriers to either entitlements or obligations.

The meaning of the word 'friend' and the expected reciprocal rights and duties will vary according to this specific/peach diffuse/coconut orientation. British author Hampden-Turner (relatively coconut), notes the peach-style American introduction that he personally encountered: "I want you all to meet my very good friend Charles … what's your surname?" (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 2012: 103). So, it should come as no surprise that a Facebook friend may well be an acquaintance who can just as easily be 'unfriended'. In Japanese, not only are there levels of outside-the-coconut 'acquaintance' and 'casual friend', but there is a clear distinction between two levels of good friend within the coconut – an *uchi* (inner-circle) and a *soto* (outer-circle):

> Once you are *uchi*, the Japanese version of friendship is entire universes beyond the average American friendship! Uchi friends are for life. Uchi friends represent a sacred duty. A Japanese friend, who has become an uchi friend, is the one who will come to your aid, in your time of need, when all your western "friends" have turned their back and walked away.
>
> (Alexei Russell 2015)

9.3.4 Power

Brake *et al.*	Kluckhohn	Hofstede	Trompenaars
• Hierarchy	Hierarchical	High power distance	Ascription
• Equality	Individual	Low power distance	Achievement

In all societies there is power. It can be distributed evenly, and there may also be attempts to reduce the degree of visible status. Alternatively, hierarchy and visible status can be emphasized. South America, Asia, and (to a lesser extent) Southern Europe tend to respect high power distance, while Northern Europe and the United States tend to empha-size the ideals of low power distance. The importance of 'respect' when addressing a person, address terms and rituals, and the degree of HAP- or LAP-type language most of the citizens have, are indications of a culture's power distance orientation.

In a similar way, Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner distinguish between cultures that tend to accord status according to 'who' someone is (according to family, background or title) and those cultures oriented towards awarding status to proven results (achievement) regardless of background. Clearly, a professional's obligations are also culture-bound here: to the people who employ you (ascription) or to the task (achievement), as Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (2012) explain (using 'translator' to mean 'interpreter'):

[I]n negotiations it often emerges that the translator from an ascriptive culture behaves "unprofessionally" according to the standards of achieving cultures. According to British, German, North American, Scandinavian and Dutch values, the translator is an achiever like any other participant and the height of his or her achievement should be to give an accurate, unbiased account of what was said in one language to those speaking the other language. The translator is supposed to be neutral, a black box serving the interests of modem language comprehension, not the interests of either party who may seek to distort meanings for their own ends.

In other cultures, however, the translator is doing something else. A Japanese translator, for example, will often take a minute or more to "translate" an English sentence 15 seconds long. In add-ition, there is often extensive colloquy between the translator and the team he or she serves about what the opposite team just said.

> Japanese translators are interpreters, not simply of language but also of gesture, meaning and context. Their role is to support their own team and possibly even to protect them from confrontational conduct by the Western negotiators.
>
> (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 2012:134)

Bourne (2016) also illustrates how power distance can be problematic or counterproductive if not conveyed or mediated appropriately by interpreters. She notes that interpreters working with Chinese-speaking dignitaries may produce unsuccessful renditions if they fail to adapt Chinese high-power-distance discourse to audiences with low-power-distance expectations, as in the following example:

为了让更多的记者朋友有机会提问，经请示　总理，我们记者会的时间再延长十来分钟。

[Interpreter's close rendition:] To give more journalists more opportunities to ask questions, I have **solemnly consent to the Premier** [sic] to extend the press conference by about 10 minutes.

　[Bourne's alternative version:] To give more journalists more opportunities to ask questions, the Premier would like [sic] extend the press conference by about 10 minutes.

(Bourne 2016:20)

In this case, the Chinese politician was addressing international media and apparently wanted to appear as caring and considerate, but the superficially faithful interpretation "solemnly consent to the Premier" would have triggered an uncomfortable reaction among international journalists, who would have perceived the speaker as distanced and hierarchical rather than caring (Bourne 2016:20).

9.3.5 Individualism

Brake et al./ Hofstede	Trompenaars	NLP
• Individualism	Individualism	(tend to) Internal + Independent/Proximity
• Collectivism	Communitarianism	(tend to) External + Cooperative

Japan is arguably the most well-known 'we' (collective-oriented) culture. We have already mentioned the difference between *uchi* and *soto* in terms of friendship. Brown *et al.* (2012:255) also note that *uchi* "is used to refer to one's own household, place of work, school, or organization". *Uchi* includes both oneself and members of one's group, which shows the importance of group membership and a sense of collectivism to self-identity in Japanese culture. Southern European (such as Turkey and Greece), and Central and South American countries are also described as collectivist, relying on tight social networks for most communication. On the other hand, North America leads the 'I', 'do your own thing' cultures on all individualism indexes, while Northern European cultures are also heavily individualist, though a number of studies question, for example, the assumptions about Japan and the United States (see Brown *et al.* 2012:257).

9.3.6 Particularism

Trompenaars	Hofstede
• Universalism	Short Term Orientation (Truth)
• Particularism	Long Term Orientation (Virtue)

Universalist codes are universally applicable ('a rule is a rule'). There is a tendency to generalize laws and procedures, and to apply them universally. Mass-production, McDonald's, sneakers and Henry T. Ford's "You can have any color you like as long as it's black" symbolize the desire for universalism. Particularist cultures, such as those on the Russian subcontinent, Asia, Central and South America, and Southern Europe, do not reduce situations to simplistic rules ('a rule is a rule, but…'). These cultures emphasize difference, uniqueness and exceptions, from food and restaurants to the application of parking fines and queueing. An example has already been given regarding the universalist American difficulty in understanding the particularist Mexican approach to speeding offences in Chapter 2.3.

George Orwell (1945: Chapter X) noted how it is possible to be particularist in a politically collectivist society in his political satire *Animal Farm*: "All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others" (see also Hofstede 1991:161). This orientation nurtures the patronage system, which can work for the good of a collective society, or for a particular group or family (see also Mead 1994:111–137; Gannon 2001:126).

With regard to language, technical terms and definitions *should be* universalist, but the more particularist the culture, the higher the

context, and so one should never presume that 'What you see is what you get'. Though America has never been 'a level playing field', the terms 'democratic', 'fair', 'reasonable' are positively valued if not always achieved. Interculturalist and businessman Richard Lewis, clearly speaking from a universalist standpoint instead, states that "the Japanese interpret these [very same] words and expressions in a different light and … most Latins will instinctively distrust each and every one of them. 'Democracy' has a different meaning in every country…" (2018:131).

9.3.7 Competitiveness

Brake *et al*.	Hofstede	NLP
• Competitive	Masculine	Proactive + Independent + Self Sorting style: (material) things
• Cooperative	Feminine	(Reactive) + Cooperative + Others Sorting Style: people

Competitive cultures privilege the more masculine traits. There are winners and losers, people 'live to work', workaholics are respected, and material success is a high motivator. Cooperative cultures, on the other hand, work together as interdependent teams, 'work to live' and place a higher value on the quality of life. Japan, Germany, Italy and the Anglo-American countries are all competitive cultures. High-cooperative cultures include the Scandinavian countries, Spain and a number of South American countries. As Hofstede (1991) explains, this orientation affects the interpretation and evaluation of terms such as 'average' and 'best':

> Experience in teaching abroad and discussions with teachers from different countries have led me to conclude that in … the more masculine cultures like the U.S.A. the *best* students are the norm. Parents in these countries expect their children to try and match the best. The 'best boy in class' in the Netherlands is a somewhat ridiculous figure.
>
> (Hofstede 1991:90, emphasis in the original)

So, for example, translating CVs between, say, American and Dutch cultures, means taking account of how this orientation filter is likely to influence evaluation and the chances of getting a job. In a competitive culture, advice regarding how to write a 'good' CV will suggest

highlighting awards that single out the candidate in terms of 'best', as the example resumé given below does. If this example were to be translated for a cooperative culture, then mediation (mainly through deletion) would be necessary to avoid creating the "somewhat ridiculous figure" mentioned above:

EDUCATION

New Jersey State University, Newark, NJ – 2018
Bachelor of Business Administration
Major: Marketing

- Chosen as the valedictorian for the graduation ceremony, due to achieving the highest GPA throughout the three years of the degree program.
- Consistently made the Dean's list for all 3 college years, owing to exceptional academic performance.

Source: https://coverlettersandresume.com/sample-resume/valedictorian-resume-sample

---

9.3.8 Structure

Brake *et al.*	Hofstede	NLP
• Order	Strong Uncertainty Avoidance	Procedures
• Flexibility	Weak Uncertainty Avoidance	Options

The future is an unknown factor for all cultures, and day-to-day life can also present people with the unknown. The degree to which a culture feels threatened or uncomfortable with ambiguity, uncertainty or change is an indication of its orientation towards order or flexibility. Japan, Greece, Italy and Germany have a strong orientation towards order, and tend to avoid ambiguity or change in all things. Hence change tends to come about through destabilization and revolution (rather than planning for change and evolution). However, in Italy, though the appearance of structure is highly valued, its particularist orientation ensures that the orientation towards order is never fully achieved.

The Anglo-American countries have a relatively high toleration for uncertainty and change. According to Hofstede (1991:113), Great Britain is the most unperturbed of that group, and rates No. 48 out of the 53 countries surveyed in terms of "the extent to which

members of a culture feel threatened by uncertain or unknown situations". Singapore has the highest toleration, though Hofstede himself has difficulty in explaining the reason for this (Hofstede and Chiaro 2009:29). These cultures have less need for complex or complete explanations which attempt to account for all situations. Simplicity and succinctness are more valued. To a certain extent, this orientation explains the reasons why the Italian equivalents of 'No Smoking' or 'Thank you for not smoking' notices are more detailed and legally structured:

Source: Photo by David Katan

SMOKING FORBIDDEN

(Law No. 3/2003, Article 51, Law No. 584/1975, Ministerial Decree 14/12/1995, University of Lecce smoking ban regulation approved by University Administration Council Resolution No. 50 on 31/01/2002)
    VIOLATORS WILL BE SUBJECT TO AN ADMINISTRATIVE PENALTY OF BETWEEN €27.50 and €275.00
    The penalty will be doubled if the violation occurs next to a woman who is clearly pregnant, babies or children under the age of 12.
    [Title, name and surname] HAS BEEN PROPOSED AS THE PERSON AUTHORISED TO VERIFY INFRINGEMENT
    The police, both administrative and criminal officers, and security guards shall also have the power to consider and determine whether an infringement has taken place.

9.3.9 Thinking

Brake *et al*.	NLP	Hall	Trompenaars
• Deductive	Match/ similarities/ large chunks	High-context communication	Specific
• Inductive	Mismatch/ differences/ small chunks	Low-context communication	Diffuse
• Linear	Specific	Monochronic	
• Systemic	General	Polychronic	

Deductive/inductive

Deductive/inductive has already been mentioned (9.2.1) in terms of separate shapes and single picture. Here, the deductive orientation 'single picture' refers to the focus on all-encompassing theories, logic and principles. This way of thinking, rather than thinking based on individual discrete items, is very true of Germany and France, and to a lesser extent Italy. Situations are classified according to already existing theories. Inductive cultures are more pragmatic and specific, and tend to start from empirical observation. Facts and statistics are highly valued, while theory is often devalued. The United States and Britain are particularly inductive.

Translation of academic discourse and scientific research should take these orientations into account. Focus on theory may be appreciated in one languaculture as rigorous, while in a culture with an inductive orientation, the same text (in translation) may seem far too.

Linear/systemic

Linear-oriented cultures will dissect problems into logical and precise sequences, look for detail, precision and minute cause and effect, such as the McDonald's itemization of the service counter routine. A systemic culture, on the other hand, is holistic, and tends to look at the full picture, the background and relationships with other parts of even bigger pictures. Explanations will be less in terms of statistics and logic; but rather in terms of connections, feelings and metaphors. In terms of national cultural orientations, the Anglo approach has been heavily influenced by the birth of scientific discourse, which eschews intuition (Bennett 2014).

So, academic discourse is, once again, an issue. The further away a culture is from an Anglo-American low-context communication (LCC) linear thinking style, the more likely it is that a translator will need to intervene on the text, to tone down the use of creative thinking, for acceptance in a respected academic journal. Karen Bennett (2007:161) notes, for example, the problem with translating Portuguese academic discourse: "in literary and cultural studies, art or architecture, the prose is frequently so different from the English that translation within the genre becomes well-nigh impossible". She gives examples of the toning down necessary for publication in English; the opening lines of one example are reproduced here:

> *Diante de quem o lê ou escreve, o termo 'estilo' rasga um vertiginoso campo aberto.*
> [Before anyone that reads or writes it, the term 'style' tears a vertiginous open field.]
> Final translation: To anyone using it, the term 'style' is a bewilderingly broad concept.
>
> (Bennett 2007:157)

However, she firmly believes that translating the emotive language and the metaphors into a straitjacketed scientific discourse is equivalent to epistemicide, which means that to be published internationally, "the traditional Portuguese way of configuring knowledge has been quite spectacularly extinguished" (Bennett 2007:166). We would not agree with the extremity of her position, but certainly accept that translators should not mindlessly adapt the language to the dominant linguacultural orientation. A mediator should always be aware of what the potential losses (and gains) will be – and act accordingly, with no *a priori* dogmatic rules to follow.

Note

1 Brake *et al*. have integrated other authors too, but those of most interest here are the five orientations introduced by Kluckhohn (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961); Hall's (1982, 1983, 1990 [1959]) time, space and contexting; and Hofstede's (1991) four dimensions.

10 Contexting

The aim of this chapter is to:

- Introduce Edward T. Hall's Theory of Contexting in communication;
- Discuss the links between contexting and left/right brain distinctions;
- Illustrate a number of language behaviour differences arising from contexting differences;
- Show the relevance of contexting for translators, interpreters and cultural mediators.

10.1 High and low context

Communication			Possible cultural priorities	
Hall	*Trompenaars*	*Simons et al.*		
• HCC	Diffuse	Loosely knit	Relationship	what is understood; the context of the message; the meta-message
• LCC	Specific	Tightly woven	Task	what is said; the text of the message

One of the guiding orientations, which perhaps could be termed a meta-orientation, is 'contexting'. This term was coined by Hall in 1976 (1989 [1976]:85–128) and further discussed by him in 1983 (59–77). The basic concept is that individuals, groups, and cultures (and at different times) have differing priorities with regard to how much information (text) needs to be made explicit for communication to take place.

The words 'text' and 'context' have particular meanings here. Context is mainly "in the physical context or internalized in the person" (Hall 1989 [1976]:91), and as such is very close to Halliday and Hasan's (1991:47) "non-verbal environment of a text", which is made up of "the context of situation and the wider context of culture". In terms of communication, according to Hall (1983:61), it is "the amount of information the other person can be expected to possess on a given subject", while the text is "transmitted information".

Bateson's comment (as cited by Ting-Toomey 1985:83) is clear and to the point: "All communication necessitates context and … without context there is no meaning". Halliday and Hasan (1991:5, 36) focussed their attention on "the total environment in which a text unfolds": "In the normal course of life, all day and every day, when we are interacting with others through language … we are making inferences from the situation to the text, and from the text to the situation". It seems, as we shall see below, that here Halliday and Hasan are concentrating on the immediate context of the text. Hall's context, though, explicitly encompasses both the context of situation and the context of culture (as introduced by Malinowski, see Chapter 5); that is, context includes the beliefs and values that determine the behaviour to be interpreted.

Clearly, also, in any communication, the speaker and listener will have their own perception of the context. The more these perceptions are shared, the more possible it will be, as Halliday and Hasan (1991:5) suggest, to use them as a framework for hypothesizing what is going to be said. Sperber and Wilson (1995:15) also understand 'context' in terms of perception rather than reality. They suggest that it is "the set of premises used in interpreting an utterance" and that it is "a psychological construct, a subset of the hearer's assumptions about the world. It is these assumptions, of course, rather than the actual state of the world, that affect the interpretation of an utterance."

Halliday and Hasan (1991:12–14), on the other hand, see context of situation as a tangible construct (visible and audible). The description is in terms of a simple conceptual framework of three headings:

The field: What is happening
The tenor: Who are taking part
The mode: What part the language is playing

Scollon *et al*. (2012:29–40) expand on Halliday and Hasan's context of situation, but stay within the same frame. They speak of 'grammar of context' and identify seven main components to it which are of significance in intercultural communication (or 'interdiscourse communication', as they call it). These elements, which overlap with Hymes' (1974) SPEAKING model, are as follows:

Scene:	setting, function, topic, genre
Key:	tone or mood of communication
Participants:	who is involved and what their roles are
Message form:	medium of communication, including silence
Sequence:	whether there is a set or open agenda, expected order of things
Co-occurrence patterns:	whether they are marked or unmarked
Manifestation:	whether some of the previous components are manifested explicitly or left implicit

Problems in understanding, through translation or otherwise, arise from the fact that assumptions about the world differ. Widdowson (1979:138) shows the importance of sharing mutual assumptions in successful communication with this well-known conversation exchange:

A: Doorbell!!
A: I'm in the bath.
B: OK.

Both parties 'know' that "I'm in the bath" did not mean what was textually said. As a result, the meta-message is successfully communicated through what is already shared. In another situation, between two other people who do not share the same understanding of the world, less can be assumed to be understood. For example, a more high-tech entry-phone in an apartment block may not be next to the front door and may not be so intuitively easy to use:

A: Doorbell!!!
B: I'm in the shower
A: Where is it?
B: Doorbell? It's the thing by the window in the kitchen. And choose the …
A: The thing?
B: Never mind …

Interlocutors in each communication event will, usually out-of-awareness, arrange themselves and others along the context scale. We tend to believe we know how much needs to be said and explained to have our message understood the way we mean it. Whether this

is true is usually difficult to judge objectively, as we cannot read the interlocutor's mind. In cross-cultural communication, the scope for error is even larger.

There are, then, two aspects to communication (text and context), each represented by a triangle (Figure 10.1). At one theoretical extreme, all the information that is to be conveyed is made visible, or explicit, in the 'text' triangle. While at the other extreme, no text is necessary as all the information is implicit; that is, it is contained in the 'context' triangle. The diagram, adapted from Hall (1983:61), shows how both triangles operate together in a cline to form the message. He explains that, "as context is lost, information must be added if meaning is to remain constant".

Hall suggests that contexting is a fundamental aspect of culture; and that members of a culture will have a shared bias, either towards communication through the text (i.e. 'low context') or the context (i.e. 'high context'). This will be their guiding principle in all decisions to be made. However, orientations can change according to the particular situation interlocutors find themselves in. Commenting on Hall's theory, Scollon *et al.* (2012:40) argue that it is more useful "to speak of high context and low context situations [rather than cultures], and to say that for participants in particular discourse systems, some situations rely more on context for meaning than others". Labelling entire cultures as 'high context' or 'low context' is, like any modelling system, not only essentialist but an overgeneralization. Not only will there be situations where ostensibly high-context cultures would take a more low-context approach and vice versa, but, as we continue to underline, individuals will have their own orientations; and their individual actions may reflect either the dominant or a variant orientation. The translator, interpreter or mediator's task is to take account of both the general cultural orientation and the specific situation they are dealing with.

Following other authors, and with the above qualification in mind, we will refer to a high-context communication orientation as 'HCC' and a preference for text as a low-context communication
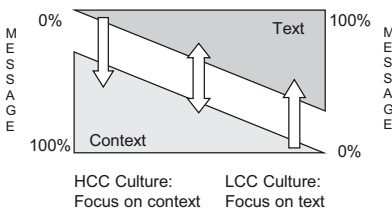
Figure 10.1 Hall's triangles

orientation or 'LCC'. Vincent-Marrelli (1989:473) was one of the first scholars to note that Hall's contexting theory was "begging to be connected" to a language-based theory of communication. Since then the theory has been widely used to explain communication differences across languacultures; for example, in business (e.g. Hooker 2012), marketing (Baack *et al.* 2018), diplomacy (e.g. Slavik 2004; d'Hooghe 2015), intercultural communication (Suen and Suen 2019; Jackson 2020), public information messaging (Barron 2012), social media and tourism (e.g. Katan 2012; Manca 2016).

Early adopters of the HCC/LCC polarity were George Simons *et al.* (1993) in their volume on cross-cultural Business Management. They also suggest that all cultural orientations depend on this meta-orientation, which they relate to two principal types of culture: 'loosely knit' and 'tightly woven'. The metaphors relate to the adaptability of a loosely-knit fabric, which has yet to take on a final form and can be stretched without damage. This is compared with a dense, inter-woven, more solid fabric that is more resistant to change. Contexting differences have also been likened to different rooting systems. Some cultures have more solid and interwoven roots, while others, with a shallow root system, can be uprooted without creating great disturb-ance. We begin to see parallels here with the Uncertainty Avoidance orientation: either towards structure or towards flexibility.

How much written information is available for the foreign visitor, and how much will need to be obtained from a local informer is a pos-sible indication of how high or low context a culture is. In New York, there are helpful signs indicating the best time and angle from which a photograph should be taken at every tourist site. At the Egyptian pyramids or the Jordanian site Petra, tourist signs are not as abundant – but there is no shortage of human guides.

A written guide entitled *How to Rock Your Baby: And Other Timeless Tips for Modern Moms* (Bried 2012) would strike higher-context communication cultures as 'obvious'; that is, the sort of advice that would be passed on informally (out-of-awareness) and through observation (especially the added emphasis in the excerpt below):

Step 1: Spread a small blanket diagonally on a safe flat surface, like a changing table or bed.

Step 2: Fold the top corner down about six inches.

Step 3: Lay the baby on the blanket, so the fold is just above the baby's shoulders and the bottom point is in line with his toes. *Say coochie-coo.*

Step 4: Gently holding the baby's right arm to his side, pull the right side of the blanket across the baby, tucking the border beneath his bottom.

...
Step 7: Pick him up and *give him a sweet kiss*.

(Bried 2012, emphasis added)

To take another example, from a completely different context, universities vary their welcome to new students according to how text-based they are. The Anglo-American approach to welcoming new students called Freshers' Week or orientation, which sometimes stretches to two weeks, is a structured introduction to what to expect (LCC). During this time, administrative, academic and student organizations, businesses and banks battle for the attention of first-year students' time to formally and technically explain and entertain. Though things are certainly changing, in Mediterranean countries this very well-oiled and structured machine of explaining and entertaining is replaced by something very much more ad hoc. Students are also more likely to rely on the social-media grapevine.

In general, higher-context communication cultures trust the personal and more informal communication systems more than the official system. We see this now more and more within work and education contexts through more instant and flexible messaging such as Snapchat or WeChat groups.

Identity, in tightly-woven cultures, is closely related to social position. People take their place within a pre-formed, stable and interwoven network where change is unusual. Japan would be a case in point. Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (2012:125–133) use the terms 'achievement' and 'ascription' orientations to explain cultures' options in according status. An LCC culture will tend to accord status to the person who merits the position through proven capability in the field and through election. Particularly important is a written resumé or CV. While all cultures are beginning to follow the Anglo model at a technical level, how and when CVs are used will vary according to how LCC or HCC the general culture and the particular context are. The more HCC the culture, the more important the adage "It's not what you know but who you know". Long-term contacts and networking become increasingly important – paper qualifications or written statements less so.

Consequently, HCC cultures are not immediately oriented to the newcomer (though the guest will be very well looked after). The United States, on the other hand, is a prime example of a 'loosely-knit' society, accepting newcomers (up to a point) into its social fabric. The successful newcomers, themselves, will also have an orientation to low Uncertainty Avoidance and will have the ability to absorb new identities. They quickly become, for example, ethnic Black, Afro- or

Chinese-American, or Afro-European, Black Italian, and so on. In this melting pot there is space (both physical and mental) for change.

The fact that a culture is more HCC or LCC will also mean, according to Hall, that there will be other related text/context orientations. Victor (1992) and Simons *et al.* (1993) have produced lists of typical (and simplified rather than actual) features of these two different orientations. With some adaptations, they are outlined below:

Low-context operating mode	High-context operating mode
More loosely knit,	More tightly woven,
shallow-rooted	deep-rooted
Emphasis placed on:	*Emphasis placed on:*
• text	context
• facts	relationship/feelings
• directness	indirectness
• consistency	flexibility (in meaning)
• substance	(social/personal) appearance
• rules	circumstances
• monochronic	polychronic

If we take two different cultures, such as China and Britain, and compare them based on the above lists, it is clear that each can be associated more with one list rather than with the other. China would tend to operate on a more tightly-woven, high-context basis, while the British would tend to operate on a more loosely-knit, low-context basis. Comparing Britain and the United States, it would seem that the United States is even further down the cline towards low context. We should also remember that the operating mode favoured will, as we have already mentioned, depend on many variables: sub-culture, gender, class, age, situation, and, of course, individual personality.

The following contexting cline (Figure 10.2) from Victor (1992: 143) is an example of a typical idealized cline used in intercultural training. Hall's theory, in fact, has, like much anthropological theory, been developed more in the very pragmatic field of Business Management than in any other field. It should also be pointed out that unlike the other orientations mentioned in Chapter 9, this particular cline is not based on any published statistics.

According to this cline, the highest-context communication culture is the Japanese, which fits the simplistic Western view of 'an inscrutable culture', where silence is more valued than the word. At the other end of the stereotype cline is the Swiss-German, which hinges on a nation bent on exacting LCC precision and detailed information.
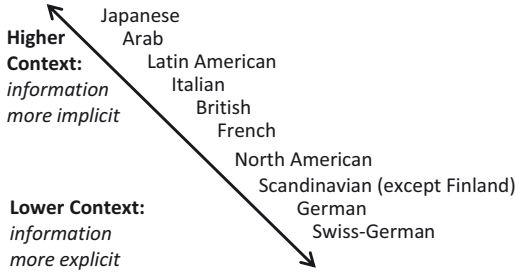
Figure 10.2 Context ranking of cultures

An extreme example of a low-context character comes from Charles Dickens' *Hard Times* (1870 [1854]). The schoolmaster, Thomas Gradgrind, is presented to the reader with these words:

> Now what I want is Facts. Teach these boys and girls nothing but facts. Facts alone are wanted in life. Plant nothing else, and root out everything else. You can only form the minds of reasoning animals upon Facts: nothing else will ever be of any service to them. Thomas Gradgrind, sir. A man of realities. A man of fact and calculations. A man who proceeds upon the principle that two plus two are four, and nothing over, and who is not to be talked into allowing anything else.
>
> (Dickens 1870 [1854]:7)

Thomas Gradgrind, as we can see from the cline, will be appreciated by cultures lower down the ranking scale. In fact, he has problems enough in England, and with this orientation should not be sent to a teaching post in Japan.

Another example which illustrates discrepancies between LCC and HCC is provided in Erin Meyer's (2014a) *The Culture Map*. In the chapter revealingly entitled 'Listening to the Air', the American author tells us about how she asked a hotel concierge in New Delhi for directions to a restaurant, and how her LCC expectations were unmet. The reflection at the end of the excerpt highlights the fact that "In the United States and other Anglo-Saxon cultures, people are trained (almost subconsciously) to communicate as literally and explicitly as possible", whereas in many other cultures "including India, China, Japan and Indonesia messages are often conveyed implicitly" – but not effectively for an LCC-oriented outsider.

> I asked about a good place to eat. "There is a great restaurant just to the left of the hotel. I recommend it highly," he told me. "It is called Swagat, you can't miss it".
>
> [After a couple of attempts to find the restaurant]
>
> The concierge smiled kindly at me again. But I could tell he was thinking I really wasn't very smart. Scratching his head in bewilderment at my inability to find the obvious, he announced "I will take you there." …
>
> As I thanked the concierge for his extreme kindness, I couldn't help wondering why he hadn't told me, "Cross the street, turn left, walk nine minutes, look for the big bank on the corner, and, when you see the big fruit store, look up to the second floor of the yellow stucco building for a sign with the restaurant's name".
>
> (Meyer 2014a:23)

A final example relates to communication as part of developing romantic relationships in different cultures. Scollo and Poutiainen (2019:149, emphasis in the original) compare the role of communication in the development of such relationships among American and Finnish people and note that the second stage, getting to know each other, is more oriented towards verbal communication in the US case. For the Americans, getting to know each other "is discoursed as largely focusing on conversing through multiple channels"; for the Finnish, it is "discoursed as much more amorphous and largely focused on *relating* and *feeling*". While developing a romantic relationship for the American participants was more about talking and texting (in person, by phone or through social media); for the Finnish participants, it was also about contextualized interpretation of subtle non-verbal aspects such as appearance, gaze and gestures. Given that the Finns may already be able 'to see' what it is that is going on, Americans are advised, literally, 'to look out'.

Returning to an earlier discussion on language and culture, we can now look at the relationship between the use of the lexico-grammar and contexting theory. We will look first at the English language, and then at British and American differences in the use of English.

10.2 English – the language of strangers

It is often said that English has the most words. Though this assertion is practically impossible to verify, the Oxford Dictionary's website Lexico (2020:n.p.) does state: "it seems quite probable that English has more words than most comparable world languages". This suggests that the English language itself is very low context, requiring

separate terms for slightly different concepts – rather than allowing shared knowledge to establish what exactly is being talked about. Meyer (2014a) also suggests that English is relatively less likely to rely on context to resolve ambiguities. This points to a decidedly low-context language, which requires mediation even at a technical level of culture. As a case in point, Adam Thorpe explains how he translated Émile Zola's *Thérèse Raquin* into English, varying the lexical choices to avoid ambiguity given that English had more options than the French original (Zola 2013:xxvi–xxvii).

The English language is also well adapted to explication, and less suitable for multiple layering of meaning, such as the use of terms that also signal pre-established social relationships, as Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990:32–33) note. They point out that in Japanese, the language itself obliges speakers to pronounce themselves on one of the four levels of relationship with others. Understanding the relationship itself is an essential part of Japanese discourse: "To speak at all, some choice must be made among the four. Whatever word one selects expresses a particular relationship." English, on the other hand, "does not facilitate the expression of social relations between speakers and audience at all". Arabic is closer to English than to Japanese in this respect.

Halliday (1992:75) notes exactly the same point about the LCC nature of the English language (as used by the middle class) and explains it as follows: "the ways of meaning of the listener are precisely not taken for granted. This kind of discourse can be spoken to a stranger." Hasan (1984:131) notes that cultures select from 'implicit' and 'explicit' options (without ever mentioning Hall or the contexting theory). In her study, contrasting Urdu and English, she notes that an English person:

> could not speak as implicitly as the Urdu speaker, even if he [sic] tried – the system of his language will not permit him to do so … We can claim without hesitation that the dominant semantic style in Urdu is the implicit one…
>
> (Hasan 1984:151)

Urdu, spoken by more than 100 million people in Pakistan, North and Central India, and Bangladesh, is an example of a language spoken by a tightly-woven group. According to both Halliday and Hasan, speakers of this language will tend to select the implicit option, not only for the lexico-grammatical reasons mentioned, but also because the context of situation will not have changed over time and due to the perceived strong relations between events.

Concluding her research on the high level of assumptions made by Urdu speakers, and the expectation that the addressee (whether a total stranger or not) will implicitly know, Hasan (1984:153) makes a strong case for the tightly-woven/loosely-structured hypothesis: "the Urdu speaker's world must be a fairly well-regulated place in which persons, objects and processes have well-defined positions with reference to each other, and the speakers know the details".

10.2.1 American and British English

We now turn to differences in standard usage of the same lexico-grammatical system: English. The two national standards under discussion are British and American, which many have noted can actually seem like a different language:

> We have really everything in common with America nowadays, except, of course, language.
> > Oscar Wilde, c. 1881–1882, in Richard Ellmann,
> > *Oscar Wilde* (1988)

> When I speak my native tongue [US English] in its utmost purity in England, an Englishman can't understand me at all.
> > Mark Twain, *The Stolen White Elephant* (1882)

> The American I have heard up to the present is a tongue as distinct from English as Patagonian.
> > Rudyard Kipling, *From Sea to Sea* (1889)

> England and America are two countries separated by the same language.
> > George Bernard Shaw, *Reader's Digest* (November 1942)

> Britain speaks the world's most popular language – so do the Americans, up to a point.
> > *The Economist* (20/10/1990)

At the heart of these quoted differences is not so much the lexico-grammar but the greater orientation in the United States towards LCC, and hence towards textual explication. "As members of a low-context culture," Kelm and Victor (2017:96) note, "North Americans are more explicit in stating things directly and literally, also with a specific yes or no." The American technical rather than rough calculation was noted by Sapir, and recorded in his lecture notes:

> Only in American culture could the phrase 'fifty-fifty' have evolved, for only here do we find such willingness to measure intangibles; expression must be quantitative. There is pretence of extreme objectivity, of objective control of situations, which cannot be tangibly measured.
>
> (Sapir 1994:33)

This reminds us of the McDonald's technical itemizing of the service encounter; and we should also remember that concepts such as 'paint-by-numbers', time and motion studies, *The One Minute Manager* (Blanchard and Johnson 1982) and Procedural Reengineering are products of a low-context culture – and all began life in the United States.

As Koziol (2017) observes, the United States is also known for its stricter product liability legislation and the ensuing corporate culture of detailed product warnings. Koziol (2017:502) adds that it was the United States that influenced other parts of the world, especially the European Union, in this regard (see the Super Disc Shot example in Chapter 1.1.1). In a light-hearted book conveniently entitled *Remove Child before Folding*, Dorigo Jones (2007) notes how the United States is the most litigious country and how fear of lawsuits has driven companies and service providers to include absurd warning labels such as "Harmful if swallowed" (for fishing lure), "Product moves when used" (for a scooter), and so on. American media often report lawsuits or incidents relating to companies failing to provide what in other cultures would be perceived as obvious information.

John Stossel: We are not idiots… Why warning labels are killing us

When you use a coffeepot, do you need a warning label to tell you: "Do not hold over people"?

Must a bicycle bell be sold with the warning: "Should be installed and serviced by a professional mechanic"? Of course not. Yet that bell also carries the warning: "Failure to heed any of these warnings may result in serious injury or death."

This is nuts. It's a *bell*. […]

Source: Fox News, 22 June 2016

The fact that the American variety of the language is more LCC than the British is partly explained by the history of the American people and the geography of the country. In 1620, 102 Pilgrim Fathers left a relatively homogeneous, highly developed and inflexible culture for a new land. Some of these adventurous pioneers survived, and others began to arrive in the following years to this new-found land. Bryson

(2016:42), in his book on America and the American language, makes the following comment which we can immediately relate to the more tightly-woven/more loosely-knit categorization of cultures (emphasis added): "Gradually, out of this inchoate mass a country began to emerge – *loosely structured*, governed from abroad, populated by an unlikely mix of refugees, idealists, slaves and convicts, but a country none the less". The early settlers, faced with a new (continental) environment, were obliged to invent new names for the new plants and animals they encountered. In Chapter 5.3.3 we mentioned some examples: jointworm, glowworm and so on. However, not only was the natural environment named by joining known monosyllabic words together, but some of the known, man-made environment was also renamed (e.g. sidewalk, doghouse). As pointed out in 5.3.3, these lexical items were characterized by transparency and directness (Bryson 2016:30).

The birth of America as an independent country is also marked by a high degree of text. The third US President, Thomas Jefferson, was the chief drafter of the Declaration of Independence. In a letter he wrote to fellow American Henry Lee, he spelled out the underlying importance of explicit rather than implicit communication. His priorities are clear as he explains why the Declaration of Independence was written: "to place before mankind the common sense of the subject, in terms so plain and firm as to command their assent" (cited in Goodman 2015:112). Within the Declaration of Independence is an explicit meta-message, a declaration of why the Declaration is being made (emphasis added):

> When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a *decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.*
>
> Source: www.archives.gov/founding-docs/declaration-transcript

The need to explain in text and in a language that everyone can understand demonstrates an orientation towards Universalism and Equality. These orientations are also spelt out in the Declaration of Independence (para. 2), which states "all men are created equal" – though "all men" hid a number of Meta-Model violations: the referent "all men" only partially included women and excluded all slaves.

10.3 Contexting and the brain

- Hall's Contexting Theory and hemispherical preference
- Hemispherical cooperation
- Brain lateralization and culture
- Lateralization, translation strategies and the translator/inter-preter role

Hall (1983:60) postulates that these two basic distinctions (HCC and LCC) relate very closely to the brain and its division into left and right hemispheres. Though most brain specialists and psychologists feel that this division is far too simple, there is some evidence to support this hypothesis. The left cerebral hemisphere is to a large extent regarded as being responsible for 'text': language production, facts and logic, and "for local, narrowly focused attention". The right hemisphere, on the other hand, is largely responsible for relationships, the non-verbal, the holistic, patterns and "broad, global and flexible attention" (McGilchrist 2019:39–40). Many authors, however, point out that the two hemispheres work in collaboration rather than in a division-of-labour environment. Ocklenburg and Güntürkün (2018:89), for example, point out that even if research findings "indicate that speech processing is impossible without the left hemisphere in most individuals, the notion that one hemisphere completely controls a complex cognitive function such as language processing is grossly oversimplified". McGilchrist (2019:34) himself recognizes that the brain is "a single, integrated, highly dynamic system", not a collection of bits or parts.

Still, in relation to the HCC–LCC cline, McGilchrist (2019:49) affirms that the right side of the brain "understands from indirect contextual clues, not only from explicit statement, whereas the left hemisphere will identify by labels rather than context (e.g. identifies that it must be winter because it is 'January', not by looking at the trees)". McGilchrist goes much further in claiming that there are notable differences between cultures in terms of how the two hemispheres are used: "the East Asian cultures use strategies of both hemispheres more evenly, while Western strategies are steeply skewed towards the left hemisphere" (2019:458). A number of other authors provide evidence for cultural bias in relation to brain lateralization. Rozin *et al.*, for instance, conducted a lateralization study with participants from Asian (Japanese students in Japan and East or South Asians in the United States) and Caucasian-Western backgrounds and found "clear evidence for a significant link between Asian origins and rearing, and enhanced, or default right hemisphere processing" (2016:9).

According to McGilchrist (2019), culture influences the manner in which cerebral hemispheres are used. Biologically, brain asymmetry is basically the same across cultures, but people in different environments or cultural contexts will direct their attention to some things more than others and prioritize some aspects over others. Similarly, in the socialization process, children will be "taught" to perceive the world and, accordingly, will use their hemispheres in a manner that is consistent with their cultural environment and orientations. Rozin *et al*. (2016:4) agree that cultural differences are a "product of different ecologies". Thus, for example, cultures that are relatively more individualistic, analytical and verbally oriented will make more use of the left hemisphere, while more collectivist, holistic and context-sensitive groups will tend more towards the right side of the brain.

There is also now sufficient scientific evidence demonstrating that it is not only cultural learning but also gender that differentiates use of the hemispheres. In 2013, *Scientific American* reported an imaging study of nearly 1000 adult brains, entitled 'How Men's Brains Are Wired Differently than Women's' (Tanya Lewis 2013:n.p.). Whether it is wiring or inculcation, the study clearly demonstrates that "male brains have more connections within hemispheres to optimize motor skills, for analytical thinking (privileging front and back lobe connections)" while "female brains are more connected between hemispheres to combine analytical and intuitive thinking".

More recently, Gur and Gur (2016:191) review a number of studies which show that "males and females have complementary neurocognitive abilities, with females being more generalists and outperforming males in memory and social cognition tasks and males being more specialists and performing better than females on spatial and motor tasks".

Whether the ecologies giving rise to LCC/HCC differences are cultural or sub-cultural (e.g. based on gender), and whether brain lateralization is more biological or cultural, what is clear is that these differences raise questions for communicators in general and for translators and interpreters in particular. To this we turn in the following paragraphs.

10.3.1 Lateralization, translation strategies and translator/interpreter role

Some parallels can be identified between brain lateralization and the way translation is understood, practised and assessed. The teaching, or at least the presentation, of translation theory has changed over the past five decades in terms of learning style and hemisphere preference. The decoding–encoding model, for example, focussed on the surface

or deeper structures of the text, whereas now the emphasis is very much on heuristic processes and frames. The differences in approach are a reflection of analytical and holistic thinking styles. The decoding, analysing and recoding approach is very LCC-oriented, with a high priority placed on 'the text' and the source-language words. The more recent approach (in the Anglo-American tradition at least) is HCC in orientation. The emphasis now has shifted to contexts and relationships between the words in the text and other frames.

We also mentioned, in Chapter 8.1, that trainee translators and interpreters tend to process locally rather than globally. Franco Fabbro (1989:79–80), who worked with trainee interpreters, was able to demonstrate experimentally that the trainees begin their university career left-brain oriented, processing text, field-dependent, and analysing small chunks of speech. As noted in Chapter 8.1, Hönig (1991) and Chesterman (2016) also suggest that translation trainees tend to apply narrow, localized and literalistic micro rules, rather than a holistic approach to translation. Professionally, both certification systems and literature on translator/interpreter training agree that without awareness and consideration of contextual parameters, it is unlikely that a translator/interpreter will be able to perform at a professional standard. Halliday and Hasan's (1991:47) "non-verbal environment of a text" and Scollon et al.'s (2012) 'grammar of context', referred to above, are at the heart of quality assessment criteria. For instance, House (2015) uses the Hallidayan Field, Mode and Tenor; while Skopos Theory (e.g. Reiss and Vermeer 2014 [1984]; Nord 2013) revolves around the translation brief and the function of translation, which relate to and overlap with Scollon et al.'s (2012) 'scene', 'key', 'participants', 'message form' and so on. Similarly, in interpreting, quality criteria include effective communication "among the interacting parties in a particular context of interaction" (Pöchhacker 2002:97), which includes institutional setting and socio-cultural environment.

The socio-cultural environment takes us back to the issue of the role of the translator, interpreter or cultural mediator (discussed in Chapter 1), this time in relation to brain lateralization and the contexting orientation: To what extent are language professionals and mediators expected to bridge differences on the LCC–HCC continuum? Differences between cultures in terms of how much text, detail or background information is needed in a communicative situation may go unnoticed. Yet this is an essential area where the role of translators, interpreters and cultural mediators can be instrumental in facilitating or obstructing successful communication.

Interestingly, as we have noted in Chapter 1.4, the translator's or interpreter's intervention at this level will, again, come down to context of situation or setting, and relate to the culture of the community of practice. In a business interpreting setting, for instance, where

each interpreter is engaged by a different party, the interpreter may be expected to intervene at every level possible to ensure that the interests of the employer are served (e.g. by embellishing, adding relevant information, omitting unnecessary or inappropriate content, etc.). We have seen in Chapter 1 how the Japanese business interpreters in Takimoto's (2006) study saw themselves as dynamic and proactive participants in intercultural business encounters. Hlavac and Xu (2020:86) also cite Chinese business interpreters whose "primary loyalty when engaging in interpreting on behalf of the corporation was to the corporation", and therefore provide as many insights for their employer as possible, including both what is said and what is not said during the interpreted event. In a courtroom, on the other hand, the interpreter is expected to be impartial, interpret everything that is said, regardless of whether it is shared knowledge or not, whether it is clear and coherent or not (see e.g. AUSIT 2012:14).

Similarly, in translating international treaties, translators worldwide will tend to adhere to the text (with its detailed definitions, repetitive sections, long lists of items and/or cases, etc.); while in literary or audiovisual translation, there is more room for LCC–HCC mediation and adaptation to aesthetic norms and tolerance or expectation of (implicit) 'showing' or (explicit) 'telling'. The mediation would be between what Russian playwright Anton Chekhov refers to as telling the audience "the moon is shining" and showing them "the glint of light on the broken glass" (cited in Keyworth and Robison 2015:23).

10.4 Grammatical 'be' and 'do'

This section aims specifically to show how the same reality is reconstructed by different mental maps and how the HCC/LCC orientation can be linked to language. We have already mentioned that language is a surface representation of the model or mental map and that "grammar construes reality" (Halliday 1992:65). Hasan (1984:106) takes the argument one step further, purporting "that there is a culture-specific semiotic style [which] is to say that there is a congruence, a parallelism between verbal and non-verbal behaviour, both of which are informed by the same set of beliefs, values and attitudes".

She also suggests (Hasan 1984:106) that there should "exist some organizing principle" which will ensure that congruence. As we have suggested, this organizing principle is to be found in the theory of Logical Levels (Chapter 3.2); and through the strict relation between dominant hemisphere and value clusters which favour text or context. Let's look at this in a little more detail and discuss how the orientation at the level of values, in particular, influences the choice in process transitivity.

We may begin with the example of two newspaper headlines. In the United States, *The Washington Post* (*WP*), and in Italy the *Corriere della Sera* (*CdS*) covered the same event in a third country, the attempted 1993 coup in Moscow, over four days (from Katan 1998):

October	*The Washington Post*	*Corriere della Sera*	Translation
4	TROOPS CLOSE IN ON YELTSIN FOES AS BATTLE RAGES AT PARLIAMENT	BATTAGLIA A MOSCA, MORTI PER LE STRADE	BATTLE IN MOSCOW, THE DEAD ON THE STREETS
5	ARMY SHELLFIRE CRUSHES MOSCOW REVOLT; DOZENS KILLED IN ASSAULT ON PARLIAMENT	MASSACRO A MOSCA, VINCE ELTSIN	MASSACRE IN MOSCOW, YELTSIN WINS
6	YELTSIN TIGHTENS GRIP, FIRES RIVAL OFFICIALS	RUSSIA, IL GIORNO DEL CASTIGO	RUSSIA, THE DAY OF PUNISHMENT
7	YELTSIN LIFTS CENSORSHIP, VOWS TO HOLD DECEMBER ELECTIONS	ELTSIN AI RIBELLI "SARETE PUNITI"	YELTSIN TO REBELS "YOU'LL BE PUNISHED"

Source: Katan (1998:142)

In terms of orientation towards 'being' or 'doing', we could say that the *WP* shows us a film with close-ups while the *CdS* gives us a wider picture of the situation, and involves feelings. This could well be an isolated case, but it does coincide with the general HCC/LCC division as (implicitly) described by Tannen (1993b:14–56).

She noted, for example, significant differences between North American (LCC) and Greek (HCC) subjects' oral accounts of the same film. On being asked about the film, the Americans described the actual events of the film; while the Greeks produced elaborate stories with additional events, and detailed accounts of the motives and feelings of the characters. Stella Ting-Toomey (1985:78) discusses how different cultures interpret conflictual events, such as a negotiation impasse or, as in the case above, an attempted coup. In her discussion she suggests that individuals in LCC cultures are more likely to perceive the causes of conflict as instrumental rather than expressive in nature. Scollon *et al.* (2012:140) point out that (all) Westerners unconsciously resort to Utilitarian discourse in professional contexts, and that "Utilitarian discourse forms should appear to give nothing but information, that they should appear to be making no attempt to

influence the listener or the reader except through his or her exercise of rational judgment".

Seen through Asian eyes, the Utilitarian discourse form, as aspired to by the quality Anglo-American press, may well be seen as devious and underhand. These writers, according to the Asian viewpoint, are simply hiding their message or intention behind a facade of carefully selected 'facts'. More recently, the traditional 'quality' press has come under similar fire from an Anglo-American 'post-truth politics', which belittles 'the facts' while privileging the emotions.

For the interpreter or translator, mediating these two discourse forms means being ever more ready to frame the performative (as discussed in Chapter 6) for the new reader or listener. This need has already been noticed when translating into Arabic, due to what Hatim and Mason (1997:127–136) call the Arab speaker's preference for the consciously subjective 'lopsided' argument. With the 'lopsided' approach, the writer makes his or her beliefs explicit. They suggest (1997:135) that any translation from English to Arabic (which does not make the original writer's bias clear) "needs to make sure that the thesis to be opposed … is rendered in a way that reflects the attitude of the source text producer towards what could be implied by the facts…". In short, the translator should make the (hidden) meta-message more explicit; otherwise, the author's intention will be lost in the translation.

As we already mentioned at the end of Chapter 7.5, when discussing manipulation and adaptation in translation, this is exactly what the *Corriere della Sera* did in 'translating' the comments made in the *Newsweek* article:

Newsweek	**Corriere della Sera (translated)**
Did the Italians warn Aidid? "Draw your own conclusions", said a senior US official.	The accusation hurled by *Newsweek* is scathing. It is slanderous: "The Italians are spying for General Aidid against the United Nations".

Returning to the Russian attempted coup headlines, the *CdS* has a clear affective orientation, while the *WP* is more instrumental in its headline account. However, if we wish to study how language can reflect the 'being'/'doing' polar orientation, we should start at the level of the clause. As Jay L. Lemke says (1989:37), "Every clause constructs some representation of the material and social world". Downing and Locke (2006:123) are even more unequivocal: "The

clause is …the most significant grammatical unit. It is the unit that enables us to organise the wealth of our experience, both semantically and syntactically, into a manageable number of representational patterns or schemas."

In this mental picture, clauses represent "patterns of experience" (Halliday 1994:107), and the central part of this pattern is termed 'the process'; that is, the verb (Downing and Locke 2006:123). According to Halliday (1994:108), there are three principal aspects which make up "a coherent theory of experience".

First, we have the outer world. In terms of the Logical Levels Model, this is the environment and observable behaviour. The second aspect is internal reaction (reflection, awareness and generalization), which relates to strategies and beliefs. Third, fragments of experience are related to others. Halliday uses the terms 'classification' and 'identification', which clearly relate to the level of identity. Although Halliday does not put these processes in any particular order of importance, following the Logical Levels Model, there are clear logical differences of level between external observable behaviour, internal reaction (beliefs) and attribution (identity).

The three main process categories as identified by Halliday, with their associated Logical Levels, are as follows:

Logical Level	Hallidayan process	Example exponent
Behaviour	Material (the doing)	Jack texted Jill
Capabilities/ Values/Beliefs	Mental (the sensing)	Jack loved Jill Jill wasn't convinced
Identity	Relational (the being)	Jill wasn't Jack's

Halliday also categorizes three sub-categories.[1]

Verbal	(related to material and mental)	Jack asked her to marry him
Behavioural	(related to material and mental)	Jill staggered backwards when she read the message
Existential	(related to relational)	There was no wedding

Of the three main categories, we can immediately see that experience can be categorized in terms of what the situation is, and how it relates to other aspects of reality (the context): "Jill wasn't convinced", "Jill wasn't Jack's" and "There was no wedding". Alternatively, we can

categorize according to what happened (the text): "Jack texted Jill", "Jack asked her to marry him" and "Jill staggered backwards".

According to Lemke (1991:26), and to use his terminology, there should be a difference in transitivity between an article with a dynamic perspective – "what-could-be-being-meant" – and one with a synoptic perspective – "what-evidently-must-have-been-meant". What he means is that there should be more material verbs in the news (as-it-is-happening) report and more relational verbs in the leads or editorials, as they would focus on the relationship between events rather than on events themselves. While the analysis of the reports (in Katan 1998) supports the above for both the English and the American news reporting and commenting, the Italian *CdS* variation in the use of relational processes between 'reporting' and 'commenting' is slight. This finding certainly supports the thesis that the selection of process will depend first on a particular culture's cluster of values (its cultural orientations); and then on the function of the language – in this case an editorial or a news report.

Hence, cultural orientation acts as a primary filter on the lexico-grammar, which, according to the Logical Level Theory, then informs the next level down – the semantic level. As a result, semantic style, as exemplified by transitivity and process types, will select predominantly relational processes if there is an HCC orientation, and material processes if there is an LCC orientation. As Lemke (1991:28) states, "It is not only the context of situation, but also [the] context of culture that is dynamically implicated in a semantic view of text production".

Translators, in particular, should be aware of process types as they translate. When they have the choice, they should favour the relational when translating into an HCC language, and the material when translating for the LCC audience, to fit their translation into the local behavioural style. This is particularly important within the environment of newspaper reporting of reality.

Chapter 11 focusses on contexting with regard to culture-bound use of language and how this can affect translation.

Note

1 For a full discussion on transitivity and analysis, see Halliday (1976, 1994).

11 Transactional communication

The aim of this chapter is to:

- Distinguish transactional and interactional communication;
- Discuss HCC and LCC preferred communication styles;
- Develop KISS/KILC communication styles;
- Provide examples of preferences for spoken and written communication;
- Discuss the relative importance of clarity and formality in written communication across cultures.

11.1 Transactional and interactional communication

We begin this chapter by focussing on how transactional and interactional contexts influence preferred cultural communication styles. Brown and Yule (1983:1) suggest that transactional communication expresses "content", the task in hand, whereas interactional language has the function of "expressing social relations and personal attitudes".

We will here concern ourselves with interaction/transaction as perceived contexts; that is, where participants imagine that particular attitudes and emotions are involved or not. In both cases, there may be misinterpretation and an unexpected emotional response. A purely transactional context (such as filling out a questionnaire) may well trigger an emotive response once 'face' becomes an issue and the communication is perceived as a potential face-threatening act (by at least one of those interacting).

We outline below a number of culture-bound communication norms that are often at the root of the misinterpretation. The norms will be affected by the communication level at play. The levels themselves should be regarded as an indication of chunking from the more abstract transactional or interactional context down to the more specific typical text indicators that a model HCC or LCC discourse is likely to display. Finally, as we stress throughout the book, community of practice, text type and genre membership, not to mention the

particular interlocutors and their particular perception of the situation, will always be key factors in determining actual linguistic behaviour.

11.1.1 First Level: Is the context transactional or interactional?

Communication preferences will depend on whether the text is primarily transactional or interactional. British and American LCC preferences tend to promote a KISSy approach ("keep it short and simple") if the communication is transactional. An alternative (more diffuse) approach values completeness of expression in transactional communication: "keep it long and complete" (KILC), or indeed, from a KISSy perspective, "keep it long and complicated". There is no reason to assume that KISS/KILC preferences will remain unchanged between transactional and interactional communication. In fact, between Italian and English, for example, the general preferences in this regard are reversed. Also, there is no necessary connection between a KISS/KILC approach and other cultural orientations, such as formality and informality – rather there is a blend or overlap between orientations (and perceived settings) that will result in a particular communication at a particular moment.

11.1.2 Second Level: Does the context allow both spoken and written modes of communication?

Where there is a free choice, there will be a (personal, group, organizational and cultural) preference regarding channel or mode. The traditional division is between written and spoken. The Latin proverb "*Verba volant, scripta manent*" (spoken words fly away, written words remain), apparently spoken by Caius Titus to the Roman Senate in favour of the creation of permanent written public documents, is a useful way to consider the attraction of either one channel or the other. An LCC orientation will tend to favour "make sure you get it in writing" or "if it isn't written down, it didn't happen". An HCC orientation is less likely (in an idealized situation) to prefer the *scripta*, given that the spoken (*verba*) mode offers more immediacy, flexibility and relatedness compared to a written text.

11.1.3 Third Level: HCC and LCC orientations

Within *scripta* mode, what is the preferred communication style? Here we will focus mainly on the written form (and consequently on translation) rather than the spoken, which will be discussed in Chapter 12 on interactional communication.

HCC Orientation	LCC Orientation
Self-expression	Other-oriented
Writerly	Readerly
Contextual details	On topic
Abstraction	Concrete
The relationship	The skopos/task

11.1.4 Fourth Level: KISS and KILC writing styles

There is a close (but not strict) link between HCC and KILCiness and between LCC and KISSiness – particularly in transactional communication. For example, the American (LCC) Microsoft PowerPoint App is designed for a KISS-style bullet point concision, which allows for an ample amount of space around the words. This space encourages focus on the individual words, giving them individual weight. Katan (2016b) called this 'White Space Quotient' (WSQ), and suggests that high WSQ is a sign of LCC.

KILC: Keep it long and complete	KISS: Keep it short and simple
High information load	Low information load
Completeness/complexity	Clarity/simplicity
Low WSQ: essay style	High WSQ: bullet points, paragraphs, subheadings
The detail	Synthetic/the gist
Writer friendly (e2e)	Reader friendly (p2p)
Power distance	Equality
Show: (expert) opinion	Tell: identifiable facts (FYI)
More formal	More informal
Inductive (theoretical)	Deductive (empirical)
Context explained in text	Relevant facts in text
Indirect/circular (background)	Direct/linear (cause-effect, main points)
Rhetorical skills/rich style	Simplicity/plain style
Focus on status (who, title)	Focus on achievement (what has been done)
Information is reserved	Information is accessible
(Information is power)	(Open access is empowering)

Key: WSQ – white space quotient, referring to the ratio of text and (white, blank or other non-verbal) space surrounding it on a screen or text; e2e – expert to expert; p2p – peer to peer; FYI – for your information.

11.1.5 Fifth Level: Text indicators

Finally, at this level, we can see the likely lexical, grammatical and stylistic variation in the text:

KILC

- Long sentences
- Coordinating conjunctions, hypertaxis
- Formal register
- Passive/impersonal
- Nominal style
- 3rd person singular/1st person plural
- Exclusive 'we'

KISS

- Short sentences
- Full stops, parataxis
- Informal register
- Active/personal
- Verbal style
- 1st person singular
- Inclusive 'we'

Intercultural communication depends crucially on mediating between these two orientations in all settings. The early stages of any communication, whether in business or in immigration settings, necessitate a shift towards lower-context communication, as it is only in this mode that mutual understanding can be ensured. In terms of Maslow's triangle (see Chapter 4.7), LCC (whether transactional or interactional) is the language of survival. Particularly in the contexts of international migration and internal displacement, first encounters are going to be more successful if conducted in an LCC style. Importantly, it is not whether one orientation is 'good' or not, but whether a particular orientation (e.g. author or addressee) is more appropriate for a particular group of interlocutors in a particular context (time, place and purpose). So, ideally, first transactional encounters between public services and newly arrived migrants or tourists should be through reader-oriented (p2p) texts, which provide factual and concrete information in a clear and accessible language, regardless of what cultural orientations are at play.

The practical examples below highlight contexting differences that would require cultural mediation.

11.2 *"Verba volant, scripta manent"*

The Latin proverb, as we mentioned above, refers to the preference for either a spoken (*verba*) or written (*scripta*) medium. Someone with a cultural preference for spoken communication will be all too aware of the constraints of writing (such as lack of flexibility, restrictiveness) when engaging in the written mode; while someone with a preference for written communication will tend to focus on its advantages (concision and consistency). In this section we look at these cultural preferences through examples of legal and commercial transactions. In general, the more LCC the orientation, the stronger the preference for the *scripta* mode; and conversely, the stronger the HCC orientation, the greater the need for the *verba* mode to be satisfied.

11.2.1 Contracts

Contracts – a transactional form of communication – are a good example of variation between HCC and LCC contexts in relation to the medium of communication and the functions it serves. As Hooker (2003:34) notes, although written contracts are now common practice in different parts of the world, they vary from one culture to another in terms of meaning and level of explicitness and detail. In Western cultures, a contract is a binding agreement that attempts to foresee every foreseeable circumstance or source of dispute; in some Asian countries, the agreement may be "too vague to specify what the deal is" (Hooker 2003:34). In LCC contexts such as the United States, a contract signifies the end of the negotiation, while it is only a "way station" (Brake *et al*. 1995:41) or "the beginning of the negotiation process" (Hooker 2003:34) for Arab and Confucian cultures. Translators, but also interpreters and, to a greater extent, cultural mediators need to be particularly aware of such culture-bound differences regarding the finality of the written or the spoken word. In some countries, company negotiators feel they have the right to change the written agreement if the interlocutors change; or rather, the contract's validity is tied to the makers of that contract – as can happen in Italy. At the other end of the scale, Germans, for example, would not consider it automatically necessary to make a new contract simply because the people who were involved in drawing up or signing the original contract had been substituted. A contract for an LCC culture is with an impersonal organization, not with the person.

Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars (1993:123–124) describe how a written Australian–Japanese sugar agreement teetered during 1976–1977. After the agreement was duly signed, the context changed: World oil prices quadrupled, and the world price of sugar dramatically fell. The Japanese people, consequently, had to pay well over the world

price for their sugar. As a result, the Japanese government immediately asked for a renegotiation of the terms on the grounds that mutual benefit to all parties required it. The *Japan Economic Newspaper* wrote: "It is true that a contract is a contract, but when customers are in a predicament, we believe that assistance is routinely extended to customers from a long-term viewpoint, even in Australia". According to Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars, the LCC Australians considered the Japanese to be "seemingly indifferent to the small print" and saw no reason to renegotiate.

Equally, a spoken contract or rather 'a gentleman's agreement' will be more or less adhered to depending on the culture-bound understanding of its importance. As we have already noted with regard to native English-speaking countries, an LCC culture will feel less bound by a verbal promise of intent than a higher-context communication culture.

Clearly, these different ways of giving information and interpreting agreements have to be mediated by the interpreter and cultural mediator. Below is a list of expressions to listen for, which indicate a particularly LCC operating mode:

> I wasn't given the full facts.
> We need a complete report/detailed plan.
> I'd like it in writing.
> I'll expect the draft proposals by next week. Can we have a written agenda?

On the other end of the contexting scale, we have these types of expressions:

> Trust me.
> I give you my word.
> My word is my bond.
> I thought/expected you to know.
> We can work out the details as we go along.
> Everybody already knows what's what.

We have already noted the particularly American orientation to LCC explicitation of what other cultures might assume to be implicit or understood. According to Weagree and Wiggers (2020), a legal contract automation provider, when drafting legal contracts, the United States adopts an "exhaustive approach", which is partly to do with its common law framework based on written judicial precedent. Other

countries, whose legal systems are based on case or statute law, adopt a more conceptual or abstract written style: "Common law originated contracts tend to phrase provisions in an exhaustive manner, listing the approximating words to make sure the entire concept is captured, whilst European continental lawyers dare to delete if the concept is addressed sufficiently clearly" (Weagree and Wiggers 2020:n.p). Weagree loosely lumps European countries as being conceptual, with Britain "somewhere in between". What is of particular interest here is the practical example given (see below) of how an extreme LCC need for clarity and transparency can actually work *against* KISSy principles and result in an e2e, rather than a p2p text:

Continental (conceptual)	US (exhaustive)
amend…	modify, adjust, amend or otherwise change…
all damages, including all related costs and expenses…	any losses, actual damages, costs, fees, expenses, claims, suits, judgments, awards, liabilities (including but not limited to strict liabilities), obligations, debts, fines, penalties, charges, costs of Remediation (whether or not performed voluntarily), amounts paid in settlement, litigation costs, reasonable attorneys' fees, engineers' fees, environmental consultants' fees, and investigation costs (including but not limited to costs for sampling, testing and analysis of soil, water, air, building materials, and other materials and substances whether solid, liquid or gas), of whatever kind or nature, and whether or not incurred in connection with any judicial or administrative proceedings, actions, claims, suits, judgments or awards…
all natural and chemical substances classified as… from time to time…	any and all substances (whether solid, liquid or gas) defined, listed, or otherwise classified as… or words of similar meaning or regulatory effect under any present or future Laws [with Laws defined as …] …

Source: Weagree and Wiggers (2020:n.p)

So, following this chart, an exhaustive culture will rarely be happy with anything that might suggest lack of information, whereas a highly conceptual culture is more likely to prefer a blanket "all damages" without itemizing, and a more flexible "from to time" rather than detailing exactly what "from time to time" refers to exactly. In both cases, though, the *verba* preference is visible in the written contracts.

11.2.2 House buying

The buying and selling of a house in many countries follows a set procedure, involving a large volume of text information. To attract the buyer there is usually an information sheet, available both in print and online, especially in more LCC-oriented countries. The sheet can (and usually does) extend to three or four pages. The contract between the buyer, the seller and the estate agent is always written, and specifically states responsibilities, rights and exclusions. The building inspection report is also a lengthy and costly, but necessary business in house buying.

   None of the above activities, though, is part of the traditional approach to house buying in HCC contexts such as Italy or Morocco; although practices are changing, especially when large property companies are involved. When information is given, it tends to be given orally. Hence, perception and interpretation of the following utterances will be culture-bound:

Statement in English	Equivalent statement in Italian/Moroccan Arabic
I went to the Estate Agent on Saturday and he **gave** me the details of the house.	*Sabato sono andato dall'agente immobiliare e mi **ha dato** le informazioni sulla casa.* مشيت عند السمسار نهار السبت واعطاني معلومات على الدار

The English, Italian and Moroccan Arabic sentences appear to be equivalent, but we should immediately notice the unspecified verb 'give'/*dare*/أعطى. In the three cases there is deletion. Using the Meta-Model, we ask the question:

How did the estate agent give the details?

It should immediately become clear that the presupposition behind 'how' is different. In English, the full representational form would include LCC written details, while the presupposition behind the

surface structure in Italian and Arabic is a more HCC, interpersonal, synthetic and verbal rendering of the information:

LCC meaning of 'give'	HCC meaning of 'give'
He handed me the written sale particulars of the house for me to read.	Arabic
	وراني الدار وقالي الثمن والمساحة ديالها
	(He showed me the house and told me about the area and first asking price.)
	Italian
	*Mi ha **spiegato** com'è la casa.*
	(He told me what the house was like.)

Below is a typical extract from an English estate agent's information sheet describing the house for sale:

PRICE:	£775,000 FREEHOLD

We are delighted to receive instructions to sell this spacious versatile Victorian home offered for sale in good decorative condition throughout. The property is ideally situated close to all amenities with local shops and railway station just a short walk away. Other benefits include a private garage to the rear with further off-road parking facility and a private rear garden.

The accommodation briefly comprises: reception hall, lounge with further sitting area, dining room, luxury appointed kitchen/breakfast room, three bedrooms, with study and large Victorian bathroom.

Berkhamsted has good facilities and offers various shopping facilities including Waitrose, Tesco and Boots; the mainline railway station serves the commuter and there is schooling for all age groups in both the state and private sectors. Leisure is catered for by a sports centre and local golf courses and equestrian establishment. The M1 at Hemel Hemspstead and M25 at Kings Langley provide access to London and the North. ....

Accommodation comprises —

brick built covered entrance porch with tiled floor and outside light. Step up to half glazed front door with brass accessories …

Reception Hall

stripped pine doors to reception areas, spindle staircase to first floor, high skirtings, double radiator, coving to ceiling, coat hanging area, electric meter cupboard, telephone point (subject to BT regulations).

Dual aspect 26' 3 × 12' 8. Divided naturally into: sitting room two areas with front room having attractive gas fire with brass surround, marble insert and hearth with solid pine surround sash[,] bay window to front aspect, double radiator, telephone point, TV point, coving to ceiling, high skirting. Square arch leading to…

The description extends for another two pages. The Italian and Arab preference is, as already stated, for personal communication. Written particulars, where available, have yet to take on this LCC approach. In Morocco, real estate agents are usually informal intermediaries who would sit in a café waiting for potential customers, or write their telephone number on strategic walls or street posts. When they provide information to potential buyers or tenants, they usually do so verbally before or while showing them the property. Information normally includes basic details such as asking price, area or number of rooms, whether the property is registered and so on. A more organized and formal approach is also emerging, although it is still limited to large cities and development projects. When written information is available in print or on websites, it is still limited to the basics, as the following example shows:

حقائق	مزايا	
السعر	690 000 درهم	أمن ✔
نوع العقار	شقة	
مرجع	cam-1553071	
غرف نوم	3	
حمامات	2	
الفرش	غير مفروش	
المساحة	107 مترمربع	

شقة للبيع في....

(**Apartment for sale in**…
Facts:
Price: 690,000 MAD
Type of property: Apartment
Reference: cam-1553071
Bedrooms: 3
Bathrooms: 2
Furnished: No
Area: 107 m^2
Features: Security)

These basic details in writing would be complemented and embellished with the estate agent's or intermediary's narrative and personal style. Here, mutual trust (a relationship) is essential, and so is the reputation of the property owner or developer.

11.3 Author/addressee orientation

This section covers differences in how information is viewed and transmitted. In particular, two areas will be discussed: clarity and information load.

The basic distinction in both cases, in NLP terms, is between two meta-programs, towards 'self' and towards 'other'. With regard to the transmission and reception of a message, priority can either be given to the production and full expression (self) or to the reception and understanding (other). The sub-orientations that follow will illustrate more clearly the difference in practice between these two culture-bound orientations, which can be summarized as follows:

Orientation	Language	Strategy	Priority
Author/speaker towards self	Expressive High information load Completeness	KILC	The relationship Rhetorical skills/ rich style Author's authority Production Power distance
Addressee/ listener towards other	Factual Low information load Reader-friendly Clear style	KISS	The task Simplicity The addressee Comprehension Equality

11.3.1 Clarity versus completeness

In 1943, Ernest Gowers, a distinguished civil servant, was asked by the British Treasury to write a guide to writing as a contribution to what the civil service was doing to improve official English. Fifty years later, Italian minister Sabino Cassese was asked to chair a governmental committee charged with a similar remit (Tosi 2001:100). Gowers' *The Complete Plain Words*, first published in 1948, has been consistently revised, most recently by his great-granddaughter (Gowers 2014), and is still required reading in government departments. The Italian *Codice di Stile delle comunicazioni scritte ad uso delle amministrazioni pubbliche: Proposta e materiali di studio* (Dipartimento per la Funzione Pubblica 1994), or rather *A Written Communication Style Code for Public Administration Use: A Proposal and Study Material*, published for the first time in 1994, is a perfect KILCy equivalent. It has yet, though, to exercise much influence on the administration. The orientation to KISSiness in English is as logical to any KISSy reader as is the Italian KILCiness to any other KILCy-oriented reader (which we will return to when discussing interactional communication in Chapter 12).

Regarding task-based KISSiness, Gowers (2014) began his pithy prologue with the following (the more direct 'you' and 'your' are stylistic updates in the revised edition):

> Writing is the instrument for conveying ideas from one mind to another; your job as a writer is to make the reader grasp your meaning readily and precisely … Even when you know what you mean, and say it in a way that is clear to you, will it always be equally clear to your reader? If not, you have not been getting on with the job.
>
> (Gowers 2014:14)

To emphasize the addressee (rather than author) orientation, the Contents List includes, 'Think for Others Rather than for Yourself'.

The Economist Style Guide (Wroe 2018), now in its 12th edition, is another popular publication, and provides a typical example of the practical reader-oriented advice that is given in the British style guides:

> The first requirement of *The Economist* is that it should be readily understandable. Clarity of writing usually follows clarity of thought. So think what you want to say, then say it as simply as possible. Keep in mind George Orwell's six elementary rules ("Politics and the English Language", 1946):

1. Never use a METAPHOR, simile or other figure of speech, which you are used to seeing in print.
2. Never use a long word where a SHORT WORD will do.
3. If it is possible to cut out a word, always cut it out.
4. Never use the passive when you can use the ACTIVE.
5. Never use a FOREIGN PHRASE, a scientific word or a JARGON word if you can think of an everyday English equivalent.
6. Break any of these rules sooner than say anything outright barbarous.

(Wroe 2018:1)

The Open University (2008:5) also published a style guide, which we have already noted in Chapter 5.3. Not only does it discuss political correctness in detail (a clear indication of an orientation to equality or low power distance), but it also emphasizes simplicity and clarity ("accessible writing style"), which the authors state also applies to "speech and everyday behaviour" (The Open University 2008:1).

It adds the following points *to The Economist*'s style guide:

Try to make your style as simple as possible, so that your meaning is as plain as possible. That way you will be less likely to discourage people, and they will be able to read faster, enjoy more, understand better and remember longer. The important thing is to keep your readers in mind and imagine you are *talking* to them. This will help you to write in a natural, friendly, conversational style.
Here are some ideas:

- Use 'I' or 'we' and address your reader as 'you', so long as this doesn't involve making false generalisations.
- Give examples from real life to illustrate your meaning (anything that's given a human touch is likely to be more interesting and easier to remember).
- Try to avoid a mismatch between the reader's ability and the writing. The level of difficulty of course material should be appropriate to the particular stage of the student's learning.

(The Open University 2008:5, emphasis in original)

The importance of this p2p orientation should not be understated. The impression, as The Open University (2008:1) themselves state, is that these rules are for "everyone producing written or audiovisual content", for "any university" and for all "speech and everyday behaviour". Application of the Meta-Model (Chapter 6.4) on generalizations

should heighten awareness of the linguistic violations, which hide a culture-bound map of the world:

Absolutely everyone, any university, any purpose, always?

This orientation is not, in fact, universal, but rather only relevant to those whose world privileges the principles of Greek classical literature or the "Utilitarian discourse system", as discussed in Scollon *et al.* (2012:110–126). Other cultures or discourse systems have other preferences:

> For example, international business culture, what we have been calling the Utilitarian discourse system places a very high value on the communication of information and less value on the communication of relationship, whereas the Confucian discourse system puts much more emphasis on the communication of relationship.
> (Scollon *et al.* 2012:137)

Along the same relativization line, Fu and Townsend (1998:129) point out that when the Chinese describe good writing, "they do not refer to the ability to express ideas clearly, but rather to knowledge of the classic literature and the ability artistically to manipulate its forms and language in writing" a more e2e orientation. As we constantly underline, cultures are not static, and China, as Li (2008:16) points out, is continuing to change "miraculously". However, her study of academic writing norms in China today demonstrates that change towards an international (American) standard is evolving "at a glacier pace" (2008:16). And, though Karen Bennett may worry about epistemicide, it is only when abroad – that is, in translation – that languacultures need to undergo rewriting. As Bennett (2007) herself shows, Portuguese

> academic writing in the humanities has continued to promote a more holistic view of knowledge, in which subjectivity is actively promoted rather than suppressed and in which the emotional response plays as much of a part as rational argument and close observation. Indeed, writing is largely viewed as an art, rather than as a mechanical skill, and therefore often appears to be endowed with a kind of sacred aura (proportional to the status of its author) that discourages critical analysis or stylistic tampering.
> (Bennett 2007:164)

Similarly, Fox (2012:398), in 'Writing for the U.S. University', reports that while many US lecturers believe "there is – or should be – one

standard for 'good writing' across cultures", the views of students from different cultural backgrounds (e.g. Chile, Japan, Côte d'Ivoire) demonstrate that this belief is unsubstantiated. Fox quotes a Chilean student who describes the American writing style as follows:

> "When I read something written by an American, it sounds so childish. It's because we don't see with these connections. It's just like, 'This is a watch. The watch is brown, da-da, da-da, da-da'. For us, that's funny. I think that for Americans, it must be funny, the way I describe things."
>
> (Fox 2012:395)

At times, the avoidance of the derisible emphasis on 'clarity' is to do with an orientation to power and the need to construct an e2e rather an a p2p oriented text. Tosi (2001:91–105), for example, in his chapter on government moves to simplify Italian bureaucracy adds the following warning: "the motivation to introduce the [Government *Codice di Stile*] reform involves much broader political issues reflecting the ideological orientation of any government that may be in favour of such a change, or indeed against it" (2001:103).

Since then, successive governments have managed to avoid simplification through further obfuscation, as a government think tank on the matter concludes (in the box below). Its own slavishly literal translation is an ironic sign of the absolute lack of progress in making the reader grasp meanings readily and precisely. The conclusion, though, once deciphered, is apt.

Always within the Ministry for Simplification and PA, nested in the Department of the Public Function, we find the Office for Simplification and Removal of Bureaucratic Burdens. As ruled in the ministerial Decree of 17 November 2015, such [an] office has the task of "promoting and coordinating the policies of normative and administrative simplification, in order to achieve better quality of regulation, cut the administrative costs of compliance for the users, increase the competitiveness and the rule of law for citizens and enterprises". Again, "the office promotes legislative and administrative reforms coherent with the national strategy of digitalization ...; curates the drafting of a balance sheet for administrative burdens; monitors the effects of the simplification actions; promotes consultation of the stakeholders". The pleonasm is evident.

(Cultura Democratica 2017: understandably – and thankfully – no longer available)

As culture is a dynamic process (Chapter 2.3), cultures can, and indeed do, change their behaviour even within an opposing ideology. In Italy, though, the orientation to hierarchy will ensure that the reform measures will be taken up relatively slowly. As Tosi (2001:97) points out, "The status of the civil service or the local authorities would be diminished if ordinary situations were to be discussed in ordinary language". So, end users with means may make use of personal contacts within the system or through paid experts to mediate between the specialist language and practice of official administration, and that of the general public.

We now return to the Anglo-American value of 'clarity' and look at how this affects translation strategy (into English). One example illustrating the difference in approach between KILC and KISS orientations are official personal documents such as marriage and divorce certificates. A marriage certificate in the United States, Britain or Australia is generally short, focussed on the particulars (bridegroom, bride, celebrant, witness, dates and so on) and presented in a user-friendly and clear manner (e.g. in a table or table-like format); see Figure 11.1.

In KILC-oriented countries such as Morocco, Egypt or Lebanon, transactional documents are usually longer, denser and not very clearly presented. In Morocco, in particular, a marriage or divorce certificate is usually approximately 500 words long, is presented as one block of text (with no paragraphs) and includes the particulars of the groom, bride and marriage embedded in a long and rarely punctuated sequence of archaic administrative language, document and registration numbers, formulaic religious expressions and quotations from the Qur'an (see Figure 11.2).

It is interesting to note that government departments in Australia, New Zealand, the United States and a number of European countries accept extract translations of marriage certificates as well as other personal documents (e.g. identity card, driving licence, birth certificate, divorce decree, police clearance, etc.). In this case, certified translators use standard templates to extract the essential information from the original document (AUSIT 2014:2; Taibi and Ozolins 2016:86–88), which makes the translation, especially from KILC-oriented documents, more efficient and functional, and caters for the expectations of a KISS-oriented administrative system.

Another example of KILC–KISS mediation can be found in the 'domestication' that takes place as part of the translation process itself or at the revision stage. Professional translators may find that their translations will be 'improved' (according to cultural orientation) by external mother-tongue proofreaders. One particular example is given

Figure 11.1 Australian marriage certificate

المملكة المغربية
وزارة العدل
المحكمة الابتدائية قسم التوثيق بـالدار البيضاء

Figure 11.2 Moroccan marriage certificate

in the box below. The translation was from an Italian instruction and guarantee booklet for an espresso machine, and the 'corrections' were made by mother-tongue English proofreaders. Most of the corrections involve shifting from an orientation towards completeness to that of simplicity, thus improving clarity:

Original translation	Correction
top quality espresso coffee machine	top quality espresso machine
thank you for your preference	thank you for choosing Saeco
The machine has been devised for domestic use and is not indicated for continuous professional use	The machine has been designed for domestic use only
Avoid direct skin contact with hot components	Avoid direct contact with hot components
The machine voltage has been set upon manufacturing	The machine voltage has been set at the factory
Remove the filter holder and empty it of grounds	Remove and empty the filter holder
In case an extension cord is used, check that it is adequate	In case an extension cord is used, be certain that it meets or exceeds all safety standards
Never immerse the machine into water and do not introduce it in a dishwasher	Never immerse the machine into water
We recommend you to clean the water tank daily and to fill it	Clean and fill the water tank daily
Follow in all cases the manufacturer's instructions	Follow the instructions
These instructions cannot include every possible and thinkable use of the machine	These instructions cannot anticipate every possible use of the machine
Moreover, we point out that these instructions are not part of any previous or existing agreement or legal contract and they do not change their substance	Moreover, these instructions are not part of any previous or existing agreement or legal contract

The very first correction has denominalized the original literal translation, resulting (as we have noted during the discussion of the Meta-Model) in a clearer message. The only correction that goes against the

KISS principle regards the addition in English to the "extension cord" instruction. Though the addition is KILCier than the original translation, even here the proofreader has again shown his or her preference for clarity. The proofreader has (unconsciously) applied the LCC Meta-Model clarification tool and made explicit "adequate for what/ according to whom?"

11.3.2 Information load

An essential feature of the KISS principle is the sensitivity to information load, originally discussed as communication load by Nida (1964). Nida was particularly concerned with the effective transmission of the message in the Bible, and had long noted the importance of cultural differences in information load (see also Headland 1981). Larson explains:

> The information load is related to the speed at which new information is introduced, and to the amount of new information which the language normally incorporates in particular constructions. Some languages introduce information slowly. Others use complicated noun phrases which allow for information to be introduced more rapidly.
>
> (Larson 1984:438)

In this chapter, the concept is used with reference to high or low information load at the discourse level, rather than only focussing on the syntax and lexicon.

The goal of a translator will be to vary the information load according to text function, target culture and readership, taking into account the information level in the original. When translating from KILC-oriented languages to KISSy ones, we would agree with Kelly (1998) that the translator should also be ready to omit or "dosify", to minimize information overload. One of Kelly's examples that need dosification (see below) relates to official translations of Spanish tourist sites:

Tierras ricas en folklore, fiesta y supersticiones, que nos muestran un pueblo vivo y alegre, indolente y orgulloso. Son notables sus fiestas de Moros y Cristianos. Los cantos y bailes se conservan en toda su pureza. El Trovo, el Atanto, el Fandango de la Alpujarra, el Robao, La Música de Animas forman parte de su herencia cultural.

These are lands rich in folklore, festivities and superstitions which show us a lively and joyous, indolent and proud people. Particularly noteworthy are its celebrations of Moors and Christians. Songs and dances are preserved in all their purity. The Trovo, the Taranto, the Alpujarran Fandango, the Robao, the Musica de las Animas (Music of the departed souls) constitute part of their cultural heritage.

(Kelly 1998:40, italics added)

As Kelly writes (focussing specifically on the non-specialized reader),

> Surely here, a generic formulation such as "The many and varied
> local songs and dances are still performed as centuries ago" would
> transmit the information required by the tourists and avoid the per-
> plexity which at least some of them would feel at having to wade
> through the list of incomprehensible Spanish terms.
>
> (Kelly 1998:40)

She then suggests re-thematization for the more specialized
reader: "Some of the many and varied local dances are the Trovo, the
Taranto…".

Robert Dooley (1989:52), on the other hand, in discussing informa-
tion load and Bible translation suggests other procedures, such as the
use of footnotes, pictures or explanatory glossaries.

11.4 Formal/informal communication

This section investigates formality in the language from the point of
view of cultural orientation. Within cultures, and communities of prac-
tice, the choice between formal and informal language will, clearly,
be guided by the context of situation. If we compare the same genre
across different languages, we will notice different levels of formality.
For example, German, whether spoken or written, tends to be perceived
as more formal, direct or less reader-friendly compared to English (e.g.
Clyne 1987; House 2015; Jaworska 2015). As with Italian, there is the
obligatory (*tu* or *vous*) distinction between the formal and familiar 'you'
(*sie* and *du* in German; *tu* or *lei* in Italian). In the first case, this may well
indicate a German orientation towards structure; while in Italian, it is
more likely the result of the culture's focus on power distance, and the
need to formalize in language the distance between interlocutors.

If we speak about an author/addressee orientation, then an orien-
tation towards the addressee would generally require more informal
language, while an orientation towards the author can result in a more
formal language.

At the level of text, the preference for formal or informal style (par-
ticularly regarding English) can be broken down into the following:

Orientation towards…

Formal	*Informal*
long sentences	short sentences
coordinating conjunctions	full stops
formal register	informal register

Orientation towards…

Formal	*Informal*
text- or author-oriented	listener- or reader-oriented
nominal style	verbal style
impersonal	personal
3rd person singular	1st/2nd person singular
exclusive 'we'	inclusive 'we'

Source: Adapted from Musacchio (1995)

As previously mentioned, the English language is primed towards KISSy informality (though we will contradict this generalization to some extent when we discuss the "English dis-ease" in Chapter 12).

11.4.1 Distancing devices

These are linguistic devices which increase the distance between author and addressee. Interpreter and Englishman David Snelling (1992:39) singles out the Portuguese phrase '*é essencial que*' (it is essential that) and explains that impersonal structures of this kind are much less frequently used in English. These distancing devices are also common in Arabic, Italian, Spanish and German. Kelly (1998:38) points out that Spanish "establishes a formal, distant relationship with the reader, who is rarely addressed directly, and then in the formal third person singular *usted* form", while House found German texts to be "generally more transactional and detached than comparable English texts that tend to be more interactional and involved" (House 2018b:108). The following Arabic and Italian university admissions information also illustrates a preference for greater writer–reader distance, in comparison with the more involved and personal English:

Original Arabic	*Back-translation*	*Example English parallel text*
كيفية التقديم	**Application manner**	Once you're ready, enrol online by logging in to **Sydney Student**. Go to 'My studies' then 'Enrolment' and you're set to go.
خدمة قبول برامج البكالو	**Bachelor degree**	
ريوس	**admission service**	
لمعرفة كيفية التقديم في أحد البرامج الجامعية، الرجاء الضغط على أحد الروابط أدناه:	For information on the application procedure for a university program, please click on one of the links below:	

Original Arabic	Back-translation	Example English parallel text
مواطنو دولة الإمارات وأبناء المواطنات	**UAE nationals and children of female citizens**	There are several sections to complete as part of your enrolment. You can log out and return later if you need to. (University of Sydney website)
اسم الخدمة	**Name of service**	
قبول البكالوريوس طلب الالتحاق الالكترو ني لبرامج البكالوريوس – فئة مواطنو وأبناء مواطنات دولة الامارات العربية المتحدة.	Bachelor admissions: Online application for undergraduate programs – UAE nationals and children of UAE women.	
وصف الخدمة	**Service description**	
يعتمد القبول في جامعة الإمارات العربية المتحدة نسبيا على المستوى الأكاديمي لإعداد وأداء الطالب، والقدرات التعليمية للبرامج الأكاديمية. وتستند أهلية المتقدمين للقبول حسب معدل درجة الطالب في الصف الثاني عشر ونتائج امتحان الإمسات في اللغة الإنجليزية (EMSAT)	Admission to the United Arab Emirates University depends relatively on the academic level of student preparation and performance, and the educational capabilities of academic programs. Eligibility for admission is based on the student's twelfth grade average score and EMSAT results in the English language.	
إجراءات الخدمة	**Service procedures**	
يتم تقديم طلب الالتحاق الإلكتروني عن طريق موقع وزارة التربية والتعليم من خلال الرابط أدناه: (United Arab Emirates University website)	The online application form is submitted through the website of the Ministry of Education at the link below:	

The English instructions from the University of Sydney's website are brief, reader-oriented (e.g. use of the second-person pronoun "you") and quite informal (e.g. contracted forms such as "you're", lexical choices such as "set to go"). The Arabic admission information and instructions, on the other hand, very similar to the Romance languages we have seen so far, use a number of distancing devices, including

nominalization (e.g. "application manner"), the passive voice (e.g. "The online application form is submitted through the website"), and lack of second-person address forms. Although Arab cultures generally show a preference for involvement and solidarity (see Chapter 12), this does not usually apply to written institutional texts.

The following is an extract from a typical Italian/English coffee-machine instruction manual, and is a good example showing how a translator (after the intervention of a mother-tongue copywriter) mediated between one culture and communication style and another:

Italian	Translation	Adaptation
1. *DESCRIZIONE DELL'APPARECCHIO* *La macchina per caffè Saeco Magic Espresso è indicata per preparare 1 o 2 tazze di caffè ed è dotata di un tubo orientabile per l'erogazione del vapore e dell'acqua calda.*	1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MACHINE The Saeco Magic Espresso Coffee machine is designed to prepare 1 or 2 cups of coffee and is furnished with a flexible tube for the supply of steam and hot water.	1. YOUR MACHINE Your Magic Espresso machine can make 1 or 2 cups of coffee and has a flexible tube for steam and hot water.

The mediation shifts in the extract above can be summarized as follows:

1) KILC to KISS
2) Nominalization to verbalization
3) Formal to informal (3rd to 2nd person)
4) Reduced information load
5) Re-thematization:
   - What does the reader need to know?
   - Foregrounding of 'What does X do?'

However, translation of transactional texts into English does not always mean a shift from formal to informal. As Ian Mason (1994:24) points out, Sigmund Freud's essays were translated from a standard and "subjective" German into a "more clinical, more scientific, and less subjective" Latinized English. Mason continues:

[The translators] strove to render the target text more abstract, more learned, and more scientific in order that it would appeal to

the Anglo-American medical/scientific community and thus win acceptance for a set of ideas which, in the original, stemmed from a different European humanist tradition.

(Mason 1994:24)

Clearly, here, the overriding cultural orientation differences are between the (relatively informal) humanities and the (more formal) medical/scientific community of practice.

11.5 Extrinsic features

Extrinsic features (Downing and Locke 1992:459) are: "those factors realized by the qualifier, (which) identify an entity by something outside it, or add supplementary information". These are a clear indication of the contexting bias of a text and hence of the target reader. We have already mentioned (Chapter 10.4) the different ways in which the 1993 attempted coup in Moscow was reported in terms of the Action orientation ('be' and 'do'). Here we can see how the principal actors and places are presented as first mentioned by the British, American and Italian quality press. What is immediately apparent is the presence or absence of extrinsic features:

Corriere della Sera	Translation	The Independent	The Washington Post
Boris Eltsin	Boris Yeltsin	President Boris Yeltsin	President Boris Yeltsin
La Casa Bianca	The White House	the White House	The parliament, known here as the White House
sostenitori di Rutskoi e Khasbulatov	supporters of Rutskoi and Khasbulatov	supporters of the Soviet-era parliament, the (pro-Rutskoi) fighters	hard-line rebels
l'assalto … alla Tass	the assault … on the Tass	the offices of Itar-Tass news agency	The Russian Tass news agency

As can be seen, there is a much higher qualification in both *The Independent* and *The Washington Post* compared to the *Corriere della Sera*. So, as we would expect from relatively LCC cultures, both the

British reader and the American reader are given more 'factual' information in the text than their Italian counterpart.

11.6 White space quotient

White space quotient (WSQ) was mentioned briefly as an informal measure of the ratio of text to space. In LCC situations, where the orientation is to KISSiness, there will be a heightened awareness of the need not to use all the available space for text (High WSQ). In HCC situations, there may be an equal value placed on space for aesthetic rather than pragmatic reasons. LCC orientations may, more rarely, also result in a Low WSQ because of the need to spell things out for clarity, as we have seen, for example, with regard to American advice for new parents and the "exhaustive" orientation with regard to legal contracts.

With regard to the dissemination of information, changes in the issuing and punching of rail tickets in Italy has led to an explanatory leaflet published in four languages. It was also noted that the informative leaflets and television campaign began to be seen only after a handsome €9 million had been collected by the railway inspectors in fines.

However, apart from the delay in preparing the leaflet, the information was not particularly clear (from an LCC point of view), due to the KILCy Italian orientation towards hierarchy and structure. The orientation towards structure places a priority on the listing of all possibilities, such as a complete set of rules and regulations, to reduce any ambiguity in the text and to cover all eventualities. Any translation attentive to form will make it difficult to follow the Anglo-American orientation to simplicity, as the following official translation shows:

Original Italian	Literal translation	Official translation
BIGLIETTI DI CORSA SEMPLICE	SINGLE TICKETS	SINGLE TICKETS
I biglietti possono essere utilizzati entro due mesi dal giorno di emissione, questo compreso, salvo diverse disposizioni tariffarie.	The tickets can be used for up to two months from the date of issue, this [date] included, except for different tariff regulations.	These tickets can be used for up to two months from the date of issue inclusive. Different periods and conditions may be based on other tariff regulations.

Original Italian	Literal translation	Official translation
I biglietti per essere validi devono essere convalidati prima della partenza del treno utilizzando le apposite macchine obliteratrici o rivolgendosi prima della partenza, di propria iniziativa, al personale del treno, previo pagamento del diritto di esazione…	The tickets to be valid must be validated before the departure of the train using the placed-for-that-purpose punch machines or by addressing oneself, of one's own initiative, to the staff of the train, subject to the payment of the right of levy…	Tickets are only valid if they are stamped prior to train departure by means of the appropriate ticket-stamping machines or if passengers, of their own initiative, pay a charge … to the train staff before departure…

Apart from the translation errors (ticket-stamping machine rather than ticket-punch), the official translation lacks clarity in the above paragraphs. The Anglo-American audience (and more importantly anybody else who does not speak Italian) will be looking for the facts, and what to do. A more LCC-style factsheet, with an orientation towards the reader, would look something like this:

ITALIAN RAIL TICKETS: SINGLE TICKETS	**WHAT YOU NEED TO KNOW**
Validity:	**If I don't punch?**
Unpunched, 2 months, unless otherwise specified	Inform the ticket inspector on the train and pay €… excess.
	Or
	Risk paying €… excess + €… fine.
What to do:	**And if there's no ticket-punch?**
Punch ticket in the platform ticket-punch. These are green, and are conspicuously placed near the platforms.	Validate ticket at the ticket office. *Or* Inform the ticket inspector on the train. No excess payable.

The following example is from the website of the Saudi General Directorate of Civil Defense. The extract is from a section on the general requirements for emergency exits. The Arabic original shows signs of KILCiness: high information load, complete and detailed categories, and complex structures. The English translation shows little translator intervention in terms of adapting to KISSy reader expectations.

General requirements to the ways of escape (emergency exits) **Ways to escape (emergency exits):**	**المتطلبات العامة لسبل الهروب ((مخارج الطوارئ)** سبل الهروب (مخارج الطوارئ)-
Ways to escape (emergency exits) are (passage) or more safe passages to allow the people who are found in the building from escaping through any starting point in the building to reach the outside of the building directly. Or to a safe place from fire, which in its turn leads to the outside of the building where it is away from fire.	سبل الهروب (مخارج للطوارئ) هي (مسلك) طريق أو أكثر سالك وآمن ليتمكن الأشخاص المتواجدون في المبنى من الهرب بالانطلاق من أية نقطة في المبنى والوصول إلى خارج المبنى مباشرة أو إلى ساحة أو مكان آمن من الحريق، يؤدي بدوره إلى خارج المبنى، حيث الأمان من خطر الحريق.
Adequate ways to escape (emergency exits) must be provided in the buildings, facilities and shops, in order to find a way out to evacuate the users and occupants of the building, and to keep them away from the fire sector, in order to protect them and their lives from injury and fire.	يجب أن تتوفر في المباني والمنشآت والمحلات سبل الهروب (مخارج للطوارئ) المناسبة، لإيجاد منفذ أو مخرج للإخلاء مستخدمي وشاغلي المبنى، وإبعادهم عن منطقة الحريق بهدف حمايتهم من الإصابات وحماية الأرواح من الحريق.
Ways of escape (emergency doors) is consisted from different parts such as passage, stairs, balconies, bridges, slopes, doors, exits, and others. It consist totally a whole unit (emergency doors) ways to escape.	تتكون سبل الهروب (مخارج للطوارئ) من أجزاء مختلفة مثل الممرات والأدراج والشرفات والجسور والمنحدرات والأبواب والمخارج وغير ذلك تشكل في مجموعها وحدة متكاملة هي (مخارج الطوارئ) سبل الهروب.

Instead of bridging the cultural orientation gap between source text and target-text readers, the translator opts for a literal approach which maintains the KILCy features of the original (see Chapter 8.1 on local translating). A more KISSy rendition would again be bullet pointed

and/or with FAQs, as exemplified by an example parallel text from the American Office for Safety and Health Administration (OSHA):

OSHA FactSheet

What is an exit route?

> An *exit route* is a continuous and unobstructed path of exit travel from any point within a workplace to a place of safety. An exit route consists of three parts:
>
> - **Exit access** – portion of an *exit route* that leads to an exit.
> - **Exit** – portion of an *exit route* that is generally separated from other areas to provide a protected way of travel to the *exit discharge*.
> - **Exit discharge** – part of the *exit route* that leads directly outside or to a street, walkway, refuge area, public way, or open space with access to the outside.
>
> Source: www.osha.gov/OshDoc/data_General_Facts/emergency-exit-routes-factsheet.pdf

What the above examples show is that there is more tolerance for a low WSQ (KILCy communication style and visually dense text) in some cultural contexts than in others. However, as we mentioned earlier, cultures are dynamic, and we can increasingly find instances of high WSQ even in traditionally KILCy cultures. Indeed, as the world gears up for a more coordinated global response to environmental disasters and pandemics, such as Covid-19, so safety, health and emergency communication is moving swiftly to a global LCC community of practice. For example, the same Saudi General Directorate of Civil Defense's website pages on Covid-19 follow an LCC high WSQ format. The text is brief, bullet-pointed and contains a large number of graphic illustrations.

12 Interactional communication

The aim of this chapter is to discuss:

- Expressive and instrumental orientations;
- Direct and indirect communication;
- Action orientation;
- Grice's Maxims;
- Conversational features and non-verbal communication;
- The interpreter's dilemma.

12.1 Expressive/instrumental communication

So far, we have looked primarily at the transmission of information (transactional communication), where 'face' is not an issue. As we have already mentioned, though, all communication involves inter-action, and the possibility of an emotional response is always possible. However, we should not assume that cultures (or individuals) will agree as to when a communication warrants an affective response. For some cultures (generally HCC), 'interpersonal' is synonymous with 'affective'. For other cultures, particularly the more LCC ones, 'inter-personal' does not necessarily mean 'affective', and emotions should be controlled. As Neuliep (2018:63) puts it, people in LCC cultures "typically separate the issue of communication from the person with whom they are interacting", which (as we shall see) can be framed as the key feature of the 'do' side of the Action orientation. Here we shall focus on what is generally referred to as expressive and instrumental communication, which Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (2012) term 'emotional' and 'neutral' respectively. The more HCC cultures will tend to be expressive and will be more sensitive to communication that might affect 'face'. Consequently, they will tend to evaluate 'instru-mental' or 'neutral' people as "cold fish" and "emotionally dead".

The transactional and interactional facets of communication are the communicative equivalents of Hall's technical and informal (out-of-awareness) levels of culture. We will focus the discussion first on verbal aspects of interactional communication, and then briefly discuss some

of the paralinguistic and non-verbal features, which according to some (e.g. McCroskey *et al*. 2006; Richmond *et al*. 2008) may well be even more determining.

Orientation	Language	Possible cultural priorities
Expressive: emotional	Affective: connotative	Feelings: 'how' something is said.
		subjectivity; immediate expression of personal feelings.
		appreciation of emotion; body language important; wide voice and intonation range.
Instrumental: neutral	Neutral: denotative	Facts: 'what' is said.
		objectivity, precision.
		control: of feelings, body language, voice.

More expressive cultures will tend to highlight feelings and relationships over facts; and they do so, also, through heightened non-verbal communication. On the other hand, instrumental cultures, such as Germany, Britain and the United States, tend to put a priority on explaining the facts or issues, rather than focussing on the human, interpersonal element. What is said is placed above how it is said. Displays of emotion are considered embarrassing; and losing control is perceived negatively. However, these generalizations only hold up to a certain point. LCC Americans and Australians, for example, allow for much more expression in certain situations than the British would consider appropriate.

We should also remember that the use of verbal expression may be raised to an art form, with extensive use of expressive language for rhetorical effect rather than for the expression of feelings. This is very much the case in the Arab World (see Chapter 7.4.3 and 12.1.2 below), and to a certain extent in Latin America. Cultures also compartmentalize their acceptance of expression according to public and private space. Clearly, in a private context, much more expression is appropriate. However, what is considered 'private' and 'public' is, in itself, a culture-bound orientation.

We shall now look in a little more detail at a number of these aspects.

12.1.1 The verbalization of emotion

Western society is a predominantly verbal culture, yet there is a great deal of difference regarding what is to be verbalized. An abundance of British English expressions highlights the importance of non-verbalization of emotion:

Keep a stiff upper lip
Bite the bullet
Big boys don't cry
Self-control
(Don't be a) Whinge-bag

All these expressions refer to the internalization of feelings. The following table (from a Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner survey [2012:88]) shows the percentage of respondents who agreed with the statement "In my society, it is unprofessional to show emotions overtly":

Japan	74
Hong Kong	64
China	55
Singapore	48
Netherlands	46
UK	45
USA	43
Norway	39
Germany	35
Italy	33
France	30
Russia	24
Venezuela	20
Spain	19
Egypt	18

Unsurprisingly, Asiatic countries are the most inscrutable, while a clear group of Mediterranean countries are amongst the most open to showing emotion. The extent to which open expression is or is not part of 'normal' daily activity will, of course, depend on the context of situation. Indeed, in a study of the emotional display rules of Canadians, Americans and Japanese, the conclusion was:

Despite some general cultural differences, this study clearly demonstrates that cultural differences of display rules are further

qualified by the quality of emotion, the target person, and gender of the actor. In relation to the specific emotion and especially in relation to specific target persons, all three cultural groups share similar display rules under certain conditions.

(Safdar *et al*. 2009:9)

That said, some of the authors of the same study, along with many others (e.g. Lim 2016), continue to produce research linking cultures to a preference for or away from public display of emotion.

What we will focus on below is the potential variation in languacultural orientations regarding the expression of emotion.

12.1.2 Under/overstatement

Orientation	Language	Possible cultural priorities
Overstatement	hyperbole	visibility of speaker and feelings, full expression of meaning, spotlight on speaker
		understatement perceived as: sign of weakness
Understatement	litotes	speaker modesty, listener to construct full meaning
		overstatement perceived as: sign of conceit

We have already mentioned (Chapter 9.3.7) how approaches to resumé writing vary across cultures. We see exactly the same differences when it comes to the face-to-face interview itself. Hofstede recounts how he failed a job interview due to his cultural orientation towards understatement. The American interviewers were expecting candidates to express themselves in a way that he, as a Dutchman, found exaggerated:

American applicants, to Dutch eyes, oversell themselves. Their CVs are worded in superlatives, mentioning every degree, grade, award, and membership to demonstrate their outstanding qualities. During the interview they try to behave assertively, promising things they are very unlikely to realise – like learning the local language in a few months.

Dutch applicants in American eyes undersell themselves. They write modest and usually short CVs … They are careful not to be seen as braggarts…

(Hofstede *et al*. 2010:136)

In a similar vein, Schmid Mast *et al.* (2011:71–75) found that French-speaking Canadian interviewers preferred the candidates who displayed self-promoting styles, while the Swiss-French interviewer evaluations did not distinguish between the self-promoters and the more modest candidates. Modesty is a form of understatement, whose full effect can only be attained through contextual implicature. Where the Swiss-French ignore this orientation filter, the British and the Dutch will in general presume that the less said, the better. Expressive cultures, such as the United States, on the other hand, tend to presume that everything that could be said should be said.

Within their own cultures, interviewers, and others, know how to interpret the degree of expression in the communication. The problem only starts when interviewees' descriptions of their own past or hypothesized future job performances are evaluated by an interviewer with a different expressive/instrumental orientation filter. There is a clear case here of the need to increase or decrease the expressivity in the same way as we would convert from the higher number Fahrenheit to the lower Celsius to talk about the same temperature.

With regard to translation, Newmark (1988:14) suggests the following scale of "emotional tone" to describe the same piece of music. This gives us an example of how the same feelings could be verbalized according to an understatement or overstatement, which will naturally also be influenced by text type and genre as much as by underlying cultural orientations:

Emotional tone	example language
Intense (profuse use of intensifiers)	absolutely wonderfully inspired
Warm (use of intensifiers)	gentle, soft, heart-warming melodies
Factual (cool)	a significant piece of music
Understatement (cold)	not an undignified piece

Source: Newmark (1988:14)

Where there could be space for the expression of emotion in a text, HCC cultures will tend to use more expressive language. This expressiveness may, actually, then render a text more informal, as the following example from Ulrych (1992:74–75) illustrates:

Italian	Back-translation	English
É mancata serenamente la nostra dolcissima mamma…	Our sweetest Mummy passed away peacefully…	SMYTHE – On September 30th Denise Crowther, aged 79 years, beloved wife of the late Henry, much loved mother of Angela Jones …

The same type of intimate personal expression can also be found to describe a nation. In France, for example, former President Georges Pompidou announced his predecessor's death to the world on television: "*Le général de Gaulle est mort. La France est veuve*" (General de Gaulle is dead. France is a widow). These words are now part of French folklore, as is the adage cited some 500 years earlier by the French Minister of Finance, and echoed today (Nectoux 2003:8): "*Pâturage et labourage sont les deux mamelles dont la France est alimentée*" (Pasture and ploughing are the two breasts from which France is fed). Interestingly, Google Translate gives us the more prosaic "Grazing and ploughing are the two udders which feed France". "Udders" perfectly fit the agricultural theme, but are the direct translation of "*les pis*" rather than "*mamelles*", which are primarily human.

Instead of highlighting intimate or personal terms, another way of expressing feeling is, following Wierzbicka (1986b:288), "to reduplicate adjectives, adverbs, and adverbial expressions – roughly speaking, for expressive purposes". She suggests that most of the Italian reduplications below would be rendered in English by the intensifier 'very' or by other alternative expressions, but rarely by reduplication:

Italian	Literal translation	English
bella bella	beautiful beautiful	very beautiful
duro duro	hard hard	very hard
zitto zitto	quiet quiet	very quiet(ly)
adagio adagio	slowly slowly	very slowly
due occhi, neri neri anch'essi…	two eyes, black black too…	a pair of eyes – jet black too…
e me ne vo diritto diritto a casa mia	and (I'll) go straight straight back home	and (I'll) go straight off back home
Appena appena da poter passare	just just [enough] to let us pass	just enough to let us pass

Italian	Literal translation	English
Quasi quasi gli chiedevo scusa io	Almost almost I asked forgiveness myself	I'd almost have got to the point of asking forgiveness myself
subito subito	immediately immediately	straightaway
Bene, bene, parleremo!	Ok, ok we'll talk!	Very well, we'll have our talk
Vedrà, vedrà	He'll see, he'll see.	He'll see – he'll just see
Parla, parla!	Speak, speak!	Go on, speak out!

The point that Wierzbicka makes is that the first lexical item is often an approximation for an expressive culture, and the repetition is necessary to underline that what has been said is really true – not just natural exuberance. As a popular advert in Italian for butter had it: "*Non è burro qualsiasi. E' burro burro*!" ("It's not just any old butter: it's butter butter!", or rather, "It's the real thing!"). If we take the analogy of a *bureau de change* and consider language as either a strong or weak currency, then we could say that a weak language currency, in the grip of inflation, requires relatively more expressive terms to match a stronger language currency.

Wierzbicka also mentions the use of the absolute superlative. Here again, for an instrumental culture, we have a case of inflation. Literally, the meaning of *generosissimo/ dolcissimo/ bellissimo* is "most generous", "sweetest" (as in the epitaph cited earlier) and "most beautiful". However, these words will not always be used by an expressive culture to show accuracy or sincerity (as with reduplication) – but emotion: positive or negative. For the English, an expression such as "most generous" tends to reflect the quality of generosity rather than the intensity of the emotion.

Snelling (1992:45, 46) notes a more general phenomenon throughout the Romance languages, that of "cumulative rhetorical style … the repetition of adjectives of similar or even identical meaning to reinforce a rhetorical effect". He gives one extreme example from Portuguese: "*Temos uma so lingua antiga, evoluida, rica, expressiva, versätil*" (We have a unique language, ancient, evolved, rich, expressive [and] versatile). As he says, "six adjectives are simply too much for English ears. English will generally prefer one single intensive adjective or at most two". His suggested translation is: "The ancient language we share has evolved maintaining its expressivity and versatility".

Below are further Portuguese-to-English examples:

Portuguese	Literal translation	Preferred English
un páis prosperó e poderoso	a rich and powerful country	a thriving country
dificil e complexa	difficult and complex	complicated
um ambiente propicio e collaborate	a collaborative and propitious atmosphere	propitious atmosphere
longa e rica experiência politica	a long and rich political experience	mature political experience

Arabic also shares several of the overstatement features above, including the use of superlatives, hyperbole, lexical couplets (e.g. دعمنا وتأييدنا [literally, our support and backing]), repetition for rhetorical purposes; and, as Khatatbeh *et al.* (2018) illustrate, exaggeration of quantity and number (e.g. ألف ألف مبروك [thousand thousand congratulations!]). Daym (2009:130) notes the tendency towards over-emphasis and exaggeration in Arabic expression, and concludes: "Arabic discourse generally favours over-informative and redundancy-saturated utterances". Liu (2016:n.p.) provides an outsider view which coincides with the observations above: "in Arab cultures, individuals feel compelled to over-assert in almost all types of communication because in their culture, simple assertions may be interpreted to mean the opposite". Baker (2018:252–253) also notes that repetitive assertion as a rhetorical resource in Arabic is perceived as excessive verbosity by people with different cultural preferences. Google Translate now reduces دعمنا وتأييدنا (our support and backing) to "our support", demonstrating the level of cultural and rhetorical difference that is now being accounted for in neutral machine translation.

In all cases, a translator, and especially an interpreter or cultural mediator, needs first to check that the cumulative rhetorical style or reduplication is not performing chiefly a poetic function. They then must identify the interlocutor's cultural orientation, and from there decide whether the reduplication, exaggeration or absolute adjective signifies sincerity, accuracy or emotive comment.

12.2 Expression in address forms

How you address someone is strongly interactional, and signals levels of affectivity that may be more or less appropriate across cultures – as the following extract from Tom Wolfe's (1990) novel clearly shows. Peter Fallows (British English) is at his desk at an American-run office

in New York. In this scene, he is rather hungover and does not wish to be disturbed, so he pretends to be on the phone when an American colleague walks in. Fallows' reaction shows him as understanding the value behind the expressive behaviour, but also that he regards it (in accordance with his instrumental model of the world) as on the verge of despicable:

> Peter Fallows kept his head down and lifted one hand, as if to say, 'Please! This call cannot be interrupted'.
>   "Hello Pete", said Goldman.
>   *Pete!* he said, and not very cheerily either. *Pete!* The very sound set Fallow's teeth on edge. This … appalling … Yank … familiarity! and cuteness. The Yanks! – with their Arnies and Buddies and Hanks and … Petes.
>
>   (Wolfe 1990:169, emphasis in the original)

Of the lower-context Anglo cultures, it is the Australians who are even more informal (Farese 2018), with, for example, "a more generalised use of T-forms [informal rather than formal forms] in addressing lecturers and teaching assistants" (Formentelli and Hajek 2016:647). In general, the higher the context orientation, the more important the title because of the value in visibly ascribing status. In Arab countries, the use of titles such as 'Doctor', 'Professor' or 'Engineer' is expected not only in transactional and formal contexts, but also in interactional and informal ones, given the relative importance of visibly ascribing status. Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (2012:103) also point out a similar tendency among Germans: "Herr Doktor Muller is Herr Doktor Muller at his university, at the butcher's and at the garage; his wife is also Frau Doktor Muller in the market, at the local school and wherever else she goes". This address form in German is not a result of power distance, but of the need for defined structure: clarity in the procedure. So, LCC cultures may also appreciate the visible use of titles across contexts because they clearly categorize and define people's roles. The British, once again, will tend towards the 'less said' approach. So, a book authored by a "Mary Jane Smith PhD RN" on Nursing will invariably be American, while her English 'double' writing the same book would be featured as "Mary Smith", whether or not she had a middle name, a doctoral or nursing qualification.

Returning to the "Petes", Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (2012:91) also suggest that the American propensity to use diminutives is due to the shifting and temporary nature of relationships, and the need to re-socialize several times in a lifetime. In the case of Australians, Wierzbicka (1986a:352) suggests that each class of abbreviations characterizes an Australian attitude such as the desire

for informality, anti-intellectualism and verbal affection. More than 20 years later, Bardsley and Simpson (2009) confirm that diminutives (of place names, person names and common nouns) are used to maintain camaraderie between people (solidarity or positive politeness, which we discuss below) and a sense of shared identity. However, as Scollon *et al*. (2012:57–58) write: "When someone addresses you as Mr Schneider and you answer back, 'Juan,' whatever your intentions might be, … we hear one person taking a higher position over the other". So, the interpreter can expect to face a problem when 'mediating' the following across cultures: "Hi! My name's Charles Edwards, I'm the CEO, but just call me Chuck and we'll all get along fine". This is a good example of where the cultural mediator should advise the client of the possible (mis)interpretation of such familiar overtures *before* any first meeting.

All use of address forms will be based on the immediate context, and can be expected to change markedly as the context is perceived to change, which here will again depend on factors such as the actual, objective status, relationship, formality of the situation and level of urgency (as described below).

12.2.1 Optimism/pessimism

Here we will consider the verbalization of optimism and pessimism as a cultural trait. There is some evidence to suggest that a culture's orientation to individualism and equality (which also correlates with increased GDP *per capita*) is associated with greater optimism (Fischer and Chalmers 2008). Interestingly, Latin American countries as a block report higher life-satisfaction than GDP *per capita* itself would predict, suggesting more strongly that verbalization of positivity in life is culture-bound (Ortiz-Ospina 2017). There is also some scientific support for differences in self-enhancement and self-criticism between Easterners and Westerners (Chang and Asakawa 2003). Americans may also be singled out (according to a US research survey) as being "far more upbeat when asked if they're having 'a particularly good day' than their peers in other advanced nations like Germany, the UK, Spain, France, and Japan" (Keller 2015:n.p.); while Russia has been seen as a nation "characterized by brooding and melancholy" (Grossmann *et al*. 2011:144).

Of interest here is not so much the actual belief that the "glass is half full", but in a languaculture's relative preference for the verbalization of optimistic language in comparison with other languacultures. We have already mentioned the question of translating the particular Russian emphasis on *duša* (soul). Petrova and Rodionova (2016) note how three different translators systematically (though probably out-of-awareness) intervened on Dostoevsky's marked pessimism in *The Idiot*, which the scholars suggest accounted for 77%

of the original text's emotional focus. The translators all reduced the number of negative-tinged terms in Russian by an average of 10%. For example, the Russian term "раздражительно", signifying "irritably", was downgraded from the negative emotion to a more neutral description of a behaviour (in bold):

> Лизавета Прокофьевна хотела было встать, но вдруг <u>раздражительно</u> обратилась к смеющемуся Ипполиту…

> Madame Yepanchina was on the point of rising when she turned **abruptly** to the laughing Ippolit…
>
> (Petrova and Rodionova 2016:201)

Also, all three translators increased the incidence of personal positive-tinged feeling terms by around 20%. For example, the single positive emotion *упивался,* in Russian was rendered by one translator with three terms in English (in bold):

> Сам Рогожин весь обратился в один неподвижный взгляд. Он оторваться не мог от Настасьи Филипповны, он **упивался**, он был на седьмом небе.

> The whole of Rogojin's being was concentrated in one **rapturous** gaze of **ecstasy**. He could not take his eyes off Nastasia. He stood drinking her in, as it were. He was in the seventh heaven of **delight**.
>
> (Petrova and Rodionova 2016:200)

12.3 Direct and indirect communication

Orientation Strategy	Language (verbal and non-verbal)	Possible cultural priority
Indirect:	modal, hypothetical softeners, silence, indirect eye-contact	conflict avoidance, face-saving, harmony, tact and diplomacy, avoidance of (visible) power distance
Direct:	declarative, imperative, raised voices, direct eye-contact	acceptance of conflict, acceptance of power distance, clarity, immediacy, solidarity or closeness

The notions of 'directness' and 'indirectness' are slippery and cannot be distinguished in a straightforward manner. The literature generally suggests:

1) that indirectness is often associated with conventional forms of politeness (e.g. would you mind/would you be so kind/ could you…);
2) that it is considered a type of off-record communication (implied messages through vague or ambiguous utterances);
3) that the level of directness/indirectness depends on the difference between literal and intended meaning and the amount of inferencing the addressee needs to undertake (Grainger and Mills 2015:34–35).

An LCC culture will generally favour clear, unambiguous and explicit direct communication, while an HCC culture will tend to steer away towards indirectness – though the context of situation, such as whether the communication is transactional or interactional, will have a decisive bearing on this. The potential frustration and relationship breakdown in a meeting involving individuals with very different direct/indirect orientations is humorously framed in a UK TV sketch titled 'Evil Villain: Needlessly Ambiguous Terms' (Mitchell and Webb 2006). It parodies a meeting between an HCC Bond-style villain, Leslie, and his two henchmen, Keith, who is equally HCC, and Alan, who is decidedly LCC. The subject of the meeting is what to do with Detective Harrison. The two HCC characters understand each other perfectly. They both use off-record communication and have a preference for inferencing. So, they know what action should be taken, while the LCC Alan gets increasingly frustrated.

> Leslie: Mr. Harrison has an irritating talent for disrupting my arrangements.
> Keith: Would you like me to have him … removed? […]
> Alan [visibly exasperated]: 'Have him removed?' 'Take him out of the picture?' I thought we agreed at the meeting that these terms are needlessly ambiguous.
> Leslie: I suppose…
> Alan: We all agreed that from now on when we want someone murdered, i.e. deliberately killed to death, then that's what we're going to say.
> Keith: Look, everyone knows what we mean. […]
> Leslie: Okay. Please deal with the Harrison situation.
> Alan: Well, that's no good.
> Keith: That was perfectly clear.
> Alan: Oh, what are you talking about, Keith? This is going to be, 'Let's hope Professor Ritzon meets with a little accident' all over again. I spent nine months hoping that Professor Ritzon would meet with an accident before Leslie made it clear it was an accident we were supposed to make happen. […]
>
> (Mitchell and Webb 2006:n.p.)

12.3.1 Cushioning

In linguistics, a direct request is called "bald on record" (Brown and Levinson 1987). The request may still be visible in the text, but may be softened, mitigated or downgraded through the addition of linguistic 'cushions', such as "I'd appreciate it if you could make Professor Ritzon have an accident" (see also Flores-Ferrán 2020). The request, when truly high context, will not be cushioned but will be 'off record', and unavailable as such in the text. Within cultures, cushioning will depend on six context-of-situation factors (see also Brown and Levinson 1987; Scollon *et al.* 2012; Grainger and Mills 2015). The table below illustrates how each component affecting the dynamics of an inter-action will have its own cushioning norms. The first column itemizes the most relevant components affecting the interaction. The second and third columns give a general idea of how more or less cushioning would be interpreted in an idealized or typical Anglo interaction.

Interaction component	More cushioning when:	No cushioning could mean:
• Level of acquaintance between the interlocutors	distant	old friends
• The social roles and perceived power distance	higher status	same status level
• The delicacy of the request or subject matter	delicate	routine/impersonal
• The social context	formal/public	informal/private
• The urgency	no (apparent) urgency	emergency
• The present level of rapport	good rapport	breakdown of rapport/anger

In Chapter 4.8.2 we discussed the problem of the uncushioned Italian *Dimmi* (Tell me), which better translates as "Yes, I'm listening" or "Please do go on". The reason why the use of the bald-on-record imperative in this cooperative situation is so problematic in translation is, as Wierzbicka (2003:32) notes, that "What Anglo-Saxon culture abhors is the impression that one individual is trying to impose his or her will upon another individual". So, any potential face-threatening act will normally be heavily cushioned. Wierzbicka gives the following

example, showing how a typical conditional English 'advice' form, "If I were you I'd tell him the truth", would become a more direct imperative in Polish: "*Ja ci radze powiedz mu prawde*" (I advise you: tell him the truth). We should not forget, though, that directness in English is favoured in transactional communication for clarity. Japanese, unsurprisingly, avoids directness at all costs.

12.3.2 The English dis-ease

Indirectness has frequently been associated with politeness (e.g. Leech 1983; Brown and Levinson 1987; Grainger 2017), not only at an individual level, but also at the level of cross-cultural comparisons. The English, in apparent contradiction to their preference for direct and KISSy communication, are also perceived as indirect and 'polite' in interactional communication. This actually means using, as we have seen, an indirect orientation to avoid a negative reaction. Brown and Levinson (1987) call this form of linguistic politeness "negative politeness", as opposed to "positive politeness", where the presumption is that the relationship between participants is based on solidarity and social closeness. Part of the variance in presumption is due to the relative understanding of personal (private) space and interpersonal (social) space, combined with what Kate Fox (2014) aptly calls the English "social dis-ease", in reference to their stereotypical awkwardness in any potentially face-threatening interactional communication. Not by chance, the English language has an elaborate system for cushioning such acts. This is effectively portrayed by Hugh Grant, who plays the charming but maladroit bachelor Charles in the romantic comedy *Four Weddings and a Funeral* (Newell 1994). Towards the end of the film, Charles is finally seen to make up his mind about who to settle down with, and makes a request, based on the direct (and generally preferred) proposition, "Will you marry me?", as follows:

> Do you think … you might agree not to marry me, and do you think not being married to me may be something you might consider doing for the rest of your life? I do, do you?
>
> (Newell 1994:n.p.)

The comic effect, lampooning his 'dis-ease' is not easy to translate. Though Italian is generally described as HCC, in interactional communication the orientation is decidedly direct. Consequently, closely translating this amount of indirectness in Italian would render Charles less credible as a fully functioning adult. He would be reduced to child status. So, to represent Charles as an adult speaker, the translation was more direct and assertive (Chiaro 2006:205), but with more

reduplication to compensate for the comic effect, thus making the pro-
posal overly verbose:

> *Tu credi che … tu saresti d'accordo di non diventare mia moglie?*
> *e credi che il fatto di non sposarmi è una possibilità che potresti*
> *valutare voglio dire per il resto della tua vita? Vuoi?*
>
> (Chiaro 2006:205)

> (Do you believe that … you would agree to not being my wife? And
> do you believe that the fact of not marrying me is a possibility that
> you might consider I mean to say for the rest of your life? Do you?)
>
> (Our back-translation)

12.4 Cooperative maxims and miscommunication

H.P. Grice was an English philosopher of language, who also spent
much of his working life in the United States. His well-known
Cooperative Principle (1975:45–47), which supposedly describes how
people normally behave in conversation, actually reflects his own LCC
milieu. An LCC way of thinking follows the logic that if something is
said, then the person making the utterance will normally follow the
four maxims below:

Maxim	Be…	Specifically (sub-maxims)
• The Maxim of Quantity	informative	Make your contribution as informative as required (i.e. not too little, and not too much)
• The Maxim of Quality	truthful	Do not say what you believe to be false; do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence
• The Maxim of Relevance	relevant	Make the information relevant to the current exchange (e.g. no non sequiturs)
• The Maxim of Manner	clear	Avoid obscurity of expression, ambiguity; be brief and orderly

Source: Grice (1975:45–47)

Though these maxims allow for flouting of the rules, Grice's LCC
approach suggests that speakers (and readers) should expect the dis-
course to be informative, truthful, relevant, clear and brief – when the

context is that of cooperation. While the maxims might function for LCC transactional communication, it is the English themselves who are masters at flouting each of these maxims as soon as the communication is perceived as interactional. As others have also noted, Grice's Maxims, and how they might successfully be flouted, cannot be expected to operate in the same way across cultures (e.g. Flowerdew 2013:104; Baker 2018:252–254).

Apart from the English flouting of the maxims, HCC Chinese is a classic example of this tendency, which creates real problems in intercultural communication. "The indirection that permeates Chinese speech even in translation, can be particularly disconcerting to Americans" (Kapp 1983:20–21; see also Samovar *et al*. 2017; Wang 2018). Kapp offers some suggestions on how an interpreter could mediate for the Americans:

Statement (faithful translation from HCC Chinese)	Mediated translation (for an LCC American)
Maybe I will come with you.	I'm coming.
Perhaps it's too far for you to walk.	There's no way I'll let you walk.
It is inconvenient.	It is impossible.
Source: Kapp (1983:20–21)	

In a similar vein, Englehorn (1991:115–116) illustrates a cline of possible 'nos' from an Asian culture with their interpretative frames (see also Mead 1994:171). In response to a Westerner's question, "Has my business proposal been accepted?", an Asian businessman might give these responses:

Possible Asian responses	Interpretative frame for an LCC culture
If everything proceeds as planned, the proposals will be approved.	The conditional yes.
Have you submitted a copy of your proposal to the Ministry of Electronics?	The counter question – the question is avoided.
Your question is difficult to answer.	The question is criticized.

Possible Asian responses	Interpretative frame for an LCC culture
We cannot answer this question at this time.	The question is refused.
Will you be staying longer than you originally planned?	The tangential answer.
Yes, your approval looks likely, but…	The "yes but…" reply. However, the meaning here is more negative than in English, as in "it might not be approved".
You will know shortly.	The answer will be delayed.

Spencer-Oatey and Xing (2009:221) pose the question of what the interpreter is to do when faced with exactly the same type of reply: *kaolu kaolu*, which literally means "we will think it over", but is pragmatically a polite refusal.

A first response to this question is to expand on the "faithful but devious translation strategy", which we introduced in Chapter 7.5.1. We will now analyse the incident discussed there from the point of view of different cultural orientations. President Nixon was in Japan to discuss trade and the Okinawa Islands with Prime Minister Sato. In the middle of negotiations, Nixon had conceded the islands to Japan. He then asked that Japan might provide some concessions regarding import quotas to the United States. Sato's reply was "*zensho shimasu*", which was faithfully interpreted as "I will deal with the matter in a forward-looking manner".

Nixon later discovered that Sato had done absolutely nothing to stem the flow of imports into America. The American President was convinced that Sato had flouted the Grice Maxim of Quality, and in the words of Masaomi Kondo (1990:59), "Nixon felt betrayed and thought all Japanese politicians liars and utterly untrustworthy". Nixon's response was then to inflict as much political and economic damage as he could on Japan.

Sato's intention was, however, entirely honourable. He wanted to say that Nixon was an honoured guest, and did not wish to offend him. A fellow Japanese would have understood the indirect nature of this communication in much the same way as an Anglo-American would understand the following example supplied by Grice himself (1975:52). On being asked by a student to give him a reference for a university post in Philosophy, his tutor wrote: "Dear Sir, Mr. X's command of English is excellent, and his attendance at tutorials has been regular". In this context of presumed cooperation, flouting the

Maxim of Relevance implies that the student has no command of philosophy.

Returning to Sato's reply, a more understandable flouting of Grice's Maxims would also have been in terms of Quantity; for example: "We would not wish to spoil your stay here". Nixon may well have got upset, but at least the intention would have been faithfully carried, and the US president would not have felt betrayed by the devious but faithful interpretation. This type of intervention clearly requires an active role and informed decision-making on the part of the interpreter – which we will touch on at the end of this chapter.

12.4.1 Irony

Apart from flouting the Maxim of Relevance, flouting the Maxim of Quality is also a commonly used cooperative strategy, particularly in British English, to produce irony. When used successfully, it is a way of building a relationship. For example, if it is raining violently, one might say to one's neighbour, "Lovely day, isn't it?", to which the standard reply would be, "Yes, absolutely wonderful". Both speakers would be playing with the Maxim, and each would appreciate the other's trust in arriving at the implicature on the lines of: "I was joking – it is a miserable day – but let's at least make light of the matter while we can". This implicature is not universal, as one of us discovered soon after arriving in Italy. The neighbour's reply was to look at the rain, and patiently explain to the obviously insane Englishman: "No, it's raining".

A well-known example of successful irony comes from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* (Act III, Scene 2, lines 85–105). Mark Anthony speaks to the Romans after Caesar's assassination by Brutus. The moment Mark Anthony refers to Brutus as an "honourable man", it is clear his message is the opposite. However, this flouting of the Maxim of Quality may not work in translation due to what Hatim and Mason (1997:117) call "socio-cultural factors such as the attitude to truth". For HCC cultures, truth is not in the word itself. They point out that if one wishes to translate irony into Arabic it should be done through flouting the Maxim of Quantity rather than Quality. Referring to Brutus in *Julius Caesar*, Mark Anthony does repeat the same words five times, so readers across cultures should pick up the irony either through violations of Quality or Quantity.

Hatim and Mason (1997:117) provide another example of irony. It comes from post-colonial scholar Edward Said's book *Orientalism: Western Conception of the Orient*. Said (1979:31) analyses a speech made by British colonialist Arthur Balfour in 1910 concerning "the problems with which we have to deal in Egypt". Said's comment that Balfour's description of the facts "are facts" is clearly

ironic, given his own anti-colonial position and previous analysis of Balfour's ethnocentric vision of "the East". So, the intended reader fully appreciates and enjoys Said's comments. To recreate the irony in Arabic, Hatim and Mason suggest flouting the Maxim of Quantity, and overstating the case.

Original irony in English	Cultural mediation for Arabic
Since these facts are facts, Balfour must then go on to the next part of his argument …	Since these are flawless and totally unblemished facts, Balfour finds it incumbent on himself to proceed and invite us to sample the next part of his argument…

Source: Hatim and Mason (1997:117)

This strategy has its shortcomings, given the need to add extra text; and in extremely constrained translation contexts such as dubbing or subtitling this strategy is impractical. Walt Disney used "honourable" in exactly the same ironic way in the animated film *Robin Hood* (1973). The narrator tells us that "The Sheriff of Nottingham is an honourable man", which leaves the Anglo-American pre-teen audience in no doubt about the irony of the remark. The official translation into Italian (*Lo sceriffo di Nottingham è un uomo di onore*) appears incongruous simply because Italian does not have recourse to this flouting. A more effective solution would be to find a more direct and clear statement, such as *il poco onorevole sceriffo di Nottingham* (the not very honourable Sheriff of Nottingham). If necessary, "Nottingham" could be deleted and reinserted elsewhere.

12.4.2 The counterargument

In English, flouting the Maxim of Quality is also common when part of a counterargument: "Citing an opponent's thesis, rebutting this and substantiating the point of the rebuttal" (Hatim and Mason 1997:106). The following sentence is a particularly interesting example of a commonly used "lopsided counterargument" where "the counter proposition is anticipated by using an explicit concessive" (p. 106): "No doubt I am biased, but it was the most cruel, evil human face I have ever set eyes on" (Collins Online Dictionary 2020).

Both aspects of the Maxim of Quality are flouted here. First, regarding evidence, the assertion that "it was the most cruel, evil human face…" is a Meta- Model violation. There is no objective

evidence for the value judgement, and there is no evidence to demonstrate the implicit generalization that a particular face, ever or always, signifies 'evil' or 'cruelty' – both of which, incidentally, are nominalizations. Second, the speaker is also saying, "No doubt I am biased", which others may believe but s/he clearly does not. Hatim and Mason (1997:116) point out that this use of counterargumentation in Arabic (a high-power-distance culture) can be misinterpreted by the addressee as a speaker's loss of power. So, in Arabic eyes, conceding space to the addressee's point of view would be a sign of relinquishing power.

12.4.3 Interactional complexities

East Asian discourse systems are typically portrayed as "ruled by principles of politeness, indirectness and modesty" (Sadler 2011:108; see also Mills [2017:32] on such generalizations). Indeed, it is not difficult to find examples such as the following:

> [Chinese President Xi Jinping, speaking at the Fourth Summit of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia]
>
> As the proverb goes, "Strength does not come from the muscle of the arms, but from the unison of the heart." We should engage in sincere and in-depth dialogue and communication to increase strategic mutual trust, reduce mutual misgivings, seek common ground while resolving differences and live in harmony with each other.
>
> Source: www.china.org.cn/world/2014-05/28/ content_32511846_2.htm

While written and more transactional communication (and formal speech making) is, as we have noted, moving only glacier-like towards a globalized Anglo-style uniformity (Li 2008:16), in interactional communication the situation is much more fluid and complex. Fang (2014:173) notes that globalization is driving Chinese managers towards a more direct style, and reminds us that "The Chinese are both collectivist and individualist, both traditional and modern, both long-term and short-term, both reserved and expressive, and both Communist and Capitalist, all depending on situation, context, and time".

Also, as Sadler (2011) reports, Chinese speakers are just as capable of consciously creating potential face-threatening acts, resulting in what might be seen as impoliteness, as in the following example. The context is an academic visit:

> The British host serves the Chinese visitors tea as part of the hospitality extended to the visitors. Knowing about the Chinese preference for Chinese tea, the host offers the visitors green tea. With long-standing relationships to China and regularly welcoming Chinese visitors, the tea that is served is in fact a gift given to the British host by another Chinese visitor in the past.
>
> The Chinese visitors drink the tea, and then the most senior person says:
>
> *"This is very good quality Chinese tea, [name of British host]. Shame it is stale though. You should get some fresh tea the next time. I will bring you some when I come back."*
>
> (Sadler 2011:110, emphasis in the original)

Sadler also reports (2011:111) that the British host on the receiving end of the Chinese visitor's blunt remark was indeed embarrassed, but not offended. In general, whether or not 'bluntness' should be interpreted as a positive/solidarity politeness norm or as implying another particular intent will depend first on cultural factors, such as whether a group tends more towards involvement/solidarity or to independence/autonomy. Then, in terms of context of situation, there are the six intracultural cushioning factors mentioned above. In the "stale tea" case just discussed, the apparent face-threatening act (through flouting the indirect communication norm) needs to be interpreted in terms of the relative informality of the situation and social distance being reduced by the strength of the relationship , all of which should be framed within the Chinese cultural value, harmony. In fact, as the British host explained, she understood the bluntness as a sign of closeness in their business relationship.

12.5 The Action orientation

We now return to the 'be/do' analysis (Chapter 10), which we will now discuss in terms of the Action orientation. This orientation straddles the transactional/interactional divide, given that some cultures focus more on action and prefer to separate the task from the relationship ('specific' cultures), while others show the opposite preference ('diffuse' cultures). The box below outlines the main cultural priorities that differentiate the two orientations:

Action orientation	Visual focus	Language prevalence	Possible cultural priorities
Being/diffuse (HCC, tightly-knit)	Describes the scene	Nominal Existential processes (e.g. be, exist, remain, stand, lie, prevail)	People and activities together, 'be' + 'do' together, less marked differentiation between public and private life space Relationship, affiliation, quality of life, involvement Status through ascription
Doing/ specific (LCC, loosely-woven)	Describes the event close-up on the action	Verbal Material processes (e.g. do, make, develop, open, close, leave)	Segregation of people and activities, 'be' + 'do' separate, more marked differentiation between public and private life space Objectives, accomplishment, material benefits, activity Status through achievement

The Action orientation can tend either towards action ('doing') or towards a state ('being'). These 'being' and 'doing' orientations correspond to cultures that are, respectively, tightly-woven or loosely-knit. An HCC orientation is, by definition, already tightly-woven as most of the information is mainly in the context. Its members grow up modelling the pre-set patterns. An LCC culture, on the other hand, is still developing. Following this argument, it seems reasonable to suggest that this HCC non-action and LCC action might also permeate the language. For example, nominalization is more common in Italian and Japanese (HCC) than in English (LCC) (Hervey *et al.* 2000:126; Saigo 2011:91); although, of course, there may be reasons for the use of nominalizations other than the 'doing'/'being' orientation.

The 'being' orientation operates at the level of identity: You are what you do. The 'doing' orientation clearly separates the level of behaviour from the level of identity: You are *and* you do.

12.5.1 Feedback or criticism

Highly 'doing'-oriented cultures, such as the United States and Germany, have little problem separating facts from personal feelings. They can criticize the action without necessarily any implication that the person's identity is under attack. All that is involved is the criticism of behaviour. The example in the box below is indicative of the way a 'doing'/'being' orientation can change a 'criticism' (affecting identity) to 'feedback' (encouraging new behaviour).

Speaking frankly: A gift or a slap in the face?

Erin Meyer, an American cross-cultural consultant, recounts the following feedback session at an international workshop, and adds her own interpretation of the event. At the workshop, Dutch colleagues (Willem and Maarten) are discussing a problem Willem has within his own company. Maarten begins to give feedback to Willem and to the rest of the group listening.

> Maarten: "You are inflexible and can be socially ill-at-ease. That makes it difficult for you to communicate with your team," he asserted. As Willem listened, I could see his ears turning red (with embarrassment or anger? I wasn't sure) but that didn't seem to bother Maarten, who calmly continued to assess Willem's weaknesses in front of the entire group. Meanwhile, the other participants – all Americans, British and Asians – awkwardly stared at their feet.
>
> That evening, we had a group dinner at a cosy restaurant. Entering a little after the others, I was startled to see Willem and Maarten sitting together, eating peanuts, drinking champagne, and laughing like old friends. They waved me over, and it seemed appropriate to comment, "I'm glad to see you together. I was afraid you might not be speaking to each other after the feedback session this afternoon."
>
> Willem, with a look of surprise, reflected, "Of course, I didn't *enjoy* hearing those things about myself. It doesn't feel good to hear what I have done poorly. But I so much appreciated that Maarten would be transparent enough to give me that feedback honestly. Feedback like that is a gift. Thanks for that, Maarten" he added with an appreciative smile.
>
> (Meyer 2014b:41–42, emphasis in original)

Strongly LCC cultures tend to treat criticism not as confrontation at the level of identity, but as feedback for improvement at the level of behaviour. At the 'being' end of the cline, on the other hand, any criticism of behaviour is automatically understood as a criticism at the level of identity; that is, it is taken personally. In these cultures, it will

be difficult to have objective text-based feedback. Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (2012:89–90) relate a story of an LCC (Dutch) and two HCC (Italian) interlocutors at a meeting. The HCC interlocutors, according to their LCC counterpart, had got "over-excited" as a result of having been told that "the idea is crazy".

For the LCC interlocutors "emotional neutrality" is valued, so any verbalization of anger, delight or intensity will tend to be regarded as "unprofessional". The Italian reaction was, of course, quite understandable. To call "the idea" crazy is to call the creator of the idea crazy.

And the Italians are likely to regard their more LCC counterparts as "cold" or "untrustworthy", because they hide their feelings behind a mask.

12.6 Conversational features

12.6.1 Involvement

Tannen (1992:196, 2012:139) suggests another orientation closely related to expressive/instrumental communication and directness/indirectness, which is a 'high involvement' or 'high considerateness' conversation pattern. Scollon *et al.* (2012:48–52) use the terms 'involvement' and 'independence' in a similar way, as manifestations of different face systems or types of politeness. They note that face requirements are paradoxical:

> On the one hand, in human interactions we have a need to be involved with other participants and to show them our involvement. On the other hand, we need to maintain some degree of independence from other participants and to show them that we respect their independence.
>
> (Scollon *et al.* 2012:48)

According to Tannen (1992:196, 2009:301), people in high-involvement cultures tend to:

- Talk more;
- Interrupt (or overlap) more;
- Expect to be interrupted;
- Talk more loudly at times;
- Talk more quickly.

Examples of high-involvement cultures are Russia, Italy, Greece, Spain, and many other countries in South America, the Arab World and Africa. Within each country there are clear regional cultural divides,

as discussed in Chapter 4.1. In the United States, Tannen suggests that New Yorkers (East Coast) tend to show more involvement, while Californians (West Coast) are more oriented towards considerateness. The same type of divide exists between the Southern and Northern parts of Italy, Britain, Germany, China and many other countries. Tannen herself does stress that considerateness and involvement are a matter of degree and will vary from one interactional context to another, while Mills and Kádár (2011) point out that conversation norms are in reality much more complex.

12.6.2 Turn-taking

Turn-taking is closely related to the considerateness–involvement dimension. Speakers send verbal and non-verbal signs to indicate to their interlocutors that their turn or point is complete. Interlocutors may also indicate to the current speaker that they would like to take over. These signals vary from one individual to another, but also from one culture to another. As pointed out above, high-involvement cultures show more tolerance for overlapping speech and interruption (Tannen 1992:196, 2009:301). Scollon *et al.* (2012:81) also agree that turn-taking dynamics vary from one culture (or "face system" to use their term) to another: Interaction in deference- or considerateness-oriented cultures is characterized by longer pauses, while speakers in a solidarity or involvement culture use shorter pauses.

Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (2012:94) produced an idealized diagram (Figure 12.1) of three different turn-taking styles according to three different cultures which they term Anglo Saxon, Latin and Oriental. In each case there are two interlocutors (A and B), and the lines indicate talk length. The (ideal) Anglo Saxon verbal interaction is without conversation overlaps (as exemplified by the Latin style) or silent periods (Oriental).

Statistics quoted by Adler (2008:252–253) support the Oriental silence hypothesis. Three national groups were observed during a
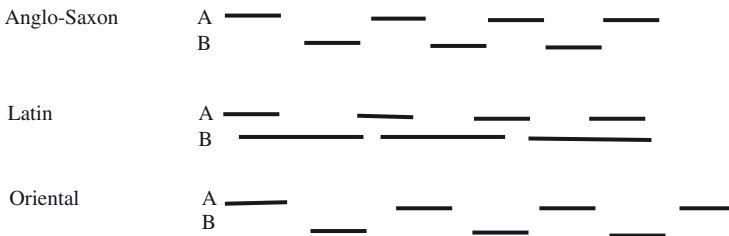
Figure 12.1 Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner's idealized turn-taking styles

series of negotiations. The Brazilian negotiators were decidedly more verbal, and overlapped up to three times more than their American counterparts. The Japanese, instead, overlapped turns in a similar way to the Americans, but were silent with more than ten-second pauses up to twice as often as the Americans. No silent periods were recorded for the Brazilians. How typical or replicable these findings are is difficult to say. Stivers *et al.* (2009) attempted to measure turn-taking under scientific conditions, and concluded that of the ten disparate languages under study (including English, Japanese and Tzeltal), there was a strong universal pattern with only slight linguacultural differences. These amounted to a maximum of a quarter-second in turn-taking patterns from the overall mean, and not the lengthy pauses suggested by Adler and many others. This would suggest that out-of-awareness reactions to perceived marked differences in, for example, turn-taking pattern, are scientifically measurable, but anecdotally may well be distorted into lengthier and more disturbing differences than reality would warrant.

As pointed out below, turn-taking can be problematic for interpreters and their clients in situations involving dialogue (e.g. medical consultations, social work interviews, business negotiations, etc.). Because they are usually the only party who has knowledge of the language and cultural systems of both interlocutors, interpreters play a major role in coordinating turns and ensuring a smooth interaction; and, whether they do so effectively or not, they have an impact on the communication between the main parties (see e.g. Roy 1993; Baraldi 2018).

12.6.3 Silence

While Western cultures in general are considered "verbal", abhorring silence and "the pregnant pause", for a number of cultures, silence may be valued in much the same way as expression by other cultures (Neuliep 2018:63). Japanese proverbs speak, as it were, for themselves:

口は閉じておけ、目は開けておけ (Keep your mouth shut and your eyes open)
口は禍のもと (Out of the mouth comes evil)
人を呪わば穴二つ (Curses return upon the heads of those that curse)
沈黙は金、雄弁は銀 (Speech is silver, silence is golden.)
口は禍の元 (The mouth is the source of all calamities)[1]

However, we should be careful about categorizing a languaculture by its proverbs or even by anecdotal use of language. Apart from the English saying, "The squeaky wheel gets the grease", there is the equally popular "Silence is golden". Also, in Finnish, generally known as a "silent culture" (Carbaugh *et al.* 2006; Olbertz-Siitonen and Siitonen 2015), there is the oft-cited proverb "*Tyhmäkin käy viisaasta, jos suunsa kiinni pitää*" (Even a stupid one seems wise if he keeps his mouth shut). This adage, though, comes straight from the Middle East, and is to be found in the Old Testament: "Even a fool, when he holdeth his peace, is counted wise, and he that shutteth his lips is esteemed a man of understanding" (Proverbs 17:28, King James Version).

Carbaugh *et al.*'s ethnographic study is perhaps more useful as it focusses on Finns themselves explaining their orientation to talking about facts or remaining in silence (see Olbertz-Siitonen and Siitonen 2015 for a rebuttal). The key phrases that Carbaugh *et al.* recorded in interviews are below (2006:207–208):

> Regarding silence…
>
> *luonteva tapa olla*, "a natural, normal way to be"
> *olla omissa oloissaan*, "being undisturbed in one's thought"
> *mietiskele*, "being contemplative and thoughtful"

For interpreters, silence does not require interpreting: nothing said, nothing to be interpreted. However, when silence occurs in interpreter-mediated discussions or interviews, the interpreter may face significant uncertainties and challenges, which would require not only a cross-cultural understanding of silence, but also a subtle awareness of the possible causes, meanings and interpretations of silence in a given (institutional) setting and at each stage of the interaction. Nakane (2014:164–205), for example, shows how silence in police settings may result from failure to comprehend the interpreter's own rendition, or may also be used as a conscious strategy either by the interviewer or the interviewee.

12.6.4 Voice

Voice quality, the overall impression that a listener obtains of a speaker's prosody (including loudness and intonation patterns), is closely related to expressive and instrumental orientation. In general, a wider variety of tones will be deemed appropriate in a highly expressive culture. Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (2012:94) produced the following idealized graph (Figure 12.2), which gives a simplified

Figure 12.2 Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner's idealized tone of voice

idea of typical tone patterns for three language types they distinguish as: Anglo Saxon, Latin and Oriental.

The authors relate this graph to the cultures as follows:

> For some neutral societies, ups and downs in speech suggest that the speaker is not serious. In most Latin societies, though, this "exaggerated" way of communicating shows that you have your heart in the matter. Asian societies tend to have a much more monotonous style; self-controlled, it shows respect. Frequently, the higher the position a person holds, the lower and flatter his or her voice.
>
> (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 2012:95)

In a similar vein, Ting-Toomey and Dorjee (2019:245) suggest that while Southern Europeans and Arabs, for instance, use "an emotionally engaged, expressive tone of voice" to convey interest, enthusiasm or sincerity, some Asian cultures "value a moderating, soft tone of voice". The recognition of emotion in the voice, the emotional prosody, is likewise culture- (and gender-)bound. Keshtiari and Kuhlmann (2016) found that members of collectivist cultures (and women in general) were much more able to recognize emotional prosody, and hence react to it, compared to their individualist (and male) counterparts.

Experimental work on Anglo and Japanese talk at business meetings, using focus groups, highlighted the fact that the loudness of pre-meeting small talk, regarded as normal in New Zealand, was regarded as inappropriate and unbusiness like by Japanese businesspeople. A typical Japanese comment was: "They should talk in smaller voices when they are talking about topics unrelated to meetings. How loudly they talk about topics unrelated to the meeting! It's so different. Small talk is done in much smaller voices" (Murata 2011:232).

This is closely related to how much emotion a culture accepts is appropriate to express face-to-face in general. The Southern European

cultures are freer about expressing feelings directly, and one of the ways of achieving this is through loudness. The equivalent loudness norms in English suggests a much deeper level of emotion; and there is the very real danger of the interlocutors misinterpreting their respective meta-messages.

Loudness in an expressive culture can also be understood in terms of Bateson's (1972:179) research on 'play', a term he used to describe monkeys who "engaged in an interactive sequence of which the unit actions or signals [are] similar to but not the same as those of combat". Expressive cultures know that the frame of interpretation is 'play' or theatrical display (Wierzbicka 2003:282). Consequently, as Levine and Adelman (1993:66) note, "Many 'high involvement' speakers enjoy arguments and might even think that others are not interested if they are not ready to engage in a heated discussion". This helps to explain the problem in translating the Italian *discussione* into English. Dictionaries give the following possibilities:

discussion
heated discussion
argument
to have words with
a fight

What counts as routine discussion in an expressive culture, with raised voices and overlapping speech turns, may be perceived as a fight and as a sign that there is a breakdown in communication (Ting-Toomey and Dorjee 2019:245). So interpreters may need to prepare interlocutors for these possible differences, and be mindful of their own voice and its potential effects. The differences are especially important in business or diplomatic negotiations, where it is vital that the right degree of conviction is received as intended. The issues surrounding whether and the extent to which an interpreter should "reenact the speaker's utterances with full verbal (and sometimes nonverbal) paralinguistic features" is discussed in Flerov and Jacobs (2016:279).

12.7 Non-verbal language

An essential part of the meaning of any interactional message is non-verbal, but non-verbal signs do not always have the same meaning across cultures (see e.g. Scollon *et al*. 2012:35; Samovar *et al*. 2017:295–336). Although there are some universal non-verbal signs for basic emotions, culture teaches us the rules and norms that link

display to underlying meaning. Nishiyama (2000:105), for example, explains that a smile or laughter in the Japanese culture may not necessarily be a sign of joy or agreement: it could show embarrassment, contempt or, as in the case of the *tsukuri warai* ("made-up smile"), it means "I am smiling because I don't want to dampen the pleasant atmosphere of this negotiation. You shouldn't think that I am agreeing with you." Cultural mediators and interpreters need to be able to pick up these communicative acts and change the channel of communication from, for example, an HCC visual to an LCC verbal style. For example, diplomatic interpreter Maria Rosaria Buri (personal communication) relates a particular instance: She was interpreting for the then President of Italy, Francesco Cossiga, who was talking to *Financial Times* staff when he suddenly knocked on the wooden table, saying "*perché io sono Sardo*" (Because I'm Sardinian). Buri explained that even though she strictly followed professional guidelines forbidding an interpreter to add to the text, she realized that that would have led to 'knocking on wood' being interpreted as meaning "I hope" or "if we are lucky", which at the very least would have confused the English-speaking audience. So, her interpretation was, "Because I am from Sardinia, and you know we are famous for being stubborn".

The subject of non-verbal communication is large. More detailed information should be sought from reference books on cultural differences in this area and guides specializing in particular cultures. Examples are Manusov and Patterson's (2006) *The SAGE Handbook of Nonverbal Communication*, Hall and Knapp's (2013) edited volume *Nonverbal Communication*, and Eaves and Leathers' (2018) *Successful Nonverbal Communication: Principles and Applications*. With reference to translation and interpreting in particular, Fernando Poyatos (1997) edited a volume entitled *Nonverbal Communication and Translation*, and in 2002 published *Nonverbal Communication across Disciplines*, which includes a chapter on non-verbal communication in interpreting. A more recent publication is Miletich's (2015) article, 'Accounting for Nonverbal Communication in Interpreter-Mediated Events in Healthcare Settings'.

One of the ways of accounting for non-verbal signs in translation is audio description, which is concerned with describing the relevant visual elements of a film for the blind. Apart from deciding what is relevant, a long-standing issue has been the extent to which visible emotion should be described or interpreted. Orero's analysis (2008) shows an LCC/HCC divide. Describers in Spain and Greece include interpreting the perceived emotions of characters in their descriptions, while US describers focus on the visible, technical elements of the film.

12.8 The role of the mediator, translator or interpreter

Interactional communication is probably the most challenging and controversial type in terms of how language professionals are to proceed to facilitate this intercultural map reading. Interpreting in interactional settings, as in the case of business interpreting or community interpreting (including court, police, immigration, refugee, healthcare, welfare and similar public service settings), involves particularly onerous tasks and debatable expectations. Scollon *et al*. (2012:50) note that when parties rely on the assistance of interpreters (they use the term "translators"), this has a negative impact on the relationship, reducing the level of (direct) involvement, "which can be felt as hostility or unwillingness to come to a common ground of agreement". Indeed, business interpreters tend to be seen as intruders and are often a last resort (Katan 1996). However, in community settings interpreting is often the only way to facilitate communication.

It is now generally accepted that interpreters have an impact, whether positive or negative, on the interactions they are involved in as well as on the people they interpret for (e.g. Hale 2004; Merlini and Favaron 2003; Spencer-Oatey and Xing 2009; Mason 2009; Mason and Ren 2012). One of the most challenging aspects, as we have seen, is turn-taking: interpreters do not only process text but they also coordinate interaction (Wadensjö 1998). Simply by directing their gaze towards one party or another, deciding when to start interpreting (e.g. once the current speaker has completed their turn or as soon as one complete idea is conveyed) or asking for clarification, dialogue interpreters can have an impact on an interview, consultation or negotiation. As Mason and Ren (2012:243) point out, interpreters may make suggestions in relation to the interaction, intervene to explain cultural differences, encourage a party to take a speech turn, engage in small talk with one or both parties, or even decide not to interpret part of the content. This does not mean, of course, that all these types of intervention and behaviour are appropriate – at least not in all interpreting settings. Interpreting and translation are like medicine: They solve problems but have side effects; and, just like doctors, interpreters and translators must choose the best treatment (for the case/communicative situation at hand) while minimizing the undesirable side effects.

As we mentioned in Chapter 1, the role and leeway of translators and interpreters is determined by the type of translation/interpreting, the setting, the contractual relation with the clients, and the commissioner's brief, among other aspects. In relation to interactional communication in particular, interpreters may play a more active role in some settings than in others. Collaborative settings such as healthcare consultations,

educational meetings, social service interviews and so on may allow the interpreter to engage in more interactional management or coordination as well as intercultural adaptation of communication styles (e.g. expressive versus instrumental language, rhetorical features such as overstatement, directness versus indirectness, politeness strategies, non-verbal communication, etc.). The same applies to business meetings to a great extent, especially when each party hires their own interpreter (Hlavac and Xu 2020:85–87). In institutional contexts that involve litigation or law enforcement (e.g. court and police settings), there are more constraints, which reduces the interpreter's space of intervention. As Hale (2004) shows, courts are the prime example of a setting where interpreters are expected to maintain a neutral stance and refrain from interventions such as disambiguation, adaptation of the speaker's speech and communication style, or offering cultural advice.

Even in stringent settings such as courts, Sandra Hale, a strong advocate for the impartial model of interpreting, acknowledges the need for the interpreter to act as a cultural filter at some level. She provides examples that are closely related to some of the aspects of interactional communication we cover in this chapter, such as politeness, indirectness, turn-taking and silence. For instance, Hale (2014:323–324) argues, when an interpreter has to interpret a cushioned request such as "Can you please tell the court what happened?" from English to a language where it is (more) appropriate to use the imperative form, they can change the form of the speech act and make it more direct to achieve a pragmatic rendition. As the scholar notes, however, cultural differences are not always as simple as the different realizations of single speech acts, but can extend to different aspects and levels of social norms, underlying values, and ideological perceptions of the world. She concludes by warning that "there is a fine line between ensuring accuracy and overstepping the mark by offering too much information that may go beyond the interpreter's role" (2014:325).

Yet, it is this fine line that is unclear and problematic when it comes to the interpreter's role in interactional settings. In addition to their awareness of the requirements of each setting, as pointed out above and in Chapter 1, interpreters will always face the challenge of determining when, how, and how much to intervene. Inghilleri called this fine-lined challenge "the interpreter's zone of uncertainty" (see Chapter 1). Spencer-Oatey and Xing (2009:220), for example, address the issue of implicit information in interpreter-facilitated communication between participants from LCC and HCC groups. They note that, while in court settings "it is unacceptable for interpreters to change implicit language into a more explicit version", "in many [other] contexts, this issue can give rise to genuine interpreting dilemmas". Earlier we suggested that the interpreter should mediate between the two worlds. But, as

Spencer-Oatey and Xing point out regarding the Chinese high-context reply *kaolu kaolu* ("we will think it over"), whatever intervention the interpreter makes, it will inevitably have an impact on one party or the relationship between both. If the interpreter produces a "faithful", literal translation, the Anglo reaction, as we have mentioned, is likely to be one of "deviousness". Reformulating the utterance as a clear but polite refusal ("I'm afraid we cannot agree at this time") could be perceived as excessive or undesirable explicitation, particularly if the Chinese side wanted to use ambiguity as a strategy (Spencer-Oatey and Xing 2009:220). While translators and interpreters are treated as 'black boxes' that can (and should) produce conduit-style translations, they will continue to inhabit this zone of uncertainty

To compound matters, interpreters (and translators) may not possess the intercultural competences or enough information about their clients' communities of practice, not to mention a grounding about their clients as individuals. Interpreters (and translators) develop cultural knowledge and intercultural communication skills in a variety of ways (such as structured education programmes, extensive reading, migration, or sojourner experience). However comprehensive and effective the programme is, and whatever the length and depth of the intercultural experience, these cannot capture all the richness, diversity and evolution of cultural practices, norms and values, let alone individual idiosyncrasies. The translator and interpreter will therefore always wonder whether what they know or were taught about a given cultural group is still up-to-date and, if so, whether it applies to the participants and to the communicative situation they are dealing with. To use the case of China again, many publications, including our book, make generalizations about the culture of this vast and evolving nation. However, the general orientations and tendencies cannot possibly apply to all the Chinese citizens, social classes, regions and generations. Fang (2014) provides useful advice in this regard:

> Intercultural experts commonly advise people dealing with the Chinese to dress formally, behave cautiously, use an indirect communication style, display no genuine sentiment, and show a poker face. Such advice is not completely wrong. Yet, following it without carefully considering the situation, context, and time in which business relationships take place can in many cases lead to inappropriate outcomes.
>
> (Fang 2014:183)

Like businesspeople and diplomats, translators, mediators and interpreters need to pay attention to the setting, the communicative situation, and to the time and stage at which the interaction takes place.

Crucially, too, as Mason and Ren (2012:244) acknowledge, the interpreter's "own cultural identity and affiliation to communities of practice may affect their understanding and interpretation of the situation and may influence their decision making". This understanding and decision-making, the authors add, is not free from subjectivity. The same may be said of other professionals and roles, including police officers, judges, assessors, job interviewers and so on. No social agent is able to ensure total neutralization of their own self and background. Yet, what distinguishes professional from unprofessional conduct and performance is a capacity to demonstrate the required skills, assess situations as objectively as possible, exercise informed judgement, and act according to the parameters of the situation at hand.

There will always be areas of uncertainty, but a qualified and informed interpreter will be able to make decisions based on their cultural, linguistic and general knowledge, their professional code of ethics, and their "on-the-spot assessment of the situation" (Hlavac and Xu 2020:71) or mindfulness (Katan 2019).

Note

1 We would like to acknowledge Masako Ogawa for the translation of these Japanese proverbs.

Concluding remarks

What

We began this book in Part I by discussing the nature and role of culture. It is the framework (the context) within which all communication takes place; and it is this framework or "webs of significance [that man] himself has spun" (Geertz 1973:5) that we have attempted to model. Of course, as soon as we attempt to identify the strands of these webs, we begin to treat culture as a static reflection of reality. So, though modelling helps to distinguish patterns, at the same time it does lead to essentializing. Indeed, even though we have talked of culture as dynamic and fluid, we have at times labelled languages and cultures (and hence people) as literally 'having' communication characteristics; and we have also categorized groups of people within a culture according to fixed communication traits. We believe, though, that this essentializing is extremely useful as a preliminary guide for those wishing to understand more about culture and communication.

More importantly, the translator, interpreter and cultural mediator, as we constantly point out, does not mindlessly generalize individual textbook examples to actual communicative events, but critically observes before deciding what patterns are most probably at play in that moment. Their leading question is, as we have said, Goffman's (1974:8): "What is it that's going on here?". The observed patterns will relate also to other patterns, which will be linked to more hidden frames. For the client or the reader, 'culture' will only come to the surface when difference is noticed, or as Spencer-Oatey and Franklin (2009:3) suggest, there is an "intercultural situation". The 'situation' occurs only when the "cultural distance between the participants is significant enough to have an effect on the interaction/communication" (2009:3). It is at this point that translation has to move from a Google Translate approach to one that takes into account the fact that translations are for people, and that people are affected by what they read in different (often culture-bound) ways. As we mention, even a faithful translation may well be thought of as devious.

There is, however, an issue, which we have already touched upon: the translator/interpreter's dilemma. When this book was in its

first edition, 'culture' was not yet part of translation training, and even less a consideration in the profession. Today it is standard in many courses, though the intercultural training usually stops at the technical level of culture, with much discussion on culture-bound terms (also called culturemes, extra-contextual references or realia) and translation procedures. While the technical level is important, the major concern of this book has been the investigation of the way culture filters reality, and how languages once again filter the model created of that reality. These differences, as we have underlined, are at the formal and the informal (or out-of-awareness) levels of culture. In other publications (Katan 2019) reference has been made to a fourth level of culture, relating to (social, ideological) forces acting on the model itself – which is where we place the dilemma.

The dilemma that we have addressed concerns the opportunities and constraints a translator or interpreter has to intervene on the text to enable intercultural understanding. Within the profession, 'culture' is now commonly referred to, and indeed the International Federation of Translators (FIT) incorporated "Translation as Intercultural Communication" as its 2012 International Translation Day strapline. That said, almost universally, translator and interpreter charter guidelines follow the FIT guideline of non-intervention on the text, making invariance rather than difference the translation and interpreting orientation. What compounds the dilemma is the translator or interpreter's lack of authority, turning the dilemma into the zone of uncertainty.

Though individual professional translators and interpreters do gain extremely high respect and status, the translation profession itself works within a culture which almost universally attaches low autonomy to the people involved. Translators are still considered as able language technicians rather than specialists in communication. As we mentioned in Chapter 4, it is the high-autonomy professionals who have the authority to decide to intervene in the moment to create new solutions rather than follow conduit guidelines. As Liddicoat (2016:358) suggests, this requires interpretative and critical skills: "the ability to interpret culturally contextualized language and to reflect critically on such interpretations. This privileged reading involves recognizing and interpreting the culturally constructed nature of the meaning of the source text."

Ever since the cultural turn, and in particular with the rise of new professions such as Public Service (or Community) Translation and Interpreting, academics and an albeit small number of professional organizations, including the former president of FIT (Liu and Katan 2017:16), have been urging the translator to officially take up a more highly autonomous role.

What then are the competences and tasks that distinguish a translator or interpreter as a 'mediator'? First and foremost, he or she understands how culture in general operates and is able to frame a particular communication within its various contexts of culture. These will include 'large' cultures (equating with country, ethnic grouping, supranational region and language), sub-cultures (e.g. gender or class) and also 'small' cultures. These small cultures are cultures 'on-the-go' that become communities of practice. The communities (e.g. academics, or *Game of Thrones* enthusiasts) make their own webs of significance and of communication styles, based on more hidden orientations that make up that group's response to the real world. To be able to determine what type of culture is most at play, the translator or interpreter needs a variety of competences to effectively do more than closely translate or interpret the words.

First, he or she will have specialized understanding of the array of cultural orientations and their likely effects on communication. The cultural groupings we have offered in the book as examples will help to give some initial guidelines. But, as we underline, the generic emic guidelines will always give way or will be incorporated into the etic, or present situation. Second, for the translator or interpreter to be able to use these orientations in practice, he or she must also be able to appreciate and respect difference, whether it be linguistic or more deeply rooted cultural differences. This ability to transcend ethnocentrism will allow him or her to judiciously apply the knowledge about cultural differences framing the present situation.

Third, to be aware of the present situation requires the ability to associate and empathize with, and then disassociate from 'the other'. The first task here will be to take an overview of the situation, which means considering not only the immediate communicative situation but also the commissioner, clients and the wider context. Always with an eye as to "what it is that is going on", the translator or interpreter will mind-shift between three perceptual positions: two fully associated and one disassociated (Katan 2001b, 2002). To be 'associated' here means that the language professional is able to embody the cultural worlds of the text and the reader or the two clients. In the first perceptual position, he or she associates with the source text and ideal or model reader or, if interpreting, one of the clients. Once associated, he or she is able to assume *that* particular model of the world. This assumed model will develop and mutate as more information is mindfully assimilated during the translation or interpretation. In the case of a translation, this implies creating a Logical Levels of the reader. This begins with the creation of an imagined individual (model) reader, rather like the construction of an avatar in social media. Particularly for those learning how to associate, it is useful to artificially construct the model reader

using the Logical Levels Model, beginning with a name, family details and so on. In the case of interpreting, the interpreter will already know much of the actual identity and environment, and will begin to check, strengthen or discard other suppositions about the client.

Logical Levels of the reader (for interpreting, in most cases, the term 'reader' can also be substituted by 'client')

Identity

Who is the reader? Name, age, family details, nationality, language(s), occupation, interests, educational background and so on.

Environment

Known and potentially manifest physical, political, social environ-ment; period, people, setting, artefacts; encyclopedic knowledge, allusions; potential culture bumps.
   Where and *When* would the reader be reading this text/what is the context of situation?

Strategies

Habitual preferred organization of ideas, communication style(s), habits, customs; accepted norms, appropriacy, rules; languaculture.
   How would she or he be reading?
   Capacities: What does she or he already know? What may (not) be manifest?

Values and beliefs

(Individual and) culture-bound hierarchy of preferred value orientations. Beliefs about identity and about what is appropriate, right, standard or normal.
   Why would this text be read by this reader? What in the text will be more (or less) valuable?

The translator or interpreter will then take 'second position', and create a similar Logical Levels for the other client or new model reader. Both of these positions require full association, which is where the translator/interpreter's biculturality and ability to mind-shift is crucial. This competence is well summed up by American writer Scott Fitzgerald (quoted in Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 2012:253): "The test of a first-rate intelligence is the ability to hold two opposed ideas in the mind at the same time, and still retain the ability to function".

The creation of the virtual text takes place from the 'third position'. In this mental space, the translator or interpreter disassociates from both the original and the virtual text; and from a more objective position decides how and to what extent intervention is required on the particular term, sense or communicative intent. Intervention means first deciding, to paraphrase Schleiermacher (translated by Robinson 2013:50), whether to leave the writer alone as much as possible and move the reader towards the writer; or to leave the reader alone as much as possible and move the writer towards the reader. Though Schleiermacher was convinced that mixing the two approaches would make any translation "a bewildering hodgepodge" confusing the reader, and leading only to "exhaustion and a spinning head" (Robinson 2013:108), the mediating professional will be mindfully contexting his or her addressee at every moment.

The 'what' and the 'how' of intervention entail an understanding of the Iceberg of culture. Here, the translator or interpreter's balancing is not so much between the larger or smaller cultural units and the attendant context of situation, but is to do with creating coherence within the Logical Levels of culture. At the technical level is the text or discourse itself, with issues regarding understanding or uptake of what is clearly implied for the cultural insider. At the formal level is the appropriacy and effect of the language, including formal features of the text such as layout, organization, presentation, voice quality and other paralinguistic features that will come to the fore. At the third (informal) level is the out-of-awareness effect on the listener or reader as a result of culturally, professionally or personally held orientations, values and beliefs. So, the virtual text will include the webs of significance that work for both the source and the target readership at all three Logical Levels.

The final set of competences that a translator, interpreter or cultural mediator will need is the ability to use the toolkit of procedures to ascertain how much of the communicative intent is likely to be distorted or lost in the new language, through deft use of the Meta-Model, along with a full mastery of chunking, framing and other techniques to transform the virtual text into a translation or interpretation that serves the communicative purpose and those involved.

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Name index

Subject index