Corso di Laurea in Discipline della Mediazione Linguistica
Università degli Studi di Macerata – Sede di Civitanova Marche

Lingua e Traduzione – lingua inglese III
Modulo B: interpretazione di trattativa



DISPENSA

a.a. 2009-2010

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PROGRAMMA

Obiettivi
Il modulo si propone di illustrare le principali caratteristiche dell'interpretazione dialogica, con particolare riferimento al contesto aziendale-commerciale-fieristico rispetto ad altri ambiti lavorativi e modalità di interpretazione. Inoltre, i discenti saranno coinvolti in esercitazioni pratiche (simulazioni di trattative e *role play*) al fine di acquisire e sviluppare le competenze comunicative e interculturali alla base di un servizio di mediazione linguistica professionale.

Requisiti
Aver superato l'esame dei corsi di Lingua e traduzione - Lingua inglese I e II.

Contenuto
Il modulo comprende una parte di contenuto teorico, che sarà poi testato di volta in volta nella parte pratica. Nel corso delle lezioni saranno approfonditi i seguenti argomenti: modalità di interpretazione e contesti professionali; comunicazione verbale e non verbale; comunicazione parlata e comunicazione dialogica; competenze comunicative, interculturali e traduttive (concentrazione, ascolto, comprensione, memoria, sintesi, riformulazione, parafrasi) tra l'italiano e l'inglese.

Programma
Le lezioni del modulo sono strutturate in una parte teorica (lezione frontale) e in una parte pratica (esercizi e simulazioni di trattative con la compresenza di un/a docente madrelingua inglese).
La parte teorica introduce diverse questioni pertinenti alla comunicazione parlata e alla gestione di quest'ultima da parte di un interprete di trattativa in situazioni interlinguistiche e interculturali. In particolare, saranno approfondite le varie modalità di interpretazione e i contesti di lavoro in cui gli interpreti possono trovarsi a operare, con particolare riferimento all'ambito aziendale-commerciale-fieristico. Saranno poi messi a fuoco gli elementi costitutivi della comunicazione, quali la comunicazione verbale (livello linguistico) e la comunicazione non verbale (livello paralinguistico e cinetico). In questa fase i discenti potranno misurarsi con le proprie capacità espressive e di controllo dello stress, con la possibilità di apprendere esercizi mirati al miglioramento individuale di tali competenze. Infine, saranno analizzate situazioni reali e simulate di eventi comunicativi mediati da interpreti, in modo da riprendere gli argomenti affrontati nella precedente parte del modulo e poter farne esperienza pratica. Al termine del modulo, i discenti avranno approfondito la loro conoscenza delle caratteristiche salienti degli eventi comunicativi (dialogici) mediati da interpreti, nonché dei contesti lavorativi di riferimento. Avranno inoltre acquisito maggiore consapevolezza delle loro competenze comunicative e interculturali, che dovranno saper metter in pratica per svolgere servizi di interpretazione di trattativa tra l'italiano e l'inglese. Sapranno quindi utilizzare tecniche comunicative e traduttive appropriate ai contesti proposti, dimostrando padronanza dei linguaggi settoriali e dei registri formali delle lingue studiate.

Modalità d'esame
L'esame consiste in una prova orale di 20 minuti circa divisa in due parti:
1) interpretazione tra l'italiano e l'inglese di una trattativa commerciale simulata da due docenti;
2) domande sugli argomenti relativi alla teoria dell'interpretazione trattati durante il corso.
Per essere ammessi a sostenere l'esame è necessario aver consegnato il Profilo Aziendale (lavoro di gruppo) entro la data indicata dal docente.

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PROFILO AZIENDALE
Indicazioni per la stesura

Il profilo aziendale descritto qui di seguito rappresenta parte integrante del programma del modulo di "Interpretazione di trattativa" e la sua consegna entro la scadenza indicata è obbligatoria per poter essere ammessi a sostenere l'esame di profitto.

Il profilo aziendale è strutturato in tre parti:

PARTE 1: **Descrizione dell'azienda**.
L'azienda (con sede in Italia e di invenzione del gruppo di lavoro) può appartenere a qualsiasi comparto produttivo, **tranne quello calzaturiero**. Nella descrizione vanno indicate le seguenti informazioni in lingua italiana:
- ragione sociale
- tipologia di azienda (sas, srl, ecc.)
- settore di riferimento
- sede principale
- storia (dalle 500 alle 700 parole, anche in inglese)
- organigramma
- fatturato annuo

PARTE 2: **Catalogo bilingue** (italiano-inglese).
Nel catalogo va presentata una nuova linea che il gruppo di lavoro ha intenzione di immettere sul mercato. La linea, che può essere di un qualsiasi prodotto, consterà di 5 modelli dal design originale. Accanto all'immagine disegnata di ogni modello devono essere indicati:
- il nome del modello (in italiano e inglese)
- il numero di codice dell'articolo
- i materiali (in italiano e inglese)
- i colori in cui è disponibile
- il prezzo all'ingrosso
- il prezzo consigliato per la vendita al dettaglio

Parte 3: **Glossario**.
Il profilo aziendale si completa con un **glossario italiano-inglese** comprendente 20-30 termini tecnici relativi al settore commerciale selezionato. Ciascun termine italiano deve essere accompagnato da una definizione.
Una copia in formato elettronico del solo glossario (con indicazione del vostro nome e cognome e dell'azienda di riferimento) dovrà essere inviata per posta elettronica al docente del corso (claudio.bendazzoli2@unibo.it) entro la data sotto indicata (indicare "GLOSSARIO+nome" nell'oggetto della mail).

N.B. I profili e i modelli palesemente ripresi da siti internet o da materiale informativo di aziende reali NON SARANNO APPROVATI. La qualità del disegno dei modelli NON sarà ovviamente oggetto di valutazione ai fini dell'esame.

Gruppi di lavoro: Il profilo è un lavoro di gruppo; a tal fine, si possono formare gruppi composti da un minimo di 4 a un massimo di 5 persone. Solo in casi eccezionali o per gli studenti lavoratori non frequentanti è prevista la possibilità del lavoro individuale.

>>Termine per la consegna: 24 marzo 2010<<

Il profilo va consegnato in copia cartacea a lezione o durante un ricevimento del docente titolare. Gli studenti non frequentanti possono anche inviarlo per posta al Prof. Claudio Bendazzoli presso la sede del Corso di laurea a Civitanova Marche, previa comunicazione tramite e-mail (claudio.bendazzoli2@unibo.it). NON saranno accettate copie elettroniche dell'intero profilo inviate per e-mail.

Liaison Interpreting

A Handbook

Adolfo Gentile, Uldis Ozolins and Mary Vasilakakos

with Leong Ko and Ton-That Quynh-Du



MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY PRESS
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To George Strauss,
one of the founders of
interpreting/translating
education in Australia

3 The Role of the Interpreter

Because the interpreter is a participant, and thus has a presence, in the liaison interpreting situation, the question of role must be considered in detail. This chapter deals with the essential elements of role, the perception of this role and the effects of these perceptions not only on the interpreter but also on the clients. The relationship between social context and role are examined as are, in conclusion, some differences between translation and interpreting in relation to role.

Defining the role

Role is a social science construct used to explain behaviour and examine attitudes between at least two participants in any social situation. The concept of role is inextricably tied to the idea of a reciprocal relationship; thus dyads exist such as doctor/patient, teacher/pupil, lawyer/client, etc. The essential point is that each of these roles exists only in relation to the other. Thus a teacher can only be a teacher when there is a pupil to be taught; the role of a doctor only becomes evident in the presence of a patient. The common perception of role as a part which a person plays in a given situation is often used in the realm of entertainment, such as theatre. This construct is useful in liaison interpreting situations to describe

not only the relationship and attitudes of the clients to each other but also the relationships between the interpreter and each client in turn.

The role of the interpreter, like other roles, derives from observed behaviour over time and from evaluation of behaviour *vis-à-vis* that expected by professional associations or other occupational or social groupings. Since the operations of liaison interpreters have been little studied, and not much interest has been shown in the social dimension of liaison interpreting, the construction of the role has occurred in a fairly haphazard and unco-ordinated manner. This has created significant professional and ethical problems for the interpreter.

The mere presence of the interpreter provokes human reaction to the presence of another person. There are tendencies to treat the interpreter as a third interlocutor; for clients to treat each other as somewhat removed from the situation both when speaking to each other and when awaiting the interpretation; and to treat the interpreter as an evaluator of information and thus a client advocate. Such expectations by each client of the interpreter's role may be incompatible with the professional obligations of the interpreter. In short, there are complex interactions between the interpreter and each client, between the clients themselves, and between the interpreter and each client as representatives of particular social groupings.

There are *two dimensions* to the interpreter's role. The interpreter's own attitudes towards that role can be defined as the 'ideographic dimension'; the expectations and attitudes which a social system, variously defined, has of the interpreter can be referred to as the 'nomothetic dimension' (after Getzels, 1958). In a hospital setting, for example, the ideographic dimension would include all the interpreter's misgivings about the nature of the situation, the context of health and sickness, and the physical conditions of the work; the nomothetic dimension encompasses the attitude of the hospital as employer (whether the interpreter is employed on a casual or full-time basis) and its expectations of the interpreter. The interpreter may be seen by the hospital as a 'helper' in the care of patients and so be assigned tasks which are appropriate to the general category of 'helper' but are not interpreting tasks. If the interpreter consistently accedes to these requests, the role thus constructed contains elements which fall clearly outside

accepted professional performance. A kaleidoscope of roles thus developed is not conducive to the creation of professional identity, ethical standards and *esprit de corps* amongst interpreters.

It is clear then, that the role of the interpreter evolves within two distinct but inextricably intertwined dimensions: the interpreting function itself, and the context in which that function is performed. The practitioner must make a clear differentiation between the context and the task; it is not a matter of keeping these two dimensions separate, but of evaluating to what extent the functional task is modified or extended by the particular context. Decisions must be made on the likely corruption of the communication function if the contextual influences are allowed to dictate behaviour beyond a certain point.

Comparisons with other professional and social roles

As in other professional roles, a *reciprocal relationship* is taken for granted. But the interpreter must maintain this role in relation to *two* clients and continually switch between them. Consequently, each client must not see the interpreter as a conveyor of information between client and interpreter, but must accept the interaction for what it is: a discussion between clients. Thus the interpreter's role is both vicarious (being performed on somebody else's behalf) and in effect a double role (being performed for two clients).

Contextual factors contribute to a role which differs from other professional and social roles. Interpreters must, at all costs, regard themselves as the instrument rather than the focus of the communication. In real situations this task is extremely difficult. The physical proximity of the interpreter to the clients is one factor which contributes to the difficulty of keeping this 'distance'.

The first problem is that the relationship between client and interpreter extends beyond the interpreting situation. Thus preliminaries such as greetings, directions, briefings are carried out on a one-to-one basis with each client, either in person or by telephone. Other spatial and temporal circumstances can add to the difficulties. If, for example, a doctor is late for an appointment and the interpreter is left with the patient in an ante-room, the natural tendency is for

the patient to engage in social conversation with the interpreter, possibly about matters which will form part of the consultation with the doctor. This inevitably changes the client's expectations of the doctor/patient interaction. The patient may respond differently to questions by the doctor in the expectation that the interpreter will supplement them with information already provided by the patient. If the doctor is in an analogous situation, then the doctor's expectations may change similarly.

Here the role of the interpreter is created not during or because of but outside the performance of the interpreting function. While the intentions of the clients are honourable, they place the interpreter in the invidious situation of having to deal with a discrepancy in the expectations of the interpreter and each of the clients.

Other issues related to the presence of the interpreter are even more likely to affect the long-term view of the interpreter by the clients. At many points during the interpreting situation, the interpreter has the role of 'participant-observer', particularly if either or both clients are unhappy with the progress of the discussion. The first tendency is to question the role of the interpreter in the interaction, either by direct questioning of the interpreter or by suggestions as to how to move the interaction along–or occasionally by direct requests of opinion from the interpreter. When the clients cease talking to or focusing on each other, they inevitably impinge on the function of the interpreter by identifying with the interpreter as a person. The situation is further complicated when underlying factors favour identification by one client or the other, such as organisational affiliation (doctor and interpreter may work in the same hospital), ethnic identity (patient and interpreter may belong to the same ethnic group) or who is paying the interpreter.

Status differential between clients and between the client and the interpreter will impinge on the interpreter's role. In conference interpreting this issue seldom arises, due both to the physical separation of interpreter and interlocutors, and to the fact that most situations involve groups of people with similar educational and social experiences who wish to communicate. Where the status and educational background of the clients is vastly different, a great deal

more energy has to be expended in order to make the communication work. If shared assumptions about the world do not obtain, the interpreter is often implicitly required to bridge such gaps.

It becomes a question of great delicacy as to how far the interpreter should go. For example, in some societies doctors hold either higher or lower status than in the country where the interpreting is taking place; thus certain patient attitudes or behaviours may not be understood by the doctor. The interpreter has to make immediate choices in terms of conveying these attitudes in the speech or the gestures of the doctor or the patient. But is it the role of the interpreter to intervene in a didactic fashion if and when problems of this kind surface? The negative consequences of such intervention to the performance of the interpreting task must be clearly understood by the interpreter before embarking on such action.

The perception of the role of the interpreter is also affected by *language issues*. The approach to the task of interpreting and its perception is often coloured by the facility and speed with which interpreting takes place. For each of the clients, the way in which the interpreter delivers the message is as important as the message itself. If the interpreter's performance indicates that the interpreting is a necessary and decisive component of the communication situation, then his or her role in bridging the communication gap is conveyed unambiguously. Hesitations, requests for repetitions and indications of being unsure and ill at ease will colour the clients' perceptions of the role of the interpreter in terms of their expectation of the accuracy and the mode of delivery of the message. Rate of delivery, manner of delivery and capacity to inspire confidence are usually described in terms of language competence. While this alignment is questionable, nevertheless these factors are of paramount importance in the perceptions of the role of the interpreter.

The interpreting interaction

In this section an interpreted interaction will be examined with a view to highlighting the aspects which impinge on the role of the interpreter.

We can assume that there is *motivation* to communicate for the achievement of goals which are shared, at least to some extent, by the interlocutors. This implies a number of features such as the linear ones common to all communication between two people–namely the tendency to 'turn-taking', the necessity for a feedback loop, the inevitable 'noise' and other common possibilities and pitfalls. The features peculiar to an interpreted interaction can be looked at as a 'normal' communication situation with two loops, one which involves client 1 and the interpreter and the other which involves client 2 and the interpreter.

However, this model does not actually reflect the dynamics of an interpreted situation. The motivation and the need for communication stem from both clients and not the interpreter; and the elements of communication flow will not necessarily operate in the same manner when the interaction is interpreted. The interposition of an interpreter creates what could be termed an 'unnatural' situation which both clients recognize and would prefer did not exist.

The *time element*, or its perception, is an important feature. Assuming perfect performance by the interpreter, an interpreted interaction must take much longer than a conversation between two people who share a language. On the other hand, both interlocutors accept that communication other than with these arrangements would not be possible at all, and make adjustments. Some of these are positive, as far as the interpreter is concerned, while others are negative.

Take, for example, the concept of *turn-taking*. Ordinarily the speakers follow a fairly constant pattern of turn-taking; interruption of one party by the other is a risk to communication since it does not allow the other party to finish their contribution. Any misunderstandings arising out of a departure from alternating turns are generally solved during the next turn or by the insistence of one party in continuing their turn. In an interpreted situation, such departures from rigid turn-taking become a problem. It is impossible for the interpreter to operate when two people are talking over each other; the interpreter must exercise some control over the situation

and the most common method is to ensure that the interlocutors speak in turn. This method forces the presentation of material in a manner which will elicit the most productive response from the other party. It also assumes that the end of each intervention represents the end of that client's input on that topic, whereas the break may reflect the perceived ability of the interpreter to cope. The result is often detrimental to the spontaneity of the interaction and leaves the interlocutors unhappy about the role of the interpreter. This effect is produced regardless of the quality of the interpreter's performance.

A further aspect of the time element is the interval during which each client is not directly and cognitively engaged–when the interpreter is relaying an utterance to the other person and that person is replying. These '*pauses*', while inevitable, work against a constant and focused flow of communication. They may cause a client to believe that the response is not connected to the question as asked; the client is unsure as to whether this discrepancy arises from the interpreter's work or the other party. Again these perceptions impinge upon the creation and evaluation of the role of the interpreter.

Asides and comments or questions may be directed at the interpreter who has considerable difficulty in interpreting all that is referred to him or her while recognizing that the asides are just that.

In summary, the structural requirements of the interpreted interaction are sometimes counterproductive in terms of communication outcomes, thus negatively affecting the perception of the role of the interpreter. Furthermore, the clients' lack of familiarity with these consequences promotes negative impressions of the interpreter. Once those who work with interpreters are familiar with the issues, the problems can be drastically reduced.

The concept of 'client'

An interpreter has at least two clients at any one time. Theoretically they have equal claim on the interpreter's expertise, irrespective of considerations such as who arranged for the interpreter to be present, who is paying the interpreter, who has briefed the interpreter. The

reality is often different. It is likely that the person who arranged for the interpreter to be present will consider themselves to be the client, and perceptions about the role of the interpreter will be governed by this presumed relationship. It is true that in certain contexts–usually business contexts–the idea of an interpreter 'working for' one of the clients is not only taken for granted but seen as a condition of employment of the interpreter. Such situations embody potential conflict between the interpreter as a 'servant' of one master, and the ethical imperatives of interpreting where impartiality and confidentiality are axiomatic.

The concept of client relies on an understanding of the fundamental part which an interpreter plays in an interaction. It is precisely because there is no such general understanding amongst potential clients that this is an issue at all. It is understandable that the person calling an interpreter feels that, by expressing a need to communicate with the other person, they have taken the initiative and have the right to some measure of control over the interpreter. In most cases, the employment of an interpreter is, from the clients' point of view, a rare event. There is little motivation for these clients to be sympathetic to the interpreter's concerns–especially since there can be no measure of how such a concern might have affected outcomes.

Creation of the role

The creation of a role for interpreters must also be approached from a global perspective which seeks to place, in operational terms, the professional obligations which interpreters have to their clients and to their professional colleagues. Liaison interpreting cannot yet rely on long-standing common practices and agreed guidelines within a closely controlled industrial framework. Something approaching this framework does exists for conference interpreters. However, the work of liaison interpreters covers such a variety of situations, and is often performed in such an *ad hoc* manner by untrained and sometimes unwilling practitioners, that it is difficult to specify behaviour requirements. Further, the enforcement of such guidelines, where they exist, relies almost solely on the professionalism of the

practitioners–who usually work in isolation and so must rely on themselves for evaluation. We regard it as axiomatic that clarification of the role of the interpreter will lead to increased professionalism and a better service to clients.

The first element which affects the view of the interpreter's role is *the question of language*. A liaison interpreter, unlike a conference interpreter, operates not from a number of languages into their 'mother' tongue (or the language in which they received the bulk of their education) but both into and out of their 'mother' tongue (A language) and their second (B) language (the classification also extends to C languages). Competence in the second language needs to be of a very high order. Clients, who are generally not familiar with the intricacies of the classification of languages for interpreting, expect the same level of performance in both directions. They probably also lack an appreciation of the nature of language and the difficulties inherent in the transfer of a message from one language to another. This fact assumes significant proportions where the context of the interpreting does not begin to take such issues into account–for example, a court of law, a psychiatric assessment interview or business negotiations.

The clients see the interpreter as a 'language converter', not as someone who is concerned with communication; hence the model of a tap which can be turned on and off at will and which will produce language, any language. The interpreter is seen only in terms of language competence and, conversely, the assumption is made that language competence is tantamount to interpreting competence. Furthermore, the client's regard is likely to depend on the number of languages they believe the interpreter speaks!

If this language competence issue is to be placed in its proper perspective, we must specify other skills which differentiate the work of an interpreter from that of a bilingual. Whether performed in the simultaneous or the consecutive mode, liaison interpreting involves operations on the *message* and not on the language. The essence of interpreting skills is to receive a message which is not formulated for the interpreter and to deliver that message in a form and a character indistinguishable from the original. The message includes all the

elements which constitute the act of communication (comprising semantic, pragmatic and semiotic dimensions) in a particular temporal and situational context. The skills of an interpreter therefore extend beyond the linguistic and include the capacity to internalize and transmit the many nuances of a particular situation. Note-taking skills are also essential, and a series of other skills relating to the *management* but not the *conduct* of an interpreted interaction.

The interpreter also needs the ability to *empathize* with each interlocutor in turn at each exchange, and to enter the particular situation in such a way as to appear 'natural' to the interlocutors. This requires a well-developed technique of familiarization with the context of the assignment by research and backgrounding strategies geared to produce quick, precise results and to be flexible in less predictable circumstances. Thus, the interpreter needs not only a reservoir of excellent general knowledge, but an awareness of how this knowledge is handled in both the source and target languages, both conceptually and linguistically.

Translating and interpreting

Within the literature, much is assumed and little said about the differences between the two skills, apart from the fact that translation involves written texts and interpreting involves oral ones. When one is dealing with clients, however, this distinction is blurred by a number of factors which, in turn, contribute to clients' perceptions of the roles of interpreters and translators.

Halliday (1981) is a useful starting point for discussing consequences of the differences between the two functions. i.e. interpreting and translating. Two issues emerge as significant. The first is lack of consistency within the profession in the use of the two terms: sometimes the distinction between written and oral text is respected; sometimes the terms 'translation' and 'translator' incorporate the notion of 'interpreting' and 'interpreter'. The second concerns the interpreter often being asked to perform 'sight translation', whereby a written document relevant to the situation (for example, a lawyer/client interview) is passed to the interpreter

for immediate oral 'translation'. One can argue that this activity straddles the two professional roles, as do others such as subtitling or surtitling. Indeed there are some areas of professional activity which cannot be classified easily as interpreting or translating. The crucial point, which is most relevant to role construction, is that the clients are not aware of these distinctions and may have unreasonable expectations of the interpreter hired to perform either function.

The differences between the two skills are often characterized in terms of the level of accuracy which can be expected from each. The typical view is that the immediacy of interpreting merits a less stringent approach to accuracy–defined both as completeness of message transfer and attention to nuance. Such views reflect a failure, whether deliberate or otherwise, to recognize that indeed the two activities require different skills and different aptitudes. The differences are not so much in the performance of the activities as in the nature of oral and written texts. In creating the role of interpreter or translator we must contend with these misapprehensions as well as with the well-worn and popular conception that language competence is the same as interpreting or translating competence.

In summary, the role of the liaison interpreter is governed by a matrix of dimensions, some to do with the interpreters themselves and some with the clients' level of knowledge of the function. The central issue is the complex interaction between the activity which the interpreter performs, the way this is seen by the clients and the way the profession itself sees the role as developing.

The interpreter's aim is that the interaction resemble as closely as possible the same interaction where an interpreter is not required. But this linear approach is hardly ever possible. While the interpreter persists with this objective, the clients see the physical presence of the interpreter as leading to serious and often deleterious consequences for the communication. Overlying this situation is the fact that interpreters have little opportunity to discuss experiences and must evaluate their own performance and attempt to generalize from them. It is easier to consider each interaction as 'peculiar' and to defer the important task of drawing together the broader lessons.

4 The Interpreted Interview

The term 'interview' refers to a whole range of face-to-face situations where interpreting takes place; for example, any professional/client interview, doctor/patient consultations, parent/teacher meetings, public service user/provider interviews, business individual or team negotiations etc.

Objectives of the interview

Essentially, the presence of an interpreter does not change the objective of the interview: to accomplish some necessary/real life task. For example, a doctor/patient interview usually aims at diagnosis, treatment, prognosis, follow-up etc.; a parent/teacher interview aims at discussing some issue related to a child's schooling, providing insights as to why there is a problem, trying to solve the problem; a family therapy session aims at identifying and solving social, emotional, psychological etc. problems; a trade (business) negotiation interview aims at agreement on investment, buying and selling, setting up joint ventures etc. In other words, an interpreter usually walks into a situation where the other parties have already determined why the interview is necessary, what the parameters will be, the specific objective and the steps to be taken to achieve it (Tebble, 1991, 1993). An interpreted interview does not have

9 Business Settings

What do we mean by interpreting in business settings? In the narrowest sense, the term denotes two or more business people discussing business matters through an interpreter. Stereotypical examples include importer/exporter negotiations; discussions between the local head of a subsidiary company and the foreign owner of the company; and discussions between a local business person and an overseas consultant, perhaps on taxation, investment, industrial relations, import tariffs etc. However, we take interpreting in business settings in its broadest possible sense, to include all interpreting situations which are outside the welfare/medical/legal rubric. We do not include relationships characterized by a marked differential in power or status within a given society. Examples of these interpreting settings range from arts, sport, tourism and recreation to patent negotiations or government-to-government meetings and delegations.

This categorization is not absolute and practitioners in different parts of the world may call this setting commercial, trade or diplomatic. The demands made upon interpreters require particular skills and techniques.

The physical environment

Interpreting in business settings is not confined to office environments. It may take place in a variety of environments from the

factory floor to an aircraft, from a plant room to a restaurant. This variety often requires adjustment to the mode of interpreting. For example, on the factory floor, the interpreter accompanying a visiting party may need to use *chuchotage*–because the noise level, the number of participants and the acoustic characteristics of the environment are such that only two or three people can hear what the interpreter is saying. This in turn will encourage other members of the party to seek from the interpreter, at a later time, the information they have missed.

The conclusion of successful business negotiations may include a public presentation of the results, with the interpreter called upon to perform consecutive interpreting for a large group.

When an interpreter is travelling abroad with a delegation, the change in physical environment produces changes in mood, attitude and reactions of the members of the delegation. The interpreter should be aware that these will affect the communication style of the delegation. Furthermore, if the interpreter is the only link with the host culture, being the only one to speak that language, he/she may need to assume additional roles including that of a public relations officer and secretary, and to take care of such tasks as collecting documents, writing minutes, booking hotels and paying bills. The interpreter is more likely to be called upon to play a more generalized 'cultural bridge' role when the differences between the cultures are vast. The delegation will rely on the interpreter to avoid embarrassment and to smooth the way should any problem occur.

It is thus clear that the interpreter may be required regularly to switch from one task to another, even from one role to another. The multiplicity of roles can make inordinate demands on the interpreter's time and concentration–being 'on duty' perhaps from breakfast to late evening, and having to deal with sometimes competing demands from members of the delegation. While ideally many of these roles would be performed by hired agents or other bilingual delegate members, this may not have been arranged, leaving the interpreter to deal with management as well as interpreting.

The nature of the subject matter

In business settings, the interpreting function, in relation to the subject matter, approximates that in conference contexts. The discussions are often specific and detailed and cover such things as commercial arrangements, production and warehousing techniques, contracts and deadlines, specific descriptions of products or detailed arrangements for delivery and payments.

Interpreters will find very different levels of readiness on the part of companies or agencies to adequately brief them. Depending on the nature of negotiation or meeting, some will provide detailed information on the company's products, services, structure, objectives, and what specifically is to be talked about. In other cases, efforts by the interpreter to obtain specific documentation prior to the meeting/discussion may receive very little response because of the confidential nature and commercial sensitivity of the information. This means that the interpreter is often left to prepare for such assignments to a level of generality of information which is only mildly useful for the meeting.

For instance, the interpreter might simply be briefed that the discussion will be about the production of plastic tubing. The interpreter can only anticipate to some extent the direction of the discussions and prepare by becoming familiar with current methods of production of plastic tubing. However, the discussion may include new production methods developed by the companies, it may concern itself with a single step in the production process, or it may concentrate on the manipulation of materials to facilitate a certain production method. In short, for the interpreter, the level of unpredictability of the direction of the discussion is high. This has implications for the techniques employed.

The interpreting team

The host country or firm often provides interpreter(s) to work for both parties. Even when each party provides its own interpreter (in-house or freelance), it is common for the interpreters to work out between themselves who will interpret in which direction. Exceptions

occur when one party (in particular, a senior politician) insists that his/her own interpreter work in a particular direction. Commonly, each interpreter works into his/her second language, the reasons being that the interpreter is familiar with the client's accent, cultural background and topical context. This is different from conference interpreting where the interpreter usually works into his/her first language. Alternatively, interpreters may decide to divide the work on the basis of time, with each working in both directions for a given time.

For interpreters who have previously worked together, the likelihood of problems arising is minimal; they will be familiar with each other's performance and can enhance the total service provision by drawing on each other's strengths. When there is no shared experience, there must be a discussion before the interpreting begins.

It is particularly important to counter the client's perception, often expectation, that their interpreter is an instrument of quality control of the other interpreter's performance. Such perceptions may be in conflict with the professional obligations of the interpreter. This becomes a real issue if one of the interpreters commits an error. The other interpreter must make a judgement on the seriousness of the error and, if necessary, notify his/her colleague, who in turn must deal with it. It is important to stress that it does not serve any purpose to comment on a colleague's minor lapses. The ethical issues arising from this and similar situations will be dealt with below.

Some observations on negotiation

Negotiation is the process of reaching agreement between parties who begin from different bargaining positions. Many business meetings consist mainly of negotiations. While any interaction can include negotiation as a technique for achieving objectives, it can be argued that business interactions are distinguished by the fact that negotiation is their central objective.

Knowledge of the negotiating styles adopted by different cultural groups is of paramount importance for successful interpreting. The interpreter must be familiar with these styles, which largely emerge

through a combination of behaviours and only some of which are linguistic. They include the degree of directness, the willingness or ability to reach a decision or make that decision known during the meeting, the capacity to deviate from previous correspondence, the means used to express degrees of agreement or disagreement to propositions, the role of ceremony and protocol in the negotiation, the expectations as to the sequencing of elements in the negotiation, the expectations relating to dress, food and body language.

During the course of a meeting, the parties may need to discuss certain aspects only with their colleagues. In most cases the other party does not object to this and uses the time to its own advantage. This situation requires delicate handling by the interpreter, and successful management depends on the number of interpreters engaged and on whether all parties remain in the same room.

Different aspects of business negotiations

A diverse range of activities can take place during a round of negotiations:

- formal meetings, introductions, welcoming speeches, protocol;
- smaller meetings of groups or even one-on-one meetings at various levels of formality;
- discussions of main points at issue in contracts or work plans;
- technical group meetings which go into detail over plans or specifications;
- visits to relevant sites or institutions;
- extra-curricular activities such as tourist sightseeing or recreation;
- lunches, dinners and banquets at various levels of formality.

Significant variations in discourse can exist during more formal parts of negotiations, particularly during highly technical working-group discussions.

The complexities of technical concepts/processes/jargon are regarded as one of the most difficult aspects of business interpreting. In fact, the more technical the discussion becomes, often the more relaxed the manner of discourse will be. Most of the participants are

specialists, who are not concerned with protocol formalities. Their whole purpose is to convey accurate messages and to get things done by whatever means available, and the interpreters can use all kinds of methods to facilitate communication. They can ask the specialists to explain the concept or jargon in a simple way, to spell it out or write it down, to draw a diagram of a technical process or to write the formula. They can even use dictionaries to find the proper term or meaning. Both sides have the capacity to understand technical processes or jargon if spelt out or presented in the form of a diagram on the board, and interpreters should make use of this advantage to overcome the difficulties of the technical material.

The interpreter and the clients

The relationship between the interpreter and the clients bears careful scrutiny. Interpreters often believe that certain ethical principles need to be modified or applied differently in business settings. Typically they argue that because the interpreter is employed as an in-house interpreter by one party, he/she should become a kind of agent for the client, using his/her skills to provide information which the client would not otherwise obtain.

This close contact, coupled with a corporate culture based on fierce loyalty, creates some difficult ethical situations for the interpreter. Economic dependence puts pressure on the interpreter to work for and on behalf of the client, which can undermine the fundamental role of the interpreter as a facilitator of someone else's communication needs. Furthermore, the ethical principle of impartiality is placed under severe strain, especially as often the interpreter, because of bi-cultural competence, is privy to a great deal more information than either party. Often the interpreter is called upon to provide opinions about the other party, about the sincerity of their offers and the likelihood that they will continue to negotiate. The client sees this as legitimate information for the successful clinching of a deal, and has the same expectations of the interpreter as of any other expert or consultant engaged to help with decision-making. The view that the interpreters should be strictly impartial is

often criticized by clients as being unrealistic and impractical. This aspect of the role of the interpreter in business settings has not been sufficiently researched for definitive conclusions to be reached.

Deadlocks and the interpreter

A particular issue of ethics arises when negotiations become difficult or deadlocked. Emotions can run high, with both sides expressing frustration or anger. Many business interpreters in such situations play a mediating role. They interpret in a modified way, becoming more diplomatic in their choice of words in order to soften the atmosphere and enable the negotiations to proceed. In so doing, interpreters are not following the ethical principle of accuracy.

The aim of both parties is to get the project or business moving rather than to hurt each other, while at the same time to gain maximum benefit from the business deal. Frequently they will push forward to a breaking point, and then consider a compromise–so deadlocks are very likely. Straightforward interpreting of anger or rudeness may kill a stage of negotiation, while modified interpreting will provide opportunities for the negotiation to move on and succeed.

In such circumstances, it is not enough simply to regard the interpreter as having inexcusably gone outside their role. Frustration or anger in negotiations may arise precisely out of the dynamics of communication, particularly frustration over perceptions of how one's message is getting through and whether it is being understood. Since rudeness or temporary anger is not conducive to the whole process of doing business, both parties will, in the end, be grateful for the modifying influence of an experienced interpreter.

Clearly the interpreter can exercise a good deal of control, but it must always be guided by the principle of facilitating communication rather than hindering it.

The interpreter as a scapegoat

Another pressure is the practice of making the interpreter a scapegoat for errors of judgement or fact made by one of the parties. It is not

uncommon for these errors to be remedied by adducing the interpreter's error, with agreement that the positive consequences outweigh the wounding of the interpreter's pride. Where the interpreter draws a limit to this practice is a matter of professional judgement. From an ethical point of view, the interpreter is again being drawn into the unacceptable role of a protagonist. The interpreter may decide to withdraw, sometimes with disastrous results for the client, or may put up with this behaviour for a time but make it clear to the client (outside the interpreting interaction) that other such occurrences will not be tolerated. Both approaches have serious consequences for future employment by that firm. It is generally accepted that the interpreter, in any situation, should not be the cause of the breakdown of communication but a facilitator of such communication.

A similar issue arises when clarification seems required but is not appreciated for reasons of politics, company secrets or technical know-how. Speakers may deliberately deliver ambiguous messages. For instance, in some countries any negative comments on the political system are not tolerated, while comments on other systems are. A businessman may say that difficulties being experienced are related to 'our system'; by the ambiguous use of the word 'system', he is referring obliquely to the political system, but does not expect the interpreter to seek clarification. If the interpreter does not understand this context and seeks clarification, an embarrassing situation may result.

Surviving dinners and banquets

In the past, interpreters often sat behind the main host and guest at dinners and interpreted whatever they said about business or about how delicious the food was. Fortunately, it is not the case any more. The interpreter is now given a seat at the dinner table.

In some countries, seating at dinner is subject to detailed protocol, but almost always the interpreter is included, to ensure communication between the heads of delegations. A knowledge of such protocol is essential for the interpreter, who can enjoy dinner

as long as he/she can maintain communication between the two parties.

Participation at dinner demands quick responses in order not to be caught out. Although a dinner or banquet may be quite formal, the atmosphere and communication dynamics are often relaxed. Even if an interpreter is ambushed by a sudden request to interpret while his/her mouth is full, the atmosphere is usually such that the interpreter can use his/her body language to secure a little time, then begin interpreting in an unhurried manner. Interpreters should be able to enjoy dinners, though at so-called 'working' dinners or lunches, they may not be able to eat anything at all.

In summary, interpreting in business settings provides challenges in terms of the nature of the interactions, assumptions made about the interpreter's role, the environment both physical and cultural, and the relationships created by working in a team or by being regarded as an instrument of the client.

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cal exercises, students should be encouraged to *explain* tactics they have chosen. However, since in this particular case instructors wish not only to *explain* translation procedures, but also to establish certain ethical priorities, they cannot afford not to criticize tactics that follow the "wrong" Rules (the Law of least effort and the Law of self-protection).

Last, when presenting tactics and Rules, instructors should highlight the fact that these involve decisions, that is, personal choices and risks, for which the interpreter has to take responsibility as a full-fledged participant in communication (see chapter 2). In this respect, the interpreter's work converges with that of the translator, as described in the Sequential Model of translation explained in chapter 5.

MAIN IDEAS

1. In spite of their preparation and skills, interpreters do encounter difficulties in understanding and/or reformulating speech segments while interpreting.
2. A set of coping tactics is used in order to limit loss to the speaker and delegates. Most are identical or similar in simultaneous and in consecutive.

   Coping tactics can be classified as those used in the face of comprehension difficulties, preventive tactics, and reformulation tactics.
3. Tactics should be selected so as to:
   - Maximize information recovery for the delegates;
   - Minimize interference between recovery of the affected speech segment and the transmission of neighboring segments;
   - Maximize the communication impact of the speech.
4. In reality, two interfering phenomena are also active:
   - The Law of least effort;
   - Self-protection.

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CHAPTER 9

Language issues in conference interpreting (and translation)

1. Introduction

The International Association of Conference Interpreters (AIIC) defines three types of working languages (AIIC 1982: 10):

- *A languages*, in which interpreters possess native-like proficiency;
- *B languages*, which they are supposed to master both actively and passively almost as well as a native, but which are *active* working languages, meaning that they are supposed to work *into* them, at least in the consecutive mode;
- *C languages*, which are *passive* languages. They are theoretically understood at native level, but interpreters do not work *into* them.

Although the theoretical definitions are clear, the actual status of working languages in the field is less clear-cut. One of the problems lies in determining whether a language is an A or a B. Borderline cases are numerous, including bilinguals (are they *true* bilinguals? See Thiéry 1975), interpreters who have a vernacular language as their mother tongue and whose official A language may have been acquired at a comparatively late age, interpreters who have been living in the country of their B language for many years, etc. Another problem is the very justification of the concept of A and B languages: some interpreters claim that if a B language is mastered well enough to be used as an active language, it should not be discriminated from an A language. Others say that if a B language is not used actively in simultaneous interpreting, its definition as an active language should be qualified, and there should be a new classification, "with active languages for consecutive" and "active languages for simultaneous" (see Reinert 1976, Keiser 1978).

However, in the context of interpreter training, the two major issues relating to language classification are the following:

- The students' insufficient command of their working languages;
- The language specificity of interpreting.

In translation, the problems are essentially the same, but with a few differences:

- Insufficient command of a passive language in translation does not result in the same critical and sometimes catastrophic situations, because translators do have the possibility of asking for help, while interpreters have to react on the spot to all problems (chapters 7 and 8).
- For the same reason, while language specificity causes severe problems in interpreting because of cognitive constraints (chapter 7), language-specific problems in translation may require much thinking, but do not cause catastrophes.
- On the other hand, translators are required to have mastery of the written system of their active language at a higher level than interpreters in terms of grammar, stylistics, and other editorial criteria.

This chapter therefore focuses on critical interpretation-related problems rather than on linguistic problems in translation, but the concepts and models presented here also apply to translation.

2. The students' command of their working languages

Theoretically, there seems to be a consensus among the major interpreting and translation (I/T) schools in the West that at the time of admission into an interpretation course, students should already have a perfect command of their working languages, and that at school, linguistic skill enhancement should be limited to the acquisition of conference-specific phraseology and technical terms (Keiser 1970; see also Nilski 1967, Geleff 1971, Lederer 1975, Gravier 1978 on interpretation and translation, Seleskovitch 1981).

The basic position is clear: major interpretation schools in the West (but not in all parts of the world, and in particular not in Japan) refuse to be regarded as language schools. However, during entrance exams, it appears that linguistic

prerequisites are not always met, especially with respect to active languages (Carroll 1978: 12). In fact, many students fail their *final professional exam* because of an insufficient command of their working languages (Keiser 1978: 13, 18). The situation in the field is therefore clearly quite different from what it would be if theoretical linguistic prerequisites were met.

Similar observations have been made as regards translation students (Delisle 1980, Harris 1981, Rainey 1988, Gémar 1990, Lang 1992, Snell-Hornby 1992, Viaggio 1992).

Some instructors are not willing to accept this fact of life and would prefer to refuse admission to students whose command of the languages is not good enough. Since they are a minority on admission panels, students do get admitted to interpretation and translation schools even when one or more of their working languages are weak. At the end of the first year of the program, the problem becomes too salient to be ignored.

Possible remedies are of two types. One consists of setting up language enhancement courses, as is the case in many schools. Another direction is to instruct students to improve their language skills on their own, by spending some time in a country where their weak language is spoken (if their B or C language is found to be weak after the first year, they are often advised to spend a year in the appropriate country before doing their second year of studies), by reading, listening to the radio and watching television, or performing specific exercises for enhancement of their linguistic skills. Déjean Le Féal of ESIT, in particular, describes a set of exercises she recommends to her students in an interesting article published in 1976. These include:

- *Complete reading*, which consists of reading a text sentence by sentence, and then repeating each sentence without looking at the text;
- *Complete listening*, which consists of repeating sentences and linguistic structures heard in a foreign language;
- *Careful listening* to the way native speakers unwittingly correct non-native speakers when they use clumsy constructions;
- Occasionally concentrating on *function words* rather than on content words so as to learn their proper use;
- Learning structures and idioms *by heart*;
- *Shuttle exercises*, that is, trying to find an appropriate wording in one language for ideas heard in another.

Many interpretation teachers include in their classes exercises that are partially or entirely aimed at language-skill enhancement. In his "terminology class," Gérard Ilg of the E.T.I. (University of Geneva) devotes much time to enriching and making more flexible the students' oral expression skills. His set of exercises includes (Ilg 1978, 1980):

- *Paraphrasing*, which is a particularly popular exercise (Moser 1978, Lederer 1981b);
- *Permutation exercises*, which consist of syntactic transformations such as inversions, conversion from active to passive or vice versa, addition or deletion of double negations, etc.;
- *Summary exercises* and *expansion exercises*;
- The search for *synonyms*, *hyponyms*, and *superordinates*.

Most instructors do give indirect linguistic training to student interpreters. It does not seem reasonable to admit into professional schools students whose command of their working languages is not good enough to allow them to become interpreters at the end of the program. However, recognizing that some weaknesses can be and indeed have been successfully overcome should lead to more efficient strategies for the enhancement of language skills during training. The Gravitational Model presented below is one tool for analyzing such strategies.

3. The Gravitational Model of linguistic availability

The exercises described above deal mainly with the *active* component of language mastery. Moreover, because of time constraints, they only involve a small part of the relevant vocabulary. When students are told to spend some time in a foreign country or to read for linguistic enhancement, they are generally not given detailed instructions on how to proceed. They are therefore often inefficient in their endeavors because their progress is left to chance. The Gravitational Model provides a conceptual framework for comprehension of phenomena and assessment of learning strategies.

3.1 *The baseline*

Student interpreters who are admitted into interpretation schools do have a "good knowledge" of all their working languages, although this knowledge is more often than not inferior to theoretical requirements as defined in section 1 of this chapter. Their initial level of language proficiency includes good command of basic rules of grammar, which are few in number (not more than a few hundred, depending on the language), although students may make occasional mistakes, especially due to interference from other working languages and to high processing capacity requirements during interpretation. Lexical command, however, is highly variable. This is not surprising in view of the fact that an educated person's vocabulary consists of several tens of thousands to more than a hundred thousand different words (see Aitchison 1987: 5–8). A small fraction of this vocabulary is encountered daily and a larger proportion rarely, depending on the individual's living environment and professional and personal activities (see section 3.7).

3.1.1 *The lexical component*

In international conferences, speakers select their own words and language structures on the basis of choices determined by the grammar of the language concerned. Because of the relatively small number of rules involved, at least in the types of discourse heard in international conferences, speakers tend to use the same structures, except for some rare poetic or literary speeches. These structures are also familiar to interpreters. Lexical choices are much wider, however, and word preferences tend to vary. Hence significant lexical problems, in terms of both comprehension and retrieval from long-term memory for speech production. It is important to note that in view of the extremely large and ever-increasing number of technical terms used in conferences, the lexical issue (in its terminological subset) remains important throughout a conference interpreter's career.

More specifically, two types of lexical *comprehension problems* can arise in interpretation:

- Incoming source-language words are unknown to the interpreter, who therefore needs to perform a contextual and phonological and/or morphological and/or etymological analysis in order to understand them. The analysis may result in full, partial, or no understanding.

- Incoming source-language words are known to the interpreter, but are not familiar enough to be understood immediately and spontaneously, that is, fast enough and without conscious effort (see chapter 4), and their meaning may be misinterpreted.

Similarly, two types of lexical *production problems* can occur in interpretation:

- The target-language word required to express a concept is unknown to the interpreter, who therefore has to resort to another term or to a paraphrase.
- The required word is known to the interpreter, but is not *available* enough, that is, it does not surface fast enough or easily enough.

3.1.2 *The syntactic component*

On the syntactic side, similar problems arise:

- In comprehension, there should theoretically be no syntactic rules unknown to the interpreter in a working language. However, the speed of comprehension may vary, depending on knowledge of the language's transitional probabilities (the probability that a certain type of word or group of words will be followed by another given type of word or group of words).
- In production, interpreters also know all the syntactic rules necessary to express themselves, but there may be significant differences in the *availability* of these: it may take the interpreter more or less time and effort to make the appropriate syntactic decisions to start, continue, or finish sentences.

3.2 *The interpreter's position as a speech producer and listener*

In both comprehension and production, these problems are associated with an increase in processing capacity and time requirements, which, as shown in the Effort Models in chapter 7, may lead to serious impairment of interpretation quality; hence the importance of *availability*. This point is critically important, because a number of factors make speech production and speech comprehension more difficult under conference interpretation conditions than in everyday life.

3.2.1 *Listeners and interpreters*

As explained in chapter 7, interpreters are generally in a position less favorable to comprehension than are listeners in most usual situations.

In particular, during interpretation, attention-sharing reduces the capacity available for speech comprehension, and interference between source language and target language also makes comprehension more difficult.

The interpreter's effort is therefore more intense than the delegates' while it lasts; it is also longer lasting, since interpreters cannot rest as long as they are interpreting, while delegates may spend much of their listening time at a low level of attention.

3.2.2 *Speech producers and interpreters*

In simultaneous interpreting, the interference issue is more problematic in production than in comprehension. It requires an additional prevention and control effort (see inter alia Déjean Le Féal 1978 and Lederer 1981a), which is another difficulty faced by interpreters and not by ordinary speakers.

One point made earlier about interpreters' position as listeners also applies to their position as speakers: speakers in conferences talk about subjects they are familiar with, use terms that are part of their daily professional life, and often give a presentation they have prepared with ideas they have thought about carefully for hours, days, or even months or years; the interpreter knows less about the situation and the subject, and is also less familiar with the specialized terms and the speaker's ideas.

On the other hand, interpreters are *professional speakers*, and public speaking is part of their professional everyday life. Many conference participants only rarely speak in public and are not used to the exercise. Moroever, interpreters use by definition working languages they know well, which is not always the case of speakers. Except for some stage fright, which interpreters learn to overcome with experience, they are generally not subjected to the same pressures as many speakers, who may have much at stake when they take the floor. There are cases where stage fright is strong for interpreters as well—important summit conferences, live interpretation on television, consecutive interpretation before a large audience—but these are generally not regular working conditions; when they are, interpreters develop more tolerance for the stress involved.

Last but not least, technically speaking, interpreters do not have to perform the same speech-planning operations as speakers, since they *follow* the

speaker's speech. Not only do they not have to think about what ideas to express and in what order, or what linguistic style and register to use, but even syntactically and lexically they can often follow the speaker's lead (which has both positive and negative implications, as discussed in section 2.2 of chapter 7).

It follows that on the whole, contrary to comprehension, which may be considered easier for the delegate most of the time, production may be either easier or more difficult for the interpreter, depending on the particular circumstances. If for example the speaker is experienced, using his or her native tongue, speaking on a subject he or she knows well, and expressing well-rehearsed ideas, and if he or she takes the floor without much to gain or to lose, it may be assumed that the interpreter's production task is more difficult. If, however, the speaker is taking part in an international conference for the first time, using a language he or she does not know very well, speaks on a subject he or she is not very familiar with, has not had time to prepare the presentation thoroughly, and knows his or her future may depend on the speech, his or her task can be more difficult than the interpreter's.

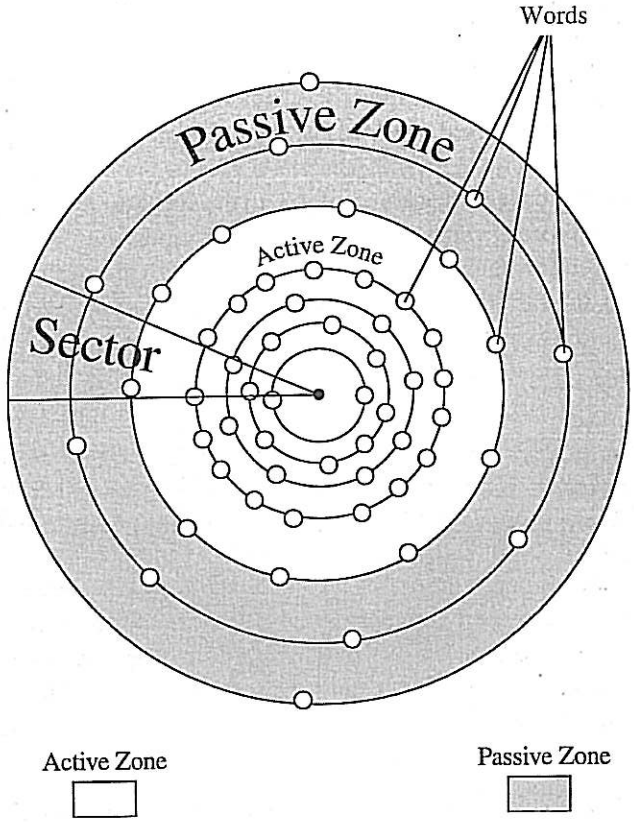
3.3 *The Gravitational Model of linguistic availability*

In view of the importance of the lexical component of language skills in interpretation, an essentially lexicon-oriented model of language proficiency was developed. However, the Model is also applicable to syntactic and other linguistic rules. The Model represents the status of an individual's oral or written command of a language at a particular point in time and in particular circumstances, by describing the relative *availability* of lexical units and linguistic rules.

The Model consists of a *variable* part and an *invariable* part. The latter refers to language elements the availability of which is assumed to be constant or to vary very slowly. This applies to the most basic rules of grammar (basic conjugations, the formation of plurals, etc.) and to a small number of the most frequently used words in the language. The variable part is larger by several orders of magnitude, as it includes at least dozens of rules and many thousands of words and idioms.

In the diagram (Figure 1), the invariable part is represented by a *Nucleus*. The variable part is made of *Words* and *Rules* revolving on *Orbits* around the Nucleus. The term Words (capitalized) refers to lexical units such as individual words and idioms, as well as to frequently used phrases ("Thank you, Mister

Figure 1. *The Gravitational Model of Linguistic availability.*



Chairman" and "Mister Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen" are typical examples). *Rules* are all the linguistic rules that apply when words are selected, modified, and combined when linguistic utterances are constructed. Because of the general nature and intended didactic use of the Model in the classroom, I do not consider it useful to define Words and Rules further: the Model deals with tens of thousands of words and the general dynamics of the System rather than with precise, quantitative rules, and is used to *characterize* the interpreters' language skills and requirements rather than *measure* them. If the Model is to be used for lexicometric purposes, Words and Rules (hereinafter *Words*) will have to be defined more precisely, depending on the particular study it is used for.

Orbits represent various degrees of availability of the Words: the more distant an Orbit is from the Nucleus, the more processing capacity and the more time are required to access Words on that Orbit.

Orbits belong to one of two concentric areas: the *Active Zone*, directly around the Nucleus, and the *Passive Zone*, which surrounds the Active Zone. The Active Zone is composed of Words which are available to the speaker (or writer) for Text production. The closer the Orbit is to the Nucleus, the easier and quicker the Words it carries are available to the speaker. The Passive Zone is composed of Words which the speaker understands, but which are not available for speech production. The closer an Orbit is to the Active Zone (and to the Nucleus), the faster and easier the comprehension of the Words on it.

The distinction between the Active Zone and the Passive Zone may seem artificial, if only because active Words can generally also be understood and because any Word that has been understood can also be repeated, and can therefore be considered "active." However, the dual System is helpful in representing dynamic trends of Words as outlined below, and can be quite accurate in representing situations in which there are Words which can be understood if used by another speaker, but are not available for expression. This may for instance be the case of Words that the subject has not learned, but can understand when they are first encountered because of their morphology or their similarity to Words he or she does know in another language (see the discussion of the *Escort Effect* in section 3.4). Another case is that of Words which the speaker knows, but is reluctant to use for one reason or another. He or she:

- may not be sure that the Word is appropriate for the particular situation as regards style, level of politeness, etc.;
- may not be sure of the precise meaning of the Word;
- may fear that the Word that comes to mind is a *faux ami* ('false friend', i.e. an unwanted intruder from another language which looks similar to a Word in the language intended to be used).

The Model or System as a whole thus represents the full set of Words and Rules available to a subject for comprehension and/or active use at a given point in time. When the focus of interest is a subject's command of words in a given field, say technical, scientific, or literary, a *Sector* can be defined by way of two straight segments going from the Nucleus to the most distant Orbit in

the Passive Zone (see Figure 1). A Sector thus accounts for the full set of Words available to the subject for comprehension and/or active use in a particular field or in a thematic subset of the total System.

Alternatively, one may be interested in a subset of the Words available to the subject within a certain *range* of processing capacity values. For example, those Words which are highly available, that is, in the innermost Orbits in the Active and/or Passive Zones, are the most relevant ones in interpreting, as explained in section 3.5.

3.4 *Dynamics of the Gravitational Model*

As mentioned above, any given Model is a snapshot of the situation for a given individual at a given point in time under given circumstances, although average values may theoretically be computed for a whole population or for an individual over a period of time. A very important feature of lexical and syntactic availability is its dynamic nature: Words are learned, become more or less available, are forgotten. These dynamics can be described by a small set of rules.

These rules were derived intuitively, from observation. Some are supported by psycholinguistic studies, which are quoted in the following sections, but many have not been tested empirically. Moreover, no quantitative assessment of their actual manifestation in linguistic performance seems to be available. They are therefore only presented here as *trends*, to be used for explanatory purposes and to support the selection of linguistic enhancement strategies as explained below.

- *Rule 1*: The Centrifugal Principle

  IF NOT STIMULATED, WORDS AND RULES TEND TO DRIFT OUTWARD (AWAY FROM THE CENTER OF THE SYSTEM).

What is meant by *stimulation* here is either active use in speech or writing, or passive exposure, when words and rules are heard or read (and identified) by the subject.

Rule 1 refers to the phenomenon that when Words are not used, they tend to become less active (if in the Active Zone), then become passive only, then less available as passive entities, and then disappear from the subject's System. Though no precise quantitative assessments can be made, the process is generally rather slow. Under ordinary conditions, it may take months or years

for a Word to be forgotten. In a speaker with a good command of the language, the process is much slower for Rules than for Words (one reason being that they are much smaller in number, and most of them are stimulated much more frequently).

A corollary of this rule is that, all other things being equal, the more recently a Word or Rule has been acquired, the closer in it is (see Matthei and Roeper 1985: 184). The reason is that the Centrifugal Effect has had less time to act on recently acquired entities.

Rule 2: The Centripetal Effect of stimulation

WHEN USED, WORDS AND RULES TEND TO MOVE INWARD.

When a Word or Rule is heard or read (*passive stimulation*), or used by the subject in oral discourse or in a written text (*active stimulation*), it becomes more available for passive and/or active use. This migration is very rapid as compared to the centrifugal effect: a newly learned Word can become very active within minutes. On the other hand, it is quite possible that the outward migration of Words which migrated inward rapidly is faster than that of Words that became more available in a long, slow process. This sequence, comprising a rapid centripetal progression followed by a slower centrifugal migration, is often found in terminological preparation for conferences: interpreters achieve within hours or even minutes high active and passive availability for technical terms they had never encountered before; this lasts for the duration of the conference, after which they may forget these terms in a few days to a few weeks.

Rule 3: Stimulation frequency and the Centripetal Effect

THE MORE FREQUENTLY WORDS AND RULES ARE USED, THE STRONGER THE CENTRIPETAL EFFECT.

Words used very frequently tend to become more available than Words or Rules used less frequently.

I have found no direct description of this process in the literature, but the dependency between frequency of stimulation and ease of perception is well documented, with statements to the effect that:

- the frequency of occurrence of a word in a language affects the time it takes to gain access to that word in the mental lexicon (Matthei and Roeper 1985: 182);

- frequently used words are perceived more easily and read more rapidly (Miller 1956: 272–273);
- word frequency plays an important role in coding and decoding (Leeson 1975: 116);
- rare words are "more difficult to process" (Clark and Clark 1977: 56);
- the more frequent a linguistic element, the more "deeply it is rooted in the psyche of the individual and the community" (Mahmoudian 1982: 189).

However, frequency of stimulation should not be regarded as the only important factor affecting the Centripetal Effect. In particular, *automatic* repetition without a context and without cognitive operations does not appear to be very efficient. It seems that some processing has to be involved for the Centripetal Effect to occur, as is the case in actual comprehension or production circumstances. It is also possible that there are particular repetition intervals that produce the strongest Centripetal Effect, rather than an ever-increasing repetition frequency. Nevertheless, for practical purposes in the context of linguistic skill enhancement for interpretation purposes, the *frequency-in-context rule* seems to be the best approximation. (See, for example, a study reported by Biderman and Ravazzi 1984, in which the frequency of word repetition was found to be a very strong predictor of memorization in students.)

Rule 4: The Centripetal Effect of active vs. passive stimulation

ACTIVE STIMULATION OF A WORD OR RULE HAS A STRONGER CENTRIPETAL EFFECT THAN PASSIVE STIMULATION.

Using a Word or Rule when speaking or writing pushes it more strongly toward the Nucleus than reading or hearing and decoding it. This rule is well known in foreign language teaching and provides justification for the numerous active drill exercises in language classes. Combined with Rule 5, it has strong implications in professional practice, as explained in section 3.7.

Rule 5: The Escort Effect and Interference Effect

THE CENTRIPETAL MIGRATION OF A WORD OR RULE GENERATES THE CENTRIPETAL MIGRATION OF OTHER WORDS OR RULES ASSOCIATED WITH IT.

When a Word becomes more available, other Words that sound or look similar, or that have been associated with it psychologically (through a learning situa-

tion, an emotional situation, etc.) also tend to become more available. The phenomenon is also noted in the linguistic literature (see Costermans 1980: 20).

This rule is very important with respect to both lexical acquisition and lexical maintenance: it suggests that although the initial acquisition of one particular Word may take some time and repeated active or passive stimulation, the initial acquisition of other Words closely related to it (for instance grammatical variations thereof, or other Words having the same etymological root) will be much faster; it also suggests that the use of one Word will not only push it toward the Nucleus or slow down its centrifugal drift, but will also have a similar effect on other Words associated with it.

Another important fact is that the Escort Effect crosses interlinguistic boundaries. For instance, in the group that escorts the inward migration of the French Word *"contrôleur"*, one can expect to find Words such as the English "control" and "controller", the German *"Kontrolle"* and *"kontrollieren"*, etc. In particular, the Escort Effect accounts for the comparative speed at which adults can learn foreign languages, especially as regards scientific and technical Words, which often have common roots in each family of languages. Conversely, it also explains why persons who have achieved a high level of proficiency in a language related to their own in a very short time may struggle for years with an unrelated language and show relatively little progress (see Gile 1988b for the case of Japanese learned by a Westerner).

The negative side of the Escort Effect is *linguistic interference*, already mentioned several times in this volume: linguistic interference may induce the interpreter or translator to use a Word incorrectly as regards its meaning or connotation; to distort its meaning, sound, or spelling; or even to use a Word from the wrong language in the middle of a speech or text. For instance, in the ongoing experiment mentioned in section 1 of chapter 7, one interpreter translated "They think you're stupid or you're foolish" (third example given in section 1) into *"ils peuvent penser que vous êtes stupide ou fou"* (stupid or insane). The error is most probably due to the phonetic similarity between "foolish" and *"fou"*.

Interference phenomena in interpretation and translation are not the same as in foreign language learning. Conference interpreters and professional high-level translators are well-educated individuals with a very good command of their working languages. Furthermore, by training, they are very much aware of the dangers of linguistic interference and constantly endeavor to avoid it. It follows that although some gross interference may occasionally be found in the booth or in translations, most of it is subtler and less salient. In particular, what might be called *silent interference* may be frequent and is very difficult to detect. Silent interference, as defined here, is interference not manifest through a visible, significant alteration of the lexical or syntactic output in the target language. It can involve some slowing down of speech production due to increased processing associated with the filtering out of possible interfering language Words and Rules. It can also narrow the range of Words and Rules used by speakers, as they are eliminating those which they suspect may be due to interference. Silent interference is difficult to detect not only because its symptoms are not very salient, but also because other factors may induce similar phenomena. For instance, according to Meier 1964 (quoted by Hörmann 1972), *lexical restriction* occurs under stress. Finally, anti-interference control as it is practiced by professionals during interpreting undoubtedly increases the processing capacity requirements of the production component, and may induce more fatigue and related effects (see chapter 7) that are difficult to ascribe directly to linguistic interference.

3.5 *The Gravitational Model and interpretation*

An obvious requirement of interpreters is that they have *enough* Words, in both the Active and the Passive Zones, to comprehend and produce speech in a conference situation. With respect to *standard general language*, this condition is, at least theoretically, always met in competent conference interpreters. Problems may arise in nonstandard general language (regional dialects, slang, etc.), literary language, or specialized language. The latter category is particularly important, as it makes up much of the vocabulary of conferences and cannot be learned once and for all, both because of its extent (hundreds of thousands to more than a million lexical units in each language in the various scientific and technical fields), and because it is constantly changing (see chapter 6).

Second, since interpretation is performed under heavy time pressure, only highly available Words are useful. As a rule, Words encountered occasionally and understood or available for speech production only after a comparatively large amount of processing (which may only take a second or a fraction of a second, but still involves a significantly longer process than the retrieval of highly available Words) cannot be used in interpretation, as they may take up valuable processing capacity and time and lead to serious problems (see chapter 7).

This means that interpreters in the booth do not use all their vocabulary, but only a relevant subset of the Words they know. This in turn may lead to further *polarization* of their System as compared to that of an ordinary speaker: in both the Active Zone and the Passive Zone, a number of highly available Words may be maintained in close Orbits by frequent stimulation, while the number of Words of medium availability is smaller than in an ordinary speaker (because most Words are either pushed inward by frequent repetition because they are relevant, or drift away because they are not used often enough); and the number of low-availability words may be somewhat higher in the interpreter than in the ordinary speaker.

This polarization may not be very significant in the language of the country the interpreter lives in, because in that language, the environment offers natural and balanced stimulation similar to that which non-interpreters are exposed to. In a working language not spoken in the interpreter's country of residence, however, the phenomenon may be more significant. Some interpreters who are known to have a solid B language in the booth seem to use only basic vocabulary plus technical terms in that language (for the time being, this remains an impression, as it has not been investigated empirically). Beyond the professionally relevant Sector of their vocabulary, the availability of Words, and even the knowledge of Words in such individuals, may be significantly lower than what could be expected from educated adults displaying an apparently good command of the language while interpreting.

The *relevance* of Words to the needs of interpreting is an important question, in terms of both initial vocabulary acquisition and maintenance. Although there are countless glossaries of technical terms, no study of the basic non-technical vocabulary used in conferences has ever been published. Interpreters reading books, newspapers, and magazines in non-native working languages with which they seem to have no difficulty in the interpreting booth, do encounter words unknown to them but familiar to native speakers. This suggests that the theoretical requirements for native-like command of working languages may be highly exaggerated, on the one hand, and non-optimized on the other: an *ordinary* native-like System (a native-like System not specifically representing the case of conference interpreters) may contain a significant proportion of Words which are not useful in interpretation, while useful Words may not be available enough. This also has some implications for language acquisition and maintenance methods, as explained in section 3.7.

Another important point is that linguistic availability for *written language* is generally not the same as availability for *oral language*. The two systems are obviously correlated, both because they reflect the same root language and because of the Escort Effect between them, but:

- The vocabulary and Rules of written language differ from those of spoken language. Differences are more or less marked depending on the language and on the verbal habits of the speaker, as a function of sociolinguistic factors (professional occupation, socio-economic class, etc.). This means that Words are not stimulated equally in the oral and written Systems, depending on their relative frequency in spoken vs. written language.
- Word recognition in speeches is based on sound, while Word recognition in texts is based on images (although mental sound reconstruction may be involved in visual recognition and vice versa). In languages having a phonetic writing system, this may not have a very strong effect. In languages using ideograms and pictograms, however, the situation is quite different, because the association between meaning, visual aspect, and sound is not as strong. In particular, in Japanese it is possible to understand written words without knowing how to pronounce them. Thus the Escort Effect may play no role in the stimulation of the oral System from passive exposure in the written system, which is one of the reasons for the rather slow progress of Japanese vocabulary acquisition for oral use in a foreign learner (as discussed in Gile 1988b).

Another characteristic feature of the vocabulary of conference interpreters is the richness and high volatility of its technical component: interpreters encounter and use many thousands of technical terms in the course of their careers at a rate of a few dozen to a few hundred at each conference. Subjects cover an extremely wide range of human activities, virtually limitless: no activity is theoretically excluded if it involves people who do not speak the same language but want to communicate, provided some money is available to pay for the service. It follows that interpreters have a much wider technical vocabulary than most individuals, but with a large volatile component, as technical terms tend to be forgotten rather rapidly (which may be due to infrequent stimulation because of the long intervals between conferences on the same subject).

3.6 *Interpretation vs. translation*

The theoretical differences between interpreters, literary translators, and technical translators arising from professional use of their working languages, i.e. from stimulation occurring during their work, can be analyzed as follows.

With respect to active languages:
Translators have time for both text production and text comprehension. Therefore, Words on distant Orbits, which require too much time and processing capacity for use in interpretation, can be and indeed are used in translation. One may therefore assume that as regards general vocabulary, more Words are pushed inward by active use in translation than in interpretation, which in turn would suggest that the translator's Active Zone is richer. Putting it differently, the translator's Active Zone has a higher density than the interpreter's. Paradoxically, Words initially too distant to be useful for interpretation may be retrieved and used repeatedly in a target-language text *during translation*, and thus be pushed into a closer Orbit of the Active Zone and become operational for interpretation as well. This is a possible benefit of translation work or practice for interpreters. *Lexical restriction* resulting from processing capacity limitations is probably stronger in a B language than in an A language, because the availability of Words is presumably lower in B than in A, which would restrict even further the number of Words actually used during interpretation. Incidentally, this restriction can be assumed to be stronger in simultaneous than in consecutive, because of the differences in speech production constraints as explained in chapter 7.

As regards *technical Words*, interpreters generally receive stimulation in a wider area (or Sector) than translators, but technical translators receive more stimulation in their fields of specialization. Such Sectors may be more active and denser in translators than in interpreters. In technical Sectors, stimulation resulting from professional interpretation or translation practice is both active and passive, and extends over both Active and Passive Zones.

To summarize, as regards general vocabulary, the largest number of Words stimulated actively during interpretation and translation is probably to be found in *literary translators*, followed by *technical translators* and *interpreters* in their A language, followed in turn by interpreters in their B language. With respect to specialized vocabulary, *interpreters* probably benefit from stimulation of the largest number of Words, followed by *technical translators* in their specialty fields, followed by *literary translators*.

It is worth noting, however, that the technical translator's technical vocabulary, while not as wide as the interpreter's, is probably less volatile. This is due to the fact that translators tend to work within a narrower range of disciplines, and requirements for accuracy in terminological usage force them to study each term in greater depth, resulting in more repetitions, both active and passive, when reading the term's definition, checking it in several texts, copying it into a terminological file or glossary, etc.

With respect to passive languages:
As far as general language is concerned, the difference between technical translators and interpreters regarding the *number* of Words stimulated in work is probably smaller in passive languages than in active languages, if only because interpreters often listen to or interpret speeches that are read from written texts. On the other hand, interpreting does involve much traveling with concomitant linguistic exchanges in the interpreter's passive languages; this provides some active stimulation from which translators may not benefit to the same extent. It follows that in passive languages, the general vocabulary of interpreters may be more active than that of translators. This of course does not apply to the case where translators live in a country where one of their passive languages is spoken, in which case it is stimulated by routine exchanges.

As regards specialized vocabulary, the observations made for active languages also apply to passive languages.

Last, but most clear-cut, since most of the stimulation in translation acts on the written System, there may be a much larger difference between the written and oral Systems in translators than in interpreters. The latter benefit not only from oral stimulation, but also from writing-related stimulation because of the large mass of written material used in preparation for and during most conferences.

3.7 *The Gravitational Model and language proficiency enhancement for interpretation purposes*

The most direct applications of the Gravitational Model for interpretation students reside in its value as a guiding conceptual framework for action toward language proficiency enhancement, especially in interpretation; it is less critical in translation, especially in the case of translation into one's A language.

1. In attempts to bring the language proficiency of students up to the required level for interpretation purposes, clearly, *relevant* Words should receive the highest priority.

   Materials selected should therefore have a high proportion of relevant Words. In this respect, conference recordings and transcripts are ideal, as they are relevant by definition. At the other extreme of the spectrum, poetry is not relevant. Neither is discourse in very colloquial language. In-between are materials whose relevance is variable, but difficult to assess because of the lack of lexicometric studies on the subject.

2. Ideally, stimulation frequency should be high for the weakest relevant Words and Rules, i.e., those which are in distant Orbits.

   This requirement runs contrary to a natural lexicometric distribution law: in any natural language, a small number of high-frequency Words represent a very large proportion of Words in texts or speeches, and as one moves away from these toward lower frequency Words, their proportion in the texts or speeches drops dramatically. The result is that common Words, known even to individuals having a comparatively poor vocabulary in the language under consideration, tend to be used repeatedly, while Words with a lower frequency, which are the ones interpreters are likely to need to bring closer to the Nucleus, are stimulated rarely. This relationship between rank frequency of Words and frequency of occurrence has been well documented for a long time (Kaeding 1897, Meier 1964, Thorndike and Lorge 1944, Zipf 1949). For instance, in a German corpus analyzed by Meier, the 30 most frequent words accounted for 30% of the total mass of words, and 50% of this total mass was made up of the 200 most frequent words, whereas 217,000 words accounted for less than 4% of the total. This means that the most frequent Words are probably also the most available because of their frequent use, whereas less frequent Words are stimulated much more rarely and may therefore actually drift away from the Nucleus, or even be forgotten and have to be learned again at each encounter.

   This is a particular instance of the law of diminishing returns which explains why simple linguistic immersion can be very profitable in the initial stages of the language learning process, and then become less and less effective for enhancing lexical command of a foreign language.

   It follows that in order for stimulation to be most effective, it may be best to use inter alia 'artificial' Texts designed specifically for linguistic enhancement purposes, in which Words occur at intervals calculated so as to provide good stimulation to relevant Words not frequently stimulated in authentic Texts. Such Texts exist for elementary foreign language learning levels, but there seem to be none for the high level which is the student interpreter's starting point, and there are no apropriate lexicometric data on which to base the preparation of such materials.

3. Conference interpretation involves mostly oral use of language. Since the oral and written Systems are separate, priority should be given to oral rather than to written stimulation.

   It follows that attending lectures and international conferences or listening to the radio is theoretically more efficient than reading written material. However, this must be weighed against possible differences in access to material and in the density of relevant Words and Rules: written language tends to have a higher density of specialized Words than spoken language.

4. Since active stimulation tends to be stronger than passive stimulation, for optimum efficiency, students should be encouraged to *speak* rather than listen.

   On the other hand, it is more difficult to generate the production of a sufficiently large mass of Words of sufficient variety than to find such a mass in *other people's* speech or writing. From this viewpoint, speaking is not very effective. One way of circumventing this difficulty may be the use of *shadowing*, that is the repetition of speech after a speaker while he or she is speaking. This exercise involves listening and some production effort—admittedly, not the same as in self-induced production—and provides the same variety and mass of Words as that of the original speech.

5. Language proficiency enhancement efforts in a C language should be based on passive rather than active stimulation, so as to limit linguistic interference between this and other languages.

6. Last but not least, in order for stimulation to be efficient, it should be highly repetitive. In view of the differences in Word frequencies in any language, this means a *large* mass of Words.

These theoretical considerations lead to the following practical principles for linguistic skill enhancement:

1. Student interpreters or interpreters wishing to add a new language to their language combination should conduct their efforts over a period of at least several months, and preferably more than a year. At the end of this period they will not have reached maximum proficiency, but may expect to reach a minimum operational level if their starting level is good enough. Reaching optimal proficiency probably requires several years of endeavors.

2. Linguistic immersion in the country of their weak language is one option. However, such immersion needs to be directed to the proper contexts if it is to be profitable. In particular, students should try to attend lectures and conferences, read much relevant material, and listen to the radio and television. Incidentally, thanks to shortwave radio broadcasts and cable and satellite TV, the latter can often be done in the students' own country, where living conditions and other environmental conditions may be more conducive to study than abroad (see Gile 1991c on shortwave listening).

3. Making use of the potential offered by such an environment involves *active* efforts rather than a passive attitude. Speeches and texts should be scanned for unfamiliar Words and Rules, which should then be listed, practiced actively if possible, and reviewed. Whenever cassettes can be made, they should be played repeatedly and shadowed occasionally.

4. When it comes to choosing material, its linguistic aspect is more important than its thematic content. Therefore highly specialized texts and speeches can be used even if the student is not familiar with the subject. However, they should be selected so as to be relevant to the interpreter's future needs. For instance, tropical agriculture should have a much higher priority than European affairs in an African student's case, while the opposite is true for a student from Europe. No subject is excluded, and it is not unlikely that European interpreters will deal with tropical agriculture and African interpreters with European affairs at least once in the course of their careers, but because of time constraints and because of the centrifugal drift, it is more efficient to deal with statistically more relevant vocabulary first.

5. As explained above, students should seek to maximize the volume of linguistic material they encounter. Besides highly concentrated exercises and highly relevant materials, other materials and situations can be useful, if not as effective: the low frequency of occurrence of low-ranking Words can be partly compensated for by an increase in the sheer mass of Words stimulated during the process. Knowing that the Words they need most are relatively infrequent, subjects can strive to spend much time reading, writing, talking, and listening, and thus increase the frequency of occurrence of these Words in absolute terms. This, however, does not apply to Words which are very rare, for which specific texts and situations may have to be sought.

   When lexicometric studies of conference vocabulary become available, specific material could be prepared, with deviations from the naturally occurring frequencies so as to ensure frequent stimulation of relevant Words in a controlled progression.

4. The language specificity of interpretation

As mentioned elsewhere in this book, some theoreticians consider that interpreting is an intellectual task which, when working languages are well mastered, transcends them (Seleskovitch 1975). Some even claim that practitioners only rarely notice specific interlingual differences while interpreting, since "ideas which are expressed clearly pose no comprehension or reformulation problems" (Seleskovitch 1977). Other authors hold a different opinion. Most of them refer to the specificity of interpretation between German and French (Ilg 1978, Wilss 1978, Le Ny 1978), or Japanese and English (Fukuii and Asano 1961, Kunihiro, Nishiyama, and Kanayama 1969). It should be noted that those denying that interpretation is language-specific are not always consistent in their assertions. For instance, Seleskovitch does advocate structuring the notes in consecutive as a function of the target language, which amounts to an acknowledgment of some language specificity in consecutive (1981: 40).

The issue has important implications for training. If interpretation is language-specific, training should include specific strategies and tactics, as

suggested for instance by Ilg (1978) for German-into-French consecutive interpreting, and by Pinhas (1976) for interpretation from French into English. If it is not, general strategies and training applicable to all languages should be enough. This would justify in particular the training of interpreters with a small number of specific practice hours in the classroom (as is the case of Japanese at ESIT; see Gile 1990c). The second part of this chapter discusses possible interlingual differences beyond those already mentioned in section 4.4 of chapter 7 with respect to anticipation.

4.1 *Potential differences in speech perception*

Those who oppose the idea that interpretation is language-specific say that speech comprehension is the same in interpretation as it is in everyday conditions, and that it is the same in all languages (Lederer 1981b, Seleskovitch 1981). This statement can be challenged on a number of grounds, explained in section 2.1 of chapter 7. This section, which discusses the Listening and Analysis Effort, recalls that comprehension during interpreting is often a difficult and critical task, which is likely to make it sensitive to small language-specific differences that may not have any significant implications under normal comprehension conditions.

4.1.1 *Differences in the perception of Words*

Content words, that is, mostly nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs, are important carriers of information in language. Such words may be statistically different between languages in terms of length and phonetic richness, which makes them more or less redundant and more or less vulnerable to a momentary lapse of attention in the interpreter (see chapter 7).

From this viewpoint, Chinese words as well as Japanese *kango* (mostly words written with Chinese characters) are probably more vulnerable than content words in most European languages, as they combine shortness with limited phonological variety as well as a high rate of homophony (a large percentage of words in Japanese vocabulary are pronounced identically). The findings of a study by Gile (1986) seem to corroborate the idea that Japanese *kango* do pose at least occasional problems in speech comprehension which are not found to the same extent in languages such as English, French, German, or Spanish.

4.1.2 *Grammatical redundancies*

Grammatical redundancies decrease the information density of language and offer a second, third, or fourth chance to recover information lost during the initial oral presentation.

For example:

- In "Five children", the ending "-en" provides a second time the information that there is more than one child.
- In *"La nouvelle directrice"*, the information that the "director" is a woman is provided three times: through *"la"* (as opposed to *"le"*), through the ending *"-elle"* in *"nouvelle"* (as opposed to *"nouveau"*), and in the ending *"-trice"* in *"directrice"* (as opposed to *"directeur"*).

In some languages, grammatical redundancies are more frequent than in others. Again, in both Chinese and Japanese, such redundancies are much less frequent than in most European languages; and even in European languages, some contain a complex system of declensions (Finnish, German, Greek, Slavic languages), while in others they have practically disappeared (English, languages derived from Latin, etc.).

4.1.3 *Syntactic structures*

It is a common view among psycholinguists that some syntactic structures facilitate comprehension, and others make it more difficult by increasing the anticipation capability of the comprehender or by increasing processing capacity requirements, in particular with respect to short-term memory (see for instance Richaudeau 1973, 1981). Embedded structures, in particular, seem to impose an important short-term memory effort on the comprehender ("The man whose dog was chewing the bone that I had dropped a minute ago was reading a newspaper in German"). In some languages where determining elements tend to precede words and word groups that they determine, such as German and Japanese, there are many embedded sequences, which may make their comprehension quantitatively and possibly even qualitatively different from comprehension in languages where such sequences are few, insofar as analysis and short-term storage tactics may differ in speech comprehenders. The issue is complex and I am not aware of studies that have tackled the problem, but I believe there is no reason to rule out the possibility that such differences exist.

4.1.4 *Sociolinguistic aspects of language*

Besides each speaker's individual style, there are cultural components which determine to a varying extent the way information is expressed in each language.

In this respect, differences between the allegedly Cartesian style of the French; the formal, punctilious style of the Germans; and the more informal style of the Americans are sometimes mentioned. The alleged sociolinguistic characteristics of the Japanese seem to correspond more clearly to actual phenomena in the field. Some relevant principles of human communication between the Japanese are well known and have been documented extensively (see for instance Condon and Saito 1974, Mizutani 1981, and the analyses of two conference interpreters, Hara 1988 and Kondo 1988). These include a certain unwillingness to take responsibility and to express personal opinions clearly; the Japanese also tend not to make very explicit statements about 'objective' information, and mutual understanding achieved without words is valued highly. All these are manifest in elliptic sentences, unfinished sentences, ambiguous structures. The Japanese also take much liberty with their language, in particular in lexical usage (see for instance Gile 1984a). All these produce comprehension difficulties, possibly more significantly than in French, English, or German, although no quantitative comparison seems to have been attempted to date.

Finally, a particularly interesting example of language specificity is that of predictable sentence endings, which, as explained in section 4.4 of chapter 7, may lower significantly the processing capacity load in interpreting. Predictable sentence endings may occur in any language for purely semantic reasons, but at least as regards linguistic anticipation, they are much more frequent in Japanese than in German, and significantly more frequent in German than in English or French (Gile 1992a).

4.2 Differences in production

Differences in production efforts are more difficult to demonstrate than difficulties in comprehension: production depends on the individual interpreter's selection of linguistic tools most available to him or her, and not on the selection of linguistic components *by the speaker* who must be followed, as is the case in comprehension. Selection of lexical items and grammatical decision-making may be more difficult in one language than in another because of

differences in the variety of possible choices and in the flexibility of linguistic rules: a very wide vocabulary as opposed to a more restricted one, flexible or rigid lexical usage, or the number of possible escape routes in sentence structuring in case the source language leads to an unexpected segment and forces one to reconsider one's options. For instance, when translating into French the sentence

In the previous seminar, given last year, participants were shown why ...,

interpreters may find themselves in trouble if they follow the speaker and start with

Lors du précédent colloque, l'année dernière, les participants ont ...,

the reason being that French verbs that could come under consideration to render the idea carried by "shown," such as *"montrer"* or *"enseigner"*, cannot be put in the passive form as in English. The situation is not hopeless; the idea can still be reformulated with "... *ont appris pourquoi* ..." or "... *ont pu voir pourquoi* ...," but this choice may require more processing capacity than the selection of a verb which could be put in the passive form. In Japanese, there are convenient escape routes at several junctures in the sentence.

This is not an independent production problem, and no demonstration has been made to the effect that production is more difficult in some languages than in others. However, under the conditions of simultaneous interpreting, choices *may* be wider and easier in some languages than in others.

Another language-specific factor is the *similarity* or *dissimilarity* between the source language and the target language in lexical, syntactic, and general informational terms. Lexically, a phonetic or morphological similarity between the source-language word and a target-language word may accelerate the retrieval of an appropriate target-language word—even if it needs to be checked for interference. Syntactic similarity also means there is less risk involved in anticipation, and in shadowing the syntactic structures of the source speech. Such shadowing is associated with the risk of falling prey to linguistic interference, but in critical cases, such as extreme speed or informational density, it may become appropriate (see chapter 7, section 2.2). As for informational dissimilarity, as explained in chapter 3, it is particularly problematic when differences in Linguistically Induced Information between the source language and the target language force the interpreter to choose roundabout ways to avoid providing the information required in the target language

but not available in the source language, to spend some processing capacity in deciding that it is acceptable to leave out some of the source-language information, or to weigh the risks and make a decision based on an educated guess. Another point regarding syntactic and informational similarities has to do with the *order of presentation of information* in the two languages involved. If the order is different, this may involve a higher workload for the short-term memory component M, as information has to be stored for a while before it can be reformulated in the target language (see section 4.2 of chapter 7).

4.3 Implications for training

While language specificity in interpretation has by no means been demonstrated, arguments in favor of the hypothesis seem strong, especially with respect to the implications of syntactic differences between the source language and the target language in simultaneous interpreting. For many practitioners and teachers of interpreting, this has always been taken for granted. Counter-claims from a minority, albeit a very vocal one, were dominant in the literature from the early 1970s to the mid 1980s.

The non-specificity thesis has helped refocus the attention of interpretation teachers on issues such as attention, analysis, memory, and communication variables rather than on linguistic issues, and *can* therefore be considered to have had some positive impact. However, I believe, as does Ilg (1980), that its proponents have gone too far and denied the linguistic aspects of interpreting their rightful role.

The issue is by no means purely academic. Underestimating the importance of the linguistic aspects of interpreting may lead to inappropriate strategies which deprive students of useful training components. Experience shows that students can learn the basic mechanisms of consecutive interpretation even in monolingual programs—that is, when they are trained with exercises in which they interpret from one language *into the same language* (Feldweg 1980, 1989; Gile 1983a). However, the question remains whether teaching the basic mechanisms is *enough* to produce *fully operational interpreters* in their specific language combinations. On the basis of conversations with interpretation instructors from a large number of countries, I feel that most teachers believe that such basic mechanisms need to be fine-tuned in a language-specific context before they can be effectively implemented. When confronted with actual interpretation in their working languages, interpreters who have

been trained in other languages often regress because of linguistic difficulties. They have to retune processes in order to overcome new difficulties and take full advantage of new facilities arising from their new linguistic combinations. For instance, new short-term memory strategies may have to be learned, as well as anti-interference measures. Another point is that it is difficult to assess the performance of students when they are working into languages other than their A language, as it is not easy to discriminate between language-related problems and problems resulting from poor command of interpretation processes and techniques.

When considered from the gain–loss viewpoint, it seems that language-specific training is associated with much potential gain and little potential loss. The gain resides in the possibility of fine-tuning the implementation of principles, thus gaining *practical* experience during initial training. Beyond the implementation of methodological principles, language-specific training provides students with an opportunity to widen their vocabulary and increase the availability of the Words and Rules they will need most often in professional practice. The potential drawback lies in a possible loss of perspective, causing the student to focus on linguistic rather than methodological issues, and to mistake the latter for the former. This risk is probably low, however, if a solid consecutive interpreting foundation precedes training in simultaneous, as consecutive interpreting naturally promotes sound interpretation *methods*, away from excessive weighting of linguistic aspects. This is a strong argument in favor of having interpreter training start with consecutive. In conclusion, it seems highly desirable to provide language-specific training to students, at least during the latter half of interpretation courses.

Gran, Laura & Alessandra, Riccardi
(a cura di) (1997)
Nuovi orientamenti negli studi sull'interpretazione
Giornata di studi, 19 aprile 1996.
Padova: CLUEP, pp. 219-235.

ORIENTAMENTI CULTURALI E INTERPRETAZIONE

David Katan

Il presente articolo analizza il valore che, in un evento comunicativo, assume il contesto culturale. L'assunto di base è che il contesto, che incide sul significato, viene sempre interpretato sulla base di un *frame* (cornice): tale concetto, formulato inizialmente da Gregory Bateson negli anni '40, venne poi elaborato nel corso degli anni da molti studiosi, tra i quali Ervin Goffman (1974) e Deborah Tannen (1993).

Il *frame* fissa i limiti entro cui si genera il significato, che tende a variare una volta superato tale *frame* di interpretazione. Sebbene possa essere efficacemente paragonato alla cornice di un quadro, il *frame* è in realtà un costrutto psicologico (Bateson 1972: 187) e soprattutto:

> [...] *there may be no explicit verbal reference to the frame, and the subject may have no consciousness of it*[1].

La correlazione esistente tra *frame* e cultura assume una notevole importanza per l'interprete. Qualora il contesto non sia chiaro e non sia condiviso dagli interlocutori, la comunicazione viene meno a tre livelli:

1. percezione
2. interpretazione
3. valutazione

Il compito dell'interprete è quello di far sì che tutti gli interlocutori, in quanto appartenenti a culture diverse, possano:

Percepire — ciò che viene espresso e sottinteso
↓
Interpretare ← il modo in cui il messaggio viene espresso e sottinteso
↓
Valutare — il motivo dell'esprimere e del sottintendere
↓

in condizioni simili a quelle che vedono due parlanti appartenenti alla stessa cultura comunicare tra loro.

---

1 [...] può non esserci un riferimento verbale esplicito al *frame*, e il soggetto può anche non esserne consapevole. (Se non diversamente indicato, la traduzione è dell'autore).

Nelle seguenti sezioni si potrà osservare come diversi *frame* possano incidere sull'evento comunicativo.

Il contesto

Si consideri innanzitutto il contesto più immediato e manifesto, il cosiddetto *contesto situazionale* che, secondo molti autori, tra i quali Malinowski (1994), costituisce un elemento essenziale della comunicazione. Esso definisce il significato, dove per significato si intende il quadro mentale che l'interlocutore si forma ascoltando il messaggio e l'effetto cognitivo che esso produce. Si consideri a titolo di esempio questa affermazione inventata:

> Ritengo che un po' di ribellione ogni tanto faccia bene e sia necessaria nel mondo umano quanto le tempeste lo sono in quello fisico.

Questa frase può essere agevolmente tradotta in qualsiasi lingua, eppure il suo signifcato varierà considerevolmente a seconda dell'emittente, del contesto e del ricevente. Si può ad esempio supporre che essa sia stata formulata da due parlanti tra loro molto diversi: il principe Charles e Vladimir Ilych Lenin.

Ogni singola parola può variare di significato a seconda del contesto situazionale, del *frame* di riferimento. È chiaro che il sostantivo *ribellione* presenta due diverse connotazioni perché inserito in due diversi contesti: per rendere manifesto il *frame* di riferimento si rende dunque necessario chiarire quale significato assume *un po' di ribellione* per l'emittente, ad esempio per Lenin. La risposta con tutta probabilità sarebbe quella della lotta armata e della lotta della classe operaia contro la borghesia in tutto il mondo. Il significato attribuito dal principe Carlo allo stesso sostantivo potrebbe invece indicare una concezione più inglese della ribellione.

Se si considera la forma avverbiale *ogni tanto* e si chiarisce quale significato le potrebbe essere attribuito da Lenin, il *frame* temporale risulterebbe quello della storia, dei secoli; il principe Carlo farebbe invece riferimento al *frame* di alcuni mesi o anni, o della sua vita. La chiave di interpretazione del contesto è sempre data dal *frame* che chiarisce il significato attribuito alle parole dall'emittente. L'esempio appena visto non rappresenta un problema per l'interprete poichè il contesto è manifesto. È chiaro a tutti che *ribellione* e *ogni tanto* presentano diversi significati e devono essere interpretati secondo un diverso sistema. Tuttavia, quando si parla di culture diverse, sebbene il contesto sia lo stesso (uomini d'affari che discutono una *joint venture* o partecipanti a un conferenza medica internazionale), esiste un ulteriore *frame*, o meglio un *meta-frame* di interpretazione delle singole parole espresse e dello stesso contesto situazionale

Orientamenti

Designato dagli antropologi con nomi diversi, questo *meta-frame* viene concordemente descritto come un filtro attraverso cui la realtà viene percepita: tale filtro predispone un individuo o più individui appartenenti ad una stessa cultura a interpretare il mondo circostante in base a un certo numero di orientamenti alternativi (due o tre). Florence Kluckhohn (Kluckhohn e Strodtbeck 1961: 10-20) fu una dei primi antropologi a formulare questo concetto, coniando il termine *orientamento di valori* (*value orientations*) di cui diede la seguente definizione:

> *Value orientations are complex but definitely patterned (rank-ordered) principles, resulting from the transactional interplay of three analytically distinguishable elements of the evaluative process [...] 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'.*[2]

Secondo Kluckhohn, se è vero che ogni cultura tende a prediligere un particolare orientamento, che risulta dunque quello dominante, è anche vero che tutti gli altri orientamenti incideranno comunque in quella data società.

I cinque orientamenti culturali individuati dall'antropologa americana sono i seguenti:

1. Qual è la natura del comportamento umano?
   Orientamento della natura umana (Human Nature Orientation)
2. Come si pone l'uomo davanti alla natura (e alle forze spirituali)?
   Orientamento uomo-natura (Man-Nature Orientation)
3. Qual è l'importanza che l'uomo attribuisce al tempo?
   Orientamento rispetto al tempo (Time Orientation)
4. Qual è la natura dell'attività umana?
   Orientamento verso l'attività (Activity Orientation)
5. Qual è la natura delle relazioni interpersonali?
   Orientamento rispetto alle relazioni (Relational Orientation)

Il singolo individuo, come membro di una cultura, tenderà a formarsi una particolare idea, tra le tante possibili, su questi cinque problemi universali. I seguenti esempi chiariranno questo principio. Kluckhohn ritiene che tutte le culture tendano ad elaborare una propria concezione della natura umana: essa può essere intrinsecamente buona, cattiva o né buona né cattiva. Esistono culture che

2 Gli orientamenti di valori sono principi complessi ma precisamente organizzati (ordinati gerarchicamente), derivanti dal gioco transazionale di tre elementi del processo di valutazione distinguibili analiticamente [...] che danno ordine e direzione al flusso senza fine di atti e pensieri umani legati alla risoluzione di problemi 'comuni all'umanità'.

si pongono nei confronti della natura in una posizione di controllo (la cultura nordamericana ad esempio), o ne sono soggiogati (le culture arabe), o ancora culture che vivono in armonia con essa (gli Indiani d'America e i Giapponesi).

Gli interlocutori con orientamenti di valori diversi potranno a volte non sapere quale significato attribuire ad un comportamento qualora il *frame* interpretativo non sia completamente chiaro: al riguardo Maurizio Viezzi[3] riporta un esempio tratto da un episodio di interpretazione di conferenza. Ad una conferenza in Italia — una prestigiosa conferenza internazionale di fisica — il direttore del comitato organizzativo, nel suo discorso di apertura, rispettò tutte le formule di rito, ma concluse rivelando un forte orientamento di dipendenza dalla natura e dalle forze spirituali:

> *...and finally I would like to thank Allah, through Whom, and thanks to Whom, I was able to study physics, and without Whom I would never have had the opportunity to do this small amount I have done in my life; praise be to Allah.*

Il direttore era un fisico mussulmano, mentre il pubblico era internazionale ed era presente anche l'on. Andreotti, allora Ministro degli Esteri. Un'interpretazione letterale di questo discorso indirizzato ad un pubblico di fisici e di politici italiani non sarebbe stato in sintonia con il pubblico di una conferenza che riguardava lo studio, se non addirittura il controllo completo sulla natura. Prima di discutere il tipo di approccio che l'interprete deve adottare, è opportuno continuare l'esame degli orientamenti culturali.

Segue l'enumerazione completa degli orientamenti individuati da Kluckhohn e delle relative convinzioni o ambiti di interesse.

Orientamenti in riferimento a...	convinzioni/ambiti di interesse...		
Natura umana	cattiva	buona	né buona né cattiva
Natura	controllo	soggiogazione	armonia
Tempo	passato	presente	futuro
Relazioni interpersonali	individualista	lineare	collaterale
Attività	essere	fare	essere nel divenire

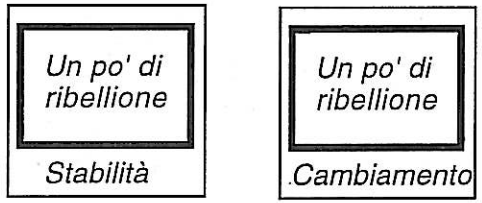
Molti altri antropologhi hanno pubblicato tassonomie di orientamenti da loro elaborate: Fons Trompenaars (1993) si basa sugli orientamenti di Kluckhohn e aggiunge due delle cinque variabili culturali (*five pattern variables*) definite da Talcott Parsons (1982). Hofstede (1991) presenta quattro orientamenti definiti dimensioni (*dimensions*), ripresi da Alex Inkeles and Daniel Levinson (1969: 447), che indicano quattro argomenti che si configurano come comuni problemi universali. Essi sono:

3 Comunicazione personale

Inkeles e Levinson	**Dimensioni culturali individuate da Hofstede**
Relazione con l'autorità	distanza di poteri
Concezione di sé, come individuo, in particolare:	
- Relazione tra l'individuo e la società	individualismo/collettivismo
- Concetto dell'individuo riguardo alla mascolinità e alla femminilità	mascolinità/femminilità
Modo di porsi in caso di conflitti ivi compreso il controllo dell'aggressività e l'espressione delle emozioni	cambiamento/stabilità

Esiste una forte correlazione tra gli orientamenti di Hofstede e quelli di Kluckhohn: la dimensione *cambiamento/stabilità* è, ad esempio, da porre in relazione all'orientamento di valori *tempo*: una cultura radicata nel passato privilegerà la stabilità e non sarà incline al cambiamento. Per contro una società proiettata verso il futuro dovrà per lo meno tollerare l'incertezza. Ritornando al principe Carlo e a Lenin è possibile comprendere meglio la loro concezione della ribellione e del tempo se si tengono presenti due *frame* di orientamento:

Orientamento verso il cambiamento o verso la stabilità:



Interpretato sulla base di un *frame stabilità,* il sintagma nominale 'un po' di ribellione' presenterà una connotazione meno forte di quella prevista da un *frame cambiamento.*

Sia Hofstede che Kluckhohn sono consapevoli del fatto che esiste almeno un'altra dimensione o orientamento relativo al tempo, vale a dire la durata. Come si è potuto notare, il sintagma verbale *ogni tanto* può indicare mesi o secoli a seconda del *frame* temporale considerato. Nel mondo commerciale occidentale *il tempo è denaro*: esso può essere speso, perso, guadagnato ed è pertanto un bene prezioso. Questo vale soprattutto negli Stati Uniti dove la *pianificazione a lungo termine* è intesa come un periodo che va da 2 a 10 anni mentre in Giappone può voler dire 100 anni (Hall 1990: 141). Di fatto Brake, Medina-Walker & Walker (1995: 52) fanno notare:

> Le relazioni annuali giapponesi comprendono progetti per attività che possono essere proiettate nei successivi cento o addirittura duecento-

cinquanta anni. Non è nemmeno insolito in Giappone ottenere un mutuo multi-generazionale per l'acquisto di una casa.

Come è stato sottolineato in precedenza, il significato si determina sulla base di un *frame* che in questo caso è legato alla cultura. Il problema per gli interlocutori e gli interpreti nasce dal fatto che il *frame* culturale è implicito e gran parte degli interlocutori, come nota Bateson, non ne sono consapevoli - mentre l'immediato contesto di situazione è manifesto e pan-culturale. Tale situazione introduce la teoria dell'iceberg.

Teoria dell'iceberg

Da anni questa teoria viene utilizzata per descrivere le diverse culture. Gli studi di Edward Hall — in particolare *Silent Language* (1952, ripubblicato nel 1990) — hanno divulgato negli anni '50 una concezione antropologica della cultura denominata *Silent Language*. Hall fa notare che quella dell'iceberg è una delle molte teorie impiegate per chiarire come la parte più rilevante della cultura sia completamente nascosta e che la parte visibile è, per così dire, *solo la punta dell'iceberg*. Clyde e Florence Kluckhohn parlano di cultura esplicita ed implicita, mentre Ralph Linton distingue tra cultura manifesta e nascosta (si veda Hall 1990). Brake *et al.* (1995: 34-39) hanno elaborato la teoria più recente dell'iceberg suggerendo la seguente suddivisione:

> *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*[4].

Brake *et al.* (1995) individuano dieci orientamenti, derivati da Kluckhohn, Talcott Parsons, Hofstede e Hall. Tra tutte le tassonomie finora elaborate la loro risulta essere la più completa e come indica la figura viene rappresentata come un iceberg la cui parte più visibile è costituita dal linguaggio:

4 Le leggi, i costumi, i rituali, i gesti, il modo di vestire, le bevande ed il cibo, i saluti...fanno parte di una cultura, ma sono solo la punta dell'iceberg.
Gli elementi più forti di una cultura sono situati al di sotto della superficie dell'interazione quotidiana. Li definiamo orientamenti di valori. Gli orientamenti di valori indicano la predilezione per certe esternazioni rispetto ad altre.



Orientamenti nella comunicazione:

Sebbene tutti gli orientamenti incidano sullo stile della comunicazione, l'interprete deve prestare maggiore attenzione a quelli relativi alla comunicazione verbale. Un problema comunicativo nasce dal fatto che la traduzione formale delle parole determinerà una percezione, un'interpretazione ed infine una valutazione del significato legati alla cultura della lingua d'arrivo.

I seguenti orientamenti comunicativi sono un adattamento ed un ampliamento di quelli originariamente discussi da Hall nel suo lavoro sul *contexting* (1983: 59-77). Una più approfondita analisi è stata condotta al riguardo da Katan (1996) e simili osservazioni sono state fatte anche da Musacchio (1995). Lo schema seguente ha lo scopo di evidenziare le diversità negli orientamenti comunicativi tra la lingua inglese (britannico e americano) e quella italiana. È

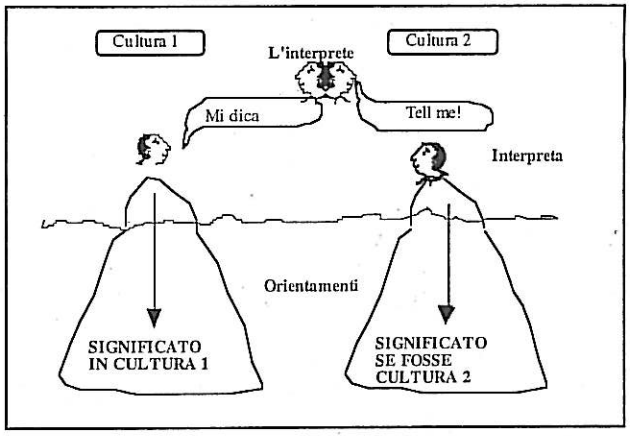
comunque necessario sottolineare che essa presenta due orientamenti estremi. Ogni orientamento è in effetti la rappresentazione di una tendenza generalizzata e, come in Kluckhohn, sarà presente anche l'orientamento variante.

GB/USA	Italia
Orientamento verso...	
il testo	il contesto
il contesto da stabilire	il contesto sottinteso
informazione/transazione	comunicazione/interazione
il compito	il rapporto
stile informale	stile formale
1°/2° persona	3° persona
attivo	passivo
verbalizzazione	nominalizzazione
Forma indiretta per atti illocutori	forma diretta per atti illocutori
neutro	affettivo/emotivo
l'*understatement*/minimizzazione	arricchimento
(litote)	(pleonasma)
orientamento ad ascoltare	orientamento ad esprimersi
alta considerazione	alto coinvolgimento

Anche le differenze tra l'inglese britannico e quello americano sono chiaramente riconoscibili, così come quelle tra Nord e Sud Italia, tra la costa orientale ed occidentale d'America, etc.

È opportuno utilizzare come una guida questo schema, così come tutti quelli formulati da quanti si occupano di comunicazione interculturale, e tenere presente il contesto situazionale ed altri fattori, quali ad esempio il carattere del singolo individuo.

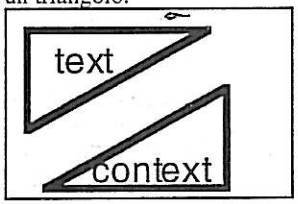
Si consideri ad ogni modo un altro ipotetico esempio. Il seguente diagramma evidenzia come l'affermazione fatta nella lingua della cultura 1 (in italiano, in questo caso) sia stata correttamente resa dall'interprete nella lingua della cultura 2 (inglese), ma poi interpretata secondo il frame della cultura 2. Come si può notare dai diversi orientamenti preferiti dalle due culture (comunicazione immediata/non immediata), l'interprete sarà in parte responsabile della scorretta attribuzione di valore alle parole (vedi anche p. 13).



Nell'ambito del contesto di cultura italiana l'espressione *mi dica* verrà intesa come un invito cortese o una richiesta. Eppure in italiano il testo in sè veicola solo una parte di questa informazione. Parte del significato che si vuole trasmettere è deducibile dal contesto immediato, come ad esempio dalla posizione sociale dell'interlocutore.

Il termine *contexting* viene coniato da Hall nel 1976 in riferimento all'orientamento della comunicazione di una cultura, concetto sviluppato dallo stesso autore nel 1983 (59-77). Il concetto base è che gli individui, i gruppi e le culture (in tempi diversi) attribuiscono priorità differenti in riferimento alla quantità di informazione (testo) che è necessario esplicitare affinchè la comunicazione sia possibile.

In termini di comunicazione, secondo la definizione di Hall (1983: 61), il contesto è *the amount of information the other person can be expected to possess on a given subject*[5], mentre il testo risulta essere *transmitted information*.[6] Si hanno due estremi (teorici), ognuno dei quali rappresentato da un triangolo:

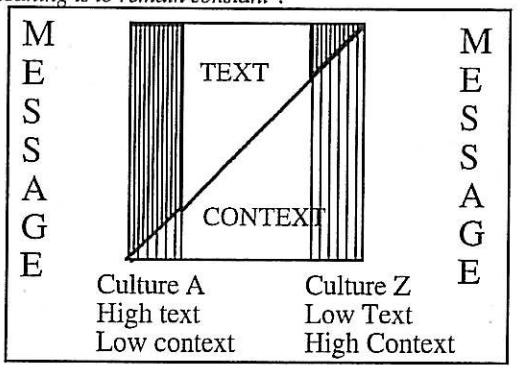


Ad un estremo, tutta l'informazione che deve essere trasmessa è resa visibile o esplicita nel triangolo *testo*, mentre all'altro estremo non si rende necessario alcun testo dato che l'informazione è implicita o è contenuta nel triangolo *contesto*. Il diagramma tratto da Hall dimostra

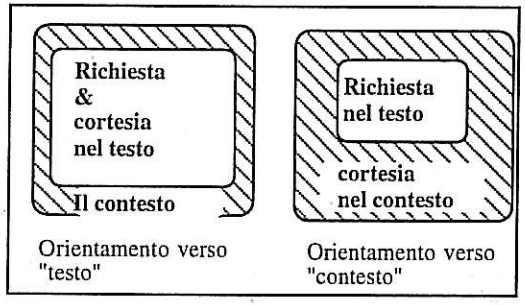
5 La quantità di informazione che si suppone l'altra persona possieda su un dato argomento.

6 L'informazione trasmessa.

come entrambi i triangoli operino insieme in un *continuum* per formare il messaggio. Hall (1983: 61) spiega che: [...] *as context is lost, information must be added if meaning is to remain constant*[7].



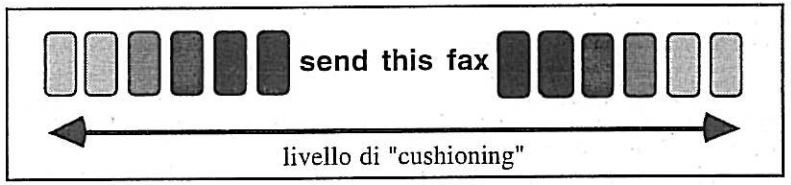
Come hanno notato anche Halliday (1992: 75) e Hasan (1984: 131, 151) la lingua inglese è di per sè molto esplicita, o orientata verso il testo. Ciò che non viene trasmesso attraverso il testo tende ad avere meno rilevanza. Ne deriva che gli indicatori linguistici della cortesia debbano essere maggiormente presenti nel testo inglese rispetto a quello italiano. Il seguente diagramma mostra come operano i due *frame* culturali:



In questo caso esiste anche una forte correlazione tra l'orientamento testo/contesto e la scala dell'orientamento verso una comunicazione immediata/non immediata (sebbene questo non valga per altre culture orientate verso il testo come quella tedesca). Per il fatto che ci si affida al contesto, il linguaggio interazionale può essere diretto in italiano. Per contro, in inglese si rende necessario un

7 [...] in caso di perdita del contesto, è necessario aggiungere informazione se si vuole mantenere lo stesso significato.

approccio più indiretto a causa dell'orientamento maggiore verso il testo e più distante dal contesto; in altre parole si rendono necessarie le strutture-cuscinetto. Questo termine è un'utile metafora per indicare come alcune culture (particolarmente quella britannica) debbano alleggerire l'atto illocutorio attraverso una serie di 'cuscinetti' verbali. Bisogna poi ricordare che il giusto grado di *cushioning* nell'ambito di ogni cultura dipenderà da cinque fattori non culturali e dal più immediato contesto situazionale (Katan 1996: 259). Gli intepreti avranno bisogno, come sempre, di collocare i loro interlocutori in un contesto di cultura e in un contesto di situazione e di tenere presente il giusto grado di *cushioning*. Il numero di strutture-cuscinetto richiesto dipenderà dall'orientamento culturale verso il testo e verso una comunicazione non-immediata:



Segue un diagramma di *equivalenza* ideale tra l'inglese (britannico) e l'italiano. Da notare che il *please* in inglese è un elemento indispensabile (affinché la comunicazione si mantenga sui toni della cortesia) e che esistono molte più opzioni in inglese che indicano l'orientamento verso una comunicazione non immediata.

Send this fax, please.	mi spedisca il fax
Can you...	mi può spedire il fax?
Could you..	mi spedisca il fax, per favore
Do you think you could...	mi potrebbe spedire questo fax?
I wonder if you could...	
I was wondering if I could ask you...	
Do you think I could possibly ask you...	
ecc.	

Nelle culture interazionali la comunicazione immediata implica un linguaggio diretto, il che significa ad esempio che le forme imperative non solo sono tollerate, ma anche apprezzate. Una cultura orientata verso una comunicazione meno diretta tenderà invece a ricorrere nel testo alle strutture cuscinetto. Ne deriva che, *mi dica/tell me* può essere interpretato attraverso il latente *frame* indiretto e quindi interpretato in termini di distanza di poteri, urgenza o persino aggressività.

38

L'orientamento culturale verso una comunicazione immediata e non-immediata è da mettere in relazione all'intera questione del tatto e della diplomazia nella comunicazione. Secondo Leech (1983: 107-110) la nozione di tatto per una *English speaking society* (la società di lingua inglese) è di estrema importanza:

> *Minimise cost to [hearer] and bias the illocution towards a positive outcome by restricting [the hearer's] opportunity of saying 'No'.*[8]

Del resto in una cultura orientata maggiormente verso il contesto, come quella italiana, il messaggio da interpretare risulta chiaro dal contesto; di conseguenza il tatto o il rispetto non deve essere espresso ma emerge dal contesto.

L'*understatement*, ovvero la minimizzazione è anche un orientamento tipicamente inglese. Il suo pieno effetto può essere ottenuto solo attraverso un' implicazione contestuale. In questo caso la cultura inglese è più orientata verso il contesto rispetto a quella italiana, il che dimostra che gli orientamenti culturali possono variare anche a seconda del contesto di situazione. Gli inglesi presuppongono che a volte il 'non dire' sia più pregno di significato del 'dire'. Il parlante italiano, aperto ad un orientamento più emotivo rispetto a quello inglese, che è più neutro, impiega anche un numero molto maggiore di modificatori emotivi. Secondo lo studio di Wierzbicka (1986: 288):

> *In Italian, it is very common to reduplicate adjectives, adverbs, and adverbial expression - roughly speaking, for expressive purposes.*[9]

Wierzbicka fa notare che la maggior parte delle ripetizioni potrebbe essere resa in inglese (non distingue tra l'inglese britannico e quello americano) dall'intensificatore *very*:

bella bella	*very beautiful*
duro duro	*very hard*
zitto zitto	*very quiet(ly)*
adagio adagio	*very slowly*

La studiosa presenta anche esempi di traduzioni in cui si è optato per espressioni alternative, ma raramente per reiterazioni:

due occhi, neri neri anch'essi...	*a pair of eyes - yet black too*
e me ne vo diritto diritto a casa mia	*and (I'll) go straight off back home*
appena appena da poter passare	*just enough to let us pass*
quasi quasi gli chiedevo scusa io	*I'd almost have got to the point of asking forgiveness myself*

8 Minimizzate il costo [per l'ascoltatore] e indirizzate l'illocuzione verso un risultato positivo limitando la possibilità [dell'ascoltatore] di dire *no*.

9 In italiano è molto frequente iterare aggettivi, avverbi, ed espressioni avverbiali - in termini generali - a scopo espressivo.

subito subito	*straightaway*
Bene, bene, parleremo!	*Very well, we'll have our talk*
Parla, parla!	*Go on, speak out!*
Vedrà, vedrà	*He'll see - he'll just see.*

Non solo l'effettiva ripetizione è importante in italiano, ma lo è anche (da un punto di vista inglese) il pleonasmo[10]: *la casa era bella grande* si può rendere in inglese semplicamente con *it was a big house*. L'osservazione che Wierzbicka fa è che, essendo la cultura italiana più emotiva, il primo elemento lessicale è un'approssimazione ed il secondo è necessario per sottolineare che ciò che è stato detto è realmente vero, non è un'esagerazione.

C'è - come si suol dire - molta emotività sul mercato. Di conseguenza, come in caso di inflazione, il valore dell'unità individuale della valuta emotiva è ridotto. Per portare l'emotività al suo valore "pre-inflazionario", o piuttosto non-emotivo, si deve procedere all'aggiunta di zeri lessicali e quindi iterare.

Wierzbicka fa anche riferimento all'uso italiano dei superlativi. Anche in questo caso, nella percezione di una società non-emotiva, si è di fronte ad un caso di inflazione. Termini come "generosissimo/dolcissimo/bellissimo" ecc. non denoteranno sempre accuratezza o sincerità (come con l'iterazione) - ma emozione: positiva o negativa. Per l'inglese un'espressione quale "estremamente generoso" tende a riflettere la qualità della generosità più che l'intensità dell'emozione.

Snelling (1992: 45-46) nota un fenomeno più generale che interessa le lingue romanze, quello dello *cumulative rhetorical style* [...] *the repetition of adjectives of similar or even identical meaning to reinforce a rhetorical effect*[11]. Prende come esempio estremo la lingua portoghese: *temos uma sò lingua, evoluìta, rica, expressiva, versàtil*. L'autore sostiene *six adjectives are simply too much for English ears* e suggerisce che *English will generally prefer one single intensive adjective or at most two*[12]. Le proposte di traduzione che Snelling riporta sono dal portoghese all'inglese:

un páis próspero e poderoso	*a thriving country*
difícil e complexa	*complicated*
longa e rica experiencia política	*mature political experience*
um ambiente propício e colaborate	*propitious atmosphere*

10 Cioè, come si legge nei vocabolari *l'uso di parole non necessarie [...] parola, locuzione superflua [...]*. Chiaramente ciò che è *necessario* e *superfluo* è un giudizio di valore legato alla cultura. Sebbene in inglese l'orientamento generale sia quello di tagliare o eliminare delle parti del testo, in una cultura più emotiva l'orientamento è quello di conservare e abbellire la parola.

11 "stile retorico cumulativo [...] la ripetizione di aggettivi di significato analogo o addirittura identico per potenziare l'effetto retorico".

12 "sei aggettivi sono decisamente troppi per un orecchio inglese" e "l'inglese di norma preferisce un solo aggettivo d'intensità o al massimo due."

Un interprete deve far proprio l'orientamento culturale dell'interlocutore e a quel punto decidere se l'iterazione o l'aggettivo assoluto denota sincerità, accuratezza o emotività. Ne deriva che, a seconda del contesto, il termine "pianissimo" (riferito a velocità) potrebbe essere tradotto con:

meno emotivo	extremely	
	really	
	terribly/awfully	slowly
più emotivo	beautifully	

Come sempre il significato dev'essere posto in relazione alla cornice interpretativa che è legata alla cultura. Un alto grado di emotività in una cultura non ha lo stesso significato inconscio che può avere in un'altra.

Molto spesso l'emotività può essere percepita come combattimento in una cultura mentre in un'altra evoca invece il gioco. I termini *play* 'gioco' e *combat* 'combattimento' sono stati coniati da Bateson (1972: 179) come risultato di una sua ricerca sulle scimmie:

> *I saw two young monkeys playing, i.e., engaged in an interactive sequence of which the unit actions or signals are similar to but not the same as those of combat*[13].

Il che aiuta a spiegare il problema nella traduzione in inglese, ad esempio, del termine 'discussione'. Il dizionario offre le seguenti opzioni:

discussion
heated discussion
argument
to have words with
a fight

La percezione sarà governata dall'orientamento culturale: se per un italiano una discussione normale prevede alzare la voce e rubarsi la parola, per un inglese lo stesso comportamento può significare un litigio. In effetti, come illustra il seguente esempio, una 'discussione' può essere di fatto una rissa:

> Abbiamo avuto una seria discussione - sono volati pugni.
> *We had a bad argument/fight - fists were flying.*

oppure

> Abbiamo avuto una seria discussione, ma alla fine siamo giunti ad un accordo
> *We had a serious discussion, but at the end we reached an agreement.*

13 "Ho osservato il gioco di due giovani scimmie, impegnate ad esempio in una sequenza interattiva di cui le singole azioni o segnali sono simili ma non gli stessi del combattimento."

Nonostante tutto né *argument* né *fight* sono i precisi equivalenti di *discussione*. Per l'inglese sia *argument* sia *fight* presuppongono un'aperta espressione dell'emozione. Dato che l'orientamento inglese (britannico) è verso la non espressione delle emozioni, una volta che esse vengono espresse è difficile definirle e producono conseguenze a lungo termine rispetto a quanto avviene in italiano e in altre culture che tollerano ed accettano la loro espressione.[14]. Levine and Adelman (193: 66) notano:

> *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*[15].

Cosa deve fare l'interprete?

Qui di seguito viene presentato un breve riepilogo delle attitudini che un interprete deve sviluppare per ridurre i casi di scorretta percezione, interpretazione ed attribuzione di significato: deve innanzitutto essere consapevole di tutti i possibili orientamenti, per poi essere in grado di mediare tra i *frame* culturali degli orientamenti.

In effetti, sono in molti a ritenere che l'interprete debba essere considerato dal cliente un mediatore culturale. La necessità di un *briefing* prima dell'interpretazione è estremamente importante: sia il cliente che l'interprete devono comunicare i loro obbiettivi e le difficoltà che potrebbero nascere. Gary Ferraro (1994: 142) consiglia al negoziatore internazionale di dedicare una certa quantità di tempo, prima di iniziare i colloqui, a stabilire un buon contatto con l'interprete: Hall & Hall (1989: 61) fanno notare:

> *You will need a first-rate, well-educated interpreter whom you have briefed in great detail*[16].

Una più attiva participazione nel corso dell'interpretazione viene anche suggerita da Brislin (1981) e da Knapp-Potthof et al. (1981: 183):

> *[...] within certain limits [the interpreter] may develop his or her own initiatives, introduce new topics, give comments and explanations, present arguments, etc.*[17]

14 Veda anche Mead che dedica un capitolo a 'Dispute' (1994: 225-250), in cui discute il significato, l'interpretazione e la tolleranza dell'espressione delle emozioni in campo economico e a livello interculturale.

15 Tanti interlocutori ad 'alto' coinvolgimento prediligono le liti e potrebbero persino pensare che gli altri non sono interessati se non sono pronti a partecipare in una discussione 'accesa'.

16 Ci sarà bisogno di un ottimo interprete, istruito, cui sarà stato fatto un *briefing* dettagliato.

È chiaro che queste osservazioni valgono più per un'interpretazione di trattativa che per l'interpretazione simultanea. Tuttavia l'interprete dovrebbe sempre essere in grado di intervenire ad un meta-livello quando lo ritiene necessario. Questo significa che durante il lavoro di interpretazione si dovrebbe far capire agli interlocutori che l'interprete può aver bisogno di aggiungere delle frasi per rendere chiaro il *frame* . Riferendosi all'esempio precedente relativo alla discussione giapponese-americana sulla pianificazione a lungo termine, *we're talking about long-term planning here* dovrebbe essere resa con 'per gli Americani, Signor XYZ, si tratta di una pianificazione a lungo termine', oppure 'stiamo parlando di una pianificazione di più di un anno, di oltre cinque anni'.

Riprendendo l'esempio riportato da Viezzi, l'interprete potrebbe evidenziare il *frame* interpretativo traducendo: *...and finally I would like to thank Allah* con 'ed infine come mussulmano vorrei ringraziare Allah'. Per contro una adeguata strategia sarebbe quella di ridurre la forza dell'espressione per inserirla in un *frame* più cattolico '...ed infine vorrei ringraziare Allah/Dio per avermi concesso l'opportunità di essere qui oggi. Grazie'.

L'interprete deve essere capace di interrompere la comunicazione per spiegare il *frame* culturale. In sintesi, il ruolo dell'interprete, per parafrasare Bateson, è quello di fare espliciti riferimenti verbali ai *frame* culturali della comunicazione e renderne consapevoli gli interlocutori.

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17 [...] in una certa misura l'interprete potrà sviluppare iniziative proprie, introdurre nuovi argomenti, fare commenti e dare spiegazioni, presentare tematiche, ecc.

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for
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Edward Sapir's (1994:119) lecture notes focused on the needs for the future. He was very interested to know what it was that motivated certain cultural configurations, or rather patterns of behaviour:

> We must therefore discover the leading motivations for these configurations – the master idea of culture. These leading motivations constitute the culture in an anthropological sense. They are the fundamental dynamic concepts involved in the notion of cultural patterns. Nothing in behaviour, cultural or otherwise, can be understood except as seen as in reference to these configurations.

Edward Hall (1990:184) had the same questions in mind:

> Some time in the future, a long, long time from now when culture is more completely explored, there will be the equivalent of musical scores that can be learned, for each type of man or woman in different types of jobs and relationships, for time, space, work, and play ... What are the sets, isolates, and patterns that differentiate their lives ...?

Part 3 looks at some of the leading motivations, and investigates some of the sets, isolates and patterns. The term used principally in this Part will be 'orientation'. What is of particular interest is how these orientations act as frames in which the transmission and reception of messages are interpreted, and also how cultures vary in what aspects of reality are considered.

Chapter 9 discusses orientations in general, comparing them with values, norms and cultural myths.

Chapters 10, 11 and 12 focus on the two most consistently relevant orientations for translation: communication and action, and show how they affect preferred listening, speaking and writing styles. The chapters also contain a brief description of how the other orientations also affect language across cultures.

Chapter 9. Cultural Orientations

The aim of this chapter is to:

- discuss cultural myths:
  - the myths cultures have about themselves
  - the myths cultures have about others
- introduce a taxonomy of orientations

9.1 Cultural Myths

- English cultural icons
- Norms v Values
- Examples of national stereotypes

Rollo May, in his book *The Cry for Myth* (1991:6), follows Barthes (1993) 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". This type of myth is culture itself, as explained also by Schneider (1976:203):

> 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.

Kramsch (1993:235, 207) 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 (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.

The influence of the press and other media in framing meaning, or spinning, should not be understated. 'Spinning', according to *Time* magazine, "means describing a reality that suits your purposes. Whether it resembles the reality we all share is an issue that doesn't even arise". [1] The second part of that definition is a spin in itself, and is a perfect example of mythical thinking, riddled with Meta-Model violations.[2] Susan Pierce (unpublished), a sociologist from Gettysburg college, notes that even the difference between a slightly differently spun early and late edition of a particular *New York Times* article resulted in two different national collective memories of the same event.

The idea of myth, as mentioned earlier, was first made popular by Barthes in 1957 in his volume *Mythologies*. His understanding of myth is much wider (1993:109): "Myth is a type of speech". This myth is metalanguage, the language used to speak about what is perceived: "it points out and it notifies, it makes us understand something and it imposes it on us" (ibid.:117). Quite how much we are influenced by myths can be seen from any investigation of the collective memory.

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[1] www.time.com/time/poy2000/mag/spin.html

[2] 'Reality' is a nominalization; 'we all' contains a universal quantifier, but the 'we' is not inclusive – and we are left to imagine which members of the population are included; e.g., patriotic, educated Liberal White Anglo-Saxon Protestant American adults (WASPS). "Share" is unspecified; in what way, how, to what level are we supposed to share the perception, interpretation and evaluation of what is actually really going on? And so on.

We rely on our memory to tell us what is true or normal. Logically, though, what is in our memory will always be a deletion, distortion and generalization of reality, regardless of the level of social or ideological spinning.

With regard to myths in collective memory *The Daily Telegraph* (04/10/95) asked readers to name a dozen cultural icons which characterized Englishness. Clearly, *Telegraph* readers will have their own culture (definitely HAP rather than LAP, and politically centre-right). It is Britain's best selling quality paper, with over one million readers, and is therefore representative of a HAP culture. What is more interesting, though, is that for the vast majority of the one million readers the top five icons mentioned have very little to do with their actual life in England.

Reader Cultural Icons	**Social Reality**
• fish and chips	Non-English take-aways are much more popular such as Chinese, Indian, hamburgers and the ubiquitous kebab.
• cricket on the village green	A minority sport, played on an ever dwindling number of village greens.
• pubs – usually with low ceilings and/or warm beer	These are still popular, though the 'local' is unlikely to have low ceilings. Cold lager, ice beer, wine, etc., outsell warm British beer.
• church bells	Heard more in sleepy villages than in town. The number of churches open is at an all time low.
• the Last Night of the Proms	A British, rather than English institution, epitomizing nostalgia for a once powerful Britain. The last song of the last night is: "Rule Britannia".

In most of the cases the images evoked have much more to do with a distorted memory of an idealized reality. 'Reality' is also another nominalization (in this case a de-adjectival noun) as is 'life', and so a clearer question would be "for whom are the above icons real?" or "Who actually lives with, or among, these icons?" The answer is a tiny minority of the population still living in what remains of upper-middle class rural England (except for the fish and chips). The majority of the people (including *Telegraph* readers), whatever their class, live in towns. One real urban event ritual played out every Saturday night, and affecting many more people, is described below in an article by Theodore Dalrymple only two weeks after *The Telegraph* survey:

> It is when you see the English enjoying themselves that you realize the futility of life ... Is this a city without mirrors? The girls in their cheap and flimsy finery (I mean cheap in the aesthetic, not the financial sense), who shiver in the cold as they trip along. How the Italians would despise and laugh at them. Many of the boys, especially those with shaven heads, look angry with an unfocused, non-specific anger which might erupt if you were to look at them a

> fraction too long in the eye ... There is vomit in the gutters already (the whole city smells of fried takeaway food) and a pool of as yet uncongealed blood next to a broken bottle of Budweiser ... There is trouble on the dance floor and the doormen move in with surprising agility ... A body-building type is emphatically escorted off the premises out into the relatively fresh air. I follow him outside where a drunk girl with fat legs in cream satin culottes is being carried over the road by her boyfriend, draped over his shoulder like a sack. She looks sea-sick; soon she will want to vomit and then she will know that she has had a really good night out.
> *The Sunday Times* (22/10/95:3.3a)

This is a picture of a different England, and much closer to the Lower Autonomy Professional culture discussed in Chapters 4 and 7. However, many of the LAPs, and even more of the HAPs – who may eat Chinese or Indian, live in a town, drink canned Bud or wine, and get drunk on a Saturday night – still cherish the thought of rural England. Many of these myths will, of course, be related to actual past practice and are then romanticized. As a result, the beliefs behind the behaviour of playing cricket, listening to church bells, etc. remain in the collective imagination if not in the collective practice.

Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1997:32) give a very practical example of this paradox, differentiating between what he calls 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 which 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, in fact, confuses beliefs with core values. The value 'work' is still satisfied in the new norm, but 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 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, 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 which have never had anything to do with our own lives – except as spectators. Most readers in

The Daily Telegraph poll mentioned, for example, at least three from the following list as being a part of the English identity. Yet the majority will never have had any direct involvement with any of these English people or events for pragmatic normative reasons (status, cost, time, other interests). Television, of course, has brought many of these icons into our homes. What is important for identity is not what we directly participate in, but what lies in the collective memory, the myth:

• The Queen	• Henley	• Trooping the Colour	• The Chelsea Flower Show
• The Queen Mother	• The Boat Race	• Remembrance Day	• Crufts
• Carols from Kings College, Cambridge	• Wimbledon	• Aintree	

Kramsch (1993:208) notes that what a culture believes about itself will override any evidence to the contrary. She gives a salient example about her compatriots (ibid.: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'y a pas plus individualiste que le Français'. That myth is tenacious".

This example of self-created and self-perpetuating myths, could equally apply to the Italians. They also believe in their creativity and individual taste – and in particular when it comes to fashion. However, a *Sunday Times* fashion report (29/12/91:3, 3) suggests that the Italians (seen through British eyes) are even more collectivist and conservative than their French cousins: "The Italian look is the most classic and easy to wear. The Milanese are smart but never outrageous, more relaxed than the French, although they do all wear the same thing" (see also Jones, 2003:112).

Kramsch suggests that after having distorted 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 "real culture" in figure 36 takes us further from what is real, and more into the realms of myth. Intercultural dialogue doubles the myth-creating potential. Cultural 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 (see figure 36).

Hence, as Kramsch shows, the German image of America is partly an anti-image of itself: desolation and alienation, as seen for example in Wim Wender's vision of America. 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". Translations are commissioned according to whether they fit in to the target culture's (distorted, generalized and deleted) perception of the source culture. In this way, the ethnocentric perception of the other culture is strengthened, and further domesticized.

It is extremely difficult, as we have already mentioned, to perceive another culture, except through our own ethnocentric map of the world. Bromhead's view of Britain, which can only perceive other cultures in terms of British dominant values

is a case in point. If we move to continental Europe and the United States, there is still the myth of the Englishman with his bowler and umbrella, tea at four, and so on. For those who have never been there, England is a place of nobility and tradition.

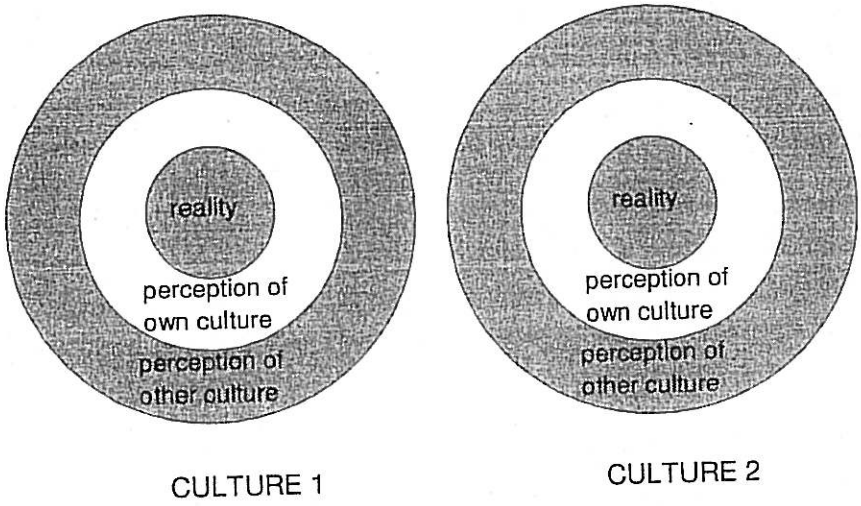


Figure 36. Kramsch's Perception Rings

This is not surprising, as most day-to-day news about the country abroad is in terms of the Royal Family, nobility, and prestige events. The worldwide concern over the death of Princess Diana was a perfect example. It is still difficult to imagine a Theodore Dalrymple type article attracting any space at all in a foreign newspaper. What fascinates is what is believed to be quintessentially English. Most countries, for example, 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, mentioned earlier, notes exactly the same with regard to Europe and its love 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 mythicyze) what we don't own, and in Europe there is nothing comparable to the Western epics.[3]

Not only *Tex* but every other locally produced 'American' cartoon strip is created according to "the iron rule" of comic writing. Alfredo Castelli (ibid.), who created *Martin Mystère/Martin Mystery* continues: "Though many of his adventures are set in Italy, Mystère 'is' American and 'lives' in Washington Mews N.Y, where he has been a lecturer more than once".[4] Castelli explains that this allows the

[3] http:/www.bvzm.com/english/conferenzaeng.html.

[4] In fact, Italian fans of this particular French named hero rang the doorbell of 3 Washington

local European reader to identify with the character (in terms of personality) while at the same time accept situations that at home wouldn't be possible: "we 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)".

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 non-existent. 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 1999:128)

Hence, the local (young) reader is likely to generalize the distorted interpretation of America as a country where academics are rich and famous to the rule that all professionals are rich and famous.

As Barthes (1993:124-25) 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 response to the built environment varies according to context. As a tourist wandering through the Basque country, he says, "I do not feel personally concerned" about the architecture. An individual house "does not call out to me, it does not provoke me into naming it. He simply notices that each house will reflect a common style, and will be part of a wider system with its own history. At home in Paris, though, on seeing "a natty white chalet" at the end of "the rue Gambetta or the rue Jean-Jaurès" (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.

Continuing with Italy, we can investigate the way in which news about England is actually portrayed through the media. First, the Italian press tends to stereotype English behaviour in terms of understatement, composure and so forth. An example is the following Italian newspaper headline focusing on Major Rose's English self-composure during a sniper attack when in Sarajevo:

The examples below (all taken from quality papers or weeklies) actually use

---

Mews looking for the American hero. Alfredo Castelli wrote to the real resident apologizing: "The real 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 Italians". http:/www.bvzm.com/english/conferenzaeng.html

Un cecchino spara contro Rose. L'inglese non si scompone «Non si uccide così un generale». *Corriere della Sera* (20/05/94)	A sniper shoots at Rose. The Englishman is unruffled: "That's not how you kill a general".

English words to heighten what they perceive is not part of their culture:

The advertising in Italy of British products is, naturally, selective. The whiskey

***ROMA** – sul registro dei visitatori ha scritto semplicemente «Charles», senza nessuno dei titoli che pure gli spetterebbero. **Understatement**, la chiamano in inglese. Ovvero quella straordinaria capacità di smorzare i toni che distingue il vero **gentleman** da un qualunque nuovo ricco.* *Corriere della Sera* (27/03/92)	**ROME** – in the visitor's book he simply wrote "Charles", without any of the titles he had the right to use. **Understatement**, that's what they call it in English. It is that extraordinary capacity to reduce the pomp which distinguishes a real **gentleman** from any ordinary *nouveau riche*.

ANCHE IL «SIR» IN LISTA DI ATTESA *Panorama* (3/3/92)	"SIRS" ARE ALSO ON THE WAITING LIST [meaning that nobility in England also has to wait its turn when booking for restaurants]

PUB DESERTI PER LA GUERRA IN TV *Ma a volte prevale lo "**humor**":[5] un negozio vende maschere antigas per cani. A Bond Street le **ladies** che si incontrano a fare lo **shopping** si vestono come la regina con molto colore blu ...* *Corriere della Sera* (24/1/91)	PUBS DESERTED DUE TO THE WAR ON TV But at times "humour" prevails: a shop sells gas masks for dogs. In Bond Street the ladies who meet to go **shopping** are dressed like the queen with a lot of blue...

A TU PER TU CON LA REGINA *... il segretario del Quirinale Sergio Berlinguer, legato all'**establishment** attraverso la moglie Liza [non può mettere] piede nel salottino dove invece possono entrare liberamente i cani **corgi**, golosi dei biscotti di cioccolata che saranno serviti alla regina e al presidente [Cossiga] insieme al tè **Earl Grey**, ai*	FACE TO FACE WITH THE QUEEN ... the Italian President's secretary, Sergio Berlinguer, linked to the **establishment** through his wife Liza [is not allowed to put] his foot in the drawing room, whereas the **corgi** dogs can freely enter, greedy for chocolate biscuits which will be served to the queen and to the president [Cossiga] together with **Earl Grey** tea, cucumber and

[5] Note the American spelling of humour.

sandwich al cetriolo, al salmone affumicato, ai pasticcini alla panna. Prima e dopo il tête-à-tête con Cossiga la regina sarà occupatissima: per seguire alla televisione la ***champion stakes****, corsa a siepi all'ippodromo di* ***Cheltenham*** *e per esaminare con il Cancelliere dello Scacchiere il* ***budget****.* *Panorama* (3/3/92)	smoked salmon **sandwiches**, and cream cakes. The queen will be extremely busy both before and after the tête-à-tête with Cossiga: watching the **Champion Stakes**, the hurdles at the **Cheltenham** race track, on TV and examining the **budget** with the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

is for refined people with exquisite taste. The cars are exclusive: Range Rover and Jaguar. The tea is Twinings, which gives the impression of a population of public school boys drilled in conformity, sobriety and tradition. This particular brand is actually drunk by a small minority of the population, even fewer of whom would be sure of the pronunciation without reading the label.

On the other side of the Channel, it is the British who believe Italians to be the traditionalists, particularly when it comes to food. Notice, for example, how the stereotype has been used effectively by *The Daily Telegraph*, to attract readers to take part in a competition to watch the 1990 World Cup competition in Italy:

> PASTA CRUISE ITALY FOR DE PASTA AND DE FOOTBALL

The popular image is also denoted by the lack of variety of food metaphors to describe someone of Italian origin, as noted by Irving Allen in his publication *The Language of Conflict* (1983:59): meatball, spag, spaghetti, spaghetti-bender, spaghetti-legs, macaroni. Yet, the Italians might also note that it is the British who (traditionally) believe in "meat and two veg", who go abroad to find (and relish) restaurants in Spain, Majorca, Crete, Corfu, and a host of other British holiday haunts specializing in:

> TEA JUST LIKE MUM MAKES IT

> ALL DAY BACON AND EGG BREAKFASTS

All countries retain elaborate rituals, which they tend to note only in other countries. The Italians, for example, note the elaborate ritual concerning, for example, the Christmas event in Britain precisely because the Italian equivalent for the 25th December is not so detailed:

> **Constituent elements for 25th December:**
> **UK and Italy**: The Christmas tree, nativity scene, holly and missletoe, midnight mass; Father Christmas, chimney, a good lunch, presents
> **UK**: carol singing, the Christmas stocking, The Queen's speech at 3 p.m., the

Christmas lunch (turkey, stuffing, Christmas cake, Christmas pudding, flambé, money, mince pies). Anything else, as an advert for plump Christmas turkeys states, "just isn't Christmas".

Clearly, many individuals and groups have other 'variant' rituals, which equally form part of the same culture. Also, Ritchie (1981:223) points out that "what a people believe themselves to be is not invalidated by lack of performance in keeping with the belief". We will now turn to what lies behind the beliefs cultures hold, and what motivates people within their cultures to behave in their various patterned ways.

9.2 Cultural Orientations

In this section we distinguish between general orientations, also known as learning styles, and culturally formed orientations.

- ***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 adjust or align oneself according to surroundings or circumstances" (CED 1991). 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 1993:149). Orientations tend to be consistent, but this is not always the case (emphasis in the original):

> 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.

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 mention 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 either be perceived as being half empty or as 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 in to 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. Chunk size has already been introduced during the discussion on local and global translation styles. 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.

To see how we normally and unconsciously chunk, we can look at the following example. The diagram can be perceived in at least four different ways, depending on this local/global orientation.

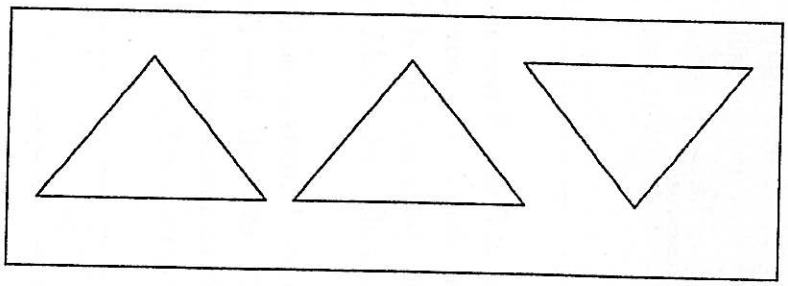


Figure 37. Testing Orientation: Local or Global?

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[6] depending on the field and the application. The terms below come from Gestalt psychology, cognitive psychology and linguistics. Apart from 'sorting' and 'mismatching' which is only to be seen in NLP literature, the other terms now tend to be used across all disciplines:

Separate Shapes	**Single Picture**
• field independence	field dependence
• sorting for different	sorting for same
• mismatching	matching
• deductive	inductive
• specific	general

[6] See also Laura Gran's (1989:94) study on brain hemisphere function for a further list of names.

• local/part	global
• analytic	synthetic
• atomist	holistic

Response number one shows a definite orientation towards the left hand column (separate shapes) while number two begins to notice the differences first, and then focuses on the picture. Answer three, instead, begins at the right, focusing on "a single picture" and then moves to the left. Finally, response four focuses exclusively on the whole: the gestalt. "Gestalt" actually means an organized configuration or pattern of meaning.

It should always be remembered that the idea of polarization 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 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.

• *Cultural Orientations*

- Kluckhohn's Value Orientations
- Hofstede's Four Dimensions
- Brake's Ten Orientations

• *The Cultural Iceberg*

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, i.e. which aspects are to be generalized, distorted and deleted. An orientation is based on a number of complex and interrelated (and sometimes conflicting) 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 38 illustrates the relation between values and orientations.

There are relatively few core values. These generate a number of more context-defined values, (see figure 38 overleaf). 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 will be distorted, generalized and deleted to suit the cultural orientation.

Many authors (and disciplines) have come up with a taxonomy of cultural orientations. Florence Kluckhohn (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961:341) coined the term 'value orientation', and defined them as follows:

> Value orientations are 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.

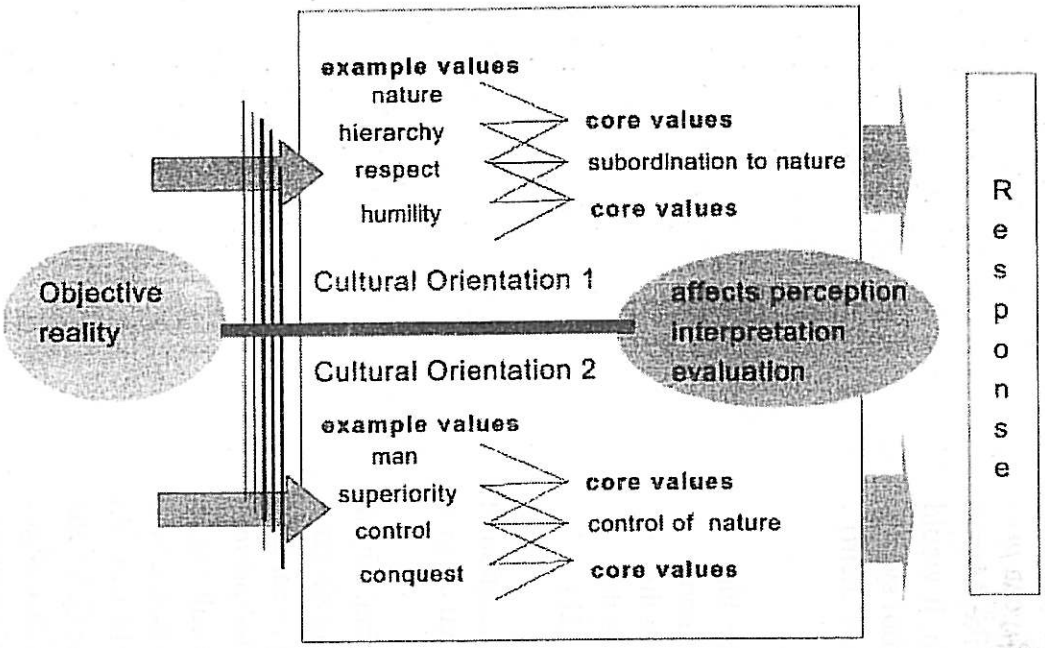


Figure 38. Cultural Orientations

She (ibid.: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 orientations (see table in page 232).

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 cultural mediator, on the other hand, should have almost equal access to all orientations. This may of course result in disorientation through too much choice, as we shall see in Part 4.

Concerns/ Orientations	Possible responses based on core out-of-awareness beliefs		
Human Nature What is the basic nature of people?	**Evil** People ae 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 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 for 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 should have complete control over one's own destiny. When we have to make a decision as a group it should be "one person one vote".

Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1997) follows Kluckhohn's dimensions adding a further two taken from Talcott Parsons' (1982) 'five pattern variables'. Hofstede

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(1991) has four orientations, which he terms 'dimensions', adapted from the sociologist Alex Inkeles and the psychologist Daniel Levinson (Inkeles and Levinson 1969:447), who suggested four issues which qualified as common basic problems world-wide:

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

Brake *et al.* (1995:39) have ten orientations, an amalgamation of Kluckhohn, Talcott Parsons, Hofstede and Hall.[7] Their taxonomy is the most comprehensive in the literature (to date), and forms the framework for the following sections. At this point we should look at the cultural iceberg (see Chapter 2.4.) once again:

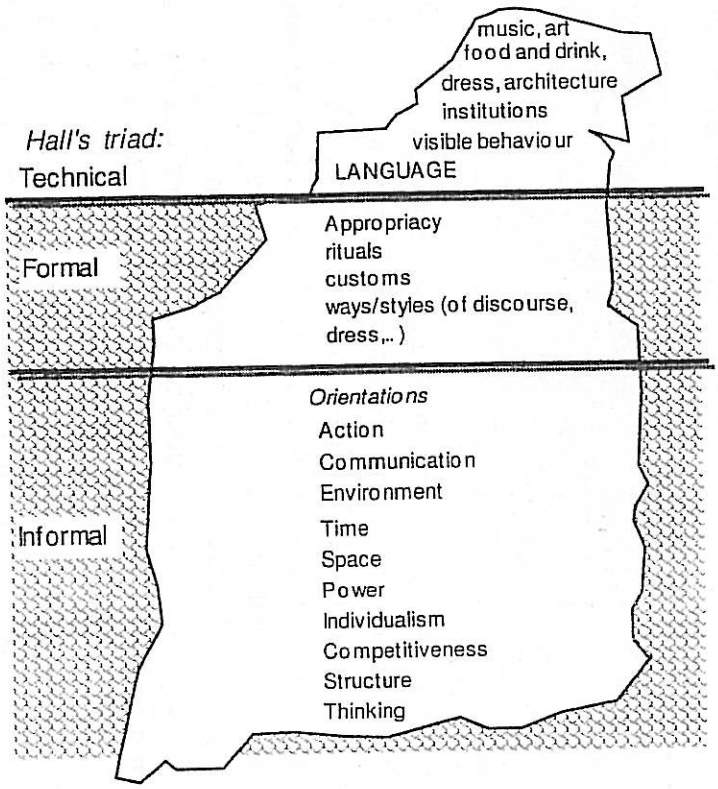


Figure 39. Brake's Iceberg of Cultural Orientations

[7] 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) time, space and contexting, and Hofstede's (1991) four dimensions.

Each of the items below the waterline is a cultural orientation. In the following chapter we will focus our attention on two cultural orientations which automatically influence the way we use language to communicate: the orientations towards action and communication.

The other orientations directly influence behaviour, and hence communication in a wider sense. A short explanation of these orientations, and the possible options according to Brake *et al.* (1995) is given below, both to give the reader an idea of the array of possible combinations, and also because a number of these orientations will be referred to in our discussion on action and communication orientations. Where there is a significant difference in labelling, the authors responsible have been shown.

9.3 A Taxonomy of Orientations[8]

The first two orientations are discussed in detail in Chapter 10.

- ***Action***

Brake et al.	*Hofstede*	*Trompenaars*
• be/do	masculine/feminine	affective/neutral

- ***Communication***

Hall	*Trompenaars*
• High Context Communication	Diffuse
• Low Context Communication	Specific

- ***Environment***

Brake et al.	*Trompenaars*	*NLP*
• control	inner-directed (internal)	proactive
• harmony		
• constraint	outer-directed (external)	reactive

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 – including supernatural forces, destiny and luck – has a measure of control over them (*Che sarà sarà*, *Inshalla*).

[8] For more details on indicators of orientations and statistics regarding a culture's orientation see, in particular, Hofstede (1991); Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars (1993); Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1997).

The United States is a prime example of a control orientation, from its insistence on air-conditioning to the conquering of space and "the buck stops here". Southern Europe, on the other hand is closer to a constraint orientation, with people more willing to accept the importance of *force majeur* and acts of God.

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 "Isho: the vigyana bhairava tantra[9] 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.

- ***Time***

Brake et al		*Hall*	*NLP*	*Trompenaars*	*Kluckhohn*
• single-focus	fixed	monochronic	through time	sequential	Past/Present/Future
• multi-focus	fluid	polychronic	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 in general are more task oriented 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 word.

Polychronic or multi-focus 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

[9] http://www.oTantra.net/VBTv2/chapter03.html

answering the phone or another important person would be considered rude. Mediterranean, Arab, South American and Asian cultures tend towards this orientation.

• *Fluid/Fixed Time*

Fixed time cultures perceive time technically. A minute is sixty seconds: "Time is money", and can be spent, used and 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. *Subito* in Italian technically means "immediately". It is the standard reply given by those in the service industry when being asked for service. The informal meaning is "I'll be with you when I have finished what I'm doing". In fluid-time cultures, delays are expected and tolerated. A meeting can start fifteen to thirty minutes late depending on the culture without undue tension being created. Those with a fixed-time orientation have difficulty in comprehending the Italian informal but institutionalized *quarto d'ora accademico* / "the university fifteen minute sliding start" much loved by Italian academics and students alike. It is always useful to check which time is being talked about: e.g. "German time", "Italian academic time", "Neapolitan time", "Milan time", and so on.

From Spanish Abroad, Inc.[10]

The fabled Mexican attitude toward time – 'manana, 'manana,...' – has probably become legendary simply from comparison with the USA. But it's still true. Especially outside the big cities, that the urgency Europeans and North Americans are used to is often lacking. Most Mexicans value *simpathia* (congeniality) over promptness. If something is really worth doing, it gets done. If not, it can wait. Life should not be a succession of pressures and deadlines. According to many Mexicans, life in the 'businesslike' cultures has been desympathized. You may come away from Mexico convinced that the Mexicans are right!

• *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 with many of its road names recording an event or personality in history. Television interviews (both in Britain and in Italy) 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'.

[10] http://www.spanishabroad.com/mexico/country_guide/mex_society.htm

Present-oriented cultures, such as America, emphasize the here and now. "History is 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 maximum (Hall 1990:141).

Future-oriented societies can plan ahead to the next generation. Japanese business plans take account of the past and can plan for the next hundred years in "the eternal cycle" (Adler 1991:30-1; Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars 1997:138; Brake *et al.* 1995:52). Italy also has a future orientation in terms of relationships. Once formed they are expected to be long term, with dues and favours to be repaid over a long period.

The terms "enduring" and "infinite" need to be interpreted against these orientations. President Bush's use before the 2nd Gulf War is discussed below (in *The Denver Post* 28/11/01) in terms of everything but enduring or infinite. To a large extent both the past and the future are deleted, and for many will only go to strengthen negative stereotyping:

TO SPIN OR NOT TO SPIN

Rick Jacobs, principal and owner of Monigle Associates, corporate identity and branding consultants in Denver, says names like 'Infinite Justice' and 'Enduring Freedom' are really more like 'brands'.

His company, by the way, just unveiled a new logo for Fort Lewis College in Durango, hoping to change its reputation as 'Fort Leisure'. One of the problems with the college's old logo is that it showed beckoning mountains in the background with a book in the foreground. A closed book.

This is the sort of stuff Monigle does for its 800 clients, 95 percent of whom are outside Colorado. So Jacobs knows his brands.

'I was a bit surprised at how they're using branding principles in order to rally the troops, if you will', Jacobs said.

There is, of course, the example of 'Desert Storm', the brand name for the 1991 Gulf War. It seemed to catch on.

'I think we saw in Desert Storm the value of being able to define something with terms that allow people to rally behind it. It's a very interesting use of branding', Jacobs said.

'Something like "Enduring Freedom" doesn't have as much of an action associated with it. 'Desert Storm' clearly is action-oriented, and it sends very powerful, visual signals to people. But that's what it was. That was an appropriate name for that kind of an engagement.

"'Enduring Freedom" seems more long-term than a storm, and I think the nature of this engagement is going to be exactly that. This is likely not going to be a huge front where we send in massive troops, but a long-term, precise, very surgical kind of operation that is going to go for years'.

It takes a completely different orientation to approach the subject as Arundhati Roy does. Here, we have an orientation which focuses on everything *but* the present:

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> Could it be that the stygian anger that led to the attacks has its taproot not in American freedom and democracy, but in the US government's record of commitment and support to exactly the opposite things – to military and economic terrorism, insurgency, military dictatorship, religious bigotry and unimaginable genocide (outside America)? It must be hard for ordinary Americans, so recently bereaved, to look up at the world with their eyes full of tears and encounter what might appear to them to be indifference. It isn't indifference. It's just augury. An absence of surprise. The tired wisdom of knowing that what goes around eventually comes around … But war is looming large. Whatever remains to be said must be said quickly. Before America places itself at the helm of the "international coalition against terror", before it invites (and coerces) countries to actively participate in its almost godlike mission – called "Operation Infinite Justice" until it was pointed out that this could be seen as an insult to Muslims, who believe that only Allah can mete out infinite justice, and was renamed "Operation Enduring Freedom".

- ***Space***

• Private/Public	Individual privacy v more public use of space
• Distance/Proximity	Preference for distance/low physical contact v. 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

The Japanese have an orientation towards public space and distance, with open-plan offices, and small communal living quarters, but very little physical contact (public/distance). In comparison, an American or European house or office will tend towards the private, and higher levels of proximity are tolerated (private/proximity). We have already mentioned (in Chapter 4.1) 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.

> The British are notoriously poor 'touchers' compared with other cultures. One study by Nancy Henley ('Body Politics') counted the number of touches between pairs chatting in cafes during a one hour sitting. The results: in Puerto Rico there were on average 180 instances of touch, in London, none. [11]

[11] http://www.globalideasbank.org/TouchHealth.html

• ***Diffuse/Specific***

Space can also be perceived as psychological (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 1997:73-76). The degree to which individuals let others into their life (psychological space) tends to change with culture. Americans tend to the specific. New acquaintances become intimate friends over a relatively short period of time. However, this relationship (including both entitlements and obligations) is specific to a particular activity or sector.

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. Germany is a prime example of this system, and Italy also tends towards this system. The meaning of the word "friend" and the expected reciprocal rights and the duties will vary according to cultural orientation. The word itself should not be translated but mediated. Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1997:83) write about a personal experience in the U.S.A:

> ...the British author had been introduced at a reception following a graduation ceremony as Dr. Hampden-Turner, but at a party for much the same people a few hours later as Charles Hampden-Turner. He had also been introduced as "I want you to meet my very good friend Charles... (what's your surname?).

• ***Power***

Brake et al.	*Hofstede*	*Trompenaars*
Hierarchy	High Power Distance	Ascription
Equality	Low Power Distance	Achievement

In all societies there is power. It can be distributed evenly, with an attempt to reduce the degree of visible status. Alternatively, hierarchy and visible status can be emphasized. Italy is a relatively high power distance country, while Northern Europe, Britain and the States in particular tend to emphasize low power distance. South America, Asia, and (to a lesser extent) Southern Europe tend to respect high power distance. The importance of 'respect' when addressing a person, address 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 (1997:109-10) explain:

> ...it often becomes clear 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 modern 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 two more to "translate" an English sentence 15 seconds long. And there is often extensive colloquy between the translator and the team he or she serves about what the opposite team just said. The translator on the Japanese side is an interpreter, not simply of language but of gesture, meaning and context. His role is to support his own team and possibly even to protect them from confrontational conduct by the western negotiators.

- ***Individualism***

Brake et al.	*NLP*
Individualism	(tend to) Internal + Independent/Proximity
Collectivism	(tend to) External + Co-operative

Japan is the most well-known "we", collective, oriented culture. However, Southern European (such as Turkey and Greece), Central and South American countries are even more collective, relying on tight social networks for most communication. America leads the "I", "do your own thing" cultures on all individualism indexes, while Northern Europe (such as Italy and France) are also heavily individualist. Differences between these countries occur most on the universalistic/particularist orientations.

- ***Particularism***

Trompenaars	*Hofstede*
Universalism	Truth
Particularism	Virtue

Universalist codes are universally applicable. There is a tendency to generalize laws and procedures, and to apply them universally. American mass-production, McDonald's, sneakers (as we have seen in Chapter 4.1) and Henry Ford's "You can have any colour 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 plus France and Italy, do not reduce situations to simplistic rules. These cultures emphasize difference, uniqueness and exceptions, from food and restaurants to the application of parking fines and queuing. We have already mentioned the universalist American difficulty in understanding the particularist Mexican approach to speeding offences in Chapter 2.3.

George Orwell 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 the collective society as in Japan, or for a particular group or family as in Italy (see also Mead 1994:111-37 and Gannon 2001:126). This means that the translation of the term 'democracy', for example, needs to be contextualized (see also Lewis 2000:131). Francesco Rossi does so in his 1963 film *Le Mani Sulla Città*/'Hands Over the City', an investigation into the collapse of a block of flats. Jones, in his *The Dark Heart of Italy* describes the plot to explain Italy today, perceived, understandably enough from a universalist orientation, as corrupt:

> [The Christian Democratic] party get rich by assigning building contracts to *Mafiosi*, who in return guarantee the politicians their votes ... As far as the law goes, *tutto è in regola*, everything is 'by the book'. The [illegal construction of the flats] has been legalized. The commission of enquiry can reach no conclusion. Politics is reduced to the buying and selling of votes made possible by the vast amounts of money slashing around by the construction business. Besieged by angry women, the mayor unfolds huge notes and passes them around. Looking over his shoulder he smiles and says 'Consigliere, see how democracy works?'

- ***Competitiveness***

Brake et al.	*Hofstede*	*NLP*
Competitive	Masculine	Proactive + Independent + Self Sorting style: (material) things
Cooperative	Feminine	(Reactive) + Co-operative + Others Sorting Style: people

Competitive cultures privilege the more masculine character. 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 (1991:90, emphasis in the original) 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.

• *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. 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 forty-eighth out of the fifty-three countries surveyed in terms of "the extent to which members of a culture feel threatened by uncertain or unknown situations". Singapore, at number fifty-three, has the highest toleration. These cultures have less need for detailed rules which attempt to define all situations. Flexibility (except for time itself), choice and options are 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 the more detailed and legally structured:

> ***DIVIETO DI FUMARE***
> *Ai sensi della Legge n. 584 del 11.11.1975 è severamente vietato fumare; i trasgressori sono soggetti all'applicazione delle previste Sanzioni Amministrative.*
>
> **SMOKING IS FORBIDDEN**
> Pursuant to regulation no. 584, 11/11/1975, smoking is severely forbidden. Those in breach will be subject to the relevant Administrative Sanctions.

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• *Thinking*

Brake et al.	*NLP*	*Hall*	*Trompenaars*
Deductive	Match / Similarities / Large Chunks	HCC	
Inductive	Mismatch / Differences / Small Chunks	LCC	
Linear	Specific	Monochronic	Specific
Systemic	General	Polychronic	Diffuse

• *Deductive/Inductive*

Alternative labelling for deductive/inductive has already been given at the beginning of the chapter. Deductive thinking orientations focus on theories, logic and principles. This 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, starting from empirical observation. Facts and statistics are highly valued. The United States and Britain are particularly inductive.

• *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. Systemic, 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 connections, feelings and similes. Italy tends towards the systemic, while Japan is a clear example of the most systemically oriented culture.

Many have already noted how communication patterns between men and women differ. Any popular book on the subject will tell you that it is not necessary to go abroad to encounter difference: men tend to be linear while women tend be systemic – and the results of these different orientations to reality are known to us all.

> Even today we still need translators. Men and women seldom mean the same things when they use the same words. For example, when a woman says "I feel like you *never* listen", she does not expect the word *never* to be taken literally. Using the word *never* is just a way of expressing the frustration she is feeling at the moment. It is not to be taken as factual information.
>
> To fully express their feelings, women assume poetic license and use various superlatives, metaphors and generalizations. Men mistakenly take these expressions literally. (Gray 1993:60)
>
> A woman's superior sensory equipment picks up and analyses [verbal and non-verbal] information and her brain's ability to rapidly transfer between hemispheres makes her more proficient at integrating and deciphering … This is why most men have difficulty lying to a woman face-to-face. But as most women know, lying to a man face-to-face is comparatively easy, as he does not have the necessary sensitivity … most men, if they're going to lie to a woman, would be far better off doing it over the phone, or with the lights off, and a blanket over their heads. (Pease and Pease 2001:29)

Chapter 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 the language behaviour differences as a result of contexting differences
- show the relevance of contexting for a cultural interpreter/mediator involved in translation and interpreting transactional situations

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 (1989:85-128) and further discussed 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 "stored information", and as such is very close to Halliday's (Halliday and Hasan 1989:47) "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".

Both Halliday and Hall, among many others, agree that communication entails both text and context. Gregory 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 suggests that the context of situation is "the total environment in which a text unfolds" (Halliday and Hasan 1989:5, 36) but then goes on to say: "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 that here Halliday is concentrating on the immediate context of the text within a single frame of culture. Hall's context though, is explicitly both the context of situation and the context of culture, i.e. it 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 suggests (Halliday and Hasan 1989:5), 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 (Halliday and Hasan 1989:12-14; also Taylor Torsello 1992), on the other hand, sees 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

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!!
B: I'm in the bath.
A: 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 know each other, less can be assumed to be understood; and the conversation might be as follows:[1]

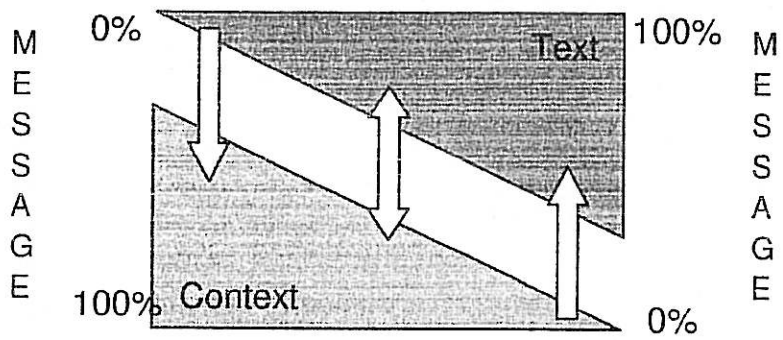
(*phone rings*)
A: George?
B: Yes?
A: Look, I'm a little tied up at the moment – do you think you could answer it and ask them to phone back in 10 minutes?
B: Sure. Where is it?
(*phone stops ringing*)
A: Never mind.

[1] See also Scollon and Scollon (2001:76-82) and their discussion on meta-communication and unclear reference.

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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 meant. Whether or not this is true, as we cannot mind read, is usually difficult to objectively judge. 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:



Culture A
HCC
High context
Low Text

Culture C
LCC
Low context
High Text

Figure 40. Hall's Triangles

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, i.e. 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 also that members of a culture will have a shared bias, either towards communication through the text or the context. This will be their guiding principle in all decisions to be made. However, as we have already noted in the introduction, orientations *can* change according to situation. Following other authors, we will refer to a High Context Communication orientation as 'HCC' and a preference for text as a Low Context Communication orientation or 'LCC'.

Hall's contexting theory is "begging to be connected" (Vincent-Marrelli 1989:473) to a language based theory of communication. In her paper is a clear indication of how the theory can prove fruitful in understanding Anglo-Italian cross-cultural miscommunication.[2] George Simons *et al.* (1993) have also made extensive

[2] See also Katan (1994).

use of this HCC/LCC polarity 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 principle 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, interwoven, more solid fabric – and more resistant to change. We begin to see parallels here with the uncertainty avoidance orientation: either towards structure or 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 possible 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. In Cairo there are no signs telling you which pyramid is which – but there is no shortage of guides.

On American Forces radio,[3] there are a variety of public service adverts giving advice that would strike higher context communication cultures as 'obvious', i.e. the sort of advice that would be passed on informally (out-of-awareness) and through observation:

- It's a dog's life, so please don't stroke us while we are eating, or chase us around the garden.
- Remember, those nice exotic house plants could be poisonous for your little ones.
- Eating too fast is not only bad for your diet; it is also bad for your digestion.
- Oil and grease on linoleum floors can be dangerous. It's just an accident waiting to happen.
- Spend quality time with your family. **You** can make a difference.
- When it comes to choosing a life-mate, be sure to check with your best friend.

Universities vary their welcome to new students according to how text-based they are. The British and the American have "Freshers' Week"[4] and "Orientation" respectively. During this time, administrative, academic and student organizations battle for the time to formally and technically explain and entertain. In Italy, and other Mediterranean countries, the explaining and the entertaining is very much more informal and unplanned. Students are informed through the grapevine.

Some British universities, being older, are more 'tightly woven', and therefore less explicit in their dissemination of information. Two Americans, Bill Bryson and Stuart Franklin noted the inaccessibility of the culture for an outsider at one of the Oxford colleges:

[3] Heard on ZFM, American forces Radio (1995-6)

[4] The term "fresher" is British English; "freshman" is the less PC American term.

> Waiting for a professor one day, I passed the time by glancing through [the bulletin board announcements]. 'Master's Handshaking will take place in the Dining Room of the Master's Lodgings. Please wait in the passage outside,' said one. Another, more cryptically, announced: 'Lagrangian Mechanics – Saturday 11 a.m'. A third stated: 'RFC 1st and 2nd XV practice Thurs. 2 p.m'. Perhaps 50 such notices were pinned to the board, all dealing with some important component of college life, and it occurred to me, as I stood there idly looking them over, that I couldn't truly understand a single one. It is a feeling you soon grow used to in Oxford. *National Geographic* (November 1995:120)

Other universities, in higher context communication cultures, do not even use bulletin boards; and students are expected 'to know' through the informal network of personal contact where and when lessons are, and in particular when and where changes have been made. In an HCC, tightly woven culture, the participants are expected to share more of the larger context – whether or not this is actually the case.

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 (1997:102-119) uses the term '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 CV. In an HCC culture you already need to be known for who you are. Long-term contacts and networking become increasingly important – paper qualifications less so.

So, 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 into its social fabric. The successful newcomers will also have an orientation to low uncertainty avoidance and the ability to change identity. They quickly become, for example, ethnic Black, Afro- or Chinese- American. In this melting pot there is space (both physical and mental) for change.

Many authors have also likened the LCC and HCC differences in terms of rooting systems. Some cultures have more solid and interwoven roots, while others, with a shallow root system can be uprooted without creating great disturbance. Remarks made (reported below) by two ministers (one British and one Italian) on the problem of unemployment reflect this presence or lack of a deep root system.

In each case the ministers' reaction to unemployment is totally 'natural'. In Britain, in the aftermath of the 1981 Brixton riots, Norman Tebbit, the then Secretary of State for Employment, made the "infamous assertion that 'My father didn't riot but got on his bike to look for work. 'Get on your bike' became the moral imperative of conservatism":[5]

[5] Quoted from "The Silent Takeover Global Capitalism and the Death of Democracy" in www.thirdworldtraveler.com/Global_Economy/ Silent_Takeover%20_Part1.html

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND THE BRITISH SEARCH FOR PROSPERITY FOR ALL ITS CITIZENS

4.4 Labour market flexibility. The Conservative government believed that insecurity in the workplace motivates the workforce. The government resisted all measures to give part-timers the same rights as full timers or to introduce a minimum wage in the belief that these measures would cost jobs. The argument used is 'low pay or no pay'. If work is not available you should simply 'Get on your bike' to find it. There is no such thing as 'a job for life'. [6]

Not only is this idea firmly accepted by the Conservative party (and to a large extent by the general populace) but the expression "get on your bike" has now come into the language, and into recent dictionaries (e.g. *Longman* 1992).

Tiziano Treu, the Italian Employment minister in Berlusconi's centre-right government (1995), had a very different point of view when talking about the chronic unemployment situation in Southern Italy:

[...] è naturale che i ragazzi, specie se diplomati o laureati, piuttosto che spostarsi preferiscono attendere qualche opportunità nella zona in cui hanno le loro radici. *Corriere della Sera* (3/5/95)	It's natural that young people, particularly those with college or university qualifications, would prefer to wait for an opportunity in their own area where they have roots, rather than move.

The fact that a culture is more HCC or LCC will also mean, according to Hall, that there will also 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

[6] John Baillie of Park Lane College, Leeds, United Kingdom, 1997. Contribution to the EDUVINET "Living Conditions of EU Citizen", http://www.eduvinet.de/eduvinet/uk005.htm

If we take two different cultures, such as Italy and Britain, and compare them on the above lists, it is clear that they can be associated more with one list than with another. Italy 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 US 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: culture, sub-culture, gender, class, age, situation, and, of course, individual personality.

That being said, there are some useful generalizations that can be made (always couched in the positive, to reflect prioritized cultural values). If we think about the way the British and the Italians regard fashion, food and furniture, it is clear that the British are lower context, attaching more value to functionality, whereas Italy places a higher value on design, taste and aesthetics.

With regard to appearance, we have already mentioned the English city without mirrors: "The girls in their cheap and flimsy finery ... How the Italians would despise and laugh at them". Another article, published a year earlier, echoes the same thoughts. The article (*The Sunday Times* 18/12/94, 6:5) has an LCC title "Face Facts" and discusses the case of a woman who had been described as "ugly" by a policeman. The verbalization of 'ugly' flouts PC norms (discussed in Chapter 5.3). The article, in fact, begins by discussing the public outcry which resulted from the police officer's ill-advised description. The article then moves on to look at Britain as a whole (emphasis in original):

> Britain *does* look a mess, particularly compared to our EC neighbours. The average Italian waiter would not dream of working in anything other than starched white coat and bow tie. The average Italian banker is kitted out in immaculate tweed and has perfectly manicured fingernails – as does the local fruit seller and probably newsagent too. I've lived in Milan. I remember feeling obliged to look neat and tidy for the plumber/telephone man/cleaner.

Using the Meta-Model we can immediately note the use of the modal necessity: 'to feel obliged'. The values that lie behind that statement are steeped in a culture which values individual freedom (an orientation towards self). An Italian would tend to value in-group norms. It would, therefore, be 'normal' to dress neatly and tidily in public groups (an orientation towards others).

The culture-bound aspects of the normality are hidden in the deletion of the performatives of words such as *rispetto* / "respect" or *normale* / "normal", and in the nominalization of *in ordine* / "neat and tidy". The full representation (hidden to most speakers) would be as shown in figure 41.

Surface representation: It's **normal** to be neat and tidy

Full Representation: I follow the cultural prioritization of dressing neatly and tidily, in accordance with the myth that I have been inculcated with: HCC informal culture-bound norms about social dressing, learned over the years from my family, peers and reinforced in the national media. This, for me, has now become an unconscious (out-of-awareness) habit, i.e. normal.

Figure 41. Full Representation of Italian "normal"

What is hidden in the English remark is as follows:

Surface representation: I remember feeling **obliged** to be neat and tidy

Full Representation: I follow the cultural prioritization of dressing in accordance with LCC culture-bound norms regarding individual practicality in accordance with the myth that I have been inculcated with: LCC informal culture-bound rules about social dressing, learned over the years from my family, peers and reinforced in the national media. This, for me, has now become an unconscious (out-of-awareness) habit, i.e. normal.
I have also mind read other (Italian) group behaviour not only as a limit to my world but also as an obligation to conform, which I have decided to accept at a behavioural level to satisfy other important values such as universalism, group acceptance and harmony. However, there is conflict between my behaviour and my strong individualist values.

Figure 42. Full Representation of English "obliged"

The two cultures, British and Italian, not only disagree on the importance or cultural prioritization of being "neat and tidy", but there is also disagreement over the criterial equivalence, i.e. what has to happen for the neat and tidiness value to be met. We have already seen how 'casual clothes' need to be contextualized before we can fully understand what is being talked about. Also, what is 'tidy' for one culture (and, of course, generation) will not necessarily meet the criterial equivalence of another. Hofstede (1991:118) notes a related culture-bound concept, that of 'dirt', or as he calls it "matter out-of-place". He points out that what is dirty or clean is also an extremely relative concept: "The Italian *mammas* and nannies see dirt and danger in the piazza where the American grandparents see none".

However, the Americans, British and Italians are in complete agreement that the Japanese have an exaggerated sense of dirt. The Italian fruit seller and newsagent may have "perfectly manicured nails", but the Japanese train, taxi and bus drivers, for example, wear starched white gloves. Their gloves, in harmony with the rest of their immaculate uniforms, are expected to remain clean all day.

What counts as neat and tidy in Singapore is also very different generally from accepted Western 'civilized' attitudes. Fines for litter dropping in Singapore are

taken seriously, and laws requiring houses to be repainted are also a sign of the culture's perception, interpretation and evaluation of dirt. As a result, both the Japanese and the Singaporeans tend to perceive the West in much the same way as the West sees a developing country, i.e. as a dirty place. Dirt, as we have said, is a relative concept, and each culture is happy with its own understanding of the concept. There will always be cultures that exaggerate, and cultures that do not come up to our standard. And so every culture positions itself on a cline, convinced that its position is the correct one. This is the heart of the belief that the map or myth is reality.

The following contexting cline comes from a business article adapted by Victor (1992:143). Hall's theory, in fact, has been developed, like much anthropological theory 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 the previous chapter, this particular cline is not based on any published statistics:

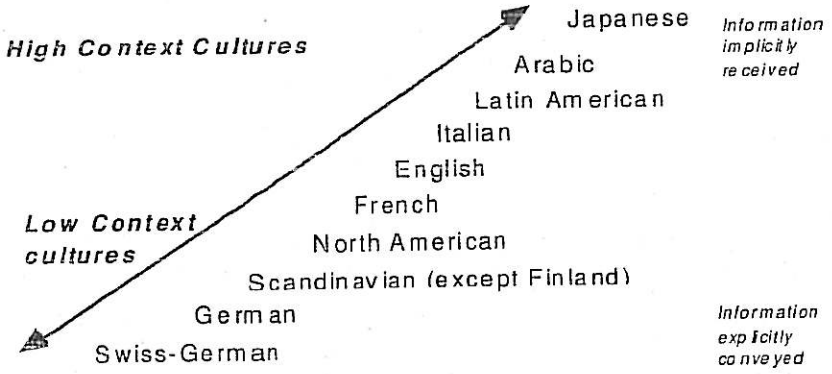


Figure 43. Context Ranking of Cultures

The highest context communication culture is the Japanese, which fits our stereotype of their inscrutable culture, where silence is more valued than the word. At the other end of the cline is the Swiss-German where the stereotype of exacting precision and detailed information fits their LCC position.

An extreme example of a low context character comes from Charles Dickens' *Hard Times* (1987). 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.

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.

Returning now to an earlier discussion on language and culture, we can now look at the relationship between the use of the lexico-grammar and the 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

The English language itself, as a lexico-grammatical system, is decidedly LCC in comparison with many other languages. The language is well-adapted to explication, and less suitable for the signalling of 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. Membershipping 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".

Halliday (1992:75) notes exactly the same point, and explains the LCC nature of the English language itself (as used by the middle-class): "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, 151) 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 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 ...

Urdu, spoken by eighty-five 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 lexico-grammatical reasons, but also because the context of situation will not have changed in time and there are strong relations between events.

Concluding her research on the high level of assumptions made by Urdu speakers, and the expectation that the addressee (whether 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".

• *American and British English*

We now turn to differences in standard usage of the same lexico-grammatical sys-

tem: 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. 1881-82, in Richard Ellmann. *Oscar Wilde* (1988)
>
> When I speak my native tongue [U.S. 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* (Nov. 1942)
>
> Britain speaks the world's most popular language – so do the Americans, up to a point. *The Economist* (20/10/90)

At the heart of these quoted differences is not so much the lexico-grammar but the greater orientation in the United States to LCC, and hence towards textual explication. John Dodds (1989:12), Canadian-English, notes how the logical mathematical design of the American urban grid system automatically entails greater clarity: "instead of saying (as an American would) something like 'up two blocks, then take a right and it's three blocks along', he (the Englishman) said keep following this road for about half a mile, turn right, and then its the third turning on the left".

The American technical rather than rough calculation was noted by Sapir, and recorded in his lecture notes (1994:33):

> 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.

This reminds us of the McDonald's technical itemizing of the service encounter, and we should also remember that concepts such as Management by Objectives (MBO), time and motion studies, *The One Minute Manager* and Procedural Re-Engineering are a product of a low context culture – and less popular in the UK than in the US.

The British, unwritten, 'gentleman's agreement' is not part of the American way, according to Victor (1992:150). In America, a written signed agreement is the preferred way of doing business. A popular and possibly true story is the successful case brought against the Dé Longhi Company in America, regarding a microwave oven. The written instructions did *not* include an explicit warning against using the

microwave for drying pet animals. What is certainly true is the following:

> **YOU HAVE BEEN WARNED**
>
> The fear of being sued for millions of dollars under America's sweeping product liability laws is producing some absurd warning signs. Following a $2.7m (£1.8m) fine awarded to a scalded customer, McDonald's serves its coffee in mugs stamped with the bright red words "Caution HOT!" Starbucks, America's top café chain, says more graciously: "Careful, the beverage you are about to enjoy is extremely hot".
>
> Toymakers are obliged to remind parents they are buying toys. Kiddies' plastic construction hats are not, they are told, intended to protect their offspring from falling masonry. A Batman costume comes with the following advice: "For play only. Mask and chest plate are not protective. Cape does not enable user to fly". *The Sunday Times* (09/03/97)

Note, by the way, the same Meta-Motel violation ("Toymakers are obliged"), which points to the tolerance limits of the writer.

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 (1994:35), in his publication 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 nonetheless".

The Founding Fathers, faced with a new (continental) environment were obliged to invent new names for the new plants and animals they encountered. As can be seen from the list they are all compounds taken from existing words:

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

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, as we have already seen in Chapter 5.3.

What is particularly relevant for our discussion here is Bryson's (ibid.:26) comment on the reasons why this approach was so common: "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 birth of America as an independent country is also marked by a high degree of text. The third U.S. 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".

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 the separation.*

The need to explain in text and "in a language that everyone can understand" (ibid.:50) demonstrates an orientation to Universalism and Equality – both of which remain at the heart of American core orientations.

10.3 Contexting and the Brain

- Hall's Contexting Theory and Hemispherical Preference
- Hampden-Turner and Hemispherical Cooperation
- Grinder's Taxonomy of Skills
- Lateralization and Translation Strategies

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, logic, and "precise sequencing in space and in time" (Stein 1988:132).

The right hemisphere, on the other hand, is largely responsible for relationships, the non-verbal, the holistic and patterns. These constitute the frame within which the transmission of text takes place. The right hemisphere is also involved in language production, but its influence is not on the text itself but on the frame of interpretation (E. Ross 1988:188-89): "evidence has been gathered in the last decade to show that the right hemisphere (has) a major role in modulating attitudes and emotion". More recent research (cited in Obler and Gjerlow 1999) simply confirms the above.

Clearly, like Hall's triangle halves, the two hemispheres working together create meaning, and also, as hypothesized by Hall, "there is continuous competition

between the two hemispheres for the level of control" (Stein 1988:133). According to one textbook on the brain (The Diagram Group 1982:291), "Theory has it that left brain hemispheres inspired our Western, strongly verbal, scientific culture, while right brain hemispheres produced the artistic, mystic cultures of the East". Not only – the great gender divide – according to Pease and Pease (2001:41-69) is also due to separately developed hemispheres. They cite neurological research confirming the following:

- A woman's brain has a thicker corpus callosum (bridging the two hemispheres)
- A women has up to 30 % more connections between left and right hemispheres
- Men's brains are more compartmentalized: e.g., men's speech is located predominantly in the left hemisphere whereas women have many locations for speech
- Women have more right brain activity, except for spatial skills

Charles Hampden-Turner produced *Maps of the Mind* (1981:86-89). In this book, he gives much space to 'The Mind-Splitters', and links 25 major philosophical theories to the left-right split. He also suggests that Chomsky's surface structure is left hemisphere, while the deep-structure is right hemisphere. Paul Watziawick (1993:14) of the Mental Research Institute in Palo Alto agrees. His book, *The Language of Change*, is devoted to communication problems and hemisphere differentiation. What emerges from the research he cites is that the full representation of "experiences of our inner world" lies in the right hemisphere while, in his words, "grammar, syntax and semantics" are organized in the left hemisphere.

However, at the same time Hampden-Turner (1981:88) adds a warning:

> By the same token it would be an error to conceive of the two hemispheres as containing homunculi, i.e. little musicians dancing in the right, mathematicians wrangling in the left. Rather, both hemispheres show some activity almost all the time. They merely process information differently and in varying levels of intensive intensity.

Michael Grinder (1989:40), brother of one of the NLP founders, and National Director of NLP in Education in the United States, suggests that individuals develop different communication skills depending on their hemisphere development. His taxonomy of skills (and that of Pease and Pease 2001:49) is very similar to those presented for low and high context modes:

Modes of consciousness

Left hemisphere	**Right Hemisphere**
• verbal	non-verbal
– symbols	– spatial relationships
– language (words)	– shapes/patterns; melody
– phonetics	– visualization

• logical	intuitive, creative
• sequential	random
• linear/lineal	holistic/spatial
– locating details	– the big picture
• reality-based	fantasy-oriented
• facts	feelings/ emotions
• temporal	non-temporal

Watzlawick (1993:33, 35), reporting others, notes that "the hemispheres are much less differentiated in childhood than in later life". He suggests that eventual dominance will depend on parent reinforcement.[7] This is very possibly the basis of how cultures have developed. A problem will be perceived in the environment as requiring either a right or left hemisphere type of solution. Hence: "The hemisphere for which a certain outcome is more important will take the initiative and determine the problem-solving behaviour".

• *Lateralization and Translation Strategies*

We can now also see how the teaching, or at least the presentation, of translation theory has changed over the past thirty years in terms of learning style and hemisphere preference. The decoding-encoding model, for example, focused 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, analyzing and recoding approach is very LCC oriented, with a high priority placed on 'the text' and the source language words. The more recent approach is HCC in orientation. The emphasis now has shifted to the context and the 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 has worked on trainee interpreters, has been able to demonstrate experimentally that the trainees begin their university career left brain oriented, processing text, field dependent, and analyzing small chunks of speech. Grinder (1989:2) points out that this is not particularly surprising. The education system in North America (and I would include the West in general) has, he says, a "propensity to the left hemispheric way of thinking". Fortunately, Fabbro also discovered that by the time the trainees reach their final year, the right hemisphere is just as active.

We can now link this to lateralization. Cultural interpreters and mediators will be both left and right brain oriented to enable them to both analyze and create frames. Laura Gran (Gran and Dodds 1989:95), talking specifically about interpreting makes the same point: "Obviously, the interpretation process also

[7] See, however, Pease and Pease (2001:52) summary of 'natural' hemisphere development in children.

presupposes the activation of both logical and intuitive skills. It is my conviction that there is a lot to be learned about how to develop these two different abilities".

• ***Summary***

To sum up, all cultures will be on a cline with a tendency towards giving priority either to the left hemisphere, the text, or to the right hemisphere, the context. When communicating, most people in all cultures intuitively and unconsciously calculate what constitutes a message, and therefore what is already shared and what need not be mentioned. How the message is then transmitted, and how much through the text or through the context is also an agreed principle within a culture.

Again we must stress that this is a general organizing principle, and as we go into more detail we will find that cultures vary their text/context priorities according to context of situation. The next chapter focuses on contexting with regard to culture-bound use of language and how this can affect translation.

Musacchio, Maria Teresa & Geneviève, Henrot Sostero (a cura di) (2007) Tradurre: formazione e professione. Padova: CLEUP.

Teaching dialogue interpreting in higher education: a research-driven, professionally oriented curriculum design

Raffaela Merlini

Introduction

The fact that this contribution is included in a volume on Translation[1] is testament not only to the editors' broad view of the discipline, but also to the recognition that this form of interpreting has lately gained in Italy. Having been overshadowed by its more glamorous and eye-catching cousin, i.e. conference interpreting, dialogue interpreting was for decades a largely neglected territory. Besides, while, internationally, studies in the field go back to the early 90s, in this country consistent research output is no more than a few years old. Two are the major causes that have brought it to the fore: the massive rise of immigration flows and public service interpreting needs, which are increasingly attracting media and public attention; and the implementation of the 2001 Italian university reform leading to the setting up of Language Mediation degree courses, of which more will be said in the next paragraph.

Whilst referring interested readers coming from other research avenues to the relevant literature,[2] I will restrict this introduction to Mason's (1999b:147) by-now classical definition of dialogue interpreting as "interpreter-mediated communication in spontaneous face-to-face interaction", and spend instead a few words on why I chose this expression over a plethora of competing denominations[3]. The generic term used in British university curricula of both Modern Languages, and Translation

[1] The term will be used here in its double acception, as written translation, thus opposed to interpreting, and, following functionalist approaches, as a generic term covering both the written and oral varieties of the same intercultural communicative interaction (Nord, 1997:104). To disambiguate the two, when necessary, the latter meaning will be signalled with a capital "T".

[2] Far from being comprehensive, the following selection is meant only as a very basic introduction to scholarly investigation of dialogue interpreting: Gentile *et al.* (1996), Carr *et al.* (1997), Wadensjö (1998), Mason (1999a), Roberts *et al.* (2000), Mason (2001), Brunette *et al.* (2003).

[3] The latest and most scrupulous survey of terminological variants in three languages – German, English and Italian – can be found in Mack (2005).

and Interpreting degree courses is "*liaison* interpreting". In Gentile *et al.* (1996:1), the term is taken to encompass a wide spectrum of settings, ranging from business to legal, medical, educational and tourist ones[4]. Irrespective of the context, the focus of the expression is on the connecting function performed by the interpreter in the exchange of information, and consequently on the interpreter herself[5] as the "person in the middle". The Italian term with an equivalent range of comprehensiveness and an equally institutionalised use in higher education is "interpretazione di trattativa". To be foregrounded in this case is the "negotiation" activity which is instinctively associated with business transactions. If, however, the intention – as ours indeed is – is to shift the emphasis from the centrality of the interpreter as the "conduit" of cross-lingual exchanges or from the type of activity being performed through talk, onto the dynamics of a three-way interaction, in which all participants jointly define meanings, roles and footings (Mason, 2002:140), the concept of dialogue must necessarily be given pre-eminence.[6]

Starting with a brief account of training opportunities currently provided by Italian universities and other institutional actors in the field of oral mediation, this paper will concentrate on issues of *curriculum* design from the chosen theoretical angle of *dialogism*. A three-stage teaching programme, with phase-specific analytical instruments and samples of class activities, will then be suggested. Stemming, as they do, from my research interests and specific theoretical background, these indications are also, and to no smaller extent, the result of a 10-year experience in teaching the subject at different universities in both England and Italy. Over this period, in a trial and error process, whilst certain ideas and activities have been retained, others have gradually been discarded and replaced with more fruitful alternatives.

Given that, as Linell (1998:XVI) says, "each piece of scholarly work is, at some level, collective and dialogical", before proceeding with the discussion, I should acknowledge at least two debts. As will soon become evident, Annalisa Sandrelli's insightful contributions to the subject under analysis have provided ample food for

[4] This use is far from generalised in the English-speaking world. The Canadian scholar Roda Robert (1997:8), for instance, indicates "*ad hoc* interpreting" as the most generic term, while reserving "liaison interpreting" for business settings. The other large sub-category of *ad hoc* interpreting is, in Robert's classification, "community interpreting", for which the label "dialogue interpreting" is given as a synonym.

[5] To avoid the politically correct but clumsy expressions "he/she", "him/her" and "his/her" or any other circuitous ways around the use of gender-based pronominal references, I will, with considerable bias, opt in this paper for the feminine forms.

[6] It should be noted that the use of "dialogue interpreting" as the highest-level hyperonym is gaining increasing currency among researchers, in particular following Ian Mason's contributions to this area of study.

thought, offering at times welcome shortcuts for an otherwise all too lengthy discussion, at others essential cues for constructive divergence. Secondly, I should mention Mariachiara Russo and Gabriele Mack who, in 2003, organised at the Forlì School for Interpreters and Translators a pioneering conference entirely devoted to training and professional issues in the field of dialogue interpreting[7]. The ensuing volume, which they co-edited (Russo and Mack, 2005), has given much needed impulse to scholarly debate on these topics within the Italian academic *milieu*. As I noted in the opening lines, my figuring among the contributors to the present volume is partly a consequence of this increased visibility.

Training interpreters, mediators or cross-cultural communicators?

Once very seldom used, the Italian phrase "mediazione linguistica" (language mediation) has been propelled to the front-lines of academic discourse by the recent reform of the Italian university system. With the creation, by ministerial decision, of a three-year degree course in "Language Mediation Sciences", most universities have hastily set up similarly named programmes in a mass imitation phenomenon which the French scholar Daniel Gouadec, in his presentation at the Padua conference, referred to as "cloning", and which is evidently affecting other countries besides Italy. At the same time, however, the constraints imposed by available human and financial resources along with the need for competitive diversification have creatively shaped these courses into a considerable number of variants. The resulting scenario is one where the old, reassuring polarity between learning foreign languages as a means to studying the corresponding literatures and, on the other side, perfecting language competence while training as interpreters/translators has given way to a disorienting fragmentation, especially at the latter – and incidentally more popular – end. Although the stated aim of the reform was to reduce the gap between university education and professional employment, it is honestly difficult to see how certain *curricula*, and they are by no means the minority, can offer "professionalising" modules within the confined space of the few hours earmarked for language teaching. Considered from this perspective, the introduction of first-level degree courses in Language Mediation, which has undeniably allowed many academic establishments with little or no tradition in translation and interpreting to enter the arena, has been tantamount to presenting mediation skills as a downgraded version of translation and interpreting ones.

[7] The event followed, at three years' distance, an international conference on interpreting studies held at the same institution, where dialogue interpreting contributions were given ample space in the programme (see Garzone and Viezzi, 2002).

The picture becomes even more confusing if one looks at professional practice. Italian graduates with a degree in Language Mediation are preferentially recruited by private companies as language experts, whose tasks may include business interpreting, for which they will have received some form of training during the three-year course. If we, however, consider the other large area of dialogue interpreting, namely community interpreting, the figure identified in the 1998 statutory act on immigration (Testo Unico sull'immigrazione, D.L. 286/1998) is that of the "mediatore culturale" (cultural mediator), whose training is left to the initiative of such actors as local governments, NGOs and immigrants' associations. Recent surveys have shown that the courses in question, when and where available, are not only episodic and of short duration, but are also mostly theoretical – the little practical exposure which participants sometimes receive is exclusively in written translation – and cover mainly legislative and administrative topics, with some instruction in broadly sociological and intercultural issues (see Merlini, 2005a:30-31). Moreover, they are strictly reserved for foreign citizens. The consequence is that immigrants-turned-mediators usually have no familiarity with interpreting techniques, and are given no guidance as to professional ethics and codes of practice. Being their profile largely indeterminate and their role socially unrecognised, their services are also very poorly paid. In practice, mediators are called upon to perform a variety of tasks, which go from providing administrative assistance to immigrants, to filling in forms, compiling reports, liaising with service providers, over and above translating documents and interpreting in contact situations. As for the aims of the mediation activity, these are defined in very broad terms. Favaro quoted in Mack (2005:8) indicates somewhat rhetorically:

> mediation is carried out by removing, adding and modifying, so as to eliminate (language, communication and information) obstacles which impede access to and use of public services. It provides new insights, languages and information, while increasing both the quality and availability of service provision. It creates an in-between space for encounter and opens up new communicative prospects. Thus, it does not only function as a compensation process, by filling gaps, but brings about change and innovation. (our translation)

Leaving aside the realistic feasibility of such an enterprise, what is being described here is a *creative* social activity (consider the stress laid on the concept of "new" in the above quotation), which *autonomously* shapes the communicative context to allow for an evolution of both majority and minority behavioural and cultural paradigms. Cultural mediation is thus clearly seen as something more than Translation. Speaking of the difference between what he eloquently calls "cultural mediation" and "linguistic translation", back in 1981 Ronald Taft observed:

> [...] mediation between cultures requires the communication of ideas and information from one cultural context to the other. This is analogous to the process involved in linguistic translation, even though there is more to mediation than mere translation. [...] In practice, a person playing a mediating role may never be called upon to engage in the exact *translation* of words; rather, he will communicate the ideas in terms that are meaningful to the members of the target culture. (1981: 58-59; emphasis in the original)

Reacting against the view of interpreting as the domain of a mere transposition of words from one language to another (i.e. transcoding, to use Seleskovitch's terminology), many researchers have been stressing for years the intrinsically cultural nature of all Translation activity. Yet, this misconception is not as obsolete as one may think if, as recently as three years ago, a text like the following could appear on the official website of the *Italian Ministry for Employment and Welfare Policies*:

> The cultural mediator is a foreigner who, by virtue of specific training, has acquired professional competence in the field of intercultural communication. He differs from the Italian service provider, from **the mere translation professional who is not necessarily trained for cultural empathy**, and from the *ad hoc* mediator, be it a voluntary worker, relative, friend or fellow countryman. [...] The mediator [...] acts as a bridge between the migrants' needs and the provision of public services. To establish a true dialogue between foreign service users and [Italian] service providers, **what is required is a decoding of ideas and behaviours, in addition to the translation of words.** (quoted in Mack, 2005:9; our translation and emphasis)

Apart from the reference to a "professional competence acquired through specific training", which, as already mentioned, is not frequently observed in everyday practice, the quotation (especially in its highlighted parts) would lend itself to amused rather than polemical remarks, if it did not come from such an official source. Admittedly, within the community of interpreting scholars, the debate is still ongoing as to the degree of intervention which is thought to be acceptable before mediation gives way to "advocacy". The growing trend, however, is to see mediation as one of the many forms of Translation (see Valero-Garcés, 2005), or rather as a Translation strategy called for in specific settings, characterised by power and knowledge asymmetry as well as marked cultural distance (see Merlini, 2005a).

To sum up the above, the current state of affairs, at least in Italy, exhibits a curious contradiction. Whilst plenty of official ink is describing, in rather grand terms, cultural mediation as a wider, more complex and certainly nobler activity than mere translation and interpreting, playing, as it does, a pivotal role in very sensitive areas of cultural contact, its practitioners are still relegated, both professionally and educationally, to an inferior position. Thus, society is seen to confer more prestige to a professional activity, conference interpreting, which in the

public opinion is deemed to require more advanced language skills but fewer and simpler relational and cultural competences. Leaving aside social or even political considerations[8], as they would go beyond the scope of the present contribution, the approach adopted here is to consider interpreting as the overarching concept encompassing all forms of oral translation, and mediation as the form it takes in most dialogical contexts.

Designed to function within the current university framework, the *curriculum* described in the following paragraphs is meant to familiarise students with the dynamics of dialogue interpreting, with a view to forming technically and culturally competent communicators, who could easily practise in the fields of business as well as public service interpreting. If this is the desired outcome, then dialogue interpreting cannot be introduced as a language learning activity[9], but rather as an autonomous didactic space, where language knowledge is developed on a par with methodological and pragmatic skills. Without equalling this approach to full professional training, a clear professional orientation is called for, so as to equip students with the skills required on the job market. On the other hand, by opting for the expression "professionally oriented *curriculum*" in place of the ministerially decreed "professionalising", our intention is to highlight the distinctiveness of university education rather than realistically account for its constraints. As Federica Scarpa argues in this same volume, the aim of academic studies is to gain insight into a specific mental activity, thus preparing the mind for multiple variations of a basic scenario and for future adjustments to the specific requirements of a given professional field.

Dialogism and cooperation: setting the stage for the learning experience

In the introduction, mention was made of the "conduit" metaphor to describe the interpreter's liaising function. As Wadensjö (1998:7-8) points out, this widely used image stems from a "transfer" model of human communication, which in 1979 Reddy called the "conduit model". According to this theory of language use, which to some extent still underlies the present-day epistemology of monologism, "successful communication [...] takes place, if the message arrives at the destination, in the listener's mind, in the same form as the intended message had in the speaker's mind, i.e. it has not, on its way from source to destination, been distorted by any

[8] On this, see Pöchhaker's observations (2002:163-164), and in particular his reference to Prunč's (1997) concept of "translational culture".

[9] The use of liaison interpreting as a language learning technique is amply discussed in Thomas and Towell (1985) and Sandrelli (2001).

kind of 'noise'" (Linell, 1998:22-23). This clearly presupposes that intentions and meanings are the products of individual speakers and exist as pre-determined and complete entities in their minds. The model does envisage the possibility of distortions, which can however be avoided or significantly reduced through the speaker's adoption of Grice's (1975) maxims and the cooperation of attentive listeners. Tyler (1990:196) notes how the speaker is thus presented as an entirely rational agent who speaks his mind "with clarity, economy, and planned execution, [and] whose foreknowledge of intents, means and effects of words conjures ready recognition of those intents, means and effects in the minds of complicitous hearers". Within this theoretical framework, the interpreter's task is to act as channel through which pre-packaged messages go back and forth unimpeded (Bot, 2005 calls this the "translation-machine model" of interpreting). By the same token, however, the interpreter may become a major source of "noise" causing loss of information and distortion of meaning, through her inability to decode the speaker's speech or recode it into the listener's language, or by intervening in the exchange in her own right. If human interaction is seen as a unidirectional process of transfer from one person to another, then interpreted interaction must necessarily entail not one but two dialogues, the dialogue of one interlocutor with the interpreter and the dialogue of the latter with the other interlocutor. In Gadamer's words:

> Das Angewiesensein auf die Übersetzung des Dolmetschers ist ein Extremfall, der den hermeneutischen Vorgang, das Gespräch, verdoppelt: es ist das des Dolmetschers mit der Gegenseite und das eigene mit dem Dolmetscher.[10] (1960/1990:388-389)

This way of looking at the interpreter as a person involved in two subsequent acts of communication, albeit within the overarching framework of her clients' goals and conversational moves, identifies her as the only party who is constantly in a "dialogical situation". Thus, ironically enough, while debasing the interpreter's activity to a mechanical process of decoding and recoding of information, the "conduit" metaphor of the monological paradigm assigns to her a central and, to a very large extent, dominant role as the sole and unavoidable channel of communication.

Whereas monologism construes communication as a "from-to" process, dialogism portrays it as an intrinsically social and collective process, a "between" process, "where the speaker is dependent on the listener as a "co-author" (as well as in other capacities) and, more generally, on the various relevant contexts, and where he, the speaker, is also a listener (to his own utterance) and is engaged in sense-

[10] Translation: Dependence on the translation of an interpreter is an extreme case that duplicates the hermeneutical process of the conversation: there is that between the interpreter and the other as well as that between oneself and the interpreter.

making activities in the course of the verbalization process itself" (Linell, 1998:24). In other words, meanings do not exist in a ready-made form beforehand. They grow out of vague thoughts and are gradually developed as utterances are formulated, becoming shared knowledge only when all parties to the interaction mutually provide evidence that they have established a shared understanding. The domination of monologism in Western intellectual history, Linell argues (1998:28), is largely due to a "written language bias", whereby the written language is not only taken as a model for language structure and use, but serves also as the medium to describe language itself. Although dialogism, as an alternative epistemology, is presented as an equally comprehensive theory of human communication, thus applying to all modes, written as well as oral, its principles are derived from observation of talk in face-to-face encounters. Linell's definition of dialogue as "interaction through symbolic means by mutually co-present individuals" (1998:10) highlights the mutual other-orientation of interlocutors, which can be extended to include an intended or imagined "virtual other", but emerges in a more salient way in actual conversations between people. If the dialogical paradigm is applied to interpreted interaction, the interpreter loses her hegemony[11] but is reinstated as a full – and we could add re-humanised – participant in the exchange. Dialogism in interpreting thus entails at least three consequences. Firstly, the interpreter will be seen to contribute along with the primary interlocutors to the joint construction and negotiation of meaning, not only as a text-(re)producer but as a social actor with a moral responsibility to her clients and to the norms of professional ethics. Far from being discarded, the requirement of equivalence, i.e. faithfulness to the original message, will be judged against a multiplicity of contextual factors, in a holistic, synergic and dynamic view of communication as something more than an ordered sequence of utterances. Secondly, once the idea that the interpreter's presence has no influence on the interaction is recognised as a fallacy, primary speakers, on their part, will become aware of their active role as co-definers of interpreting quality. Thirdly, though communication will remain largely dependent on the interpreter's ability to convey meaning through the verbal channel, increased significance will be attributed to the role played by directly accessible features, such as prosody, eye-contact, facial expressions, gestures, posture and positioning, in offering to primary interlocutors alternative and complementary cues for sense-making. The double-dialogue of the

[11] In positing the centrality of the interpreter in the conduit model vs. the equality of her status with the primary interlocutors in the dialogical model, I offer a reverse perspective to the more current one which sees the restoration of the interpreter to an involved third party as a clear sign of her newly gained central role in cross-cultural communication. At a closer look, however, these are but two ways of representing the same theoretical shift, away from a view of interpreting as individual text production towards interpreting as a social and multi-functional activity.

monological paradigm is thus replaced by a triadic interaction model, whereby an interpreter-mediated encounter can be described as a "*trilogue*" (Malheiros-Poulet, 1995) or, more figuratively, a "communicative *pas de trois*" (Wadensjö, 1998:10-13).

In the dialogical framework, the concept of cooperation takes on new contours. Whereas the classical notion of dialogue – think of Grice – invokes a normative and ideal speech situation characterised by egalitarianism, harmony, consensus and agreement[12], empirically observed cooperation is at the same time more pervasive and less pronounced. Linell argues for its substitution with the concept of "coordination", which he defines as the "co-accomplishment of concerted activities by conversational partners" (1998:74). Coordination thus presupposes the collective construction and management of a "communicative project" through mutually oriented inter-actions, whilst accounting for frequently occurring divergence in the interactants' individual projects. In other words, in non-cooperative kinds of communicative activities, interlocutors pursue competitive goals which must, however, be coordinated within a general project, if communication is to take place. This redefined notion of cooperation bears relevance to the interpreting activity in dialogical settings. As Anthony Pym (2000:188) observes, to describe the cross-cultural mediator as a facilitator of communication is not tantamount to saying that cooperation is her aim, or that she must achieve it at all costs. Borrowing Linell's terminology, the interpreter's task is on the one hand to enable the overall communicative project[13] by contributing to the coordination of the speech event, and on the other to adhere to the interlocutors' individual projects as they gradually unfold. An instructive and productive way of considering the mediator's aim is suggested by Chesterman (1997), when he claims that translators should not pursue equivalence but rather avoid misunderstandings. As Pym puts it "the translator would then not so much seek cooperation as try to eliminate the conditions that promote non-cooperation" (2000:183).

The following paragraphs will draw on the above observations and discuss their impact on teaching practice. The underlying assumption is that exposing the actual dynamics of talk-in-interaction can free students from inhibitory misconceptions not only about interpreting, but more generally about the learning experience, which itself will come to be seen as a dialogical process of joint co-accomplishment.

[12] Sperber and Wilson's relevance theory replaces Gricean cooperation with the shared aim "to have the communicator's informative intention recognized by the audience" (1988:161). Their shift, however, does not entail a break with the monological view of language, since reference is still made to an intention which pre-exists in the speaker's mind, and to a merely information-transferring function of human communication.

[13] Though referring to monolingual triadic exchanges, Caplow's (1968) definition of "mediator" as the third party who defends the collective programme offers an interesting parallel.

Designing a three-tier curriculum

The suggested curriculum envisages a practical and theoretical pathway, ideally stretching over three to four years of academic study. More specifically, with reference to the Italian university system, the three stages identified below correspond to the second and third year of an undergraduate three-year degree course (*corso di laurea triennale*) and to the first year – with a possible extension to the second year – of a postgraduate degree course (*corso di laurea magistrale*). As already mentioned, the progression of activities is designed to develop solid interpreting skills, as well as an understanding of the dialogical interpreting format in its varied settings. The focus of attention will move from relaying information (level one), to coordinating interaction (level two), to analysing authentic interpreted encounters (level three). Elements of increased interactional complexity are introduced in the transition from one level to the next, with the most significant ones being the shifts from cooperative (level one) to competitive or even conflicting communicative scenarios (level two), and from symmetrical (level two) to asymmetrical participants' roles (level three).

Whilst role-playing will remain a constant in class activities throughout the three stages, research data will be gradually introduced not only to explore authentic interpreting practice, but also to highlight similarities and differences between simulated and real interaction. As argued by Elisa Turra (2005), the combination of different types of data is essential both to expose students to a wide range of discourses and pragmatic variables, and to bring about a fruitful integration between teaching and research. Though heeding the author's warning against an early introduction of transcripts of real interpreted sessions in the curriculum, the use of such material is even more strongly advocated here, as the only effective way of displaying the true impact of cultural and social diversity on communicative behaviour. To enable students to reflect upon their own performances as well as those of interpreters in the real-world, a selection of theoretical and analytical models will also be presented for each one of the three levels.

The use of these mutually reinforcing tools will be described in the following sections. Class activities and teaching materials will be illustrated through excerpts of transcribed audio- and videotaped student performances and authentic data drawn from the dialogue interpreting corpus which the present author has been creating since 2003.[14] Owing to constraints of length only a few salient examples will be provided.

[14] The corpus, which is still being expanded, covers three dialogue interpreting areas: immigration services, health-care provision and business negotiations. The latter collection includes both authentic and simulated interaction. At present, the total recorded time for each section is respectively 133 min., 124 min., and 542 min. of which 187 were recorded at a fair trade and 355 in interpreting

Level one: Relaying

The first stage of a dialogue interpreting curriculum should allow for a gradual transition from the reassuring solidity of the written text to the uneasy evanescence of spoken discourse. Talk is still treated here mainly as text[15], and interpreting as a text-relaying task. The focus is on the recovery of information units and the logical connections between them. Analysing the propositional macro-structure of written texts is a useful preliminary exercise, but should soon be replaced by collective reconstruction of orally delivered information. Memorisation and recall of progressively longer stretches of oral discourse will be subsequently required from individual students.

Alongside oral summaries, a widely recommended activity in interpreter training is sight translation. Among its many learning benefits, Sandrelli (2005:85) relevantly mentions the "oralisation" of written texts, a process which forces students to simplify syntax by turning subordinate and embedded clauses into main clauses linked by coordinating conjunctions. At first sight – pun fully intended – this would seem perfectly in line with the aim indicated for this level. However, precisely because, as the author points out quoting Abril Martí and Collados Aís, sight translation presents students with a condition of maximum contact between the two languages, thus exposing them to the pitfalls of interference, we would rule it out as a preparatory exercise in the present curriculum proposal, and possibly see it as an additional skill taught at later stages. The development of "dexterity, precision and succinctness" (Snelling, 1992:4), which makes sight translation an ideal precursor of simultaneous interpreting, would be an over-ambitious and unrealistic goal, if set at the beginning of the students' dialogue interpreting experience.

So a different way must be sought to lead students from literacy to orality. This may be found in oral presentations of company profiles. Students are first asked to collect information on a local company and draw up a profile in their native tongue (Italian in our case). The folder will include the company's history, a description of the line of business, catalogues and advertising material, as well as the transcript of an interview with one of the company's staff, and a short glossary of technical terms. This information is then presented in class in the foreign language (English) from very simple notes. Obviously no learning by heart is allowed. The presentation is interpreted sentence by sentence by another student back into Italian. The interpreting task is made easier by the distribution of the relevant glossary to the

classes and exams. Transcription of these recordings has already been completed. All the examples supplied in the present contribution show excerpts from these transcripts.

[15] This refers to the distinction between "talk-as-text" and "talk-as-activity", which has become widely known in the field of interpreting studies following Wadensjö's seminal work of 1998.

whole class one week in advance on the corresponding presentation. To make sure that the delivery of information is as spontaneous as possible, at the end of the presentation the teacher will ask questions in Italian which the interpreting student will relay in English to his/her colleague.

The communicative scenario is, at this stage, fully cooperative; the speaker is the company's spokesperson supplying information to an audience, whose only goal is to learn as much as possible about the given business activity. There is no turn-taking between primary speakers, as the presentation is still a monological kind of communication, although an embryonic interactional element is present in the questions. The preparation of the company profile familiarises students with the business setting, in view of the simulated business negotiations of the next module. A first exposure to analysing and transcribing oral language is also offered through the interview. With reference to assessing the interpreting performance, Wadensjö's (1998:106-108) taxonomy of interpreter's renditions may be introduced.

Level two: Coordinating

At this level, students are presented with the notion of talk-as-activity. The focus is on the dialogical format of a complex three-party interaction, where the interpreter is not only reproducing utterances but coordinating the overall communicative project. The module will start with the distinction between monologism and dialogism (see above). Though Linell's work (1998) will be widely referred to and suggested for further reading, Bazzanella's (2002) definition of dialogue is a preferable conceptual framework for didactic purposes, as it allows easy recognition of the distinctive traits of different dialogical contexts. In her attempt to capture the essence of dialogue, the author turns to Eleonor Rosch's prototype theory and identifies the core components of dialogical communication in two attributes, namely "interactivity" and "intentionality". For each of the two prototypical "macro-features", she then lists a number of properties, or "micro-features", which may be central in certain forms of dialogue, and peripheral or totally absent in others. The first set includes: a) the use of the spoken medium; b) the interlocutors' co-presence in space and time; c) the involvement of two people; d) the alternation in turn-taking; and e) the joint construction of meaning. As for the second macro-feature, i.e. intentionality, Bazzanella indicates the following micro-features: f) shared knowledge and cultural frames of interpretation; g) shared code; and h) the pursuit of an individual as well as a collective goal. Reference to this framework will enable students to see how, despite the absence of some of the micro-features in both categories (namely, points c, f and g), a face-to-face interpreted encounter can indeed be considered a form of dialogue, not only in light of the applicability of all the

other traits, but because the third party is there precisely to bridge the knowledge, culture and code divide that separates the two main interlocutors.

After a thorough explanation of each micro-feature in the specific context of dialogue interpreting, the next step will be their actualisation in simulated interaction. Among its many learning benefits, in a dialogue interpreting course the role-play offers the opportunity to practise the foreign language in a true-to-life professional context, and, even more importantly in our view, to present the verbal exchange as a shared construction of meaning, or as Pym (2000:184) puts it, "as the active creator of intentions". The role-play shows in the most direct way how speakers' communicative goals are only partially pre-determined and evolve in response to the turn-by-turn moves of all interactants, including the interpreter (see example [1] below). An extensive discussion of the technique of the role-play in interpreting classes is found in Sandrelli (2001 and 2005). While referring the readers to the author's practical guidelines and their robust methodological underpinnings (concerning issues such as the use of scripted dialogues, the nature and timing of teachers' feedback, the involvement of the whole class in assessment exercises, etc.),[16] the present curriculum departs from the teaching practice suggested in the earlier of the two contributions, in two respects.

Firstly, the interview with experts on topical issues, though of undisputed effectiveness as a language learning device,[17] in a professionally oriented perspective is bound to shift the ground towards a different interpreting format, namely media interpreting. If, admittedly, professional contexts do include situations where journalists need interpreters to conduct private interviews, a more common instance is the broadcast interview, usually within a talk-show programme. Considering the additional skills required of the interpreter in this setting, where substantially different communication rules apply,[18] this learning activity would be best placed at a post graduate level.

Secondly, in the present author's experience, the development of a structured note-taking system in the context of dialogue interpreting has been found to be highly counter-productive. Sandrelli herself acknowledges the risk and proposes the teaching of "only the basic features of the note-taking technique devised by Rozan" (2001:181). However, she then proceeds to illustrate the guidelines given to students through examples which show an already well-advanced note-taking skill. Her arguing in favour of teaching note-taking, on the grounds that non-contextualised information cannot be retained in memory, is not sufficiently compelling. Students need no instruction on how to note figures, names and technical details. As for

[16] These aspects are also treated in Cotta-Ramusino (2005) and Merlini (2005 b).
[17] It should be recalled (see note 9) that this is the specific field of interest in Sandrelli (2001).
[18] On this, see Straniero Sergio (1999) and Mack (2002).

"identifying the macrostructure of the text and writing down the skeleton of discourse" (2001:181), this task is undoubtedly essential in practising consecutive interpreting, where the compositional plan of longer stretches of talk must be graphically represented on paper to be accurately rendered. It may, however, turn into a deleterious distraction for dialogue interpreting students. Assessment of student performances has revealed that, almost invariably, the note-taking exercise occupies the students' attention entirely, leading them away from the speaker's communicative goal and from the overall direction of the conversation. Students stop keeping eye contact, providing feedback and managing turns. As they withdraw, mentally as well as physically, from the unfolding interaction, they become engrossed in pursuing meaning on the page, with the consequence that they lose it completely. This does not mean that reflection on the macrostructure of the verbal exchange is a pointless exercise; quite the opposite. If introduced at the feedback stage, the reconstruction of topic development – with particular attention to the modification of the speakers' initial stances and goals – is indeed a valid teaching strategy.

In light of the above observations, a number of suggestions may be formulated. First of all, in this second module the focus should be exclusively on business negotiations. We would even argue for its further limitation to verbal transactions concerning the sale/purchase of goods. Following a brief illustration of the dynamics of negotiation, the communicative event is broken down into its constituent phases, which are then presented as distinct teaching units, each with its own specific linguistic and pragmatic features, and interpreting difficulties. A possible sequence might be the following:

1) opening (initial small talk, introductions, presentation of the respective companies);
2) clarifying the purpose of the encounter;
3) presenting the line of products (models, colours, materials, etc.);
4) talking about quantities, prices and discounts;
5) agreeing on terms of delivery and payment;
6) closing (filling in the order form, exchanging business cards, planning future steps).

Only when all the units have been covered, will the role-play extend over a full-length negotiation. With reference to the opening phase, small talk should not be neglected, given that it plays a vital role in business negotiations, as the means by which interlocutors build mutual trust. As Pym (2000:186) observes "the activity of gossip may [develop] relationships of mutual reliance and even friendship that may better ensure the success of future acts of cooperation". Starting from phase 2), the

notions of joint construction of meaning, turn-taking and communicative projects can be seen fully at play. An effective way to bring to light the interlocutors' joint responsibility in topic development is to present the same communicative scenario twice, with two different students acting as interpreters. Example [1][19] provides an illustration of how a divergence in formulation (the introduction of a causal link and the added emphasis in speaker B's turn) and in floor management (student 2's interruption of speaker B) may steer the conversation along a different route:

Example [1]

	Student 1		**Student 2**
A:	Allora, questo è il modello che mi aveva segnalato la signora rispondendo alla mia mail. Questo era il modello a cui era più interessata, me lo può confermare?	A:	Allora, questo è il modello che la signora aveva scelto tra i tre che le avevo mandato, vero?
I:	It is the model you were interested in?	I:	This is the model that you chose among the three that she sent to you.
B:	Yes, I was particularly interested in this model. I'm really fascinated, but I'm not very clear on the upper. Is it just a printed pattern or is it stitched?	B:	Right, this is what I'm really interested in, **because I find it a very fascinating, very attractive model, I'm fascinated / but...**
I:	Ha detto che è interessata, apprezza questo modello però ha un dubbio se si tratta di...cioè se il disegno è stampato oppure cucito.	I:	**/ Sì, perché** lo trova molto attraente, è un modello che le è piaciuto particolarmente.
A:	Il disegno dici? Il disegno. No. Questa è una cucitura, perché la scarpa, la tomaia è in cotone. Ma l'interno della scarpa è in pelle, pelle di vitello, solo l'esterno è in stoffa e il ricamo è in seta.	A:	Come mai le è piaciuto così tanto?
I:	The pattern is stitched. The insole is in leather and the upper is in cotton.	I:	She want to know why you find this model so attractive.

[19] All the excerpts from transcripts of student performances presented in this paper have been left in their original form. The language mistakes made by students have, therefore, not been corrected.

Attempts to collectively reconstruct the progression of the communicative event should follow each role-play session. Additionally, students may be asked to transcribe the recorded class performances – example [1] comes from one such exercise – which will then be discussed the following week. The first elements of turn-taking will also be introduced. Later in the module, reference to the theoretical tools of Conversation Analysis, as first developed by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974), will help students evaluate the impact of the interpreter's control of turn transfer, or lack thereof, on the interaction. Transcripts of authentic interpreting sessions may be presented at this stage. Example [2] gives evidence of a chaotic exchange, where frequently occurring overlaps (signalled by square brackets) result both from the Italian speakers' assertive conversational behaviour and from the interpreter's inability to organise the participants' turns:

Example [2][20]

E1: perché [noi abbiamo la possibilità
E2: [noi la confezione] possiamo fare anche grosse confezioni
E1: abbiamo (.) confezioni da::: da circa: venti–vent–venti–venti chili
E2: oppure anche più grandi
E1: [[anche più grandi
I: | | packages are around] twenty kilos and up to [one] hundred=
E2: [[anche un quintale e mezzo [anche]
I: =kilos
E1: ehm non ci sono problemi perché se vuole=
I: [[=sì ma lui lui voleva sapere] indicativamente il prezzo di un::=
FV: [[°how do we start how do we start
I: =del radicchio al chilo
E2: eh beh adesso al momento [le dico il prezzo quando è il momento] varia perché
E1: [il prezzo ehm
oggi oggi è un prezzo venti giorni fa ne aveva un altro ehm
I: [[of course it's very::]
E1: [[se vuole che] gli dica il prezzo di oggi è un discorso eh
I: today's price [is different from] the ( )
E2: [il prezzo è cinquanta]
FV: that's the market
I: yeah
FV: that's obvious yeah I just want to have an idea ( ) how much is it how much=
I: =sì per [avere un'idea] (.) il prezzo di oggi
FV: [it's the market you know]
E2: oggi come oggi=
E1: =cinquanta centesimi

[20] This excerpt is taken from the transcript of an interpreted encounter recorded at the *Tecnohortus fruit and vegetable trade fair*, Padua, 20.02.2004. Here, "E" stands for exhibitor, "I" for interpreter, and "FV" for foreign visitor.

Obviously, transcription conventions should be explained beforehand. Moreover, transcript analysis should be aided by repeated listenings to the audio-files.

Naturally flowing from issues of interactional management is the discussion of communicative projects, with the crucial distinction between individual and collective goals. Here, the most useful role-play scenario is one where the primary interlocutors' projects are plainly misaligned. Example [3] presents a situation where a long-standing business relationship is likely to end, following the American customer's intention to buy shoes from a different supplier:

Example [3]

A: Io sono venuta qui proprio per farle vedere il nuovo catalogo, ma soprattutto per, visto che siamo clienti...siamo in affari da tantissimi anni, per proporre delle soluzioni di prezzo vantaggiose proprio perché vogliamo venir loro incontro, anche facendo una politica di prezzo un pochino più vantaggiosa per loro.

I: Sì, allora. She have... came here to show you the new catalogue, but also to propose you a new pricelist to help you, to help you for a new purchase.

B: Ok well. As I said... that may interest me, of course, because if I can get better prices I can probably sell better, but as I said people are very careful with their money now, and as I said before there's the exchange rate problem, their shoes would probably still be too expensive for us.

I: Allora, mi stava dicendo che **è molto diciamo molto interessata alla sua proposta**, anche se con il tasso di cambio probabilmente, diciamo, gli acquisti saranno ridotti, sarà difficile e forse diciamo il costo di queste scarpe è comunque un po' eccessivo.

A: Le nostre sono scarpe di altissimo livello le nostre e questo loro lo sanno.

I: Theirs are high quality shoes, very high quality.

B: Oh yes I know that, but we have....

A: Sono scarpe sulle quali, certo noi possiamo venire loro incontro, proporre dei prezzi... però stiamo parlando di una ditta che esporta in tutto il mondo scarpe di altissima qualità!

I: Sì. This is a company, an important company with top quality shoes, **but she's saying to me that she want to propose you an interesting price**

B: As I said, I'm not denying the quality because I've bought these shoes for so many years, the quality is not in question, I know, but we are considering settling for a slightly lower quality and buying at lower prices.

I: Allora mi stava dicendo che è conosce la qualità delle scarpe, anche perché comunque siete diciamo in collaborazione da diversi anni però mi stava anche dicendo che una qualità un po' inferiore potrebbe andare comunque bene.

A: Certo, se loro si stanno posizionando su un altro tipo di mercato, quindi un altro tipo di clientela...dipende appunto dal cliente, nel senso che un cliente che è abituato a comprare italiano, per me loro avrebbero problemi a vendere a questo cliente, anche se a un prezzo inferiore, una scarpa che però non ha la tradizione della scarpa italiana, chiaramente...

I: Sì, mi scusi, posso tradurre?
A: Sì, sì, solamente aggiungo solo questo, tutto sta se loro vogliono cambiare tipo di clientela.
I: It depends on the client because the client who usually buys Italian shoes knows the difference. **Are you thinking of changing your client?**

In conflicting scenarios of this kind, a frequently observed tendency is for students to take upon themselves the task of reconciling the two parties' divergent goals. In other words, they tend to confuse their responsibility towards the interactional project with the idealised pursuit of a compromise (example [3] provides evidence of this; see parts in bold). Equally common is the students' progressive alignment with one of the two clients, usually with the culturally closer interlocutor, in this case the Italian-speaking one. An eloquent illustration is found in the following excerpt, where the impersonal reference to "the company" is replaced by the inclusive pronoun "we", overtly emphasised, a few turns later, in the comment "We have convinced her", accompanied by a complicitous nudge (as the video-tape of the performance clearly shows):

Example [4]

B: So there's quite a variety. Is the sole... is the rubber sole in this colour, this grey colour, or eh does it come in other colours?
I: Vuole sapere se la suola del modello del sandalo è sempre grigia o può essere anche di un altro colore.
A: Può essere anche di un altro colore, noi di solito abbiamo due colori o grigio o tutta bianca, ma se loro vogliono altri colori noi possiamo produrla in altri colori, però di solito quelli che offriamo noi da catalogo sono o bianca o grigia.
I: **The company** produce the rubber sole in grey or white colour eh but if you like you can ask another colour.
B: No I think that the grey is fine I'll have grey with, let's say, with the red shoe, it's cute it's really nice. As for the model in canvas...
I: Allora va bene la suola grigia con la scarpina rossa. Passando al modello in tela, invece...
A: Sì, i colori qui sono tre, bianco, celeste e giallo.
I: The colour of the other model, the second model, the model in canvas, eh **we** have eh three colours ehm white and: a very light blue, very very light, and yellow.
B: I don't know whether the yellow will go over that well in my country, ok so I would stick to maybe white and baby blue, eliminate the yellow.
I: Allora ha detto che dato che pensa che il giallo non sia un colore che vada molto nel suo paese, allora ha deciso di prendere gli altri colori quindi il bianco e il celeste.
A: Io proverei a convincerla sul giallo, perché abbiamo avuto delle resistenze anche qui con i nostri eh acquirenti locali, invece sono andate moltissimo.

I: She suggests you to try on your market the yellow colour... there were doubts here too, but it has sold well.
B: I don't know. So you say to try out the yellow, you think it will eh it will go over. Mmm, I could, let's say let's try, let's make it ten pairs of the yellow.
I: Allora ha detto che decide di provarlo, **quindi l'abbiamo convinta** per dieci paia gialle.

Leaving an in-depth discussion of the interpreter's loyalty and professional ethics to the next level of the curriculum, students should be made aware of shifts in the use of the 1st vs 3rd person singular, and their often unconscious identification with one of the speakers, signalled by the use of the 1st person plural.

A final suggestion concerning the role-play is that teachers should highlight rather than minimise, or worse ignore, instances of miscommunication brought about by the student's inaccurate renditions. This strategy pursues a twofold didactic aim. First, attention will be productively diverted from formal equivalence between original utterance and rendition, onto the communicative impact of the interpreter's translation choices. Second, students will perceive interpreted interaction as a truly cooperative effort, where lack of coherence leads primary speakers to recycle information and ask clarifying questions (see Bot, 2005). Example [5] shows the use of these devices by both primary speakers, in two subsequent occurrences of miscommunication – one concerning when to look at the order form, the other where to have dinner:

Example [5]

B: Ok, shall we fill the order form now?
I: Compiliamo il modulo ora?
A: Se per la signora va bene, possiamo compilarlo noi, mentre lei magari si riposa in albergo. Adesso la accompagniamo in albergo e il modulo glielo porto a cena, così lei ha tempo dopo di darci un'occhiata, così domani, quando viene a visitare la nostra sede, possiamo già mandarlo in produzione.
I: If you agree, they can fill the order and you can go in the hotel and have a rest, and see this order form at dinner or tomorrow when you will go in factory eh to visit eh their plant.
B: Ok I think tomorrow will be fine, so that when we meet in the factory we'll deal with business. I don't like dealing with business over dinner.
I: Preferirebbe domani perché non le piace occuparsi di affari dopo cena, preferisce domani durante la visita.
A: **Sì, certo, io le davo semplicemente il modulo stasera già riempito con tutti i dati, poi vedeva lei, magari domani mattina presto. Di certo non ne parlavamo a cena, la rassicuri, non è una cena di lavoro.**

I: They only will give you this order form and they don't intend to, eh, talk about business after dinner.
B: **Well I don't like talking about business during dinner either. Anyway, as I said, I will have a look at it tomorrow morning before we meet.**
I: Sì, come diceva lei controllerà quindi in hotel poi vedrete domani.
A: Perfetto allora io se posso, vorrei proporre un programma per stasera, immagino stasera non abbia altri impegni
I: Have you any other meetings tonight?
B: No, no I have no plans at all, tonight I have no other eh nothing to do. Totally free.
I: She would like to eh to suggest you a programme for tonight for this evening.
B: Ok.
A: Innanzi tutto direi, magari un aperitivo in uno dei locali più alla moda in questi ultimi mesi, è un nuovissimo locale che hanno aperto qui vicino
I: Maybe you can go to eat something in a very new eh a very new eh pub local near here
B: **A local pub? We're going to eat in a pub in a local pub?**
I: Yes, eat something.
A: **La vedo sorpresa. Le assicuro, è un bellissimo posto, un nuovo caffè molto di moda che hanno aperto dove si può prendere un aperitivo.**
I: It's a very new fashionable bar café…
B: Oh, it's a café, ok, because a pub, I'm not a drinker you understand, so I don't really like going to bars.
I: No, no is a café. It was my mistake.

The above excerpt points to a further aspect of interpreted interaction, namely the role of non-verbal language as an additional channel for sense-making. The underlined utterance reveals that speaker A has gathered from her interlocutor's facial expression and prosodic traits that she is not thrilled at the proposal. The didactic value of video-recording student performances to discuss non-verbal behaviour is widely recognised and, for reasons of length, won't be illustrated here.

The introduction of transcript analysis towards the end of the module may be useful not only to describe the actual dynamics of floor and topic management (see example [2] above), but also to illustrate the difference between "representation" and "metalinguistic elaboration" (Pym, 2000:189). Given the lack of shared cultural frames, the latter procedure is often used by interpreters to provide autonomous explanations of a given term, as shown in the last example in this paragraph, where the meaningless loan translation "Indian fig" for the Italian "fico d'India" ("prickly pear") is followed by the description of the fruit in question:

Example [6][21]

E: ehm (.) rappresentiamo un consorzio di cooperative agricole (.) siciliane
I: he represents (.) the a-an organization of Sicilian ehm cooperatives
E: produciamo comunque questi prodotti=
I: =and this is the range of their products they produce watermelons oranges **I don't know if you know what these are↑ here ehm called (.) Indian figs a they are a kind of fruit which grows on cactuses and it's th-this size and it's oval (.) ehm yellow or red=**
FV: maybe maybe we call it another name in England
I: yeah
FV: yeah maybe it's not familiar to me but okay
I: ehm I know ehm **it's typical of southern Italy** (.) and ehm
FV: yeah↑
I: and ehm non ha una foto con sé↑
E: no eh perché in questo momento no
FV: of this Indian fig yeah↑=
I: [=yeah
FV: [è tipo] il cactus gli hai detto tipo cactus↑
I: sì sì sì sì

Level three: analysing

At a post-graduate level, different dialogue interpreting contexts may qualify for in-depth study. In addition to the above-mentioned media interpreting, the choice may fall on one of the three main areas of community interpreting, namely legal, public service and medical interpreting (see Roberts, 1997:9). In light of the present author's research interests, the last two have been opted for. Since the purpose of community interpreting is "to assist those immigrants who are not native speakers of the language to gain full and equal access to statutory services" (Collard-Abbas, 1989:81), its first distinctive trait is the institutional nature of the interpreted encounters. Borrowing Drew and Heritage's words, we could say that:

> The interactions that are analyzed here are basically task-related and they involve at least one participant who represents a formal organization of some kind. The tasks of these interactions [...] are primarily accomplished through the exchange of talk between professionals and lay persons. (1992:3)

[21] This excerpt is taken from the transcript of an interpreted encounter recorded at the *Tecnohortus* fruit and vegetable trade fair, Padua, 21.02.2004. Here, "E" stands for exhibitor, "I" for interpreter, and "FV" for foreign visitor.

Interaction in institutional settings is thus not only intentional, i.e. goal-oriented, as are all other types of dialogue, but primarily task-related, in that talk is here instrumental to performing specific activities of a professional nature. A further difference from ordinary conversation is that the professional capacity of one of the two interlocutors is made relevant to the conduct of these activities. This relevance entails a series of constraints on what will be considered "allowable contributions to the business at hand" (Drew and Heritage, 1992:22-23); hence, the extensively researched and documented asymmetry which characterises participation in institutional interactions. An often quoted example of this asymmetry is the medical practitioner's control of the question-answer sequence in doctor-patient interviews.

From the symmetrical configuration of business negotiations, which, as Sandrelli (2005:79) quoting Smirnov highlights, are founded on the idea of an equal relationship between negotiating parties, the focus is shifted, at this level, onto exchanges characterised not only by a knowledge divide, but also by a status differential between primary interlocutors, resulting from the service users' membership of a minority group. While the knowledge asymmetry may be partly reproduced in role-play activities – where, for instance, a physician who does not speak the foreign language is invited in class to act out a medical interview on the basis of a previously agreed clinical scenario –, the culture and power asymmetry is best explored through reference to real interpreting practice. This is why, in the present module, the balance is heavily tilted towards transcript analysis.

Already introduced in the preceding module, the reflection on the different forms of reported speech acquires much greater significance here, as it sheds light on issues of identity and neutrality. As mentioned earlier, in Italy the figure who is active in community interpreting contexts is currently that of the cultural mediator. This is normally a foreigner, who shares with the service user not only the same ethnic and cultural background, but frequently the same life experience as immigrant, with, however, the non-negligible difference that the former is at a more advanced stage in the integration process within the host society. Among the linguistic markers of the mediator's conscious and often unconscious drives towards either identification or distancing are the shifts between direct and indirect speech in the renditions of the primary speakers' utterances. Two analytical models may be suggested to systematise the study of these variations, namely Bot's (2005:169-191) classification of "renditions of perspective", and Merlini and Favaron's (2005:279-285) categories of "footing". Moving from Goffman's (1982) concept of "production format" through Wadensjö's (1998) subsequently developed "reception format", the latter model combines within a single framework all the interpreter's conversational alignments. In other words, the interpreter features here both as a translator of other people's utterances (which she may report either in the 1st or 3rd person) and as a primary interlocutor, in Goffman's words a "principal", contributing on her own account to

the exchange. The excerpt shown in example [7] is taken from the transcript of an interaction which took place in 2004 at a Foreigners' Advice Bureau run by the municipal authorities of a Northern Italian city. A French-speaking asylum seeker from Cameroon turned to the service to find provisional accommodation, while awaiting the scheduling of his immigration hearing. The Moroccan mediator is first seen to identify with the Italian employee, whose utterances he translates in the 1st person, while distancing himself from the immigrant through the use of the 3rd person. Later in the conversation, however, the mediator's opposing pull towards solidarity is displayed in his adoption of the footing of principal, whereby he interacts autonomously with the immigrant, as the employee is temporarily out of the room, to explain how to present an acceptable account to the police, in preparation for the official hearing with the immigration authorities in Rome.

Example [7][22]

P: da dormir (.) senza:: senza documenti è impossibile
M: non ho capito
P: da dormir sans document è impossibile
M: quindi **pour dormir si vous n'avez pas pour avoir un lieu où dormir si v - vous n'avez pas de docume:nts c'est impossibile**
P: ( ) documenti ↑ (.) non ne ha ehm:
M: **mais vous n'avez rien non↑**
U: voici la déclaration j'ai été là-bas à Ventimiglia ( )
M: quand↑
U: ( ) (je suis arrivé en retard je suis parti) ils m'ont demandé d'écrire mon histoire (comment je m'appelle) j'ai quitté le Cameroun
M: oui
U: je suis du Cameroun ( ) ils m'ont donné l'adresse de: votre adresse je suis venu ((the telephone rings)) ici rencontrer monsieur et madame
M: oui
U: ils m'ont envoyé prendre les photos je prends les photos comme ils m'ont dit ((the telephone rings))
M: **lui è stato in via XXX poi l'hanno mandato:: qua ha scritto la sua storia e:: lui ha preso le foto e la marca:**
[...] ((P leaves the room))
U: chaque fois eh à chaque cinq cents mètres vous trouvez un policier si c'est pas un policier c'est les gendarmes
M: ouai ouai
U: chaque fois

[22] Here, "P" stands for service provider, "M" for mediator and "U" for service user.

M: mais je sais pas est-ce qu'ils ont ils ont des ordres↑ de la part de l'état ou bien ce sont des gens comme ça des gendarmes qui abusent de leur service↑ de leur fonction en tant que policiers ou gendarmes↑ c'est ça que je veux savoir
U: (en tout cas) je ne sais pas=
M: =si vous avez non c'est c'est **je je ne dois pas poser ces questions mais je les pose exprès pour vous rendre euh:: bien clair que qu'est-ce que demande la commission que si vous avez une histoire vraie euh basée sur des éléments véridiques vous pouvez avoir ((the telephone rings)) vous avez la chance d'avoir euh l'asile politique sinon la commission elle va-euh elle peut juger: votre: récit comme ça inventé je sais pas alors il faut toujours mettre l'accent sur la question politique c'est pour cela qu'on l'appelle l'asile politique il faut pas mettre l'accent sur les choses économiques ou bien j'ai pas: rien à manger parce que ça n'intéresse pas la commission.**

A further avenue of investigation may be offered by politeness theory (see Brown and Levinson, 1987). In this case, the object of analysis will be the participants' face-threatening moves, as well as their face-saving strategies, in terms of positive and negative politeness. The following sequences (example [8]) are taken from an encounter between a French diabetologist, a Filipino diabetic patient and an Indian interpreter, which was recorded in 2004 at a major hospital in Paris. English was used as a vehicular language. The purpose of the encounter is to verify the patient's compliance with the prescribed hypoglycaemic diet. As the blood sugar test reveals higher levels than expected, the doctor cannot avoid performing a face-threatening act, i.e. reproaching the patient. She, however, mitigates the threat, first through positive politeness strategies (expressing her emphatic approval of the interlocutor's food culture) and then through negative politeness strategies (using impersonal forms). Worthy of note is the interpreter's face-work. On the one hand, she translates the doctor's appreciative comments; on the other, she shifts from impersonal to personal forms, thus neutralizing the negative politeness of the original utterances. When criticism becomes slightly more open, the interpreter's instinctive move is to save her face rather than the doctor's, by introducing her translation with the distancing phrase "according to her":

Example [8][23]

D: oui je me doute vous faites de la cuisine essentiellement asiatique↑
I: so do you cook euh:: Asiatic food↑
P: mhm=
D: =si hein↑ oui oui **c'est normal ça** ┌ **c'est bien=**
P: └ ((laughter))

[23] Here, "D" stands for doctor, "I" for interpreter and "P" for patient.

I: =((whispered)) it's normal=
D: **=c'est bien et c'est très bon en plus**
I: and the taste is (good) as well
D: hein↑ **il faut** mettre dans votre cuisine pour **il ne faut pas** changer les choses **il faut** manger comme vous mangez d'habitude **il faut** un petit peu modifier la façon de faire
I: **you you:: you should** eat as you eat usually but **you have to** change some (.) a little bit
[...]
P: [[mhm
D: [[d'accord↑] donc c'est ça y (.) moi je pense **qu'il y a le midi il y a de temps en temps des >petits dérapages quoi<**
I: euh **according to her** at:: at the lunch time **you sometimes eat too much** or something like that=
D: =mhm↑=
I: =that's why the results are (.) too big: at the lunch time

Questions of cultural variation in politeness strategies will also be introduced. The medical interaction in question shows, for instance, the patient's use of laughter as a face-saving device which, while implicitly preserving her negative face (i.e. her freedom from imposition), is in line with her culturally-based recognition of hierarchical roles requiring deference. This interpretation is supported by the patient's sudden shift to a more assertive and argumentative tone, as the doctor leaves the room and she is left alone with the interpreter.

While raising the students' awareness as to the subtle ways in which the interlocutors' projections of multiple selves – in Davies and Harré's (1999) terminology, the interlocutors' "positions" – are discursively produced in the unfolding interaction, reflection on the above-mentioned aspects will stimulate a debate on professional ethics, preparing students to competently contribute to a clearer definition of the community interpreter's role.

Conclusions

The principle which has guided this contribution is the belief that interpreting should be seen and taught not only, and not mainly, as a linguistically or even culturally based sense-making process, but rather as a socially accomplished and socially relevant activity. The context in which this can be more easily achieved is the dialogical one. The creative, unpredictable nature of dialogue is the most visible sign of how human relations, and the thoughts, perceptions and images shaping them through talk, are in constant flux as a result of a multiplicity of factors. The complexity of

this activity, where the interpreter becomes a full-fledged social actor, contributing alongside the other participants to defining social roles and identities, makes it a most captivating object of study. If, in class activities, the emphasis is placed on the communicative projects, rather than on the mere correction of language and translation errors, students will no longer feel intimidated by the interpreting task. The learning experience itself will gradually acquire the contours of a wider dialogue, where discussion will lead to self-awareness and complement the teacher's assessment. To this end, a number of teaching suggestions have been put forward, among which the collective reconstruction of the interlocutors' conversational goals and moves in role-plays, reflection on the communicative impact of the interpreting student's interactional behaviour, and a theoretically informed analysis of real interpreted encounters.

Having extensively argued the merits of dialogue interpreting as an academic subject in its own right, an apt way to conclude this contribution is to consider, once again, the wider picture of university provision. In presenting a brief overview of currently available training and professional opportunities in Italy, mention was previously made of the existing bipolar system, whereby business interpreting needs are catered for by graduates of Language Mediation degree courses, while community interpreting still falls largely outside the boundaries of higher education. In the latter area, services are provided by cultural mediators with frequently inadequate qualifications and no knowledge of interpreting and translation techniques. As Viezzi (2002:193-195) rightly observes, the role played by community interpreting practitioners is of such import, that universities cannot remain alien to the field. Widening the scope of their training provision does not mean investing on an unrealistic expansion of the range of languages being taught, to include the wealth of minority languages required in community settings. Aside from the fact that traditional European languages, such as French, Spanish and clearly English, are widely used as *linguae francae* in everyday practice (see De Caneva, 2003-4), universities could offer post-graduate courses in cultural mediation focusing on translation and interpreting skills, cultural and communication studies, as well as professional ethics, rather than on language-specific training. As further suggested by Viezzi, universities could also explore the possibility of becoming accreditation centres, issuing community interpreting qualifications through examination procedures.

A final observation concerns the scope of undergraduate courses. Here, curricula should aim at fostering flexibility, by developing the different skills which are required of language mediation experts on the job market (such as language consultancy, terminology work, translation, interpreting, etc.). At the same time, while recognising the existence of wide areas of overlap and the desirability of a synergic approach, the autonomy of each learning activity should be firmly pursued, so as to orient

students towards a professional dimension. This excludes the use of one activity as a mere instrument for the acquisition of another (as has often been the case for dialogue interpreting classes). This equally excludes a mishmash of competences, while calling, instead, for the parallel development of distinct and mature skills, leading to a versatile graduate profile, which Gouadec (in this volume) identifies in the "consultant in intercultural communication".

These, in our view, are the challenges of university education in the very near future.

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1 Concepts

This initial chapter introduces some basic concepts and distinctions relating to interpreting as the object of interpreting studies. The set of types and terms presented here will serve as a broad foundation for what will be presented in the course of this book.

The **main points** covered in this chapter are:

- the conceptual roots of 'interpreting'
- the definition of interpreting
- the relationship between interpreting and translation
- the social settings and interaction constellations in which interpreting takes place
- the major parameters underlying typological distinctions
- the complex interrelationships among various 'types' of interpreting
- the mapping of theoretical dimensions and domains of interpreting practice and research

1.1 Conceptual roots

Interpreting is regarded here as **translational activity**, as a special form of 'Translation'. (The capital initial is used to indicate that the word appears in its generic, hyperonymic sense.) Interpreting is an ancient human practice which clearly predates the invention of writing – and (written) translation. In many Indo-European languages, the concept of interpreting is expressed by words whose etymology is largely autonomous from that of (written) translation. Expressions in Germanic, Scandinavian and Slavic languages denoting a person performing the activity of interpreting can be traced back to Akkadian, the ancient Semitic language of Assyria and Babylonia, around 1900 BC (see Vermeer 1992: 59). The Akkadian root *targumānu*, via an etymological sideline from Arabic, also gave rise to the 'autonomous' English term for interpreter, **dragoman**.

The English word 'interpreter', in contrast, is derived from Latin *interpres* (in the sense of 'expounder', 'person explaining what is obscure'), the semantic roots of

which are not clear. While some scholars take the second part of the word to be derived from *partes* or *pretium* ('price'), thus fitting the meaning of a 'middleman', 'intermediary' or 'commercial go-between' (see Hermann 1956/2002), others have suggested a Sanskrit root. Be that as it may, the Latin term *interpres*, denoting someone 'explaining the meaning', 'making sense of' what others have difficulty understanding, is a highly appropriate semantic foundation for 'interpreter' and 'interpreting' in our current understanding.

These etymological roots of the verb '**to interpret**' make for a semantically tense relationship with the terms 'translation' and 'translate': While one can capitalize on the polysemy of 'interpret' to argue for a meaning-based, rather than word-based, conception of Translation (» 3.2.6), it has also been common to stress the distinction between the more general hermeneutic sense and a narrowly construed translational sense of the word. This is particularly striking in the legal sphere, where lawyers view it as their prerogative to 'interpret' (the law) and expect court interpreters to 'translate' (the language) (» 7.4.1). Rather than semantic quibbling, this constitutes a fundamental challenge to our understanding of what it means to translate and/or interpret, and many parts of this book, beginning with the following section, will be devoted to attempts at finding an appropriate response.

1.2 Interpreting defined

Within the conceptual structure of Translation, interpreting can be distinguished from other types of translational activity most succinctly by its **immediacy**: in principle, interpreting is performed 'here and now' for the benefit of people who want to engage in communication across barriers of language and culture.

1.2.1 Kade's criteria

In contrast to common usage as reflected in most dictionaries, 'interpreting' need not necessarily be equated with 'oral translation' or, more precisely, with the 'oral rendering of spoken messages'. Doing so would exclude interpreting in signed (rather than spoken) languages (» 1.4.1) from our purview, and would make it difficult to account for the less typical manifestations of interpreting mentioned further down. Instead, by elaborating on the feature of immediacy, one can distinguish interpreting from other forms of Translation without resorting to the dichotomy of oral vs written. This is what Otto **Kade**, a self-taught interpreter and translation scholar at the University of Leipzig (» 2.3.1), did as early as the 1960s. Kade (1968) defined interpreting as a form of Translation in which

- the source-language text is presented only once and thus cannot be reviewed or replayed, and
- the target-language text is produced under time pressure, with little chance for correction and revision.

Kade chose to label the semiotic entities involved in Translation as 'texts' (» 7.1), for which one could substitute expressions like 'utterances' (in the broad sense), 'acts of discourse', or 'messages', subject to an appropriate definition. Whatever the terms, his definition elegantly accommodates interpreting from, into or between signed languages and also accounts for such variants of interpreting as 'sight translation' (» 1.4.2), 'live subtitling' or even the on-line (written) translation of Internet chats. This vindicates the general characterization of interpreting as an **immediate** type of translational activity, performed 'in real time' for immediate use. A definition relying on Kade's criteria, foregrounding the immediacy of the interpreter's text processing rather than real-time communicative use, could thus be formulated as follows:

> Interpreting is a form of Translation in which a **first and final rendition in another language** is produced on the basis of a **one-time presentation** of an utterance in a source language.

The criteria of ephemeral presentation and immediate production go some way toward covering our need for conceptual specification. Making our concept of interpreting hinge on the generic notion of Translation, however, leaves us exposed to the more general uncertainty of how to define that term. While the study of interpreting does not presuppose an account of Translation in all its variants and ramifications, our choice to define interpreting as a form of Translation implies that no interpreting scholar can remain aloof to the underlying conceptual issues. As George Steiner (1975: 252) put it, with reference to the German word for 'interpreter': "Strictly viewed, the most banal act of interlingual conveyance by a *Dolmetscher* involves the entire nature and theory of translation."

1.2.2 Interpreting as Translation

Given the expansive and varied theoretical territory of Translation, as covered in reference works like the *Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (Baker 1998), there is a plethora of approaches on which we might draw to enrich our account of interpreting as a form of Translation. Since different scholars will define and characterize their object of study in accordance with their particular aims, experiences and interests, the basic question regarding the nature of Translation has drawn widely discrepant answers. To illustrate the spectrum of choice, let us take a look at four answers to the question 'What is Translation?' and consider their theoretical implications.

Translation is:

(a) a process by which a spoken or written utterance takes place in one language which is intended or presumed to convey the same meaning as a previously existing utterance in another language (Rabin 1958)

(b) the transfer of thoughts and ideas from one language (source) to another (target), whether the languages are in written or oral form . . . or whether one or both languages are based on signs (Brislin 1976a)
(c) a situation-related and function-oriented complex series of acts for the production of a target text, intended for addressees in another culture/language, on the basis of a given source text (Salevsky 1993)
(d) any utterance which is presented or regarded as a 'translation' within a culture, on no matter what grounds (Toury 1995)

Definition (a) foregrounds the defining relationship between the source and target utterances and stipulates 'sameness of meaning' as an essential ingredient. It also introduces, albeit implicitly, human agents and attitudes in terms of 'intentions' and 'expectations'. Definition (b) describes Translation as a process of 'transfer' acting on 'ideas' in the medium of 'language'. Definition (c) introduces a number of descriptive features, such as 'situation', 'function', 'text' and 'culture', and stresses the target orientation of the translational product. The target orientation is carried to the extreme in definition (d), in which the theorist relinquishes any prescriptive authority and accepts as Translation whatever is treated as such in a given community.

All four definitions accommodate interpreting, but each foregrounds different conceptual dimensions. And whatever is stipulated as an essential feature of Translation (i.e. notions like transfer, ideas, sameness, intention or culture) will carry over to our definition of interpreting and will have to be accounted for in subsequent efforts at description and explanation. We are free of course to formulate an altogether diffferent definition of our own, but it would seem foolish to reinvent the wheel of Translation in order to move on with the study of interpreting. We could certainly mine the various definitions of Translation for basic conceptual ingredients, such as

- an **activity** consisting (mainly) in
- the **production** of **utterances** (**texts**) which are
- presumed to have a **similar meaning and/or effect**
- as **previously existing** utterances
- in **another language and culture**.

These terms can be adapted and refined in different ways. The notion of 'activity', for instance, could be specified as a 'service', possibly qualified as 'professional', for the purpose of 'enabling communication' and for the benefit of 'clients' or 'users'. Similarly, we could specify 'production' (and 'communication') as taking place in a given 'situation' and 'culture', and we could elaborate and differentiate such key concepts as 'culture', 'language', 'utterance' and 'meaning'. No less significant than terminological refinements, however, are the ways in which our conceptual framework reflects some key areas of theoretical controversy. These include:

- the scope of the interpreter's task ('mainly' production);
- the perspective on the translational process (target-oriented 'production' rather than source-dependent 'transfer'); and
- the normative specification of the translational product (the assumption of 'similarity' in 'meaning' or 'effect').

Whichever of these options one might wish to pursue, the definitional scaffolding set up in these terms should provide sufficient support to interpreting scholars seeking to conceptualize their object of study as a form of Translation. It should be clear, though, even – or especially – in a textbook, that any definition of one's object of study is necessarily relative to a set of underlying theoretical assumptions. In the words of Gideon Toury (1995: 23):

> Far from being a neutral procedure, establishing an object of study is necessarily a function of the *theory* in whose terms it is constituted, which is always geared to cater for certain needs. Its establishment and justification are therefore intimately connected with the *questions* one wishes to pose, the possible *methods* of dealing with the objects of study with an eye to those questions – and, indeed, the kind of *answers* which would count as admissible.

In this relativistic perspective, there can be no such thing as an objective definition fixing, once and for all, the 'true meaning' or 'essence' of what we perceive or believe something to be like. This 'non-essentialist', postmodern approach to meaning has been reaffirmed by leading scholars as part of the "shared ground" in Translation studies (Chesterman and Arrojo 2000). Its theoretical and methodological consequences will become clear in subsequent sections of this book (» 3.2.1, » 3.3.1, » 5.1.2). In the present, foundational chapter, we will return to the concept of interpreting and review ways in which it can be further distinguished with regard to various criteria.

1.3 Settings and constellations

If we approach the phenomenon of interpreting from a historical perspective, the most obvious criterion for categorization and labeling is the **social context of interaction**, or **setting**, in which the activity is carried out. In its distant origins, interpreting took place when (members of) different linguistic and cultural communities entered into contact for some particular purpose. Apart from such contacts *between* social entities in various **inter-social settings**, mediated communication is also conceivable *within* heterolingual societies, in which case we can speak of interpreting in **intra-social settings**.

1.3.1 Inter-social and intra-social settings

Some of the first mediated contacts between communities speaking different languages will have served the purpose of trading and exchanging goods, of 'doing

business', which would give us **business interpreting** as a 'primeval' type of interpreting. In one of the earliest publications discussing different types of interpreting, Henri van Hoof (1962) mentions **liaison interpreting** as a form of interpreting practiced mainly in commercial negotiations. More than thirty years later, Gentile *et al.* (1996) took advantage of the generic meaning of 'liaison', denoting the idea of 'connecting' and 'linking up', and extended the term 'liaison interpreting' to a variety of interpreting settings across the inter- vs intra-social dimensions.

Where the representatives of different linguistic and cultural communities came together with the aim of establishing and cultivating political relations, they will have relied on mediators practicing what is usually called **diplomatic interpreting**. When relations turned sour, or maybe before they were even pursued, armed conflict would have necessitated mediated communication in a military setting. Such **military interpreting**, as in talks with allies, truce negotiations or the interrogation of prisoners, thus bears a historical relation to the diplomatic kind.

As societies became increasingly comprehensive and complex, we can conceive of multi-ethnic socio-political entities (such as the empires of Roman times or Spain's Golden Age) in which communication between individuals or groups belonging to different language communities necessitated the services of interpreters. Following the establishment of institutions for the enforcement of laws and the administration of justice, particularly in newly conquered or colonized territories, interpreters were enlisted to ensure that even those not speaking the language of the authorities could be held to account. Hence, **court interpreting**, for which specific legal provisions were enacted in sixteenth-century Spain, is a classic example of interpreting in an *intra-social* institutional context. In many jurisdictions, what is commonly labeled 'court interpreting' includes tasks like the certified translation of documents as well as interpreting in quasi-judicial and administrative hearings. One can therefore distinguish between the broader notion of **legal interpreting**, or **judicial interpreting**, and **courtroom interpreting** in its specific, prototypical setting.

Apart from the legal sphere, interpreting to enable communication between 'heterolingual' segments of a multi-ethnic society emerged only more recently in the context of egalitarian states committed to the 'welfare' of all their citizens and residents. Once the principle of 'equal access' came to be seen as overriding expectations of linguistic proficiency, the intra-social dimension of interpreting became increasingly significant. In the US, for instance, legislation in the 1960s designed to give deaf persons equal access to the labor market gave a strong impetus to the development of interpreting services for users of signed language (» 1.4.1, » 2.1.2). With the focus of such efforts at the 'social rehabilitation' of the deaf placed on employment training and education in general, sign language interpreting in educational settings (**educational interpreting**) went on to become one of the most significant types of intra-social interpreting.

The issue of access, first to the labor market and then to a variety of public institutions and social services, was also at the heart of new communication needs

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arising in the context of (im)migration. While countries like Sweden and Australia responded as early as the 1960s to the demand for interpreting services to help immigrants function in the host society, others have been slow to address such intra-social communication needs. It was only in the 1980s and 1990s, in the face of mounting communication problems in public-sector institutions (healthcare, social services), that 'interpreting in the community' (**community-based interpreting**) acquired increasing visibility. Thus **community interpreting**, also referred to as **public service interpreting** (mainly in the UK) and **cultural interpreting** (in Canada), emerged as a wide new field of interpreting practice, with **healthcare interpreting** (**medical interpreting, hospital interpreting**) and **legal interpreting** as the most significant institutional domains.

An interpreting type whose linkage to the intra-social sphere is less obvious is **media interpreting**, or **broadcast interpreting** (often focused on **TV interpreting**), which is essentially designed to make foreign-language broadcasting content accessible to media users within the socio-cultural community. Since spoken-language media interpreting, often from English, usually involves personalities and content from the international sphere, media interpreting appears as rather a hybrid form on the inter- to intra-social continuum. On the other hand, the community dimension of the media setting is fully evident when one considers broadcast interpreting into signed languages. By the same token, court interpreting can also be located in the international sphere, as in the case of war crimes tribunals.

As indicated, the activity of interpreting has evolved throughout history in a variety of settings, from first-time encounters between different tribes to institutionalized inter-social 'dealings' as well as in intra-social ('community') relations. We can therefore posit a spectrum which extends from inter- to intra-social spheres of interaction and reflects an increasing institutionalization of contacts and communication. Some of the contexts for which there is historical evidence of the interpreting function are illustrated in Figure 1.1 along the inter- to intra-social

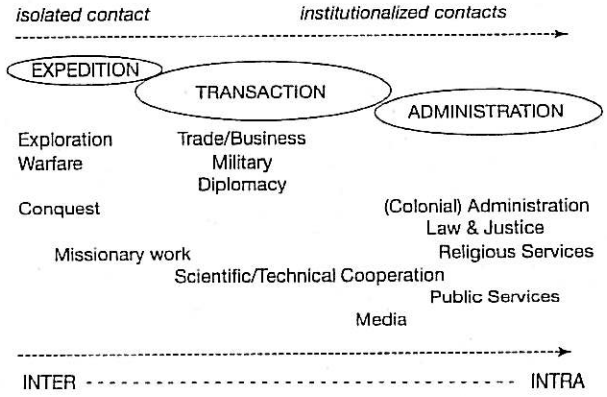


Figure 1.1 Interpreting in different spheres of social interaction

spectrum. Selected settings are grouped under the catchwords 'expedition' (= isolated *inter-social*), 'transaction' (= institutionalized *inter-social*) and 'administration' (= institutionalized *intra-social*), with the progression from the upper left to the lower right corner of the diagram indicating, ever so roughly, developments and shifts in relative importance over time.

1.3.2 Constellations of interaction

In addition to the categorization of interpreting types by social context and institutional setting, further significant distinctions can be derived from the situational constellation of interaction. In an early sociological analysis, R. Bruce W. Anderson (1976/2002) modeled the prototypical constellation of interpreting as 'three-party interaction' (» 5.3.1), with a (bilingual) interpreter assuming the pivotal mediating role between two (monolingual) clients. This is commonly referred to as **bilateral interpreting** or **dialogue interpreting**. While the former foregrounds the (bi)directionality of mediation (» 1.4.3), the latter highlights the mode of communicative exchange. Either term is closely associated, if not synonymous, with what was previously introduced as **'liaison interpreting'** (« 1.3.1). All of these terms are in contrast with interpreting in multilateral communication, as in conferences attended by delegates and representatives of various nations and institutions, hence **conference interpreting**.

Interpreting for international conferences and organizations, in many ways the most prominent manifestation of interpreting in our time, did not emerge as a recognized specialty until the early twentieth century, when official French–English bilingualism in the League of Nations ushered in *de facto* multilingualism in international conferencing. **International conference interpreting**, which was to find its apotheosis in the policy of linguistic equality of the European Union, has spread far beyond multilateral diplomacy to virtually any field of activity involving coordination and exchange across linguistic boundaries. Thus it is no longer associated with a particular institutional setting or context (though one could arguably retain the traditional term **parliamentary interpreting** for conference interpreting as practiced in the Belgian, Canadian or European parliaments). What is distinctive about conference interpreting is that it takes place within a particular format of interaction ('conference'). It is often set in an international environment, though there is usually a significant 'local' market for conference interpreting services mainly between English and the national language.

Combining the analytical criteria of setting and constellation against the background of the 'spheres of (inter)action' modeled in Figure 1.1, we can conceive of interpreting as a conceptual spectrum extending from **international** (conference) to intra-social (**community**) interpreting. While it is tempting – and often efficient – to juxtapose conference and community interpreting, it is important to understand the difference between focusing either on the level of socio-cultural communities and their members/representatives or on the format of interaction (e.g. a multilateral conference or face-to-face dialogue). Figure 1.2 attempts to illustrate this dual spectrum, in which liaison/dialogue interpreting holds more

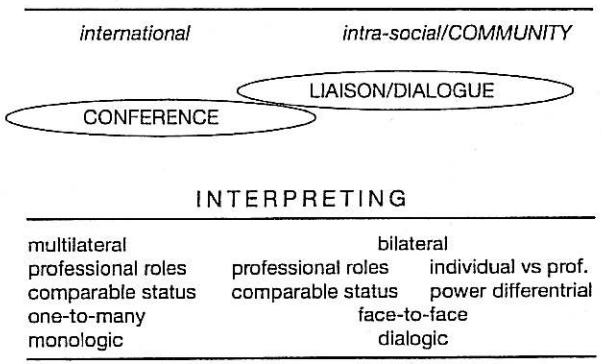


Figure 1.2 Conceptual spectrum of interpreting

of the middle ground, with reference to some characteristics which are usually or typically associated with either end of the spectrum.

While the descriptive features are neither exhaustive nor suggestive of all-or-nothing distinctions, they do capture some typical differences across different parts of the conceptual spectrum. In particular, the nature of community interpreting is best understood by bearing in mind that one of the parties involved is an **individual** human being, speaking and acting on his or her own behalf. Even so, the dual distinction between 'international vs community-based' and 'conference vs liaison/dialogue interpreting' is only one way of categorizing major (sub)types of interpreting. The following section will introduce additional parameters and interpreting types in order to sharpen awareness of the diversity and complexity of the phenomenon under study.

1.4 Typological parameters

Apart from the broad classification of interpreting types by settings and constellations, there are additional and rather clear-cut criteria for a more systematic inventory of types and subtypes of interpreting, among them: language modality, working mode, directionality, technology, and professional status.

1.4.1 Language modality

In most of the literature on the subject, the term 'interpreting' is used generically as implying the use of spoken languages, in particular Western European languages as used in international conferences and organizations. The more explicit term **spoken-language interpreting** gained currency only with the increasing need for a distinction vis-à-vis **sign language interpreting**, popularly known also as 'interpreting for the deaf'. Since deaf and hearing-impaired people may actually rely on a variety of linguistic codes in the visual rather than the acoustic medium, it is more accurate to speak of **signed-language interpreting** (or **visual**

language interpreting). This allows for the significant distinction between interpreting from or into a sign language proper (such as American Sign Language, British Sign Language, French Sign Language, etc.), that is, a signed language which serves as the native language for the **Deaf** as a group with its own cultural identity (hence the distinctive capital initial), and the use of other signed codes, often based on spoken and written languages (e.g. Signed English). Working from and into such secondary (spoken-language-based) sign systems is referred to as **transliteration**, and sign language interpreters or transliterators will be used depending on the language proficiency and preferences of the clients.

Interpreting into a signed language is sometimes referred to, loosely, as 'signing' ('voice-to-sign interpreting' or 'sign-to-sign interpreting') as opposed to 'voicing' or 'voice-over interpreting' ('sign-to-voice interpreting'). A special modality is used in communication with the deaf-blind, who monitor a signed message, including **fingerspelling**, by resting their hands on the signer's hands (**tactile interpreting**).

1.4.2 Working mode

As in the case of language modality, the way in which interpreting was originally practiced did not require terminological qualification until the emergence of a new working mode. It was only in the 1920s, when transmission equipment was developed to enable interpreters to work simultaneously, that it became meaningful to distinguish between **consecutive interpreting** (after the source-language utterance) and **simultaneous interpreting** (as the source-language text is being presented). It may be interesting to note that simultaneous interpreting was initially implemented as '**simultaneous consecutive**', that is, the simultaneous transmission of two or more consecutive renditions in different output languages. Recently, another hybrid form, which could be labeled '**consecutive simultaneous**', has become feasible with the use of highly portable digital recording and playback equipment (» 8.5.2).

Since consecutive interpreting does not presuppose a particular duration of the original act of discourse, it can be conceived of as a continuum which ranges from the rendition of utterances as short as one word to the handling of entire speeches, or more or less lengthy portions thereof, 'in one go' (Figure 1.3). Subject to the individual interpreter's working style – and memory skills – and a number of situational variables (such as the presentation of slides), the consecutive

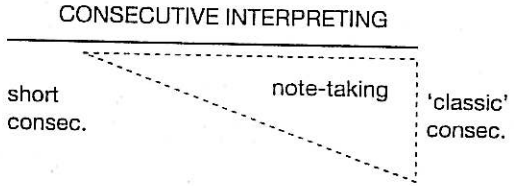


Figure 1.3 Continuum of consecutive interpreting

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interpretation of longer speeches usually involves **note-taking** as developed by the pioneers of conference interpreting in the early twentieth century (» 2.1.1, » 2.2.1). Hence, consecutive interpreting with the use of systematic note-taking is sometimes referred to as '**classic' consecutive**, in contrast to **short consecutive** without notes, which usually implies a bidirectional mode in a liaison constellation.

For sign language interpreters, whose performance in the visual channel leaves little room for activities requiring additional visual attention, note-taking is less of an option, and they work in the short consecutive or, typically, the simultaneous mode. It should be pointed out in this context, however, that the distinction between consecutive and simultaneous interpreting is not necessarily clear-cut. Since neither voice-over interpreting nor signing cause interference in the acoustic channel, sign language interpreters are free to start their output before the end of the source-language message. Indeed, even spoken-language liaison interpreters often give their (essentially consecutive) renditions as simultaneously as possible.

Whereas the absence of acoustic source–target overlap makes simultaneous interpreting (without audio transmission equipment) the working mode of choice for sign language interpreters, spoken-language interpreting in the simultaneous mode typically implies the use of electro-acoustic transmission equipment. Only where the interpreter works right next to one or no more than a couple of listeners can he or she provide a rendition by **whispered interpreting**, or '**whispering**' (also known by the French term ***chuchotage***), which is in fact done not by whispering but by speaking in a low voice ('*sotto voce*'). This is also possible with portable transmission equipment (microphone and headset receivers) as used for guided tours. Nevertheless, simultaneous interpreting with full technical equipment (» 8.6.1) is so widely established today that the term '**simultaneous interpreting**' (frequently abbreviated to **SI**) is often used as shorthand for 'spoken-language interpreting with the use of simultaneous interpreting equipment in a sound-proof booth'.

A special type of simultaneous interpreting is the rendition of a written text 'at sight'. Commonly known as '**sight translation**', this variant of the simultaneous mode, when practiced in real time for immediate use by an audience, would thus be labeled more correctly as '**sight interpreting**'. In sight translation, the interpreter's target-text production is simultaneous not with the delivery of the source text but with the interpreter's real-time (visual) reception of the written source text. If the interpreter is working 'at sight' without the constraints of real-time performance for a (larger) audience, sight interpreting will shade into the consecutive mode or even come to resemble 'oral translation', with considerable opportunity for 'reviewing' and correction. A special mode of (spoken-language) simultaneous interpreting is **SI with text** in the booth. Since authoritative input still arrives through the acoustic channel, with many speakers departing from their text for asides or time-saving omissions, this variant of the simultaneous mode is not subsumed under sight interpreting but rather regarded as a complex form of SI with a more or less important sight interpreting component.

Some of these distinctions, which are represented graphically in Figure 1.4, do not hold to the same degree across language modalities. As already mentioned, signing (i.e. voice-to-sign, sign-to-sign or **text-to-sign interpreting**) is feasible in the simultaneous mode without special equipment. In contrast, sign-to-voice interpreting may be performed with or without a microphone and a booth. The latter, though, applies only to cases where a monologic source speech in sign language needs to be interpreted into several (spoken) languages, requiring the use of simultaneous interpreting equipment to maintain separate channels. In text-to-sign interpreting, the interpreter may need to alternate between reception (reading) and production (signing), thus bringing sight translation closer to the (short) consecutive mode.

1.4.3 Directionality

While the interpreting process as such always proceeds in one direction – from source to target language – the issue of direction is more complex at the level of the communicative event. In the prototype case of mediated face-to-face dialogue (« 1.3.2, » 5.3.1), the interpreter will work in both directions, that is, 'back and forth' between the two languages involved, depending on the turn-taking of the primary parties. **Bilateral interpreting** is thus typically linked with the notions of 'liaison interpreting' and 'dialogue interpreting', but it may equally occur in conference-type interaction, where interpreters may work in a 'bilingual booth', or are said to provide 'small retour' (i.e. interpret questions and comments back into the language chiefly used on the floor).

Although it is common practice in conference interpreting, there is no special label for 'one-way' or one-directional interpreting at the level of the communicative event. Relevant distinctions are rather made with reference to the individual interpreter's combination of working languages, classified by AIIC, the

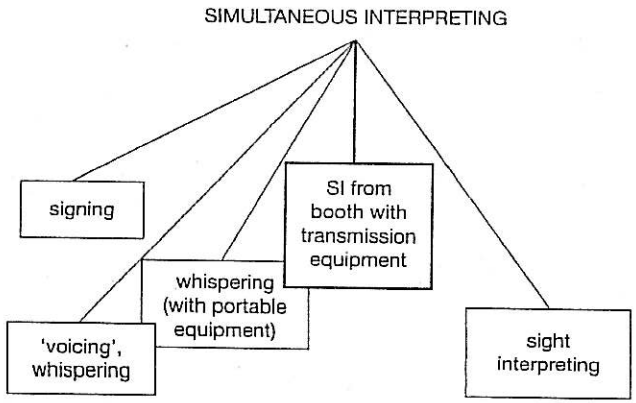


Figure 1.4 Forms of simultaneous interpreting

International Association of Conference Interpreters (» 2.1.1), as A-, B- or C-languages (A = native or best 'active' language; B = 'active' language commanded with near-native proficiency; C = 'passive' language allowing 'complete understanding'). The western tradition of conference interpreting has favored simultaneous interpreting from B- or C-languages into an interpreter's A-language. **A-to-B interpreting**, or **retour interpreting** ('return interpreting'), though widely practiced on the 'local', or private market, has not been equally accepted for simultaneous interpreting in international organizations. In contrast, sign language interpreters, most of whom are not native signers, typically practice simultaneous interpreting as A-to-B interpreting and consider B-to-A, that is, sign-to-voice interpreting, the more challenging direction.

An issue which actually constitutes a parameter in its own right, but can be linked to the present directional context, is the directness with which the source-to-target transfer at a particular communicative event is effected. Where the language combination of the interpreters available does not allow for 'direct interpreting', recourse is made to **relay interpreting**, that is, indirect interpreting via a third language, which links up the performance of two (or more) interpreters, with one interpreter's output serving as the source for another. Relay interpreting in the simultaneous mode was standard practice in what used to be the Eastern bloc countries, where Russian served as the *pivot* language in the multilingual Soviet Empire. The Russian relay system and its reliance on A-to-B interpreting as the standard directional mode were shunned by proponents of the western tradition. For some UN and EU working languages, however, the combination of A-to-B and relay interpreting has played an important role, often with English serving as the *pivot* language, and is likely to become more prominent in an enlarged European Union.

1.4.4 Use of technology

The use of technical equipment was discussed earlier in connection with simultaneous interpreting (« 1.4.2), where it essentially functions to avoid the mixing of source- and target-language messages in the acoustic channel. Obviously though, electronic transmission systems for sounds and images also serve more generally to overcome spatial distances and 'connect' speakers (including interpreters) and listeners who are not 'within earshot' or, in the case of signing, within the range of view. Apart from their common use *in situ*, that is, in conference halls or in noisy conditions, electro-acoustic and audiovisual transmission systems are therefore employed in particular to reach far beyond a given location. In what is generally called **remote interpreting**, the interpreter is not in the same room as the speaker or listener, or both. The oldest form of remote interpreting, proposed as early as the 1950s, is **telephone interpreting** (**over-the-phone interpreting**), which became more widely used only in the 1980s and 1990s, particularly in intra-social settings (healthcare, police, etc.). The development of video(tele)phony is of particular significance for **videophone interpreting** for the deaf and hard-of-hearing. Telephone interpreting is usually performed with standard

telecommunications equipment in the bilateral consecutive mode, but there have also been efforts, particularly in the US, to introduce a specially designed audio switching system for (bilateral) **remote simultaneous interpreting** for use in healthcare settings. For international and multilateral conferences, the use of video-conferencing technology, in various transmission channels, has made audiovisual remote (conference) interpreting and **tele-interpreting** the focus of attention, and this area can be expected to remain among the most dynamically evolving domains of interpreting in the future.

No less future-oriented than technology-driven forms of remote interpreting (which, despite complaints about the 'dehumanization' of interpreting, continue to rely on specially skilled human beings) are attempts at developing **automatic interpreting** systems on the basis of machine translation software and technologies for speech recognition and synthesis. While such **machine interpreting** should be within the interpreting scholar's purview, the prospects for 'fully automatic high-quality interpreting' remain doubtful at best.

1.4.5 Professional status

Whereas the parameters and interpreting types introduced so far relate to the way in which interpreting is performed, yet another crucial distinction relates to the level of skill and expertise with which the human agent performs the task. Most of the literature on interpreting presupposes a certain – and, more often than not, rather high – professional status of the activity and its practitioners. In other words, the unmarked form of 'interpreting' often implies **professional interpreting**, and 'interpreters' are regarded as 'professionals' with special skills – also in the usage of this book. Historically, it is of course difficult to clearly separate professional interpreting from what we might call **lay interpreting** or **natural interpreting**, that is, interpreting done by bilinguals without special training for the task.

The issue of "natural translation" has been championed since the 1970s by Canadian translatologist Brian Harris, who postulated that "translating is coextensive with bilingualism", that is, that all bilinguals have at least some translational ability (Harris and Sherwood 1978: 155). Similarly, Toury (1995) put forward the somewhat less radical notion of a "native translator," stressing the role of bilingualism as a basis for learning how to interpret (and translate). Both proposals point to the merit of studying the process by which a bilingual without special training acquires and applies interpreting skills, and Harris as well as Toury agree that there exist socio-cultural translational norms which shape interpreting practices and determine the skill levels required for the activity to be recognized as such.

"The translating done in everyday circumstances by people who have had no special training for it" (Harris and Sherwood 1978:155) has presumably been common practice throughout history. Today, too, communication with speakers of other languages often remains heavily dependent on the efforts of natural interpreters, the most significant example in community settings being bilingual

children, of immigrants or deaf parents, interpreting for their family. On the whole, it was only when task demands exceeded what 'ordinary' bilinguals were expected to manage that the job of interpreter was given to people who had special knowledge (of the culture involved or of the subject matter) and skills (in memorizing and note-taking or simultaneous interpreting) as well as other qualifications, such as moral integrity and reliability (» 8.4.1). Even so, the criteria for deciding what or who is professional or not in interpreting are not always hard and fast, and the issue of the professional status of (various types of) interpreting and interpreters needs to be considered within the socio-cultural and institutional context in which the practice has evolved (» 2.1).

1.5 Domains and dimensions

The typological distinctions introduced in the course of this chapter indicate the multi-faceted nature of interpreting as an object of study. This concluding section will present an overall view of this diversity and complexity by aligning a number of conceptual dimensions and parameters which relate to major domains of interpreting practice. The resulting 'map' of the territory of interpreting studies should provide some useful orientation for our subsequent *tour d'horizon* of the field.

The best-known and most influential attempt at charting the territory of the discipline concerned with the study of translational activity is the survey of translation studies by James S Holmes (1972/2000), usually represented graphically as the 'map' of Translation studies (see Toury 1995: 10, Munday 2001: 10). Holmes was not primarily concerned with interpreting, which he posited far down in his branch structure as oral (vs written) human (vs machine) Translation in the "medium-restricted" theoretical domain. To put interpreting more visibly on the map, Heidemarie Salevsky (1993) proposed an analogous branch structure for the discipline of interpreting studies, with theoretical subdomains based on a list of situational variables (see Salevsky 1993: 154): varieties of interpreting (consecutive vs simultaneous); the medium (human, machine, computer-aided interpreting); language combinations; culture combinations; area/institution (interpreting in court, in the media, etc.); text relations (text type, degree of specialization, etc.); and partner relations (source-text producer vs target-text addressee).

In a synthesis of these mapping efforts and the discussion in sections 1.3 and 1.4 above, we can adopt the following set of eight dimensions to map out the theoretical territory of interpreting studies: (1) **medium**; (2) **setting**; (3) **mode**; (4) **languages (cultures)**; (5) **discourse**; (6) **participants**, (7) **interpreter**; and (8) **problem**. These conceptual dimensions are used in Figure 1.5 to illustrate the broad spectrum of phenomena to be covered by theoretical and empirical research on interpreting.

While Figure 1.5 is primarily designed to exemplify the varied nature of interpreting in the horizontal dimensions, the vertical arrangement of the dimensions is such as to suggest major subdomains of interpreting practice and

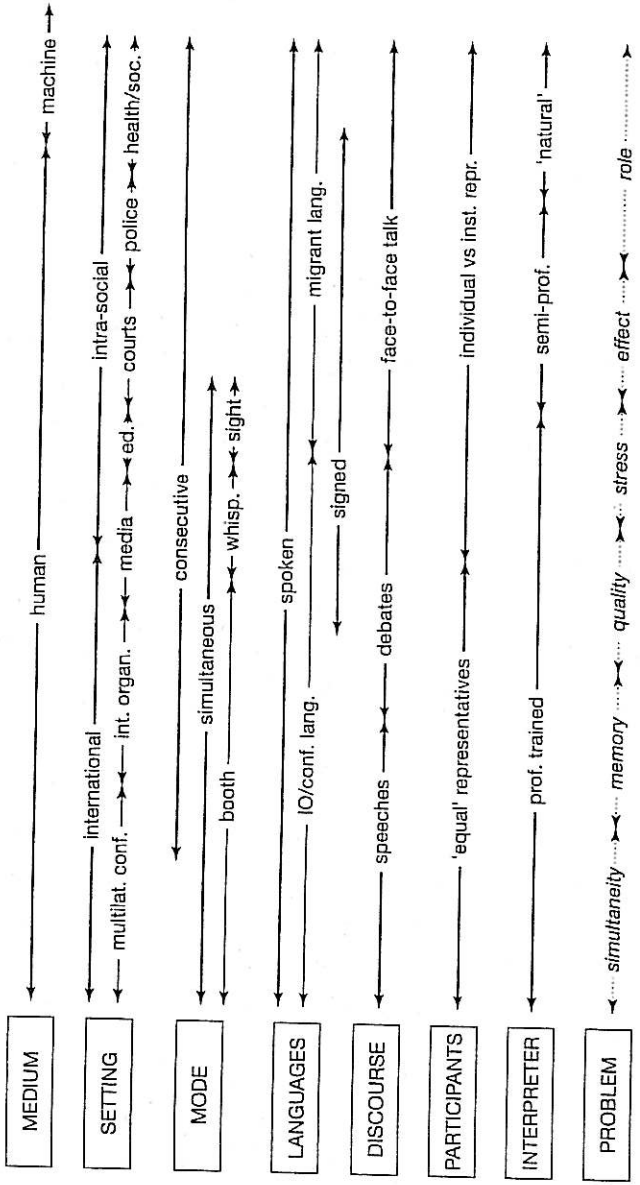


Figure 1.5 Domains and dimensions of interpreting theory

research. Thus, on the left-hand side of the diagram, the features listed for the various dimensions add up to the domain of international conference interpreting, whereas a vertical cross-section on the right-hand side suggests some of the main features of community-based interpreting. Given the many facets of the diverse phenomena to be covered, the diagram cannot amount to a combinatorial map of features. On the whole, however, the interplay of the first seven dimensions serves to highlight some of the key factors in the various prototypical domains. As indicated by the use of dotted lines, the problem-oriented dimension shown at the bottom of Figure 1.5 represents not a continuum of descriptive features but a set of examples of major research concerns to date, as explored more fully in Part II of this book.

Summary

This chapter has laid the conceptual foundations for our survey of interpreting studies by defining the object of study and reviewing its typological ramifications. Acknowledging a basic dependence on theoretical approaches to the generic concept of Translation, interpreting was characterized as an *immediate* form of translational activity, performed for the benefit of people who want to engage in communication across barriers of language and culture. Defined as a form of Translation in which a first and final rendition in another language is produced on the basis of a one-time presentation of a source-language utterance, the concept of interpreting was differentiated according to *social* contexts and institutional *settings* (inter-social vs intra-social settings) as well as situational *constellations* and formats *of interaction* (multilateral conference vs face-to-face dialogue). In addition to the continuum between the prototypical domains of *international conference interpreting* and *community-based dialogue interpreting*, including *court* or *legal interpreting* and *healthcare interpreting*, a more detailed typology of interpreting practices was drawn up by applying the parameters of language modality (*signed-* vs *spoken-language interpreting*), working mode (*consecutive* vs *simultaneous interpreting*), directionality (*bilateral, B/C-to-A, A-to-B* and *relay interpreting*), use of technology (*remote interpreting, machine interpreting*), and *professional status* (*'natural' vs professional interpreting*). Finally, a conceptual orientation to the complex interplay of domains and dimensions was offered in the form of a 'map' of the theoretical territory of research on interpreting.

Sources and further reading

On the terms 'interpreter' and 'interpreting' in English and other languages, see Mead (1999). There are few publications specifically devoted to a comprehensive conceptual analysis of interpreting. The pioneering

"taxonomic survey" of interpreting put forward by Harris in the mid-1990s has remained unpublished. For typological discussions with reference to community interpreting, see e.g. Gentile *et al.* (1996) and papers in Carr *et al.* (1997). For reference, see the articles on interpreting in the *Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (Baker 1998), the *Dictionary of Translation Studies* (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997) or, for German, the *Handbuch Translation* (Snell-Hornby *et al.* 1998). For interpreting in various social contexts through history, see Bowen (1995). Most monographs recommended for a deeper understanding of various domains of professional practice focus only on a particular type of interpreting. These include: for conference interpreting, Herbert (1952), Seleskovitch (1978a), Jones (1998); for court interpreting, González *et al.* (1991), Laster and Taylor (1994), Mikkelson (2000); for community interpreting/liaison interpreting, Gentile *et al.* (1996), Erasmus (1999), Wadensjö (1998, ch. 3); for sign language interpreting, Frishberg (1990), Stewart *et al.* (1998).

Suggestions for further study

- What is the etymology and current meaning of words for 'interpreter' and 'interpreting' in other languages?
- How is the distinction between 'translation' and 'interpreting' made in other languages, in dictionaries, academic writings and in the profession(s)?
- Do other languages offer a lexical distinction between 'interpreting', or 'interpretation', in the translational sense and in the sense of exegesis or explanation?
- What forms and types of interpreting are conceptually salient in other languages and national contexts, and how are they differentiated and interrelated?

2 Evolution

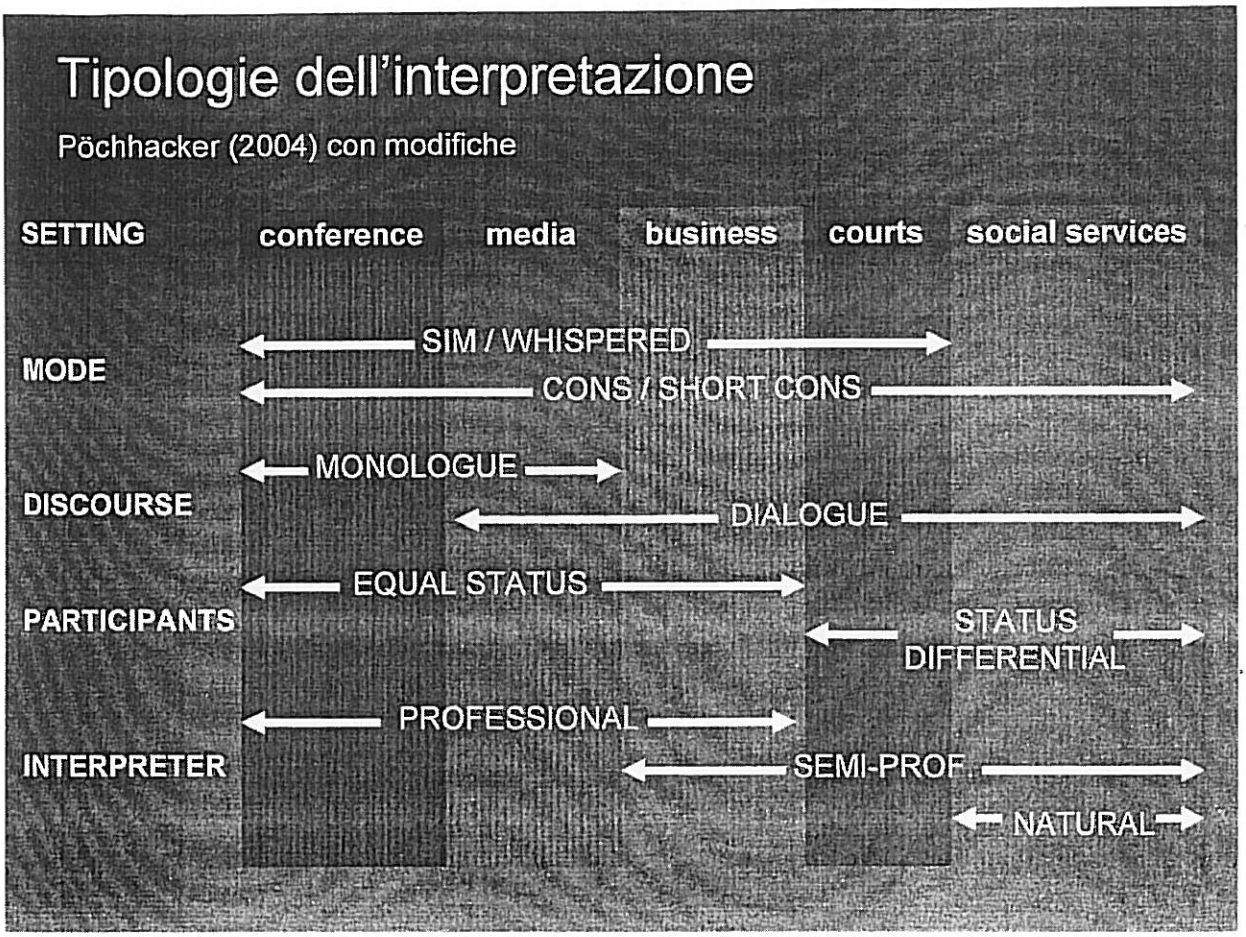
This chapter chronicles the development of research on interpreting to date. Highlighting the crucial role of professionalization in the emergence of this field of study, this historical sketch briefly reviews the professional underpinnings of the discipline and then traces its evolution from profession-based writings to theory-based research, with special emphasis on the sociology of the field and its academic infrastructure. Thus the 'making' and the 'make-up' of interpreting studies will be profiled in response to questions like 'who?', 'when?' and 'where?'.

The **main points** covered in this chapter are:

- the evolution of professional standards for interpreting as a specialized occupation
- the beginnings of research on interpreting
- the academic institutionalization of the discipline
- the leading representatives and centers of interpreting research
- the diversification and integration of interpreting studies since the 1990s
- the state of the discipline at the beginning of the twenty-first century

2.1 Socio-professional underpinnings

Although interpreting is an ancient human practice, it appears that, through the ages, up to the twentieth century, it was usually considered too 'common' and unspectacular to deserve special mention. Nevertheless, there is some fascinating evidence of the role and status of interpreters in history, including: the Ancient Egyptian honorific "overseer of dragomans" claimed by the princes of Elephantine in the third millennium BC (see Hermann 1956/2002), and the interpreter depicted in the relief of General Haremhab's Memphite tomb dating from 1546 BC (see Delisle and Woodsworth 1995: 279); the scores of salaried interpreters in the service of the far-flung Roman Empire; the early conference interpreters/translators serving ecclesiastic authorities at the Lateran Council in AD 649; the decisive role of Doña Marina ('la Malinche') in helping Hernán Cortés take possession of the


Tipologie dell'interpretazione
Pöchhacker (2004) con modifiche
SETTING
conference
media
business
courts
social services
MODE
SIM / WHISPERED
CONS / SHORT CONS
DISCOURSE
MONOLOGUE
DIALOGUE
PARTICIPANTS
EQUAL STATUS
STATUS DIFFERENTIAL
INTERPRETER
PROFESSIONAL
SEMI-PROF
NATURAL

Poyatos, Fernando (ed.) (1997)
Nonverbal Communication and Translation
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Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

The reality of multichannel verbal–nonverbal communication in simultaneous and consecutive interpretation

Fernando Poyatos
University of New Brunswick, Canada

In memoriam Gordon E. Baeza

1. Introduction

This discussion may be said to be based on the definition of interpretation as: the relaying from a speaker-actor to a listener-viewer (or audience) of verbal and nonverbal messages indistinctively through verbal and nonverbal ones, as dictated by the synonymous, antonymous or absent verbal or nonverbal signs with respect to each other's communication systems. Through the years, I have pondered various issues and problems that I realized appeared in any formal or informal live translation between at least two people. As I immersed myself in the complex interdisciplinary field of nonverbal communication, acknowledging the reality of speech as at least a triple audiovisual reality made up of verbal language, paralanguage and kinesics — that is, what we say, how we say it and how we move what we say — the specific activity of the professional interpreter unfolded in its many intricacies and problems. My various opportunities to speak at the German translation and interpretation schools of Heidelberg and Germersheim were a great incentive to keep thinking of the problems I knew those excellent professionals and students would inevitably encounter, and then try to foster a greater attention to mainly paralanguage and kinesics as they occur in the simultaneous or consecutive interpretation situation. But I also tried to call their attention to other realities, namely: The accompanying somatic and extrasomatic co-activities that could occur along with speech; the physical co-presence of the persons involved; the equally real presence of at least two cultures, if not many more, at any given time, that is, the source speaker's,

the target listener's, the interpreter's, and perhaps many more when there is an audience; and the physical environment itself. Being sensitized to the complex functioning of somatic systems in oral translation reveals not only how messages are often completed only through nonverbal signs, but how many times they are transmitted exclusively in nonverbal ways for different reasons that must be clearly understood. The present discussion, therefore, as a threshold for the two that follow, attempt to summarize as clearly as possible, through several theoretical and practical models, each of the aspects to which all those involved in the interpretation situation are so intimately related to.[1]

2. Verbal and nonverbal components in the interpretation situation

The basic sign systems in interaction

Fundamental to the discussion of any type of communication, whether written or oral, is the exhaustive identification of its components from among the various sign-conveying verbal and nonverbal systems that are possible in each situation. Then, in both consecutive and simultaneous interpretation, after considering in what situations participants are in co-presence or visually or acoustically absent from each other, we must establish which of those components are available to the speaker, which are perceived by the listener(s), which by the listener(s) through the interpreter, in what ways the interpreter perceives them from both source speaker and target listener(s), and how he transmits them between the two.

The table in Fig. 1, 'Consecutive and Simultaneous Interpretation: Speaker's, Listener's and Interpreter's Sign Perception and Emission', attempts to show at a glance the basic communicative sign systems. Much theoretical and methodological research could derive from this model, only outlined here. On the left are shown the various sign systems, that is, audible or visual, that are available to the participants, namely:

a. Within *audible systems*, one should consider both sound and the absence of it, in other words: *verbal language* and *paralanguage*; but also those quasiparalinguistic sounds emitted through *audible kinesics* (whether finger-snapping or impatient rapping on a table), which should not be shunned as marginal, for they may very well carry the main message or most of it, or qualify it, in a given situation. Neither should we neglect *silences* and (in the next group) *stills*, since they may also at times express what has not been, and will not be, said in words.

	CONSECUTIVE INTERPRETATION									SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETATION								
	Speaker–Listener–Interpreter see and hear each other				Speaker seen and heard by Listeners who listen to Interpreter				Speaker (& List.) seen and heard by Listeners who listens to Interpreter				Speaker heard and seen by Listeners who listen to Interpreter				Speakers seen by Listener(s) who listen(s) to Interpreter	
	S←	→L	I→	→I→	S←	→L	I→	→I→	S←	→L	I→	→I→	S←	→L	I→	→I→	S←	→L	I→	→I→
AUDIBLE SYSTEMS Verbal language	+	+	+	+ − ?	+	+	+	+ − ?	−	+	+ − own	+ − ?	+	+	+ − own	+ − ?		−	+ − ?	+ − ?
Paralanguage	+	+	+ − ?	+ − ?	+	+	+ − own	+ − ?	−	+	+ − own	+ − ?	+	+	+ − own	+ − ?		−	+ − own	+ − ?
Audible Kinesics	+	+	− verb	−	−	−	?	?	−	+	− ?	−	+	+	− ?	−		−	?	?
Silences	+	+	− ? verb	− + ? verb	+	+	− ?	− + ? verb	−	+	− + ? verb	− + ? verb	+	+	− + ? verb	− + ? verb		−	− + ? verb	− + ? verb
Stills																				
VISUAL SYSTEMS Kinesics	+	+	+ − own	+ − ?	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+ − own	− verb		+	− verb	− + ? verb
Visual Chemical & Dermal Systems	+	+	− verb	− verb	+	+	− verb	− verb	−	+	− verb	− verb	+	+	− verb	− + verb		− +	− verb	− ? verb

Figure 1. Consecutive and simultaneous interpretation: speaker's, listener's and interpreter's sign perception and emission

b. Within *visible systems* is, of course, mainly *kinesics*, that is, gestures, manners and postures, closely associated with *proxemics* (e.g. leaning forward in an attempt to 'reach' the other person better, stepping back when standing after a verbal refusal or as a silent one).

c. But two specific types of visual signs can be also relevant in the communication interchange which may qualify words in different ways, or even impede them: a *dermal reaction* such as blushing, and a *chemical reaction* like *tear-shedding*, a mild manifestation of which would be glistening eyes. Naturally, such dermal and chemical emotional reactions will qualify speech (e.g. quavery o tremulous voice, gulping) and even kinesics (e.g. rapid blinking, visible heaving, gaze aversion, postural change, nervous fidgeting or preening). While it is true that in most interpretation situations activities such as proxemic shifts, tear-shedding and blushing are absent, one must acknowledge their potential presence in other possible contexts, such as when interacting with people in distress or in any types of critical situations, and in what later will be discussed as 'reduced interaction' (e.g. involving one or more blind interactants).

At the top of the table are shown the various interpersonal situations and relationships that constitute consecutive and simultaneous interpretation:

Consecutive interpretation. Three basic situations will be acknowledged here: (a) Speaker, Listener and Interpreter can hear and see each other at close range (e.g. a business or diplomatic encounter, in which the interpreter is located between the two; (b) the Speaker is seen and heard by an audience of Listeners who listen to the Interpreter (e.g. a public lecture, speech or sermon, during which the interpreter sits or stands by the speaker); or (c) Speaker and Listener(s) can be heard and seen by other Listeners, who may just listen to a visually absent Interpreter (e.g. TV panel or talk show).

Simultaneous interpretation. The two most typical situations are: (a) The Speaker can be heard and seen by an audience of Listeners who listen to a visually absent interpreter (e.g. the one-to-many relationship at a conference where the listeners use earphones to hear their respective languages and paralanguages); (b) the Speaker is seen by the Listener(s), who listen(s) to an visually absent Interpreter (e.g. a TV foreign speaker's language-paralanguage-kinesics and the interpreter's language and paralanguage). As for the situation in which only the interpreter's voice is perceived (e.g. a speech or interview in a radio broadcast), it will not be discussed here, since the source speaker is neither heard nor seen, although the

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interpreter's challenge is not small, since his voice is the only perceived medium through which all other sign systems are funnelled.

The second row in the table indicates, (a) the participants: S, Speaker; L, Listener; and I, Interpreter; (b) their perceiving and emitting capabilities: In combination with the symbols [+] or [−] in each column for each system, the arrows pointing toward either Speaker or Listener, [S←], [→L], denote the verbal or nonverbal signs they may [+] or may not [−] perceive from their cointeractant (e.g. paralanguage [+], kinesics [−]); in combination with the symbols [+] or [−] in each column for each system, the arrow pointing away from the Interpreter, [I→], indicates whether or not he conveys a given type of signs; also referred to the Interpreter, the question mark [?] indicates when it is doubtful (but perhaps desirable) that he should convey the Speaker's signs, while [own] indicates the tendency to accompany his target language with his own native paralanguage and kinesics; or, as is so often the case when he is visually absent, with very low-key paralanguage and naturally no kinesics (for the listeners, at least). The fourth column under each form of interpretation suggests (in combination with the symbols [+], [−] or [?] for each system) that the Interpreter may or may not perceive, and may or may not try to convey, the Listener's feedback behaviors and the Speaker's own counterfeedback ones, [→I→]; but he may also choose to convey their nonverbal feedback verbally, [verb].

The fate of the nonverbal systems in interpretation

Having identified the different systems of signs that can be intentionally or unintentionally present in the various interpretation situation, a textbook or manual on nonverbal communication in interpretation — which could be developed from this discussion — would have to identify (following the table in Fig. 1): First, within each system (i.e. paralanguage, kinesics, etc.), how it is perceived between speaker and listener or listeners (e.g. an audience), and then the way in which the interpreter could or should deal with each of its features in each of the typical situations, first within consecutive interpretation, then within simultaneous interpretation. For the sake of space, only a few examples are offered in order to review some of the possible alternatives and problems involving each system, outside of verbal language.

Paralanguage[2]

It is obvious that sometimes the sensitive interpreter needs to skilfully switch codes instead of just translating words. Within *primary qualities*, with extreme

drawling and clipping a simple verbal hesitating 'Yeees' or a sharp 'Nope' may have to be paraphrased in Spanish as '*Sí, quizá*' and '*Claro que no*', or '*Ni hablar*'. Within *qualifiers*, the interpreter must decide whether the specific voice type through which the speaker says something needs to be rendered verbally along with those words (e.g. the falsetto in a surprised or incredulous 'What?!', or a strongly disdainful muttered negative reply to a proposal). Within *differentiators*, a half-seriously, half-jokingly laughed statement, a deeply sighed 'Yes', or sneezing by or in front of an Arab Muslim (requiring certain verbal expressions on the part of both sneezer and witnesses, most probably unknown to the non-Muslim speaker). Within *alternants*, truly quasilexical and meaningful utterances, the interpreter cannot always just shun them as marginal, or only 'emotional' and dispensable 'accompaniments' to words, for they may even carry most of the message or be the only message, for instance: a sigh that perhaps, because of lack of sufficient context, may express either longing or resignation, a commiserative click of the tongue 'Tz', a 'Uh-uh!' of negation, an affirmative 'Uh-hu!', a very hesitant 'Well, uuuuh, no!', a gasp of admiration as the only response, a 'Whew!' of relief, a surprised 'Umph!', a doubtful 'Pshaw!', a contemptuous grunted 'Hunh', a disgusted 'Ugh!', an 'Aaaaaaay!' while imagining a pleasurable situation, a reference to a dubious character as 'He's a little eeuh', to continuous drinking as 'He was glug, glug', or to the slowness of a train as 'Oh, that train, chuck-a-chuck, chuck-a-chuck'.

Audible kinesics[3]

If an anglophone says 'We can have that solved + /finger-snapping/', the audible gesture would have to be rendered in Spanish as '*en un periquete*' or '*enseguida*'; if someone slaps his thigh meaning 'That's it!', we would have to convey it verbally.

Silence and stillness[4]

Both interactive silence and stillness (the latter belonging within visual systems), as cessation of the basic activities of sound and movement, pose very unique communicational problems for the interpreter. Most silences and stills contain an eloquent facial expression or motionless manual gesture, and obviously that is what must be translated when nothing else follows verbally. Sometimes it may be an understood ellipsis, as in 'You have no...' (maybe even indicating a child's height with the hand), when we know that the speaker means 'no children', which obviously should be conveyed verbally; others, what is contained in the silence may be the second part of a familiar saying in the source language, but not necessarily in the listener's, as with 'When in Rome...', without saying 'do as the Romans do'; still others it can be a verbal ellipsis filled with a kinesic replacement, as when answering to 'And why don't you tell us about it?' with 'Well, because... / it wouldn't be appropriate in front of this audience/'. In other words, very rarely does a brief conversational silence communicate nothing, therefore the interpreter may need to verbalize it, and that decision rests on his professional competence. Naturally, in a radio broadcast, since the speaker is not visible, an emotional silence should be verbally identified by the interpreter.

Kinesics[5]

Ordinary gestures, manners and postures may carry messages, beyond or instead of words, and may have to be verbally translated, whether their meanings are the same or different in both cultures. This being the most conspicuous nonverbal sign system in interaction, no discussion of it is necessary, since different examples are offered throughout this article and when discussing the nonverbal categories below.

Chemical reactions

These reactions have been identified mostly (in the context of interpretation) as tear-shedding or glistening eyes. While they may speak for themselves if we see the speaker — with certain intercultural differences in the display rules of certain emotions — it would be quite different in a radio broadcast, where the interpreter would be facing two basic choices: to briefly identify the speaker's emotions verbally, thus fitting them into the context of the conversation in the silences during which they occur; or to verbalize them with the words that the person would normally use to do so, either in the third person, or even in the first person.

Dermal reactions

Of all the dermal reactions normally observable during a face-to-face interaction, blushing is actually the only one conspicuous enough to sometimes convert to words, as was said of emotions in general. For, if we are dealing with two different cultures, we cannot always take for granted that blushing is necessarily betraying embarrassment. The interpreter, however, may have to decide whether verbally identifying embarrassment, or certain other emotions, is ethically permissible in each given situation, for it may often be an ivasion of the person's most intimate privacy.

3. Interpretation in the total context of interpersonal and environmental interaction

While it is true that in the ordinary interpretation situation the systems just outlined are the ones we may ordinarily encounter, the interpretation situation, like every other aspect of communication, should not be dissociated from the rest of the complex grid of surrounding sign systems that may operate during an exchange and, at deeper conscious or unconscious levels, affect our performance, both as speaker and listener and as mediating interpreters. Although it would be impossible to even identify all the sign systems or clusters of systems that may be present in an interaction, it would be appropriate at this point to at least refer the reader to the model I have proposed in the past for an exhaustive analysis of interaction, both interpersonal and with the environment.[6] By just glancing at its schematic representation in Fig. 2, 'Components of Interpersonal and Environmental Interaction', one realizes that interpretation does not necessarily take place in an aseptic setting in which only what is strictly necessary seems to happen, with no other conditioning or distracting elements, and that at times precisely some of those elements can become true components of that interaction, and not even necessarily by their presence but by their very absence (e.g. something which has not been said when it was expected). To avoid a lengthy discussion, some of those potential components of an interactive encounter appear enhanced in the table so that the reader may just ponder how they can affect the interaction. Since interpretation may occur in settings and circumstances other than the customary ones we all tend to imagine as more 'professional', trying to apply this model strictly to interpretation, it will be seen, for instance: That tears, or tearful speech, or the 'blushed' speech of a speaker, may oblige the interpreter to verbally qualify his own verbal translation to convey what those reactions truly express; that perhaps any of those reactions could occur as the listener's wordless feedback, which may likewise require the intermediary's verbalization; that the speaker may be conversing while handling or puffing at a cigar or pipe, possibly using them as eloquent conversational props, which may also cause occasional pauses (as would flicking imaginary lint); that real or imagined positive or negative thoughts which the speaker believes the listener to be thinking may definitely affect his performance; that the repeated ringing of a telephone, traffic noise, excessive heat or cold during an interview can affect the speaker's delivery; that interior decoration which reflects a much higher status than that of one of the participants may easily affect his performance, etc.

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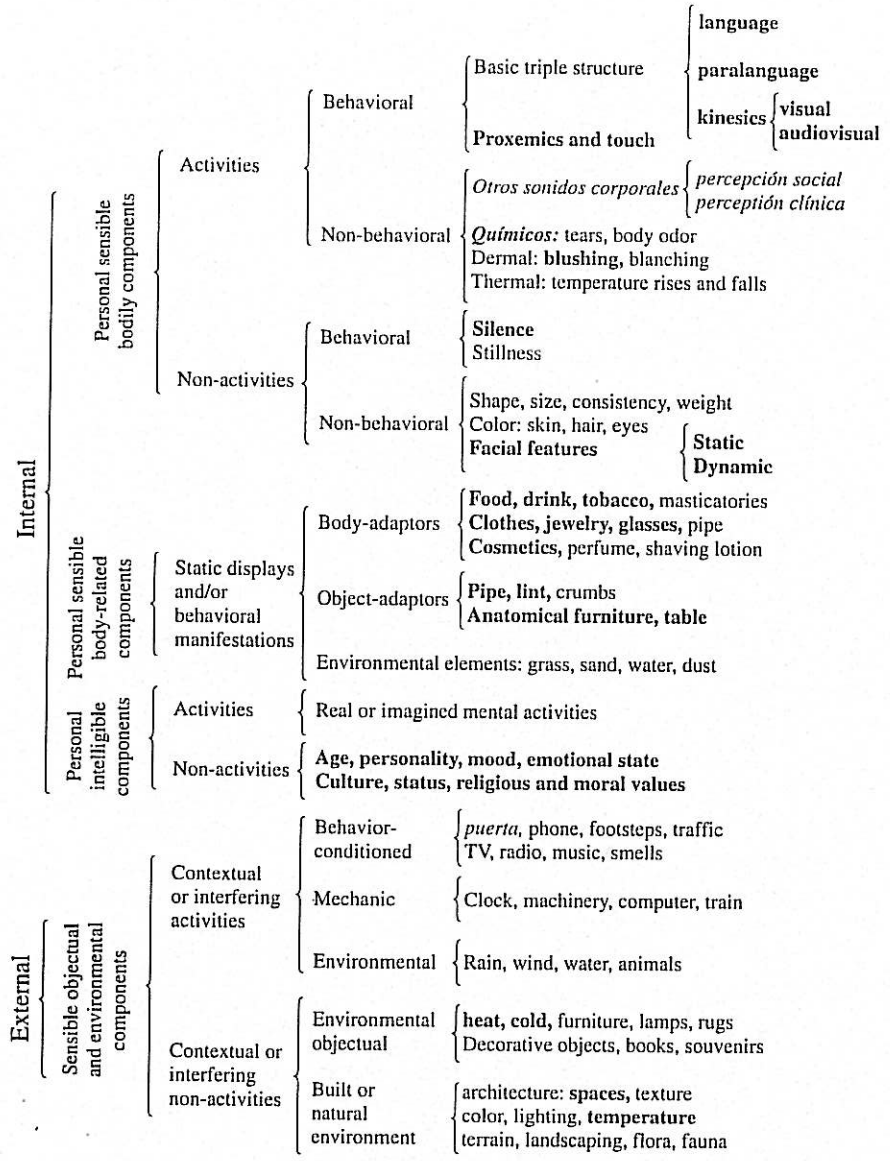


Figure 2. Components of personal and environmental interaction

4. The basic relationships of nonverbal systems to words

Identifying the relations of nonverbal systems — particularly paralanguage and kinesics, but also the other systems — to what is being said in words during speech, discloses already a number of problems and dilemmas which an interpreter must face, always in unexpected ways and always requiring a quick decision on his or her part. What is more, each of these functions played by the nonverbal systems poses specific responsibilities in each mode of exchange within consecutive and simultaneous interpretation, as suggested by Fig. 1.

a. *As additional information*, if the gesture or the paralanguage that precedes, accompanies or follows a verbal statement expresses something besides what the words say, as when, for instance, a Spanish speaker says '*Bueno, usted paga lo suyo*', with shoulder-shrugging meaning 'as you are supposed to' and a hand gesture signifying 'and don't worry about what they do'; or if a speaker's paralanguage qualifies that same verbal statement with very low register and almost creaky voice, emphatically signifying 'well, you just do what is right', in which case the interpreter would have to provide paralinguistic qualifiers, and if seen by his listeners, kinesic qualifiers of identical function as those of the speaker.

b. *Supporting what is being said verbally*, simultaneously to words, as with accompanying gestures and paralanguage.

c. *Repeating what has been said verbally*, if, for instance, a delegate to a conference says, 'And that puts an end to our negotiations', following immediately with a gesture of termination which simply repeats the verbal statement; as long as he does not conspicuously qualify his gesture with so-called parakinesic qualifiers that may by themselves convey an added attitude of, for instance, marked emphasis.

d. *Emphasizing what is being said verbally*, as when an English speaker may just utter 'Yes' verbally, with rather neutral or ambiguous paralanguage, but make at the same time an enthusiastic face, which might even not have the same meaning in both cultures. In that instance, should the Spanish interpreter say something like '*¡Ya lo creo!*', '*¡Claro que sí!?*'

e. *De-emphasizing what is being said verbally*. Inversely, the speaker may verbally affirm something or express approval, while his paralanguage (not necessarily common to both cultures) is clearly weakening it (perhaps only

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for the interpreter) with obvious lack of enthusiasm or interest. Would the interpreter truthfully convey the speaker's whole verbal–nonverbal construct?

f. *Contradicting what is being said verbally*. The speaker says 'Yes, we might strike a deal with them', but his paralanguage and his looking away as he slightly shrugs his shoulders smilingly does not even confirm the expressed possibility but rather contradicts it; or, being Japanese, his smile may even contradict the words we take as an affirmation (due to his cultural rule of politeness, often so disconcerting to the Westerner, as Hasada's article shows us). Would the interpreter simply translate word for word, or would he introduce a negative verbal element (if he is visible) and/or an equally negative gesture?

g. *As an economy device*. Simultaneously to his expressing something verbally that he likes something, the speaker makes a 'So-so' hand gesture, which avoids adding certain words of uncertainty. Would the interpreter verbally convert the kinesic statement into an equivalent verbal one to faithfully convey the full message (if he is visible), without assuming the listener's or audience's decoding of the gesture to be correct? Or, if he is not visible, would he choose to ignore it or to convey it verbally?

h. *Out of verbal deficiency*. It may happen that the speaker is at a loss for a word, but perhaps tries to use an 'identifier' (e.g. a face-and-hand depiction of /energetic/ to define a person), or a 'pictograph' (e.g. a manual description of a /chandelier/). Would the interpreter come to his aid by supplying the missing word instead of letting him show his verbal deficiency?

5. The limitation of words: Verbal ineffability and nonverbal expressiveness

Even if we return for a moment to what is unquestionably the core of interpretation, words, trying to be simply realistic in our approach to speech, we must recognize that what has been called *orality* is produced in reality in an aural and visual manner through the combination of: internal (phonetic) articulations and sound modifications, and external articulations that depend on our facial and bodily anatomy.

But the first problem interpreters must face is the expressive limitations of the words they depend on, sometimes far too much, to convey what the speaker is truly communicating with words, paralanguage, kinesics, and occasionally even

certain other bodily reactions, which possess that indivisible semantic and grammatical value so characteristic of speech because they do pertain of speech. We know that words, whether arbitrary ('house') or imitative ('gurgling'), lack the semantic capacity to carry the whole weight of a conversation, that is, all the messages encoded in the course of it, because our dictionaries are extremely poor in comparison with the capacity of the human mind for encoding and decoding an infinitely wider gamut of meaning to which at times we refer as *ineffable*. If that conversation we are trying to translate were to be formed by only stripped words, there would be not just an unthinkable intermittent series of semiotic gaps, but overriding vacuums as well. However, we know full well that there are rarely such vacuums in communication, for those possible gaps are actually intricately and subtly filled with nonverbal activities, either clearly segmentable (e.g. a tongue click, voluntary or involuntary sigh, an ironic chuckle, an audible inhalation of hesitation, a gesture) or stretching over varying portions of our delivery, from single phonemes to whole sentences to a complete speaker's turn in a conversation (e.g. orotundity, quavery voice, high pitch of irritation, a smile in smiled speech, a crossed-arm posture). An attitudinal blend of, for instance, doubt, amusement and contempt, would require a rather complex, lengthy and even unnatural periphrastic verbal expression; but one of our interlocutors could actually express all three feelings with just one word as simple as 'No', because he could suffuse that word with a series of mainly paralinguistic and kinesic elements (but at times also chemical or dermal) in perfect mutual inherence.

That is why we should revise the concept of *ineffability*, and recognize that the barrier imposed by the purely lexical limitation of our lexicon can be overcome by means of nonverbal elements of whatever type when they are added to those words.

What makes language, paralanguage and kinesics a functionally cohesive structure is undoubtedly their common kinetic (not yet 'kinesic') generator, and then their combined semanticity and lexicality and their capacity to operate simultaneously, alternate with or substitute for each other as needed in the interactive situation; a situation which in interpretation implies a constant challenge for the interpreter. For can the interpreter preserve that cohesiveness as he renders one language (knowing what is meant by 'language') into another? Having said all this, we now realize the absurd but inevitable incongruence inherent in interpretation, above all when the interpreter remains invisible to the listener or audience: The voice they hear (as Weale discusses in her own contribution) is not the speaker's; and, to make it worse, it may be of a different gender, something that would always be desirable to avoid if possible.

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6. The capacity of nonverbal systems to function grammatically in speech and the interpreter's 'oral footnotes'

On the other hand, the basic triple structure language-paralanguage-kinesics is the only communicative complex through which a tangible object or an abstract concept can be indistinctively expressed, 'spoken', by means of a word, a paralinguistic construction or a kinesic one. It may happen that our source speaker, wanting to praise the other speaker's suggestion, says 'Oh, that's super!', or 'Uuff!, or /shakes his hands up and down/, as a Frenchman might do; just as referring to a bad smell our Spanish speaker may exclaim '*¡Eso apesta!*', utter a '*¡Iiaj!*', or just pinch his nose.

What is more, one of the main difficulties in interpretation is being exposed to the common (but unexpected and not precisely desired nor welcome) capacity of the nonverbal components of speech, language-paralanguage-kinesics, to (a) *operate simultaneously*, as in 'Weeell, Iii dooon't think it's poss'ble', drawling the first words doubtfully while frowning and then straightening the brows as tempo quickens with some irritation for the last three words; (c) *alternate* with or substitute for each other without altering the syntactical order of speech segments, as in '[Prolonged narial breath intake] – [palatal tongue click] + /frowning/ + I don't think 'is poss'ble'; or (c) *act independently* from words, as in '[prolonged narial breath intake] + /frowning/ – [palatal tongue click] + /rapid irritated negative head-shaking/'.[7] Either of them (and their use may depend on personality, mood, or culture) expresses exactly the same doubt, irritation and then categorical negation. How to render the second mode of verbal–nonverbal reply by the English speaker to the possible Spanish question '*¿Cree usted que podríamos llegar a un acuerdo así?*', or the second one (wordless but not less expressive), is for the interpreter to decide as it happens. What is more, we know that this capacity of nonverbal systems for mutual substitution implies that they can coexist even in the same sentence *without altering the syntactical order*, which is not limited to paralanguage and kinesics. A speaker may say, 'Oh, I am so embarrassed!', with just language and paralanguage; but he could also express it, 'Oh, I'm so [blushing]!!' (whose intensity is indicated here with [!!]), just as glistening eyes or actual tears could begin a sentence, occur in the middle of it or complete it, without the interpreter having a legitimate reason not to render verbally both the blushing and the tear-shedding. But, naturally, this internal mutual structuration is never so deep as in the basic triple structure of speech language-paralanguage-kinesics, in which the three are always combined.

What comes to mind in the face of these typical stumbling blocks is the

possibility of providing sometimes what we might call 'oral footnotes', that is, the verbal replacement for what has been expressed nonverbally in a way the native listener could decode, but not the foreign one; which is particularly obvious when the speaker uses behaviors that: (a) might not even be perceived (as when a Japanese touches his nose tip with his finger tip to indicate 'I', 'Me'; or (b) could be misunderstood, particularly in the case of false kinesic cognates used as additional information simultaneously to words or replacing them.

7. The ten different realizations of language, paralanguage and kinesics

While we know that a visual behavior like a gesture can be quite independent, an audible one always shows a visual qualifying element. This would warrant a succinct review of the different ways in which we can utilize, and thus perceive, each of the three systems (always putting the dominant one first in each combination):

verbal language by itself (hardly so, of course, as paralanguage and kinesics are at least minimally present);

verbal language-paralanguage, with the true message sufficiently expressed in the words (e.g. 'I don't want to remember that', said in a sad tone of voice);

verbal language-kinesics, in which gesture qualifies words or accompany them in established audiovisual constructs (e.g. 'No había mucho de esto allí', meaning in Spanish not much food, by taking the bunched fingers of one hand toward the mouth without referring to food verbally, thus requiring that word in the target language);

verbal language-paralanguage-kinesics, the most typical kind of expression, in which the three systems partake equally of the whole semantic function, done very often in a specifically 'native' fashion (e.g. 'Oh, là, là!');

paralanguage alone, that is, the so-called differentiators (e.g. laughter, as when the listener possibly chuckles to himself repeatedly as the sole reaction to the speaker's words, a chuckle which stands eloquently for a whole verbal statement that will not follow and therefore needs to be conveyed), or alternants (e.g. a Spanish hesitating 'Pss!' with no verbal hesitation, English emphatic negation 'Uh-uh!');

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paralanguage-verbal language, if the paralinguistic component is more relevant than its verbal accompaniment (e.g. a Spanish ironic '*¡Aaah, ya veo, ya!*', 'Oooh, I see!');

paralanguage-kinesics, with a more important paralinguistic part (e.g. the very Italian prolonged 'Aaaah!' with brow raising and hands-and-shoulders shrugging, expressing impossibility);

kinesics alone (naturally including also postures, mostly ignored in cultural or crosscultural inventories), which offers all the instances, problems and challenges discussed throughout this article).

kinesics-paralanguage, where the visual component predominates (e.g. the truly polysemic and very North-American approval by an oblique head movement with fist cutting the air in front of the chest and a simultaneous tongue click.

kinesics-verbal language, where obviously kinesics is more important (e.g. a very slow and very tense negation headshake accompanying a verbal 'No' which would never express its true meaning fully).

We should note that in the verbal-paralinguistic-expression, if the kinesic component is not indispensable from a communicative point of view, it is mainly a verbal-paralinguistic expression, and that if missing its visual part would make it ambiguous or undecodable it should be dealt with as a kinesic or kinesic-paralinguistic construct. On the other hand, it is easily observable in a telephonic conversation which of the three systems is most important in a triple construct: If gesture does not seem semantically indispensable it will be mainly a verbal-paralinguistic expression, but if not perceiving its visual part would make it ambiguous or incomprehensible it will be a kinesic-paralinguistic expression, since we could do without the words.

8. The encoding-decoding problems between speaker, interpreter and listener in intercultural interaction

How exactly the speaker's verbal and nonverbal messages are encoded and emitted, and how they are later decoded and conveyed to his listener or listeners may result in true communication, but at times also in miscommunication and even lack of communication altogether. As for the interpreter's own ability to relay the messages from the source linguistic-cultural block to the target one, we must realize that generally he has learned one of those two languages through the

process of foreign-language acquisition, which may cause specific problems, among them that of the interference of one's own language and nonverbal systems. Applying it, for brevity's sake, only to kinesics, we may weigh the interpreter's position as listener by identifying the following attitudes on the part of the speaker he is translating:

a. the speaker uses his own kinesic constructs, correctly decoded by both interpreter and target listener because of their verbal and nonverbal context, being either of different form and meaning (e.g. in Niger, mostly with or by children, patting oneself on the top of the head compliments food as 'delicious'), different form but same meaning (e.g. a Colombian indicating a person's height with the palm of the hand vertically pointing forward), or same form but different meaning (a Venezolan showing his hand palm down to refer only to an animal's height), in all three cases the correct decoding being perhaps delayed somewhat because the listener-viewer needs to process it within that context in order to switch meanings;

b. the speaker's kinesic expressions are not decoded because they do not make any 'syntactical sense', nor is there any visual association with the listener's native kinesic repertoire (e.g. the Spaniard's lower-eyelid pull with index finger signifying 'I saw it', or 'He didn't fool me');

c. the speaker may use kinesic expressions which the listener does not even perceive perhaps because he simply does not suspect that they carry any meaning (e.g. the Hong-Konger's tapping on the table with index and middle finger to thank someone pouring tea or wine for him, or the Saudi Arabian man reference to an attractive woman by sliding an index finger down his cheek);

d. perhaps those gestures are perceived but, because of certain deceiving contextual grammatical or circumstantial clues, they are misunderstood, a false decoding situation not untypical between members of different cultures who speak a common language (thus not applicable to the interpretation situation, as with anglophones from India and Canada);

e. the speaker may use kinesic false cognates (as he uses verbal ones) with similar form but different meaning, often worse than if he did not use anything at all (e.g. the Japanese finger-ring gesture meaning money, and 'Okay' in North America, if done in Venezuela, where it is a sexual insult; or Niger's hand palm as a lid over a vertical fist, signifying 'crowded', done also in Malaysia, but as a sexual insult; unintentionally but gravely insulting a Greek interlocutor by showing him the splayed fingers of one hand to signify 'five');

f. the speaker may quite safely use gestures with the same form and meaning in both cultures, thus like true cognates (e.g. rubbing thumb and index finger to signify money in many cultures with slight differences);

g. the speaker may use his own kinesic constructions, correctly decoded by the listener from another culture because he perceives the right clues of syntactical co-structuration with other verbal or nonverbal behaviors, or because of the situational context, either with different form and meaning (e.g. the Spanish gesture for '/crowded/' by opening and closing once or twice the vertically bunched fingers of one hand), different form and same meaning (e.g. the Mexican vertical fist to indicate an animal's height, but not a person's), or same form but different meaning, like false cognates (e.g. the Spanish bunched fingers of one hand taken toward the mouth to indicate 'eating');

h. in addition, the speaker may at any time suffer from some degree of verbal, paralinguistic or kinesic deficiency, thus leaving semantically empty gaps which will result in the listener not being able to decode any message, for which the interpreter must compensate verbally.

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9. The chronemics of interpretation

Weale points out how speaker and interpreter can never achieve true synchronization. This, in fact, allows us to at least briefly establish, obvious as it may be, the characteristics of the chronemics of interpretation in its two modalities, consecutive and simultaneous, keeping in mind what has been said about the relationship of nonverbal to verbal language and about the different realizations of language, paralanguage and kinesics within the basic triple structure.

In *consecutive interpretation*, typically with the interpreter audiovisually present, the listener or listeners in an audience 'see' how the speaker 'moves' what he is saying (when it is not yet understood) and later hear, through the interpreter, what he 'said' when he 'was moving' like that. The consequences are obvious: (a) assumptions about what the speaker was saying were inevitably made by the listener because he was moving as he talked (hearing his voice on the radio one would hardly try to guess), therefore the interpreter's translation confirms or contradicts those assumptions; (b) at best, there is a message delay in both the interpreter's translation and the listener's reception and comprehen-

sion of the original visual signs; consequently, (c) the listener receives similar or dissimilar kinesics, or virtually none at all, from the interpreter, while he is learning what the speaker said.

In *simultaneous interpretation*, typically with a visually absent interpreter, the listeners-viewers in an audience see the speaker's kinesics (or any other visible signs, as long as distance allows), but the delay for their comprehension is minimal because the speaker's kinesics, 'how he moves what he says', is immediately followed by (the interpreter's relay of) 'what' he said and (hopefully) 'how' he said it. Nevertheless, even that minimal dysynchrony still prevents the listener-viewer from appreciating the true flavor of many verbal–nonverbal constructs. On the other hand, our kinesics often is initated before the words it accompanies, which contributes to a better synchronization.

Naturally, in both cases one must keep in mind the different possible combinations of language, paralanguage and kinesics as well as the possible problems in the encoding-decoding processes, both discussed above.

10. Silence and stillness in the interpretation situation

Silence and stillness have been much neglected as the powerful and eloquent elements of interaction they are, particularly silence, thus ignoring the fact that, when speech is interrupted by a 'pause', at least one of the other two concurrent activities, paralanguage and kinesics — but possibly also reactions like blushing, pallor, or tear-shedding — can still fill that apparent gap. Even the erroneously called 'empty pauses' are not at all empty, since any interruption in speech may contain paralanguage (e.g. a disdainful nasal exhalation, a tongue click and parted lips indicating one's intention to speak), kinesic (e.g. a frown), or both; and at times proxemic, dermal, chemical and even thermal activities, susceptible of transmitting certain messages as efficiently as words or more. I will mention only three essential functions of interactive silences, since silence is more important than stillness:

a. *As signs proper* (e.g. 'Her silence expressed all the anguish of the situation', 'To express his adamant attitude he just remained motionless'), which must not be understood as 'absence' of sound or movement, nor as their substitutes, since the meaning, the true message, is not conveyed by the 'lack of expected signs', but by the silence or stillness itself, without reference to anything else, in which case it may need to be translated into words.

b. *As zero signs*, signifying precisely "by its very absence" (Sebeok 1974), that is, by the absence of sound when sound would be expected (e.g. the silence with which someone may respond to our verbal greeting, or the target listener to the speaker in our interpretation situation), not wanting to do it verbally or kinesically, or when someone wants to withhold information. Often the interpreter will feel the need to verbalize what in reality is far from being a gap or void in the exchange.

c. *As carrier of the preceding activity*. A meaningful word or gesture prolong themselves more intensely in the cointeractant's mind, carried and augmented as in an echo by the silence, which serves as an amplifying receptacle for them, much more efficaciously than if the person kept talking. Naturally, the effect of this silence is intensified when it is simultaneously accompanied by stillness, and viceversa, a common situation, thus causing an eloquent double nonactivity which further attests to the cohesiveness of the structure language-paralanguage-kinesics in conversation.

11. The categories of visual nonverbal behaviors

We have defined all the possible communicative sign systems that may appear in interpretation, as well as the potential problems they may pose for the interpreter. It would remain, however, to refer the reader, whether interpreter or researcher in the field, to two more useful models that afford a systematic functional classification: first, of the types of behaviors, mainly visual, that constitute the speaker's and listener's repertoires, and then of the types of behaviors that make up the structure of any conversational exchange. The first one can be summarized as follows (strictly referring to only visual behaviors, mostly kinesics, and without being mutually exclusive, but often pertaining of each other's characteristics).[8]

Emblems. Mostly nonambiguous gestures that can be replaced by a word or phrase, of which (besides today's intercultural borrowings) each culture possess a wide repertoire: '/Okay/', '/So-so/', '/Yes/', '/No/', '/Come/', '/Victory/', etc. The interpreter not only must be familiar with the repertoire of both source and target language, but also fully aware of the typical false cognates that lead to false decoding. Emblems that accompany their verbal equivalents (e.g. 'No' '/No/') are of course dispensable and need not be conveyed to the listener. However, a wordless headshake for negation must be turned into a verbal 'No'

(even a paralinguistically qualified 'No' if the gesture's parakinesic qualifiers so require); and if a Greek, Turkish or Bulgarian speaker tosses his head up slightly (the Greek with dimmed eyes, the Bulgarian with light lip pouting), we obviously must translate it as 'No' (lest the gesture's final downward phase be misinterpreted as 'Yes'); similarly, if a Spaniard shows only the bunched fingers of one hand pointing upwards when speaking of people in some place, we need to translate it as 'crowded', although in a different context it would mean 'the essence' of something, unless it is only a sign of emphasis. At any rate, emblems, being a veritable visual vocabulary, are perfectly translatable (much more than other categories) if the interpreter is perfectly familiar with them in both languages and has acquired a high degree of cultural fluency in the foreign one or is perfectly bilingual and bikinesic.

Language markers, mostly facial, are always present in discourse, more or less noticeably so, according to cultural and personal style. And yet, they are actually beyond the interpreter's range, for they are too intimately fused with words and constitute, in fact, the subtlest and most persistent nonverbal components of a person's delivery, often defying definition. They truly lend to discourse, more than any other behaviors, its nativeness in each linguistic-cultural community, its peculiar 'visual accent', so to speak, so obviously typical, and at the same time so elusively so. They emphasize the acoustic and grammatical succession of words and sentences, truly punctuating language as do written punctuation marks (thus being grammatical and attitudinal themselves); furthermore, they constitute cultural peculiarities to the extent that mastering them would be the utmost achievement of a foreign speaker, equivalent on a visual plane to the total loss of an alien accent, for they could be defined simply as 'that almost undefinable way we speak and individuate our mother tongue and culture'. They are visually pronominal (e.g. index finger to nose tip for 'I' and 'Me' in Japan and China, pointing with nods, tilts, gaze), prepositional (e.g. brief gestures with 'until', without', 'but', 'for'), conjunctional (e.g. for 'so', 'which', 'however' done with a hand flourish), verbal (identifying temporal and modal differences), intonational (marked with brows, eyelids, nose wrinkling, etc., as in '*He* doesn't mind, but *we* do, *don't* we?), etc., in sum what at a distance, or turning the TV volume off, would still allow us to differentiate the culture of a speaker, if we are a little familiar with it.

Space and time markers illustrate, (a) size, distance and location (e.g. 'over there', with a nod by North Americans, but chin-pointing among Latins), even

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hand-pointing for absent referents (e.g. '*That* was a good party!'), and (b) past, present and future (e.g. 'a *looong* time ago').

Deictics (with crosscultural differences, as for space and time markers) truly point to the location of present or absent referents and to events in time (e.g. '*This* conference is the best one ever').

Pictographs draw (mostly manually and perhaps out of verbal deficiency) the shape or contour of a physical referent (e.g. the so-called 'hour-glass gesture' to denote an attractive woman, or trying to depict a chandelier, a sleek car, a spiral staircase).

Kinetographs imitate, mostly with the hands, any type of movement (e.g. 'cranking', 'someone boxing', 'the waves'), including those we associate with sounds and just imagine even if actual movement is not involved (e.g. trying to describe the noise coming from inside an engine).

Kinephonographs imitate movement and sound (thus also paralinguistically) simultaneously (e.g. a horse's galloping by finger-rapping and saying 'tuk-ku-tuk, tuk-uk-tuk').

Ideographs (sometimes, as with other categories, accompanied by paralanguage), tracing the direction of a thought (e.g. the Italian actor's culture-specific reminiscing of a romantic encounter by means of a hand-and-arm flourish and rolling of the eyes), which the interpreter may have to verbalize into something like 'Oh, it was wooonnderful!'.

Event tracers follow the development of an event (e.g. reference to the excessive duration of a meeting, expressed only by a repeated hand-and-face gesture, or also paralanguage by itself or accompanying words).

Identifiers constitute (along with language markers and externalizers, next) the most fascinating and difficult to master of all behavior types, responsible for specific 'styles', whether cultural or personal (and reflecting sex, socioeducational status and characteristics such as 'gentlemanly', 'ladylike', 'very articulate', 'vulgar', etc.). They literally 'identify' with bodily form abstract concepts (e.g. 'absurd', 'impossible'), moral and physical qualities (e.g. 'cold', 'cautious', 'soft', 'tough') and qualities of objectual and environmental referents (e.g. 'dirty', 'smooth', 'murky'), at times being more expressive kinesically than verbally and confronting the interpreter with the challenge of having to verbalize it (or verbalize it further to properly qualify words) in order to translate faithfully for the listener.

Externalizers, the most complex of all categories, offer a great challenge to the interpreter, not illustrating words, as the others do, but reacting to what is being,

has been or will be said, or done, or thought by oneself or someone else, to past, present, future, anticipated or imagined events, and to esthetic and spiritual experiences, which the interpreter must decide whether or not to verbally translate. They include those social random behaviors we all exhibit in personal and cultural ways, which naturally fall outside the interpreter's responsibility — despite their obvious semantic content and the fact that they do occur in that situation (e.g. the lip-biting or deep breathing betraying the delegate's tenseness at a political meeting). Nevertheless, the interpreter's sensitivity to them will contribute to fully understand the speaker's state and its possible consequences for the exchange (e.g. anxiety, impatience, annoyance, tiredness).

Self-adaptors (which may appear through some of the other categories), that is, contacting oneself (e.g. the listener rubs his chin skeptically without saying anything else, which the interpreter will feel obliged to render verbally, unless it is a common emblem isolated from words).

Alter-adaptors, contacting someone else, as in greetings and goodbyes, where interlocutors might easily hesitate, as I remember President Carter did once by offering Egypt's Sadat a handshake when the latter was already initiating an embrace, very much like trying to communicate with their respective languages.

Body-adaptors (clothes, jewelry, food, drink, masticatories, etc.) and body-adaptors behaviors (using them) may, for instance, characterize cultures (e.g. eating with fingers or with utensils; chewing betel, which can be so striking at first for the foreigner in India) and reflect the interactant's state (e.g. fidgeting with ring while being tense).

Object-adaptors involve things we manipulate (e.g. the delegate's twirling of his or her pen, Krouschev's famous pounding on the table with his shoe, flicking imaginary lint while thinking).

We see, therefore, that the degree in which our speaker uses these nonverbal categories as part of his or her repertoire defines the degree of personal articulateness or fluency in interaction, a degree which should ideally approach no extremes, but strike a balance between verbal and nonverbal activity. On the other hand, the interpreter must decide, always on an improvised basis, which of those behaviors should or should not be translated into the target verbal or nonverbal lexicon. What is obvious is that the interpreter must literally 'keep an eye' of the speaker's total delivery, lest he should miss something that has been expressed kinesically only.[9]

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12. The structure of conversation in the interpretation situation

Another model that would prove useful for the study of interaction in interpretation is that of its peculiarities as a conversational encounter — whose main characteristic is the succession of the 'speaker's turn' and the 'listener's turn' — seeing in what it differs from an ordinary social conversation. Fig. 3, 'The Structure of Conversation in Interpretation', shows at a glance the behaviors (displayed verbally or nonverbally) that constitute the mechanism of a conversation. It could be very briefly summarized under each group of activities so that the reader may determine which behaviors would or would not be relevant in the interpretation situation and which would pose specific problems. A very significant feature, mentioned above, yet quite neglected, about conversational kinesics, is that very often our visual behaviors begin before uttering the words, and that this phenomenon should accelerate the sensitive interpreter's 'comprehension' and 'processing' in preparation for his or her 'production', to use the words in Viaggio's article.

Speaker's and listener's initial behaviors

Initial-turn claiming by one or more of the gathered participants, before the onset of the actual conversation; *spontaneous initial-turn taking*, a typical situation on the part of one or more participants, only one of them becoming the actual first speaker, while the others experience *failed spontaneous initial-turn taking*; *initial-turn offering*, with or without initial-turn claiming, made by one of the candidates in the gathering willing to become a listener, which grants a more legitimate status to the first speaker; *granted initial-turn taking* is, therefore, the logical next behavior (unless failed turn-taking takes place), the speaker acquiring his turn according to the prescribed rules.

Speaker-listener turn-change behaviors

Most conversational behaviors in reality show a 'pre-behavior', anticipating or leading to it, a 'central' defining one, and even a 'post-behavior', the pre-behavior allowing a sensitive interactant to predict another participant's future behavior, and perhaps act accordingly for different reasons.

Turn claiming, is shown under normal circumstances when the listener thinks that he wants to or must say something, or that the speaker held the floor long enough, when the speaker indicates that he is willing to relinquish his turn, or when he displays a 'turn-preclosing' behavior; the speaker's *turn offering* may avoid the claim and elicit the listener's 'turn taking'; *turn pre-opening*, not

VERBAL AND NONVERBAL CONVERSATIONAL BEHAVIORS

SPEAKER		LISTENER
Initial turn-claiming	INITIAL TURN BEHAVIORS	Initial turn-claiming
Spontaneous initial turn-taking		Failed spontaneous initial turn-taking
Granted initial turn-taking		Initial turn-offering
Turn offering		Turn claiming
Turn granting	TURN-CHANGE BEHAVIORS	Turn pre-opening
Turn yielding		Turn taking
Turn holding	SECONDARY	Turn suppressing
Turn-claim suppressing	TURN-CHANGE BEHAVIORS	Absent turn claiming
Turn relinquishing		Failed turn claiming
Turn opening		Absent turn taking

SPEAKER'S SECONDARY BEHAVIORS	CONCURRENT BEHAVIORS	LISTENER'S SPEAKER-DIRECTED BEHAVIORS
Counterfeedback	Simultaneous/multiple turns	Feedback
Feedback request	Simultaneous/multiple turn claimings	Request for clarification
Turn preclosing	Simultaneous/multiple turn takings	Request for higher volume
Turn closing	Simultaneous/multiple conclusions	Request for information
Turn resumption	Simultaneous/multiple relinquishments	Offered information
Self-correction	Simultaneous/multiple yieldings	Correction
	Simultaneous/multiple interruptions	Verbatim repetition of last statement
	Simultaneous/multiple silences	Brief restatement
	Overlapping behaviors	Simultaneous conclusion
		Sentence completion
		Interruption
		Prompting signals
		Intermediate turn
		Failed intermediate turn

ACOUSTIC AND/OR VISUAL PAUSES		INTERLISTENER BEHAVIORS
Absent turn-claiming	Counterfeedback	Interlistener feedback
Absent turn-taking	Word-searching	Interlistener speaker-directed feedback
Turn-offering	Thought-searching	Interlistener turn offering
Turn-opening	Memory-searching	Interlistener turn claiming
Pre-turn-ending	Remembering	Interlistener turn granting
Turn-ending	Thinking	Interlist. turn suppressing
Turn-relinquishing	Mental/verbal repetition	Interlistener prompting signals
Turn-yielding	Interpolative	
Transition	Somatic function	
Pre-question	Task-performing	
Mid-question	Manipulative	
Post-question	External-interference	
Hesitation	Verbal deficiency	
Elliptical	Emotional	
Self-control		
Feedback-seeking		

Figure 3. The structure of conversation in interpretation

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always present, is a distinct listener's intermediate step between his claiming (perhaps preceded by offering and followed by granting) and the speaker's yielding, followed by the actual opening; *turn granting*, a very brief, mostly nonverbal signal by the speaker (e.g. a smile) acknowledging the listener's turn claiming prior to the actual yielding, which allows him to conclude his turn while 'reserving' the future speaker's turn; *turn yielding*, previous to the listener's becoming speaker, if the turn has not been given already through offering, thus precluding any yielding, and often after turn granting; *turn taking*, the expected legitimate way of acquiring the turn when the listener takes the floor because the speaker has offered it, granted it, or yielded it, or when he just decides to take it through 'turn suppressing', or by claiming it and taking it in rapid succession without mediating speaker's yielding.

Secondary speaker-listener turn-change behaviors

Turn holding, often displayed by the speaker (even after the listener's claim) beyond what is felt to be the limit of his turn; *turn-claim suppressing*, another counterrule, which can be displayed by the speaker (e.g. 'Let me finish', '/Wait/') or by any of his listeners against the one claiming the turn; *turn suppressing*, another unacceptable way of becoming speaker, often done through actual interruption, as are turn opening and turn taking if they are not preceded by the speaker's yielding of his turn; *turn relinquishing*, when the speaker just stops, after which the turn can be taken without any preambles or through interlistener offering, or by claiming it; *turn opening*, after the turn has been relinquished or yielded to the claim by the previous speaker, simply granted, or right after having claimed it; *absent turn claiming*, if the speaker, perhaps after a brief pause, resumes his turn when his listener does not claim it; *failed turn claiming*, on the other hand, is the speaker's fault, as he is holding his turn for too long ignoring any claiming cues; *absent turn taking* after having been claimed, even preopened, may cause a break in the conversation, after which the original speaker resorts to 'turn resumption,' unless another speaker takes the turn.

Listener's speaker-directed behaviors

Feedback, the only verbal or nonverbal (including silence) permissible and desirable type of intermittent behavior (and simultaneous to, or immediately alternating with, the speaker's) on the part of the listener (for attention-inattention, interest-disinterest and approval-disapproval, pleasure-displeasure, surprise, realization, embarrassment, etc.); it responds not only to the speaker's simultaneous (or virtually so) verbal or nonverbal activity, but to his preceding

one, or even as anticipation of something he may or may have not said or done, each of which the interpreter will handle differently, depending on their relevance, on whether it is verbal or nonverbal, and on whether or not it requires translation; *request for clarification* of something said or done, or neither said nor done; *request for higher volume*, permissible in contexts other than during a performance; *request for information*, which may come from the listener or from the interpreter himself; *offered information*, or *correction*, both qualifying for translation; *verbatim repetition* of the speaker's last statement, in an echoing fashion, indicating the listener's attitude (e.g. amusement, adulation), an interesting sociocultural behavior quite common on the part of the younger or inferior person, not possible between speakers of different languages, as are not the next three: *brief restatement* of the speaker's preceding thought, *simultaneous conclusion*, often a bad habit, when the listener anticipates what the speaker is going to say, and *sentence completion*, or conclusion of the sentence begun by the speaker, whether he actually finishes it (but without constituting interruption) or the listener is providing him with the words he lacks (e.g. during his word searching, thought hesitance); *interruptions* (less likely between speakers of different languages, since they have to wait for the interpreter's translation) which truly break the flow of the speaker's delivery because of their disruptive quality; *prompting signals*, aimed at monitoring or controlling the speaker's performance by instructing him to say or not to say or do something, introduce someone, etc. (e.g. with throat-clearing or eye contact), also unlikely in the interpreted encounter; *intermediate turn*, rightful only if it has been approved (i.e. granted after claiming) by the speaker and contributes with information to his own turn; *failed intermediate turn*, if the listener fails in his attempt. Here we must note that any speaking the listener does which interrupts the speaker's flow the interpreter must deal with because 'something is being said', which perhaps cannot be just ignored.

Interlistener behaviors

Interlistener feedback, about the speaker, but not addressed directly to him; *interlistener speaker-directed feedback*, *interlistener turn offering*, *-turn claiming*, *-turn granting*, *-claim suppressing*, *-prompting signals* (instructing each other to pay attention, to keep quiet, etc.).

Speaker's secondary behaviors

Displayed by the speaker during his turn to maintain the proper back-channel communication on the ongoing conversation: *sender's counterfeedback* to the auditor's own feedback (which in interpretation should normally be nonverbal),

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through smiles, gaze, etc., without interrupting his speech, but also repeating his previous successful words, with an acknowledging pause (as performers do), etc.; *feedback request*, typical also of performers, but common in conversation (e.g. 'nd' stand?', 'Mm?'); *turn pre-closing*, after technically relinquishing the floor or using it as a pre-yielding signal by accelerating the speech tempo, gazing at the listener, etc.; *turn closing*, indicated by relaxation of posture or postural shift, lip- moistening, and some idiosyncratic or culture-specific behaviors; *turn resumption*, after it has been momentarily disrupted, or due to the listener's failure to take the floor when given to him; *self-correction*, upon mispronouncing a word, rectifying a thought, etc.

Concurrent behaviors

Conversational behaviors do not occur in an unrealistically smooth flow, as do in a novel (for lack of an adequate technique, for in all cultures and societies certain situations occur in the course of a conversation in which at least two participants become engaged in the same activity at the same time, although we must differentiate mere 'simultaneity' of actions (of the same or different type) and 'coincidence' (of truly identical activities), which can be called 'symmetrical,' while using the term 'multiple' to refer to the co-occurrence of more than two participants. Although they are not likely to happen when the speakers are mediated by an interpreter, mention should be made of: *simultaneous turns* more common among Mediterraneans and Arabs, for instance, than among Anglo-Saxons, as the latter tend to be more critical of simultaneous floor-holding behavior, characterized by syntactical disorder and word repetition, when speaker B does not address speaker A necessarily, but speaker A's listener or listeners until he or they stop paying attention to their first speaker, who then gives up and relinquishes his turn; *multiple turns*, on the other hand, are quite typical in groups of those who also engage in simultaneous behaviors, and they occur either as 'parallel multiple turns' or as truly uncontrollable 'crisscrossed multiple turns,' when two or more speakers try to snatch each other's listeners and typically cross their audible-visual (i.e. linguistic-paralinguistic-kinesic) axes of interaction (other simultaneous behaviors involve turn claiming, -taking, -relinquishing, and -yielding, and simultaneous and multiple interruptions and silences); *overlapping behaviors*, also a cultural characteristic and increasing proportionally to the informality or emotionality of the conversation, when the next speaker begins his turn (perhaps only a reply to a question) before the present speaker's has ended.

Acoustic and visual pauses

Voluntary or involuntary pauses in conversation (of positive or negative functions) are either paralinguistic or kinesic or both, the very absence of sound or movement still communicating by itself. The most common (mostly acoustic) pauses are: those due to *absent turn claiming*, *turn taking*, *-offering*, *-opening*, *pre-turn ending* (anticipating the actual turn-closing sentence and allowing the future speaker to be ready), *turn ending* (brief transition between different speakers), *-relinquishing*, and *yielding*; *transitional* between different parts of a topic, different topics or whole turns, variously displayed (and possibly supported by smoking, flicking real or imaginary lint, preening behaviors, etc.); *pre-question*, *mid-question*, *post-question*; *hesitation*, *elliptical* (withholding information), *self-control* (at not saying something), *feedback-seeking*, *counter-feedback*, *word searching*, *thought searching*, *memory searching*, when *remembering*, while *thinking*, *mental/verbal repetition*, *interpolative*, for *somatic function* (clearing one's throat, blowing one's nose, yawning, scratching, spitting, etc.), *task-performing* pause (e.g. wiping eyeglasses, shifting posture, arranging one's clothes), *manipulative* (which some others pauses can be), *external-interference* (a doorbell or a telephone, etc.), *verbal deficiency*, and *emotional pauses*. Although lack of space precludes any further discussion, having discussed conversational silences earlier, it should follow that the interpreter must feel responsible for verbalizing whatever pause would not necessarily be properly interpreted by the listener, after all a member of another culture (as Hasada discusses in her paper) and that part of bicultural fluency so desirable in an interpreter is precisely his knowledge of the functions of interactive an conversational silences.[10]

13. Language, paralanguage and kinesics in reduced interaction: Its problems and the interpreter's position and responsibility

Until now we have discussed interaction taking for granted that the participants were fully-equipped individuals who have at their disposal all bodily channels of emission and reception. In fact, interaction studies in general just ignore anything else. But the reality of interaction is not always so, and interpreters (or anyone else, for that matter) must be trained for, and sensitized to, their possible intermediary role between persons who may lack one or more of those communication channels. The topic, with which I deal much more at length in one of my nonverbal communication courses,[11] could be summarized here

considering only how the the systems of the basic triple structure language-paralanguage-kinesics (whose ten occurrences have been identified earlier), operating jointly or singly, can be affected by various physical limitations, as shown in Fig. 4, 'Language, Paralanguage and Kinesics in Reduced Interaction'. The curtailment of communication in any of the two main modalities, that is, audible (language and paralanguage) and visual (kinesics, blushing), can have a profound effect, not only in terms of the encoding-decoding processes and problems they entail, but as regards the relationships between persons and the efficacy of their interactions. It should follow, therefore, that the interpreter should know how to cope with each type of limitation.

Without dwelling at all on the various situations of reduced interaction, the reader can just consider them as indicated in the table, mostly from the point of view of the interpreter and how he or she would cope with each handicap and each situation between speaker and listener. For instance, when *blindness* is involved, the blind listener misses not only all of the speaker's word-accompanying kinesics (that might qualify those words quite eloquently, even if the words themselves have to be translated); but, when he becomes the speaker himself, he misses his listener's visual feedback, which, were he able to perceive it, could have affected his own attitude and speech, as could have the other person's visual appearance. On the other hand, when would or would not the interpreter be responsible for translating for his blind target listener certain strong kinesic qualifiers of the verbal message and even some of those independent kinesic messages that truly replace words? In the latter case, the thing to do would be, obviously, to verbalize any unseen 'lexical gestures' (as one would between seeing interactants, particularly when dealing with culture-specific emblems); and let us not forget, even if we would not advocate its verbal interpretation, how eloquently blushing, emotional sweat, tear-shedding or simply glistening eyes can communicate. In *deafness*, the deaf listener is missing not only the speaker's words, but their attitudinal word-supporting or word-contradicting paralinguistic qualities, as well as the more significant independent paralinguistic utterances (e.g. a commiserative lingual click 'Tz', a throat-clearing of hesitation 'Hrump!'), let alone a voice he would have definitely liked or disliked, or remembered fondly. As for bilateral or unilateral limb deficiency, the *armless* person, in various degrees, can never 'complete' his linguistic-paralinguistic speech structure with its kinesic part, as that would require one or both limbs to express certain concepts, to indicate size, to use independent emblems, identifiers, externalizers of affection, etc., and will hopefully verbalize them. In like manner, the lack of one or two *hands* renders one incapable of encoding any manual

INTERACTOR	AS EMITTER		AS RECEIVER	
	Can use	Cannot use	Perceives	Misses
BLINDNESS	Language-paralanguage-audi/Contact kinesics Kinesics, Tears, Blushing, Sweat		Language-Paralanguage-Audi./Contact kinesics	Visual kinesics, Tears, Blushing, Sweat
DEAFNESS	Language Paralanguage Kinesics		Visual & contactual kinesics	Language Paralanguage Audi. kinesics
MUTENESS	Kinsesics	Language Paralanguage	Language Paralanguage Kinesics	
DEAFMUTENESS	Kinesics	Language Paralanguage	Visual & contactual kinesics	Language Paralanguage Vis/Audi kine.
ARMLESS 1/2	Language Paralanguage Facial Kinesics	Arm/Hand kinesics	Language Paralanguage Kinesics	Contactual kinesics on arm/hand
FOREARMLESS 1/2	Lang.-Paralanguage facial/arm kinesics	Forearm/Hand kinesics	Language Paralanguage Kinesics	Contactual kinesics on fore-arm/hand
HANDLESS 1/2	Lang.-Paralanguage arm/forearm kinesics	Hand kinesics	Language Paralanguage Kinesics	Contactual hand kinesics
FINGERLESS 1/2	Lang.-Paralanguage Arm/Forearm/Hand Kinesics	Digital kinesics	Language Paralanguage Kinesics	Contactual Digital Kinesics

Figure 4. Physically reduced interaction in interpretation

gestures and, of course, as with lack of arms, of engaging, for instance, in certain forms of greetings (which complementary parakinesic behaviors would meaningfully qualify, as with a warm squeeze). Even the traumatic loss of *fingers* would automatically result in the speaker's inability to, for instance, count or itemize with them, or perform certain gestures, as when referring to something 'subtle' by saying 'I don't know, there is something too... /finger rubbing gesture/, you know?' (perhaps for lack of the word 'subtle').

14. Conclusion

It seemed fitting to finish by discussing reduced interaction, for, when it would seem that all the main aspects of interpretation had been at least outlined in the previous sections, the sudden awareness of those reduced interaction situations makes one realize two things: first, that the efforts to study in depth the problems of reduced interaction, and to try to develop a special interactive fluency with persons suffering from each of those limitations, have been minimal; and second, that interpreters must train themselves to acquire that fluency and become better instruments of social and affective communication. In fact, careful pondering of the accompanying table could yield much fruitful thought on this subject, and thus complete the integrative approach to live translation and its challenges and problems. These challenges and problems have been outlined here, hopefully, as usefully as space limitations allowed.

Notes

1. This article stems from my first on the subject (Poyatos 1987), written after lecturing several times at the schools of translators and interpreters of both Heidelberg and Germersheim. By *simultaneous interpretation* is understood, of course, the situation in which the speaker's flow is not interrupted, as in a lecture, speech or sermon, while *consecutive interpretation* may also involve those two situations, or a conversational encounter, during which the speaker must pause at short intervals for the (typically nearby) interpreter to translate each portion of speech.
2. For the only book-length treatment of paralanguage, see the monograph by Poyatos (1993).

   Primary Qualities. Fundamental constituents of human speech, which first of all allow us to differentiate individuals: *timbre*, *resonance*, *loudness*, *tempo*, *pitch* (range of pitches, intervals between them, etc.), *intonation range* (melodious-monotonous),

syllabic duration (meaningful drawling or clipping that may require verbal translation), and *rhythm*. Their conditioning factors are biological (e.g. lower and higher timbre in males and females, respectively), physiological (e.g. pitch disorders), psychological (e.g. the higher loudness of extroversion), social (e.g. the slow tempo of superiority), cultural (e.g. the higher loudness of Latins and Arabs) and occupational (e.g. the use of higher pitch by many nurses when talking to patients).

Qualifiers. A large number of sound effects which produce different voice types and depend on: *breathing control* (e.g. ingressive speech, jerky), *laryngeal control* (e.g. whispering, breathiness, creakiness, harshness, shrillness, huskiness, tremulousness, tenseness), *esophageal control* (e.g. the impressive belched speech of laryngectomized patients), *pharyngeal control* (e.g. throatiness, hollowness, twanginess that may intentionally carry a 'translatable' meaning), *velopharyngeal control* (e.g. nasality, moaning, groaning), *lingual control* (e.g. the palatalization of intentional babyish talk), *labial control* (e.g. typical French close-lip rounding, trembling lips), *mandibular control* (e.g. muttered half-closed jaw voice that may modify the meaning of the words we have to translate), *articulatory control* (e.g. overarticulation [affected], slurriness, lisping), *articulatory tension control* (meaningful attitudinal tenseness), and *objectual control* (e.g. speaking with a pipe in the mouth).

Differentiators. Actually, paralinguistic-kinesic constructs, and sometimes qualifiers of language, that characterize physiological (many of a reflex nature) as well as psychological states and emotional reactions, produced naturally (mostly uncontrollably) or voluntarily, among them: *laughter* (e.g. of adulation, aggression, anxiety, joy), *crying* (e.g. of bereavement, empathy, frustration, deception), *shouting* (e.g. of aggression, fear, mirth), *sighing* and *gasping* (e.g. with pleasure, displeasure, love, wonder, weariness, sadness, fear, relief), *coughing* and *throat-clearing* (e.g. uncertainty, social anxiety, reproach, anger), *spitting* (e.g. out of rejection or aggression, or done perhaps by the Chinese man into the spittoon placed in front of the small table with tea between him and the Western visitor, although spitting in public is now banned by the government), *belching* (e.g. physiological, social-complimentary in certain Arab cultures), *sneezing* (e.g. followed by different verbal expressions crossculturally).

Alternants. Word-like single or compound utterances occurring either isolated or alternating with words and kinesics which constitute a veritable vocabulary beyond our 'official' lexicon (and with a growing dictionary status): tongue clicks, narial (nasal) frictions, language-free sighs, hisses, moans, groans, sniffs, snorts, smacks, blows, slurps, gasps, pants, 'Uh-hu', 'Uh-uh', 'Mm!', hesitation vowels, momentary silences, etc. Although traditionally shunned as 'non-speech' and 'marginal', they occur very frequently, whether isolated or alternating with words and gesture, consistently encoded and decoded in each language and culture (often as semantic blends) as unambiguously as dictionary items (which quite a few are now). The correct interpretation and perhaps verbal translation of some of them remains the interpreter's responsibility, for which he obviously needs to possess te appropriate cultural-paralinguistic fluency.

3. See a brief discussion of audible kinesics in Poyatos' first contribution, but mainly in two other publications (Poyatos 1988, 1993: Chapter 1, 1994b: Chapter 6).
4. See the section on silence below.
5. *Kinesics* includes our conscious or unconscious psychomuscularly-based body movements and intervening or resulting positions, either learned or somatogenic, of visual, visual-acoustic, and tactile and kinesthetic perception, which, whether isolated or combined with the linguistic and paralinguistic structures and with other somatic and objectual behavioral systems, possess intended or unintended communicative value. They comprise gestures (e.g. smiles, eye movements, beckoning, '/money/', '/I'm hungry/', '/stop/', '/crazy/'), *manners* (the 'manner' in which we perform a gesture or adopt a posture, and the way we eat, smoke, shake hands, walk) and *postures*, all three showing a formative or *shaping* movement (manner), each one with a *central* or peak movement or point (i.e. the one represented in gesture books, paintings, etc.) and a *releasing* movement (manner); they are always qualified by the *parakinesic qualities* of intensity, range, speed and duration, and subject not only to *intrasystem cobehaviors* (i.e. within kinesics by different parts of the body), but also to *intersystem (bodily) relationships* (i.e. with words, paralanguage, proxemics, tears) and further related to clothes, furniture, etc., both of which are potentially present in interpretation.
6. I have dealt with interaction more at length elsewhere (Poyatos 1985, 1994b).
7. But a negation is different, for instance, among Greek, Turkish and Bulgarian speakers, as mentioned later on.
8. This model, which I enlarged and explicated at length before (Poyatos 1983, 1986, 1994a) stemmed (gratefully so) from a much more limited one by Ekman and Friesen (1969). My exposure to the task of simultaneous and consecutive interpretation in co-presence at the Heidelberg and Germersheim schools proved its usefulness as a tool for the systematic and exhaustive study of their material without the possibility of overlooking or labelling wrongly any of the activities that may take place in the course of interaction.
9. I once watched the consecutive translation before a vast Russian audience of the evangelist Billy Graham by an interpreter who stood beside him. I admired the way the interpreter (not turning to watch he speaker, but relying mainly on his peripheral vision in a marvellous mirror-like way) could use the very articulate kinesics and paralanguage (the latter basically not dissimilar to the source one) with which Billy Graham was preaching a personal relationship with Jesus Christ.
10. Among others, the psychologist Morsbach (1988) dealt with the use and meanings of silence in Japan, commenting on Japanese "silent communication" and how Westerners can easily misunderstand certain instances of conversational silence, as the Japanese "do not dread silences as much as Westerners" (207).
11. Including other limitations, such as darkness, anosmia (lack of the sense of smell), ageusia (lack of taste), darkness, etc.

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Kinesics and the simultaneous interpreter
The advantages of listening with one's eyes and speaking with one's body*

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1. Introduction

Writers on the subject have paid remarkably limited attention to this aspect: Apart from an article by Poyatos (1987),[1] and barring some passing comments by myself and others, plus two modest empirical experiments (Anderson 1979, and Balzani 1988, quoted in Politi 1989), and Bühler's studies I and II (Bühler 1985), our specialized literature, to my knowledge, has nothing to offer.[2] This is all the more surprising if we consider that everybody who has reflected on the matter agrees, to a greater or lesser extent, that interpretation (more evidently so than translation proper) is far more than a mere linguistic operation, and that the essence of the interpreter's job is to grasp the speaker's *vouloir dire* from among the maze of his *dire* and then convey it (regardless of whether such a feat demands de-verbalization, as the Parisians contend — and I, for one, tend to agree with them). When the extra-linguistic is brought in, reference is made almost exclusively to encyclopedic knowledge, shared knowledge, and other virtual aspects of communication that help the interlocutor infer the speaker's sense from his words, somewhat neglecting the fact that in oral speech paralanguage and kinesics are, as it were, part of the utterance, in that they tend to be a decisive complement and support of the merely linguistic channel and are thus an integral part of the semiotic message, offering the participants in the act of communication supplementary *clés de lecture*, as Politi puts it.

To my mind, this scant attention to the non-verbal aspects of the utterance is due to the fact that interpretation (as translation proper) seems to end up being,

Parte pratica

FASI DI UNA TRATTATIVA

1. **Convenevoli iniziali**
   a. Primo incontro (presentazioni personali e dell'azienda)
   b. Incontro successivo a precedenti incontri o a contatti presi per e-mail o per telefono
   c. Programma della visita

2. **Cosa si offre / Cosa si cerca**
   a. Visione della merce e relative informazioni
      i. Modelli (catalogo)
      ii. Materiali
      iii. Possibilità di apportare modifiche su richiesta

3. **Quantitativi, prezzi, eventuali sconti**

4. **Termini di consegna**

5. **Termini di pagamento**

6. **Chiusura**
   a. Scambio bigliettini da visita e rinvio dell'ordinativo
   b. Compilazione modulo d'ordine
   c. Visita in fabbrica

TERMS OF DELIVERY

EXW – EX WORKS (named place)

FRANCO FABBRICA

1. The seller must pack and prepare for dispatch
2. Delivery takes place usually at the seller's works or warehouse
3. The goods and their transit risks are passed to the buyer when the goods have been placed at his/her disposal

FCA – FREE CARRIER (named place)

FRANCO VETTORE

1. Seller pays all costs to the point where goods are handed over to the carrier at the named place.
2. Delivery takes place when the goods are handed into the custody of the carrier (by road, rail, air, sea, or a combination of these) at a named point.
3. The goods and their transit risks transfer to the buyer when delivery takes place.

FAS – FREE ALONGSIDE SHIP (named port of shipment)

FRANCO LUNGO BORDO

1. Seller pays all costs up to and including delivery of the goods alongside the vessel, and provides at his/her own expense all documents necessary.
2. Delivery takes place alongside the vessel nominated by the buyer at the loading berth and at the named port of shipment. The expense of putting the goods on board ship is the buyer's.

FOB – FREE ON BOARD (named port of shipment)

FRANCO A BORDO

1. The seller pays all the costs so far incurred and the cost of loading goods on a vessel named by the buyer at the named port of shipment.
2. Delivery takes place when the goods are placed on board the vessel.
3. The goods and their transit risks are transferred to the buyer when the goods shall have effectively passed the ship's rail.

CFR – COST AND FREIGHT (named port of destination)

COSTO E NOLO

CIF – COST, INSURANCE AND FREIGHT (named port of destination)

COSTO, ASSICURAZIONE E NOLO

CPT – CARRIAGE PAID TO (named place of destination)

TRASPORTO PAGATO FINO A

CIP – CARRIAGE AND INSURANCE PAID TO (named place of destination)

TRASPORTO E ASSICURAZIONE PAGATI FINO A

DAF – DELIVERED AT FRONTIER (named place)

RESO FRONTIERA

DES – DELIVERED EX SHIP (named port of destination)

RESO EX SHIP

DEQ – DELIVERED EX QUAY (named port of destination)

RESO BANCHINA

DDU – DELIVERED DUTY UNPAID (named place of destination)

RESO NON SDOGANATO

DDP – DELIVERED DUTY PAID (named place of destination)

RESO SDOGANATO

1. In its broadest sense, means all charges shall be at the seller's expense, including Customs duties, loading charges and internal freight costs.
2. Delivery takes place when the seller puts the goods at the disposal of the buyer at the named place of destination and within the stipulated period in the contract of sale.
3. Goods and their transit risks pass when the goods are delivered as above.

INTERNATIONAL TERMS OF PAYMENT

Terms are ranked from LEAST RISK to MOST RISK for the Seller					
Method	**Usual Time of Payment**	**Goods Available To Buyer**	**Risk to Seller**	**Risk to Buyer**	**Comments**
CASH IN ADVANCE ***PAGAMENTO ANTICIPATO IN CONTANTI***	Before shipment	After payment	None	Complete. Relies on seller to ship exactly the goods expected, as quoted and ordered	Seller's goods must be special in one way or another, or special circumstances prevail over normal trade practices (e.g., goods manufactured to buyer-only specification).
LETTER OF CREDIT (L/C) ***LETTERA DI CREDITO***			Commercial Invoice must match the L/C exactly. Dates must be carefully headed. "Stale" documents are unacceptable for collection.		Letters of Credit require total accuracy in conforming to terms, conditions, and documentaion. Consult your United Shipping Associate member for determining feasibility of terms and conditions.
CONFIRMED IRREVOCABLE CREDIT *CREDITO IRREVOCABILE CONFERMATO*	After shipment is made, documents presented to the bank.	After payment	Gives the seller a double assurance of payments. Depends on the terms of the letter of credit.	Assures shipment is made but relies on exporter to ship goods as described in documents. Terms may be negotiated prior to L/C agreement, alleviating buyer's degree of risk.	The inclusion of a second assurance of payment (usually a U.S. Bank) prevents surprises, and adds assurance that issuing bank has been deemed acceptable by confirming bank. Adds cost and an additional requirement to seller.
UNCONFIRMED IRREVOCABLE CREDIT *CREDITO IRREVOCABILE NON CONFERMATO*	Same as above	Same as above	Seller has single bank assurance of payment and seller remains dependent on foreign bank. Seller should contact his banker to determine whether the issuing bank has sufficient assets to cover the amount.	Same as above	Credit can be changed only by mutual agreement, as stipulated in a sales agreement. Becomes open account with buyer's bank as collection agent. Foreign bank may have problems making payment in sum or timeliness.
DRAFT ***TRATTA***	Remittance time from buyer's bank to seller's bank may still take one week to one month.		Drafts, by design, should contain terms and conditions mutually agreed upon.		A draft may be written with virtually any term or condition agreeable to both parties. When determining draft tenor (terms and conditions), consult with your banker and freight forwarder to determine the most desirable means of doing business in a given country.

SIGHT DRAFT (with documents against acceptance) *TRATTA A VISTA*	On presentation of draft to buyer.	After payment to buyer's bank.	If draft not honored, goods must be returned or resold. Storage, handling, and return freight expenses may be incurred.	Assures shipment but not content, unless inspection or check-in is allowed before payment.	A draft can be a collection instrument used to exchange possession and title to goods for payment. Seller is essentially drawing a check against the bank account of the buyer. Buyer's bank must have pre-approval, or seek approval of the buyer prior to honoring the check. Payable upon presentation of documents.
TIME DRAFTS (with documents against acceptance) *TRATTA A SCADENZA FISSA*	On maturity of the draft	Before payment, after acceptance	Relies on buyer to honor draft upon presentation.	Assures shipment but not content. Time of maturity allows for adjustments, if agreed to by seller.	Payable based upon the acceptance of an obligation to pay the seller at a specified time. Although a time draft has more collection leverage than an invoice, it remains only a promissory note, with conditions.
OPEN ACCOUNT Payments for open account can be made in three main ways: – ELECTRONIC FUNDS TRANSFER (i.e. SWIFT / IMT) *BONIFICO* – BANKERS DRAFT *TRATTA BANCARIA* – CHECK *ASSEGNO*	As agreed, usually by INVOICE *FATTURA*	Before payment	Relies completely on buyer to pay account as agreed	None	All terms of payment, including extra charges and terms should be mutually understood and agreed upon prior to open account initiation. Companies conducting ongoing business are candidates for open account terms of payment. Seller must measure not only buyer's credit reliability but the country's as well.

THE FOOTWEAR SECTOR

Basic terminology

– Models

– Shoe components

– Materials

– Shoemaking operations

Models

Ballerina	**Flats** (plural)
Carlo IX Scarpa bèbè, Mary-Jane (sinonimi)	**Mary-Jane** Buttoned shoe (synonym)
Chanel	**Slingback**
Charleston	**T-strap court shoe** T-bar shoe (synonym)
College	**Loafer**
D'Orsay Aperta ai lati, calzatura due pezzi (sinonimi)	**D'Orsay pump** Two-piece-shoe (synonym)
Decolleté	**Court shoe** Court (short form) Pump (American English)
Infradito	**Thong** Flip-flops (colloquial)
Mocassino	**Moccasin** Mocs (short form)
Pantofola	**Slip-on** Slipper (synonym)
Polacchetto Polacchino, polacco, gambaletto (sinonimi)	**Ankle boot** Demi boot (synonym)
Sabot	**Mule**
Sandalo	**Sandal**
Scarpa da tennis	**Sneaker**
Stivale	**Boot**
Stivaletto Tronchetto (sinonimo)	**Half boot**
Zoccolo	**Clog**

Shoe components

TOMAIA	UPPER
Asola	**Lace hole**
Chiusura Allacciatura (sinonimo)	**Fastening**
Cinturino	**Strap**
Fibbia	**Buckle**
Nastro	**Ribbon**
Stringa Laccio (sinonimo)	**Lace**
Gambale	**Bootleg**
Mascherina	**Vamp**
Punta Parte terminale anteriore della scarpa, che conferisce forma a tutta la calzatura. punta aperta punta quadrata punta rotonda punta sfilata	**Toe** Tip (synonym) peeptoe square toe round toe pointed toe
Puntale Parte estrema della tomaia, può essere liscia o lavorata, e serve per ornamento o per rinforzo.	**Toe-cap** Cap (synonym)
Fodera	**Lining**
Linguetta	**Tongue**
FONDO	**BOTTOM**
Sottopiede Soletta, tramezza (sinonimi)	**Insole**
Suola	**Sole** Outer sole (synonym)
Tacco	**Heel**
Soprattacco	**Top-piece**
Tacco a zeppa	**Wedge heel** Wedgie (colloquial)
Tacco a spillo	**Stiletto heel** Spike heel (synonym)
Tacco all'italiana	**Italian heel**
Tacco applicato Tacco Bally, tacco cubano, tacco dritto (sinonimi)	**Cuban heel**
Tacco a campana Tacco svasato (sinonimo)	**Flared heel**

Materials

PELLAME	**LEATHER**
PELLI BOVINE	CATTLEHIDES
Vacca Pelle pesante; in genere il *cuoio per fondi** (bottom leather) si ricava da queste pelli.	**Cowhide** **bottom leather*
Vacchetta	**Kip** (full form-Kipskin)
Vitello	**Calf** (full form - Calfskin)
Vitellone	**Veal**
PELLI CAPRINE	GOATSKINS (Commercially the term used for goatskin leathers is KIDSKINS)
Capretto	**Kid**
PELLI EQUINE	HORSEHIDES
Cordovan	**Cordovan**
Cavallino	**Pony**
PELLI SUINE	PIGSKINS
PELLI DI RETTILE	REPTILE SKINS
Coccodrillo	**Alligator**

Rifinizione	*Finish*
Nabuck Il termine deriva dall'inglese "nubuck", pronunciato come se fosse "new buck", ad indicare un vitello appena nato. Importante sottolineare che si tratta di un *tipo di lavorazione,* o meglio, *rifinizione*, più che di un materiale.	***Nubuck***
Pelle verniciata	***Patent leather***
Scamosciato Note: Termine generico per indicare conciati la cui superficie utile è stata rifinita in modo da renderla simile al velluto, mediante azione abrasiva. Va sottolineato che sono molti i tipi di pellame (es: vitello) che possono essere rifiniti come scamosciati; da non confondere, come spesso avviene, con il vero e proprio "camoscio", pellame estremamente raro e ormai quasi introvabile.	***Suede***

TESSUTI NATURALI	NATURAL FIBRES
FIBRE VEGETALI	VEGETABLE FIBRES
Cotone	**Cotton**
Juta	**Jute**
Lino (usato per le fodere di calzature, ma sostituito dal meno costoso e più flessibile cotone)	**Flax**
Rafia	**Raffia**
Raso	**Satin**
Tela	**Canvas**
FIBRE ANIMALI	ANIMAL FIBRES
Lana	**Wool**
Feltro Note: può anche essere ricavato da altri peli animali.	***Felt***
Seta	**Silk**

TESSUTI SINTETICI	SYNTHETICS
Nylon	**Nylon**
Plastica	**Plastic**
Poliestere	**Polyester**
Gomma	**Rubber**
Para	***Crepe***
Poliuretano (PUR)	**Polyurethane** (P.U.)
P.V.C.	**P.V.C.** (poly vinyl chloride)

Shoemaking operations

Progettazione	**Design**
Taglio	**Cutting**
Taglio a mano	*Hand cutting*
Taglio a macchina taglio automatico (sinonimo)	*Press cutting*
Giunteria assemblaggio (sinonimo)	**Closing**
Preparazione	**Preparation**
Ripiegatura (del bordo)	**Folding**
Scarnitura (dei bordi, della tomaia) assottigliamento (sinonimo)	**Skiving**
Orlatura	**Stitching**
Montaggio	**Lasting**
Fissaggio del fondo	**Bottoming**
Applicazione del tacco	**Heel attaching**
Finissaggio Rifinitura (sinonimo)	**Finishing**
Inchiodatura tacchi	**Heel nailing**
Rifilatura della fodera	**Trimming of the lining**
Ribattitura bordo scarpa	**Pounding**
Pulitura	**Brushing**
Lucidatura	**Polishing**
Scatolatura	**Packing**