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Editors

David Katan
University of Salento

Cinzia Spinzi
University of Palermo

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Introduction

Languaging and the question of culture in ELF

As a theoretical notion, 'languaging' denotes a fluid system of communication that is constructed and performed by individuals during 'collaborative dialogue'. In language learning, the term 'languaging' has been defined as: "the process of making meaning and shaping knowledge and experience through language" (Swain 2006: 98). Swain continues, likening languaging to reformulating, where the intent is not to change meaning but the form to improve learning (maybe writing down the thoughts, or talking about and explaining what has been writen) so that the meaning is clear or acceptable to another reader or listener. Liddicoat and Scarino (2013: 61), in their discussion of intercultural teaching and learning, talk of languaging in terms of interaction, where personal accounts and experiences of language and culture are mediated.

This issue of *Cultus* focusses on this idea of languaging, taking English (teaching and learning, translation and use) as an example of a *Lingua Franca*. The definition of ELF, English as a lingua franca, is clear. It is "a 'contact language' between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture, and for whom English is the chosen foreign language of communication" (Firth, 1996). It is also clear, as a European Commission (2011) Study on *Lingua Franca: Chimera or Reality?* points out, that native speaker English is no longer necessarily the model on which norms and judgments regarding language use can or should be made.

One reason for the rise in interest in a hypothetical ELF is due to the surge of interest in other 'Englishes', and the questioning of the 'right' of standard British or American English to dictate what is correct. *The Empire Writes Back* (Ashcroft et al. 2002) is one book which summarised in its title the point of view of those who felt that 'their' English formed on the edges of the old Empire should be just as valued. Kachru (1992) popularised the idea of the 'Inner Circle' varieties of mainly Anglo/American English which provide the norms, the 'Outer Circle' of mainly ex-Empire countries who develop the provided norms, and finally an 'Expanding Circle' of countries who use English as a lingua franca.

These countries - to date - have been very much on the periphery, and very much 'norm dependent'. However, it is not just other varieties of English which are seen to be on the periphery. In translation studies, Itamar Even-Zohar (e.g. 1990) has written much about languages at the centre and at the periphery. Those at the centre (basically English) tend to be more innovate and productive languages (and literatures), and are hence the source language for most of the world translation. Hence, it is languages on the periphery, targetted by the centre, which then tend to absorb the foreign into their own language (see **Martínez-Garrido**). The little which is translated from the periphery to the centre tends to be domesticated, or made familiar to those reading in English.

What is not clear, however, is if ELF as a homogeneous model or 'variety' actually exists rather than as a form of international English based on English and anchored in an Anglo culture. If EFL does exist as a separate variety, does this variety works efficiently as a global contact language? Our main interest here is not the politics of ELF versus EFL/ESL (Anglo-American English learnt as a foreign or second language) but more importantly, how can or does a *lingua franca*, which has no *particular* cultural roots, account for or speak to *particular* national-cultural realities?

Global, International or World English assumes that everything that gives meaning to a message can be subsumed into one mutually comprehensible language, with one single set of rules or understandings about what (wording / use of language) means what (meaning / message / intent). However, by 1978 there was already discussion about "World Englishes" and "the uses of English as an international and intra-national language".[1] The issue concerning "the uses" becomes compounded when we add the culture factor, which by its very nature is specific, grounded in local accounts, experience and realities. Not only; when we consider translation into English, as we do in this issue, there is always the problem regarding how the English language can account for non-English realities (such as for example references to a Catalan lingua-culture) or indeed how legal clauses or education terminology can be rendered into a *Lingua Franca* and be equally meaningful, relevant or viable across an array of lingua-cultures (discussed in **Martínez-Garrido**, **Scarpa** and **Palumbo**). In either case we are faced not only with the limits of a single 'use' but also by the competence of those who are producing the text.

[1] www.iaweworks.org/history.php

A number of themes in the interview are also referred to in the papers. The first, regards that of a way to by-pass the *lingua franca*, through the use of multi-lingual translation. In particular, what many see as the answer to our Babelic world is an automatic translation/interpretation system into and out everybody's language. *Google Translator* is already a reality. For the moment its application is limited, though already smartphone apps are beginning to produce rudimentary instant voice translations into the language of one's choice. The concept was already fleshed out in the 1960s in *The Hitch Hiker's Guide to the Galaxy*, a cult comic sci-fi trilogy written by Douglas Adams. He explains below how *The Babel Fish* translator actually works:

> The Babel fish, said the Hitch Hiker's Guide quietly, is small, yellow, leech-like, and probably the oddest thing in the Universe. It feeds on brainwave energy received not from its own carrier, but from those around it. It absorbs all unconscious mental frequencies from this brainwave energy to nourish itself with. It then excretes into the mind of its carrier a telepathic matrix formed by combining the conscious thought frequencies with nerve signals picked up from the speech centres of the brain which has supplied them. The practical upshot of all this is that if you stick a Babel fish in your ear you can instantly understand anything said to you in any form of language. The speech patterns you actually hear decode the brainwave matrix which has been fed into your mind by your Babel fish.

Of course, the *Babel Fish* would have the same problems that have dogged human translation: how to account for difference and non-equivalence, or what Spencer-Oatey and Franklin (2009: 3) call 'an intercultural situation': "one in which the cultural distance between the participants is significant enough to have an effect on interaction/communication that is noticeable to at least one of the parties".

And this takes us to the second theme discussed in this issue, often known as the Whorfian (or Sapir-Whorf) theory, which is usually broken down into two parts. It would be difficult to find a linguist or interculturalist today who would support the first part, which states that "Language shapes the way we think, and determines what we can think about" (Whorf, 1956: 5). Language clearly does not *determine* what we *can* think about. All of us can distinguish colours that we have no name for. English, for example, does not easily distinguish the Italian *azzurro* from

'blue'. This does not prevent the speakers of that language, though, distinguishing azure or sky-blue from other colour labels.

However, in everyday life, we do tend to follow the distinctions made by our own language, and lump *azzurro* into 'blue', which combined with the second part of the theory creates the classic culture-bump or shock communication problems:

> We cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it in this way—an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language ... We are thus introduced to a new principle of relativity, which holds that all observers are not led by the same physical evidence to the same picture of the universe, unless their linguistic backgrounds are similar, or can in some way be calibrated (Whorf 1956: 213-214).

Various researchers have tried to 'calibrate' the English language so that one term has one meaning. This unique sign-signification match, once calibrated, will be fully shared whatever the first language background. In all cases, the call has been for a severe reduction in the terms to be used, and the enforced use of a simple grammar. The most recent is 'Globish', discussed also in the **Crystal** interview. Globish was coined by Jean-Paul Nerrière, then a vice-President at IBM, which has been defined in *The New Statesman*'s review of the book *Globish: How the English Language Became the World's Language* as "a sort of 'decaffeinated English', unencumbered by the rules of grammar and shorn of its rich vocabulary, stripped down to a core set of words that are a means to a single end: comprehensible cross-cultural communication" (Bhattacharya, 2010).

Globish purportedly 'works' because it is the codified result of a naturally occurring pattern of non-native English. The fact that it is a simplified version of standard English, with a maximum vocabulary of 1500 words[2] means that (at least in theory) ideas are also simplified, clarified and made explicit. Nerrière is careful, though, to add a caveat: "Aware that purists may baulk at his ideas, Mr Nerrière insists that Globish should be confined to international exchanges. Other languages

[2] http://globishfoundation.org/globish-core.html

— French, German, Italian as well as orthodox English — should be preserved as vehicles of culture".[3]

However, his caveat has not stopped others from developing the idea of simplicity to actually explain cultural concepts across lingua-cultural divides. Anna Wiezibicka (1996), for example, uses a basic set of clearly defined pan-culturally shared understanding of terms (e.g. good/bad) to define more local cultural concepts such as the Japanese phenomenon of 'self-effacement'. Once defined using simple concepts, which she calls 'cultural scripts', the culture-bound phenomenon can also be compared with a cultural 'other', such as the more Anglo need to maintain and cultivate positive feelings of the self:

Japanese "self-effacement" script:	*Anglo "self enhancement" script:*
it is good to often think something like this:	it is good to often think something like this:
"I did something bad	"I did something very good
I often do things like this	I can do things like this
not everyone does things like this	not everyone can do things like this
other people don't often do things like this"	other people don't often do things like this"

(Adapted from Wierzbecka (1996: 537) in Katan 2010: 86)

This idea has also been put forward in this issue (see **Shih**) in the form of 'controlled cultural writing', as a precursor to translation.

The final theme running through this issue is that of 'competence' and 'quality'. The *Babel fish* must not only guarantee mastery of the languages involved, but must also create the most appropriate "telepathic matrix" for *that particular* human receiver so that s/he can "decode the brainwave matrix" and understand the message as intended. To do this the fish must clearly also have full understanding of the different ways in which living forms in the Galaxy communicate, and be able to find ways of re-interpreting concepts that only have sense for other life-forms.

Though Douglas Adams wrote about encoding and decoding brainwaves, we now understand that meaning does not pass through a conduit unaltered from A to B, but is partly co-constructed. If we add the complexity of co-sign-signification construction to Whorf's principle of

[3] http://www.globish.com/?page=about_globish&lang=en_utf8

linguistic relativity, we have the need for a much more creative and inventive fish. The fish must be able to make decisions based on probabilities, but even more importantly, be able to produce a text that is also coherent both with the original intended picture of the universe and with the receiver's necessarily different picture. Recent work in Intercultural Communication has focussed on the specific competence(s) necessary to live and work with cultural difference (for example for those who will be studying or working overseas for extended periods) (see Fantini 2007 for an overview, and discussed in **Ghonsooly** *et al*); and on the specific competence(s) necessary for those who work mediating the differences, such as translators (e.g. Katan 2009).

So, for the moment it is still the job of human translators and interpreters to act as *Babel fish*. They may well not be the "oddest thing in the universe", but they are certainly some of the most unnoticed. And yet globalisation could not take place without them, as it is usually through their words that books, films, product manuals, scientific articles and software are devoured worldwide. The assumption is that the task is fairly easy, due to the mistaken idea that there is a logical sign-signification match, especially for technical texts. Indeed, translation is considered rather like Globish: easily learnt and simple to produce. However, unlike Globish, translation has to deal with complex ideas and with particular lingua-culture bound concepts. Yet there is little or no control globally regarding individual competence or the quality of the output.

Though the main thrust of the papers on translation (**Martínez-Garrido, Palumbo** and **Scarpa**) is descriptive, discussing actual translator strategies, it does lead us to consider whether the translators' own languaging, "the process of making meaning and shaping knowledge and experience through language", does actually produce "a fluid system of communication"; i.e. are the translators up to the job of producing text in English for those who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture. Or put another way, how can we ensure that the complex task of transcreation is successfully achieved? That, as mentioned above will be the focus of *Cultus* 7.

David Katan

Interview and individual papers

David Crystal interviewed by Xiaoping Jiang David Crystal is a writer, editor, lecturer, and broadcaster on the English language, with "a hundred or so"[4] books to his name. He is the script writer (or consultant) for the following national TV and radio series: "The Story of English", "The Routes of English", "Back to Babel" , "The Word on the Street", "Voices of the World" not to mention his involvement in the British Library's 'Evolving English' exhibition and is author of the accompanying book.

Jiang is Professor of English at Guangzhou University and teaches courses in Intercultural Communication. The questions put to Crystal regard lingua-culture and how language can or should be taught taking 'culture' into account. There seems to be general agreement that a cultural perspective should be intrinsic to language learning, and also that the English language itself has its own myriad of cultural perspectives.

For Crystal, these perspectives, or distinctiveness, are mainly lexical, with local cultural references or knowledge being the main obstacle to understanding. Indeed, he envisions 'culture' being organised taxonomically, and gives possible examples. This type of approach, and the problems inherent in classifying culture through the 'arborescent paradigm' (the classic top-down tree-branch classification system) are well discussed by Hale in *Cultus* 5 (2012). Hale, in fact, argues that this approach is unable to take account of the fluidity of culture, and the important appropriations, fusions and other links between what the top-down approach 'naturally' separates as 'different'. She argues, instead, for a 'rhizome' approach (2012: 104).

There is also agreement that English as a Lingua Franca cannot (yet) be considered a homogeneous variety of English, and that certainly Globish should not be considered an accepted standard or level of English for successful international communication. Clearly, however, there are many ways of defining 'successful'. The interculturalist view tends to distinguish 'cultural distance', 'length of stay', 'depth of rapport' and 'communication aim' or 'complexity'. Crystal, instead distinguishes very clearly 'formal' (e.g. business meeting, negotiation, presentation) and 'informal' (such as 'the coffee break'). It is at the informal level, or as he puts it those 'unguarded'

[4] http://www.davidcrystal.com/biography

moments, which also includes the use of the more colloquial in formal situations, that culturally loaded language and assumptions create problems in communication.

However, when it comes to translation, and in particular the translation of pragmatically charged language, that views begin to differ, with Jiang taking a more 'translator as mediator' line. Though Crystal accepts that translators (rather than machine translation) can understand and account for 'identity' and cultural themes in a text, and suggests that a comparative pragmatics should be part of a translator training, he states "I don't expect my translator to be a mind-reader - which, in relation to pragmatics, means knowing about the presuppositions and intentions underlying the utterances made by the participants". This is where the linguist and the interculturalist must agree to differ, though the discussion will continue in Cultus 7. The issue, in fact, will focus on 'transcreation' (translation and the creative interpretation of participant's intention), and whether or not this is the translator's role, in theory and in practice.

Behzad Ghonsooly, Masoud Sharififar, Shahram Raeisi Sistani and **Shima Ghahari**

These authors begin with the Whorfian premise that there is no such a thing as human nature independent of culture, and in particular on how lack of cultural competences affects success in second language learning. The authors introduce Ang et al's concept of cultural intelligence (based on IQ and emotional intelligence) as "an individual's capability to deal effectively in situations characterized by cultural diversity" (2006: 101). The capability to deal effectively in areas of cultural diversity is not culture specific, but focusses on predispositions and orientations to cultural difference, much like those discussed in previous editions of *Cultus* by Trickey et al. (2009) and Newington (2012). In these two articles, reference is made to "international transition", namely, the transfer of professional skills into less familiar cultural contexts" (Trickey et al 2009: 50). The questions the authors ask is what type of traits are more likely to result in more successful communication and in the more successful deployment of their already proven professional (technical, managerial, relational...) skills.

Ghonsooly et al. suggest that these traits will also be a clear indicator to successful language learning, and in particular on success in listening comprehension - regardless of language competence. The authors used psychometric tests, similar in concept to those used by Trickey et al and Ewington. CQ, however is simpler and clearer - though consequently less useful for any diagnostic work on the competences themselves. Indeed,

instead of Trickey et al's 22 International Profiler dimensions and Ewington's 10 International Preference Indicator Push-Pull competencies, CQ has only 4 factors in their Cultural Intelligence Scale: metacognitive, cognitive, motivational and behavioural.

Their research on student learners of English suggests that there is indeed a clear correlation between CQ and successful learning, particularly with regard to two components of CQ: motivational, the inherent interest in experiencing other cultures; and metacognitive, the ability to question cultural assumptions. The authors point out that though text books are now awash with cultural settings, these are isolated, atomised aspects of 'culture', and have little effect themselves on improving CQ, which in turn will have little effect on improving listening.

Hence their conclusion that language learning "must be grounded in a sound knowledge of the society in which the language is based". This coheres to an extent with Crystal's vision of an integrated approach to learning. However, there are 2 important questions that Ghonsooly et al. implicitly ask us to consider which are not covered in the interview. First, how to develop the learner's motivational and metacognitive skills independently of language or culture learning), and second how to begin with a grounding in the culture, rather than integrating it with the language learning.

Federica Scarpa investigates what happens when globalization creates the need not just to translate legal information from one national legal system/language into another, but to internationalise local legal frameworks and create a lingua franca, 'an English', which in theory, independent of the source text language (and legal culture), will conform to the same variety of English as a lingua franca. As mentioned earlier with regard to the interview with Crystal, ELF cannot (yet) be considered a variety in its own right. So, the question arises: can or do translators translate into a standard international legal ENL variety? or alternatively do they translate the French, German and Italian legal texts into three ELF varieties? To what extent are the cultural specificities of national legislations mediated, and to what extent does the language conform to either an ELF legal variety or to standard legal English?

The real question that lies at the heart of the discussion is whether or not these unnoticed translators, whose work is vital to produce some form of lingua franca when discussing law across national borders, actually do their job. There is no institutionalised control or checking system, either of

a priori competence through qualification or certification nor any post-production quality control.

Following Scarpa's findings, it would appear that with regard to online legal texts, where an internationally accepted use of language and interpretation of the language is essential, translators are still unaware of the importance of their task. Her study of the legal terms and conditions of use in the international websites of Fiat, Renault and VW (which have been translated from the respective Italian, French and German original texts and discuss the very same caveats concludes that they provide very little in terms of coherent use of legal terms). It also appears that Italy remains within its own strong legal-cultural orientation in that, unlike the other countries' legal documents, the privacy-related issues, and even discussion of the very same concept of privacy took up 80% of the entire legal document, with extremely little space being given to the equally important 'terms of use', whilst the other two sites dedicated a maximum of one-third to the issue of "privacy".

Giuseppe Palumbo focusses his attention on ELF and "educational terminology", and in particular on the provision of information in English on Italian University websites. Once again we have the use of "'a contact language' between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture, and for whom English is the chosen foreign language of communication", and the problems of finding a common use of the language to deal with the individual culture-bound realities. Palumbo's investigation is also based on first-hand experience as translator and reviser for one particular University. He underlines an important difference between 'localisation' (also discussed in Shih) and 'internationalisation', which is where ELF comes in. Localization, as the name suggests, means creating a text for a particular 'locale', while, as Palumbo points out, the web reader of a University portal will usually not have an Anglo background. Unlike Scarpa, who finds discordant translation strategies from her interlingual corpus, his research is intralingual with an investigation of the English produced by Italians. His findings suggest an Italian preference for direct translation rather than more idiomatic standard native-speaker English (as in University 'rector' instead of University 'vice-chancellor'). He suggests that this strategy may be a conscious one, which would signal an ELF (rather than an EFL/ESL) approach, which he discusses in terms of Christane Nord's functionalist model of translation and 'instrumental' versus 'documentary' translation. There is also an explicit reference to transcreation. It may also be said,

returning to the problem of translation quality, that direct or literal translation may also be a sign of limited translator competence.

Gemma Martínez-Garrido finds a different set of translation strategies taking place in her investigation of film subtitling; and these differences she finds are logical within the important role of film in the spread of English as a language of international communication. In particular she looks at the rendering of what she calls culture-bound elements (CBEs). Her corpus is a number of subtitled Ventura Pons' films and her foccus is on the audiovisual constraints, interculturality and translation techniques. Pons' films are in Catalan and represent a rare example of an Even-Zohar 'periphery' language breaking into the centre (through, in this case, subtitling). Though she begins with the ideological debate, her research actually takes Toury's and Chesterman's strictly descriptive norms as her starting point, and follows authors such as Gottlieb, Aixelá and Pederson for her research into translation procedures.

The main problem, as Martínez-Garrido sees it, is how to create subtitles that will foster understanding and accessibility across cultures. She breaks down the CBE translations into two particular procedures, a foreignising 'repetition' (retention or as close as possible to the original), and the more domesticating or familiarising 'generalisation'. Though she notes interesting differences, particularly between drama and comedy, it appears very clear that the periphery becomes thoroughly domesticated when translated, and many of the Catalan elements locating the film are lost rather than made accessible. This is certainly a case of homogenisation, where languaging means loss of difference, and the internationalization here points to further Anglicization.

The final article by **Chung-Ling Shi** suggests a possible solution to some, if not all, the translation problems discussed, and refers implicitly to Scarpa's discussion regarding the importance of source text writers 'internationalising' their documents prior to translation. The EU has already begun a "Fight the Fog" policy for all in-house document writers to facilitate the translator's task, but Shih goes two steps further, taking her cue from world-ready 'internationalised' technical texts used in the localisation industry. These tend to be software programs, operating instructions or on-line manuals, and are usually strictly constrained by the needs of digital technology.

Shih's proposals relate to non-technical texts, and in particular to highly culture-bound texts, which she suggests can be equally primed for internationalisation and to machine translation. Controlled cultural writing

works on the principles of simplicity (short single-concept sentences) and explicitation. She adapts Chomsky's transformational grammar to render the complex surface-structure text into a much larger number of grammatically simplified SVO single idea deep-structure sentences. She also notes that languages such as Japanese will need to be first written in SOV. She then takes ideas from Relevance Theory to further modify the deep structure sentences to ensure that optimal relevance is achieved across cultural divides. The 'translator' here works primarily intralingually in bringing the hidden deep structure ideas to the surface. Her analysis with *Google Translator* used before and after controlled cultural writing offer much food for thought.

David Katan
Cinzia Spinzi

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Language and Questions of Culture

David Crystal is interviewed by Xiaoping Jiang

Xiaoping Jiang:

Dear Professor David Crystal,

Perhaps we could start with my personal experience in studying and using English as a *lingua franca,* which is that learning a language is much more than simply mastering a linguistic tool: it involves learning the culture behind that language. Yet your response to Michael Agar's *Language Shock* (1994) was that "It is also important not to overstate the case". And you continue, "When all these factors of individuality are taken into account, I wonder just how much will be left for languaculture?" (Crystal, 1994).
Well, in my experience as a Chinese national living and working overseas, many communication breakdowns *are* due to non-language issues. In fact, languages and cultures tend to be inseparable. Then, interestingly, in your more recent autobiography, *Just A Phrase I'm Going Through* (2009) you expressed a more linguacultural view. As you state, "To get to know a language, you have to get to know the people. There is no other way. And what better way is there of getting to know someone than over a glass or two in a snug?" Unfortunately there are no pubs as such on the University campus in Guangzhou, China (a very interesting cultural difference), though Chinese beer is very good and 'Maotai', China's national heritage liquor, is sweetly intoxicating.
So based on your statements, how would you now advise a language learner "to get to know the people" well especially when he/she has never been to the country in which the language is spoken? Is there any viable approach to overcome cultural barriers in intercultural communication? A nice and easy first question!

David Crystal:

Increasingly, over the past ten years, I've come to take the view that a cultural perspective is intrinsic to the future of language teaching and learning, especially in the case of English, as it becomes increasingly global. Once upon a time, I saw this perspective as a marginal or advanced

feature of a curriculum - as I think most courses did - something that learners would 'add on' after achieving a certain level of competence. Not any more. A cultural perspective needs to be there from day one. Here's an illustration.

I've just returned from several months in The Netherlands, and although it was not my first visit, it was the first time I had experienced Dutch as a daily routine. At one point I had my first complete Dutch conversation in a local baker's shop. I had fallen in love with appleflaps - a gorgeous concoction of apple in a slightly sugared, triangular casing made of puff pastry - and I wanted my daily fix. The conversation was very simple:

Me: Een appelflap. (One appleflap)
Shop lady (laughing): Zeer goed... Een euro vijftig. (One euro fifty)
Me: Dank je wel. (Thank you very much)
Shop lady: Alsjeblieft. (Please)

This conversation, basic as it is, is full of cultural content. It is firstly, an informal exchange, as shown by the choice of 'Dank je wel' (vs. more formal 'Dank u wel') and 'Alsjeblieft' (vs. more formal 'Alstublieft'). But it is not just informal: there is a pragmatic difference. In normal English I wouldn't say 'Thank you very much' for the first exchange in a trivial shop purchase. I would say simply 'Thank you' - and leave a 'very much' for a moment when I felt the server had done something special. But in Dutch, 'Dank u wel' is the routine expression of thanks.

Then there is the distribution of 'please'. You will have noticed that I didn't use it, following my observation that Dutch people usually don't when they're asking for something over the counter. On the other hand, when the lady gave me the appleflap, it was she who said 'please', where clearly the word was functioning more like a 'thank you' - 'thank you for your custom' or 'here you are'. Immigrant waiters in English restaurants who say 'please' as they give you something are clearly unconsciously transferring their first-language habits into their new setting.

I have a grandson in Amsterdam who is growing up bilingually. One of his biggest challenges is sorting out the politeness differences between the two languages/cultures. We keep haranguing him to say 'please' and 'thank you' as much as possible - this is, after all, the British way, instilled by parents into English children's brains from around age 3. 'Can I have a biscuit?' asks the child. 'I haven't heard that little word yet', says the parent. 'Can I have a biscuit, PLEASE' repeats the child.

But this isn't the Dutch way, so when my grandson forgets, he is constantly sounding abrupt to our ears. Nor, for that matter, is it the way in several other languages. One of the common traps for a British tourist is to keep saying 's'il vous plaît' in French or 'por favor' in Spanish, in contexts where a native-speaker would never use them. The British speaker often sounds too insistent, as a consequence: 'Una cerveza, por favor' - 'A beer, if you please!'

And we are not yet finished with the culture of my tiny Dutch exchange. For why did the lady laugh, when I asked for an appleflap? It was because she recognized me as a foreigner, but one who had learned to appreciate what is a quintessentially Dutch food. Her laugh basically said 'you're becoming one of us now'. Indeed, on another occasion, someone asked me how my Dutch was coming on, and I said I'd got all the vocabulary I needed, namely 'appelflap'. She nodded in agreement, but then pointed out that if I wanted to be really fluent in the language I needed the plural form, 'appleflappen'.

I have had dozens of experiences like this, as I expect most readers of this journal have. And when one starts to collect examples for a 'dictionary of language and culture', as I've done in workshops in several countries, it's amazing how many instances of cultural identity a class can generate in half-an-hour. This is the first step, it seems to me: to build up a sense of what makes one's own culture unique. One is then in a better position to predict the likely differences with other cultures. It's best done in a group where there is at least one person involved from a different cultural background. Left to themselves, native speakers usually have a poor intuition about what their cultural linguistic distinctiveness is.

The Internet can help enormously in this respect. No longer is it necessary for learners to be physically present in another culture before they can learn something about it. If I want to experience a language, or a different variety of English from my own, all I have to do is go online. Thanks to Skype and other such options, interaction is now practicable. Hitherto, most of this experience has been with written language, but with the increasing audio-ization of the Internet, the development of a more sophisticated cultural awareness is going to become a more practicable outcome. The other week I saw a group of primary school children in a classroom talking to a group of French children in their classroom via the Internet, and learning about favourite things to eat and what to call them. This was linguaculture in practice.

Xiaoping Jiang:

Yes, and another example is, if a Chinese student gets help on their English, they would often say "I'm sorry to waste you a lot of time" to show their appreciation of the help. These, as you said, are examples of "clearly unconsciously transferring their first-language habits into their new setting". I would love to hear more from you on this "intrinsic cultural perspective in English teaching and learning".

David Crystal:

My view has evolved mainly as a reaction to the way English has become a global language. There are two ways of looking at this phenomenon. One is to focus on the importance of international intelligibility, expressed through the variety we call standard English. The other is to focus on the regional features which differentiate one part of the English-speaking world from another. And it is this second perspective which is becoming more noticeable as English 'settles down' within a country. We now happily talk about British, American, Australian, South African, Indian, Singaporean, and other 'Englishes'. Much of the distinctiveness is in the area of lexicology, and it is this domain which most closely reflects culture. Dictionaries have been compiled of distinctive local lexicons, and some of them contain many thousands of words.

I've written about this in several papers, over the past few years (e.g. 2010a, 2012a, 2012b) but the point deserves repetition. When a country adopts a language as a local alternative means of communication, it immediately starts adapting it, to meet the communicative needs of the region. Words for local plants and animals, food and drink, customs and practices, politics and religion, sports and games, and many other facets of everyday life soon accumulate a local wordstock which is unknown outside the country and its environs. And the reason I say this perspective is intrinsic to language learning is because it's virtually impossible for people to engage with speakers of other languages in everyday conversation without cultural issues needing to be taken into account.

When a group of people in a country (such as students, teachers, or businessmen) talk to me in English about everyday affairs, the subject-matter of their conversation inevitably incorporates aspects of their local environment. They talk about the local shops, streets, suburbs, bus-routes, institutions, businesses, television programmes, newspapers, political

parties, minority groups, and a great deal more. They make jokes, quote proverbs, bring up childhood linguistic memories (such as nursery rhymes), and recall lyrics of popular songs. All this local knowledge is taken for granted, and, when used in used in newspapers, we need to have them explained. Conventional dictionaries don't help, because they won't include such localisms, especially if the expressions refer to local people, places, institutions, and suchlike. And casual cultural references that authors bring in to course-books only help to a limited extent.

Every English-speaking location in the world has usages which make the English used there distinctive, expressive of local identity, and a means of creating solidarity. From this point of view, notions such as 'Chinese English' take on a fresh relevance, going well beyond traditional conceptions of English spoken with Chinese accent, or English displaying interference of the kind you illustrate. Chinese English I define as the kind of English I need to know about when I go to China, otherwise I will be unable to converse efficiently with Chinese speakers in English. It would be amazingly useful to have a glossary of the English equivalents of Chinese cultural references, but this seems to be a neglected area for any language. And the same point applies the other way round: Chinese people need a glossary of English cultural references. Few such texts exist.

It takes a while for the speakers to realize that there is a problem, and often a problem of cultural misunderstanding is never recognized. People readily sense when someone's *linguistic* knowledge is imperfect, and may go out of their way to accommodate to a foreigner by speaking more slowly or by simplifying sentences. But they are not so good at *cultural* accommodation. There is too ready an assumption that foreigners will know what they are talking about. People always tend to underestimate the cultural knowledge of their non-native listeners and readers, whatever the language and whatever the setting. Because the words and phrases are so familiar and routine, people are usually not aware that they are using something which foreigners will not understand. They take things for granted. And that's why I think a cultural perspective needs to be treated more systematically in language teaching. It's not that it's been overlooked; it simply hasn't been treated as systematically, within a language-teaching programme, as it needs to be.

Xiaoping Jiang:

Exactly, and that begs the question, how do we take this challenge? You have often quoted the estimate that globally "roughly a billion people will be learning English" (e.g. 1999), but locally the English taught will be culture-bound. So, harking back to your earlier point, should we teach the culture-specific "please" and have the billion learn it as a universal?

David Crystal:

'Should we teach...?' Ah, this is where I need to bow out gracefully. I am not an EFL teacher, and have never worked in a classroom (other than university ones). Nor have I ever done any primary research into teaching methods, curriculum, testing, materials, and all the associated issues that arise - though I do try to keep up with what's going on. I'm just a linguist. My role is to establish the linguistic facts as best I can, and to explain them, drawing attention to relevant theoretical notions in linguistics. Whether they should be taught, and when, and how, are questions for others to answer. And, having attended a fair few EFL conferences in recent years, I can see that some teachers *are* beginning to answer them, and to share their experiences.

My impression is that teachers are keen to teach culture-specific items, once they are aware of the extent to which they exist. A workshop I sometimes do with teachers will illustrate this point. After explaining the issue, we take 30 minutes to begin collecting data for a culture dictionary, using no more sources than the intuitions of the participants. It only takes a few minutes before they have listed dozens of items - names and nicknames of political parties and politicians, what particular suburbs in the city are famous for, favourite television programmes and personalities, and so on. I (or other British people in the room) provide equivalences in the UK, and if there are participants from other parts of the English-speaking world, they make their contributions.

What emerges from this is that some of the cultural linguistic observations are easily generalizable. The 'please' phenomenon, for example, turns up in several other language settings; it isn't restricted to Dutch. And the discussion soon turns to the general question of how politeness is handled in language, which *is* a universal. I suspect that all the cultural points identified can be explored in a general way, though some are easier to investigate than others. Simply to say 'We do X' is to invite the response 'Do we do X too? And if not, what do we do instead?' Everywhere has politics, and traffic, and suburbs, and leisure activities, and so on.

I mentioned 'casual cultural references' above. What I meant by that is the sort of thing we encounter in a textbook. Chapter 15 teaches 'Questions and answers', shall we say, and the author uses as a dialogue a visit to Oxford Street in London. The focus is on the grammatical point being taught, and the vocabulary of shopping. But why Oxford Street? This would be an ideal opportunity to introduce a cultural perspective. This is a special street. Why? If someone were to say, in December, 'I'm keeping well away from Oxford Street' or 'Aren't the lights splendid this year', what does the speaker mean? The hidden topics are all to do with crowds of shoppers and the specially-erected overhead Christmas decorations. The point is fairly obvious, perhaps, but what cultural equivalents would I encounter if I were to find myself talking in English to people in Paris, or Delhi, or Beijing? And where could I look these things up?

It's the random nature of the cultural focus that I think we need to avoid. Chapter 15 introduces the reader to Oxford Street. But Chapter 16 might be about a visit to the zoo, or visiting the dentist, or anything. Would there be anywhere in the course that completes the cultural picture, with respect to shopping? Whatever kind of shopping one encounters in Oxford Street, that is not the whole story, as far as shopping in London is concerned. Where in the course is the reader introduced to street markets, to 'downmarket' streets, to streets more 'upmarket' than Oxford Street, to barrow-boys, and so on? The list is not infinite. With a bit of thought, it would be possible to assess the semantic field of shopping and come up with a series of topics suitable for presentation to learners that would constitute one element in what we might call a cultural syllabus. Such a syllabus would be the equivalent, in pedagogical terms, of the kind of universal taxonomy that we see in library classifications, content hierarchies on the Internet, and other places where the aim is to obtain a broad view of human knowledge. Several useful taxonomies already exist. The challenge is to adapt them to meet language learner needs.

Xiaoping Jiang:

So, by a cultural syllabus are you suggesting anchoring functions (requesting); or activities ("shopping", "discussing politics") to specific localities? Or is there something more than that?!

David Crystal:

Much, much more. Localities form only one small part of a knowledge taxonomy. And I'm not at all thinking of speech acts such as 'requesting', which were well handled when people began to talk about communicative language teaching years ago. No, any principled cultural syllabus needs to take on board the whole 'universe of discourse' – that is, anything that can be talked about in a culture.

Here's an example of a taxonomy, to show what I mean. It's the one I developed for the Global Data Model,[1] (Crystal 2010b) devised in the 1990s as a means of classifying the Internet, and which was eventually adopted and adapted by Adpepper Media as a system for dealing with online advertising. This had ten top-level categories: the universe; the earth; the environment; natural history; humanity; recreation; society; the mind; human history, and human geography (which is where localities would go). Of course, at this level, they don't mean very much; but as one breaks them down one sees the power of the classification. For example, 'mind' subclassifies into knowledge and beliefs, mythology and religion, science and technology, arts and culture, and communication. Each of these classifies further: arts, for example, into the various artistic domains. And it is at this level that we would begin to see specific points of cultural contrast. Another taxonomy, which will be familiar to many readers, is the Dewey classification system used in libraries. It has different top-level categories, but eventually breaks down into specific subcategories of a similar kind to those I use.

It's a large task, but not an infinite one. There are only so many subcategories that need to be considered. However, it is an ongoing task. Culture never stands still, and keeping pace with areas of rapid cultural change (such as politics) is a challenge.

Xiaoping Jiang:

Thank you for your clarification. That is much clearer now. Perhaps we can change focus. So far we've been talking about English and the teaching of English(es) from an intercultural perspective. *Cultus* is also interested in translation. Do you see a place for training translators, for teaching translation as a form of intercultural communication? Or will there be no need, with the next generation of google translator and a new generation of instant interpreting apps?

[1] See http://www.crystalsemantics.com/about-us

David Crystal:

Like most linguists, back in the 1970s I used to be a huge sceptic about the possibilities of machine translation. But none of us could have anticipated the way computer power and the sophistication of software was about to increase. And the fact of the matter is that, for the small number of languages selected for inclusion, operations like *Google Translate* is pragmatically helpful. It provides the gist of a written communication well enough for it to be the basis of action. I know this from personal experience. As you may have gathered from the answer to your first question, I spent some months recently in Amsterdam. I had to deal with the affairs of a seriously ill member of the family. This meant reading her correspondence about medical, insurance, and housing matters, all in Dutch. I sent everything through *Google Translate*, and although it was a bit of a pain having to cut and paste, or in many cases input copy myself, the result was always satisfactory - in the sense that I learned what the text was about, sufficiently accurately for me to know whether I needed to act on it, or file it, or put it in front of a real human being for a precise translation. That is what I mean by 'pragmatically' helpful. I was under no illusion about the accuracy or acceptability of the versions I was reading. They were full of errors of grammar, collocation, and idiom. Occasionally, the mismatch was so bad that the translation was no help at all. But those occasions were few, compared with those where I got real help. This would not have happened five years ago. So what will happen in another five years?

How long does it take to become a good human translator or interpreter?

A long time. And translators tell me the process of learning never stops. Of course it doesn't. Nobody knows everything about a language. I know about a tenth of the over-a-million words in English, and learn new words most days. In any case, the language is always changing, so there are always new horizons. And no dictionary or grammar has yet been written which deals with everything that a language has to offer, as a comparison of any two products quickly shows. When I was writing *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language* ([1995]2003a), I made a comparison of the two largest dictionaries on earth, the *Oxford English Dictionary* and *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* and found there was a third difference in their coverage of lemmas, as well as huge differences in treatment. And anyone using the great reference grammars, such as *The Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (1985), will notice omissions -

not least, information about grammatical differences in the major regional dialects (the 'new Englishes') of the globe. All professional linguists know what they don't know, and this is still a lot. The myriad doctoral theses in descriptive linguistics around the world, and the articles in the major journals, are a testimony to that. Most articles end up by saying: this is what we have found out, and our research shows there are yet more questions to be answered. What we know about languages, to date, is the tip of a linguistic iceberg - though this is hardly surprising for a subject that has been around for less than a century.

The quality of automatic translation is ultimately dependent on the quality of the data that linguists are able to provide. A completely automated corpus-matching process can achieve a limited success, but the results need to be linguistically evaluated and tweaked. And a rule-based approach needs linguistic input from the outset. In all cases, what the human being provides is an intuitive dimension that at present is certainly beyond the abilities of even the most sophisticated computers. And that human contribution is nowhere greater, to my mind, than in relation to the cultural issues we discussed earlier. In previous papers I've listed many examples of cultural knowledge. Here is a set from a paper I gave last year (*2012b*):

> It's just not cricket, treating her like that.
> The job isn't all beer and skittles, you know.
> That made Fawlty Towers seem like paradise.
> Oh, come on, disgusted of Tunbridge Wells!
> It was like Clapham Junction in Oxford Street today.

Now, whatever these mean, the task for the translator is plain. What is the equivalent of Clapham Junction (thought of as a highly chaotic railway station) in French, Chinese, Swahili...? Automatic translation is very poor, at present, in handling the cultural stories behind proper names. A human translator well-versed in a culture knows straight away what is going on. Or should do - which I guess is why you mention 'training' in your question. I don't know just how much systematic training translators get in cultural awareness. I think, to a large extent, it is assumed to grow naturally, with age and experience. If so, then there is plainly a case for a more comprehensive and principled solution, as in the answer to your previous question.

One other point: automatic translators focus on one thing: the need for

intelligibility. What they don't do is focus on the need for identity. But a language performs both functions, and of the two it is identity that engages emotions more readily - as the news headlines about language policies and planning around the world illustrate. Hearts and heads are both involved, when it comes to language. But computers are not (currently) much interested in hearts. So any questions of identity - and these are largely bound up with the cultural theme of this dialogue - remain for the human translator to solve.

Xiaoping Jiang:

Could we then have a look at an example and investigate further the question of the human translator solving problems and on "the identity that engages emotions"?
Below are two different examples. The first relates to your 'cultural bump' regarding (the lack of) politeness in Dutch. How should a human translator act? Should he/she add it some negative politeness when translating into (British) English? The example below is an extract from the Italian writer, Italo Calvino (Calvino 1970: 115; see also Katan 2002).
A demure Stefania orders a coffee without the 'please':

> Uno ristretto, doppio, caldissimo, - disse al cameriere. Le era venuto un tono di confidenza sicura di sé, come se ci fosse una consuetudine tra lei e l'uomo di quel bar, dove invece non entrava mai.

An almost Google translation (apart from the 'coffee' which is added) gives us: "a small, double, extremely hot coffee", she said to the waiter. A tone of confidence had come to her, sure of herself, as if this were a routine between her and the man in that bar, where actually she had never ever set foot.
The second is from a well-known Chinese poem (in Jiang & van Rij-Heyligers, 2011)

Original Chinese poem	Literal Translation	Free Translation

古藤，老□，昏□，	*Dry vines, old trees, evening crows,*	*Crows hovering over rugged old trees wreathed with, rotten vine – the day is about done.*
小□，流水，人家，	*Little bridge, murmuring brook, rural cottage,*	*Yonder is a tiny bridge over a sparkling stream, and on the far bank, a pretty little village.*
古道，西□，瘦□。	*Ancient road, west wind, thin horse,*	*But the traveller has to go on down this ancient road, the West wind moaning, his bony horse groaning,*
夕阳西下，断□人在天涯。	*Sunset, broken heart, at the end of the world.*	*Trudging towards the sinking sun, farther and farther away from home.* (Hawks)

David Crystal:

When people talk about the difficulties of translation, they usually give examples from literature, and especially poetry, as if this were representative of the task. It isn't. Poetry is the most elaborated form of language it is possible to achieve, where extra aesthetic, linguistic, and cultural value is potentially assigned to every element used by the poet, and rules are continually being 'bent and broken' (as novelist Robert Graves (1967: 33) once put it)[2]. It is inconceivable to have a translation that 'keeps the original flavour and beauty' of any poem in another language. If one wants to access that, one needs to learn the foreign language. There is a phonaesthetic and graphaesthetic uniqueness about every language which defies translation. All a translation can do is act as a

[2]See also, http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,827077,00.html

signpost, conveying the core meaning and (to the best of one's ability) adding equivalents that capture aspects of the aesthetic of the source.

This should be done, incidentally, at sentence (or even discourse) level – not at word level. Words are not the best unit to use when comparing languages. Rather, one should think in terms of sentences. And also in terms of semantic and pragmatic functions, rather than forms. It is not relevant if a language does or does not have prepositions or adverbs at word level. The point is that all languages have ways of expressing place, manner, and time, and the translation task is to find the linguistic level at which these meanings are expressed.

But to return to my first point: the vast majority of translation that takes place in the world, on a day by day basis, isn't like your poetry example. It deals with much more mundane matters where aesthetic issues are minimal. In this respect, your Italian example is far more typical. And it's a good example, because it relates to the field I've referred to several times in this dialogue: pragmatics. By pragmatics I mean the study of the choices one makes when one uses language, of the intentions behind those choices, and the effects that those choices convey. It is a field that is still in its early stages of development, with plenty of theory around but relatively little empirical research, and this lack is especially noticeable in fields such as foreign language teaching and translation, where examples of pragmatic difficulty are typically anecdotal, such as identifying the contexts in which *tu* vs *vous* would be used in French, or the differences between saying *hello* and *goodbye* in English. We still lack a sophisticated 'comparative pragmatics' – an essential perspective in studying translation.

Your Italian example is entirely pragmatic in character. There is no semantic issue here: the meaning of the Italian has been well conveyed by the translator. The question is how to capture the tone of politeness involved – which in a complete explanation would make reference both to intention and effect. To fully explain a use of language one needs to know (or to guess at) the intention that lies behind the utterance and to identify the behavioural consequences. If one cannot do the former (as people sometimes say with reference to the 'intentional fallacy' in literature (Wimsatt & Beardsley, 1954)), then one has to fall back on the latter – the conveyed effects. In the 'coffee' example, we are actually aided in this task by the omniscient author, who has told us something of Stefania's intentions. In this respect, literature is often easier to analyse pragmatically than other uses of language, because the know-all author tells us what is going on in the speaker's mind.

So the notion that has to be translated is the 'tone of routine confidence'. How is routine confidence expressed in English? The issue is not one of 'how do you ask for a coffee in English?' but 'how do you ask for a coffee if you are someone like Stefania in her present situation?' It is not solely a matter of 'politeness', but of 'politeness *in situ*' – that is, in the situation in which Stefania finds herself. Personally, I wouldn't expect to see 'please' in that situation. Or, if I did, it would be in a tone of voice (difficult to convey in writing) which would express the confident tone.
So, the pragmatic principle in translation is, I hope, clear: one aims to convey the effect of what would happen if the same situation arose in the other language. When the effect is a single parameter, such as politeness, this is achievable. When the effect involves multiple parameters, as in poetry, the task is much more complex, but – as your Chinese example shows – it is possible to point the reader towards aspects of the pragmatics which convey something of the intentions of the author (such as adding 'the day is about done' in the first line or the reference to 'home' in the last).

Xiaoping Jiang:

This is extremely interesting. Would your sophisticated 'comparative pragmatics' be what some call 'Intercultural Pragmatics'? There is a Journal of that name, and an article from it (Moeschler, 2004: 50) suggests defining the domain as "those facts implied by the use of language that do not require access to mutually manifest knowledge, but to specific contextual knowledge necessary for understanding the speaker's intention. In other words, intercultural pragmatics aims at understanding the extent to which non-shared knowledge affects and modifies the retrieval of intended meaning". This does seem very close to your point that the listener's problem lies in successfully interpreting the intentions that lie behind the utterance.
Coming back to Stefania, perhaps we could, as you suggest, "point the reader towards aspects of the pragmatics" by actually rendering the verbal politeness explicit. So, instead of "...she said to the waiter", "...she politely [or even 'demurely'] asked the waiter". Or possibly we could change the direct order into an indirect request "She asked the waiter for a ...".

David Crystal:

I should think so, as the Journal says in its aims that it has a focus on intercultural competence, and that is indeed one of the places one would go to in order to get a sense of how the field is developing. I used 'comparative' simply to align the field with other domains within *comparative linguistics* - *comparative grammar*, *comparative phonology*, and so on. But ultimately it depends on one's definition of culture. If one's notion of culture is all-embracing, and culture is part of your definition of pragmatics, then a comparative pragmatics would inevitably be intercultural. This would mean intercultural identity as well as difference, of course (no Whorfianism[3] here). I think it's a bit soon to say whether such an approach is the most fruitful one to adopt, or whether a narrower definition would be more insightful, in the sense that it would generate testable hypotheses. To what extent are the basic elements of any definition of pragmatics (intention, effect, choice, and so on, or one of the more specific notions, such as indirectness) able to be characterised without reference to culture?

The Stefania example does indeed suggest a research direction. Choice, for me, is the central issue. What choices does a language offer a speaker? The first task is to specify these, along the lines you illustrate. But you illustrate only two. How many other alternatives are there? How much of the lexicon can be used in this way? How much of the grammar? How much of the phonology? It is a large task, but not - from an ELT point of view - an infinite one.

I can envisage a 'cultural dictionary' or a 'cultural grammar' in which the main features are identified. Such works would not be comprehensive enough to handle every nuance that turns up in literature, of course, but they would deal with the kinds of situation that learners would be most likely to encounter. A corpus-based approach would provide the kind of initial guidance required - of the kind we see routinely used these days in ELT-orientated dictionaries and grammars. Coincidentally, today arrives on my desk the latest in the Longman family of dictionaries - the *Collocations Dictionary and Thesaurus* (Dubicka, et. al 2013). Collocations. Another huge area, which for a long time people did not know how to handle. Now, thanks to a sophisticated use of corpora, it is possible to

[3] for a discussion see Editor's Introduction.

[4] for a discussion see Editor's Introduction.

present collocations in a systematic and illuminating way. The same thing ought to be possible with pragmatics, whether viewed as intercultural or intracultural.

Xiaoping Jiang:

I'm wondering again about the 'cultural grammar' you refer to, and which we touched on at the beginning. How would this grammar be different to a course book organized around functional-situational discourses, but this time the 'situation' is more culturally anchored? Certainly, if we are to teach translation, we would have a very useful set of 'parallel' ('equivalent'?) texts. As you say, the differences are not "Whorfian".
But, what if the differences themselves weren't Whorfian, but the reasons, the underlying motivations that foster a particular set of collocations, politeness descriptors etc. were? At which point the cultural dictionary would still be extremely useful for initial contact (Berlitz guide style?) and for technical/informative translations. But for longer stays, to appreciate and value the differences and be able to predict them, or to account for 'reader affect' in translation, something else is necessary – or is this where we agree to disagree?
But regardless of how we frame culture, in *English as a Global Language* (2003b), published some time ago now, you were suggesting that an international variety of English no longer attached to any specific culture may offer a neutral medium via which members of diverse cultures can communicate on equal terms. How far would you still go along with the idea that ELF, Globish[4] and so on, are the keys to overcoming communication barriers?

David Crystal:

I can't answer your first point very well, as it's not my world. I have only a few ELT courses on my shelves, and these are just a tiny fraction of what is 'out there'. But the examples I have read suggest that course books of this kind are more impressionistic in their coverage than taxonomically systematic - in other words, based on the author's intuition about the situations most likely to be often encountered by learners. I don't recall

[4] for a discussion see Editor's Introduction.

seeing a structural approach. Let me explain what I mean by that with an analogy.

In relation to vocabulary, for a long time people taught individual words and idioms. But after structural semantics arrived, it was clear that this was not enough. Far better was to teach vocabulary in terms of the words that cluster in semantic fields and the sense relations that they display, such as antonymy and hyponymy. So, one would not teach 'happy' in lesson X and 'sad' in lesson Y, but the two together. This kind of teaching is of course often done instinctively, but the message of the structural semantic approach was: 'do this systematically', and not just for 'opposites' but for lexical sets of all kinds.

I think the same approach is needed for the kind of thing we're talking about. To be 'culturally anchored', as you put it, one needs to look at the structure of the cultural relationships that lie behind a particular example of functional-situational discourse. This is what a cultural syllabus would reflect. To return to my earlier example, the semantic field of shopping involves an array of vocabulary which is organized into lexical sets, such as how much things cost, types of shops, city locations, and so on. Course books typically choose just one set of options from this field - such as 'A visit to Oxford Street' - and present the vocabulary needed. A more systematic approach would relate an Oxford Street experience to other kinds of shopping experiences, where a different kind of vocabulary would be required. Only in this way can one begin to make sense of real-world sentences such as: 'You're more likely to find what you're looking for in Bond Street... Portobello Road...'

I don't know how this would best be done (I am no materials writer), but I do see signs of writers moving in the direction of a more structured approach. The chapter headings in the *Global* Intermediate Coursebook (Clandfield *et al* 2011) provide an illustration of antonymy: 'Hot and Cold', 'Love and Hate', 'Friends and Strangers', 'Lost and Found', and so on. And several of the topics that are dealt with in these scenarios involve cultural as well as semantic considerations.

I still see many signs, as I travel around, of people 'dropping', as it were, their cultural background and accommodating (in the sociolinguistic sense) to the interpersonal (and thus, intercultural) needs of an international speech situation. In contexts where the participants are experienced professionals, this 'neutral' discourse is fluent and sophisticated, even though the cultural neutrality sometimes slips, so that someone unaware of a speaker's cultural background will temporarily be at

a loss. The more informal and everyday the speech situation, the more people allow cultural knowledge to creep in (usually without realizing it).
This is one of the problems with approaches that try to capture the notion of English as a *lingua franca*. There is often an assumption that this is a single, homogeneous variety, whereas it is actually a highly heterogeneous phenomenon. Any corpus of ELF data needs to be supported by a sophisticated sociolinguistic and stylistic frame of reference if it is to be sensibly interpreted. We need to know the type of person talking (age, gender, occupation...), the type of listener, the type of subject-matter, the nature of their relationship, and so on before we can evaluate the choices (back to pragmatics again) they make as they interact.
Every choice, no matter how tiny, needs to be viewed in this way. And the difficulty facing those trying to formulate the properties of English as a *lingua franca* is that little of the needed research has been done. To take just one example: some claim that a feature of ELF is the generalisation of countable plurals to uncountable nouns, so that we hear *furnitures*, *informations*, *researches*, and so on. Leaving aside the question of how far this actually happens, when examples do occur the first thing we need to do is determine the sociolinguistic variables involved, which will of course involve the identification of any factors that influence a speaker's linguistic competence. I imagine, for example, that a businessman or politician is more likely to say *researches* than a professional academic. Until we have such data, notions of ELF remain somewhat mysterious.
This is nothing to do with the absurd proposal that people can get by with a few hundred words of one kind or another, as in Globish-type proposals. The vocabulary size required in most international speech situations is necessarily large, and is always underestimated by people who haven't taken the trouble to do some real-world lexical frequency counts.

Xiaoping Jiang:

I'm certainly happy to hear that Globish is not the way forward! You say that you "see many signs, as I travel around, of people 'dropping' … their cultural background" to accommodate their counterparts, and that culture only really creeps in with informality. The informality (I am presuming here) comes with building a relationship and 'longer stays' or more prolonged contact, which was part of my point earlier. And this is where ELF begins to founder, especially if we agree with your point in "The Future of Englishes: Going Local" (2010a): "people readily sense when

someone's *linguistic* knowledge is imperfect, and may go out of their way to accommodate the foreigner by speaking more slowly or by simplifying sentences. But they are not so good at *cultural* accommodation." So, can ELF ever really be the key to overcoming communication barriers?

David Crystal:

The short answer is: it's too soon to say. It takes a while for a new approach to 'bed in', to get over the exaggerated claims for it made by its first enthusiasts, and to establish the domains in which it can make a real contribution. It's now clear that the focus on English as a lingua franca has led to a desirable broadening of the notion of legitimacy in relation to English. People no longer treat non-native speaker (NNS) English as negatively as they used to do. They can see that there is value in analysing it as a set of varieties comparable to the varieties that have long been studied in the English of native speakers. One of the premature impressions conveyed by this approach was that ELF is a single variety - that second language users all over the world were using English in the same kind of non-native-like way. This was never likely to be the case, and certainly never corresponded to my own experience of NNS usage as I travelled about. When the first corpora of NNS data became available, it was the differences between the speakers that struck me as much as the similarities. The important question, to my mind, is to account for those differences, for which (as I was saying before) we need a sociolinguistic and pragmatic perspective.

I wasn't thinking especially of the 'longer stay' kind of situation. The sort of thing I encounter more often is the international conference or business meeting. During the formal meetings, when people are sitting around a table and discussing an agenda, often with supportive written documentation, formal standard English is the norm, and mutual intelligibility is generally achieved (one has to say 'generally', because there is always the possibility that a local regional accent will make a spoken intervention difficult to understand). But when the meeting has a break for coffee or a meal, then a totally different linguistic encounter emerges. That is where speakers, more relaxed, begin to introduce a colloquial mode of expression that they would never have used in the formal meeting, and this is characterized by the use of idioms and the kind of cultural assumption that we've been talking about. This is usually harmless, in relation to the goals of the meeting. The problem comes when, on

returning to the formal meeting, people inadvertently introduce these features into the dialogue. I remember one such occasion when the one member of the British contingent, imagining that a degree of informality would help matters along, made a culture-specific pun (to do with cricket) which the other British participants immediately recognised, laughed, and reacted to (in the way one often does with language play, taking up the pun and trying to outpun the other person). But the non-British people around the table did not recognise the allusion, did not laugh, and felt excluded. This is a really frequent situation. I've often found myself in the same position, as I visit other countries, and find myself in a conversation where all the locals are 'enjoying the joke', or becoming enthusiastic or annoyed about a topic, and I have no idea what is going on. I've given extended examples of this kind of thing in other places, such as the 'Going Local' paper you mention.

Any approach to ELT, sooner or later, has to cope with this kind of thing, and ELF is no different. At some point these approaches have to develop ways of overcoming these cultural barriers. There will always be a modicum of personal and idiosyncratic cultural difference, of course. Even within a language, people do not always understand each other! Those who have written books on the gender divide, men from Mars; women from Venus (Gray, 2002), illustrate this perfectly. So a cultural awareness approach will never eliminate all problems of interpersonal communication. But I think it will reduce the kinds of problem that arise out of cultural difference to manageable proportions.

Xiaoping Jiang:

Mmm, the gender question is an interesting point. You mention in another interview (Crystal 2012b) you gave that maybe the Babel fish[5] automatic translator could in the future deal with these differences. I realise the question put to you was not entirely serious, but let's say, the Babel fish is translating 'everything'. That would mean that the cultural awareness, grammar and accommodation we have been talking about would all need to be in the translation, which I assume would make the translation exceedingly long. And even then, the main thesis of the *Men are from Mars* book is that men and women don't just use language differently, but think

[5] for a discussion see Editor's Introduction.

differently, so presumably the thinking, the reasoning behind the language would also need to be added to?

David Crystal:

Well yes, that really was a tongue-in-cheek answer to a tongue-in-cheek question. I don't think it's helpful to think of a Babel fish in this way. All a sophisticated Babel fish will do is simulate what a human translator does. It may improve on human performance in certain respects (e.g. finding a relevant term more quickly from its memory bank), and it may come out worse in others (e.g. in capturing sarcasm). If, as a human being, I don't understand what you're getting at, then I need to ask you - or get my translator (human or mechanical) to do so. I don't expect my translator to be a mind-reader - which, in relation to pragmatics, means knowing about the presuppositions and intentions underlying the utterances made by the participants. So the question of additional length simply does not arise.

I do think certain aspects of underlying knowledge can be incorporated into an automated system. This is the aim of the Semantic Web (Crystal, 2006) after all: to capture the kind of knowledge we have about the world and our place in it. It already has begun to formalise some of our intuitions, and the signs are promising. For example, in a dialogue about travelling from A to B, a system can ask us whether we have any preferences or constraints, any difficult days to travel, any dietary problems, and so on. It can anticipate difficulties that an individual user may not have thought about. Because there are so many variables, it can outperform a human adviser. But everything depends on someone first having worked out what the relevant options are. And, as we all know, if we have used them, these systems still don't anticipate all the individual differences, so that we often find ourselves - after answering all the questions in an online dialogue - having to approach a human being to sort out our problem. But it is early days.

The options in a travelling scenario are relatively easy to identify. They are far more difficult to identify in the case of male/female relationships. But analysis of the kinds of discourse which illustrate different ways of thinking suggests that even here we are not talking about a very large number of variables. Just as discourse analysts have shown that all the stories that can be told reduce to a small number of basic 'plots', so I suspect some of the kinds of interpersonal difficulty illustrated in the gender books, or in cases of intercultural misunderstanding, will be

capable of sufficient formalization to be able to be incorporated into software. One day.

Xiaoping Jiang:

Let's hope so, One Day! Thank you so much for sharing your brilliant ideas on language, culture and translation with us. Before we finish our interview, could I ask you about your present/future projects?

David Crystal:

It's been a pleasure, and thank you for such stimulating observations and questions.

My writing projects are always a mix of short-term and long-term. My most recent book (Crystal and Crystal 2013) is in fact a collaborative one, with Hilary (my wife), called *Wordsmiths and Warriors: the English-language Tourist's Guide to Britain*, published by Oxford University Press. We travelled all over the country visiting those places where something important happened to shape the character of the English language, and recorded what we found there. I wrote the text; Hilary took the photographs. It's a linguistic travelogue, in other words - an unusual genre, but one which we found provides a fresh and illuminating perspective for familiar subject-matter.

The main long-term project, due out at the end of 2015, is a dictionary of Shakespearean original pronunciation (OP). The desire to hear the plays and poems in OP has grown immensely over the last five years, and there have been productions of *Hamlet*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *As You Like It*, and several other plays in OP in various parts of the world. Further information about what has been happening can be found on a dedicated website (www.originalpronunciation.com). Anyway, the point is that everyone wants a transcription and recording to help them get the accent right. I've been helping as much as I can with individual projects, but the ideal is for people to do this for themselves, for which they need teaching materials, and a dictionary is an essential element. It will be published by OUP towards the end of 2015, in time for the Great Anniversary (2016: 400th anniversary of Shakespeare's death). I am currently up to letter C!

Working on any dictionary full time can do strange things to your state-of-mind, especially by the time you get to letter M! So it's important to be doing other creative enterprises to stay sane. In the meantime, I'm

working on a book which introduces the wonderful Oxford Historical Thesaurus (Christian e*t al*, 2009) to the general public, which will be out in September 2014. Its working title is *Words in Time and Place*.

Xiaoping Jiang:

'M' for monumental, manic, mad? Shakespeare in the original pronunciation is certainly about as far away from ELF as you could ever get!

But what about the Oxford Historical Thesaurus? Could you tell us something more about how it works (for example, are there any applications for global English...?)

David Crystal:

The *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (HTOED), to give it its full title, is the result of some 40 years of work by a team based at the University of Glasgow. What they've done is go through the huge OED and group all the entries into semantic themes, organized in a taxonomic way. A thesaurus is the opposite of a dictionary. In a dictionary you know a word and want to look up its meaning. In a thesaurus you know a meaning and want to look up the words that relate to it - all the synonyms, and near-synonyms. English thesauri until now have been compiled for the present-day language. The HTOED extends this approach to the entire history of the language. So, if you want to know what words were around in 1600 to talk about ships, or love, or pigs - or anything - you would look up the concept in the index, and this would send you to the relevant part of the thesaurus where you would see all the words that were in the language at that time to do with that particular subject. If you go to my blog (post of 29 June 2011[6]) you'll see an example, in which the various words for one's 'bottom' are listed historically. Here they are, in summary:

1000s: arse
1200s: cule, latter end, fundament, buttock
1300s: tut, tail, toute, nage, tail-end, brawn, bum
1400s: newscher, croupon, rumple, lend, butt, luddock, rearward, croup
1500s: backside, dock, rump, hurdies, bun, sitting-place, prat, nates, crupper, posteriorums

[6] < http://david-crystal.blogspot.co.uk/2011/06/on-bottom.html>

1600s: cheek, catastrophe, podex, posterior, seat, poop, stern, breek, flitch, bumfiddle, quarter, foundation, toby
1700s: rear, moon, derriere, fud, rass, bottom
1800s: stern-post, hinderland, hinderling, ultimatum, behind, rear end, hinder, botty, stern-works, jacksy
1900s: sit, truck-end, tochus, BTM, sit-upon, bot, sit-me-down, fanny, beam, ass, can, keister, batty, bim, quoit, rusty-dusty, twat, zatch, booty, bun, tush

There are some wonderful words, aren't there? Now imagine this done for every word in the language, and you will begin to sense the power of the HTOED. The book I'm writing takes a few areas like this one and relates them to the explanations (definitions) given in the OED, adding some cultural context to make the entries more interesting.

Xiaoping Jiang:

Wonderful! And how did 'catastrophe' (from the 1600s) get in there? But perhaps, to finish, we could ask you to give us an idea of the cultural context you are adding to an entry?

David Crystal:

It's a Shakespearean usage. In *Henry IV Part 2* (2.1.62) Falstaff's page harangues some officers who have been sent to arrest him: 'Away you scullion! ... I'll tickle your catastrophe!' You can see the semantic link in one of its senses: 'a final event; a disastrous end'. As far as we know, he's the only person to have used *catastrophe* in this way.
That's what I mean by 'cultural context' - in this case, simply pointing out who used the term and in what context is enough. None of that information is in the HTOED; but it can be found by looking at other sources, including the OED itself, of course. The commentary is inevitably brief. With a couple of thousand items to be dealt with, in the book as a whole, most entries will be less than 100 words.

Xiaoping Jiang:

We look forward to your new book, Professor Crystal. And thank you immensely for your wonderful contribution.

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Cultural Intelligence in Foreign Language Learning Contexts

Behzad Ghonsooly, Masoud Sharififar
and
Shahram Raeisi Sistani

Abstract

The language we hear or use carries with it not only background or world knowledge but also cultural information. Listening comprehension, as one of the primary language skills, is no exception. Researchers (e.g., Ervin, 1992; Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Kito, 2000; Markham & Latham, 1987; Mueller, 1980; Othman & Vanathas, 2004) have found that the listening comprehension of ESL students is highly affected by their culture-related (e.g., religion-biased, ethnicity-biased) background knowledge and that cultural information arouses learners' interest and motivation towards learning and comprehending a second language. Likewise, research has substantiated the pivotal role cultural intelligence or quotient (CQ) serves in individual's success in cross-cultural interactions. CQ is a momentous multi-component individual capability with important personal, interpersonal, and work-related implications (Van Dyne, Ang & Nielsen 2007). The current study was run to examine if listening comprehension of EFL learners is correlated with their CQ and, if yes, which of the CQ components (including metacognitive, cognitive, motivational, and behavioral CQ) better predict learners' performance on listening comprehension. The four-factor model of CQ together with an IELTS listening exam was administered to a number of Iranian EFL learners. The results are discussed and implications are provided.

1. Introduction

CQ is a multidimensional construct targeted at situations involving cross-cultural interactions arising from differences in race, ethnicity, and

nationality. Ang, Van Dyne and Koh defined CQ as "an individual's capability to deal effectively in situations characterized by cultural diversity" (2006: 101).

The concept has gained considerable popularity in business and management areas, but not much in areas such as in foreign language learning. Listening proficiency is an interactive skill in that it requires a great deal of uncertainty tolerance, openness to experience, and socio-cultural skills and strategies on the part of the learners. This study is one of the first attempts to study the role of CQ in foreign language learning, in general, and in listening skill development, in particular.

1.1 Language learning and culture

According to McDevitt (2004), there is no such a thing as human nature independent of culture. The context in which a speech event occurs includes elements related to the culture of the interlocutors. If the reader or listener does not share pertinent elements of that culture, the meaning might be lost.

The mutual relation between language and culture has long been established thanks to the writings of outstanding philosophers such as Wittgenstein, de Saussure, Foucault, Dilthey, Von Humboldt, Adorno, Davidson, and Quine. Yet, the most striking linguists dealing with the issue of language and culture are Sapir and Whorf. The core of their theory which is commonly referred to as *linguistic relativity* is that "a) we perceive the world in terms of categories and distinctions found in our native language and b) what is found in one language may not be found in another language due to cultural differences" (Genc & Bada, 2005: 74).

Various justifications have been proposed for the significance of culture in second language learning. According to Stainer (1971), studying culture gives students a reason to study the target language and renders second language learning meaningful. Chastain (1971) views culture learning as a way to help learners relate the abstract sounds and forms of a language to real people and places. Although language textbooks provide authentic examples from real life, without background knowledge those real situations may be considered fictive by the learners. Moreover, cultural issues are a source of learners' motivation, which, according to Gardner & Lambert (1972), is a crucial factor in second language learning. The study of culture, for instance by introducing the cultural system of L2s, increases not only learners' curiosity and interest in target countries

but also their motivation (Kito, 2000).

Finally, among other things, studying culture can give learners a liking for the native speakers of the target language, contribute to general education, and help learn about the geography, history, customs and values of the target culture (Cooke, 1970).

To sum up, according to Bakhtiarvand and Adinevand (2011), culture is "an inseparable part of the way in which we live our lives and the way we use language, [and] an important requirement for learning spoken English, is the acquisition of cultural knowledge". With respect to listening comprehension, which is the focus of the current research, there is almost total consensus among the researchers (e.g., Mueller, 1980; Othman & Vanathas, 2004; Sadighi & Zare, 2002) about the substantial role of prior and cultural knowledge. Markham and Latham (1987), for instance, have shown that religion-specific background knowledge (Islam or Christianity) affect the listening comprehension of ESL students, in that the subjects recalled more information and provided more elaborations for the passage that related to their own religion. Ervin (1992), too, studied whether listeners better understand material related to their own culture and ethnicity. His results indicated that the Scottish, ethnic minority group, scored significantly higher on the same-culture test (i.e. items related to their own culture) than the other-culture test (i.e. items about foreign cultures). Genc and Bada (2005) also found that attending the 'culture class' raised cultural awareness in ELT students concerning both native and target societies. Tsou's (2005) study also supported the role of culture by concluding that when culture lessons were integrated into EFL instruction, students' language proficiency as well as their interests in language learning were significantly improved.

1.2 Cultural Quotient (CQ)

Cultural intelligence, cultural quotient, or CQ (or CULTINT as termed in some texts), is defined as an individual's capability to function and manage effectively in culturally diverse settings. It is a theory within management and organizational psychology which deals with understanding the impact of an individual's cultural background on their behavior. It is regarded as essential for effective business and successful engagement in any environment or social setting (Ang, Van Dyne, Koh, Ng, Templer, Tay, & Chandrasekar, 2007). CQ is consistent with Schmidt

and Hunter's (2000) definition of general intelligence as the ability to reason correctly with abstractions and solve problems. However, it recognizes that intelligence is more than general mental ability, namely the traditional IQ and EQ. CQ acknowledges the practical realities of globalization (Ang & Van Dyne 2008; Earley & Ang 2003) and is a specific form of intelligence focused on capabilities to grasp and behave effectively in situations characterized by cultural diversity (Van Dyne, Ang & Nielsen, 2007).

Contemporary research has identified multiple types of intelligence, which include IQ (i.e. cognitive intelligence or general mental ability), EQ (i.e. emotional intelligence), and CQ (cultural intelligence). Different types of intelligence represent certain capabilities required in different situations. Below is a set of CQ characteristics:

→ *Cultural Intelligence builds upon and extends emotional intelligence.*

→ *Cultural Intelligence is an individual capability*: It is not an aspect of personality or personal interests, but a set of capabilities that leads to specific outcomes - such as decision making, performance, and adjustment in culturally diverse settings.

→ *Cultural Intelligence is a state-like capability*: It is malleable, in that it changes over time based on people's interactions, efforts, and experiences. Cultural intelligence can be developed through a set of steps and capabilities which not only evoke one's respect and dignity for others but enhance their effectiveness and in multicultural contexts

→ *Cultural Intelligence is a specific individual difference capability*: This is because it focuses on culturally relevant capabilities. CQ is more specific than IQ or EQ.

→ *Cultural Intelligence is NOT specific to a particular culture*: It does not, for example, focus on the capability to function effectively in France or in Japan. Instead, it focuses on the more general capability to function effectively in culturally diverse situations. (Van Dyne, Ang & Livermore, 2010)

1.3 Four Factors of CQ

CQ is a multidimensional construct. Earley and Ang (2003) conceptualized CQ as comprising metacognitive, cognitive, motivational and behavioral dimensions with specific relevance to functioning in culturally diverse settings. Van Dyne, Ang and Nielsen (2007) and Ang, Van Dyne, Koh, Ng, Templer, Tay, and Chandrasekar (2007) provide an

account of the four components of cultural intelligence as follows.

→ *Metacognitive CQ* reflects the processes individuals use to acquire and understand cultural knowledge. It occurs when people make judgments about their own thought processes and those of others. Those with high metacognitive CQ question cultural assumptions and adjust their mental models during and after interactions (Brislin, Worthley & Macnab 2006; Triandis, 2006).

→ *Cognitive CQ* is a person's knowledge and understanding of how cultures are similar to and different from each other. It reflects general knowledge structures and mental maps about cultures. Those with high cognitive CQ understand similarities and differences across cultures (Brislin, Worthley & Macnab 2006).

→ *Motivational CQ* is a person's capability and motivation in learning about and functioning in cross-cultural situations. It includes a person's inherent interest in experiencing other cultures and interacting with people from different cultures. Those with high motivational CQ direct attention and energy toward cross-cultural situations based on intrinsic interest and confidence in their cross-cultural effectiveness (Bandura, 2002).

→ *Behavioral CQ* is a person's capability to exhibit appropriate verbal and nonverbal behavior when interacting with people from different cultures. Those with high behavioral CQ exhibit situationally appropriate behaviors based on their broad range of verbal and nonverbal capabilities, such as exhibiting culturally appropriate words, tone, gestures and facial expressions.

The four dimensions of CQ are different facets of the overall capability to function and manage effectively in culturally diverse settings (Earley and Ang, 2003). Like different facets of job satisfaction, the dimensions of CQ may or may not correlate with each other. In sum, these are different capabilities that together form overall CQ. (See Figure 1)

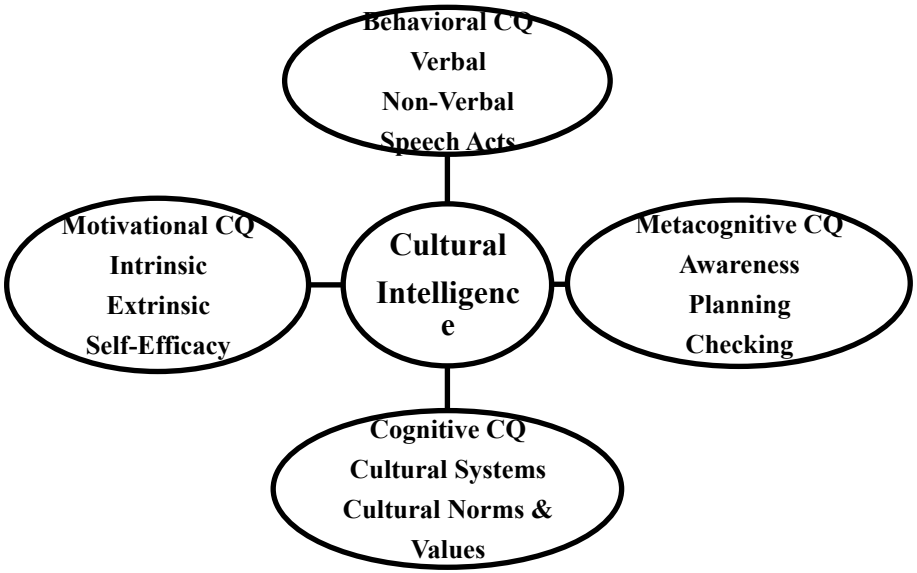

Figure 1: The Four-Factor Model of Cultural Intelligence (Adapted from Van Dyne & Ang, 2008)

1.4 Research to date on CQ

People with higher CQs are regarded as better able to successfully blend into any environment, using more effective business practices, than those with a lower CQ. It is, therefore, important to understand why some individuals are more effective than others in dealing with situations that are culturally diverse.

Ang, Van Dyne, Koh and Ng (2004) showed that CQ explained variance in performance and adjustment among international executives more than demographic characteristics and general cognitive ability did. Messara, Karkoulian, and Al Harake (2008) conducted the first study examining the relationship between CQ and locus of control (LOC)[1] in employees working in multicultural organizations, and suggested that the need to have cross-cultural skills in order to acquire cultural adaptation is of utmost importance in this age of globalization.

[1] An important aspect of personality, which refers to individuals' perception about the underlying main causes of events in their life, for example whether their destiny is controlled by themselves or by external forces.

Ang, Van Dyne and Koh (2006) conducted the first study on the relationship between the Big Five personality[2] and the four-factor model of CQ. Their results showed significant links between (a) conscientiousness and meta-cognitive CQ; (b) agreeableness and emotional stability with behavioral CQ; (c) extraversion with cognitive, motivational, and behavioral CQ; and (d) openness to experience with all four factors of CQ.

In an empirical study, Templer, Tay, and Chandrasekar (2006) examined and demonstrated that CQ predicted adjustment of global professionals, beyond realistic job and living conditions previews. Given that CQ predicts performance and adjustment, it is important to understand what predicts CQ. Ang, Van Dyne, and Koh (2006) have demonstrated that those with more experience interacting with people who have different cultural backgrounds have higher CQ. This includes each of the four factors of CQ (meta-cognitive, cognitive, motivational, and behavioral).

Shaffer, Harrison, Gregersen, Black, & Ferzandi (2006) examined and substantiated cognitive, affective, and behavioral aspects of intercultural effectiveness. Using their framework, Ang, Van Dyne, Koh, Ng, Templer, Tay, and Chandrasekar (2007) considered the relationship between CQ and cultural judgment and decision making (a cognitive outcome), cultural adjustment and well-being (an affective outcome), and task performance (a behavioral outcome). The results of their study demonstrated that CQ has a unique explanatory power in predicting the three aspects of intercultural effectiveness over and above demographic characteristics, general cognitive ability, emotional intelligence, and openness to experience. Those with higher CQ were found to be more effective at making decisions about, as well as making adjustments in, situations characterized by cultural diversity. Crowne (2008) showed education and employment in different cultures increases cognitive and behavioral aspects of CQ while motivational CQ was higher for those who visited more countries for vacation and other purposes. Therefore, the results show that the best way to develop CQ is through engaging in activities involving cross-cultural interaction, while passive activities are significantly less effective in nurturing CQ.

[2] A five-factor model of personality including broad personality traits of extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, neuroticism, and openness

1.5 CQ Measurement and Enhancement Techniques

CQ is measured on a scale, similar to that used to measure an individual's intelligence quotient (IQ). In order to measure it, the researchers use the Cultural Intelligence Scale called the Four-Factor Model of CQ. The scale was developed and validated by Ang, Van Dyne, Koh and Ng (2004). The CQ scale is a 20-item questionnaire with four questions relating to metacognitive CQ (Q1-Q4), six to cognitive CQ (Q5-Q10), five to motivational CQ (Q11-Q15), and five to behavioral CQ (Q16-Q20).

The respondents are asked to self-assess themselves against a 5-point Likert scale ranging from complete disagreement (1) to complete agreement (5). The questions from the 20-Item Four-Factor Cultural Intelligence Scale, adapted from Ang, Van Dyne, Koh, Ng, Templer, Tay, Chandrasekar (2007) are reported below:

→ Metacognitive CQ questions:

1. I am conscious of the cultural knowledge I use when interacting with people with different cultural backgrounds
2. I adjust my cultural knowledge as I interact with people from a culture that is unfamiliar to me
3. I am conscious of the cultural knowledge I apply to cross-cultural interactions
4. I check the accuracy of my cultural knowledge as I interact with people from different cultures

→ Cognitive CQ questions

5. I know the legal and economic systems of other cultures
6. I know the rules (e.g., vocabulary, grammar) of other languages
7. I know the cultural values and religious beliefs of other cultures
8. I know the marriage systems of other cultures
9. I know the arts and crafts of other cultures
10. I know the rules for expressing nonverbal behavior in other cultures

→ Motivational CQ questions

11. I enjoy interacting with people from different cultures
12. I am confident that I can socialize with locals in a culture that is unfamiliar to me

13. I am sure I can deal with stresses of adjusting to a culture that is new to me

14. I enjoy living in cultures that are unfamiliar to me

15. I am confident that I can get used to the shopping conditions in a different culture

→ Behavioral CQ Questions

16. I change my verbal behavior (e.g., accent, tone) when cross-cultural interaction requires it

17. I use pause and silence differently to suit cross-cultural situations

18. I vary the rate of my speaking when a cross-cultural situation requires it

19. I change my non-verbal behavior when a cross-cultural situation requires it

20. I alter my facial expressions when a cross-cultural interaction requires it

The results of these questions are inputted into the computer using SPSS and averaged giving a single value for each facet.

2. Statement of the problem

Due to the novelty of CQ, empirical research is sparse, though growing (Ang, Van Dyne & Koh, 2006). Moreover, most of the studies to date (e.g., Ang & Ng 2005; Ang, Van Dyne & Koh 2005; Berry & Ward 2006; Earley, Ang & Tan 2006; Earley & Mosakowski 2005; Van Dyne, Ang & Koh 2009; Van Dyne & Ang 2006; Thomas 2006; Sternberg & Grigorenko 2006; Ng, Van Dyne & Ang 2009; Ng, Tan & Ang 2009; Ng & Earley 2006; Ng & Ang 2007; Leung & Ang 2008; Koh, Joseph & Ang 2009; Janssens & Brett 2006; Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars 2006; Karma & Vedina 2009) have concerned the role of CQ in organizational management, globalization, and personality characteristics in multicultural institutions. Little research (e.g. Khodadady & Ghahari, 2011) has been conducted on the possible relation between CQ and foreign language learning.

Listening plays an important role in communication. Matsuoka (2009) cites Rivers' (1981) research who reports that of the total time spent on

language learning, listening takes up 40-50%, speaking 25-30%, reading 11-16%, and writing about 9%. The current research aimed at examining the possible relation between CQ and listening proficiency has been guided by the following question,

→ How well does the CQ scale predict learners' performance on listening comprehension? How much variance in listening comprehension scores can be explained by multidimensional CQ scores?

→ Which of the four factors of CQ is the best predictor of listening comprehension performance: metacognitive, cognitive, motivational, or behavioral?

3. Method

3.1. Participants

A total of 87 students (54 females and 33 males) participated in the study for course credits. They were learners of English as their foreign language in two language institutes in Tehran, Iran. The participants were of different language ability levels and their general proficiency was not separately tested. The average age of the participants was 21, ranging from 15 up to 32.

3.2. Instrumentation

The current study involved two sets of instruments: 1) an IELTS listening test, and 2) the four-factor model of culture quotient. Further elaboration of each instrument is provided below. The IELTS listening test included four parts. Each part consisted of a number of recorded conversations followed by a set of multiple-choice questions. The whole test was comprised of 40 questions. The reliability of the IELTS scores, based on the KR-21 formula[3], was estimated to be 0.759.

[3] Kuder-Richardson formula 21 (KR-21) estimates the reliability coefficient of a test on the basis of the statistical characteristics of its items. KR-21 is superior to KR-20 in that it assumes the items are of equal difficulty.

The second instrument was the previously discussed Four-Factor Model of CQ Cultural Intelligence Scale. Using the KR-21 formula, the reliability of the CQ test was estimated to be 0.741.

3.3. Procedure

The participants listened to four recorded conversations. After each conversation, they were required to answer a set of multiple-choice questions regarding comprehension. The whole listening test lasted around 40 minutes. Immediately afterwards the CQ scale was administered. It took around 15 minutes for the participants to answer the 20 questions of the CQ test.

4. Results

Table 1 below shows the results for the listening comprehension and for the CQ. The highest mean score in the sub-components of CQ pertains to the learners' cognitive CQ (X' = 6.191), and the lowest to metacognitive CQ (X' = 3.175). The mean score of their listening comprehension as obtained from their IELTS subtest is 19.01 out of 40.

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Listening comprehension	19.01	7.726	87
Metacognitive CQ	3.175	1.4721	87
Cognitive CQ	6.191	.8019	87
Motivational CQ	3.193	1.5478	87
Behavioral CQ	4.721	.7219	87

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Learners' Four-Factor CQ Scale and Listening Comprehension

Standard multiple regression was conducted to assess the ability of the four-factor CQ model to predict learners' listening comprehension performance. Preliminary analyses were conducted to ensure non-violation

of the assumptions of normality[4], linearity[5] or multicollinearity[6] (Figure 2). The total variance explained by the model as a whole was statistically significant as $F(4, 82) = 61.189$, $p < .005$ (see Table 2, appendix).

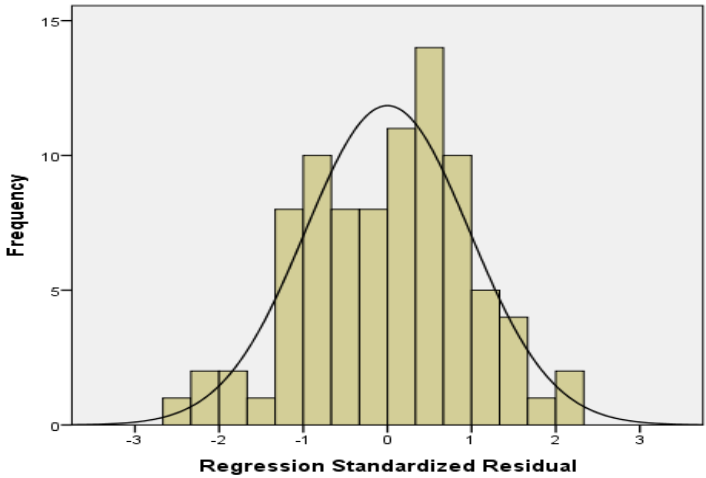

Figure 2: Model Summary

As Table 2 (see appendix) and Figure 3 below suggest, there is a generally significant positive correlation between CQ and listening comprehension; that is, the learners with a higher CQ index have significantly outperformed that of the lower CQ group in their listening comprehension tasks.

[4] The data is normally distributed.
[5] There is a straight line relationship between the dependent and independent variables.
[6] There are no predictors in the model which are correlated and provide redundant information about the response.

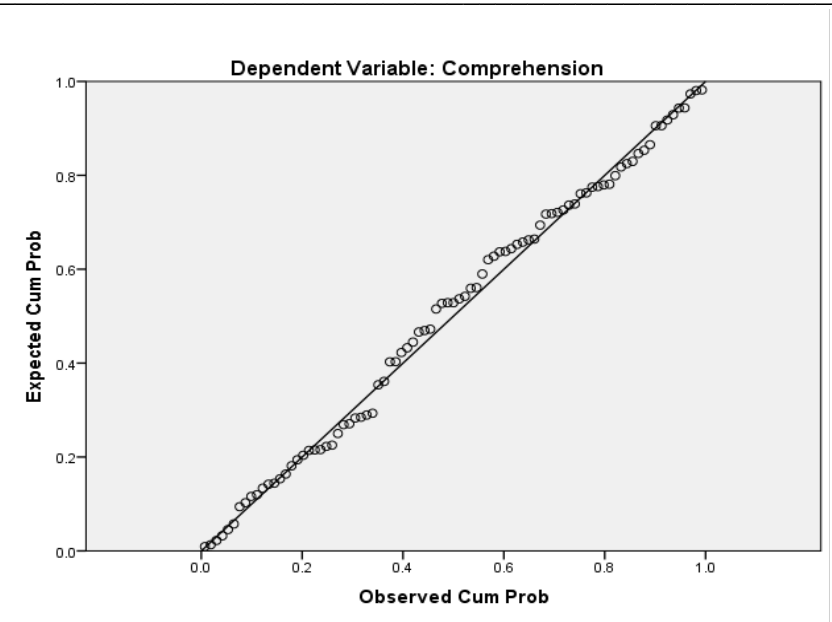

Figure 3: Normal P-P Plot of Regression Standardized Residual

In the final model, only two components of metacognitive CQ and motivational CQ were statistically significant, as can be seen from the table below:

Model	Standardized Coefficients Beta	t	Sig.
1 (Constant)		6.924	.000
Metacognitive CQ	.682	3.596	.001
Cognitive CQ	.009	.162	.871
Motivational CQ	.533	2.780	.030
Behavioral CQ	.038	.658	.513

Table 3. Coefficients Results between Four Factors of CQ Model and Listening Comprehension

Overall, the results suggest that CQ does predict learners' performance in listening comprehension, and that metacognitive and motivational factors of CQ are the significantly better predictors of listening comprehension than the other two components.

5. Discussion and conclusion

Culture is embedded in even the simplest act of language to the extent that every speech event, in fact, amounts to performing a cultural act (Hao, 2000; Kramsch, 1993). Therefore, if students' command of pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary, and cultural knowledge is to improve, it "must be grounded in a sound knowledge of the society in which the language is based" (Bakhtiarvand & Adinevand, 2011: 112). Cook (2003) rightly claims that the successful interpretation of language (spoken or written) in context depends on the degree to which the participants share conventions and procedures. Such conventions, together with the values and beliefs behind them, are elements of cultural background knowledge. And "this is the area where misunderstandings and even helplessness in interpretation occur" (Trivedi, 1978: 93).

According to Van Dyne, Ang and Nielsen (2007), those with high CQ are characterized by having four key capabilities, including

a) the ability to anticipate what will happen in cross-cultural situations,

b) a wide understanding of multicultural situations,

c) great confidence in their capabilities and being intrinsically interested in experiencing culturally diverse settings and finally,

d) the ability to vary their verbal and non-verbal behaviors in response to cultural characteristics of the situation.

Much of mass communication is oral, so listening is a fundamental language skill. It is the medium through which one can gain a large portion of information, understanding of the world and of human affairs, their ideals, and sense of values (Guo & Robin, 2006). According to Mendelsohn (1994), listening is an active process in which the listener constructs meaning by using cues from both contextual information and existing world knowledge: "Understanding is not something that happens because of what a speaker says; the listener has a crucial part to play in the process, by activating various types of knowledge, and by applying what he knows to what he hears and trying to understand what the speaker means" (Anderson Anderson & Lynch 1988: 6).

In the light of the above discussion, the relationship of second language learners' listening comprehension with their cultural intelligence, in general, and its subcomponents (i.e. metacognitive, cognitive, motivational, and behavioral), in particular, seems an intriguing area for research.

It was found that the two competencies of metacognitive and motivational were correlated with listening comprehension. Metacognitive CQ essentially enables one to acquire knowledge and develop strategies to cope with the new environment; it reflects the mental capability to acquire and understand cultural knowledge. Those with high metacognitive CQ are constantly aware of others' cultural preferences before and during interactions (Ng & Early 2006).

This capability seems to serve a crucial function when listening to a culturally different and/or culturally loaded stretches of language. Watching, for example, a talk show on *homosexuality* is common for a Western family, but a form of taboo for an Iranian one.

Successful listeners are better able to interpret what is going on in the speaker's head as well as within the message and to make sense of culturally diverse settings and behaviors. Their higher level of metacognitive competence enables them to draw upon their cultural knowledge to make more sense of the different cultural context and handle it more effectively. This meta-competence, in fact, equips them with the properties of awareness, planning, and checking. Through awareness, they come to realize that cultural differences exist between self and others. They are then more able to prepare for and anticipate how to

approach the people, topic, and situation. Finally, they are more likely to check and monitor if their expectations match what has actually happened or expressed (Koh, Joseph & Ang, 2009).

The results in the current study suggest that successful listeners are consciously aware of their own as well as others' cultural assumptions and values, consciously plan for multicultural settings, and reflect and adjust their mental models accordingly.

Apart from metacognitive competence, motivational CQ also affects the success of language learners in listening comprehension tasks. Motivational competence reflects the capability of directing energy towards learning about and taking part in multicultural situations (Leung & Ang 2008). Individuals with high motivational CQ show interest, confidence, and drive to adapt cross-culturally. Successful listeners are motivated enough to face challenges and welcome cultural clashes and differences. One of the primary merits of cultural discussions in language classes, according to Genc and Bada (2005), is that they have always had a humanizing and a motivating effect on the language learner and the learning process. They help learners notice similarities and differences among various cultural groups. Having lived most of their lives in monolingual and monocultural environments, L2 students around the world are culture-bound individuals who tend to make inappropriate value judgments about their own as well as about others' cultural characteristics. This can lead them to consider the native speakers of their target language "as very peculiar and even ill-mannered, which, in turn, plays a demotivating role in their language learning process" (Genc and Bada, 2005: 75). Motivational CQ includes intrinsic motivation (i.e. the degree to which an individual derives enjoyment from culturally diverse situations), extrinsic motivation (i.e. the more tangible benefits one gains from culturally diverse experiences), and self-efficacy (i.e. one's confidence in their being effective in cross-cultural encounters). All three of these motivational dynamics contribute to how one may approach cross-cultural situations (Koh, Joseph & Ang, 2008).

To sum up, the language learning classroom today is abundant with interaction and communicative tasks. Oral skills, namely speaking and listening, seem to require more social and interpersonal skills on the part of the learners as well as a better management of self and others. Overall, that those learners with higher CQ have outperformed in listening comprehension tasks can be taken to imply that they consider the language classroom as an opportunity to improve their language

proficiency. They are interested in new ideas and building relationships. They tend to communicate well with teachers and peers, express their feelings and attitudes and are open to those of others. All these tendencies can potentially build successful learners out of them, and improve their language learning process.

This study suggests, then, that the more the students are interpersonally and culturally intelligent, the better they perform in listening comprehension tests. Karma and Vedina (2009) and Ang, Van Dyne, and Koh (2006), among others, argue for the other way round too. The best way to develop CQ is through engaging learners in cross-cultural activities and interactions, while passive activities (here, for instance, reading or writing which are performed intrapersonally), are significantly less effective in nurturing CQ.

Therefore, one can claim that interactive tasks and cultural discussions and activities (here performing listening tasks) and CQ are closely interwoven: high levels of CQ encourage involvement in multicultural contexts, and involvement in interactions lead to high levels of CQ. The line of inquiry could also be expanded to studying the role of CQ in learners' success in other skills of speaking, writing and reading and in foreign language learning in general.

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Appendix

Model	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	3844.851	4	961.213	61.189	.000
Residual	1288.138	82	15.709		
Total	5132.989	86			

Table 2. ANOVA Results

Similar Yet Different.

ELF Variation in International Website Terms and Conditions of Use"

Federica Scarpa

Abstract

The common-law-based standardized legal model of the terms and conditions of use of commercial websites instantiate, on the one hand, the increasingly influential role that English plays as the international language of trade and legislation, and, on the other, the disparities in legal practice among different national legal systems using English as a lingua franca (ELF). The paper investigates a small monolingual corpus of terms of use translated into English from the international websites of three international car manufacturers from three different countries of origin and legislations based in civil law: Fiat, Renault and Volkswagen. The aim is to find the similarities and differences in layout/content and terminology/phraseology of the three ELF documents: 1) against the respective source documents in the Italian, French and German national sites of, respectively, Fiat, Renault and Volkswagen; 2) among the three translated ELF documents themselves; and 3) against three terms of use taken as a reference, two of which are non-translated ENL (English as a Native Language) disclaimer templates whilst the third is a translated ELF EU Commission Legal notice. The significant intralingual variation found in the three ELF translated documents even in a highly standardized legal format such as that of the terms of use of a website is finally taken as evidence of the difference in awareness – and ultimately professionalism - by the legal drafters of the respective source texts and by the translators of the international readership of the final documents to be translated into English.

1. Introduction

In no other area of specialized translation are source and target texts more rooted in socio-cultural and national cultures than in legal translation. However, globalization has created the need to translate legal information from one national legal system/language into another, also bringing about transnational legal frameworks which tend to diminish the importance of

national legal systems with the consequent need for the translator to identify more than one legal frame of reference for the target text (Sandrini 2006).

One particular area which seems to exemplify particularly well the difficulties posed by the broader area of translation in international multilingual legal settings is the translation of the "Terms (and conditions) of use" in websites, a type of contract giving the legal information governing the relationship to a website of the user, who is expected to agree, comply with and be bound by it. Owing to the major role of English as the international language of trade and legislation (Drolshammer and Vogt 2003), as well as the lingua franca of the Internet, the terms of use in websites can, like other standard legal formats and terminology, be considered as a "translation-specific document type" (Sager 1998: 74), i.e. a translation type which has been incorporated in the target culture and has become a model not only for all translations of documents of that type but also for all the original documents written in that specialized domain. This implies that the common-law origin of this legal format should provide the terms of use drafted in or translated into English – whether as a native language (ENL) or as a lingua franca, (ELF)[1] – with similar standard formats and conventional formulas conforming to international English templates.

This article will concentrate on the similarities and differences of ELF terms and conditions translated from three different source languages, i.e. Italian, French and German. It will build on previous research on Spanish original vs. localized legal information in corporate websites (Jiménez-Crespo 2011) and, more specifically, on the terms of use in ELF vs. different varieties of ENL as well as comparison of disclaimers in English, German and Italian (Magris and Scarpa, 2013). The main aim is to show that disparities in legal practice among different national legal systems do indeed provide some variation of form and content even in a standardized

[1] In line with the terminology adopted in the current debate on the reciprocal influences between translation and ELF, and irrespective of whether the translators of the three English translations being analyzed were or were not native speakers of English or the translations were or were not revised by native speakers, the distinction ENL vs. ELF has been used here – instead of others such as non-native vs. native English or translated vs. non-translated English – to stress the 'hybrid' nature of the English translations, which address an international readership, i.e. no specific target culture, as opposed to the two ENL documents taken as reference, which are aimed at a national (respectively British and American) audience (cf. Taviano 2013: 158).

format such as this, which should in fact display a high degree of uniformity. There follows a brief second and third section illustrating, respectively, the information typically contained in this highly structured and conventionalized legal format and the small corpus used for the study. Then Section 4 will present the results of a contrastive analysis of the ELF translated terms and conditions drawn from the websites of three international car manufacturers (Fiat, Renault, Volkswagen) from different countries with legislations rooted in civil law. The similarities and differences in form and content of the three ELF documents will be mapped out by providing some examples of their intralingual variation at the levels of both layout/contents (4.1) and terminology/phraseology (4.2). In the concluding section (5), it will be argued that the results of this type of applied research may provide some significant indicators of the extent to which both the drafters and the translators of these documents should have the documents' international readership in mind.

2. The terms of use of a website

The terms and conditions governing the policies adopted concerning the access and use of the website by visitors can be accessed by clicking a button – usually at the bottom of each page of the site – variously called "Terms of use", "Legal", "Terms and conditions", "Conditions of Use" or "(Legal) Disclaimer", though, strictly speaking, the term "Disclaimer" should refer only to the terms of the contract which seek to exclude or limit liability for breach of contract:

> DISCLAIMER: The denial, refusal, or rejection of a right, power, or responsibility. A disclaimer is a defensive measure, used generally with the purpose of protection from unwanted claims or liability. A restaurant may disclaim responsibility for loss or damage to a customer's Personal Property, or a disclaimer clause in a contract might set forth certain promises and deny all other promises or responsibilities. A disclaimer of Warranty, which is provided for in the Uniform Commercial Code, limits a warranty in the sale of goods. It may be general or specific in its terms (The Legal Dictionary).

Alongside this more restricted meaning, the term "Disclaimer" can in fact also be used as a synonym of "terms and conditions of use" as a whole

and include also the privacy policy of the site, as exemplified by the list of contents of the following disclaimer template provided by a German support service for legal disclaimers on the web (Germany Sample Disclaimer[2]):

> the exclusion or limitation of liability concerning 1) the content of the website and 2) the contents linked and referred to from the pages of the website, 3) the terms and conditions referring to the policies concerning the copyright for the material contained in the website and the use of copyrighted material, 4) the lawfulness of the provisions of the disclaimer, and, in websites which collect personal information, 5) the use of visitors' personal data.

However, most websites have a separate button for the privacy policy concerning the use of visitors' personal data, which is dealt with in a separate document. Whilst providing a website with the terms and conditions of use is in fact not compulsory by law in many countries, as confirmed by the lack of such legal information in many Italian websites (cf. Magris and Scarpa 2013), the protection of privacy and personal identity has become compulsory in the EU and in many other countries. This is confirmed by the fact that many websites contain some information on their privacy policy, either as a separate document or contained within the terms of use. For example, in the European Union,[3] "Data controllers" for the processing of personal data – and therefore also websites – must provide all "Data Subjects" with precise information on the processing of their personal data.

Following this legal separation between the protection of privacy and the terms of use for the visitors of a website, in this article the terms of use will be taken to indicate only the information about the website content and how visitors are and are not permitted to use it, without also including the privacy policy of the website.

[2] The sources of this template, as well as the US and UK Sample Disclaimers and the EU Commission Legal notice (end of section 3) are given at the end of the References.

[3] Following both Act no. 675 of 31.12.1996 "Protection of individuals and other subjects with regard to the processing of personal data" and the subsequent "Code on the protection of personal data" adopted with the Legislative Decree no. 196 of 30.06.2003.

3. The corpus

The very small-scale ELF corpus used to investigate the extent of the intralingual variation of translated legal information in commercial websites was collected in August 2012 and is made up of the ELF terms of use embedded in the international websites of three car manufacturers from as many different countries of origin, all with legislations based on civil law: Italian Fiat (www.fiat.com), French Renault (www.renault.com) and German Volkswagen (en.wolkswagen.com).

As a first step, all three documents were expunged of the sections on the protection of personal data, which were included in the terms of use of the website as a set of separate clauses making up a different proportion of the each document, as Tables 1 and 2 show:

Fiat	General introduction (all but initial sentence); Type of data processed (Navigation data; Data voluntarily supplied by the customer/visitor; Data from minors; Data retention); Technologies Cookies; JavaScript; External services.
Renault	Personal and other data; Cookies.
Volkswagen	Acceptance of cookies; Security in transmission of messages to Volkswagen AG; Data Protection Declaration (Anonymous data collection; Collection and processing of personal data; Use and distribution of personal data).

Table 1: Expunged clauses on the protection of personal data

	Initial length	**Final length**
Fiat	1,539	282
Renault	3,083	2,634
Volkswagen	1,840	1,213

Table 2: Length of the three documents before and after cuts (no. of words)

The decision not to include the Privacy policy pages in the analysis was brought about by two basic considerations:
1) the fundamental separation between the legal issues of the use of personal data and the terms and conditions of use for the visitors of a website, which in most websites are in fact dealt with in completely separate documents; and
2) the high homogeneity of both content and terminology/phraseology of all texts on the protection of privacy and personal identity in any international ELF website having its geographical origin in a EU country, owing to the fact that the reference text for ELF documents dealing with privacy has become the European Parliament and Council Directive[4] on the protection of individuals with regard to the processing of personal data and on the free movement of such data.

The great differences in proportion of the cuts among the three documents provide a first clue to their general lack of homogeneity in contents and layout and, more specifically, the different relevance the three international websites give to the terms and conditions governing the access and use of a website by the user. As can be seen from Tables 1 and 2, though the importance given by all three to the protection of privacy is apparent from the extent of the cuts, in the case of Fiat their magnitude suggests that privacy was by far the overarching preoccupation of the document. The number of words of the Fiat document was in fact reduced by nearly as much as four fifths whilst, at the other extreme, only one third of the Volkswagen document dealt with privacy issues which had to be expunged from the corpus. This is also reflected in the fact that whilst in all three websites legal information is concentrated under only one button, the name of that button is, respectively, "Legal information" and "Legal Statement" in the Renault and Volkswagen (VW) sites, but "Web Privacy" in the Fiat site.

After the cuts, the ELF corpus that was used for the study consisted of 4,129 running words (tokens) and 980 types, which were distributed in the three documents as shown in Table 3:

[4] 95/46/EC of 24 October 1995

	Tokens	**Types**
Fiat	282	154
Renault	2,634	681
Volkswagen	1,213	417
TOTAL	4,129	980

Table 3: Number of tokens and types in the three documents.

Besides the main corpus, the following three documents have been taken as a reference for the names, content and terminology/phraseology of the clauses making up the legal format of the terms and conditions of use. Two are ENL templates for commercial website disclaimers from a British (UK Sample Disclaimer) and an American website (US Sample Disclaimer), whilst the third is the ELF legal information that can be found in the website of the EU Commission (EU Commission Legal notice).

4. A contrastive analysis of the three ELF translated documents

The second and third steps in the study were to contrast the ELF translated terms of use of the three international sites 1) against the respective terms of use in the Italian (Fiat), French (Renault) and German (VW) national sites, and 2) among themselves, as regards general layout/contents and terminology/phraseology, as well as, where relevant, against the three reference ENL and ELF documents.

A comparison of the three ELF terms of use with the corresponding documents embedded in their respective national sites shows that all three are close translations of the respective Italian, French and German documents. In the localization of commercial websites, this is in line with what Jiménez-Crespo (2011: 6) points out is the requirement that legal texts be a faithful translation of the source texts because they relate to the legal context of the country of the source text, as opposed to all the other texts of the website, which should instead be adapted to the socio-cultural context of the end users of the website. However, in this particular case all three ELF legal documents are embedded in the international sites of the car manufacturers and consequently both their legal contents and language

should be somewhat internationalized, i.e. generalized so that they can handle multiple languages and cultural conventions (cf. Esselink 2000: 23), which in the case of the terms and conditions means adapted to the drafting conventions of this very standardized international legal format. At the level of the document's content and layout, the onus of producing a text truly adapted to the international legal and commercial setting was on the legal drafter of the source text in Italian, French and German. As Drolshammer and Vogt (2003: 3-8) put it, drafting an international legal document requires an international lawyer able to provide "a legal perspective that transcends the national and cultural perspective of the client". Therefore, each of the three ELF documents is bound to display the different degree of awareness by the respective legal drafter that the final document to be translated into English – the *de-facto* language of international law and commerce – should be aimed at the international market and be as culture-free as possible, i.e. bear as few traces as possible of the specific legislation that produced it. This international legal perspective is bound to have significant consequences for the layout and contents of the ELF documents, whilst at the lower levels of phraseology and terminology it is the translator's knowledge of the highly standardized conventions of this legal format in English that will dictate the extent to which the translation will show traces of interference from the source text. In either case, awareness of the international readership of the final document will ultimately be taken as evidence of the legal drafter's and translator's professionalism.

4.1 Layout/Contents

A comparison of the layout of the three terms of use (Table 4) shows in fact how little these documents have in common as far as the following two categories are concerned:

a) title of the legal document containing the disclaimer: (Fiat) "Privacy – Web Privacy Policy"; (Renault) "Legal information & Contributions. Legal information"; (VW) "Legal Details";

b) most significantly, number and titles of the clauses containing some type of exclusion/limitation of liability concerning the use of the website, which are only 4 (unnumbered) in the Fiat document vs. a total of 12 in the Renault and Volkswagen documents (which in both are also numbered clauses).

The Fiat ELF document proved to be the most deviant from both the other two ELF documents and the two reference ENL templates; consequently it is the one where the effort to adapt the legal contents and layout of its source text to an international context is less apparent[5]. As already mentioned, it deals predominantly (more than 80 per cent) with the processing of personal data, giving the least relevance to the terms of use of the site. This is suggested right from the very title of the legal document ("Privacy – Web Privacy Policy"), which reflects a narrowly national/European concern about the compulsoriness of including a privacy statement in all websites and a rather low awareness of the need to adapt the legal contents and layout of the ELF document to the international standards of this legal format. The pre-eminence given to personal data protection in the Fiat document may in fact be directly linked to an EU preoccupation with such issues: in the "Important legal notice" appearing by clicking the "Legal notice" button in the Europa website (EU Commission Legal notice), out of a total of 1,365 running words as many as 1,026 are devoted to privacy issues (clauses "Personal data protection" and "Cookies – storing information on your computer") and only the remaining 339 words are devoted to the content and use of the website: a section called "Disclaimer" (284 words) concerning the accuracy of the information contained in the site and a section called "Copyright notice" (52 words) concerning the material in the site and its duplication or use in other electronic or printed publications. Likewise, in the Fiat ELF document there are only two parts referring specifically to the content and use of the website. The first is at the beginning, a short sentence stating the copyright of the website: "This website is owned and managed by Fiat Group Automobiles S.p.A.". The second is at the very end, the clause "Policy change", where visitors are invited to check periodically for modifications of the methods used for processing personal data. Unlike standard terms of use of websites, the Fiat translation lacks any disclaimer on the exclusion/limitation of liability concerning the correctness, completeness or quality of the information provided in the site. By the same token, there is no rejection of any liability claims regarding damage caused by the use of any information provided and the only exclusion of liability of the document concerns the user's release of

[5] This fundamental lack of internationalization of the Italian source text in the Fiat national site somehow contrasts with the fact that it has the same English title as its ELF translation ("Privacy – Web Privacy Policy") in the international site and in both sites can be accessed via a "Web Privacy" button.

personal data to third-party sites. Even more inexplicably, a disclaimer on the accuracy of the information provided in the website that was contained in the Italian original document was actually omitted in the English translation. The ELF translated document does not even contain any statement concerning the legal validity of the disclaimer nor any reference to the applicable law in case of dispute concerning the terms of use of the website. This apparent disregard for the legal conventions of international commercial sites not only confirms an already noted general lack in Italian websites of documents stating the terms and conditions of use of the website (Magris and Scarpa 2013) but, more relevantly, sets apart the ELF document contained in the Fiat international site from the other two Renault and VW ELF terms and conditions. These two documents are more comparable not only in terms of their general layout but also simply in terms of the number of words devoted to the copyright of the website, the legal validity of the disclaimer, and to disclaiming the contents of both the website and links to third parties.

Compared to the Fiat ELF translated document and notwithstanding its rather unpromising title "Legal information & Contributions", the layout and content of the Renault ELF terms of use show an altogether higher degree of awareness of the drafting problems related to the need to produce a legal text ready for the international market. The effort to adapt the French source text of the ELF translation to make it more relevant to the users of the international website emerges from a comparison of the legal document in the Renault national website (www.renault.fr) with that in the Renault international site (www.renault.com/fr)[6], both in French. The latter, a document titled "Informations légales" accessible via the "Info légales" button which provides the French source text of the ELF translation, is in fact a significantly different and much shorter (3,429 running words) version of the French legal document of the same name in the Renault national website (6,096 running words). Like the Fiat Italian and the EU ELF legal documents, the French document in the Renault national site is devoted almost completely to privacy issues and to commercial/financial information. One important feature which in fact makes the shorter French document of the Renault international site more

[6] In true Gallic spirit and unlike the Fiat and Volkswagen international sites, which are both only in English, in the Renault international website the visitor can also choose a French version.

suited as an "internationalized" source text for its translation into English is the relatively little space devoted to the privacy policy, which is dealt with in only a fraction of the total document (one sixth).

Another such feature is the omission of as many as eleven pages containing a disclaimer on the information relating to the technical characteristics of new vehicles and to the purchase of used vehicles and car insurance, which were rightly considered not to be relevant for the international market. The document is also more accurate than the original French one in the national site, where three whole paragraphs of the clause "Droits des marques" had been mistakenly written twice.

Comparing the Renault ELF legal document to the other two ELF terms of use, what makes it different from the Fiat ELF document and more similar to the VW ELF one is its organization in 13 numbered and titled clauses ("articles") containing all the standard legal statements on the ownership of content, obligations and disclaimers concerning the visitors' use of the site, limitation/exclusion of liability and applicable law.

A very similar layout organized in numbered and titled provisions is found in the VW ELF disclaimer titled "Legal Details" in the VW international website. Of the three ELF documents, this is the one which best reflects the awareness on the part of the drafter of the original German document of the need to internationalize the source text by adapting it to the conventions of this highly standardized legal format. Although also in this case all the information on privacy-related issues is contained in the terms of use of the website, as in the Renault ELF document, this information takes up only a relatively small part (one third) of the VW ELF document. However, an unusual trait of the legal information in the VW international site is that, besides the "Legal Details" document, a short disclaimer concerning the specifications of the models displayed on the site appears directly in the Homepage[7]. There are also at least two content-related features of the VW ELF document which are not found in the international Fiat and Renault terms of use, though, all in all, the clauses of the "Legal Details" contain all the standard information concerning limitation/exclusion of liability, copyright statement etc. The first feature is clause 1 of the document, titled "Notice in accordance with Directive 1999/94/EC regarding fuel consumption

[7] "Technical details, equipment specs and colours of the model presented here may vary from country to country. For more detailed information select your country's local Volkswagen website".

and CO_2 emissions", ascribing the responsibility of the values stated for the CO_2 emissions of vehicles to the measuring methods of the EU directive specified in the title of the clause. The second is contained in clause 2 ("Delivery of information services and related guarantees") and is a disclaimer concerning the accuracy of indications of future trends, events or circumstances contained in the website, which in fact is more typical of terms of use drafted in the US.

A comparison of the VW ELF translation with the original "Rechtliches" document in the VW national website (www.volkswagenag.com) yields however some puzzling results, which seem not to be in line with the degree of thought and effort having apparently gone into the internationalization of the German source text of the ELF translation. First of all, clause 1 on fuel consumption and CO_2 emissions has no correspondent in the German source text and was added in the ELF translation, which is in itself an inexplicable fact in the light of the extent of the German people's commitment to environmental conservation. On the other hand, in the ELF version two and a half clauses of the German source text were omitted rather inexplicably in the light of the international conventions of this highly standardized legal genre: the second half of the Liability ("Haftung") clause, containing a disclaimer to exclude liability for any technical faults of the website; clause 12 ("Salvatorische Klausel"), on the severability of any unenforceable provision of the terms of use from the remaining valid and enforceable provisions; and clause 13 ("Anwendbares Recht und Gerischtsstand"), specifying the applicable law. The conventional nature of the three clauses in international contracts of this type is confirmed by an analysis of the two ENL sample disclaimers and the EU ELF document taken as reference. An exclusion of liability for any technical faults of the website can be found in the US Sample Disclaimer ("Availability" clause)[8] and even in the EU Commission Legal Notice, where it takes up as many as 50 words out of the total 339 devoted to the "Disclaimer" and the "Copyright notice"[9]. Likewise at least one clause containing a disclaimer

[8] "The Company does not warrant that the service from this site will be uninterrupted, timely or error free, although it is provided to the best ability. By using this service you thereby indemnify this Company, its employees, agents and affiliates against any loss or damage, in whatever manner, howsoever caused".

[9] "It is our goal to minimize disruption caused by technical errors. However some data or information on our site may have been created or structured in files or formats that are not error-free and we cannot guarantee that our service will not be interrupted or otherwise affected by such problems".

relating to the independence of each portion of the agreement from the others can be found in the "General" clause of the US Sample Disclaimer[10] as well as in two clauses of the UK Sample Disclaimer, i.e. "Unenforceable provisions"[11] and "Severability"[12]. And finally all the reference documents contain a clause on the applicable law of the terms of use: the clauses "Law and jurisdiction" in the UK Sample Disclaimer[13], "General" in the US Sample Disclaimer[14], and the final sentence of the "Disclaimer" clause in the "Important Legal Notice" of the EU Commission. As for the EU Notice, it obviously relates to the supranational nature of EU law, and in fact makes reference to national laws of EU member states.[15]

4.2 Terminology/Phraseology

The lack of conformity with which the three ELF documents adhere to the highly standardized drafting conventions of this international legal

[10] "If any of these terms are deemed invalid or unenforceable for any reason (including, but not limited to the exclusions and limitations set out above), then the invalid or unenforceable provision will be severed from these terms and the remaining terms will continue to apply. Failure of the Company to enforce any of the provisions set out in these Terms and Conditions and any Agreement, or failure to exercise any option to terminate, shall not be construed as waiver of such provisions and shall not affect the validity of these Terms and Conditions or of any Agreement or any part thereof, or the right thereafter to enforce each and every provision".

[11] "If any provision of this website disclaimer is, or is found to be, unenforceable under applicable law, that will not affect the enforceability of the other provisions of this website disclaimer".

[12] "If a provision of these terms and conditions is determined by any court or other competent authority to be unlawful and/or unenforceable, the other provisions will continue in effect. If any unlawful and/or unenforceable provision would be lawful or enforceable if part of it were deleted, that part will be deemed to be deleted, and the rest of the provision will continue in effect".

[13] "These terms and conditions will be governed by and construed in accordance with [GOVERNING LAW], and any disputes relating to these terms and conditions will be subject to the [non]exclusive jurisdiction of the courts of [JURISDICTION]".

[14] "The laws of United States govern these terms and conditions. By accessing this website and using our services and or products you consent to these terms and conditions and to the exclusive jurisdiction of the English courts in all disputes arising out of such access".

[15] "This disclaimer is not intended to limit the liability of the Commission in contravention of any requirements laid down in applicable national law nor to exclude its liability for matters which may not be excluded under that law".

format is also evident in the basic lack of homogeneity of their terminology and phraseology. For example, the clause containing a disclaimer rejecting any liability for the contents of pages linked to the website is variously called "Connection to third-party sites" (Fiat), "Hypertext Links" (Renault) and "Links to third-party websites" (VW), each a word-for-word translation of, respectively, "Collegamento a siti terzi", "Liens hypertexts" and "Links zu Seiten Dritter", as opposed to the name "Links from this website" used in both the UK and US ENL sample disclaimers. In spite of the different names, however, this clause is very similar in terms of length (one sentence) and contents in the Renault and VW ELF documents:

> The Volkswagen AG websites include links to websites operated by third parties. Volkswagen AG lays no claim to ownership of the websites of third parties accessible by way of links, and is not responsible for their content.
> Renault accepts no liability for any content, products or services offered on any site to which the http://www.renault.com/ site might be linked, by hypertext or any other type of link.

On the other hand, in the Fiat ELF document the same clause is more than twice as long (4 sentences) and refers not to the content of third-party links but to the data protection policies of such links:

> It is possible to link to other websites from this site; the ability to do so is clearly indicated in order to inform the customer/visitor that he/she is leaving the Fiat Group Automobiles site.
> The customer/visitor should note that these sites are not the property or responsibility of Fiat Group Automobiles S.p.A. as they are fully managed by other companies and/or organisations. It is therefore necessary to verify and accept their data protection policies.
> Fiat Group Automobiles S.p.A. consequently declines all responsibility for requests and/or release of personal data to third-party sites (Fiat).

Terminological and phraseological dishomogeneity also characterizes the name of the clause relating to the visitor's conduct in using the site, which is variously called: (Fiat) "Behaviour inconsistent with the policy /"Difformità di comportamento rispetto alla presente policy (Loyalty)";

Renault: "Security" / "Sécurité"), and VW: "Permissible use of services" / "Zulässige Nutzung der Services".

In order to assess the intralingual terminological/phraseological variation not only across the three ELF documents but also between the latter and the two ENL sample disclaimers taken as a reference of this standardized legal format, the three key terms *liability*, *warranty* and *indemnity* (together with their variants *liable*, *warrant* and *indemnify*) were analyzed first in the ENL and then in the ELF documents. These three terms are key in the common-law language of contracts and, more specifically, in the terms of use of a website, because the very purpose of a website disclaimer is that of trying to exclude or limit liability concerning the goods and services provided by the website and/or compensation for loss or damage which could arise from statements, failures or omissions of the website. Consequently it is these very same terms that are consistently used in the standard names for the legal clauses of commercial contracts (*Limitation of liability/Limited liability/Limitation and exclusion of liability*; *(Limited) Warranty/Limitation of Warranty /No Warranty; Indemnity/Indemnification/Indemnities*) and their definitions are as follows (all definitions from the online The Legal Dictionary):

> LIABILITY: A comprehensive legal term that describes the condition of being actually or potentially subject to a legal obligation. It's one of the most significant words in the field of law, where liability means legal responsibility for one's acts or omissions. Failure of a person or entity to meet that responsibility leaves him/her/it open to a lawsuit for any resulting damages or a court order to perform (as in a breach of contract or violation of statute). In order to win a lawsuit the suing party (plaintiff) must prove the legal liability of the defendant if the plaintiff's allegations are shown to be true.
> WARRANTY: An assurance, promise, or guaranty by one party that a particular statement of fact is true and may be relied upon by the other party. Warranties are used in a variety of commercial situations. In many instances a business may voluntarily make a warranty. In other situations the law implies a warranty where no express warranty was made. Most warranties are made with respect to real estate, insurance, and sales and leases of goods and services.
> INDEMNITY: An indemnity contract arises when one individual takes on the obligation to pay for any loss or damage that has been or might be incurred by another individual. The right to indemnity and the duty to indemnify ordinarily stem from a contractual agreement, which generally protects against liability, loss, or damage.

All three terms/concepts are peculiar to the language of commercial contracts in common law and as such have a more specialized meaning than their more general counterparts *responsibility, guarantee* and *compensation*. Such a distinction does not exist in civil-law systems, which use the more general terms to cover also the concepts of, respectively, *liability*, *warranty* and *indemnity*.

While the preference for general terms in the translations could be taken to reflect a general tendency to choose less specific and more frequent terms (cf. Toury's "law" of standardization), in the translation of specialized texts competent/professional translators are expected to use the most appropriate domain-specific terminology, and this is especially true in the case of legal documents such as the ones being dealt with here.
As expected, both the ENL templates were found to contain many occurrences of all three key terms. Rather predictably, both *liability* and *warranty/warranties/warrant* occurred in combination with the terms *exclude/exclusion* and *limit/limitation(s)* (*exclusions and limitations of liability*; *exclude or limit liability*; *limited liability*; *limitation/s of warranties and liability*), with each also giving the name to a standard contractual provision ("Limitations of liability" and "No warranties"). Equally predictably, the term *warranty/warranties/warrant* was found to collocate also with *represent/representation* (*representations or warranties*; *all representations and warranties*; *you warrant and represent*), which is consistent with the terminology of the provision "Representations and Warranties" that is rather frequent in commercial contracts, where**:**

> Representations are statements of fact in an agreement upon which the parties rely as true. This may be a list of statements by a party, such as a seller's statements representing the object being sold. A warranty is an agreement to be responsible for all damages which may arise from the falsity of a statement of fact. Thus the seller warrants the truth of various representations on which the buyer relies, and agrees to indemnify the buyer for the loss or damages incurred should those statements be false (Rossini 1998: 16).[16]

A natural complement of a party "warranting and representing" some fact is a provision for indemnification thereafter "to hold harmless and to ensure against future loss or damage arising from actions or failures,

[16] In all quotations emphasis is always added.

statements or omissions of a contracting party" (Rossini 1998: 16). Such a provision can be found in the UK Sample Disclaimer in the standard clause "Indemnity" (which could also be called "Indemnification"), where the term *indemnity/indemnify* has a total of three occurrences, e.g.:

> You hereby indemnify [NAME] and undertake to keep [NAME] indemnified against any losses, damages, costs, liabilities and expenses.

The only occurrence of *indemnify* in the US Sample Disclaimer can be found instead in the "Availability" clause:

> By using this service you thereby indemnify this Company, its employees, agents and affiliates against any loss or damage, in whatever manner, howsoever caused.

By contrast, in the three ELF documents there are no occurrences whatsoever of the term *warranty* (or its grammatical variants *warranties/warrant*); but to express the same concept both the Renault (3 occurrences) and the VW (6) documents use the term *guarantee(s)*, which is not specific to the English legal language of disclaimers, as confirmed by the fact that no occurrences of *guarantee(s)* were found in either of the two ENL reference templates:

Renault: The User guarantees that he/she is the author of the messages posted on the site, or that he/she has obtained copyright for the messages before posting them on the site

Information and services accessible via the site are supplied with no guarantee against error or omission;

VW: Delivery of information services and related guarantees

Information contained on these websites has been compiled by Volkswagen AG in a conscientious and thorough manner applying the due diligence,[17] and attains 97.5 % availability on a yearly average. The information given is non-binding. Volkswagen AG provides no guarantee as to the results that can be obtained by using the information given, in particular with regard to its accuracy, currency and completeness, or in respect of whether the quality of information meets your needs and wishes

[17] Incidentally, also the sequence "in a conscientious and thorough manner applying the due diligence" is most probably due to interference from the German ST, as suggested by the overwhelmingly Germanophone origin of the 1,800 results obtained from a Google search.

As for the common-law term *liability* (and *liable*), whilst there are no occurrences in the Fiat document and only one in the VW one, there are as many as 15 occurrences in the Renault document. E.g.:

> Users opening a password-controlled account on the site are responsible for keeping the account access confidential, and accept full liability for all actions performed using the account or password;

Renault shall not be held liable for any loss or damage arising from failure to fulfill these undertakings;
www.renault.com cannot be held liable for any direct or indirect damages arising from use of the site for any cause.

However, three of these 15 occurrences are of the adjectival phrase *liable to + infinitive*, which in fact is not typical of the language of contracts, and in the specific context of a disclaimer could actually be rather misleading:
In using the http://www.renault.com/ site, users undertake not to perform any operation liable to cause any kind of fault or failure affecting operation of the site or of any server or service accessible via the site.
Moreover, in at least one case of these 15 occurrences, *liability* could have been substituted by the more general *responsibility*:
Article 7: Hypertext links
Renault accepts no liability for any content, products or services offered on any site to which the http://www.renault.com/ site might be linked, by hypertext or any other type of link.
Some evidence of this is provided by the collocation of the term *liability* with the verb *accept*, whilst in both the UK and US ENL templates *liability* collocates with the verbs *agree*, *limit, exclude* and *disclaim*, but not *accept*. On the other hand, in the ENL samples, the verb *accept* collocates with the more general term *responsibility* (as well as with the terms *terms and conditions, payment* and *website*):

> This Company will not accept any responsibility for any loss or damage in whatever manner, howsoever caused, resulting from your disclosure to third parties of personal information (US Sample Disclaimer).
> [NAME] has no control over the contents of third party websites, and [NAME] accepts no responsibility for them or for any loss or damage that may arise from your use of them (UK Sample Disclaimer).

The general non-conformity of the terms *responsibility/responsible* to the conventions governing disclaimer drafting is further confirmed by two findings. The first is that there are no occurrences of either *responsibility* or *responsible* in the UK Sample Disclaimer and only the following three in the US Sample Disclaimer, which have a more general meaning than *liability/liable* because there they do not refer specifically to damages arising from contractual breaches:

> We will investigate any such actions with a view to prosecuting and/or taking civil proceedings to recover damages against those responsible.
>
> You are solely responsible for evaluating the fitness for a particular purpose of any downloads, programs and text available through this site.
>
> Please be aware that we are not responsible for the privacy practices, or content, of these sites.

The second finding is the generally higher number of occurrences of *responsibility/responsible* in all three ELF documents (2 in Fiat, 7 in Renault and 2 in VW) as compared to the ENL documents. E.g.:

> Fiat: The customer/visitor should note that these sites are not the property or responsibility of Fiat Group Automobiles S.p.A. as they are fully managed by other companies and/or organisations. It is therefore necessary to verify and accept their data protection policies.
>
> Fiat Group Automobiles S.p.A. consequently declines all responsibility for requests and/or release of personal data to third-party sites.
>
> Renault: The User acknowledges that he/she has obtained prior authorization from any natural persons whose image is reproduced in messages, and also the agreement of all those holding copyright on items reproduced in messages for publication on the site, and accepts full responsibility for this publication with respect to these third parties. The site www.renault.com cannot be held liable for breach of image and intellectual property rights by the said third parties.
>
> Article 9: Responsibility
>
> Users wishing to do so accept the CAU of their own free will, and in doing so take on all the ensuing obligations. All visitors using the site therefore do so under their own responsibility, and undertake to comply with the requirements of the CAU, with all rules governing activities on the site, and with all laws and regulations applicable to users' activities on the site, via the site, or in connection with the site.

> Links to third-party websites
> VW: The Volkswagen AG websites include links to websites operated by third parties. Volkswagen AG lays no claim to ownership of the websites of third parties accessible by way of links, and is not responsible for their content.

In these examples it should be noted that the clause name of the "Responsibility" provision (Article 9) in the Renault document (a semi-literal translation of the original "Limitation de Responsibilité") does not in fact conform to the norms of the legal format of the terms of use, where there are no standard clauses with that name. In this document type, the acceptance by the user of the terms and conditions governing his/her use of the website is usually contained in one or more free-standing sentences at the very beginning of the document or in a separate clause that can be variously called "General", "Terms and conditions for use of this site", "(Your) use of the site", "Acceptable use of the site" etc.
Finally, some interesting features of the "Disclaimer" clause in the EU Commission Legal Notice are the following two, confirming the hybrid nature of this document as a product of a supranational judicial space in which several legal systems are interconnected. The first is the common-law distinction between *responsibility* and *liability* that is implicit in the wording "…the Commission accepts no responsibility or liability whatsoever with regard to the information on this site", which is maintained throughout the Disclaimer, where *responsibility* collocates with the general verbs *accept* and *assume*, whilst *liability* with the verbs *limit* and *excludes*, in both cases the conventional collocates in this legal format. However, the equal number of occurrences of *responsibility* and *liability* in the document and also the unconventional collocation of the verb *accept* with the noun *liability* in the same quotation above can be taken as evidence of the special status of the EU ELF legal language as compared to national ENL legal languages. This special status is confirmed by the two occurrences in the EU Commission document of the term *guarantee* that, as mentioned earlier, is not typical of ENL terms of use, where the term *warrant* is used instead:

> Please note that it cannot be guaranteed that a document available on-line exactly reproduces an officially adopted text.
> However some data or information on our site may have been created or structured in files or formats that are not error-free and

we cannot guarantee that our service will not be interrupted or otherwise affected by such problems.

5. Conclusion

This article has attempted to show that, even in a standardized format such as that of the terms (and conditions) of use of websites, ELF documents translated from source legal languages rooted in legal systems different from the common law that gave origin to this international document type show significant intralingual variation at the levels of form and content both among themselves and in comparison to the two ENL non-translated templates as well as the EU Commission ELF disclaimer taken as a reference for this legal format. From a comparison of the layout and content of the three ELF terms of use, the Fiat document emerged as the most deviant from the other two as well as from the two reference ENL templates, with the Renault and VW ELF documents showing a higher degree of adaptation to the conventions of this international legal format. Of the latter two, however, it was found that the original German document of the VW terms of use best reflected the attempt by the source-text drafters to internationalize the text to be translated. At the levels of terminology and phraseology, the three ELF documents showed a similar lack of homogeneity not only among themselves, but also compared to the two ENL templates and to the EU ELF disclaimer, though the latter was found to be a special case half-way between an ELF and an ENL document. Lexical interference with the respective source texts was found both in the names of some provisions and in the near-total absence in the translations of a number of common-law terms used to disclaim liability for breach of contract. These have no one-to-one correspondents in civil-law systems, and were rather unsurprisingly found to be very frequent in the ENL non-translated templates.

The differences found between ELF and ENL terms of use confirm other findings for this legal format (Scarpa 2013) and provide some significant indicators of the different extent to which the lawyers drafting the source texts of the terms of use and the translators who translated them into English had in mind the documents' international readership. On the one hand, the results confirm that international legal models such as this can be considered as "globally-relevant STs" (Adab 1998: 224), i.e. flexible text formats which have been adopted by most countries but at

the same time allow for local socio-cultural aspects to influence the construction of legal discourse. On the other, however, the differences found between ELF and ENL terms of use could also be taken to provide some significant indicators of different levels of competence/professionalism both for the lawyers drafting the source texts and for the translators who translated them into English.

These contrasting interpretations mirror the ambivalent relationship recently pointed out by House (2013: 285-287) between the increasing role of ELF translation in the dissemination of specialized knowledge and issues pertaining to translation quality and translational competence. In the case of the translation of highly specialized documents such as those analyzed here, however, the debate on the professional and academic recognition of ELF translation in spite of its detractors (cf. Snell-Hornby 2010) is framed not so much in terms of directionality, i.e. the growing tendency for translators not having native-speaker competence in the target language to translate into English, but rather in the more general terms of the expanding role of non-professional translation that has been brought about by the explosion of demand for translation services caused by globalization. The different degree of conformity to international templates exemplified by the three ELF translations could then be taken to indicate the different extent to which both drafters and translators – irrespective of whether they had native-English competence or not – displayed professionalism in performing their task by, in this specific case, having in mind the documents' international readership. This in turn opens up new questions on whether any strategic decision concerning their drafting/translation approaches was made by the managers responsible for the internationalization policies of the car manufacturers who ultimately commissioned the translation into English of their international websites. In either case, links can be made with the new translation practices such as crowdsourcing, i.e. the online translation provided by an online community rather than by professional translators, brought about by globalization, which can in turn be related to a widespread lack of awareness in today's global economy of the importance of translation. The consequent general lack of quality control in corporate organizations' translation policy, possibly brought about by financial considerations, could explain the recruitment of more economical non-professional translators instead of more expensive specialized professionals even for translating highly specialized documents such as the terms and conditions of use of the organization's website. But as tempting

as cutting what seem to be unnecessary costs may be, short-term savings on the translation of texts giving the legal information governing the relationship to a website of the user may well lead to tears later.

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Websites of Disclaimer Templates:

EU Commission Legal notice, *Important legal notice*, http://ec.europa.eu/geninfo/legal_notices_en.htm

Germany Sample disclaimer, *Disclaimer.com*, www.disclaimer.de/disclaimer.htm

UK Sample Disclaimer, *Template Website Terms and Conditions,* http://www.freenetlaw.com/free-website-disclaimer/

US Sample Disclaimer, *Terms and Conditions – Template*, http://www.droneamerica.com/assets/Privacy%20Terms.pdf

	FIAT International (282 words)	*RENAULT International (2,634 words)*	*VOLKSWAGEN International (1,213 words)*
			Additional legal note in the Homepage
Name Button containing Legal Document	Web Privacy	Legal information	Legal statement
Title Legal Document	Privacy – Web Privacy Policy	"Legal information & Contributions. Legal Information"	Legal Details
Relevant Clauses	General introduction Connection to third-party sites Behaviour inconsistent with the policy (Loyalty) Policy change	Overview Art.1 Publication and hosting Art.2 Intellectual Property Rights (Copyright and design right; Registered trademarks) Art.4 Site access Art.5 Use of forums, blogs, discussions (Using the site; Moderation; User obligations; Obligations of www.renault.com; Intellectual ownership of messages; Liability) Art.7 Hypertexts Links	Conditions of Use 1. Notice in accordance with Directive 1999/94/EC regarding fuel consumption and CO2 emissions 2. Delivery of information services and related guarantees 3. Special information services 4. Services provided by partners 5. Links to third-party websites 6. Permissible use of services 8. Links to websites of

		Art.8 Security Art.9 Responsibility Art.10 Suspension or interruption of access Art.11 Dealer network Art.12 Applicable law Art.13 Update of CAU	Volkswagen AG 9. Liability 11. Changes to the scope of performance and to the Conditions of Use 12. Choice of law

Table 4: Layout of the Terms and conditions in the Fiat, Renault and Volkswagen international ELF websites

Divided Loyalties?
Some Notes on Translating University Websites into English

Giuseppe Palumbo

Abstract

The translation of university texts into English, especially web-based texts, can be seen as a very particular case of 'localization'. In established models of "web localization", mostly based on translation from English, localization is defined as the adaptation of the linguistic aspects of a product or service to a specific market characterized by a distinct social and cultural profile. However, when addressing an international audience through a lingua franca, as is often the case with institutional websites, there may be no proper target "locale" to speak of and identifying a "target" audience may turn out to be difficult. The paper gives a brief overview of what and how universities translate into English, with special reference to what happens in Italy, and then discusses the implications of translation into lingua-franca English for some fundamental notions employed by scholars and practitioners of translation and cross-cultural communication.

1. Introduction

Many, if not most, universities around the world are today engaged in internationalization efforts, with internationalization understood as "the integration of an international or intercultural dimension into the tripartite mission of teaching, research and service functions of Higher Education" (Maringe and Foskett 2010: 1).

English has served as the preferred language for the international dissemination of research for decades – not without controversy but with a *de facto* acceptance in this role as a lingua franca by scholars and researchers all around the world and in most, if not all, academic disciplines. As universities in both English-speaking and non-English speaking countries have intensified their efforts to attract students from other countries (or "international students", as they have come to be referred to), English has also been increasingly used as the language used

for instruction in some non-English speaking countries. Quite a few universities have set up degree programmes entirely taught in English, trying to attract "degree-seeking" international students; others have started to advertise individual modules taught in English, mainly aimed at "exchange" students, i.e. those participating in temporary student mobility schemes. The gradual involvement of foreign students has in turn led universities to accommodate English in their service functions, at the very least to introduce newcomers to the workings of a local institution before they become sufficiently competent in the national language.

University service functions supporting research have long been accustomed to an international dimension and to the use of English. Support to teaching is having to catch up fast. In spite of largely successful attempts at harmonising higher education programmes, such as the Bologna process at European level, notable differences have remained in the organization of degree programmes at national and local level. Prospective students need to be given an overview of how degree programmes are structured, how assessment is organized and whether there are opportunities for grants. Even where no English-medium instruction (EMI) programmes are offered, more often than not this basic information is given in English. There are also cases of universities choosing to present themselves in other foreign languages for clearly identified target groups of international students that are hosted on the basis of bilateral agreements between the countries involved. The Marco Polo programme between Italy and China is a case in point.

After consolidating its position as the lingua franca of academic research, English is rapidly establishing itself as the lingua franca for higher education instruction and for a whole host of schemes and services related to it. International student mobility schemes, such as the Erasmus exchange programme, have been successfully set up and, at least in Europe, supranational integration of higher education is sought after by programmes such as the creation of a European Higher Education Area, which was the main objective of what has come to be known as the Bologna Process. A number of satellite initiatives have been launched at EU level to support the Bologna process, giving rise to a copious production of documents (reports, white papers, recommendations) which were mostly originally drafted in English – in many cases by working groups where English native speakers were either a minority or not present at all. A significant body of terminology on higher education in English now exists that can be said to belong to an 'international' or

European variety. This terminology selects certain term variants from the terminology in use in Anglo-Saxon systems or introduces new terms with no equivalents in those systems.

Linguists have argued whether the label of "English as a lingua franca", or ELF, should be made to refer to situations involving only non-native speakers of English or both non-native and native speakers (for a discussion, and an argument in favour of the exclusion of the native speaker constituency, see Mauranen 2012). Those tending to exclude native speakers are also inclined not to consider translation into English as a case of lingua-franca use. Others take a more comprehensive approach and explicitly see translation into English as a lingua-franca scenario, especially where English is chosen to address an international audience or where translation into English is performed by non-native speakers of the language (see, for instance, the various contributions collected in Taviano 2013).

Whether one view or the other is considered more acceptable, it is indisputable that the role of English as a lingua franca puts it into a special position when translation either into or from English is discussed. In particular, translation into English for an international audience, and the attendant blurring of a clearly identifiable target context, make for a reassessment of some fundamental notions (such as "purpose", "loyalty" and even "equivalence") that in Translation Studies have in recent years been discussed almost exclusively in terms of the target pole of translation. As Mossop (1990) was already stressing immediately before the heyday of descriptive approaches (with their tendency to see translations as "facts of a 'target' culture"; Toury 1995/2012), there are translation situations and approaches in which the source context can play as important a role as the target.

The decision to choose a lingua franca as the target language in translation seems to have local implications as much as international effects. Institutional translation in particular, to be intended as translation performed by individual, "concrete" institutions in Mossop's (1988; 1993) and Koskinen's (2008; 2011) terms, may be subject to constraints that have to do with either source factors or sub-cultures cutting across the source-target distinction. Universities as institutions are particularly exemplary in this respect, trying as they are to intensify their international outreach while at the same time operating in a context still heavily influenced by local factors, such as demographic trends and national legislation.

In the present paper, the view is taken that the use of English for communicating with an international audience is a lingua-franca scenario, regardless of the specific text generation process, i.e. translation, drafting or a mixture of the two – this last being a particularly common case in the university setting. Indeed, "translation" is here deliberately taken as a default, or overarching, label for the various modes of production of texts in ELF, based on the theoretically questionable but descriptively practical assumption that all texts produced in English in a non-native speaker environment will have resulted from a fundamentally translational or mediated process.

In the following, the paper will first give a brief overview of what and how universities translate into English, with special reference to what happens in Italy - where the author has some first-hand experience of translating or revising English-language materials produced for promotional or administrative purposes. A discussion will then follow elaborating the implications of translation by universities and lingua-franca English as a target language for some fundamental notions employed by scholars and practitioners of translation and cross-cultural communication.

2. Putting university materials in English

As English has come to play "a major role" (Jenkins 2013: 5) in the internationalization of global higher education in all facets of the tripartite mission mentioned above, universities all over the world today increasingly produce English-language versions of a wide range of materials having to do with all of their three primary functions (teaching, research and services), whether or not they include English-medium instruction in their programmes. Besides journal articles and all other research-related documents**,** these materials include promotional web pages and brochures, press releases, study guides, rules and regulations, and a wide variety of administrative forms and documents.

The process leading to the creation of such materials is rarely clear-cut and varies considerably not only from one university to another but also within the same university. The English language version of a document may be arrived at through translation or drafting in English, with English language drafting likely to have established itself as the norm in countries where internationalization has a longer tradition (see, for instance,

Björkman 2013 for an extensive description of the functioning of a university in Sweden where English is the academic lingua franca). In the case of translation, the source text may be a document that also exists autonomously in the source language or as a draft prepared expressly for translation purposes. The translation of web material may be handled through content management systems, with similarities to what happens in website localization, especially where the text to be handled is stored in databases that are meant for automatic updates of the university website (e.g. for course catalogues).

It is not common for a university to have a dedicated translation service. For communication in English a number of universities make use of staff employed in their own language centres. Some language centres in Europe have established a dedicated translation unit, which, in rare cases, may even become organized as separate businesses employing in-house translators or outsourcing jobs to freelancers.[1] Other language centres (perhaps the majority) provide translation services on a more loosely organized basis, with various forms of collaboration with the marketing and web communication teams of the university.

Italian universities are no exception to this overall picture and in the last few years have been engaged in the translation or English-language drafting of a vast and diverse amount of materials. Initially, these materials tended to be of a predominantly promotional nature and often took the form of either printed leaflets or a dedicated "international" section hosted within a university's website. Over the years, as some universities have tried to acquire a more pronounced international dimension (with a few launching English-taught degree programmes) English has consolidated its role as the lingua franca for communicating with prospective and enrolled students. Moreover, whereas at undergraduate level foreign students may be expected to learn Italian over the course of their studies, at postgraduate level it may often be the case the international students go on using English throughout the duration of their research project carried out in Italy.

As a result, the information and services provided in English by Italian universities have increased in both range and volume. Quite a few university websites today act as portals for a wide range of on-line

[1] Examples include the Universitat Autonoma de Barcelona, in Spain, and Radboud University Nijmegen, in the Netherlands. In both universities the language centre hosts a dedicated unit offering translation and editing services to either other units of the university or external clients.

transactions, including enrolment, course delivery and support, and library lending and research. In particular, some universities are engaged in configuring their online platforms so as to accommodate an English-language version of whatever information such platforms are designed to host, from course catalogues to the detailed description of organizational units and facilities.

A multilingual, or at least bilingual (Italian-English) dimension has, in short, come to be required for a significant subset of the administrative functions of a university and a considerable amount of translation into or drafting in English is carried out both for the general public and in 'back-office' operations, e.g. for the issuing of certificates to international students or the establishment of agreements with universities abroad. There have been nation-wide (and mostly EU-backed) initiatives at developing resources either for the support of universities' internationalization efforts or to assist individual citizens interested to know more about higher education in Italy. As far as language is concerned, however, no unified or authoritative resource has been created to provide support for translation or foreign-language drafting.

Some individual universities (e.g. Bologna) have developed and posted online their own Italian-English glossaries or term bases but efforts in this respect have never gone beyond the level of local institutions. This has frequently meant that many terminological wheels have been reinvented, given that the profile of degree programmes at all the three "cycles" of higher education is pretty much the same all over the country. For once, the strong centralizing tendency typical of Italian administration might have proven beneficial and although there have been attempts at coordinating a national effort to present the system of Italian higher education to an international audience, these now seem to have been discontinued.[2]

This does not mean that projects aiming at attracting international students have been completely abandoned. The Marco Polo project for Chinese students, for instance, is still up and running, but information about it is currently mainly available in Italian only, and only on ministerial web pages. The impression, in other words, is that online environments

[2] A portal called *Study in Italy* is available online at http://www.study-in-italy.it/ but appears to be out of date at the time of writing, as the most recent information refers to the academic year 2011-2012. The portal has versions in various languages (English, German, Spanish and French), with the English version richer in information than the others and including a section specifically addressed to prospective students from China.

are being used not so much to reach the final potential users (i.e. prospective students) but rather for keeping intermediaries (i.e. university staff in Italy and staff at Italian embassies abroad) up to date. This tendency to use online environments for 'insiders' is also to be found in quite a number of university websites *in Italian*, which seem to have been conceived mainly for people (staff and students) already in the know about programmes and procedures. In this respect, they are a good example of how online communication adapts to a "High Context Culture" (Katan 2004), with the online environment providing props (e.g. forms or PDF documents) for procedures that are best illustrated verbally and face-to-face.

3. Translating university websites: stylistic and terminological issues

The design of a multilingual university website is subject to a variety of considerations and constraints having to do with the fundamental intended purpose(s) of the website and the requirements of the university 'stakeholders', i.e. students and parents, lecturers and researchers, administrators, funding institutions and government bodies. The specific questions to consider when designing multilingual material for a university website include: the basic design of the website, i.e. whether content and services should be provided equally in all designated languages or whether different content should be given in different languages (through ad hoc creation, translation, or a mixture of the two); the number of languages; the level of detail of the content presented in foreign language versions; the awareness of cross-cultural issues if the foreign language material is presented to an international audience; the availability of resources (in terms of manpower and translation tools); technical issues such as the interaction with existing content management systems and the maintenance of multilingual materials (e.g. in the form of translation memories); and measures for assessing the effectiveness of the material provided in other languages.

Like other websites, university websites can include sections with different communicative functions. Some sections will have a predominantly promotional or advertising function; others will be more informational; others still (possibly configured as restricted-access portals or platforms) will have a more overtly transactional nature. One probably distinctive feature of university websites is that these sections may be

addressed to very different audiences: promotional materials are primarily for the general public and prospective students; informative materials and transactional sections are addressed to enrolled students and teaching, research or administrative staff.

As already mentioned, the translation of university materials published on the web may in some respects resemble the process of localization of other institutional websites or corporate and commercial websites. More specifically, the aspects that the translation of institutional web materials by universities shares with more mainstream forms of web localization can be summarised as follows: essentially digital nature of content; handling of text in 'chunks' or de-contextualized strings, especially in website sections handled through databases and content management systems; possibility to use specific tools for the translation of "legacy" materials (i.e. past translations to be reused).

On the other hand, web translation for universities differs from localization in a number of other significant respects. First of all, the creation of foreign language materials is unlikely to follow the series of systematic steps entailed, at least in principle, by a localization project. Likewise, the people involved in translation activities at university may act according to much more loosely defined roles than those involved in localization projects. One practical consequence of this is that the possibility of using specific software tools for translation, such as translation memories and terminology management systems, remains more often than not unexploited by universities. Another difference with web localization lies in the nature and scope of the content to be translated.

In particular, it is still often the case for university websites to be considered as mere repositories for texts originally conceived for other mediums, in the misguided belief that their posting on online platforms requires no adaptation. The decision to provide an English-language version of such texts may be taken on an ad-hoc basis and depending on the availability of staff with relevant multilingual skills. In other words, some translated materials may appear as a result of unsystematic processes, which – contrary to sound localization policy – prevents the adoption of terminologically and stylistically uniform renderings in the target language.

On a much more general level, web translation into English by universities differs from localization for one fundamental aspect. In established models of web localization, mostly based on translation *from*

English, localization is defined as the adaptation of the linguistic aspects of a product or service to a specific market characterized by a distinct social and cultural profile (Pym 2010; Jiménez Crespo 2013). This profile is seen as acting as a 'guiding light' in making translation decisions. However, when addressing an international audience through a lingua franca, there is no proper target "locale" to speak of and identifying a target culture may turn out to be difficult – a difficulty already noted by Limon (2008) in relation to the translation into English of Slovenian company websites. Indeed, in the particular case of university websites the "locale" guiding English-language drafting or translation choices may even turn out to be that of the *source* culture, especially as far as terminology is concerned.

A clear source-target distinction, however, seems to be increasingly challenged by the generalized effort towards the internationalization of higher education. An intermediate, or supranational, level of communication is emerging, in line with harmonization schemes such as those promoted by the Bologna process. For example, universities that apply the principles of the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System and wish to be officially recognized as doing so through an "ECTS label" are required to publish both an Information Package and a Course Catalogue in English on their website, with the Information Package expected to offer detailed descriptions of study programmes, units of learning, university regulations and student services. Similar descriptions have come to be adopted as templates for communication in English by universities not deliberately seeking an ECTS certification.

In short, for university web texts having a fundamentally informative-promotional nature, an international template seems to be emerging (Palumbo forthcoming) in which content features typical of internationalization efforts are combined, on a stylistic level, with rhetorical moves that draw on the explicitly persuasive character of institutional communication by Anglo-Saxon universities – what, in the pre-web era, Fairclough (1993) identified as the "marketization" of public discourse by universities, based on the direct address of readers ("you"/students versus "we"/the university), the strategic nominalization of key concepts and notions (e.g. "teaching excellence", "expertise", "a dynamic environment"), the introduction of narratives and the particular use of modality and tense. This content-stylistic template has emerged in a sort of intercultural space related to higher education as a supranational "community of practice" (Lave and Wenger 1991).

However, this shared community of practice should never be assumed. For example, universities that choose to illustrate reasons that make them excellent or particularly worth considering for prospective international students (a common move in online promotional materials) should be warned to check that these reasons travel well across cultures. An Italian university originally included, in its online list of the top reasons why international students should choose it, the fact that its bachelor's degree students took, on average, 3.5 years to complete three-year degrees – an actual achievement for Italian universities, where significant percentages of students take the opportunity to go fuori corso (i.e. beyond the allotted time for completing their degree), which is probably not a good advertising move in the eyes of keen international students or parents looking to finance their children's university education abroad. The item in question was simply deleted from the English translation of the list.

The increase of communication in English by universities has given rise to the need to establish terminological equivalents for a wide variety of concepts, including degree programme denominations, titles and administrative procedures. The terms used in the diverse set of documents and materials that describe or regulate the functioning of universities and higher education institutions in general may be labelled 'educational terminology', so as to be distinguished from the disciplinary terminology used in research publications. As already noted above, a rich terminological repertoire has emerged, in international English, as a by-product of the many supranational initiatives aimed at putting the principles of the Bologna process into practice. Such terms come 'pre-packaged', as it were, with an English-language label and their use in English-language translated websites only pose problems when they diverge from current usage national varieties of English that a translation may be implicitly adhering to. At EU level, for instance, the term *course* (used to designate one of the units making up a degree programme) is often used for what British universities tend to call *module*.

The educational terminology likely to pose more problems in translation is that having to do with concepts that have no equivalent or only partial equivalents in either idiomatic English or international English. Faced with one such term, the translator may decide that her best bet is a label that, although appearing to be un-idiomatic in English, at the same time guarantees a certain degree of formal similarity to the source, and hence transparency: e.g. *rector* (as opposed to *vice-chancellor*) for the Italian *rettore*. The translator's reasoning here may be that the risk of using

an inappropriate term in English is less significant than that of disorienting the target reader by using an English term that is conceptually analogous but formally more distant from the source term. The literalist translation strategy becomes an expedient in light of the particular pair of languages involved, or rather in consideration of the presence of English acting as both target and lingua franca.

In short, an Italian term may end up being translated literally even in presence of more idiomatic alternatives in English so as to ensure recognisability vis-à-vis either the original or, as is also frequently the case, past translations that have gained some form of official status. What the Italian ministry for education calls *settore scientifico- disciplinare* would perhaps best be rendered as just *subject* or *discipline* in an academic context; the term *scientific-disciplinary sector* has however already appeared in official documents and regulations at national level. Consequently, a local university may decide, not without reason, to stick to it, so as not to disorient users alternating between documents in Italian and English and expecting the term to have more of an administrative rather than disciplinary relevance.

The literalist strategy would seem to contradict the emphasis on the target pole placed by functionalist models of translation such as Nord's (1997), where a distinction is customarily made between "instrumental" and "documentary" translation, the former focusing on the communicative purpose of a text within the target culture and the latter aiming at preserving formal correspondence with the source text. When terminology is involved and English is both target *and* lingua franca, however, the distinction between an instrumental and a documentary approach may become blurred: (documentary) literalist choices may have exactly the (instrumental) function of orienting target-language readers in the source environment.

4. Conclusion

As noted by Mossop (1990: 353), an institution's success in achieving its translation goals "may depend in part on whether it takes into account different types of reader". As illustrated above, universities as institutions communicate to different types of audiences and their websites, in particular, collect materials that cater for a wide range of informative and transactional needs. In another, related paper, Mossop (1988: 65), argues

that the goals of a translating institution determine the general approach taken in the translation it produces: "whether they are literal or free" or "whether the language is conventional or innovative". In the case of universities, a combination of approaches can be seen to coexist, resulting from the diversity of functions of the materials they produce and the fact that their circulation via the same online platforms is able to reach audiences on very different "scales" (Blommaert 2007): prospective students in distant parts of the world, prospective students from neighbouring countries, enrolled local students and staff.

The "loyalty" (Nord 1997) of the (largely ideal) translator of university texts may appear to be divided between the target audience abroad and the local target audience (e.g. that of already enrolled international students). However, a closer look reveals that the translator's loyalty should ultimately remain with readers if communication is to be deemed successful. This means that different approaches can co-exist and be adopted, on a case by case basis, depending on the distance between the 'translating university' and the audience. A more instrumental or functional approach is likely to work for a loosely defined international audience or when the university is presenting itself through texts of an essentially promotional nature. In such cases, texts may often have to be put through a "cultural filter" (House 1997; Katan 2004) so as to adapt them to the expectations of the international audience. "Transcreation" recently seems to be a popular term for describing an approach that heavily re-creates a text, especially a multimodal one, in order to adapt it to the cultural expectations of the target audience (cf. Sissel 2013).

Documentary, or even literalist, approaches, on the other hand, may work better if translation is fundamentally acting as an introduction to the everyday functioning of a university, especially one that does not offer English-medium instruction. In such cases, translations may be seen to serve as temporary placeholders for labels that readers are expected to gradually familiarize with in the local language. The English used for such labels is likely to be perceived as particularly 'hybridized' or distant from standard varieties – a feature found in all translations but perhaps likely to become particularly apparent in translations into a lingua franca.

Both these scenarios are compatible with a view of translation as having the genuine aim to communicate, and together they could be contrasted with situations in which the use of English (or any other lingua franca) is only a requirement imposed from above and perceived by an institution as un unnecessary burden.

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Minority Languages and Film Subtitling: An Empirical Study Based on the Translation of Culture-bound Elements from Catalan into English

Gemma Martínez-Garrido

Abstract

As the process of globalisation and the dominance of English as a world language expand, some regional and minority languages are becoming more marginalised due to the increasing perceived social and economic value of English and other major languages in the media. In the face of the challenges created by the globalisation process, this paper explores the translation of minority language films in the cinema industry, with special reference to the subtitling of Catalan-language films into English. The study focuses primarily on subtitling as the most common type of audiovisual translation (AVT) for this source material and enabling its distribution in the international market.

The corpus for this study comprises 14 Catalan films by the director Ventura Pons, together with their English-subtitled versions. Ventura Pons is considered one of the most internationally recognised directors of Catalan cinema today. In his films he strives to be a reference of the autochthonous culture and a signifier of cultural identity. Based on the data collected from the corpus, this study analyses the way in which the culture-bound elements (CBEs) encountered in Catalan films have been rendered from the source texts (STs) into the target texts (TTs) through the process of subtitling. For the purpose of analysis, the translation of CBEs was selected as the focal point of this study to examine the translation behaviour of subtitlers in response to the translation problem arising from the presence of numerous CBEs in the STs.

The paper investigates the translation techniques and overall strategies used in the rendering of CBEs by empirically exploring the connections among the following parameters: audiovisual constraints, interculturality, film genre, domain and translation techniques. More particularly, through a quantitative analysis of the results, the study aims to identify the most frequently recurring techniques and strategies used in such cases and to reveal symptomatic patterns of translation behaviour that may have been adopted when rendering the CBEs under study.

1. Introduction

The process of globalisation and the dominance of English as the language of international communication brought about by this process have led to debate over the tension between the need to promote a homogenised, generalising and singular society that is more accessible to all (Valero 2003: 715), and the preservation of the heterogeneity, diversity and differentiation implicit in local and regional cultures (Fishman 1991). In response to those who consider the globalisation process phenomenon as "generally synonymous with unidirectional Anglicisation, the dominance of the English language and Anglo-American culture at the expense of other languages and cultures" (Cronin 1996: 197), voices on the opposite side of the debate uphold "the pragmatic necessity for international and supra-cultural communication in a world which is growing ever smaller. And here, […], English has assumed a hitherto unparalleled role as international lingua franca and world language" (Snell-Hornby 1996: 29).

Audiovisual media plays a predominant role in the spread of English as a language of international communication, due especially to the hegemonic position of the Hollywood-based film industry as the principal exporter of films in the international market. The privileged status English holds in the audiovisual industry, and its ideological and political implications, have been repeatedly highlighted by authors who denounce the monolithic nature of this situation: "as the US rules, so does English" (Gottlieb 2004: 85). In the context of the controversy arising from the advantageous position of English in the audiovisual market, this paper aims to explore the treatment of Catalan – as a minority language in the international audiovisual landscape, and in the film industry – in its translation into English, the majority language of communication within the audiovisual medium. To this end, the study analyses the rendering of a corpus of 14 Catalan films directed by Ventura Pons into English, specifically through subtitling, given that subtitling is the translation mode, and English is the language, in which these films are most frequently distributed and marketed in the international audiovisual context.

2. Study corpus

The translation of CBEs presented in this paper was analysed in a study

corpus of 14 films released between 1991 and 2010 made by the Catalan director Ventura Pons. Commercial copies of these films on DVD format were used. This particular study corpus was chosen as it provides film material shot in Catalan in its original version with the option of subtitles in English and, because the original versions are also notable for their distinct cultural traits.

Within the field of Catalan cinema, Ventura Pons is widely considered to be the most translated and internationally marketed Catalan film director (Yáñez 2006). He is also a director who, throughout his film career, has shown a particular interest in acting as an ambassador of Catalan culture, especially through his film adaptations of outstanding works of Catalan playwrights and novelists, such as Josep M. Benet i Jornet, Sergi Belbel, Lluïsa Cunillé, Quim Monzó, Lluís Anton Baulenas, Joan Barberó, Ferran Torrent and Jordi Puntí. The fact that Ventura Pons chose to use the works of these Catalan authors in his adaptations gives these films a special value as clear exemplars of autochthonous culture and as exponents of Catalan national identity (Zatlin 2007: 434). This study corpus therefore lends itself to an analysis of the translation problem arising both from the numerous CBEs in these Catalan films, and in transferring the expression of diverse cultural manifestations from the source system (SS) to the target system (TS) within the specific Catalan-English language pair.

The corpus is comprised of the following films:

1- *Què t´hi jugues, Mari Pili* (1991)
2- *El perquè de tot plegat* (1994)
3- *Actrius* (1996)
4- *Carícies* (1997)
5- *Amic/amat* (1998)
6- *Morir (o no)* (1999)
7- *Anita no perd el tren* (2000)
8- *Amor idiota* (2004)
9- *La vida abismal* (2006)
10- *Animals ferits* (2006)
11- *Barcelona (un mapa)* (2007)
12- *Forasters* (2008)
13- *A la deriva* (2009)
14- *Mil cretins* (2010)

3. The translation of Culture-Bound Elements

In order to identify the way Catalan is treated in this media context and the translation practices that have developed when rendering these films into the target culture (TC), the study focuses on the translation of CBEs found in these Catalan films. By assessing the analysis of how these elements are translated, we attempt to identify the specific translation solutions that subtitlers have adopted to deal with a particular translation problem consisting of certain CBEs in Catalan films that could present problems of understanding or inaccessibility for the TC audience. The specific translation solutions subtitlers choose when dealing with these elements allow us to appraise the practices that prevail in the translation process and to gauge the importance given to the various alternatives available to the translator to solve this particular problem.

CBEs, the plurality of concepts and denominations associated with them, the lack of consensus on the use of nomenclature, and the arbitrary way in which they are categorised are all factors that have been analysed in depth by various authors and theoretical approaches (Franco 1996: 57). We therefore leave aside the conceptual and terminological debate that this issue might arouse, and in order to identify and select the examples discussed in this paper, for practical purposes, I follow the definition and the criteria proposed by Jan Pedersen in his studies on the translation of *Extralinguistic Cultural References* (ECRs):

> Extralinguistic Cultural Reference (ECR) is defined as reference that is attempted by means of any cultural linguistic expression, which refers to an extralinguistic entity or process. The referent of the said expression may prototypically be assumed to be identifiable to a relevant audience as this referent is within the encyclopaedic knowledge of this audience (Pedersen 2011: 43).

Following this definition and criteria, a total number of 133 CBEs were identified in the study corpus. Some examples of these source text (ST) elements and of the translation offered in the target text (TT) are:

- Cremaet de rom (ST) [Catalan hot drink made with rum, coffee and spices] rum (TT)

(*La vida abismal*, 1.15.46)

- Canelons de Sant Esteve (ST) [Catalan pasta dish eaten on the 26th December, St. Esteve's Day] Barcelonian cannelloni (TT)

(*Anita no perd el tren*, 10.04)

L'Estació de França (ST) [the second busiest railway station in Barcelona and a distinctive sample of Catalan modernist architecture] →the old train station (TT) (*Barcelona, un mapa*, 59.35)

Els Mossos (ST) [Mossos d'Esquadra, police force of Catalonia and the oldest civil police force in Europe] →the police (TT) (*A la deriva,* 23.38)

- Coca de Sant Joan (ST) [typical Catalan sweet pastry eaten on St. John's Eve] Midsummer's cake (TT)

(*A la deriva,* 1.19.00)

4. Methodology

The model of analysis used in this study is a descriptive model based on the theoretical proposals put forward by Toury (1980, 1995). This model follows an inductive (bottom-up) method that first analyses the TT and then contrasts it with the ST in order to identify translation patterns that reveal possible translation norms, as defined and categorised by Toury (1995: 54).

4.1. Macrotextual dimension of the analysis

The analytical model applied in the study consists of two dimensions: the macrotextual and the microtextual dimensions. The macrotextual dimension incorporates the factors considered to be external to the audiovisual text which, due to their prominance, may have determined the translation of the CBEs encountered in the study corpus. This dimension encompasses the factors that are generally associated with the preliminary phase of the translation and in the case of this study, are reflected by the preliminary norms and the genre of the films included in the corpus.

4.1.1. Preliminary norms parameter

As part of the analysis of the preliminary norms of the translation, the study included factors related to the various types of professional conventions that affect the translation (Toury 1995: 58), to the relationship between the ST and the TT (Chesterman 1997: 69), or to the role of the audience for whom the translation is intended (Chesterman 1997: 64; Rabadán 1991: 136). A questionnaire was designed and addressed to the subtitling companies who translated these films (Láser

Film, S.A. and Bandaparte S.A.) with questions related to subtitling and subtitling conventions, the professional situation (financial remuneration, deadlines, acknowledgment, etc.), and questions related to the translation of CBEs (specific guidelines, the target audience, etc.).

However, the subtitling companies were unable to provide any useful information, and so no nformation related to the impact of the preliminary norms parameter has been included in this analysis.

4.1.2. Film genre parameter

The film genre parameter is designed to evaluate the impact that a particular film genre has on the translation of CBEs. The close relationship that exists between film genres and translation solutions applied to CBEs has been highlighted by authors such as Nedergaard-Larsen (1993), Gottlieb (2009) and Pedersen (2011). In this vein, one of the objectives of this study was to assess the relevance of film genres and their primordial function or *skopos* in the translation of CBEs.

The films directed by Ventura Pons analysed in this study were classified as belonging to the genres of drama (7) or comedy (7), following the classification in the Spanish Ministry of Culture certified film database.[1]

The following is an example of a CBE detected in the study corpus that was translated differently in a comedy and in a drama:

- Sagrada Família (ST) →Gaudi's masterpiece (Generalisation)[2]

(*Anita no perd el tren,* 01.09.38, comedy)

- Sagrada Família (ST) →Sagrada Família (Repetition)

(*Barcelona, un mapa,* 11.36, drama)

In the analysis, I also identified that the number of CBEs that were detected in films categorised as comedy was significantly larger (51 out of 81) than the number found in drama films (30 out of 81). A clear distinction was also identified between the techniques applied to CBEs. When they appeared in comedy films, generalisation was used in 24 examples out of 81, while repetition was used in only 13 cases. Following

[1]http://www.mcu.es/bbddpeliculas/cargarFiltro.do?layout=bbddpeliculas&cache=init&language=es

[2] The categories of translation techniques used in this paper are based on the taxonomies proposed by Franco (1996) and (Pedersen (2011), and have been classified according to their orientation towards either the source system, or the target system, as will be explained in section 4.4.4.

Franco (1966), 'repetition' retains the reference (Pederson's 'retention'), or remains as close to the original reference as possible. In drama films the strategy reversed: 13 examples of repetition vs. 7 examples of generalisation.

4.2. Microtextual dimension of analysis

The second of the dimensions in the model of analysis covers the factors related to the translation phase itself and consists of parameters that could be determined, to a large extent, by the microtextual character of the audiovisual texts in the study corpus. The following parameters are included in this dimension: the degree of interculturality of the CBEs, audiovisual constraints that affect them, the domains to which the examples of the CBEs in the corpus belong, and translation techniques used to translate them.

4.2.1. Interculturality parameter

The interculturality parameter focusses on the relationship between the degree of familiarity that a CBE belonging to the source culture (SC) has for the target culture (TC) audience, and the solutions applied, according to the degree of familiarity with the CBE the target audience is assumed to have. The CBEs were classified and analysed according to their degree of familiarity for the target audience in line with the following three levels proposed by Pedersen (2011: 107-108):

a) Transcultural CBE: an element not bound to the SC, but which should be retrievable from common encyclopaedic knowledge of the ST and the TT audiences.

b) Monocultural CBE: an element which causes a translation problem, as its referent will be less identifiable to the TT audience than it is to the ST audience.

c) Infracultural CBE: an element *not* typically bound to, or identifiable with, either the SC or the TC audience because of its specialised or local nature.

The following are examples of CBEs that were categorised according to these three levels of interculturality:

LEVELS OF INTERCULTURALITY	
TRANSCULTURAL	• Frank Capra, • La Bohème, • l'Interpol
MONOCULTURAL	• Ramon Llull • el Passeig de Gràcia • la paella de senyoret
INFRACULTURAL	• Àngel • el tiet Toni • el bar Wonder

Figure 1. Levels of interculturality.

Although all three levels of interculturality were identified in the CBEs, only data referring to monocultural elements were taken into account, since the specific nature of this cultural element type poses the translation problem of how to overcome the intercultural barriers. The translations require deliberately considered choices, which may indicate the underlying use of translation norms. In all, 81 monocultural elements from a total of 133 examples of CBEs identified in the corpus were used in the analysis.

4.2.2. Audiovisual constraints parameter

Within the microtextual dimension I also assessed the influence that the specific characteristics of the audiovisual texts have on the translation of this set of CBEs. They all affect and, in some cases significantly limit, the transfer of information. Such limitations are commonly known as *constraints* in the area of AVT (Titford, 1982). I specifically analysed the semiotic constraints; those that emerge as a result of the interplay between verbal and non-verbal information and include most of the codes of meaning that make up the semantic network of an audiovisual text (Chaume 2004: 155).

In the study corpus, I identified a significant number of semiotic constraint CBEs (20 out of 81). For example, the translation offered for the Catalan city *Salou*, a beach resort (*Anita no perd el tren,* 08.54), is *the beach* in the TT. This maintains the connexion between the images of the beach where Anita goes for a stroll and the translation of the CBE that is offered in the English subtitles (*the beach*).

In the examples affected by semiotic constraints (16), the constraint

was identified as the display on the screen of the iconic representation of the CBE that was simultaneously mentioned in the original version of the Catalan films. In these cases, repetition is the most frequently used technique (8 examples). These all preserve the semiotic cohesion between the visual and the linguistic channels.

Together with the semiotic constraints, I identified some isochronic constraints, the result of spatial and temporal limitations specific to subtitling. Subtitles have to keep temporal synchrony with the utterances and rhythm of the original film. As a consequence of the presence of these isochronic constraints, subtitlers are forced to limit the amount of information included in the TT to match subtitle display time with the oral-visual expression that the viewers follow in the original. An example would be the Catalan city *Reus* (*El perquè de tot plegat*, 31.39), which is mentioned in a fast-paced dialogue in the ST and which has been omitted in the TT to preserve the spatial and temporal parameters. In the study corpus, 4 examples of CBEs affected by isochronic constraints were identified. These were omitted on a regular basis in the TT (3 examples out of 4).

4.3.3. Domain parameter

The third parameter in the microtextual dimension, domain, examines the relationship between the typology of the CBEs and the translation solutions associated with each one of them. This factor is undoubtedly one of the issues in the translation of CBEs that has received most attention in translation studies. However, given the difficulty of categorising these elements, and the degree of ambiguity that can arise as a result, in this study I propose a classification of the CBEs that departs from the classic taxonomy model of a hierarchical map of concepts covering inclusive and exclusive relationships; rather, I propose an extensional classification offering a list of its components. The categories included in this classification were kept open so as to facilitate its application to the specific characteristics of the corpus. This domain classification proposal was drawn up from all the examples of CBEs identified in the study corpus and consists of the domains included in the following figure:

DOMAIN	1. NAMES	1.1. Personal names
		1.2. Geographical names
		1.3. Institutions and organisations
		1.4. Commercial brands
	2. FOOD AND DRINK	
	3. LITERATURE	
	4. CINEMA	
	5. ART	
	6. MUSIC	
	7. HISTORY	
	8. EDUCATION	
	9. COMMERCE	
	10. SPORT	
	11. LEISURE	
	12. ARCHITECTURE AND TOWN PLANNING	12.1. Cultural buildings
		12.2. Social buildings
		12.3. Education centres
		12.4. Urban spaces
	13. CURRENCIES	
	14.OTHERS	

Figure 2. Domain classification.

In the analysis, I identified significant differences in the translation solutions applied by subtitlers depending on the domain to which the CBE belongs. Thus, CBEs from the domain 'Food and Drink' are translated almost exclusively (20 examples out of 29) by generalisation (garrinets celestials [flan-like dessert] □ cheesecake), whereas CBEs belonging to the domain 'Art', 'Literature' or 'History' tend to be repeated in the TT (7 examples out of 9).

4.4.4. Translation techniques parameter

As with the study of the categorisation of CBEs, AVT translation techniques have been widely explored in translation studies. A comprehensive review of the theoretical and practical contributions in this field goes beyond the scope of the present article and, therefore, only one the classification of translation techniques used in this corpus is presented here. This classification was carried out using a model adapted from those

proposed by Franco (1996) and Pedersen (2011).

The classification used in this study adopts a bipolar format, which I term Source System (SS) Orientation and Target System (TS) Orientation. Translation techniques were graded according to their orientation towards either the SS, or the TS. The model has a total of ten translation techniques along a continuum bounded by two poles: the SS pole on the left and TS pole on the right. This classification and the location of the techniques between the two poles are shown in the following figure:

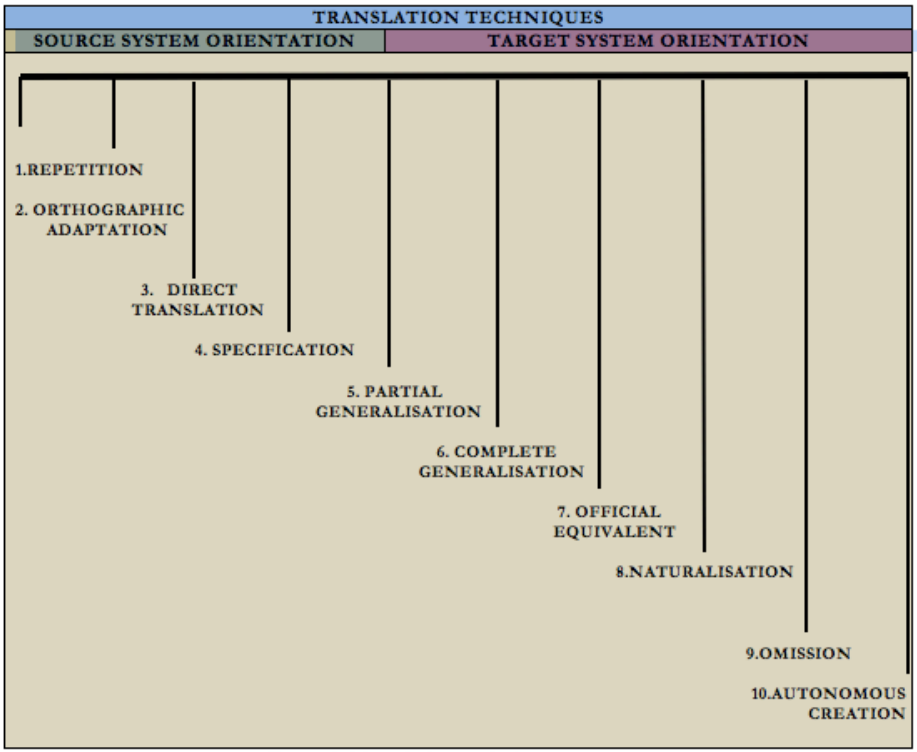

Figure 2. Translation techniques parameter.

5. Results

The overall results for the use of translation techniques and their location on the ST-TT orientation continuum are provided in the figure below:

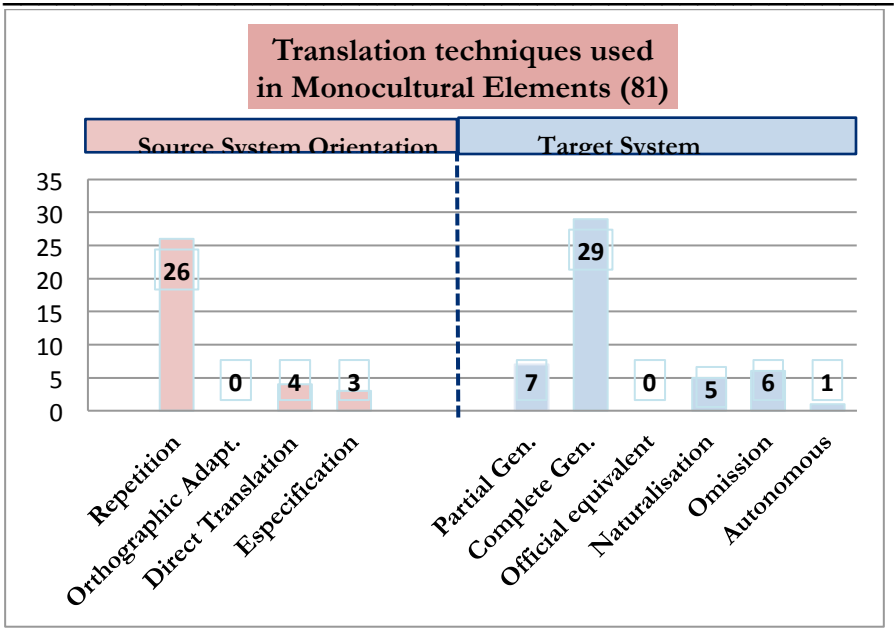

Figure 3. Translation techniques used in Monocultural Elements.

The location of the various translation techniques within this bipolar model allows us to identify the strategic framework in which the translator works when providing translation solutions for the CBEs in this study corpus. In the first case, the predominance of SS oriented techniques could be considered to indicate a preference for foreignising translation solutions, which tend to retain elements from the SS; whereas in the second case, the predominance of techniques oriented towards the TS, or familiarising solutions, could reflect a systematic attempt to integrate the translation within the conventions of the TS.

The overall results of the analysis of the examples of translated CBEs based on the parameters of analysis are shown in the following figure:

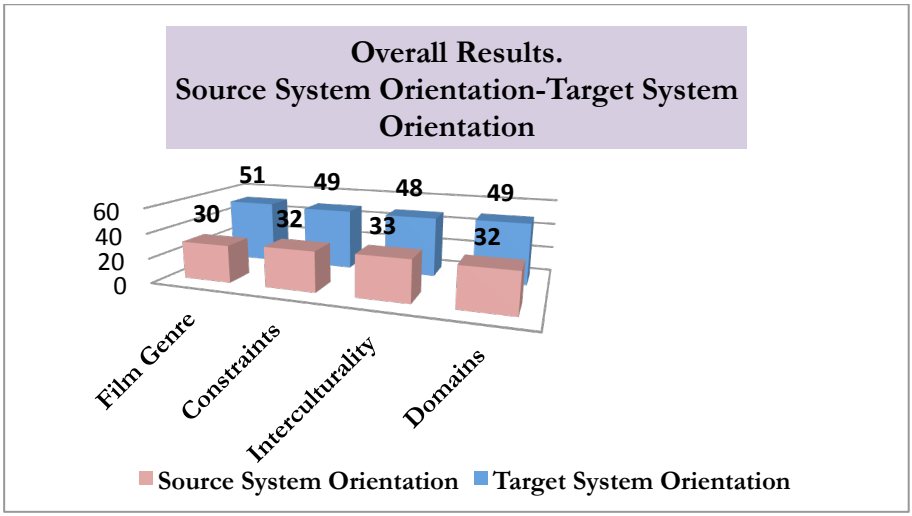

Figure 4. Overall results of technique orientation by parameters.

The overall results of the joint analysis of these parameters reveal a striking predominance of TS oriented techniques in all the parameters analysed. Analysis of the set of techniques used by the subtitler also provides useful information on the type of translation method followed when translating CBEs into the TTs (Hurtado Albir 2001: 241).

These overall data suggest that, where determining factors exist that can affect the translation of CBEs, the method translators tend to use is clearly oriented towards the TC. These results are in line with the findings of similar research projects, such as Gottlieb's (2009) analysis of the translation of cultural-references in film subtitling from Danish into English. In his study, a significant difference in the use of translation techniques was identified depending on whether the cultural references were translated from English to Danish, with more than half of these references translated in their original form (repetition); or from Danish into English, with techniques such as generalisation and substitution being used to translate more than half of these elements (Gotllieb 2009: 38).

6. Conclusions

This paper has analysed the translation of CBEs from Catalan to English in the subtitling mode of AVT. This analysis was based on a set of parameters that are considered likely to have a significant influence on the

translation of CBEs identified in the films included in the corpus. The joint analysis of these parameters allows the researcher to evaluate the synergy of factors that have influenced the translation of CBEs and helps identify possible translation norms underlying the translation practices applied in this corpus. These parameters were explored within two specific dimensions, the macrotextual dimension, which includes preliminary norms and genre parameters; and the microtextual dimension, in which the parameters of interculturality, constraints, translation techniques and domains were analysed.

The results of this study reveal, that irrespective of the parameter analysed and its relevance to the translation process, the translation of the CBEs rendered in the English subtitled version of the films in the corpus is heavily oriented towards the TS. Both the translation techniques and the translation method employed favour the integration of the translation within the TS. This type of translator behaviour highlights the principles that often govern the translation of this type of audiovisual text and, as authors such as Delabastita (1990: 99) have highlighted, "Film translation is not just a matter of language conversion, and the actual reality of film translation is conditioned to a large extent by the functional needs of the receiving culture and not, or not just, by the demands made by the source films".

However, it is worth asking whether the functional requirements of the TC to which Delabastita alludes, and refers to in assessing the role of the preliminary translation norms parameter, may vary, or change, as a result of additional factors, such as the position of the TC and the SC within the international audiovisual market, the degree of prestige enjoyed by the SC in this field, and whether it is perceived as coming from a peripheral culture, as part of a "minor culture" and, therefore, less likely to arouse the interest of an international audience (Delabastita 1990: 102). Some measures designed to limit the predominance of English in audiovisual media and promote the use of minority languages in this sphere have already been proposed by authors such as Gottlieb who advocates a "Utopian situation" in which "importing more programmes from non-anglophone countries will boost people's linguistic and cultural awareness and help keep the dominance of English in check" (Gottlieb 2004: 94).

Although an exploration of the ideological and political implications of the translation practices and translation method identified in this research does not fall within the central aim of this study, the final aim of the descriptive research presented here is necessarily linked to the evaluation

of the type of ideological, cultural or sociolinguistic phenomena that may underlie the repeated use of this particular translator behaviour. The analysis presented here is methodologically essential to identify the translation patterns and reiterated choices, but this analysis is not an end in itself; rather it is an initial step towards exploring the reasons underlying the behaviour patterns and recurring translation strategies that have been highlighted in this paper. The identification of these motives would facilitate, with greater certainty and accuracy, the formulation of translation norms that help identify or predict similar translation models developed within specific cultural systems.

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Controlled Cultural Writing for Effective Machine-translation-enabled Intercultural Communication on the Web

Chung-ling Shih

Abstract

This paper proposes re-writing web cultural texts using controlled language and adopting a dual-phase transformation. In the phase of syntactic/grammatical transformation, surface-structure sentences are converted into deep-structure ones composed of base linguistic components with the SVO structure. In the second phase of cultural transformation, all the cultural references are paraphrased into non-idiomatic expressions, and local references eliminated. The dual-phase transformation is supported by Chomsky's linguistic theory and Gutt's relevance theory.

To ensure the communicative effectiveness of machine translated (MT) controlled cultural writing (CCW), a statistical survey was conducted using communicative and non-communicative MT errors as the criteria. The findings showed that the MT outputs of four Indo-European target languages had significantly improved communicative effectiveness, though the results varied according to language. The implications of this research suggest two things: 1) CCW could be used to promote the communicative effectiveness of multilingual MT outputs, and different target languages lead to different communicative effectiveness, and 2) CCW could bring us economic benefits. In light of the cost-effective, communicative benefits, the use of CCW is recommended to achieve the goal of economic and effective MT-enabled intercultural communication on the web in the push for globalization.

1. Introduction

Today, contacts with people from different countries are occurring more often than before, and to ensure effective intercultural communication, we need to understand other countries' cultural taboos, customs and folk practices. Web cultural texts are one of the most useful resources that allow us to access and acquire foreign cultural knowledge. Let us take an

example. To promote local cultural values, Taiwan's Bureau of Tourism has provided web translations in seven languages, English, Japanese, Korean, German, French, Spanish, and Dutch. However, the online *Encyclopedia of Taiwan*[1] only provides translation into English, and many texts are not translated at all. So, foreigners, especially non-English speakers, potentially interested in Taiwan's local culture, are unable to read the online cultural texts of folk practices and socio-historical episodes. In theory, translation would be an effective solution.

Perhaps one might argue that the foreigners could use "Google Translate" (a corpus/statistics-driven MT tool). It is free, and online, and so web users may use the tool to create the translation in whatever languages they want to read. However, many users of online MT tools are aware that current MT performance is generally so poor that they do not want to touch it again. In constrats to this view, many scholars (Lagoudaki 2008; O'Hagan & Ashworth 2002; Aiken & Balan 2011) agree that the use of MT tools and relevant software, a common practice for getting a rough draft in translation companies, helps speed up translation turnaround, saves money and maintains terminological consistency. Numerous translation companies also stress the cost-effective benefits of using MT tools.[2] The reason for this is that these companies in the localization industry handle the translations of technical texts, such as user's manuals, product instructions, not non-technical web texts and cultural texts. The technical documents, limited in their vocabulary range and sentence structure, are more easily processed by the MT system than other types of texts.

To improve the machine rendering of non-technical and cultural texts, we have to find a way out. The tentative solution proposed in this paper is the use of a specific language that enables the machine to produce the translation intelligible to the general public. However, this proposal is not

[1]The online *Encyclopedia of Taiwan* gives a comprehensive introduction to Taiwan's local cultures, falling under the categories of history, geography, biology, eco-biology, environmental protection, math & natural science, medical science, society & anthropology, economicals, education, broadcasting, religion & folk art, philosophy, language & literature, arts & culture, lifestyle & entertainment, figures (taiwanpedia 2013; trans. mine).

[2]The companies that use MT tools include MultinLing Cooperation (in the U.S.), Academy of Languages-Translation & Interpretation Services (Seattle, the U.S.) and Accurate Translation Inc. (the U.S.), the Total Translation Company (London), Accents Ireland Ltd. (Dublin) and others (see their websites).

"internationalization" which takes place at the level of program design requiring an engineering solution to the online interface or the format (e.g. Pym 2006). The solution put forward here for MT-enabled communication is purely language-oriented.

This language is a sublanguage or a controlled language (CL) applied to multilingual MT in the localization industry. Multinational companies, such as Boeing, Caterpillar and others, have used controlled English to author technical texts for machine-enabled multilingual translations. Johann Roturier (2004) reported that his assessment of the MT outputs of two sets of 177 examples written with and without CL led to the findings that the overall number of excellent quality examples written in CL doubled that of the same examples written without CL. Specifically put, the number of excellent quality examples after the use of controlled English dramatically rose from 47 to 140 in the French MT output and significantly rose from 38 to 78 in the German output and slightly rose from 21 to 43 in the Japanese MT output. Also, Peter Pym (1990), Yiling Yuan (2003) and Sylviane Cardey, Peter Greenfield, Xiaohong Wu (2004), support pre-editing or/and simplified, controlled writing for effective MT application. Seeing the quality improvement in the controlled-writing-driven MT outputs, we assume that if web cultural texts use simpler wording, shorter sentences and explicit accounts, following the norms of controlled language, then MT tool can process the texts better and will produce more accurate translations.

Given this, the next issue to be discussed is how to simplify the wording and syntactic/grammatical features of a cultural text to make it suitable for multilingual MT application. Furthermore, taking Chinese controlled cultural writing for example, we will investigate how far the MT outputs in four Indo-European languages can successfully communicate the message.

Drawing on Noam Chomsky's (1965, 1969, 1972) linguistic theory and Ernst-August Gutt's (1998, 2000) relevance theory, this paper will justify the function of an approach to CCW in terms of a dual-phase transformation using Chinese cultural texts as examples. Phase-one conversion involves syntactic/grammatical transformation from surface-structure sentences into deep-structure ones. In contrast, phase-two conversion engages with cultural transformation through paraphrasing to explicate the implicit meaning of cultural references. In addition to the theoretical justification, a statistical survey will be conducted to report the communicative effectiveness of the MT outputs of CCW based on the

criteria of communicative and non-communicative errors. Finally, the implications of CCW will be discussed. We will then discuss the relative strengths and weaknesses of using CCW and determine if it has the potential to provide effective online intercultural communication.

2. Justification of syntactic/grammatical transformation with Chomsky's linguistic theory

The proposal of a phase-one syntactic/grammatical transformation can be supported by Chomsky's linguistic theory. According to Chomsky's (1969, 1972) studies, all languages share a common underlying structure or deep structure. A complex set of rules can be used to produce diverse utterances. The complex set of rules involves combination, deletion, addition, division and others. The application of these rules transforms the proto-syntax into diverse sentence patterns or different surface-structure sentences. By employing transformation rules, the deep structure can be converted into a variety of surface-structure sentences or/and diverse ways of presentation. André Lefevere (1993) claimed that "deep structure is the source of sentence meaning and surface structure is the phonological and morphemic expression of deep structure" (in Wu & Xu 2011: 397). Chomsky (1972) claimed that deep structure determined semantic representation. Simply put, deep structure is the underlying form which determines the meaning of a sentence whereas surface structure is what we write or speak. The deep structure, as understood by Eugene A. Nida and Charles Russell Taber (1982), consists of some kernels or basic structural components, such as events (most likely verbs), objects (usually nouns or pronouns), abstracts (mostly adjectives or adverbs) and relations (most often expressed by particles, prepositions and conjunctions). Each basic structural component has its specific meaning and a sentence relies on a combination of the meanings of all the basic components. If we only use the basic structural elements to write sentences, they should be more easily understood because humans create their languages by modifying the deep structure/proto-syntax into a wide variety of presentations. One deep structure often contains one idea/concept and two or three deep structures can be combined into one surface-structure sentence.

However, Chomsky (1965) declared that "all languages are cut to the same pattern, but does not imply that there is any point by point correspondence between particular languages", a clear warning about

about the lack of correspondence between languages. The lack of correspondence between languages is the problem human translators have to work with. The operation of a corpus/statistics-driven MT system produces the rendition by seeking fuzzy or exact matches/translations of sentential segments in the source language. It does not look for a corresponding translation of the entire sentence. When a sentence uses the universal deep-structure containing common words, it is easier to find their fuzzy or exact matches that have already been saved in the MT corpuses in multilingual pairs. Taking a "Google Translate"-created English-Spanish translation for example, we find that three deep-structure English sentences *A woman lived alone with her two daughters. Her husband died early. And her two daughters were still high-school students* are accurately rendered in Spanish as *Una mujer vivía sola con sus dos hijas. Su marido murió temprano. Y sus dos hijas eran aún estudiantes de secundaria.,* but when combined into a surface-sentence structure: *A woman whose husband had died earlier lived alone with her two daughters who were still high-school students,* is less accurately rendered as *Una mujer cuyo marido había muerto antes vivía sola con sus dos hijas que todavía eran estudiantes de secundaria.* So, this is why we propose the use of three separated deep-structure sentences taken together rather than one single surface-structure sentence that has combined the three ideas.

Furthermore, out of the assumption that people understand the proto-syntax better than the complex surface structure, CCW can use proto-syntax sentences for effective MT application. Here, we assume that the shorter deep-structure segments embedded in the long surface-structure sentences and their translations, be they presented in whatever target languages, can be easily retrieved through fuzzy or exact matches. For example, a short sentence, written in English for translation, such as: *The folk practice has some cultural implications* has a deep-structure form which helps us make the message semantically explicit, and is embedded in two or more surface-structure sentences. One of them, as I observe, can be a long sentence *The folk practice of visiting a bride's parents on the third day after the wedding has some cultural implications; one of which is that the bride cannot forget her biological parents after getting married.* Another one can be: *Today, many Asian women still practice postpartum care because the folk practice has important cultural implications*. Thus, if we use shorter deep-structure sentences, a more comprehensible translation can be created by "Google Translate". This accounts for the validity of the CCW rule: The shorter the better and the simpler the better. The MT outputs of deep-structure sentences can be

more semantically accurate and more syntactically/grammatically appropriate than those of surface-structure sentences.

As Chomsky (1969, 1972) has put it, a sentence in the general language is created through syntactic/grammatical transformation by joining deep-structure sentences. Thus, to simplify a sentence structure, we can split or decompose a surface-structure into a number of deep-structure sentences. CCW follows this norm in the phase of syntactic/grammatical transformation. For example, a general Chinese (GC) sentence consists of the topic-comment structure and contains two or three ideas together. When converted into a controlled Chinese (CC) sentence, the GC sentence must be decomposed into two or three deep-structure sentences, each of which contains fewer than two ideas. Also, each CC sentence must use the SVO structure to ensure the higher grammatical and semantic accuracy of Indo-European multilingual machine translations. Table 1 shows one example of GC-to-CC conversion. The source text was extracted from "Ming-hun" [lit: ghost/spiritual marriage] (Li 2009) in the *Encyclopedia of Taiwan*. Here, P means preposition; NP, noun phrase; S, subject; V, verb; O, object; AUX, auxiliary and INF, infinitive.

GC Sentence: *未結婚的女性*(topic)*她們缺乏一個歸宿及穩定的社會地位的保障* (comment 1), *所以父母會幫未婚但已去世女兒挑選合適的陽世丈夫*(comment 2). [lit: Unmarried women (topic), they lack a place of belonging and steady social status (comment1), so the parents will help their unmarried daughters, who are already dead, select suitable husbands in the human world (comment 2).]	
Syntactic/ Grammatical Conversion	DS1: *對於*(P)*一位死的、未婚女子*(NP1),*她* (NP2/S)*沒有*(V)*一個家* (NP3/O). [lit: To (P) a dead, unmarried woman (NP1), she (NP2/S) has (V) no home (NP3/O)]
	DS2: *她的社會地位*(NP/S)是 (be-V)*不穩定的* (ADJ). [lit: Her social status (NP/S)is (be-V) unsteady (ADJ)]
	DS3: *她的父母*(NP1/S)*會*(AUX)*幫助*(V1)*她*(NP2/O1)*去*(INF)*挑選*(V2)*一活丈夫*(NP3/O2). [lit: Her parents (NP1/S) will (AUX) help (V1) her (NP2/O1) to (INF) pick (V2)a living husband (NP3/O2)]
CC Sentence: *對於一位死的、未婚女子,她沒有一個家.她的社會地位是不穩定的.所以，她的父母會幫助她去挑選一活丈夫.* [lit: To a dead, unmarried woman, she does not have a home. Her social status is unsteady. Thus, her parents would help her to pick a living husband.]	

Table 1. The GC-to-CC conversion through syntactic/grammatical transformation[3]

After converting the surface-structure sentence into three deep-structure ones, we find that the length of each sentence is shorter. Initially, one GC sentence has 46 words, but the average length of the three CC sentences is 16.6 words. Furthermore, each short sentence uses the SVO structure. The CC sentences should lead to a better-quality English MT output. To justify this point, let us compare the English MT outputs, created by "Google Translate", with and without the GC-to-CC conversion, as follows.

Translation A: The English MT output without the GC-to-CC conversion
Protection of unmarried women lack the social status of a fate and stable, so the parents will help select the right of the upper world husband died unmarried daughter.

[3] The source text above was extracted from "Ming-hun" [lit: ghost/spiritual marriage] (Li 2009) in the *Encyclopedia of Taiwan*.

Translation B: The English MT output with the GC-to-CC conversion
For one dead, unmarried woman, she does not have a home. Her social status is unstable. So, her parents would help her to pick a living husband.

As shown above, the English MT of the GC sentence contains many grammatical errors such as the lack of an object after the modifiers "stable" and "right" and others. Also it does not clearly convey the message, making the reader unable to know its semantic meaning. In contrast, the English MT of CC, as shown in Translation B above, is fully intelligible to native English audiences. Although the style of the MT output is still not as smooth and natural as human translation, it has reduced the problem for information communication. Web audiences are not so demanding about web translation because they tend to scan information, not closely reading it (Redshaw 2003).[4] Web users only seek the information they want, not for aesthetic appreciation or language learning. Thus, if machine-translated texts can clearly communicate the main message, they will be better accepted. In this respect, the MT outputs of CC web texts, created by the corpus/statistics-driven "Google Translate" tool, may be identified as adequate for Indo-European web audiences to scan web texts and acquire cultural information.

If we follow Chomsky's linguistics concept that surface-structure sentences are generated through the application of some syntactic/grammatical transformation rules, we must also agree that CC sentences should be produced by applying a set of grammatical/syntactic rules.[5] The examples cited in this paper illustrated the transformation of a GC sentence into a CC one by decomposing it into deep-structure sentences with the SVO structure and simple wording. However, we should notice that the machine translations in question are restricted to

[4]According to K. Redshaw's (2003) study, 79% of web users scan web texts, not reading them word for word. Moreover, the users focus on headlines, summaries and captions, not reading the entire page. Thus, they take only 75% of the web content.

[5]In Shih's (2011) empirical study of the MT quality using 260 controlled oracle poems as samples, some syntactic/grammatical and lexical CC rules have been identified. The lexicon-specific rules include: 1) use of dual-syllabic words, not single-syllabic ones; 2) use of everyday words, not classical ones; 3) use of common expressions, not fixed four-character phrases and Chengyus. Furthermore, some syntax/grammar-specific rules include: 1) use of shorter sentences; 2) use of SVO structure; 3) use of conjunctions to connect two clauses; 3) use of transitional words to connect two sentences; and 4) use of time markers to signal specific verb tenses (trans. mine).

the target Indo-European languages, not Japanese or other Asian languages. The transformation rules of MT-tailored CC, designed for Indo-European language translations, do not fit the MT application of Asian languages. Normally, in customizing the CCW for Japanese machine translation, we need to modify each deep-structure sentence into an SOV structure, not an SVO one. And if we design the CC for Thai machine translation, we can preserve the original topic-comment structure because the Thai language tends to use the topic-comment structure. The CC norms of syntactic/grammatical transformation rules are subject to change when the target languages change. But, the commonly shared rules include the use of a short sentence fewer than 25 words, simple wording and clear presentation.

In addition to an inter-syntactic transfer, we should note that the translation of a cultural text that contains many idioms needs a careful semantic transfer from the source culture into the target culture, a key factor crucial for an understanding of the translation. In this respect, it is inadequate to use Chomsky's linguistics theory to justify the intercultural transfer and we have to borrow Gutt's relevance theory to illustrate the need for cultural transformation.

3. Justification of cultural transformation with Gutt's relevance theory

The syntactic/grammatical transformation as introduced above is not adequate for the inter-cultural transfer during the translation process. In handling cultural references, we need to convert their specific linguistic forms into regular ones so they can present the universal concepts that are shared by all humans. This is the phase-two cultural transformation in CCW. In fact, though cultural references are derived from universal or common sense, they are already developed into different ways of presentation due to the impact of particular socio-cultural conditions or settings. So, in translation, we have to downplay the local cultural features and eliminate their unique attributes by transforming/paraphrasing them into more general expressions and, if necessary, adding some explanatory accounts. When the paraphrased cultural references take on more universal forms and embody more universally-shared notions, they can take on relevance for international audiences because their connotations can be easily interpreted with a set of assumptions that all humans share

about the world. Such an ideal communication situation is consistent with Gutt's (1998) optimal relevance that helps maximize communication effectiveness.

In replacing cultural references with general accounts, we explicate the implicit meanings through explanation. Communicative clues are hence provided, and the audiences can more easily interpret and understand the message with less effort. This phenomenon illustrates that maximum communicative effectiveness relies on seeking a common ground or establishing basic cognitive assumptions between the translation and the audiences. This point concurs with Gutt's (1998, 2000) concept of interpretive resemblance, which requires a sharing of similar thoughts and intended interpretations between the translator and the audience. If both parties have similar interpretations, the communication is successfully achievable. In this regard, we propose transforming or/and paraphrasing all cultural references in CCW to promote interpretive resemblance between the translation and international audiences.

Table 2 denotes how some Chinese cultural references have been paraphrased with general utterances in CCW. The GC-CC conversion leads to much more intelligible MT outputs. Without the conversion, the MT outputs of cultural references only present the surface meanings and cannot indicate the intended implications. Here, all the English MT outputs were created by *"Google Translate"* in May, 2013.

	Cultural References in GC	**Paraphrases/General Accounts in CC**
1	*普渡* [lit: Universal salvation] MT: Purdue	*一祭拜儀式為普遍的拯救* [lit: A worship ritual for universal salvation] MT: A worship ceremony for universal salvation
2	*三從四德* [lit: Three norms to follow, four virtues]MT: Three from the four virtues	*「一些道德規則」為女人*[lit: "Some moral rules" for women] MT: "Some moral principles " for the woman

3	*安太歲* [lit: Seek a peaceful year] MT: An Tai Sui	*這是一種民俗習慣。金錢被捐獻給神明為了平安。* [lit: This is a folk practice. Money is donated to God for peace.] MT: This is a folk custom. The money was donated to the gods for peace.
4	*金紙* [lit: Golden paper] MT: Gold paper	*紙錢"供神明去使用* [lit: Paper money for God to use] MT: Paper money for the gods to use
5	*彩頭* [lit: Colorful start] MT: Luck	*好運氣* [lit: Good luck] MT: Good luck

Table 2. The GC-to-CC conversion and English MT outputs

The examples above indicate that the Chinese cultural references, presented as fixed expressions, tend to be four-character phrases, such as *三從四德* [lit: *Three norms to follow and four virtues*] or to be idiomatic expressions, such as*彩頭* [lit: *Colorful start*] and*安太歲* [lit: *Seek a peaceful year*]. These cultural references have local cultural connotations, so they are alien to foreigners growing up in a different socio-cultural region. A combination of the surface meanings of all words does not make any sense. However, after they are paraphrased into general accounts with non-idiomatic utterances, their English MT outputs are immediately intelligible to native English speakers. We can attribute this phenomenon to the fact that when the CC presentation creates contextual and cultural relevance for the audience's cognitive assumptions, then the machine-created translation will similarly have cultural and contextual relevance to the target audience's background, which will then be more easily and clearly understood. This point accords with Gutt's concept of optimal relevance whereby a translation should be contextually and culturally relevant to the target audience's background knowledge so that it can be understood as originally intended and without recourse to additional information.

4. Effective MT-enabled CCW

By blending syntactic/grammatical and cultural transformation, CCW has undergone surface-to-deep-structure conversion and local-to-general-culture paraphrasing. This dual-phase transformation helps improve the comprehensibility of the MT output and boosts its communicative effectiveness. Figure 1 shows the dual-phase transformations in CCW. CL=controlled language; GL=general language.

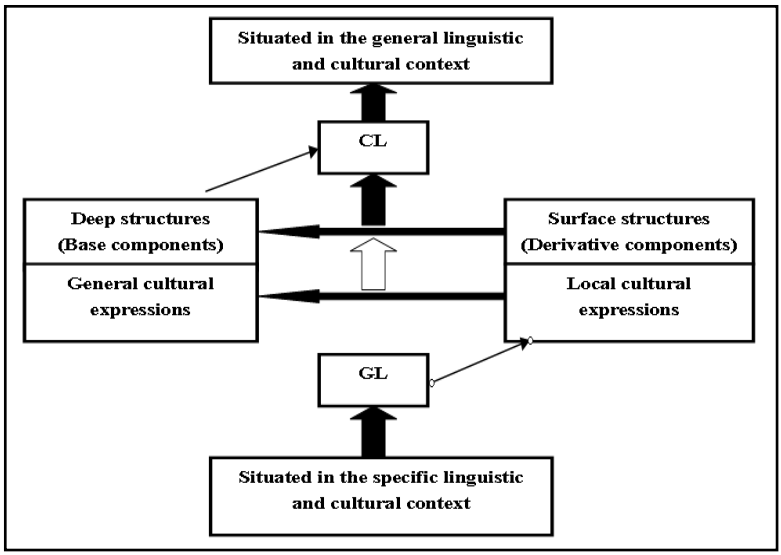

Figure1. Surface-to-deep-structure and local-to-general-culture transformations

We should note that in the phases of syntactic/grammatical and cultural transformations, all the presentations of CCW must use the SVO structure and simple, easy-to-understand wording. Table 3 denotes one example of the dual-phase transformation., The source sentence is from "Zhongyuan jie" (Yan, K.-T. 2009) in the *Encyclopedia of Taiwan,* while the GC-CC conversion has been carried out by the author. All the MT outputs in English, French, Spanish and German were created by "Google Translate" in May, 2013. Here, PP=prepositional phrase; ADV=adverb; DET=determiner.

GC Sentence: *臺灣各地慶讚中元* (topic),*主普者常會舉行陣頭比賽* (comment). [lit: In Taiwan, everywhere celebrates Zhongyuan (topic), the sponsor of universal salvation will often hold Zhentou competitions (comment).]	
MT: Across the Taiwan Heng Tan Ghost, the main S & P are often held troupes game.	
Phase 1: Syntactic/ Grammatical Transformation	DS1: *在臺灣* (PP),*中元*(NP/S) *是* (*be*-V) *經常* (ADV) *被慶祝* (*bei*-V). [lit: In Taiwan (PP), Zhongyuan (NP/S) is (be-V) celebrated (Vpp)]
	DS2: *該* (DET1) *主普者*(NP1/S) *將會*(AUX) *舉辦* (V)一(DET2)*比賽*(NP2/O). [lit: The sponsor of universal salvation (NP1/S)will (ADV) host (V) a (DET) contest (NP2/O)]
	DS3: *這*(NP1/S)*是*(*be*-V)一種(DET)*陣頭比賽* (NP2/O). [lit: This (NP1/S) is (*be*-V) a (DET) Zhentou contest (NP2/O)]
	DS4:*他們*(NP1/S) *將會*(AUX)*表演*(V)*音樂、舞蹈及武術* (NP2/O). [lit: They (NP1/S) will (AUX) perform (V) music, dance and martial arts (NP2/O)]
Phase 2: Cultural paraphrase/ transformation	*中元*→ *鬼節日* [lit: Zhongyuan →Ghost festival]
	主普者→*主辦者*[lit: Master of the universal salvation ritual→Organizer]
	陣頭比賽→*民俗遊行*[lit: Zhentou →Folk procession]
CC Sentence: *在臺灣* (PP),*鬼節日*(NP/S) *是* (*be*-V) *經常* (ADV) *被慶祝* (*bei*-V).*該* (DET1) *主辦者*(NP1)*將會* (AUX) *舉辦* (V)一(DET2)*比賽* (NP2/O). *這*(DET1) *比賽*(NP1/S)*是* (*be*-V)一種(DET2)*民俗遊行* (NP2/O). *參加者*(NP1/S) *將會*(AUX)*表演*(V)*音樂、舞蹈及武術* (NP2/O). [lit: In Taiwan (PP), Ghost festival (NP/S) is (*be*-V)celebrated (Vpp). Patron (NP1/S) will (AUX) host (V) a (DET) game (NP2/O). This (DET1) game (NP1/S) is (*be*-V) a (DET2) folk parade (NP2/O). Participants (NP1/S)	

will (AUX) perform (V) music, dance and martial arts (NP2/O).]
English MT: In Taiwan, the ghost festival is often celebrated. The organizer will organize a tournament. This tournament is a folk parade. Participants will perform music, dance and martial arts.
French MT: A Taiwan, le festival de fantôme est souvent célébré. L'organisateur va organiser un tournoi. Ce tournoi est un défilé folklorique. Les participants pourront jouer de la musique, la danse et les arts martiaux.
Spanish MT: En Taiwán, el fantasma festival se celebra a menudo. El organizador organizará un torneo. Este torneo es un desfile folclórico. Los participantes realizarán la música, la danza y las artes marciales.
German MT: In Taiwan wird das Ghost Festival oft gefeiert. Der Veranstalter organisieren ein Turnier. Dieses Turnier ist ein folkloristischer Umzug. Die Teilnehmer werden Aufführen von Musik, Tanz und Kampfkunst.

Table 3: The GC-CC conversion through the dual-phase transformation

As shown above, the GC sentence has the topic-comment structure and its English MT shows many semantic and grammatical errors. *陣頭比賽* [lit: *Zhentou competition*] was mistranslated as "troupes game"; *主普者* [lit: *The sponsor of universal salvation*], as "main S & P" and *中元* [translit: *Zhongyuan*], as "Ghost". These translations are totally different from the original meanings. Without cross-referring to the source sentence, the audience cannot understand the meaning. In contrast, after the sentence is converted from GC into CC through syntactic/grammatical and cultural transformation, its English, French, Spanish and German MT outputs are much more comprehensible. Clearly, however, the machine-created translation is a little mechanical, not fully natural.

In the CCW example above, the syntactic/grammatical modification or editing was made by decomposing the original sentence that has 21 words into four deep-structure sentences whose sentence length is 13.5 words on average. As mentioned earlier, "Google Translate", works better with short sentences than with long ones. Additionally, when the

three cultural items were paraphrased as民俗遊行 [lit: *Folk procession/march*], 主辦者 [lit: *Host/organizer*] and鬼節日 [*Ghost festival/day*], they can be well rendered by "Google Translate" as "Folk parade", "Organizer" and "The Ghost festival". This example implies that when the source texts use shorter deep-structure sentences and general expressions without local, exotic attributes, they can be easily rendered by the MT tool to create more satisfactory end results. These examples are not enough to completely generalize the communicative effectiveness of the MT outputs with the help of CCW, so a small statistical survey was conducted by assessing and calculating communicative and uncommunicative MT errors. All the controlled texts for MT application can be found in Shih (2011) following the rules of dual-phase transformation.

5. Methodology

This section introduces the collected samples, assessment criteria, grading scale and significant findings. The implications of the findings are also discussed.

5.1 Collected samples

In my survey, twenty-seven short cultural texts written in controlled Chinese (CC) were collected from the appendix of Shih's book (2011) and were sent into "Google Translate" for automatic English, French, Spanish and German translations. These cultural texts describe some socio-historical episodes of Chinese heroes and literary, legendary figures,[6] and offer valuable lessons about life and human relations in China. Once the texts are translated into foreign languages for knowledge sharing, foreigners can then understand more about Chinese people's philosophy of life and political culture, thus reducing their misconceptions.

Since it is easier to analyze individual semantic/structural components than to analyze the entire sentence, some distinctive linguistic elements

[6]The titles of these short texts, to cite few, include: "Lady Meng Jiang's looking for her husband", "Han Xin killed by Queen Lu", "Zhang Yang's resignation after helping Liu Bang", "Miss Liu's insistence on marrying a poor man", "Immortality pills made by Lu Dong-bin" and others.

were chosen as measuring units, including noun/noun groups, verb/verb strings (V1-to-V2 or AUX +V), prepositions, adverbs, determiners (including "a", "an", "this", "that", "these", "those") and number markers. In the MT outputs of each foreign language, a total of 341 nouns/noun groups, 283 verbs/verb strings, 102 determiners, 75 prepositions and 26 adverbs were collected for assessment.

5.2 Assessment criteria and the grading scale

The assessment criteria include communicative and non-communicative errors. Communicative errors refer to the errors that cause a misunderstanding of the message so that the cultural translation cannot be effectively communicated. In contrast, non-communicative errors mean the errors that are grammatically incorrect, but do not hinder the audience's comprehension. Communicative errors lead to thematic, global misunderstanding and are identified as the main cause for cultural miscommunication. Non-communicative errors tend to promote misunderstanding as the result of grammar-specific errors, but they are not the main cause for information miscommunication.

Communicative errors include: 1) inaccurate meanings, 2) missing translations, 3) incorrect syntactic construction/positioning, and 4) incorrect linguistic forms. Non-communicative errors include: 1) incorrect verbal tenses, 2) disagreement between a subject and a verb, 3) the incorrect plural form of a noun, 4) the incorrect article, and 5) a non-capitalized proper noun. The errors in each category still have different consequences in terms of the miscommunication impacts (high incomprehension or semi-incomprehension). To calculate MT errors, a three-point grading scale was designed for this survey.

In the area of communicative errors, an inaccurate meaning will be weighted -3 as it conveys a wrong idea or concept; and -2 when the non-translated English word presents a non-readable or meaningless idea. Where there is an incorrect construction and positioning of a subject and object, and it likely leads to a global misunderstanding of the entire sentence, -3. Where the error of using an incorrect noun group would not cause the misunderstanding of other linguistic segments, -2.

In the non-communicative area, all errors are related to grammar and do not severely hinder the communication of the message, so these are weighted only -1. Table 4 shows the grading scale and the assessment model.

	Types	**Communication Effectiveness**
Communicative Errors	The lexical aspect ■ Use of inaccurate-meaning words. (-3) ■ Non-translated English words. (-2) The syntactic aspect ■ Incorrect positioning/ construction of verb/verb string and adverb. (-3) ■ Incorrect form of noun or noun group. (-2)	Word-level miscomprehension ■ Misinterpreting of the meaning of a word. ■ Misunderstanding of the meaning of a word. Sentence-level miscomprehension ■ Misunderstanding of the whole sentence resulting from the incorrect word sequence. ■ Misunderstanding of the entire sentence resulting from the incorrect translation of a subject or an object.
Non-communicative Errors	The grammatical aspect ■ Incorrect verbal tense. (-1) ■ Disagreement between subject and verb. (-1) ■ Incorrect plural noun. (-1) ■ Incorrect or missing article. (-1) ■ Non-capitalized proper noun. (-1)	Grammar miscommunication ■ No grammar-caused miscommunication. ■ No hindering the understanding of the message.

Table 4. Communicative and non-communicative MT errors and grading

The two categories of errors along with the grading scale were used as the benchmark against which 827 linguistic units in the MT output for each language were measured. The results of the statistical survey aim to achieve two purposes: 1) to identify the variation in the communication effectiveness among the MT outputs of the four target languages, and 2) to identify the overall communicative effectiveness of MT-tailored CCW.

One native English speaker, one native Spanish speaker, one native German speaker and three non-native speakers, who major in the four foreign languages, were invited to help measure each type of MT error.

6. Findings and discussions

Based on the grading scale, the English MT output, scored by the native and non-native reviewers, amounted to -33. This breaks down into: 4 lexical errors, 2 syntactic errors and 17 grammatical errors. French MT: -105, 12 lexical errors, 5 syntactic errors, and 61 grammatical errors.
Spanish MT: -126, 13 lexical errors, 17 syntactic errors and 46 grammatical errors. German MT: -148 points, 10 lexical errors, 36 syntactic errors and 21 grammatical errors. If 827 linguistic units of analysis serve as the denominator, -33 for the English MT errors reach 4% (33/827=0.039), and we can perceive its communicative effectiveness as 96%. In contrast, with -105, French MT errors are at 11.5% (105/827=11.48) and its communicative effectiveness is 88%. With regard to the Spanish MT, -126 means 15.2% (126/827=15.23), and communicative effectiveness at 84%. Finally, -148 for the German MT output means 17.8% (148/827=0.178), and its communicative effectiveness, 82%. In this respect, the statistical results suggest that the translations of controlled Chinese writing enable native English, French, Spanish and German speakers to understand at least 82% of the MT output. This supports the effectiveness of CCW for MT-driven intercultural communication.

The statistical results also showed the grading of the communication effectiveness as English > French > Spanish > German. This finding is not surprising as English is used as the *lingua franca* and the size of the Chinese-English translations saved in the MT databases is presumably the largest one, and consequently, the probability of retrieving and combining correct strings for the translation naturally increases. Thus, the English MT output showed the highest degree of communicative effectiveness. French and Spanish are structurally similar to English, so their MT outputs tend to create lower number of errors than that of the German MT output. We notice that a verb in a German sentence is not always put behind the subject and is often put before the subject when a transitional word or an adverb appears at the beginning of the sentence. This particular structure made the German MT output create a lower syntactic accuracy than the French and Spanish MT outputs did.

However, in the grammatical area, it is French, not German, that showed a higher number of non-communicative errors. It was found that the French MT output revealed a number of verb tense errors. In French, a perfect tense verb (e.g., *a établi*) which consists of the auxiliary verb (*avoir*) and the past participle presents the simple past tense (translated as "established" in English). In contrast, the imperfect verb tense (e.g., *établissait*) suggests the past continuous tense (translated as "was establishing" in English), not the simple past tense. However, when the MT system renders the past verb tense from Chinese into French, the MT output often uses the imperfect tense to present the simple past tense. Thus, some grammatical errors pertaining to incorrect verbal tense were found in the French MT output created by "Google Translate". But grammatical errors would not cause a severe obstacle to miscommunication, and thus the French MT output is still evaluated as more communicative than the German MT output.

Among all the MT outputs, the English output showed the lowest number of grammatical errors. Like other Romance languages, English is an inflected language, and nouns are inflected for number (singular or plural). Therefore, the use of a verb must be coherent with the subject of a singular or plural noun. The English MT output occasionally contains errors without abiding by this subject-verb agreement principle. However, unlike the other three Romance languages, English articles do not have to change due to the number and gender (masculine or feminine) of a noun and thus the English MT output did not have any error for this grammatical reason. On the other hand, French, Spanish and German MT outputs made this type of error. Due to these grammatical differences, English MT outputs had fewer grammatical errors than the MT outputs of the other three languages.

Above all, despite the variation in the MT outputs in the four target languages, their communicative effectiveness remains satisfactory because the average number of communicative and uncommunicative MT errors, taking all four languages together, is 61, 7.3% of the analyzed units (61/827). This low percentage of MT errors suggests that the four-Indo-European-language MT outputs of CCW have achieved a satisfactory communicative effectiveness. Thus, we can suggest that CCW helps boost the intercultural communication through effective multi-lingual MT application. Clearly, though, the level of cultural specific attributes of individual texts would affect the results of CCW as well as the result of the MT communication assessment.

7. Research implications: Pros and Cons

Like all other research, MT-tailored CCW has its strengths and weaknesses. The positive point is its economic benefits, and its weakness is the constraint on linguistic/cultural diversity.

7.1 Economic benefits

In addition to the improved intercultural communication as introduced above, the MT application can bring us some economic benefits. At the present, some localization companies, such as Milengo (Davies 2013), Moravia (Moravia IT 2013) and others, have confirmed the benefits of using MT to translate technical texts written in a controlled language. In his cost-effective analysis of MT plus post-MT editing (PE), Rob Davies (2013) reported that the use of MT/PE could save 30 % of time and cost. In the past, human translation needed 37 days to complete a project of 180k words, but now MT/PE only needs 24 days to complete a project of 189k words. Overall, 13 days and up to 50% of cost were saved. This report justifies the economic benefits of controlled writing/pre-MT editing and post-MT editing together.

However, in the present research, we only consider pre-MT editing without post-MT editing. On-the-market documentation of some released products requires post-MT editing in the localization industry, but online MT application in this paper is mainly for cultural information scanning, and therefore does not need post-MT editing. Furthermore, we do not ask for the zero-error quality in the multilingual MT outputs. Rather, we seek the effectiveness of optimal communication. When the web audiences gain a clearer understanding of the MT output without having to consult other resources, the communication purpose will be successfully achieved. However, the pre-editing of cultural texts is not as easy as we might imagine, because even native speakers do not have a clear understanding of the cultural references and nor are they always aware of the culturally specific nature of the reference. Background information checkup takes much time, and human translation takes as much time as CCW does in terms of cultural information checkup. Regarding the syntactic/grammatical conversion, it is much easier. We simply need to decompose the source sentence into several deep-structure sentences and then re-write it with the SVO structure.

One might argue that since neither of the syntactic/grammatical or

cultural transformations is automated, the cost-effective benefit of CCW is questionable. Here, I should clarify that we do not have any CCW checker as an aid (no such a thing exists yet), we can only rely on human intelligence to edit the source text. However, the new form of presentation in CL is not so difficult to learn. My observation is that less experienced CCW writers (e.g., students) need almost two hours to pre-MT edit a text containing around 500 words for a test of its English, Spanish, German and French translations created by *"*Google Translate*"*. However, practice makes perfect, and an experienced CCW writer can reduce the time to half or even less. Generally viewed, some students who master both English and Chinese can automatically convert a cultural text in CL for effective MT application after receiving a CL-specific training for half a month.

Although CCW seems not to save much time, it immediately shows its economic benefit when it comes to the translation fee. Take a web cultural text entitled "Zhongyuan Festival" containing 1496 words (retrieved from the *Encyclopedia of Taiwan* on the web) for example. When the text is translated into English, its cost for human translation is normally EUR 44.88 as required by Taiwan's translation agency, say, MAYA Translation Service (2008). For the translation into French, the cost is EUR 89.76; for the translation into Spanish, the cost, EUR 89.76; and for the translation into German, the cost, EUR 89.76. The overall cost for the translations of the four target languages is EUR 314.16. In contrast, teaching a person CCW rules does not cost so much, and once the skill is learned, many texts can be written in CL for online multilingual machine translations. Combining time and charge for multilingual translations, CCW strongly suggests the economic benefit for online intercultural communication.

7.2 Constraint on linguistic/cultural diversity

Although CCW dramatically improves the communicative effectiveness of MT outputs, it inevitably limits what we think and what we speak. Writing a web cultural text using the CL tends to restrict all verbal presentations to the similar base deep-structure sentences without stylistic variety. The distinctive syntactic structure, such as Chinese and Thai topic-comment, Japanese SOV and others, have to be reduced to the SVO simple structure to enable the machine to translate it into Indo-European languages. Furthermore, we have to level out the local attributes of cultural references in CCW. For example, we can transform a Chinese four-character cultural reference that vividly presents a specific image into a

universally shared concept. *門當戶對* [lit: *doors are appropriate and households match*] is converted into a general concept "a good marital match" and its original image that the bride's and the groom's family status and house style match each other is totally lost. Thus, one might argue that CCW does away with the source cultural heritage, eliminating all the source cultural/linguistic conventions. In response to this argument, the author has to emphasize that CCW simply changes the presentational form, not the innate meaning of cultural information. The message remains; only the way of presenting it is simplified and explicit. To avoid the risk of losing the linguistic/cultural diversity, we propose that only web texts that serve the function of information communication use the controlled language, and not literary texts that intend to fulfill the purpose of aesthetic appreciation. Literature writing should preserve its creative writing style and maintain its special linguistic/cultural attributes.

7.3 Learning transformation rules

As mentioned earlier, each sentence in CCW must go through the dual-phase transformation. The syntactic/grammatical transformational rules must be followed, but the beginning learners often forget the rules and have to consult them repeatedly. However, practice makes perfect, and the more practice we do, the less time the CCW takes. For Chomsky, the human mind can save grammar transformation rules for use and a child can therefore modify what an adult says without copying each word. Even though we do not agree with this theoretical notion, a child can internalize grammatical transformational rules by immersing himself/herself in the linguistic environment. But CCW is not widely used in our daily life, so we cannot automatically acquire CCW rules and freely retrieve them from our cognitive scheme. Thus, we have to take time to learn the rules of CCW.

However, we should note that the rules for CCW are only rules and the CCW created by individual editors following the rules will always be different in terms of discourse presentation. For example, in splitting a long sentence into two using the controlled language, Editor A's CCW is: 1) After the wedding banquet, some relatives and friends stayed in the bridal chamber. 2) And they played wedding games for fun. In contrast, Editor B's CCW is: 1) Some relatives and friends gathered in the bridal chamber after the wedding banquet. 2) Some wedding games were played to create joy. Editors A and B show different ways of presenting the similar message in their CCWs, but the MT outputs are equally

communicative and understandable. As a result, there is no arbitrary constraint in the way of dividing long sentences into smaller deep-structure sentences. Clearly, it is unrealistic to reduce all CCWs to standardized forms, for there will always be local and individual differences under the constraint of using normative CCW rules.

8. Conclusion: A new way out

Rarely do academic studies or companies pay attention to the use of controlled writing on the web for immediate multi-lingual machine translations without post-MT editing. This inadequacy is actually a niche for us to probe how to unlock the potential for online intercultural communication by using CCW with the dual-phase transformation. The research results of this paper have tentatively demonstrated the communicative effectiveness of CCW for MT application. However, we have to admit that CCW destroys some aesthetic, distinctive cultural presentations of regular writing. On the other hand it does give birth to a new force. This new force enables a more economic and effective web intercultural communication, while benefiting the general public who can get web cultural information in their native languages.

CCW is not a once-and-for-all solution and can only serve as a preliminary solution to intercultural communication on the web. The degree of improvement in the MT output will also vary with the linguistic differences between source language and target language, as mentioned earlier. Also, the size of the corpus of the MT system is one variable that affects the MT performance. In my another unpublished experimental test, the English MT output of CCW was 95% comprehensible to a native English speaker but reduced to 83% for a native Thailand language speaker, and to 65% to a native Japanese speaker. In light of the difference in the target audience's reception, we can infer that CCW cannot guarantee communicative effectiveness when translated by the machine into all the target languages in the world. However, we are assured that the MT outputs of CCW are absolutely better than those of non-CCW in terms of semantic and grammatical accuracy.

We would like to suggest here, that CCW may only be a small step for web writing, but it is a giant step for human intercultural communication on the web in the push for globalization.

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Notes on contributors

Gemma Martínez-Garrido holds a BA in Translation and Interpreting and a PhD in Hispanic Studies, with a thesis on Audiovisual Translation from Catalan into English. Since 2005 she teaches Translation and Interpreting at the University of Kent (United Kingdom), and has published articles on her main areas of interest: Translation Studies, Audiovisual Translation, Cultural Studies and Catalan Studies.

Behzad Ghonsooly is a full professor of Applied Linguistics. He has published more than 50 articles at national and international level. His main research interests are *language testing*, *introspection in reading*, and *psycholinguistics*.

Giuseppe Palumbo is a Lecturer in English Language and Translation at the University of Trieste. He is also Deputy Director of the University's Language Centre and coordinates the translation-related work linked to the internationalization activities of the University. He holds a PhD from the University of Surrey (UK) and specializes in technical and scientific translation and the use of technology in professional translation. He has published on terminology, the design of translator training curricula and the creation of on-line translation teaching materials, and is also the author of *Key Terms in Translation Studies* (Continuum, 2009).

Federica Scarpa is Full Professor of English Language and Translation at the Section of Modern Languages for Interpreters and Translators (former SSLMIT) of the Department of Legal, Language, Interpreting and Translation Studies of the University of Trieste, where she teaches Specialized Translation. She is also the Coordinator of the PhD programme in Interpreting and Translation Studies and Director of the Master in Legal Translation. She has published extensively on specialized translation - with particular reference to the domains of IT, social sciences and law. Other interest fields are corpus-based translation studies and translator training

Masoud Sharififar is an assistant professor of Translation Studies. He has supervised a number of M.A. dissertations and has (co)authored a number of books and articles in different translation domains.

Chung-ling Shih is Full Professor of English, teaching translation at the Department of English and the MA Program of Translation and Interpreting in National Kaohsiung University of Science and Technology in Taiwan. Her research focuses and interests are broad, including machine translation (MT), computer-aided translation (CAT), corpus-based translation studies (CTS), translation theories, cultural studies and others. Up to now, she has more than 40 papers published in the journals in Taiwan and abroad. She considers it important to get her *advant-garde* research on "controlled cultural writing for effective MT application on the web" published in a professional, well-known journal that exclusively addresses cultural issues, so she contributed her paper to *Cultus* Journal. By getting her paper published in *Cultus*, Shih hopes that the similar model can be replicated by international scholars in their future researches on MT-aided intercultural communication in different language pairs.

Shahram Raeisi Sistani is an assistant professor of English Language and Literature. He has a number of articles published at national and international level. His main research interests include *Australian* and *post-modern literature*.

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