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# Contents

# The Journey Metaphor in Mediatized Political Discourse
## Cognitive and Critical Perspectives

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**Abstract.** The present paper will analyse manifestations of the journey metaphor from a critical discourse analytical perspective in order to observe how the journey metaphor is used as a discourse strategy in mediatized political speeches and interviews whereby political actors manipulate the second-frame interactional participants (the audience) into sharing a (spurious) sense of solidarity with them. There are three hypotheses that will be tested in the course of the analysis: the first is that a wide-variety of real-journey elements are exploited for the political metaphor of journey, and there is a concrete correspondence between journey vehicles and political scenarios. The second hypothesis is that journey metaphors that are used in political speeches, celebrity interviews and confrontational political interviews are of different types and complexity. The third hypothesis is that the manipulative intent behind the use of metaphors is exposed in the latter types of mediatized political discourse to varying degrees as a result of the different degrees of pragmatic accountability adhered to in the two subgenres. We argue that the first two hypotheses are confirmed on the basis of the qualitative analysis presented in the paper, whereas the third hypothesis is not borne out by the data.

**Keywords:** journey metaphor, image schemata, political speeches, political interviews

## 1. Introduction

Language is pervaded at all levels by metaphors which present a comprehensive approach to human thinking and the way thoughts are construed. Fez-Barrington (2012) remarks that metaphors "can be traced back to prehistory where they arose from the same small set of mythological images. Even hieroglyphics on cave walls are entirely metaphoric as language itself is essentially metaphoric expressing

one thing in terms of another in order to find an essence common to both" (2012: 2). The present paper aims to unfold this metaphorical potential through the analysis of the (manipulative) use of the journey metaphor in a corpus of political speeches and political interviews.

A corpus linguistic analysis can be *corpus-driven* or *corpus-based* as is pointed out by e.g. Deignan (2008: 282). The difference is that the former starts with the corpus and the latter with "pre-existing theories confirmed or illustrated with corpus data" (*ibid.*). Therefore, in the course of a corpus-driven analysis the corpus serves both as a resource for empirical research and as a basis for deriving and testing hypotheses and drawing theoretical conclusions about linguistic phenomena. Thus, all conclusions and claims are made exclusively on the basis of corpus observations without any prior assumptions and expectations (cf. Tognini-Bonelli 2001 quoted in Storjohann 2005).

The analysis of the manifestations of the journey metaphor presented in the paper is *corpus-driven*, since the set of conceptual metaphors, in fact, emerged from the corpus collected for analysis. However, the analysis of the different degrees of conceptual complexity and manipulative intent across subgenres is *corpus-based* inasmuch as the hypotheses that are tested in the course of the analysis are based on previous research into political discourse.

## 2. Data and hypotheses

The analysis presented is based on two types of data: a corpus of political speeches and a corpus of mediatized political interviews. The corpus of political speeches consists of about 200,000 words, collected from a wide range of journalistic and internet sources, such as the *Economist, Newsweek*, abcnews.go.com, etc. (for a detailed list see the references section). The second corpus consists of the transcripts of political interviews broadcast by the BBC and CNN between 2003 and 2011. The BBC subcorpus consists of 37 interviews of varying length, while the CNN subcorpus consists of the transcripts of 36 fifty-minute interviews. Both subcorpora contain approximately 80,000 words each, give or take 1000 words as a result of transcription conventions, site information notices and added file information resulting from conversion into txt format.

The majority of CDA-informed micro-analyses of political discourse tend to focus on the manipulative potential of lexical choices (Wodak 1989; van Dijk 1993) and morpho-syntactic choices such as activation/passivation (van Leeuwen 1996; Tranchese & Zollo 2013), nominalization (Fowler et al. 1979; Billig 2008), the use of pronouns (Bramley 2001; Irimiea 2010; Ho 2013), and the ergative (Stubbs 1996; Al-Faki 2014). At the same time, there has been an increasing interest in CDA in pragmalinguistic and socio-pragmatic phenomena

such as face management (Armasu 2013), the realisation of particular speech acts (e.g. Hill 1999; Fetzer 2007), as well as conversational strategies and topical organization (e.g. Greatbatch 1986; Becker 2007). Political metaphors have also been analyzed through a corpus-based approach, for example, by Gong (2003) based on Ahrens' CM model drawing conclusions of corpus data through native speakers' intuitions rather than lingustic data. He concludes that the target domain of politics selects the source domain of journey to emphasize the notion of travelling through roads/routes.

Accordingly, the first hypothesis of the present paper is that a wide variety of real-journey elements are exploited for the political metaphor of journey, whereby there is concrete correspondence between journey vehicles and political scenarios. Agents of political scenes are conceived of as if they were participants (either crew or passengers) of journeys linking sources with goals covering paths, passing landmarks, with all concomitant vehicles of a journey scenario from costs, through the quality of the trip completed to its outcome. Moreover, we presume that the two types of political journey domains (pro and contra-establishment) manifest construals that are profiled systematically against the journey metaphor.

The second and third hypotheses of our study are related to the types of discourse strategies and degree of manipulative intent across different subgenres of mediatized political discourse (MPD). Furkó (2013) argued that different degrees of pragmatic accountability across subgenres of MPD result in different types and patterns of discourse strategies. The three subcorpora in the present analysis represent three subtypes of MPD. The first corpus is based on political speeches, where a great degree of planning is involved, thematic organization rather than interactional organization occurs, which results in a series of primarily pre-packaged messages and pre-planned/calculated, rather than spontaneously selected rhetorical and discourse strategies. The texts in the CNN corpus (based on transcripts of *Larry King Live*) belong to the "soft and feel-good genre" of "celebrity interviews" (Lauerbach 2007: 1388), which are of a less confrontational nature than the political interviews contained in the BBC subcorpus (based on *Newsnight, Hard Talk* and *Question Time*), in which interviewers (as well as interviewees) take a more adversarial stance. In the case of American political interviews the interviewer and the interviewee "collaboratively produce a consensual point of view" (Lauerbach 2007: 1388), while in the British political interviews the interviewer "in asking the questions, takes into account what a sceptical audience would like to know" (Lauerbach 2007: 1394), exposing vagueness, evasiveness, and argumentative fallacies. Accordingly, the second hypothesis of the present analysis is that journey metaphors that are used in political speeches, celebrity interviews and confrontational political interviews are of different types and complexity, while

the third hypothesis is that the manipulative intent behind the use of metaphors is exposed in the latter types of MPD to varying degrees as a result of the different degrees of pragmatic accountability adhered to in the two subgenres.

## 3. The journey metaphor: cognition, image schemata and the journey scenario

As is pointed out by Fez-Barringten above, metaphors are "expressing one thing in terms of another in order to find an essence common to both" (2012: 2). To put it another way, as Hurford et al. (2008: 331) suggest, metaphors are "conceptual operations reflected in human language that enable speakers to structure and construe abstract ideas of knowledge and experience in more concrete experiential terms". Metaphorical mapping facilitates extending the source domain to the target domain by projecting features of the former onto the latter, which, then, is grounded in a predominantly physical domain. Metaphor appears in cognitive processes which are complex human mental operations. Far from being a sporadic linguistic phenomenon, metaphor is ubiquitous in nature and as is corroborated by Gibbs (1998: 601) in discourse, too. To be able to unfold the workings of metaphorical processing, however, it is indispensable to outline the role played by human cognition in adapting patterns available to novel scenarios.

In a word, apart from emerging from the very roots of language formation, metaphor is a reminiscent of human evolution vis-á-vis a/ bodily interaction b/ creating compact language c/ forging highly challenging and associative thoughts while preserving d/ vehicle-focus and contributing to e/ elevated style. On the whole, metaphor offers shift from greyness, abbreviates lengthy literal language and by creating compactness it requires both speakers and listeners to be engaged in a kind of mental gymnastics.

A prerequisite of linguistic processing, cognition is a conscious mental activity allowing us to think, speak, understand, learn, remember, recognize relationships between concepts, argue about cause and effect and so on. This capability allows reasoning in terms of currently existing patterns available whenever we want them to link physical-source to figurative goal. In a word, cognition allows for mental operations to be involved in mappings of different domains. This way of processing facilitates the extension of schemata (highly-abstract carriers of structural information) to different domains.

As is pointed out above, schemata are obviously vital information-carriers. They play a crucial role in the architecture of figurative ideas as refined means of thought-extension from simpler to more complex and compact. It is reasonable to believe that a leap from physical and literal upgraded to an abstract domain involves and requires highly-sophisticated associative skills.

Thus, image schemata are word clusters of "knowledge representing a particular generic procedure, object, percept, event, sequence of events, or social situation" (Johnson 1987: 19). Such clusters provide "a *skeleton structure* for a concept that can be 'instantiated', or filled out with the detailed properties of the particular instance being represented" (*ibid.*).

Image schemata are crucial in terms of mapping instances of the physical world onto the figurative world, while only preserving the common thread that links them and providing a certain degree of structural similarity. Image schemata are vital for human thought in order to reach the goal domain from the source domain.

This is in line with the standard view that metaphoric extension relies on two major pillars; Source and Goal, linked by Path.

Main elements of the journey scenario:

**Source** is the starting or core domain whose basic traits are adapted by human cognition to create abstract notions. Johnson (2008: 42) demonstrates the transition between the two domains in the following way:

### THE OBJECT EVENT- STRUCTURE METAPHOR

| *Source domain*<br>*[Transfer of possessions]* | | *Target domain*<br>*[Change of state]* |
|---|---|---|
| Possession | >>>>> | Attribute |
| Movement of possession | >>>>> | Change of state |
| Transfer of possession | >>>>> | Causation |
| Desired objects | >>>>> | Purposes |

**Path** encompasses a trajector with a moving object, which may, undoubtedly, be development, evolvement of events and so on. In fact, this component of metaphorization manifests the transition of physicality into figurativeness, while rearranging a literal scenario into a compact, challenging metaphor.

**Goal** is the final, key component in instantiating metaphorization. By relying on their cognitive faculties, actors of speech acts conceptualize the experiential information offered by the Source domain to construe an abstract domain with its underpinnings rooted in physicality. This template (S-P-G) is available for a high number of other scenarios and it serves the proliferation of metaphorical thoughts during language production. From another perspective, Goal is the outcome, the ultimate result, seen as reaching destination within a journey scenario, but envisaged as lost or won elections, lower or higher standard of living and so on in the political journey metaphor. Insights obtained from the overview of basic facets of metaphorical extension may have provided a broad enough picture for us to get a better grasp of the nature of metaphor variability.

# 4. Findings and analysis

## 4.1. The political journey metaphor

The role of the JOURNEY METAPHOR in establishing relationship between journeys and political scenarios is very important. Based on sources pursuing in great depth the two domains, it seems plausible that the political elite draws on the established patterns available for journey descriptions. It is worth noting that almost all vehicles of journey scenarios have their relevant 'political journey' vehicles and are paralleled with those of a novel scenery below to illustrate how a political scenario can be envisaged in terms of a real journey:

a/ Constituents of the political journey metaphor based on the corpus:

*Source:*                                    *departure*: preliminary economic stage
*Path:*                       *journey / Length of path*: terms of ruling parties
*Goal:*                                    *Destination*: unpredictable
   *Other elements:*
   *1/ Vehicle:* country
   *2/ CrewDriver and crew:* government and politicians
   *3/ Insurance policy*: not enough, often irrelevant
   *4/ Fare*: tax, VAT, budgetary miscalculations, corruption, squandering state property, enforced lobby costs, illegal judiciary measures, deficit
   *5/ Passengers*: citizens, rural population, immigrants, emigrants, working class, upper-class, the unemployed; all layers of society
   *6/ Potential risks involved*: failure or success, amassing debts, inability to cover pension scheme expenditure, budgetary balance, losing control
   *7/ Consequences*: global for vehicle and passengers; partial for driver and crew; uneven burden for social layers
   *8/ Fatalities and damage*: incalculable, unpredictable

## 4.2. The journey metaphor in political speeches: pro and contra political establishment image schemata

A simple assumption that is guiding us in accounting for image schemata employed in describing both pro and con establishment scenarios is that the dynamic nature of a journey frame, as well as the numerous potential vehicles involved in the construal of both travel- and political sceneries allow for a principled way of producing novel scenarios of political relevance rooted in acts of traveling.

Given the general framework of a real journey versus the political setting of the journey metaphor, a similarity can be observed between the Pro-establishment and Con-establishment metaphors below. This is actually owing to the fact that both can heavily rely on vehicles embedded in the journey metaphor.

**Journey metaphors used in Obama's political speeches**

| **Pro-establishment** | **Con-establishment** |
|---|---|
| Goals: | |
| – Publicity (starting a new journey) | – Abnormal behaviour |
| – Communion (crew and passengers) | – Cheating |
| – Defy would-be obstacles | – Deception |
| – Form an alliance | – Deterioration |
| – Challenge opposition | – Difficulty |
| – Calm down the public | – Failure |
| – Prepare for next elections | – Honesty-dishonesty |
| – Safeguard power structure | – Risking |

EXAMPLES:

Pro-establishment JOURNEY METAPHORS are taken from Obama's Inauguration Speech (2008) (abcnews.go.com) and State of the Union Address (2010), (www.politico.com/news/stories)

– ALLIANCE IS STARTING A JOURNEY TOGETHER: "Let's seize the moment **to start anew**, to carry the dream forward and to strengthen our union once more." (Obama, 2010) Drawing from his mental imagery the speaker (i.e. the President) maps a journey scenario comprising the passengers, driver and the crew onto a socio-cultural scenario. This is in line with what Uhlman (2012: 372) points out in saying that "Americans imagined travel as a parallel to the trials of life within the United States." The journey and its mapping comprise the crew and driver versus passengers, as opposed to politicians and the president versus the population. Unlike the driver and crew, however, a president and politicians may only partly share the same interests as the population due to exposure to being lobbied. However, the overall union of participants of both the journey and the political scenarios may fail due to a crash during the journey or economic and other disasters in political life.

– SUCCESS IS DEFYING OBSTACLES/REACHING DESTINATION: "We have **come through a difficult decade**." (Obama 2010 ) Just as journeys end in reaching the destination safely, so do successful political scenarios involve coping with social, economic and other problems. Roads can be bumpy, whereas 'political scenes' can be full of obstacles. Here, bumpy roads of the source domain are mapped onto socio-political events. However, in a journey passengers do not

normally pose a threat to their fellow-passengers, while opposition parties do challenge the position of the ruling party permanently.

– CHALLENGE IS A JOURNEY: "**Our journey** has never been one of **short-cuts** or settling for less. It has not been **the path for** the faint-hearted **-** for those who prefer leisure over work, or seek only the pleasures of riches and fame." (Obama 2010) The constant challenge connected with the previous metaphor is confirmed by the president too. He points out that journey constituents are not applicable to political events, since journeys can have shortcuts, but governments rule for a definite number of years through a number of unpredictable and inevitable obstacles. The vehicle 'short-cuts' of a journey is mapped onto 'easy solutions' in politics.

– IMPLEMENTATION IS A PATH: "Rather, it has been the risk-takers, the doers, the makers of things - some celebrated but more often men and women obscure in their labour, who have carried us **up the long, rugged path towards prosperity and freedom.**" (Obama 2008) Paths can be different surfaces such as smooth or rough. The former is metaphorically manifested as a problem-free social or political script in the political-journey metaphor, whereas the latter involves difficulties experienced in a socio-political setting. This is relevant in other cultures too where the evolvement of political events is seen in terms of a rugged road-surface (see Romanian 'plin de hopuri', which can describe a road and a journey, as well as a political scene and also Hungarian 'döcögős út / döcögősen megy', which means 'a bumpy road/something going with difficulty along a bumpy road'.

– DEVELOPMENT IS A JOURNEY IN RETROSPECT: "For us, they **packed up their few worldly possessions and travelled across oceans** in search of a new life." (Obama 2008) Here, the ancestors of the population are viewed as travellers who managed to cover huge distances to arrive successfully at their destination, in order to lay down the foundations of future life. Source-domain components are manifested in potential goal-domain success.

– SUCCESS IS A SAFE JOURNEY: "**This is the journey we continue today.** We remain the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth." (Obama 2008)

"after nearly a century of trying… **we are closer than ever** to bringing more security to the lives of so many Americans" (Obama 2010)

"…**all followers arrive at the proper destination**" (Obama 2010).

Following suit of the previous metaphor, this journey metaphor embedded in a political discourse suggests success achieved through generations, linking future promises with the current state of affairs.

**CONTRA ESTABLISHMENT JOURNEY METAPHORS**
**– ABNORMAL BEHAVIOUR IS LOSING YOUR WAY**
**go off the tracks** "'biggest policy challenge' for the United States is countries that could 'go completely off track,' says Miguel Diaz of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington." (*The Economist*, Nov. 20th, 2000, p.

64): Elements of a political scenario emerge in terms of a failed journey. The vehicle 'derailment' of the source domain is mapped onto the 'fiasco' of political life in the goal domain.

– **CHEATING IS A JOURNEY**

**take someone for a ride** "Why not ask the man who took America for a ride and freed his country?" (*Newsweek,* March 31ˢᵗ, 2004, p. 31) Political events can be viewed as journeys where passengers are not taken to the promised land. The goal domain involving a corrupt president draws on the source domain where the vehicle is cheating travel agencies.

– **DECEPTION IS (TAKING THE VICTIM FOR) A JOURNEY/A WALK**

**lead someone up the garden path/ a blind alley** "Mr Schröder had led Germany up a blind alley, falling out with the Americans over Iraq, unthinkingly supporting the French in the European Union, and cosying up to Russia's Vladimir Putin despite protests from Germany's eastern neighbours." (*The Economist*, Feb. 11ᵗʰ, 2006, p. 12) Similarly to the previous metaphor, the leader, here the Prime minister, leading his country astray emerges from the source domain figure of a guide.

– **DIFFICULTY IS CIRCULAR MOTION**

**a revolving door** "The care system is also something of a revolving door: half of the 55,300 looked-after children will end up back with their parents within three months*.*"

(*The Economist,* March 4ᵗʰ, 2000, p. 38) Based on bodily experience observable in the source domain, circular motion ends in itself, which implies this trajector being applied for socio-political settings is manifested in failure in the goal domain.

– **HONESTY IS STRAIGHTNESS (DISHONESTY IS CROOKEDNESS** (He is a crook)**)**

**the straight and narrow** "The Palestinians may have re-offended during the recent intifada but, according to Mahmoud Abbas, their new president, they are back on the straight and narrow." (*The Economist*, June 25ᵗʰ, 2005, p. 12) In various cultures the idea of 'straight' is identified with 'honesty', while 'bends' are manifestations of diversion from 'law-abiding' attitude (just like in Hungarian, where 'egyenes, i.e. straight' means 'honest', also Rumanian 'escroc', or 'crook' in English, referring to a 'cheater', which also imply curved, i.e. not straight motion or ways of behaviour).

– **RISKING IS A JOURNEY ON THE SEA**

**throw caution to the winds** "The crude retort from some no less excitable Europeans is that an America unchecked by the Soviet Union and unhinged by September 11ᵗʰ has lost its bearings, thrown caution and international law to the winds, and is fuelling terrorism by seeming to pursue a crusade against Islam." (*The Economist,* Nov. 27ᵗʰ, 2004, p. 9) Sea-faring, part of the source-domain involves risks, which is mapped onto political scenes of the goal domain. Vast

distances and unpredictable weather conditions of source-domain scenarios are paralleled with long parliamentary terms and unforseen political events home and abroad in the goal-domain. For instance, CHOICE in the political field as well involves a 'one-way street', or 'reaching a fork in the road', or 'standing at a crossroads', each specifying decision-making scenarios of political figures.

The above examples illustrate that our first hypothesis was borne out by the data: we found that different scenarios (such as pro and contra-establishment) available in the journey domain can prove constitutive of a complex set of correspondences that can be identified in the political arena.

### 4.3. The journey metaphor in political interviews

If we compare the complexity of the image schemata that is characteristic of political speeches in our data with the complexity of the journey metaphors we found in political interviews, we find that in the latter many of the above mentioned constituents, such as fare, potential risks, fatalities, etc. are not construed. In the data based on mediatized political interviews, we mostly found references to the source, direction and goal of the journey, irrespective of whether it was the interviewee (IE) or the interviewer (IR) who made use of the journey metaphor:

> IR: Not only is it not happening, it seems to be **going backwards**. Steven Byers, your colleague, former Cabinet Minister said, to a greater extent than ever before people born in to poverty are condemned to it for the rest of their lives.
> IE: But now we've got to make it possible for people, once they've been to school, to get the skills they need, to get the qualifications they need and to get the support they need in other aspects as well, right across life. Really to achieve their full potential. And **we have started that journey**, but we are **no where near seeing it through** to its full conclusion (*BBC Politics Show*, Nov. 28th, 2004).

Moreover, the journey metaphor is incorporated into set expressions (dead metaphors) such as "there's a long way to go", "to make progress", "down the road", "along the way", etc., illustrated by the following extract:

> IE: And what I'm saying to you is that I believe, even though there's a lot of negative publicity often about the Health Service, actually the Health Service is getting better and there is real money being spent on it that is producing better outcomes for people but...No one disputes ***there's still a long way to go*** (*Newsnight*, Feb. 10th, 2003).

IE: Well, not yet Evan, because the French/German agreement is only one step ***along the way*** to reform; the other eurozone members have to sign up for it (*BBC Today Programme*, Dec. 6th, 2011).

IE: Of course Iraq has had an effect on these elections, but you know, I think most people, where ever they start from, will accept the thing to do now is to do everything we possibly can to make sure ***we make progress*** in Iraq (*BBC Politics Show*, June 13th, 2004).

Our second hypothesis, i.e. the assumption that journey metaphors that are used in political speeches, celebrity interviews and confrontational political interviews are of different types and complexity, also appears to be borne out by the data: the complexity of image schemata and the number of constituents that are construed appear to increase in proportion with the degree of planning, and parallel to the number of pre-packaged messages and appear to decrease in proportion with the degree of spontaneity and interactional organization. Our results are, at present, qualitative and are not amenable to description and quantification by inferential statistical methods, thus, further research is needed to ascertain whether or not the correspondences we have found are statistically significant.

Our third hypothesis, i.e. the expectation that there is a greater degree of pragmatic accountability and greater exposure of manipulative intent behind the use of journey metaphors, however, is clearly refuted by the data: we did not find a single instance where the interviewer used a metacommunicative utterance with reference to political journey metaphors, similar to utterances referring to the use of general extenders, as in the following extract (cf. Furkó 2008):

IE: Apparently, she asked, you know, how he was doing ***and stuff.*** So I'm not quite sure what that meant.

IR: ***And stuff.*** I think if someone appeared from the dead to me and I had a conversation in the mirror, I would remember what they said (*The Nancy Grace Show*, Dec. 29th, 2006).

## 5. Conclusions

Critical approaches to political discourse have, traditionally, been qualitative rather than quantitative because of the interpretive nature of the analyses and the difficulty in distinguishing between types of intent, and, consequently, in revealing manipulative intent. In cognitive pragmatics, the distinction between informative and manipulative communication is made on the basis of the intentions assigned to the speaker and the ability of the hearer to recognize such intentions (cf. Németh T. 2014: 475). Manipulative communication is successful

if the hearer recognizes the speaker's informative and communicative intentions, but fails to recognize the speaker's influencing intention. Manipulative intentions are very hard to identify for researchers, even if all the linguistic (conceptual and textual) and non-linguistic (contextual) clues, whether explicitly or implicitly conveyed, are taken into consideration (cf. Németh T. 2014: 472). Even though we can safely assume a global manipulative intention on the part of public speakers as well as interviewees (and interviewers) in political interviews, it is difficult to pinpoint particular instances of (local) manipulative intent.

Following in the CDA tradition, our qualitative analysis has revealed that tenets of shared features can be observed in describing the political setting of an existing regime and features of travel scripts. Inevitably, such correspondences offer us invaluable options to view one thing in terms of another, or, rather, to extend existing patterns of human cognition to develop a new way of mental processing in the perception of a political scenery.

The political journey metaphor has complex facets that draw on the journey metaphor involving vehicles of various political scenarios, phenomena closely related to the political scenery, and they can be observed in an abundance of sources and discourses parallel to the degree of spontaneity / pre-planning and interactional vs. thematic organization, which is involved in the communicative process. Since contextual features as well as the number of occurrences and complexity of construals is quantifiable, we hope to extend our analysis in the course of future research and find statistical correspondence between these parameters and construal patterns of metaphors used in mediatized political discourse.

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# Travelling among Languages – Comparing Language Learning Beliefs of Learners at Home Versus Migrant or Immigrant Workers

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**Abstract.** The paper presents a qualitative approach to language learning beliefs while analysing case studies in detail to offer significant insight into these beliefs and language learning as well. A number of studies have shown that the belief system of language learners plays a decisive role in their success and failure in language learning (Bernat & Gvozdenko 2005; Horwitz 2008). The research presents the content analysis of interviews with bilingual participants. Interviews were carried out with migrant workers, other interviews with bilingual students in Romania, as well as online interviews with immigrant workers in the EU. The paper explores different beliefs learners hold regarding learning languages. By comparing migrant workers' and students' beliefs the complexity of positive and negative beliefs are presented. These may change due to previous and current language learning experiences, cultural-, social-, and educational background, personality traits, etc. The result of the qualitative analysis has shown that beliefs are linked to the particular language placed in a social-cultural dimension; the same beliefs may not be possible to be transferred to the next language being learnt, individual differences in beliefs regarding learning languages and their dynamic change in different language learning processes are investigated in details.

**Keywords:** language learning beliefs, interview, bilinguals, dominant bilingualism

## 1. Introduction. A guidebook to the travel

Attitudes and beliefs play an important role in directing human behaviour, therefore in directing the process of learning languages as well. Approaching language learning beliefs creates the need to determine what the terms bilingualism and bilinguals refer to in the present research. Bilingualism refers to a definite

ability to use two languages in everyday life. It has become common truth that bilingualism is a natural state of being and is on rise in many parts of the world. Contact between two or more languages is typical in regions of many countries. Bilinguals can learn two languages from birth, i.e. simultaneous bilinguals, and learn a first language followed by a second language, i.e. sequential bilinguals. It has been proved that there are advantages for simultaneous bilinguals relative to sequential bilinguals. They tend to have better accents, larger vocabulary, and higher grammatical proficiency. However, bilingual exposure does not necessarily translate to being a bilingual who is able to understand and speak both languages fluently, claimed by Kiss (1995: 35):

> The Hungarians living outside the borders of Hungary – with a few exceptions – can be characterized by a lower or higher degree of bilingualism. There are some who understand the official language of the country, there are others who speak the official language at an elementary, intermediate or advanced level, and there are some who can speak their mother tongue and the second language equally well.[1]

Throughout this paper, the term first language (L1) is used to refer to Hungarian, as a language 'best known and/or most used' by the speakers in question, also called 'mother tongue' and contrasted with the second language (L2) (Skutnabb-Kangas & McCarty 2008: 6). The term 'second language' refers to Romanian as the official language used in everyday life situations and within academic and official environments. As the participants of this study are at different levels of bilingualism, the concept of individual bilingualism as defined by Skutnabb-Kangas & McCarty (2008: 4-5) is used to indicate different levels of proficiency. Individual bilingualism refers to the use of two or more languages by an individual. Individual bilingualism does not necessarily comply with the implementation of a 'bilingual' language policy, which presents its unsatisfactory outcomes concerning the Hungarian-Romanian bilinguals, and there is a high level of uncertainty even in the use of terminology (Tódor 2008). It is well known that language educational policies are 'mechanisms to create *de facto* language practices in educational institutions' used by authorities to manipulate language policies. Consequently, all the components of language policies, including decisions referring to mother tongues, or which language(s) to learn and teach in schools (including second language for ethnic minorities) are holders of language ideologies (Shohamy 2006: 76-77). Besides these ideologies, the members of a speech community share a set of beliefs about appropriate language practices, they assign prestige to various aspects of language (Spolsky 2004). These belief systems of language learners play a decisive role in their success and failure

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1    The author's translation.

in language learning; studies have revealed that language learners' beliefs about their own capacity and personal models of their own processes are much more important than universally accepted theories of learning, and some psychometric measures or individual difference factors such intelligence or aptitude (Bernat 2008). Belief systems are influential; they raise learners' consciousness and shape their attitude towards language learning, learning strategies and policies. The language learners, being at any level of bilingualism, have beliefs about the languages learnt, their language aptitude and learning strategies. However, some beliefs may have a facilitative effect on learning, while others can hinder it. Supportive beliefs help to overcome problems and thus sustain motivation, while unrealistic beliefs can lead to decreased motivation, increased frustration, and even anxiety (Horwitz 2001). Therefore, understanding learners' beliefs is essential. Raising the awareness of learners' beliefs has become central to language pedagogy, knowing that beliefs shape the path learners hold about language and language learning process and product.

The paper has been dedicated to explore what beliefs are related to language learning processes and it has aimed as research objective to present differences which can be identified regarding learning two or more languages. The interviews revealed the representations of these beliefs and the dynamic characteristics of them.

## 2. Interviews as mirrors of the travel

While quantitative research methods provide clarity and precision throughout the use of well-designed questionnaires and descriptive statistics, can include a large number of respondents and afford them anonymity, they do have limitations. For example, the beliefs profiled in survey studies are generally limited to those identified by the researcher and therefore might not be representative of all the beliefs learners hold about language learning. There is also potential for misinterpretation of questionnaire items. They are less complex, focus-oriented, and context-centred. Furthermore, some argue that a construct, as intellectually and affectively complex and rich as is one's personal belief system, is difficult to capture by people's responses to a set of normative statements (Weinstein 1994). Empirical approaches using the sociocultural perspective typically employ qualitative research methods. Studies are usually small-scale and employ in-depth, descriptive and interpretive analyses. They offer a rich insight into the systems of beliefs and individual language learning experiences. They can include a variety of data collection methods such as interview techniques, journal or diary entries, as well as classroom observations. However, the limitations of such studies are reflected by researcher's selectivity of data, a degree of interpretive subjectivity,

and context-specificity resulting in lack of application to broader SLA contexts (Bernat & Gvozdenko 2005). It is important to note that collecting data through qualitative research may offer further insights into language learning beliefs, how they work in the learners' minds.

Language learning beliefs were identified and classified by different researchers: Wenden (1986), Horwitz (1987), Cotterall (1995), just to name a few of them. A reliable research tool with good psychometric qualities, the Beliefs about Language Learning Inventory (BALLI) questionnaire, was created by Horwitz (1987), to assess students' beliefs about language learning in five major areas: (1) foreign language aptitude, (2) the difficulty of language learning, (3) the nature of language learning, (4) learning and communication strategies, and (5) motivations and expectations. Research has shown that beliefs about learning are important part of knowledge (Arnold 1999), and they develop early in elementary and secondary school children (Williams 1994). Williams also added that:

> Language, after all, belongs to a person's whole social being: it is part of one's identity, and is used to convey this identity to other people. The learning of a foreign language involves far more than simply learning skills, or a system of rules or a grammar, it involves an alteration in self-image, the adoption of new social and cultural behaviors and ways of being, and therefore has a significant impact on the social nature of the learner (*ibid.*, 77).

The social and family background is among the various factors which influence learner beliefs (Dias 2000), as well as the cultural background (Alexander & Dochy 1994). Furthermore, classroom/social peers (Arnold 1999) and the interpretations of prior repetitive experiences (Little, Singleton & Silvius 1984, Kern 1995) may have an impact on these beliefs. It is suggested that beliefs are intertwined with factors such as self-concept and identity, self-efficacy, personality and other individual differences (Epstein 1990). However, it is even more important to find out what factors may change them. The stable or static nature of beliefs is among the most central claims of the mainstream approach. On the other hand, Rust (1994) describes beliefs as socially-constructed representation systems used to interpret and act upon the world. Beliefs are seen by him as fluid and dynamic, not stable entities within the individual and they change and develop over time. This dynamic characteristic can be traced by comparing learners' beliefs in case of two or more different language learning processes (Romanian and English, or other languages).

In our research, the interview transcripts provide the texts that serve as a domain of analysis. After a selective reduction of the text to categories the focus was placed on matching them with the research questions, being representative of the view of all of the interviewees. In other words, the present paper presents

opinions that occurred in all of the interviews and, as such, the excerpts quoted are representative of the opinion of all of the interviewees. Content analysis is based on the meaning unit, that is, the constellation of words or statements that relate to the same central meaning, related to each other through their content and context. The empirical focus is on the qualitative content of bilinguals' language learning beliefs and learning strategies. Language learning beliefs, as qualitative variables, shape the learners' engagement in language learning process positively or negatively. It is a method to identify belief structures of bilinguals' language learning process.

## 3. The variety of the travellers

The travel among languages varies according to the travellers. There were 19 bilingual students at two universities, where interviews were carried out between May–June, 2014 and February–March, 2015. 14 participants were students at the Babeş–Bolyai University (Sfântu Gheorghe), while 5 participants belonged to the Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania (Miercurea Ciuc). The second group of participants were migrant workers born in Transylvania; the interviews were conducted in Transylvania in 2012[2] (the total number of the interviews was 28; however, only 18 met the aim of the present paper). The interviewees were all migrant workers, formerly working in the EU and the USA. The third group of interviewees consisted of 4 Hungarian ethnic immigrants, bilinguals as well, permanently living abroad (Austria, Italy and Israel). The participants of the study are all bilinguals, their L1 is Hungarian and L2 is Romanian. Among the participants there were 3 balanced bilinguals (coming from mixed families). Besides speaking Hungarian as their mother tongue and Romanian as their second language, they all speak one or more other languages, e.g. English, German, Italian, etc.

    The travel among languages, i.e. using various languages, meets the dilemmas of bilingualism, multilingualism and intercultural skills. In the two counties where the Hungarians form the majority of the population, children meet the second language around age 6 or 7, which is the school age. They can be characterized by sequential, dominant bilingualism. Although Romanian is present in their everyday lives, this influence is little and depends on many contextual factors. The informal way of learning the language is missed, it results in hard times to improve second language proficiency later. Therefore, there is a need to 'travel' to the land of second language (educational, economic, social, personal needs), for a higher proficiency in Romanian. Varying levels of bilingualism is a fact among

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2    Migration and economic culture – research project, 2011–2012, financed by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Project leader: Angella Sorbán.

the Hungarian ethnic minority. Considering the advantages of bilinguals and multilinguals it is worth mentioning that bilingual and multilingual individuals are experienced learners and the state of being bilingual influences third or fourth, and additional language learning processes. They are more open towards the third/ fourth languages. The strategies of learning these two languages are transferable, the travel is possible between languages (Biró 2012). Still, multilingualism remains a label for them – as only high language proficiency fosters acquisition of further languages. They also meet their intercultural dilemmas. Acquiring intercultural skill refers to the development of those skills which enable language learners to understand the target culture and cultural conventions. It also refers to increased learners' awareness towards the target culture and to their own, sensitizing them to cultural diversity. In the case of dominant bilinguals there is a gap between their own and second language culture. However, immigrant and migrant workers are actually experiencing the other cultures, comparing them, demonstrating constant learning attitude towards intercultural skills:

> *It was so odd when I arrived in Switzerland, everything in precise order, even the stables, nothing like at home* [in Romania](...) (participant from Odorheiu Secuiesc, 32, working in Switzerland)

It is matter of economic challenge for migrant workers to survive there and to achieve their initial personal goals. Within this context language learning mainly depends on the language learner's attitude (shaped by the context, by the home country, by previous attitudes, prejudices, etc.), on his or her motivation (instrumental motivation mostly – surviving at a workplace), on their language learning beliefs (shaped by previous language learning experiences, in our case Romanian language mainly). Beliefs regarding language learner abilities are related to the *circumstances, to the context* (being in a native speaking environment). Participants reported on friendly environments which helped their learning, support from families or from the community and practice, the use of language helped them a lot; besides, travelling, meeting other cultures strengthened flexibility and acceptance towards languages, thus developing their intercultural skills.

The results of the research with the help of semi-structured interviews show what **beliefs** are related to their language learning processes and what **differences** they can mention regarding learning the two or more languages. These factors were identified during the content analysis of 41 interviews in total.

Table 1. Participants, age, gender and languages learnt

| Gender | Age range | Languages learnt (number) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | students | migrant workers and immigrants |
| 18 female | 19–41 | Romanian (18), English (18), German (12), French (6), Spanish (1) | Romanian (18), English (18), German (16), French (2), Spanish (4), Italian (5), Hebrew (1) |
| 23 male | 19–69 | Romanian (23), English (23), German (17), French (5) | Romanian (23), English (23), German (20), French (3), Spanish (5), Italian (4), Danish (3), Norwegian (1), Swedish (3), Croatian (1) |

The interviewees' profile reveals some personal data, as gender, age, family background (3 coming from a mixed family – Hungarian mother, Romanian father, the rest from Hungarian families), language of instruction in kindergarten and school, as well as their language proficiency regarding both languages: Romanian and English. Their language proficiency was based on self-assessment. Second language speakers believe in higher second language proficiency than their actual level of proficiency as it provides them with functional communication within the context (Dörnyei 2001). The student participants were usually not satisfied with their Romanian proficiency, the overall underestimation of it shows their unstable feelings, but also the wish to constantly improve it in the future. They face their lack of knowledge each day; therefore, they are able to assess their own skills in a very detailed way. Migrant workers, coming from counties where the majority of the population is formed by the Romanian ethnicity, are generally satisfied with their Romanian language knowledge; they consider themselves as balanced bilinguals, able to use the second language in any circumstances. The overall satisfaction of their English knowledge obviously comes from overestimation, their beliefs of their English knowledge are mostly positive. Migrant and immigrant workers speak a wider variety of languages compared to the number of languages students speak due to their stay abroad in different countries, although being able to apply the learnt languages in their daily lives does not necessarily mean that they all have become proficient speakers of that particular language.

# 4. Comparing positive beliefs of students and migrant/ immigrant workers

By comparing positive beliefs of the participants regarding learning Romanian and learning other languages the most striking difference could be observed between the beliefs of dominant bilinguals and balanced bilinguals. Students generally reported on family support when it came to language learning, especially regarding Romanian language. The members of the Hungarian minority

are eager to learn the official language; however, this willingness is hindered by fear of failure. They expect, they believe that learning Romanian is always difficult, while learning English (or other languages) is assumed to be easier. Learning Romanian, the state language of the country, is a must for all citizens: *"Parents made us understand that as Hungarian minority speakers we need to learn Romanian, otherwise we will not be able to prevail"; "...I wanted to speak Romanian so much in that moment..."; "you do not feel inferior then".* Knowing other languages is usually providing the students with positive feelings: *"it is a good feeling",* gives *"openness, independence".* In the case of balanced bilinguals (students coming from mixed families) learning and speaking Romanian was a simultaneous process: *"I have advantages compared to my (Hungarian) friends",* as well as learning other languages meant to be easier for them, they expressed their confidence in their language learning skills: *"I do not believe that one cannot learn a language!"*

Migrant workers reported on different beliefs both regarding learning Romanian and other languages. For dominant bilinguals learning Romanian is linked to the necessity of making a living at home: *"It is not a foreign language for me"; "I had to learn it in the army – it was a necessity, needed for survival".* Their attitude and beliefs about language learning are practical – they have experienced the advantages of language skills and therefore are more willing to learn languages: *"Practice is important", "If you are in need, you learn it fast", "You need to learn words, not grammar.", "I started it by myself, every day I learnt five new words, and when I could not use my copybook then I wrote the words on my palm… And I learnt them. I had a strong will".* Balanced bilinguals (coming from mixed families) among the migrant workers assumed that there is a connection between languages, they were aware of it: *"if you already know Romanian the next language is easier", "there is a connection among languages".* They are more eager to learn languages, simply because of the practical need of communication: *"I wanted to know",* confessed one of the participants (she speaks English, Italian and German, understands Spanish); revealing her wish to learn languages simply because she always wanted to be able to communicate with people around her.

As a conclusion, it can be stated that having self-confidence, having a positive belief about their own language learning abilities (foreign language aptitude beliefs), assuming the easiness of a language (the difficulty of language learning beliefs), believing in the necessity of learning the language (the nature of language learning beliefs / motivations and expectations beliefs) all help to acquire a language. Beliefs about learning and communication strategies – the fifth category of language learning beliefs identified by Horwitz (1987) – cover a wide range of strategies, however, practice, communication, learning the vocabulary, reading, watching movies, watching cartoons, playing computer games, singing, language courses and learning grammar are among the top ten.

# 5. Comparing negative beliefs of students and migrant/ immigrant workers

Negative beliefs mainly refer to learning Romanian by dominant bilinguals. Learning Romanian caused nervousness, anxiety, even lack of self-confidence of the participants: *"you were so discouraged"*, *"I had a teacher who gave me bad marks, 'patru' [four, failed], whether I knew or not"*, *"you just do not start from the elementary level, you miss that"*, *"only grammar, we were afraid in the class"*, *"you cannot learn Romanian in a Hungarian village"*. Romanian is compared with other foreign languages such as English, when interviewees describe their opinion regarding state language teaching methodology. Difficulties were met due to the inappropriate methodology of teaching Romanian, missing informal ways of acquiring the language and experiencing psychological reasons (fear, anxiety, and nervousness). Balanced bilingual students did not mention any problems regarding learning Romanian. In the case of other languages they mainly mentioned difficulties due to the inappropriate methodology of teaching languages or flaws in the system of education. They found learning the grammar of a language difficult, or hard to understand: *"I have problems with the English grammar rules"; "I find German language unfriendly"* or complained about the educational system: *"Frequent change of teachers was a disadvantage"*.

Migrant workers obviously had more problems with integration into the host community, society, which is reflected in the process of language learning: *"You will always stay an immigrant"*. Their language abilities are narrowed down to certain registers and certain levels of communication within the host community, therefore experiencing lack of knowledge sometimes: *"Difficult to learn the dialects"*. Migrant workers did not report on any negative beliefs concerning Romanian, however, some of them complained about the so-called 'false friends', words looking or sounding similar in two languages, but differing in meaning: *"Romanian confused me, words look like Italian but they are not correct in Italian"*.

Learning a language easily is mainly related to the *like* (liking the language), having an ear for the language, being motivated. These abilities are generally associated with the English language. It is very important to mention that the speaker might have an ear for English, but not for the Romanian. It means that they distinguish their beliefs according to the learnt languages, unlike language learning strategies these beliefs do not seem to be transferable. Distinguishing two different sets of beliefs explains the successful and unsuccessful acquisition of the two languages: *"You cannot learn Romanian in my hometown [majority of the population is Hungarian], it is impossible. (...) I just picked up English, somehow it was 'attached' to me, I 'liked it'"* [the same participant]. However, migrant workers rarely report on unsuccessful acquisition of languages, their language learner abilities are strongly connected to the survival in a foreign

society. They meet anxiety at the beginning of their stay, later on it disappears. Their lower social status and lack of power prescribe cautious behaviour, to cover their lack of language proficiency: "*because when I wanted to say something I had a colleague to translate for me, or I talked in English* [not German], *and if I did not know something I withheld any questions, and did not discuss that issue.*" Immigrants' and migrant workers' employment opportunities must address the central challenge: acquiring proficiency in their host country's language. Language proficiency is one of the most important determinants of immigrant integration; with greater host language proficiency they earn more and work in more skilled occupations than those with low proficiency. Those who go abroad for a period to live in a native speech community are motivated to find out what this useful knowledge of a language consists of, how they make to linguistically fit the community.

Negative beliefs regarding language learning most certainly hinder the acquisition of a language. These beliefs are deep-rooted, hard to change. The key seems to be the travel itself – working or just simply spending enough time in a native language speaking environment have had obvious and positive outcomes.

# 6. Conclusion

In this paper we have presented some underlying theories of language learners' beliefs followed by the analysis of migrant workers' and students' interviews regarding language learners' beliefs. The qualitative analysis of the interviews in the second part of the paper has hopefully shown two main approaches of studying language learners' beliefs. First of all, we analysed the beliefs learners hold regarding learning the second language, Romanian, and the foreign language, English. Then we explored the differences language learners could mention regarding learning two or more languages. By comparing migrant workers' and students' beliefs we tried to present the complexity of positive and negative beliefs. Beliefs seem not to be stable; they can change due to previous and current language learning experiences, cultural-social-educational background, personality traits, etc. They may vary according to the context: learning a language in a native language speaking community emphasizes different beliefs than a "safe" home environment, hence the over- or underestimation of their own language abilities. Regardless of personality traits, positive beliefs seem to enhance language learning a lot, and the like of the language empowers positive beliefs of the learners' language aptitude – shown by the different language learning processes of the same learner. It seems difficult to transfer positive beliefs regarding learning a certain language to a next language, and negative beliefs do not influence the next language learning process. Whether positive

beliefs helped them learn a language better or being able to learn a language determined their positive beliefs still remains a question. It seems to be true that learning more languages successfully builds more positive beliefs and balanced bilinguals outstand for these beliefs. The narratives illustrate the differences in this complex system of language learning beliefs and a holistic picture can be gained about language learning.

However, beliefs are linked to the particular language placed in a social-cultural dimension; the same beliefs may not be possible to be transferred to the next language being learnt. Successful language learning includes many influences and we may further analyse the cognitive influences (e.g., knowledge of L1, linguistic analysis capacity, memory), motivational influences (e.g., interest in the L2, L3, value of the L2, L3 to the learner, positive affect toward speakers of the L2, L3), social influences (e.g., opportunities to interact with L2, L3 speakers, access to useful feedback), and instruction (e.g., quantity, quality, design). Separating the social and the individual factors may never lead us to understanding language learning. Pavlenko (2002) mentions a number of issues which deserves further investigations, stating that internal and psychological factors as attitude, motivation or language learning beliefs have clear social origins and are shaped and reshaped by the contexts in which the learners find themselves.

Therefore, the most important finding of the present study is shown by the individual differences of beliefs regarding learning languages and their dynamic change in different language learning processes. Very distinct, even opposite beliefs linked to different languages may direct the language learning behaviour of the participants. The distance between languages seems to matter but not as strongly as one would expect. Participants, who were able to learn English, then Italian, were having hard times learning German.

To sum up, travelling – literally and metaphorically – represents the possibility of change. Travelling on the road of language learning process in order to reach a higher proficiency can turn negative beliefs into positive ones, or spending some time in a native language speaking environment can foster positive changes. Dominant bilinguals have a longer way to go, while balanced bilinguals enjoy a higher self-confidence during their travel. Migrant workers' real world experiences work as a great motivating influence and build a new system of beliefs on their road.

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# Translation of Transylvanian Culture-Specific Items into English

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**Abstract.** The present paper focuses on some difficulties encountered during the translation of culture-specific items in Zsuzsa Tapodi's articles *Links between the East and the West: Historical Bonds between the Hungarians and the Balkan Peoples* and *Hungarian Ethnographic Region in Romania*, published in the May 2014 issue of *Carmina Balcanica*. As far as the theoretical framework adopted in this study is concerned, the terminology on translation strategies relies on the taxonomy developed by Aixelá (1996), while the classification of culture-specific items has been influenced by Dimitriu (2002) and Yılmaz-Gümüş (2012). The study provides a definition of the term 'culture-specific item', considers the target-readers' awareness of source-language culture, and presents a number of translation strategies applied to mediate culture-bound information between the source and target cultures.

**Keywords:** lingua franca, target reader, source culture awareness, intratextual gloss, extratextual gloss, intertextual corpus

## 1. Introduction

Recent technological achievements facilitating people's access to information, the development of electronic media as well as the modernisation of transportation have led to an unprecedented increase in cultural interactions (Hidasi 1997), as a consequence of which there is growing need for producing and translating texts that contain culture-bound information.

The present paper focuses on some difficulties encountered during the translation of culture-specific items in Zsuzsa Tapodi's studies *Links between the East and the West: Historical Bonds between the Hungarians and the Balkan Peoples* (Tapodi 2014a) and *Hungarian Ethnographic Regions in Romania* (Tapodi 2014b) published in *Carmina Balcanica*. As far as the theoretical framework adopted in this paper is concerned, the terminology on translation strategies relies on the taxonomy

developed by Aixelá (1996), while the classification of culture-specific items has been influenced by Dimitriu (2002) and Yılmaz-Gümüş (2012).

The sections that follow provide a definition of the term 'culture-specific item', consider the target-readers' awareness of source-language culture, and present a number of translation strategies applied to mediate culture-bound information between the source and target cultures.

## 2. The definition of the term 'culture-specific item'

Mediation of culture-bound information is a major challenge for translators. Researchers involved in translation theory have coined different terms to refer to these 'untranslatable' items, such as 'lexis without equivalence', 'realia' or 'culture-specific items', all referring to "names of objects typically characteristic of a particular language community (meals, clothes, dishes, dances, etc)" that "cannot be translated into the language of a community which does not know it" (Klaudy 2003: 40, 41).

Aixelá (1996: 58) broadens the scope of the concept. He defines it as including "those textually actualized items whose function and connotations in a source text involve a translation problem in their transference to a target text, whenever this problem is a product of the nonexistence of the referred item or of its different intertextual status in the cultural system of the readers of the target text." According to the definition above, the term 'culture-specific item' also refers to lexical items that exist both in the target and the source cultures but with different connotations.

## 3. The target readers

Written originally in Hungarian, the articles analysed have been translated into English and Romanian. The two versions address different target readers, which results in a number of discrepancies between the texts.

Obviously, the English version targets the native speakers of the language, so the translator had to anticipate the degree of source-culture awareness of societies living in English speaking countries. However, owing to its status as a lingua franca, English "gradually loses track of its cultural identity – its idioms, its hidden connotations, its grammatical subtleties – and turns into a bland and flattened 'plastic language' or 'langue de plastique' available for the common denominator of international communication" (Snell-Hornby 1997: 29). Thus, part of the prospective readers may share neither the culture of the source language, nor that of the target language.

The heterogeneity of the target readers' background knowledge about Romania in general and Transylvania in particular leads to the hypothesis that however detailed the intratextual and extratextual glosses inserted by the translator, the culture-bound information included in the translated texts remains underspecified for a great number of readers. Therefore, when looking for English equivalents of culture-specific items, the translator must always be guided by the idea that the word or phrase chosen should facilitate readers in carrying out quick individual research into the topic. That is to say, the "support of pre-established translations within the intertextual corpus of the target language" (Aixelá 1996: 61) is of utter importance. As the most efficient way of obtaining information is looking for key-words on the internet, in the majority of cases the equivalent chosen during the translation of the articles was the one that gave access to accurate and comprehensive information when typed into web search engines.

The sections that follow expound on further guidelines and strategies concerning the translation of culture-specific items.

# 4. Reference to geographical names

Toponyms are regarded as typical examples for conservation and unaltered repetition of items when they are transferred from the source language into the target language. However, in Transylvania, where three parallel toponymic layers coexist, decision has to be made on whether the Romanian, Hungarian or the German variant should be adopted in the English translation. Usually the choice does not depend on the translator. Supratextual criteria such as the writer's aim or the publisher's policy are taken into consideration. In our particular case, when translating geographical names, two factors had to be considered: firstly, the author's and the publisher's common aim to familiarize the readers with the culture of the Hungarians inhabiting the Carpathian Basin – with special emphasis on the Hungarian community living in present-day Romania, and secondly, the principle mentioned in the previous section of this study, namely to ensure the possibility for readers to obtain further information on the culture-specific terms via internet or other sources available in English.

## 4.1. Human settlements

Having in view the factors mentioned above, in the case of city, town and village names it was the Romanian toponym that appeared in the body of the text, while, where necessary, the Hungarian equivalent was inserted in brackets, as extratextual gloss. In order to help readers find the location of these places, the

English variant is much more consistent in providing information on the counties these localities are situated in than the Hungarian and Romanian variants.

## 4.2. Ethnographic regions

When translating region names, the major difficulty encountered was the lack of widely used and accepted English equivalents. The relatively few native English authors who have written about different regions of Romania had to elaborate their own strategies for altering the Hungarian, the Romanian or the German toponyms in a way these geographical names can seamlessly fit into the English context. These 'personal solutions' have resulted in several English alternatives denoting the same geographic or ethnographic area. Translations of region names such as *Székelyföld*, *Kalotaszeg* or *Mezőség* provide examples on attempts to solve this problem.

The ethnographic area known by the Hungarians as *Székelyföld* is most often referred to in English as the *Székely Land* (Reid 2007; Mallows 2008; Howard 1996) or – basing on the German toponym – as the *Szeklerland* (Minahan 2002; Turnock 2013; Smith & Richards 2013). Other writers use the following terms: *Székely region* (Hupchick 1995; Hooker 2013), *Szekler region* (McMahon 2007; Parish & Naphy 2002), *Székely district* (Frucht 2005; Eby 2007), *Szekler district* (Frucht 2005), *Székely area* (Neilson 2004), *Szekler area* (Reisser 2012), *land of the Székelys* (Cornish 1947) or *land of the Szeklers* (Fermor 2010). Of the variants that appear more frequently in the intertextual corpus, the term *Szeklerland* was chosen in the translation of the two analysed studies.

The ethnographic region *Kalotaszeg* seems more problematic to be rendered in an English context. Native English writers rarely, if ever, refer to this region by its Romanian name, *Țara Călatei.* On 23 March 2014 the website www.books. google.co.uk found no results for English books containing the term 'Tara Calatei'. Sometimes the name *Kalotaszeg* is used without any glosses in the English text (MacWhinney 2010), but the general tendency is to insert intratextual glosses such as *Kalotaszeg area* (Howard 1996), *Kalotaszeg region* (Mallows 2008), or *the district of Kalotaszeg* (Mann 1968). In English texts not written by Romanian authors, we found only one variant, with intratextual gloss, stemming from the Romanian toponym: *Călata district* (Schöpflin & Poulton 1990). However, references have been found where the Romanian and Hungarian names of the region appear together, one being the extratextual gloss for the other, like in the following examples: *Kalotaszeg (now Călata) region* (White 2000) or *the area of Călata (Kalota), Transylvania, Romania* (Szabó T. 2009). Reid (2007) uses the term *Huedin Microregion (Kalotaszeg)*, making reference to the urban centre of the area. In Tapodi (2014b) the term *Călata District* is used, followed by the region's Hungarian name in brackets as extratextual gloss. Although the term chosen is not

the most frequent one in the intertextual corpus, it contributes to the consistency of the article as far as the use of the Romanian and Hungarian toponyms is concerned. Moreover, knowing that Kalotaszeg has never been an administrative entity of its own, by choosing the noun *district* instead of *region*, the translator makes distinction between the ethnographic area and the administrative unit that existed in Romania between 1950 and 1968 (see section 4.3.).

*Mezőség* is both an ethnographic and a physical-geographical region of Transylvania. Having no established translation into English, in this case, too, different sources provide different terms to refer to the region. Some Hungarian authors conserve the Hungarian name of the area, coining English variants like the *Transylvanian Mezőség* (Pozsony 2006) or the *Mezőség of Transylvania* (Balassa & Ortutay 1984). Broughton (1994) refers to the region as the *Transylvanian "Heath"*, which is in fact the loan-translation of the German toponym *Siebenbürgische Heide*.

The most often used English variant, *Transylvanian Plain* (e.g. Mallows 2008), is an erroneous loan-translation of the Romanian *Câmpia Transilvaniei*. The source of the mistranslation is the polysemy of the Romanian word *câmpie*.

Consulting the *Dicţionar explicativ al limbii române* (1998), one of the most representative Romanian monolingual dictionaries, one can notice partial synonymy between the words *câmp[1] and câmpie.[2]* The two entries are provided below:

CÂMP, *câmpuri,* s.n. şi (**1**, astăzi mai ales în expr.) *câmpi,* s.m. **1.** Întindere vastă de pământ fără accidente însemnate de teren[3]; şes[4], câmpie[2]; *spec.* Întindere de pământ cultivată, semănată; totalitatea ogoarelor din jurul unei comune[5]. [...]

CÂMPÍE, *câmpii.* s.f. Întindere vastă de pământ fără accidente însemnate de teren[3]; şes[4], câmp[1] – **câmp +** suf.-ie.

The translation *Transylvanian Plain* is based on the sense of the word *câmpie* coinciding with the first sense of the word *câmp* (both in Leviţchi's *Romanian-English Dictionary* – see footnotes 1 and 2 – and in the *Dicţionar explicativ al limbii române*): that of the expansion of land with no significant elevation changes. However, the **Cîmpia Transilvaniei** entry of the Romanian *Encyclopedic Dictionary (Dicţionar Enciclopedic)*, volume 1 (1993: 399), provides the following information:

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1    **cîmp I.** *s.n.* **1.** field; *(şes)* plain, level (country). **2.** *agr.* field. **3.** *(fond)* ground. **4.** *(margine)* margin. **5.** *fig.* field; sphere; domain; range, scope. (Leviţchi 2003)

2    **cîmpie** *s.f.* plain, level (country); *(ţară de jos)* lowland. (Leviţchi 2003)

3    Huge expansion of land with no significant elevation changes. [Translated by the author.]

4    **şes I.** *adj.* flat, plain. **II.** *s.n.* plain. (Leviţchi 2003)

5    *spec.* Expansion of cultivated, cropped land; the totality of fields surrounding a village. [Translated by the author.]

The vernacular denomination, with the element "cîmpie", only refers to its ancient agricultural function, because neither the land relief nor the majority of its other landscape components justify the inclusion of this unit into the category of plains proper. [...] Deforested at an early age, **C. T.** has become an important agricultural area, with arable lands predominating in a proportion of 70-80% in the S and 30-40% in the N, on which cereals, sugar-beet, sunflower etc. are cultivated.[6]

The quotation above leads to the conclusion that besides the definition provided by the *Dicționar explicativ al limbii române* and the English equivalents given in Levițchi's dictionary, in the particular case analysed in our study, the word *câmpie* is used in a sense referring to the agricultural function of the region. Thus, the synonymy between *câmpie* and *câmp* has to be extended over the specialised sense of the word *câmp* provided by the *Dicționar explicativ al limbii române*, as well: the expansion of cultivated, cropped land; the totality of fields surrounding a village (which coincides with sense 2 in Levițchi's dictionary – see footnote 1).

Mallows (2013) tries to capture the meaning of the Hungarian word *Mezőség*, i.e. the 'totality of fields' (which is actually identical with the meaning of the Romanian *Câmpie* presented above), by the word *Fieldness.* In Tapodi (2014b) the term *Transylvanian Fieldland* is used. Both *Fieldness* and *Fieldland* emphasize the agricultural land-use predominant in the region. Which of the two denominations sounds more natural for native English speakers, can be a topic of debate.

### 4.3. Administrative units

The administrative unit called *judeţ* in present-day Romania is consistently translated as *county* in travel guides (e.g. Mallows 2008, 2013; Reid 2007), a variant which is adopted in the translation of Zsuzsa Tapodi's studies, as well. It has to be mentioned, however, that references have been found where the Romanian name of the entity is conserved in the English text (*Reviews of National Policies for Education: Romania* 2000), and, marginally, where some authors refer to this administrative unit as *district* (e.g. Nurnberg 1999).

The translation of historical administrative entities of Romania is less unified. The examples provided below show different variants that appear as English translations of the administrative unit known in Romanian under the name of

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6    In original: „Denumirea populară, cu atributul de 'cîmpie', se referă numai la funcționalitatea sa agricolă, străveche, fiindcă nici relieful şi nici majoritatea celorlalte componente ale peisajului nu justifică încadrarea acestei unități în categoria cîmpiilor propriu-zise. [...] Defrişată de timpuriu, **C.T.** a devenit o importantă zonă agricolă, terenurile arabile predominînd în proporţie de 70-80%, în S şi 30-40% în N, pe care se cultivă cereale, sfeclă de zahăr, floarea-soarelui etc." [Translated by the author.]

*Regiunea Autonomă Maghiară* (in Hungarian: *Magyar Autonóm Tartomány*), which existed between 1952 and 1960.

Recently published books such as White (2000) and Minahan (2002) use the denomination *Magyar Autonomous Region.* The historian Stefano Bottoni, who has published writings about this region, refers to it as the *Hungarian Autonomous Region* (Bottoni 2003), while other authors call this historic subdivision of the country the *Hungarian autonomous district* (Crampton 2002) or the *Hungarian Autonomous Province* (McMahon 2007). The term adopted in the translation of the texts analysed is *Magyar Autonomous Region*, because this is the denomination that figures on English maps published in the sixth decade of the 20th century (e.g. Bartholomew 1956), so it can be hypothesized that it was this form of the term that appeared in the discourse of that time period.

# 5. Reference to buildings or sites with historical significance

Although Transylvanian historical landmarks have well-established names in Hungarian and Romanian, their translation into English is less unified. In what follows, alternative translations are presented, which denote sites significant for the Hungarian culture, mentioned in Tapodi (2014a, 2014b).

Travel guidebooks are quite consistent regarding the translation of one of the most important places of interest in Târgu Mureş referred to as *Kultúrpalota* in Hungarian and *Palatul Culturii* in Romanian. Mallows (2008) names it *Palace of Culture*, Reid (2007) and Williams (1998) call it *Culture Palace.* The denomination adopted in Tapodi (2014b) is *Cultural Palace.*

The English reference to another building of outstanding importance situated in the same city, called *Közigazgatási Palota* or *Megyeháza* in Hungarian and: *Palatul Prefecturii* in Romanian, is less unified. Reid (2007) calls it *County Council Building*, Williams (1998) names it *Prefecture*, while Mallows (2008: 179) describes it as the "Old Town Hall (1907), which is now government offices […]." In Tapodi (2014b) the term *the residence of the Mureş County Council* is used.

The most famous cemetery in Cluj-Napoca named *Házsongárdi temető* in Hungarian and *Cimitirul Central* [*Central Cemetery*] in Romanian, also appears under different denominations in English texts written by native English authors. Some of them conserve its Hungarian name. For example, Mallows (2008) calls it *Házsongárdi Cemetery*, while Reid (2007: 190) refers to it as an "immense, highly memorable Hungarian cemetery (Map p186; *Házsongárdi temető* in Hungarian), where dozens of revered Hungarian notables are buried." Le Bas & Bell (2007) name it the *Hajongard Cemetery*, while Brubaker (2006), based on the Romanian denomination of the landmark, refers to it as the *Central Cemetery*. Owing to the

discrepancy between the Hungarian and the Romanian names of the site, when first mentioned, both the term *Házsongárd Cemetery* and that of *Central Cemetery* are present in Tapodi (2014b), one being the extratextual gloss of the other. Later in the text the site is referred to only as *Házsongárd Cemetery*, reiterating thus its importance in the Hungarian culture. The adjective-forming derivational suffix *–i* denoting 'belonging to' or 'pertaining to' has been deliberately removed from the name used in the English translation.

Two sites with particular importance for the Hungarian culture situated in the southern part of Transylvania – mentioned in Zsuzsa Tapodi's studies – are analysed in this paper. The first one is called *Déva vára* in Hungarian and *Cetetea Devei* or *Cetatea Deva* in Romanian. English guidebooks often refer to it as the *Citadel* (Williams 1998, Reid 2007), *Deva Castle* (Mallows 2008), *Deva Fortress* (Rennon 2007). Leader (1967) names it *castle of Déva*, while in Tapodi (2014b) the denomination *fort of Déva* appears, following Brewster (1996).

The second landmark is *Vajdahunyad vára* in Hungarian. Texts in Romanian refer to it as *Castelul Corvineştilor, Castelul Corvinilor, Castelul Hunedoarei* or *Castelul Huniazilor*. English guidebook writers term it as *Hunedoara Castle* (Williams 1998), referring to the Romanian name of the town where it is situated, or *Corvin Castle* (Mallows 2008, Reid 2007), identifying the building by its first owners: the Hunyadi family (the Latin word 'corvinus' means 'raven' in English – a bird depicted on the coat of arms of the Hunyadi family). In English texts the denomination *Vajdahunyad Castle* (the first component of which is the Hungarian name of the town Hunedoara) refers to the replica of the edifice built in Budapest for the 1896 Millennial Exhibition (e.g. Smyth 2012). However, the name *Hunyad Castle*, based on the shortened Hungarian name of the town, can often be encountered in the English intertextual corpus (e.g. Weil 2012). In Tapodi (2014a), the translator chose the variant *Corvin Castle* mostly because this denomination is biased towards neither the Hungarian nor the Romanian culture. Thus, the term fits the context of the paragraph where it appears, which describes John Hunyadi as a person of high esteem, revered as a hero by the Hungarians, Romanians and the South Slavic people, as well.

## 6. Conclusions

Translation of culturally loaded texts cannot be successful without taking into consideration the source-culture awareness of the target readers – a task particularly difficult to accomplish when these writings are to be conveyed into English. Owing to the status of English as a lingua franca, texts written in English address not only native speakers, but also readers belonging to a wide range of cultures. Therefore, when trying to find target-language equivalents

of culture specific items, the translator is advised to choose pre-established terms or denominations that are easily accessible for prospective readers in the English intertextual corpus, helping them obtain additional information on the topic. Another principle that the translator should never overlook is consistency throughout the translation.

In the translations of Zsuzsa Tapodi's studies, intratextual and extratextual glosses are used to facilitate the readers' understanding of the culturally loaded information the texts intend to convey. The main difficulty consisted in deciding whether to rely on the Hungarian, the Romanian or the German variants when conveying a term into English. Whenever linguistic translation was not possible or appropriate, basing on the principle of accessibility, one of the pre-established variants included in the intertextual corpus was chosen, while when the repetition of a toponym was required, it was the Romanian version that appeared in the body of the text, followed by the Hungarian denomination as an extratextual gloss.

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# Dilemmas of Cultural Mediation:
# A Case Study of Tourism[1]

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**Abstract.** Travelling implies the encounter and, in certain cases, the clash of cultures. By interpreting translation as a means of transfer between languages and cultures, the present study looks into the different views on translating culture-specific *realia*. Through a close analysis of texts with the purpose of informing foreign tourists it offers ways of how to carry out this mediation. The study calls for further research into closely related issues, such as the translator's cultural awareness of and sensitivity to similarity and difference, identity and alterity in culture.

**Keywords**: culture, *realia*, mediation, tourism, travel, pragmatic equivalence

## 1. Introduction

This paper addresses the topic of the conference *Homo viator* (the travelling man, man on its way) in two, quite related senses: through both a literal and a metaphoric interpretation of the term "travelling". The literal interpretation of the word is close connection with my topic of analysis, i.e. tourism. OED defines the word "tourism" as "the commercial organization and operation of holidays and visits to places of interest",[2] "the practice of travelling for pleasure, especially on one's holiday" (Oxford Advanced Dictionary), "the activity of travelling to a place for pleasure".[3] Implicitly, the term also refers to a movement from a known place to an unknown place, which implies a certain degree of anxiety.

My other approach to the concept of "travelling" to be addressed in this article is the metaphorical interpretation of the term, i.e. translation interpreted

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2    http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/tourism
3    http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/tourism

as travelling, as mediation between two cultures. In Translation Studies this mediation is understood as a constant movement between the Source Culture and the Target Culture (see Bassnett 2011: 77–85). The competence of translators involves not only linguistic skills, but also cultural awareness and anthropological knowledge of the target language speakers and society with special regard to their cultural sensitivities.

## 2. Cultural relativism, stereotypes, cultural sensitivity

The need to be extremely careful about rendering culture specific items from a Source Language (SL) into a Target Language (TL) is especially true of translations made for purposes of tourism (travel brochures, guide books, etc.), which also combine the two approaches to travelling mentioned above. In such cases a competent translator is required to take into account the dangers and problems involved in cultural and linguistic ethnocentrism. The term is related to the principle of "cultural relativism", according to which any individual's beliefs and activities should be understood by others in terms of that individual's own culture. The principle of ethnocentrism entails that individuals judge another culture only by the values and standards of their own culture, i.e. viewing things in a way in which their own group is the centre of everything, and all the others are scaled and rated with reference to this (Sumner 1906: 13, quoted in Leerssen 2007: 323). In other words, cultural ethnocentrism means the absence of cultural relativism. "Ethnocentrism means measuring other cultures by the standards and patterns of one's own culture; this means that the value of normalcy is predicated on one's domestic experiences, while other cultures are seen in their deviancy from that domestic norm, as non-normal, anomalous or abnormal." (Leerssen 2007: ibid.)

Both cultural and linguistic ethnocentrism is heavily tainted with national or ethnic stereotypes. The literature on the subject (Macrae et al. 1996, Jenkins 1996, Hilton & von Hippel 1996, Augoustinos et al. 2006, Oişteanu 2009) demonstrates how stereotypes may be harmful (they may lead to negative attitudes or prejudices), but they may also enhance cognition, helping individuals to get acquainted with the world around them much more easily and providing them with well-prepared, preconceived ideas and thoughts. Stereotypes may prove to be useful if they are applied in a conscious way; if they are descriptive (not prescriptive or evaluative); if they offer a thorough and precise characterization; if the individual is flexible enough to modify his/her views about the given cultural item or ethnic group relying on his/her observation and experience.

Consequently, the translator is responsible for the correct mediation of a text from the Source Culture to the Target Culture, and should avoid ethnocentrism, keeping the golden mean between foreignization (source-culture orientation) and

domestication (target-culture orientation) (see Palaposki 2011). In this context, probably the best way is to transfer the characteristics of a foreign culture into the recipient environment by serving one purpose only: to overcome cultural barriers.

According to Shuttleworth and Cowie (1997: 35), cultural translation refers "to any translation which is sensitive to cultural as well as to linguistic factors". The translator, as a cultural mediator, needs to be aware that his own cultural background will influence – one way or another – his/her way of perceiving the world and rendering it in the target language. In order to play the role of a mediator effectively, the translator is supposed to be flexible enough and develop a high degree of cultural sensitivity in order to overcome certain influences of his/her own culture.

There is another danger that plagues translators when dealing with culture-specific items: they are required to be culturally sensitive, i.e. to be conscious of cultural similarities and differences as well as their effect on values, learning and behaviour. (Stafford et al. 1997) In order to be sensitive to other people's cultural and behavioural values, one must not ignore differences in thought patterns, and in values, norms and beliefs. Learning about cultural differences may lead to a greater understanding, and translators should be willing to adapt their communication and behaviours to be compatible with another's cultural norms, as well as to be open to learn traditions and characteristics of different cultures. (Stafford et al. 1997)

## 3. Translation of realia

One of the most debatable issues raised in translation studies is the category of realia (also mentioned as culture-specific terms, culture-bound problems, extralinguistic cultural references). The term *realia* is a Latin word meaning "the real thing", and in translation studies, it is used to refer to concepts which are found in a particular source culture but do not occur in a given target culture (Leppihalme 2011: 126). As mentioned above, they are described as extralinguistic terms that refer to the surrounding physical and sociocultural reality, of the "external" language (as opposed to intralinguistic translation problems, which arise from differences between source and target language systems and language usage) (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993: 238, note 1, quoted in: Leppihalme 2011: 126).

Research has provided several typologies of realia, but due to their wide variety, an exhaustive classification is not feasible (e.g. Klaudy 1997: 60–65; Nedergaard-Larsen 1993, Gambier 2007). According to Palumbo (2009), there are various techniques employed in the translation of culture-bound elements. The choice of one technique or another depends on whether the target audience is "already familiar with the term or concept", or whether it is possible to "find

functional equivalents in the TL, i.e. terms that refer to analogous concepts in the TL culture" (Palumbo 2009: 33). Some terms are borrowed (e.g. *samovar*, transliterated from Russian), some are translated by calque (i.e. loan translation, e.g. *the Milky Way* translated from the Latin *via lactea*). A functional equivalent may also be provided if there are no similar terms in the TL culture (e.g. the Japanese *genkan*, which is a special room to take off one's shoes, in which case a solution would be to translate this term into Hungarian as *előszoba* (i.e. ante-room, which might serve the same purpose as in the SL). Another technique is when a SL item is retained and a short explanation is added (e.g. the name of the English newspapers *The Guardian*, translated into Hungarian as "a *Guardian* brit napilap" ('*The Guardian*, the British daily newspaper').

In this study, I apply the Nedergaard-Larsen typology (1993: 211), which presents four main categories of extralinguistic culture-bound problems: (1) geography, (2) history, (3) society, (4) culture, with their own subdivisions. Culture-bound items related to the topic of tourism belong to the subgroup of realia of everyday life, including items like (a) foods and drinks, (b) pieces of clothing, (c) places of living and (d) means of transport. From among these, I have selected the group of foods and drinks and geographic names, the translation of which frequently poses a potential problem for translators (see Chesterman 1997: 89–93).

In order to solve such problems, translators resort to different strategies. These translation strategies have been categorized by research (see, for example, Florin 1993, Nedergaard-Larsen 1993, Leppihalme 2001, Pedersen 2007). "A translation strategy is a potentially conscious procedure for the solution of a problem which an individual is faced with when translating a text segment from one language into another" (Lörscher 1991: 76, quoted in Kylä-Harakka 2008). A translation problem elicits potentially conscious behaviour in problematic situations. As such, the strategies that translators resort to are determined by different conditions. There are several factors determining the choice of one or the other strategy, appearing mostly as a "macro-level aspect of the translation product: the cultural, literary and linguistic profile of the text […], as well as the translation situation, the attitudes and even the ideology of the translator and the target culture" (Leppihalme 2011: 128).

The latter factors may play an important part in translating culture-specific items related to tourism (especially geographical names) in Eastern Europe, for instance, the Carpathian Basin; due to the border shifts brought about by history, toponyms were changed into the national languages of each present-day country (e.g. the original Hungarian geographical names were replaced by Serbian, Slovak, Romanian, Ukrainian toponyms, which makes their translation into English problematic). Translators have to be sensitive to the socio-cultural and historical context of the region when touching upon such issues, otherwise serious blunders might occur. In such cases each individual country's linguistic

rules need to be observed, i.e. the toponyms in the official language of the country will be used in an English translation.

Translation strategies of realia includes: direct transfer of the SL word, calque (mirror translation), different types of approximation (e.g. the use of TL superordinate words for SL hyponyms. Leppihalme (2001) distinguishes seven strategies:

(1) direct transfer of the ST word (personal and geographical names are usually transferred directly; some cultures have conventional assimilated or translated forms (Aristotle);

(2) calque (word for word translation, "mirror translation");

(3) cultural adaptation (cultural analogue is substituted for an original realia);

(4) surperordinate term replacing a subcategory (generalization);

(5) explicitation (implicit elements of the realia made explicit in the text);

(6) addition of a text-external (paratextual) explanation (as a footnote, glossary);

(7) omission of the realia altogether.

In the search for a suitable rendering of the source text, the choice of the right strategy mostly depends on the goal-orientedness of the translation. This means that translations are made to fulfil certain purposes and/or at the request of a commissioner. In our case, the translation of a text for tourism purposes serves the interest of potential future travellers to the region and, as such, they have to be as precise, clear, understandable and as welcoming as possible in order to attract future visitors. In such cases, periphrases or explanatory insertion are preferable. However, if the same realia appears in a literary work, without any particular role (e.g., if it is of no particular importance what specific food or drink the character in the story eats or drinks), the translator may employ omission or generalization.

## 4. Translating tourism-related terms – toponyms and cuisine

In this study I examine some problematic situations in which the translation of realia in texts related to tourism poses serious dilemmas even for an experienced and competent translator. The examples to be discussed below have been selected from my experience of translating travel-related texts, travel brochures, from Hungarian into English and vice versa. In this paper special attention is given to place names and culture-specific items related to Hungarian and English gastronomy since to find an acceptable solution can be a really challenging task. First the Hungarian-English, then the English-Hungarian translations will be considered.

## a. Hungarian-English translations

A hot topic of the day in Romania in 2015 was the toponym *Székelyföld* or *Szeklerland*. The current practice is that it is usually translated from Hungarian into English via direct transfer, i.e. using the original ST variant unchanged in TT (sometimes omitting the accents, dots in spelling). Even so, for an English readership, who do not know much or anything about the region, the name might sound very foreign. Therefore the translator may resort to adding extra information to the toponym, explaining what that is, where it is situated, who its inhabitants are, etc. Therefore a possible translation may be: "*Székelyföld* (Szeklerland), a historic and ethnographic area in Romania, inhabited mainly by Hungarians and Romanians."[4]

Another option would be to retain the name of the ethnic group (Szekely) and only translate the second part of the compound as a meaningful element (föld – land). In such cases the result is the quite frequently occurring *Szekelyland*, sometimes also spelt as *Szekely land*).

As with almost all realia, the translation (mainly by the direct transfer of the term into the TL), does not have the same emotional value for the TL reader as for an inhabitant of the region. Currently, it is also filled with ideological and political connotations, which also adds to the dilemma a translator has to face.

Another set of culture-bound lexical items difficult to translate are such food names which contain the proper name of a historical figure in Hungarian history and culture. Two typical examples are *Rákóczi túrós* ('baked meringue cheese cake' or 'Hungarian curd cheese square Rákóczi-style' or simply 'Rákóczi cheese cake') and *Kossuth kifli* (also known as "half moons"). In order to honour the memory of two prominent historical figures of Hungarian history, both desserts were named after them (Ferenc Rákóczi II (1676–1735) was leader of the Hungarian uprising against the Habsburgs in 1703–1711;[5] Lajos Kossuth (1802–1894) was a political reformer who inspired and led Hungary's struggle for independence from Austria in 1848–49).[6] However, the question arises: how the translator should deal with these when rendering them in English. As the above mentioned translations suggest, both English translations of *Rákóczi túrós* employ the strategy of explicitation: one of the options is to enlist the major ingredients (meringue and sweet cheese) and the method of preparation (bake) of the cake; the second name also contains the major ingredient of the cake (cheese), which also appears in the Hungarian source variant, but it also emphasises the "nationality" of the dessert. On the other hand, in the case of *Kossuth kifli*, cultural adaptation is applied by employing a similar analogue existing in English ("half moon"), a term that refers to the shape of the cake.

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4     https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Székely_Land
5     http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/490227/Ferenc-Rakoczi-II
6     http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/322773/Lajos-Kossuth

The traditional dessert of the Szekelys, called 'kürtőskalács' (sometimes transliterated as *kurtosh kalach*) can also pose problems. Recently, this special treat has become a popular marker of cultural identity, therefore if the region wants to market its gastronomy abroad, its English translation should also try to cover all the information contained in the SL variant. For those who are not familiar with the term, it can be defined as a spit cake (..) specific to Hungarian-speaking regions of Romania, predominantly the Szekelyland. *Kürtőskalács* is made from sweet yeast (raised dough), of which a strip is spun and then wrapped around a truncated cone-shaped rotating device, a baking spit, and rolled in granulated sugar. It is roasted over charcoal while basted with melted butter, until its surface cooks to a golden-brown colour, while the sugar stuck on it forms a shiny, crispy crust. The Hungarian etymology of the word links the shape of this dessert to a duct connecting an oven to the chimney. The name itself is a compound noun both elements of which are meaningful (*kürtő* – duct, chimney; *kalács* – cake, scone), a possible translation is 'chimney cake'. This term is used by several sites in English, including one of the best-known travel-related sites, www.tripadvisor.com, on how to find this delicacy in London.

However, I have encountered several other variants as well. Below some are listed:

*horn cake* – This name comes from the misinterpretation and misspelling of the name as *kürt**ö**skalác*s. (with a short *ö*). In this case we are dealing with the literal translation of the Hungarian *kürt* – horn, bugle, cornet;

*Szekely cake/Sekler cake* – contains generalization, the audience will not know specifically which special dessert this name refers to;

*Hungarian twister* – where the English translation refers to the nation this treat takes its origin from, again in general terms (not specifying which ethnic Hungarian group the cake is connected with) and to its spiral shape (twist).[7]

A similar problem may occur in the translation of another typical Hungarian dish called *vargabéles*, which is a baked Hungarian noodle-cake dessert served warm or cold. In certain cases the SL name is detained (direct transfer) (see Radu and Radu 2015), or, beside the SL name, explicitation is employed (e.g. 'sweet cheese and raisin cake'; 'Hungarian noodle pastry'; 'Hungarian strudel or Noodle Pie').

## 4b. English-Hungarian translations

English-Hungarian translations of tourism terminology also raise dilemmas. Difficulties frequently arise when we are dealing with SL cultural items not to be found in the TL culture. Within the domain of tourism, there are English culture-specific terms which do not exist in Hungarian.

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7    See: http://www.kurtos-kalacs.com/.

One of the most intriguing terms is *pub*, an important part of British life. Contracted from *public house*, the word is mainly used in Britain, referring to "a [sometimes several hundred years old] building, not a club or hotel, where alcohol may be bought and drunk during fixed hours." (*Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture*) The concept of *pub* does not have a continental counterpart, neither does it cover the practices and activities related to a Hungarian *kocsma*. The Hungarian term often collocates with adjectives like *sarki* ('from the corner') or *falusi* ('village'). The only feature that an English pub and a Hungarian kocsma share is that alcoholic drinks are served in both of them. An English pub, however, is much more stylish (not only in its external look but also in its clientele, i.e. it may also be the scene of family gatherings, birthdays, children are also allowed in). Another main difference is that the staple drink in a *pub* is beer, although spirits, such as whisky or gin, even cider may also be provided here. Besides, an English pub also serves food, called pub grub (Bart 1998: 196–197). For all these reasons, translators are advised not to translate the English term into *kocsma*. It is common practice that the original SL term, supplied with the necessary Hungarian endings, if necessary, is retained.

> *They met at the local pub.* ('A helyi pubban találkoztak.')
> *The King's Arms, The Red Lion, The Rose and The Crown are common pub names.* ('A The King's Arms, The Red Lion, The Rose és a The Crown gyakori pub nevek.')

Another term that might pose a serious dilemma for the translator is *village green*. A typical English feature of the traditional British landscape, it is a grassy area at the heart of a village. It was originally common grassland in the centre of an agricultural settlement, and was used for grazing sheep. Most village greens also have a pond or a stream, originally for watering sheep and cattle. Although nowadays it is actually a recreation park for the local community, its name has been retained. English people often think of a game of cricket on the village green in the summer as being a very traditional English scene. As this concept does not exist in Hungarian culture, the translator needs to find a similar term that covers the issues mentioned above. Although there are hardly any present-day Hungarian villages (not to speak of the more tradition-bound Szekely villages) with parks in its centres, the suggested Hungarian translation would be *park* ('park').

Similar to traditional Hungarian meals mentioned above, the names of traditional English dishes are usually transferred directly from the SL into Hungarian as TL, sometimes accompanied with their short description. Such a dish is *Yorkshire pudding*, which is light batter, baked, traditionally accompanying roast beef, and often shaped like a bowl, holding some of the gravy. Similarly, *Lancashire hot-pot* also contains a toponym and a translatable compound ('forró edény'), which will

not be translated, but taken over via direct transfer. A similar term is *Shepherd's pie*, defined as cooked minced lamb, placed in a deep baking dish, covered with mashed potatoes and browned in the oven. Although all these names could be translated word for word, it is common practice to retain the SL variant.

However, there are other, less common names of dishes, like *devils on horseback*, i.e. prunes served on a slice of toast as a savoury, whose literal translation is provided ('ördögök lóháton'), or *angels on horseback*, i.e. oysters served on a slice of toast as a savoury, whose literal translation might be 'angyalok lóháton'. In these cases my suggested translations are *aszalt szilva pirítóson* and *osztriga pirítós ágyon*, which are actually short descriptions of these dishes, as the translation of the names would not help the Hungarian audience in identifying them.

Another gastronomic category includes Scottish, Welsh and Irish national dishes in which the names of the different specialties carry an extra flavour difficult to transfer into Hungarian. Like toponyms, these words also possess heavy emotional and connotative meanings. Each one has a story of its own that the Hungarian readers will never be able to fully understand unless they take the trouble to look deeper into the background of these names. The translator's only choice is to take over these special national culture-related terms and apply the strategy of explicitation, i.e. describe the main ingredients and/or the way of preparing them.

Thus, for instance, *haggis* is a Scottish national dish "made from the heart and other organs of a sheep cut up and boiled inside a skin made from the sheep's stomach. Haggis it typically eaten with boiled turnips and potatoes, known in Scotland as 'neeps and tatties'". (*Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture*) It is the typical ingredient of Burns' Night celebrations, the birthday of the Scottish national poet Robert Burns. Naturally, all this information cannot be included into the Hungarian translation of *haggis*, therefore the translator may simply resort to the original term, completed with some implicit information about it (see above) made explicit:

*haggis, birkagyomorba töltött, főtt, darált birkabelsőség és zabkása, a skótok nemzeti eledele* ('haggis, minced and cooked internal organs of lamb and oatmeal, filled into a lamb's stomach; the national dish of Scotland')

A similar problem may occur in the translation of a Welsh national dish, the *Welsh rarebit*. The Welsh call it *caws pobi*, which means *baked cheese*. Therefore the name (*Welsh rabbit*) may actually be an ironic English reference to Welsh cuisine, as it is far from being related to rabbit: it is a piece of toast covered with cheese and re-toasted under the grill. In this case the suggested translation would ignore the SL name, and include only the description of the dish:

*Welsh rarebit – pirítós, sajttal megszórva és grillezve* ('toast, sprinkled with cheese and grilled').

*Irish stew* is a celebrated Irish dish, it is a meat-and-vegetable stew usually made with lamb or mutton, but sometimes with beef. A possible translation might be *ír pörkölt*, i.e. the literal translation of the SL term. However, this solution would not evoke the same association in the Hungarian readership as the SL variant, because the Hungarian *pörkölt* is mainly identified with juicy dishes with (sweet or hot) paprika, its indispensable ingredient. The Irish stew, however, does not contain this typical Hungarian spice. Therefore the proposed translation avoids the word *pörkölt,* which is replaced by the more internationally sounding *ragu* ('ragout'):

*Irish stew* – bárány- vagy juhhúsból, néha növendékhúsból és zöldségből készült ragu ('ragout made of lamb or sheep, sometimes calf, and vegetables')

A special class of culture-specific terms related to English cuisine is constituted by the names of several fishes, very frequent among English dishes. As Britain is an insular country, it is but natural that sea fish like haddock ('tőkehal'), sole ('nyelvhal'), gilt-head bream ('aranydurbincs'), whitebait ('apróhal'), is served regularly in restaurants. The Hungarian public cannot be familiar with such dishes because traditional Hungarian cuisine uses fresh-water fish available in the region (although today, with fast and extensive international transportation, practically any kind of fish is available in supermarkets). Therefore the suggested strategy is that if the name of a specific meal made from fish appears in the SL text where a special kind of fish is mentioned, then the Hungarian equivalent must be provided, no matter whether the Hungarian reader is familiar with it or not.

## 5. Conclusion

The success of any translation depends on the cultural competence of the translator. This particularly applies to the translation of realia, which requires not only the knowledge of the TC, but also the ability to make good decisions in order to select the best possible strategies. The aim is that the TT should have the same or similar effect as the ST. The above examples, taken from the domain of travelling and tourism, shed light on the responsibility the translator has for cultural mediation when transferring features of a foreign culture into the recipient environment, the purpose of which is to overcome the barriers between two cultures, and, ultimately, to enhance both incoming and outgoing travelling and tourism.

Despite the differences between languages, translators can convey all experience and cognition in any language by employing loanwords (e.g. keeping the original

historical name), calques or by meaning transfer (Jakobson 1966, quoted in Simigné Fenyő 2006: 114). Even the small number of examples presented in this paper show that the strategies most frequently employed are explanatory elements and componential analysis. All this proves that translators often complete the TT with information not present in the ST in order to ensure that the message reaches the TT reader by making the original text more informative, even if the TL text becomes more detailed and longer as a result.

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# Travelling to the East: A Nonverbal Communication Account

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**Abstract.** The present paper aims to give some account of the inner life of the East of which a traveller seldom gains more than a passing glimpse, by exploring some differences in nonverbal communication between European travellers and the natives of India and Persia, as they emerge from literary pieces written in the period 1664–1900. The focus will be on two nonverbal codes only, namely use of artefacts and rituals and practices. The analysis indicates both similarities, as well as differences between the two investigated cultures in terms of use of artefacts and rituals.

**Keywords:** intercultural encounters, nonverbal communication, artefacts, rituals and practices

## 1. Introduction

The urge of discovering new places has characterised mankind for ages. People have travelled to close or remote regions for various reasons: to search for food (the nomadic hunters), to conquer territories, to exploit natural resources, to trade various products, to convert pagans to Christianity, or to simply explore unknown regions as part of their education. The latter aim characterized many travellers of the Middle Ages and of early modern times, who, on their journeys to little-travelled countries, hoped to find something remarkable and interesting, worthy of being recorded in their diaries and recounted to their compatriots upon return to their homelands. This curiosity for new cultures and people opened the way to intercultural communication. In most of the cases, the barrier that hindered communication between members of different cultures was the language. Very few people during the Renaissance and the early modern period could speak foreign languages. "And even if they can speak a common language, they may misinterpret the cultural signals" (Beamer & Varner 2008: 52).

Language was not the only obstacle: the nonverbal signals sent by the travellers and the natives of the countries they visited could make things worse due to the fact that their meaning and interpretation depend on a number of factors. As Beamer & Varner point out, "people from different cultures attach different meanings to nonverbal signals. As one example, in Western cultures, eye contact can signify honesty, whereas in Asian cultures it may indicate rudeness" (2008: 200). The interpretation of the nonverbal messages becomes even more complicated due to the fact that within one and the same culture the signals employed to convey them are not the same for all the people. As we shall see later on, men and women often employ different nonverbal language. Then, people belonging to different social classes within a culture may use nonverbal signals differently. Thus, in many cultures, people in power may be more assertive when communicating with members of lower classes or people in lower positions.

The general purpose of this paper is to bring to the fore some aspects that pertain to the differences in the nonworded laguage of some Western travellers (two British and one Italian) and that of the natives they encountered in the Asian countries where they lived for a period of time, namely Persia and India, and to see the extent to which the nonverbal signals employed by the Persian and the Indian people are similar or different. This will be done on the basis of an analysis of fragments excerpted from the diaries they kept and published in various forms, as it will be shown in section (4). My intention is to present the authors' nonverbal experiences as they had lived them, without passing any judgements with respect to the cultural norms and practices of the people in the Eastern part of the world.

In the next section, I will offer an overview of culture, starting with a definition and by reviewing some of its characteristics. Then, in section 3, my attention will turn to the dimensions of culture that interfere in intercultural communication, emphasizing those elements that pertain to the nonverbal language. This will be followed by a short presentation of the books that have proven a rich source of examples of differences between the West and the East (section 4), while in section 5 some of these examples will be analysed in details. The last part of the paper will contain some conclusions.

## 2. Culture

In this section I will provide a definition of culture and some of its characteristics in order to make the idea of cultural differences more accessible to the reader, as in "encountering people who are culturally different from us, their dissimilar ways of thinking and behaving challenge our fundamental ways of experiencing" (Ting-Toomey 1999: vii). Among specialists, there is general consensus that culture is a

multifaceted concept, and thus, very difficult to define. Since my intention is to examine those features of culture that contribute to the perception of difference and hence influence intercultural communication, the most encompassing definition of *culture* I have come across was that provided by Samovar and Porter (2003: 8), according to whom culture is "the deposit of knowledge, experience, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, social hierarchies, religions, notions of time, roles, spatial relationships, concepts of the universe, and material objects and possessions acquired by a group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving". This definition moves across a broad number of elements, from values and beliefs (elements that are very difficult for an outsider to perceive and understand) to material objects (that are easier to discover). This is the reason why many researchers have conceptualised *culture* like an iceberg:
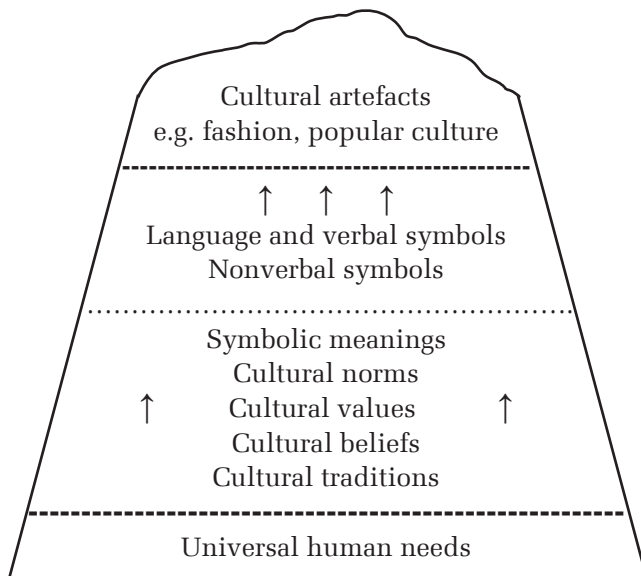


**Figure 1.** The iceberg metaphor of culture (Ting-Toomey 1999: 10).

As Andersen (2003: 239) points out, "culture is primarily an implicit non-verbal phenomenon because most aspects of one's culture are learned through observation and imitation rather than by explicit verbal instruction and expression. The primary level of culture is communicated implicitly, without awareness, chiefly by non-verbal means". It is exactly these nonverbal means that pose problems in intercultural encounters. The following section will briefly present them.

## 3. Nonverbal communication

Nonverbal communication is a subtle, non-linguistic, multidimensional process which "is very much culturally rule-governed. (…) Rules dictate all of our communication behaviours, but rules are especially evident in our nonverbal communication" (Dodd 1995: 155).

Nonverbal communication is influenced by a series of factors, some of which are of a genetic nature and will lead to similarities in people's behaviour. Apart from the numerous similarities, there is an abundance of differences, which in many cases are the result of culture. "Cultural differences are not random events; they occur because cultures developed with different geographies, climates, economies, religions and histories, each exerting unique influence" (Andersen et al. 2003: 74).

A look at the major aspects of nonverbal signals will provide a better understanding of the many ways intercultural meanings are inferred. These are: body language (kinesics) which includes gestures, facial expressions, eye contact, positions of the body, ways of greeting and their relation to communication. Paralanguage (which lies between verbal and nonverbal communication) covers non-symbolic vocal sounds, such as *aha* or *uhm* employed as fillers in our conversation. Another element of nonverbal communication involves chronemics that refers to the way in which people perceive and use time. Proxemics is the language of space; it regulates how close or distant we should get to other people. Haptics or touching behaviour represents another way in which people can communicate nonverbally and which is of importance in intercultural encounters as there are certain rules in various cultures that stipulate whom to touch and when. Finally, the general term 'self-presentation' includes the physical appearance of people (height, colour of skin, etc.) and the use of artefacts. These nonverbal codes or mediums can be employed consciously (i.e. we are able to control them, in an attempt to mislead our interlocutors) or unconsciously (i.e. we cannot control them, thus our true feelings and attitudes are disclosed).

The interpretation of all these nonverbal codes may be even more complicated due to the fact that "within a culture not all people use the same signals. Men and women often use different nonverbal language. (…) People from the upper classes or people in leading positions may be more assertive with people from the lower classes and in lower positions" (Beamer & Verner 2008: 200).

For reasons of space, in exploring the cultural differences in nonverbal communication between the Western travellers and the Persian and Indian people, I shall focus on two nonverbal aspects only: the use of artefacts and rituals/practices, as these are quite obvious in intercultural encounters. These will be analysed in details in section 5 of the paper.

# 4. A word on the corpus of literary works employed

In order to illustrate the differences between the Western and Eastern cultures, I used a number of books written by travellers of different origins and of different epochs/centuries, who, in depicting the foreign cultures they encountered along their journeys, employed various genres. Thus, Pietro della Valle, the author of the *Travels of Pietro della Valle in India* (1658/[2010]), presented his encounters with the Indian culture in mid-17th century in an epistolary novel: all he experienced (whether good or evil) is recounted in letters he sends back in Italy to his advisor. These letters contain details related to religious beliefs, rituals, and use of artefacts, and represent an important source of information regarding the history of the southern part of India, more specifically of the Keladi region. Della Valle's travel to India (Persia and Turkey) was "an alternative to suicide after a failed love affair" (Introduction to the Cambridge Literary Collection, 2010: 2), though in the book he confessed a number of times that *curiosity* of discovering new worlds and people made him leave his homeland.

James Morier's novel, *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Isphahan* (1824), provides the reader with a portrait of the late 18th-century Persian manners and life. Morier was a diplomat who spent part of his life in this Asian country and who came to an understanding of the culture of this land. This familiarity with the Persian culture allowed him to satirize the country and its people under the guise of a fictitious narrator, Hajji Baba, a Persian of the Persians. Apart from offering a view of the Persian culture, Morier's book could also be considered a historical document, as the people we read about were living personalities of the time he spent in Persia.

The third book I have used to illustrate nonverbal aspects typical of the Eastern culture (*Behind the Veil in Persia and Turkish Arabia. An Account of an Englishwoman's Eight Years' Residence Amongst the Women of the East)* was written by M. E. Hume-Griffith (1909), the wife of an English doctor who was sent to Persia by the Church Missionary Society to perform medical work there. As a doctor's wife, the authoress presents the usefulness of and the positive impact the Western medical practices had on the Oriental people, who originally rejected them. More importantly, her book is an accurate description of the domestic life in some important places in Persia (such as Tehran, Mosul, and Isphahan),[1] as well as of Persian etiquette and various rituals. As the subtitle may suggest, much of what M. E. Hume-Griffith writes about is related to the Eastern women, "these charming, but too often unhappy followers of Mohammed" (Hume-Griffith 1909: 19), whose birth is regretted, whose death is not mourned by anyone, and whose life is comparable to that of slaves.

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1    In keeping with the original title of Morier's book, have chosen to use the old spelling of this particular place.

With these bits of information in mind, let us now turn to the differences in nonverbal communication between the West and the two Eastern countries, Persia and India, as they emerged from the aforementioned books. As mentioned previously, I shall focus on the use of artefacts and on rituals and practices and how they are perceived by the Western travellers.

# 5. India and Persia through the lens of literature: a nonverbal communication approach

The first element pertaining to nonverbal communication I will investigate is the use of artefacts. According to Borisoff & Merrill (2003: 275), "artefacts are objects. When worn, they have been used to signify a wearer's gender, culture, and socioeconomic class". In this part of the paper, I will discuss two types of artefacts that are richly presented in the books, namely *means of transportation* and *attire*.

As far as the way in which people travelled from one place to another in the 17th and 18th centuries is concerned, there are many similarities between India and Persia: in both countries, it was basically people of the high social class that were carried in special vehicles and in both women could travel in a special kind of litter or *panniers*. But as we shall see, there are also slight differences between the two countries in terms of means of conveyance.

In Morier's *Hajji Bab*a, Zeenab – the Kurdish maiden and Hajji's future sweetheart – tells him how her family had to run away from the Turks. In doing so, she mentions the way people used to travel in those days:

> His mare, which was now become an object of the first consequence, was to be mounted by my father, in person, whilst his chief wife, with her children, were to travel in the cajaveh or panniers; the camel which was to carry them being ornamented with trappings inlaid with beads, set off by red cloth trimmings, and a thick profusion of tassels. (Morier 2007 [1824]: 168)

As this fragment shows, in 18th-century Persia, just like in most parts of the world, animals represented the main means of transportation. When travelling, Persian men used to ride horses or mules, depending on their social class and welfare, while women and children were transported in the so-called 'cajavehs', mounted on camels. Apart from giving a synonym for the Persian term ('panniers' – which were also used in Europe at the beginning of the 19th century, though in a different form from that in Persia), Morier did not provide the reader with any additional information. We find more about the comfort and aspect of this means of transportation in Hume-Griffith's book:

> For those who do not care, or are not strong enough for riding, there are many conveyances. (…) the traveller has quite a large choice of good things. First of all, there is the "kajavah".[2] This consists of two large cage-like boxes suspended one on each side of the animal: the interior of these boxes sometimes boasts of a little low seat, but as a rule is innocent of any such luxury. Two people of about the same weight should sit on each side, or the result is disastrous. (Hume-Griffith 1909: 23)

The problem that such a means of transportation poses is that the people travelling by it should be of similar (if not identical) weight, in order to preserve the centre of gravity, as the kajavah is only loosely slung over the camel's back. Any brisk movement of the travellers can cause a disaster. Hume-Griffith, in recounting the short journey of two wives in a harem by means of this 'vehicle', mentioned that as one was heavier than the other, the servants had to place stones in the pannier occupied by the skinny wife, but not even this measure helped.

If the *kajavah* did not appeal to the traveller,

> (…) then there is the 'takhtiravan'. This is a most luxurious mode of conveyance, and is, as a rule, used only by invalids or high-class Moslem ladies. It consists of a box, with doors and windows, measuring about six or seven feet by four in length and five in height. The top is covered with heavy felt or some material which will keep out the sun or the rain, according to which season of the year you are travelling in. Inside is placed a mattress with plenty of cushions: the whole is built on shafts which are slung between two mules, one in front and one behind. (Hume-Griffith 1909: 25)

This more luxurious means of transportation, though apparently much more comfortable than the previously described one, had, nevertheless a disadvantage, too: if the road was bad or if the mules did not keep in step, a journey that promised to be comfortable may have caused the traveller bruises. Despite this, people needed to travel from one place to another: those of the lower social class rode mules, whereas the ones who were better off, employed horses. But as women had to be protected from being seen by other men than their husbands or very close family members (such as their fathers, brothers or uncles), they were quite safe in the 'comfort' of the *kajaveh* and *takhtiravan.*

The *takhtiravan* was very similar to the English sedan chair/litter, only that in Persia this means of conveyance was carried by mules, whereas in Europe by slaves. At the same time, a similar means of transportation seems to have been employed throughout entire Asia, acquiring different denominations depending on the country: *jiao* in China, *gama* in Korea, or *palanquin* in India.

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2    Notice the difference is spelling of the word by the two authors.

Pietro della Valle describes such a *palanchino* (as he called it), which was used in India not only to transport royal or noble ladies (like in Persia) but also men, in exceptional situations. Such a one is presented by della Valle in connection with a monk:

> I saw, I say, in the Piazza one of their Fryers, or Giangami, clad all in white, sitting in an handsome Palanchino, with two great white Umbrellas[3] held over him, one on each side, (which two were for the more gravity) and a Horse led behind, being follow'd by a great train of other Giangami, clad in their ordinary habits. (della Valle 2010 [1663]: 268–269)

The importance of the *giangamo* (friar) is highlighted by his conveyance in a *palanchino* and is also emphasized by the two white umbrellas (more correctly parasols) that protected him from the sunlight, the umbrella being an artefact which in the East is regarded as a mark of dignity. The use of parasols in India is also related to religion: in Buddhism, for instance, the umbrella symbolises the heaven, and is employed in many ceremonies.[4]

Palanquins were not only used for transporting people, but also for carrying the statues of Indian idols during various religious processions. Pietro della Valle describes in details a number of such processions he encountered along his voyage in India, but for reasons of space, only a short fragment from one of them is rendered below which, apart from the palanquin, also mentions other artefacts used in religious ceremonies, such as musical instruments and ornaments:

> (…) they went forth into the street, where much people expected them, carrying two Idols in Procession, both in one Palanchino, one at each end, small and so deck'd with Flowers and other Ornaments that I could scarce know what they were. Yet I think that in the back-end was Agoresouer, to whom the Temple is dedicated, and the other Parveti or some other Wife of his. (della Valle 2010 [1663]: 279)

The second type of artefact under scrutiny is represented by clothes. Clothing is a form of artefactual communication that "manifests[s] and promotes[s] cultural definition of masculinity and feminity" (Wood 1994, quoted in Samovar & Porter 2003: 275–276). Like other forms of non-verbal communication, the way we clothe our bodies may be interpreted to signify things that the communicator may not have intended.

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3    Della Valle's book was translated into English in the Middle English period, when nouns were still capitalized. This is the reason why in all excerpts from his book most nouns are spelt with capital letters.

4    http://www.religionfacts.com/buddhism/symbols/parasol.htm

The most striking difference concerns the garments that cover the bodies of women in India and Persia. Thus, while Persian women were supposed to cover their entire bodies and even use a veil, in Southern India of the 17th century many of the women not only did not cover their faces, but would also wear nothing above the waist. This way of dressing, which is still common among women in Southern India at present, was (and is) very much related to the climatic conditions in that area. At the same time, this fashion did not have anything to do with the social status of women, as both commoners and the Queen of Olala adopted the same style of dressing themselves, as depicted below:

> From the waist upwards the Queen was naked, saving that she had a cloth ty'd round about her Head, and hanging a little down upon her Breast and Shoulders. In brief, her aspect and habit represented rather a dirty Kitchen-wench, or Laundress, than a delicate and noble Queen. (della Valle 2010 [1663]: 307)

**Figure 2:** Women's way of dressing in South India[5]

By comparing the Indian Queen to an English kitchen maid, della Valle hints at the fact that in his homeland, attire was an indicator of women's status.

We can easily imagine the surprise of the Italian traveller at the sight of the nakedness of the bodies of Indian women, as he came from a country where at that time (i.e. the 17th century) women used to have their bodies covered by long skirts/dresses and blouses. His Indian female interlocutors were equally surprised at seeing the many items of clothing della Valle was wearing, as illustrated below:

> One of them, being more forward, could not contain herself, but, approaching gently towards me, almost touch'd the Sleeve of my Coat with her hand,

5    *http://www.exoticindiaart.com/article/theindiansari/* – public domain. Accessed March, 2015.

making a sign of wonder to her Sister how we could go so wrapp'd up and entangled in Clothes as we seem'd to her to be. Such is the power of Custom that just as their going naked seemed strange to us, so our being cloth'd appeared extravagant to them. (della Valle 2010 [1663]: 367)

It is not only women that were scantily clad in Southern India, but also men of all social classes, from soldiers, to priests and even to the King. They only covered their intimate parts with a cloth of cotton or linen, the rest of the body remaining naked.

The King and all others, as I have said, commonly go naked; onely they have a cloth wherewith they are girded, reaching to the mid-leg. Yet, when upon any occasion the King is minded to appear much in Majesty, he puts on onely a white vestment of very fine cotton, never using either Cloth of Gold, or Silk. Others also when they please may wear the like garment, but not in the King's presence, in which 'tis not lawful for anyone to appear otherwise than naked, saving the cloth above-mentioned. (della Valle 2010 [1663]: 370–380).

Again, we can imagine the astonishment of the Italian traveller when seeing that the Indian king was naked from the waist up, while in his country the person of the same rank would be adorned with the finest and most expensive clothes and jewels. The conclusion one can draw from della Valle's account of the Indian fashion is that both men and women would go quite naked, except for a piece of either cotton or silk "hanging down from the girdle to the knees and covering their shame" (della Valle 2010 [1663]: 360).

At the other extreme we have the Persians who did cover their bodies quite heavily and whose clothes not only indicate gender, but also social status and profession. Thus, our hero, Hajji Baba, who "advanced in station and dignity" throughout the book, starting from being a barber and rising slowly to a water-carrier, a vendor of 'smoke' (tobacco), a dervish,[6] an executioner, a scribe, a doctor's servant and even a doctor, had to indicate each of the professions he held by means of appropriate clothing. Consequently, when the occasion imposed his becoming a dervish: "It was agreed that I should put on the dress of a dervish; and having made my purchases, in the bazaar, of a cap, some beads, and a goat's skin, which I slung across my shoulder, I was ready to begin my journey at a moment's warning." (Morier 2007 [1824]: 132)

As far as women's clothes are concerned, they very seldom were indicators of a person's job, as at that time women were simply housewives. Still, at the Persian Shah's court, female jobs were also differentiated in terms of clothing. Zeenab,

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6    A dervish is a religious, very poor person.

who was a slave in the Shah's harem, was ordered by the latter to become a dancer in a very short period of time. This change in her status had to be reflected by her garments: "The Shah (..) calling the chief eunuch to him, he ordered that I should be educated for a baziger (dancer or singer), that all my clothes, &c., should be made suited to my future profession." (Morier 2007 [1824]: 182)



**Figure 3:** A Persian dervish[7]          **Figure 4:** Dancers' costumes[8]

A more relevant difference is that between the clothes that Persian women wore at home and when they paid visits. A clear description of these garments is provided by Hume-Griffith. Note has to be made that there is almost a century difference between Morier's and Hume's encounters with this part of the world, a time span in which things had changed dramatically. Moreover, while the former gave us a description of the male clothes, Hume-Griffith, who had the chance of seeing Persian women both in their homes and at her own, provides us with a detailed account of their wardrobe:

The indoor costume of the Persian women is not at all pretty or graceful. It consists of a short loose jacket, generally made of some gaily coloured

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7    *https://www.google.co.kr/search?q=a+persian+dervish&espv=2&biw=1280&bih=606&tbm=isch &tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiM0arF7_vKAhWFg6YKHZNkDxcQ7AkIPg&dpr=2 #imgrc=AbFDCNmGKdiz5M%3A* – public domain. Accessed March, 2015.

8    *http://historyoffashiondesign.com/the-orient-persia-and-environs* – public domain. Accessed January, 2015.

material, and in the case of rich women of bright brocaded silk or velvet, and a very short skirt, just like the length of a ballet dancer's. (…) Many years ago, all the women wore those picturesque baggy trousers, with long flowing garments over them (…) On their heads they wear a square of white muslin, and flowing down their backs, and attached by a pin to their hair, is a long graceful chuddar, generally made of pretty muslin or silk; and as these women walk about the house, these chuddars flow behind and look very graceful indeed. The outdoor costume of the Persian women is much more becoming than the indoor, though it is decidedly hot in the warm weather. It is made up of three pieces: the big voluminous trousers which slip over the feet and cling closely to the shape of the foot but above the ankle fall full and baggy; over these are worn the large black chuddar, the poor wearing black calico and the rich silk; and then, covering the face, is the veil. This veil (…) is fastened together at the back of the head by brass, silver or golden and jewelled clasps, according to the rank of the wearer. (Hume-Griffith 1909: 95–97)

The fragment highlights several important things related to Persian women's costumes: first, it presents the items that make up their attire; then, it emphasises the class difference in terms of quality and beauty of materials employed to produce the clothes (slaves and servants wearing calico, while rich women silk); and thirdly, it points to the fact that once out of their homes, Persian women had to better cover their bodies, wearing longer, more protective items of clothing. By comparing this fragment with the one in which della Valle described the way South Indian women dressed, we can find a similarity: both Indian and Persian women covered their heads with long veils, only that the former did so less precariously.

It seems that the Persian women were not very happy about the short skirts they had to wear indoors, so that they would often take their long chuddars from their heads and wrap them round their waists, as if a draped skirt.

Let us now turn our attention to another means by which people of one culture can surprise or even shock persons from another culture, namely rituals and practices. Among the practices that seem to differ greatly in the West and the East are the burial ones. The burial practices and rituals are very much dependent on the climatic conditions in each area of the world, and, at the same time, are also dictated by religion. Thus, in the Islamic religion, it is customary to have the deceased buried in the ground[9] as soon as possible from the time of the death. On the other hand, in the Indian culture, especially among the Hindus, the cremation of the deceased is preferred, as illustrated by the following excerpt from della Valle:

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9    Cremation is forbidden in Islamic cultures (https://www.everplans.com/articles/muslim-funeral-traditions, accessed March 12, 2015).

Returning home, I met a corpse going to be burn'd without the City, with Drums sounding before it; it was carry'd sitting in a Chair whereunto it was ty'd that it might not fall, cloth'd in its ordinary attire, exactly as if it had been alive. The seat was covered behind and on the sides with red and other colours, I know not whether Silk or no. It was open onely before, and there the dead person was to be seen. By the company, which was small, I conjur'd him to be one of mean quality. But they told me that all people are carry'd thus, as well such as are buried (as the *Lingavani*, whom they also put into the earth sitting) as those that are burn'd; and that he whom I saw was to be burn'd we gather'd from the Fire and Oyle which they carry'd after him in vessels. (della Valle 2010 [1663]: 271)[10]

The procession described above is not at all ceremonious: the clothes worn by the deceased are ordinary, the corpse is placed on a chair (rather than in a coffin, as was common in most European countries of the time) with little ornamentation. The only sounds that accompanied the procession were those produced by the drums.

The burial practices in Persia seem to have been equally modest, in that little money was spent on clothes. But while in India people seemed to accept death with dignity and in silence, in Persia it was customary for the close relatives (and not only) to produce extremely loud lamentations and to tear their clothes.

According to Morier, at the end of the 18th century, Muslims first washed the bodies of the deceased with cold water, then rubbed them with lime, salt, and camphor, after which they placed them in inexpensive white winding sheets. The feet of the deceased were always directed to the Kebleh (i.e. toward Mecca). The tying of the toes and the placement of the handkerchief under the chin were only meant to keep the mobile parts of the body stable, having no specific symbolism. Some of these aspects are present in the description of Hajji Baba's father below:

Water steeped in cotton was then squeezed into his mouth, his feet were carefully placed towards the Kebleh, and as soon as it was ascertained that no further hope was left, the priest at his bed-head began to read the Koran in a loud and sing-song emphasis. A handkerchief was then placed under his chin, fastened over his head, and his two great toes were also tied together. (Morier 2007 [1824]: 263)

What the reader gets from Morier's book related to burial practices is that when they die of natural causes, women and men are equal in the Islamic culture, in that the family members and friends have to produce lamentations and tear their

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10  The spelling in the fragment above is true to the one in the English translation from Italian made in 1664.

clothes. But in everyday life, among the Persians, there were different ways of punishing men and women, as we shall see in what follows.

Punishment took different forms in 17th century Persia, depending on the gender of the wrongdoer and also on the type of crime. A very frequent and rather mild way of punishing men was the *bastinado on one's feet.* This procedure implied having the feet of the criminal inserted in the noose in the middle of a pole (called 'felek') held up by two persons, while two other men applied blows to the soles. Morier's character, Hajji Baba, received this kind of punishment a number of times, and he recounts the story of an acquaintance of his, mollah[11] Nadân, who, due to the fact that he had attacked a Turkish convoy, was punished in a similar way: "They were not generous enough to let us off, but ordered the administration of the bastinado with a degree of religious zest that I thought could never have existed in any breast except my own. To be short, our feet were beat into a jelly." (Morier 2007 [1824]: 299).

As Morier showed throughout the entire book, the Persians treasured their beards immensely. The beard was held so sacred in the East, that every hair which grew upon a Mohammedan's chin was protected from molestation by a heavy fine. Very often, in order to appear trustworthy, the characters in the novel swore on their beards (*I swear by the beard of the Prophet*, p. 110, *I will put my beard into your hand*, p. 236, *I will give him a miscal of hair from my beard*, p. 271, *Teez Negah is not a man to lose a hair of his beard,* p. 272). Thus, to have one's beard pulled out was a very degrading punishment for a Persian male. This was the ordeal Hajji Baba's master (the *hakim* 'the doctor' of the Shah) had to undergo because of the fact that Hajji was the cause of the death of Zeenab, his sweetheart, who was a slave in the Shah's harem and who was also fancied by the latter. Since Zeenab dared have a relationship with Hajji and refused to marry the man chosen by her master, she was killed, which saddened the Shah to such an extent that he obliged the hakim "to make a large present to the Shah, besides having had his beard half pulled out by the roots." (Morier 2007 [1824]: 257)

The punishments applied to Persian women were crueller than those for men. In the story of how Kerman (a town in Persia) was conquered by the Moslems, M.E. Hume-Griffith showed that this was an act of treason on behalf of the daughter of the Persian king of the castle. She fell in love with an Arab general (whose army surrounded the castle) to whom she sent word that if he was going to marry her, she would deliver the castle into his hands. After the massacre that followed, in which all the inhabitants of the castle had died, the Arab general wanted to know the reason why this woman had betrayed her people. On finding out that the reason for her deed was her love for him, the general decreed that she was not a woman, but a fiend, and as such she had to die. The manner in which the poor soul found her end is described below:

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11    A *mollah* is a Muslim learned in Islamic theology and sacred law.

He therefore ordered his men to bind her with cords, face downwards, on to the back of a wild horse, and to turn horse and its rider into the desert. This order was carried out amidst heartrending cries and entreaties for mercy from the girl, but to all, the general paid no heed, declaring that she was only suffering a just death for the abominable behaviour to her own people. (Hume-Griffith 1909: 36)

An even more diabolical way of putting an end to a woman's life is presented in the same book. This time the victim was a woman whose husband, being angry with her for some reason, decided to get rid of her. What he did was the following:

(…) he caught a cow, and kept it shut up without water for some days. Then he bound his wife under the body of the animal and sent it off. Of course the cow made for the nearest stream, and we can imagine better than describe the fate of the poor woman. (Hume-Griffith 1909: 36)

The worst method of inflicting capital punishment that the Persians made recourse to was to wall up victims alive, irrespective of whether they were males or females. What is even more surprising is that this practice was still in use at the beginning of the 20th century, as illustrated by M. E. Hume-Griffith:

The victim is put into a pillar, which is half-built up in readiness; then if the executioner is merciful, he will cement quickly up to the face, and death comes speedily. But sometimes, a small amount of air is allowed to permeate through the bricks, and in this case the torture is cruel and the agony prolonged. Men bricked up in this way have been heard groaning and calling for water at the end of three days. At other times, the victim is placed in the pillar head first, and in this way he is walled up. (Hume-Griffith 1909: 139)

In India, on the other hand, *satī*, the custom of burning the wives of deceased men was part of the demeaning of women. Our Italian traveller of the 17th century found it cruel and barbarous, but, on the other hand, this noble self-sacrifice was worthy of praise for the women who showed conjugal fidelity and love. From della Valle's letters the reader finds out that this was an entirely voluntary act and that force was employed only when some widow was left young, beautiful, and in danger of marrying somebody else, which among the Indians was considered ignominious. The alternative to *satī* for a widow was, as della Valle mentioned: "to remain in continual sadness and lamentations, shave their heads and live in perpetual mourning for the deaths of their husbands." (della Valle 2010 [1663]: 276)

In tracing the history of this ritual, Bose (2000) showed that this was actually the result of the misinterpretation of the Vedic hymns, as in the Vedic era, *satī* was neither approved, nor practiced. Nowadays, as a result of a law passed by the British government in India (Indira Y. Junghare, personal communication), this barbarous practice is prohibited.

The excerpts analysed above show that both in Persia and India, women were very much dependent on their husbands both in their life on earth and also in the afterlife.

Rituals, or established or prescribed procedures for religious rites, also differ in the East and West, as these parts of the world practice different religions. Thus, in Persia, the commemoration of the death of Hossein, which was religiously kept throughout the country and occasioned a festival considered to be the most sacred, is mentioned both by Morier and by Hume-Grifith. But while the former only hints at the blood which was usually shed on this occasion (*my body streaming with blood*, p. 122), the latter provides the reader with a detailed description of the ritual, as well as with her feelings towards the people involved in it. According to Hume-Griffith, the Passion Play or the *'tazieh'* was enacted during the month of mourning (known as 'Mouhurram'), when the entire Persia mourned for Hassain and Hussein/Hossein, the martyred sons of Ali. During this period, most of the Persians go into mourning, and often the bazaars are closed and draped in black. The festival, which is held sacred, takes place on the tenth day of Mohurram. While the first part of the festival is very beautiful, in that it starts with a procession in which "gaily decorated camels" are ridden by men beating drums, the second part is quite shocking for a Westerner:

> Then came a horrible sight, one which I never want to see again. About a hundred madly excited men dressed in long white robes, armed with swords, were slashing their heads until the blood was streaming down their faces on the robes, while, alas, no longer. As they reached the tank of water they formed into a line all round it, and kept up for some length of time a horrible war dance. It was a ghastly sight. The dancers looked more like demons than men. (…) The whole proceeding was an interesting but sad spectacle, which I shall never forget. The clash of swords, the beating of drums, the weird wailing of women, (…) the shouting and yelling of the fanatical mob, all contributed to the making up of the most notable scenes of Eastern life. And yet it makes one's heart ache to watch this crowd of human beings (…) take part in these gruesome religious performances. (Hume-Grifith 1909: 111–112).

Both in India and in Persia, the travellers of the past were astonished at the kissing practice of the natives of these two countries.

As I was going along the streets to behold this Pomp, I saw many persons
come with much devotion to kiss the Feet of all those Giangami, who on Foot
follow'd the principal Giangamo who was in the Palanchino; and, because
they were many and it took up much time to kiss the feet of them all, therefore
when everyone came to do it they stood still all in a rank to give time; and,
whilst such persons were kissing them and, for more reverence, touching
the Feet with their Fore-heads, these Giangami stood firm with a seeming
severity and without taking notice of it, as if they had been abstracted from
the things of the World; just our Fryars used to do when any devout persons
come out of reverence to kiss their Habit. (della Valle 2010 [1663]: 270–271)



**Figure 5:** "Foot-kissing"[12]

According to Desmond Morris (1994), this practice has been in use since ancient
times and lowering one's head to the feet of another person was performed by
people of an inferior status as a sign of respect towards persons of higher status.
Nowadays, the Toda people in South India still perform this body lowering ritual
with high-status feet placed on low-status heads. In other parts of India, mothers
usually touch their children's heads with their feet as some kind of blessing.

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12   Print screen from *The Human Animal: A Personal View of the Human Species* (Desmond Morris,
     1994), BBC documentary, www.youtube.com/watch?v=7qUKiHZbVwc. Accessed November,
     2013.

We encounter the same practice in Persia together with the *kissing of one's knee.* Just like in the Indian culture, this gesture expressed respect to people of higher ranks or authorities, but unlike in India, here it was usually performed to win various favours. "I stooped down and kissed the knee of this my new master, with every appearance of gratitude and respect." (Morier 2007 [1824]: 106)

Among Persian men, kissing each other's lips was customary in the 18th century. A kiss on the mouth was applied when somebody had done some outstanding deed. Thus, the Shah's poet, who had written an 'impressive' poem about a toothpick, received such an honour twice: once from the Shah himself, and a second time from the audience present at the court: "Upon which the noble of nobles, who was endowed with a large and bushy beard, approached the poet, and inflicted a kiss upon his mouth, which also was protected by an appropriate quantity of hair." (Morier 2007 [1824]: 178)

Very frequently in his book, Morier mentioned the Persian custom of kissing the ground. The Muslim Persians did not actually touch the ground with their lips; they rather placed their foreheads or noses on the ground, expressing respect toward their God and showing humility: "Falling on my knees, and kissing the ground, I related my story in as concise a manner as possible." (Morier 2007 [1824]: 119)

Sometimes, the Persians met by Morier did not kiss body-parts of their interlocutors, but rather a certain part of their garments, namely the hem: "after having with great humility kissed the hem of the holy man's cloak." (Morier 2007 [1824]: 253). "I was so happy that I kissed the good man's hand and the hem of his garment, making him thousands of acknowledgments for his goodness." (Morier 2007 [1824]: 275)

As explained by Morier in footnote 21, if a culprit seized and kissed the skirt/hem of a man in authority (be he a priest, the Shah or a man of the law) in Persia, he would benefit from protection from that person, just like the precincts of the church offer protection in the Roman Catholic countries.

## 6. Conclusions

The three authors, whose work has been employed in this paper, could be considered pioneers in intercultural communication. It was people like them who provided knowledge about other cultures and who opened the path to intercultural communication. While initial research in intercultural communication was based on diaries, letters, and anecdotes of individual travellers, nowadays studies are carried out on larger amounts of data that are subjected to analysis from various perspectives (anthropological, sociological, psychological, and nonverbal) in order to provide people who have to travel for various reasons with basic

knowledge about the cultures they are going to encounter. With the multitude of information technologies available nowadays, the individuals' uncertainty about or fear of other cultures is diminished by reading or watching documentaries about these cultures and by investigating materials produced by members of the other cultural group. Interpersonal and intercultural communication in the future will be more and more meditated by computers. "Technologies such as the World Wide Web will continue to serve as channels to bring together people of diverse cultural backgrounds" (Barnett, Choon, & Rosen 2000, quoted in Barnett & Lee 2003: 260).

Nowadays, the process of globalisation is stronger than ever: larger groups of people cross borders for a wider range of purposes than before. Thus, there are millions of immigrants and refugees who seek a better life, their relocation being a long-term one. On the other hand, there are musicians, artists, professors, diplomats, researchers, military personnel, medical staff, and journalists whose stay in new cultures may be a short-term one. Irrespective of the length of their immersion in the new culture, for these people becoming an intercultural communicator seems to be a must. This presupposes first and foremost openness to meeting and interacting with people of different cultural backgrounds. Secondly, people who have to communicate interculturally need to adopt an attitude of mutual respect and trust and give up ethnocentrism. As Ting-Toomey puts it, the key to becoming intercultural communicators "is to prepare ourselves with competent knowledge and skills, so that we can enjoy this eye-opening intercultural learning journey" (1999: vii). Moreover, this preparation for intercultural communication should be a lifelong endeavour, because intercultural encounters are part of our lives.

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# Attila IMRE: Traps of Translation. A Practical Guide for Translators

Braşov: Transilvania University Press, 2013. 252 pp.

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Translation Studies occupies a prominent place in the array of linguistic studies. Despite being a field in its own right, it derives its diversity and potential from the partnership with other disciplines. Being an interdisciplinary field by nature, it has been constantly enriched by virtue of the multiplicity of the contacts it establishes. Translation interferes with potentially all the fields of life to transfer information and to facilitate intercultural exchange and communication. Moreover, the interdisciplinary character of Translation Studies keeps on strengthening while intertwining with fields of study traditionally standing at the remote end. It is, for instance, the case of Translation Studies joining disciplines from the exact sciences, such as Information Technology. It is this kind of interdisciplinarity that lies at the core of the book entitled *Traps of Translation. A Practical Guide for Translators* by Attila Imre.

Although not structured as such, there are two distinct parts that can be identified in Imre's book. One consists of the first four chapters, which offer an overview of some essentials of Translation Studies, and the other – chapters V-X – is devoted to the presentation of a variety of technological aspects and electronic tools in relation to the process of translation.

At the beginning of the book, the reader is introduced to the increasing importance of translation in the context of globalisation and fast development of technology and science. The author continues to pinpoint the evolution of translation from printed material to web pages and electronic support. The title *Traps of Translation* is accounted for in the first, introductory, chapter. In Imre's view and in broad terms, the translator is chiefly confronted with a threefold trap. The first trap is deemed to occur at cognitive level, a consideration which relates to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. The translators seem to be constrained by the way of thinking in their native language. The second trap stems from the much-

debated problem of (un)translatability, especially when poetry is concerned. Last, but not least, technology represents a genuine trap to translators if they are unaware of the current need for adaptation to rapid technological change. This last trap opens up the path to a substantial discussion of translation technology that unfolds in the latter and larger part of the book. The author's main goal is to offer a possible clue to establishing a balancing act between the human translators and information technology, which is increasingly taking over some of the translators' traditional tasks.

In Chapter II the author provides some definitions of translation, drawing on both traditional and modern considerations of the translation process and product. It continues to discuss the claimed impossibility of translating classical texts. In this context, the issue of poetry is in the focus of attention. The author looks into the evolution of the theories on the translation of poetry, observing "a gradual shift from *impossibility* towards *relative translation*" (p. 30). Further, the modality and features of translation, the relation between translation and culture, and the distinction between translation as an art and as a craft are tackled in separate sections. Another subchapter offers an insight into the relation between original and translation approached in scholarly work. Imre touches upon the problem of fidelity in translation and the dichotomy between a translator adhering to the artistic form or to the content when one of them needs to be sacrificed in the target version. Despite the inherent losses entailed by the interlinguistic and intercultural transfer, the author agrees to Steiner's (1998) and Dimitriu's (2006) view that the survival of the original is dependent on translation.

A brief diachronic approach to translation is adopted in Chapter III, which reminds of some 'milestones' in the history of translation. It begins with the discussion of the translation of some religious texts and presents interesting statistical data of religious text translation around the world, also providing essentials of the period between BCE and the fifteenth century. A subchapter is dedicated to each of the following centuries, and the 1960s–1970s are granted special attention, since that was the period when Translation Studies acquired the status of a fully-fledged discipline. The final section in this chapter deals with the unavoidable issue of equivalence, recalling both well-known theories and recent considerations of such theories. As the author claims, from the translators' angle, "equivalence is no longer an option" (Dimitriu 2006: 28) due to the fact that practitioners work as cultural mediators under ideological constraints. Being in line with Venuti (2000), the author's concluding remark is that: "identity in details between source text and target text is impossible, we can only strive for a similar effect" (p. 75).

Chapter IV addresses the issues of the translator's task, role, and responsibility. Several, at times, contradictory voices are objectively synthesized. Some scholarly views support the idea of cultural adaptation in translation, whereas others are in

favour of the translator being primarily involved in the act of translation proper while disregarding the readership of the target language text if necessary. This chapter makes the transition to the second part of the monograph, which focuses on the involvement of technology in the translator's activities.

What can be read on the following pages of Imre's book is a fairly substantial survey of technological input of various kinds in the translator's professional activity. In Chapter V, taking a realistic approach, the author reflects upon the disadvantages of the translator's having to cope with electronic tools in translation and especially keeping updated with the constant changes. As he puts it: "Change is inevitable, and those who shy away from technical upgrades will inevitable be left behind" (p. 132). In other words, since the "the days of paper, pencil and rubber are over" (p. 90), the effort is not an option in the twentieth century, but a necessity if translators want to keep pace with the translation industry. This chapter focuses on aspects of computer hardware and software with a view to offering the necessary basic knowledge to enable translators to further understand and effectively use the electronic tools particularly designed for translation purposes. The evolution of the technology applicable in translation is outlined from its beginnings up to present, ranging from the basics up to advanced resources. It covers problems related to computer hardware, such as: central units, computer peripherals, computers and notebooks, while computer software issues comprise operating systems, desktop environments and text-editing matters. It is noteworthy that the author moves beyond traditionally acknowledged technological equipment, being concerned with broad-ranging technological means that the translators should engage in nowadays. Thus, a number of valuable computer devices are presented which might be used by translators in (more or less) 'niche' activities, such as: voice-overs, testing tools, text-editing and publishing software especially when the layout is of utmost importance (in brochures, flyers, posters, ads, etc.). Thereby, a wider perspective unfolds to translators who search for opportunities other than the customary ones. The chapter also includes useful tips for auxiliary translation activities, such as speech recognition, optical character recognition, search programmes and format converters, as well as storing devices, back-up techniques, maintenance, etc., all of which help translators with their work and protect their working equipment.

*Evolution of Translation* is the title given to Chapter VI, which deals with dictionaries and thesauri as opposed to specialized books and other printed materials, coined by the author as 'translation hardware'. There are brief descriptions of recommended dictionaries, as well as instructions about how to handle some critical issues in translation, such as the equivalence of ethnographic *realia*. Next, the translation software section in this chapter first deals with translation memory software, incorporating descriptions of a number of different brands. Some useful links guide to bilingual and multilingual translation software.

Additionally, the author provides a critical evaluation of online dictionaries. The final subchapter offers useful hints at computerized searches in accessing either the *World Wide Web* or the personal computer databases. The distinction among simple search engines, professional search and metasearch is also outlined in this section.

More specific information on translating various text types and translation modes are included in Chapter VII, the first section of which is a brief treatment of the specific features of literary translation in contrast to translating 'modern text'. Imre uses the denomination of 'modern text' in order to label four categories giving the bulk of translation materials in modern-day times, namely, specialized translation, audiovisual translation, localization, and internationalisation and globalisation. The merit of this chapter lies in its offering a perspective of the different approaches that can be adopted for each text type within the broad area of specialized translation. A distinction is made between general and technical translation, then the chapter includes brief accounts of legal, medical, scientific, financial, commercial, pedagogic translations, and others. Audiovisual translation is also presented in its division into subtitling, dubbing, voice-over, surtitling, scanlation, and fan translation, the author offering some up-to-date scholarly considerations, definitions, classifications and approaches in this matter.

The topic of Chapter VIII is machine translation (MT). After the definition of the concept itself, the historical evolution of MT is overviewed with its advantages and drawbacks. Issues of testing MT and post-editing in relation to machine translation are also raised. After referring to various scholarly opinions and presenting findings on the validity and usefulness of machine translation, the chapter concludes with the author's prediction that, in spite of the obvious benefits of MT, "the quality of machine translation will not reach the standard of a mediocre human translation for a very long time" (p. 195).

The chapter on MT is followed by Chapter IX, devoted to terminology and Translation Memory (TM) and incorporates a thorough outline of *Term Bank* and *Term Base* in one of the sub-chapters. It deals with the usefulness of resorting to previous translations while human judgment is called for reasonable acceptance or rejection of the offer. It is especially the in-house translator that is advantaged by taking a collaborative stance and sharing views with other translators.

The last chapter, titled *Computer-assisted Translation (CAT),* first clarifies the difference between machine translation and computer-assisted or computer-aided translation. In Imre's words, the distinction lies in that "machine translation produces a text 'by itself', awaiting human pre- and post-editing, whereas CAT-tools contribute to the quality of translation by offering a full translation environment to human translators" (p. 208). Imre uses the term translation environment to refer to multilingual word-processing, spell checkers, synonym lists, online dictionaries, reference sources, built-in machine translation, term base

and translation memory, all of which are granted separate attention. The chapter indicates sources for acquiring translation services, among which translators' professional associations are preferred. Concluding this chapter, the author strongly advocates the recognition of the true merit of computerized translation, but also of the irreplaceable value of human involvement. It is especially the translation of literary texts that entails polysemy, suggestion, ambiguity, emotional content, etc., in which human reason must be fully exploited. Nevertheless, electronic tools can be of important help in literary translations as well. One of the suggested ways of retrieving information for translation options is the use of corpora and concordancers. The author uses English, French, Romanian and Hungarian examples to make his point in the way such tools can clarify semantic differences in false friends, for instance.

As a final remark, Imre pertinently draws attention to the risk for the book to become obsolete before long. Indeed, the information related to computerised tools will constantly need updating due to the dynamic technological development. But the tools are only undergoing changes for the better, being mainly upgraded and improved. Their replacement cannot occur abruptly, which is why professional translators or trainees can use the book as a practical guide to enhance the effectiveness of their translation skills. It is also recommended for translator trainers and translators who embark upon translation with IT support.

A distinctive feature of Attila Imre's book *Traps of Translation. A Practical Guide for Translators* is that it discusses translation in relation to English, Romanian and Hungarian. The merit herein lies in integrating two less frequently discussed languages, Romanian and Hungarian, in the international flux of Translation Studies. Without making it a purpose in itself, the author conveys plenty of contrastive information with reference to the translation among the three languages discussed, the languages of two neighbouring countries – Romania and Hungary – and English, the latter being most of the times the reference language nowadays when translation is concerned.

As the title *Traps of Translation. A Practical Guide for Translators* suggests, the book primarily addresses practising translators and it can be used as a resource-book with an outline of the theoretical background as a starting point to each problem proposed for discussion. The information offered can serve as solid grounds to build up a framework of IT tools used in translation to be constantly updated and enriched. It is also the author's qualification as experienced professional translator working in the languages Romanian, Hungarian and English that enriches the book with authentic examples and situations occurring during the translation process. The practicalities deriving from this knowledge lend the monograph authenticity and reliability. Much precious advice is grounded on the author's personal experience not only as a professional translator, but also as associate professor of Translation Studies at Sapientia University in Târgu

Mureş, Romania. Being well-structured and offering clear instructions, the guide is recommended not only to practising translators, but also to translator trainers, for whom it can be particularly useful for didactic purposes.

The content structure of the book also deserves mention. Being chiefly theoretical by nature, the first four chapters do not directly address practising translators, as the title suggests. It is rather the second part that sets and achieves this goal, whereas the first part is of invaluable help for students attending translation courses. Imre's book also has the quality of raising its readers' awareness about the importance of technological resources in modern translation practice.

The rich and relevant bibliography can be divided into three distinct, yet sometimes overlapping categories: (i) classical reference material in translation studies, (ii) up-to-date references, and (iii) Hungarian and Romanian scholarly contributions. The first category includes prominent names of theoreticians (Steiner, Nida, Baker, Gutt, House, Klaudy, Lambert, Neubert, Newmark, Nord, Reiss, Snell-Hornby, Toury, Venuti, Dollerup, etc.). The most recent studies cover the last years immediately before its publication, up to 2013, and references in the Hungarian and Romanian literature list scholars such as: Klaudy, Károly, Prószéky, Albert, Kis, Pusztai, and Dimitriu, Pintilie and Tatu respectively. They all add value to the monograph, their contributions being presented concisely and in a manner pertinent to the subject matter. Prior to its publication, the book benefited from advice given by academics, freelance translators and a native English speaker. In support of his ideas and claims, Imre inserted many illustrations, figures, tables and statistical data. Besides, useful links to dictionaries and glossaries, electronic tools and software applications are attached to the book in the appendices. A list of professional translators' associations around the world and a list of the most reputed translation journals can also be consulted for additional information.

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