INTERPRETAZIONE di TRATTATIVA INGLESE - II lingua

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PROGRAMMA DEL CORSO

- **CONTENUTI**

Il corso equivale a 30 ore frontali e 120 ore di esercitazioni e di studio individuale, per fornire le conoscenze di base delle tecniche e delle strategie usate nell'interpretazione dialogica nella combinazione inglese e italiano.

- **OBIETTIVI**

Il corso mira a fornire le conoscenze di base delle tecniche e delle strategie usate nell'interpretazione dialogica nella combinazione inglese e italiano. Gli studenti acquisiranno delle conoscenze di natura informativa e teorica e saranno coinvolti con prove pratiche in classe necessarie ad introdurli all'interpretazione dialogica in vari ambiti del mondo del lavoro.

- **TESTI/BIBLIOGRAFIA**

Angelelli C. (2004) *Medical Interpreting and Cross-cultural Communication*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Hale S.B. (2007) *Community Interpreting*. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan

Pöchhacker F. e **Shlesinger** M. (a cura di) (2007) *Healthcare Interpreting*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins.

Articoli di volumi e periodici consegnati durante il corso.

- **VALUTAZIONE**

ESAME FINALE: L'esame finale consiste in una simulazione di interpretazione di trattativa commerciale.

- **PREAPPELLO: SOLO gli studenti che hanno svolto il lavoro di gruppo (Profilo aziendale) potranno accedere al preappello** (in data da destinarsi). Le simulazioni del preappello verteranno sugli argomenti dei profili aziendali. Ogni gruppo dovrà scegliere un altro gruppo con cui presentarsi all'esame in modo che ogni coppia di studenti prepari due profili aziendali per l'esame. Sul corso Moodle verrà predisposta una funzione "calendario" tramite cui gli studenti potranno indicare il gruppo di appartenenza ed il gruppo con cui si presentano all'esame.

- **SESSIONI D'ESAME REGOLARI:** Le simulazioni di interpretazione di trattativa che si svolgeranno durante gli appelli delle sessioni d'esame ordinarie verteranno su uno o più degli argomenti del corso (simulazioni tenute in classe). Gli studenti che hanno svolto il profilo aziendale ottengono un punteggio aggiuntivo al voto d'esame in base alla valutazione del loro profilo, **ma dovranno svolgere la simulazione sugli argomenti del corso (e non su una coppia di profili aziendali).**

PROGRAMMA A.A. 2018-2019

DATA	ORE	ARGOMENTO	ESERCITAZIONE	DISPENSA
18/10/2018	3	LEZIONE INTRODUTTIVA: *Interazione e interpretazione* – introduzione all'interpretazione dialogica		
25/10/2018	6	RIFLESSIONI SULLA CONVERSAZIONE: turn-taking; coordinamento; pause	ESERCITAZIONE PRATICA:	TEORIA: Nofsinger 1991
01/11/2018		***SOSPENSIONE***		
08/11/2018	9	LIAISON INTERPRETING 1: *Ruolo dell'interprete nella trattativa d'affari*; TEXTURE OF TEXT: presentazione testo e struttura	ESERCITAZIONE PRATICA: Simulazione di intervista (gestione dei turni e memorizzazione) ANALISI TESTUALE: - texture of text (Obama) - trascrizione trattativa d'affari	TEORIA: Sandrelli 2005
15/11/2018	12	LIAISON INTERPRETING 2: *La trattativa d'affari*; elementi di terminologia fieristica (come redigere un glossario); trattativa alla fiera nautica	ESERCITAZIONE PRATICA: - traduzione a vista	TEORIA: Merlino 2009 MATERIALE ESERCIZI:
22/11/2018	15	LIAISON INTERPRETING 3: evento fiera (struttura, tempistiche, eventi); trattativa alla fiera nautica	ESERCITAZIONE PRATICA: - creazione glossario - simulazione	TEORIA: Fogazzaro & Gavioli 2004 MATERIALE ESERCIZI:
29/11/2018	18	LIAISON INTERPRETING 4: evento sportivo (annuncio, preparazione, calendario); trattativa alla conferenza stampa	ESERCITAZIONE PRATICA: come utilizzare il materiale di preparazione	TEORIA: Mason 1999
06/12/2018	21	LIAISON INTERPRETING 5: l'interpretazione dialogica e i media; trattativa all'intervista **CONSEGNA PROFILI AZIENDALI**	ESERCITAZIONE PRATICA: simulazione di intervista	TEORIA: Mason 2009 MATERIALE ESERCIZI
13/12/2018	24	BUSINESS INTERPRETING 1: elementi di terminologia aziendale; visita in azienda	ESERCITAZIONE PRATICA: - traduzione a vista (Business and Finance)	TEORIA: Katan 1999 MATERIALE ESERCIZI
20/12/2018	27	BUSINESS INTERPRETING 2: terminologia tecnica; visita in azienda	ESERCITAZIONE PRATICA: - simulazione(accordi commerciali)	TEORIA:Gavioli & Baraldi 2011

27/12/2018	30	BUSINESS INTERPRETING 3: revisione profili aziendali e presentazione delle modalità d'esame	ESERCITAZIONE PRATICA: simulazione	

PROFILO AZIENDALE
Indicazioni per la stesura

Il profilo aziendale descritto qui di seguito rappresenta parte integrante del programma del corso di "Interpretazione di trattativa inglese II lingua" e la sua presentazione entro la scadenza indicata è obbligatoria per poter essere ammessi **a sostenere il preappello come studenti frequentanti**.

Condizione necessaria per poter presentare il profilo aziendale e quindi accedere al preappello è la frequenza obbligatoria del 70% delle lezioni.

La stesura in lingua italiana del profilo aziendale comporta la descrizione di un'immaginaria azienda italiana appartenente a uno dei seguenti comparti produttivi:
- abbigliamento
- arredamento
- articoli per la casa

Il profilo dovrà contenere 4 sezioni:

SEZIONE 1:
Descrizione dell'azienda, contenente le seguenti informazioni:
- tipologia di azienda (sas, srl, ecc.)
- storia (dalle 500 alle 700 parole)
- sede ed eventuali filiali
- organigramma
- principali prodotti

SEZIONE 2:
Il profilo sarà corredato da un colloquio tra un rappresentante dell'azienda ed un possibile acquirente straniero, immaginando di immettere sul mercato per la prima volta una nuova linea di vostra invenzione (almeno 15 turni di dialogo).

SEZIONE 3:
La nuova linea di prodotti, che può essere di un qualsiasi prodotto a vostra scelta all'interno del comparto produttivo selezionato, consterà di almeno 2 modelli dal design originale. Accanto all'immagine (disegnata) di ogni modello dovranno essere indicati:
- il nome del modello (in italiano e inglese)
- il numero di codice dell'articolo
- i materiali (in italiano e inglese)
- i colori in cui è disponibile (in italiano e in inglese)
- il prezzo

SEZIONE 4:
Andrà infine redatto e accluso al catalogo un glossario italiano-inglese di almeno 30 termini tecnici accompagnati dalle relative definizioni nelle due lingue e dalle fonti terminologiche a cui si è attinto.

N.B. I profili e i modelli palesemente ripresi da siti internet o da materiale informativo di aziende reali NON SARANNO APPROVATI. La qualità del disegno del modello NON è ovviamente oggetto di valutazione.

Gruppi di lavoro: Il profilo è un lavoro di gruppo da realizzare in coppia; gli studenti possono autonomamente suddividersi in coppie e indicare la propria appartenenza nella sezione dedicata del corso Moodle.

Termine per la consegna: 06 dicembre 2018

Il profilo andrà consegnato sia in forma di file (upload sul modulo predisposto sul corso Moodle in forma di "compito"), sia in copia cartacea a lezione o durante il ricevimento fissato su appuntamento via email con la docente titolare.

VALUTAZIONE: il profilo verrà valutato entro il termine del corso, e la valutazione costituirà un punteggio aggiuntivo che verrà sommato al voto d'esame come segue:

VALUTAZIONE	PUNTEGGIO AGGIUNTIVO
Da 0 a 2	0
Da 2,5 a 4	1
Da 4,5 a 5	2

Una volta valutati, i profili aziendali verranno messi a disposizione degli studenti sul corso Moodle in una sezione dedicata.

ESAME FINALE: L'esame finale consiste in una simulazione di interpretazione di trattativa commerciale.

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4

Turn Organization

Remember those times in conversation when you desperately needed to be the very next person to speak? And we have all noticed the frustration of the person who is not able to "get a word in edgewise." Up to this point, we have taken for granted the way conversational participants take turns exchanging talk. In Chapter 2, we just assumed that someone was the speaker and that he or she had one or more recipients for whom an utterance was designed. But in Chapter 3, things began to get complicated because we were considering sequences of conversational actions produced by *different* speakers. We postponed consideration of how various participants become speakers: how one "gets the floor" as speaker to produce the first pair part of an adjacency pair, or the required second part, or to make some other contribution. We have learned enough about the conduct of conversation at this point to figure out that some system for organizing utterances into

turns is of vital importance to its participants. The organization of social or communicative actions into pairs, or sequences, or whatever, depends on some way of changing or alternating speakers. For example, the adjacency pair depends on two speakers coordinating the production of at least one utterance apiece. Presequences and insertion sequences further extend the number of times participants must exchange talk. And remember that positioning an utterance adjacent to another just-completed one can be very important, since that new utterance is normally interpreted as responding to the adjacently prior one and serves to display its speaker's interpretation of that prior utterance. This means that getting a turn "right now"—when one needs it—can be a serious issue. In conversation, these matters are dealt with by organizing participants' utterances into sequential *turns*.

Getting a turn "right now" can be a serious issue.

Everyday life is filled with mechanisms for organizing people's activities. This frequently involves sequential or alternating turns. Guitar students at a recital perform in a sequence determined ahead of time and often published in a program. Sports fans (or concert or theater devotees) purchase tickets in a sequence determined by the individual's position in line. This is more or less determined by order of arrival (as is the "take a number" system prevalent in crowded retail and service outlets). Getting one's turn can be so important that people sometimes arrive hours or even days ahead of time to ensure an early place in line. In some cases, the order of turns is determined by the status of the participants. People who are richer, more famous, or more powerful may be served first. Each of these situations involves a system that generates single turns (one person at a time at the ticket window, for example). Some turn-organizing systems, however, operate to allow (or require) all participants to take their turns at the same time, as happens when all guests at a dinner party begin to eat when the host

does. Single sequential turns are important in conversation because human beings' capacity to monitor several different spoken messages at once is limited and because some messages are responses to others and must occur later. But the organization of turns in a conversation is not determined ahead of time, nor is it fundamentally determined by wealth or fame (although these factors may influence turn taking), nor is it determined by order of arrival, in the broad sense—we do not take numbers or stand in line to talk.

❑ The Turn-Taking System

Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1978) have proposed a model of how conversational turn taking is organized that focuses on two questions: Out of what message units are turns constructed? By what practices (methods, techniques) are turns allocated to one participant or another? Let us now examine the details of turn taking in the conduct of conversation.

TURN CONSTRUCTION

Sacks et al. (1978) claim that turns are constructed out of any of four different-sized units of talk. Some turns are one word long, constructed with a single lexical item ("yes," "Mary," "twelve"). Other turns are constructed with a phrase: several words that do not constitute a sentence, that do not have both a subject and a predicate ("in the garage," "gone home," "the boss"). Others are constructed with a clause, which we might describe as a group of words that do have all the necessary components to be a sentence (both a subject and predicate), but do not constitute a stand-alone sentence because they are designed to be part of some other sentence ("the woman who gave today's lecture," "when we finish studying"). Still other turns are constructed with a full sentence ("We'll turn on the TV when we finish studying," "Kitty is going to Japan"). The important

thing about each of these turn construction units is that participants can *project* where they will end—and thus where a particular turn might possibly be complete. This spot that participants recognize as the potential end of a turn, this place where a transition from one speaker to another becomes relevant, is called a "transition relevance place" by Sacks et al. (1978).[1] We will refer to this throughout the book as a *TRP*. Thus a word being used as a complete turn will have TRP at its end. So will a phrase designed to be a complete turn, as will a clause and a sentence. In conversational turn taking, the various practices that participants use to change from one speaker to another (or to give another turn to the same speaker) operate at the TRP. This makes the TRP a very important concept in our understanding the conduct of conversation.

Data Segment 4.1 exhibits several different types of turn construction units.

(4.1) [Sacks et al., 1978, p. 51]

1 A: Was last night the first time you met Missiz Kelly?
2 (1.0)
3 B: Met whom?
4 A: Missiz Kelly.
5 B: Yes.

The first turn is constructed using a sentence (line 1), the next two using phrases (lines 3-4), and the last one using a single word (line 5). In addition, we can sense that participants would probably detect a TRP (the possible completion of the turn) at the end of lines 1, 3, 4, and 5. Note that although a TRP may involve a short silence, our transcript does not mark this silence unless it is longer than "a conversational beat," as in the one-second silence in line 2. But whatever the cues that participants use to detect a TRP, whether they include a change in the pitch or volume of the voice, the end of a syntactic unit of language, a momentary silence, or some sort of body motion, it is at the TRP that transition from one speaker to another normally occurs. We now turn our attention to the way that

speaking turns are *allocated* (given to, or claimed by, a conversational participant).

TURN ALLOCATION

Sacks et al. (1978) identify three techniques by which participants determine who gets the next turn, and they propose a set of rules fixing the rights and responsibilities of the participants. Remember that speaker change should occur at a TRP. One practice for allocating the next turn is that the current speaker can choose the next speaker. This is called *current speaker selects next* (Sacks et al., 1978, p. 13). Our discussion of action sequences in Chapter 3 suggests one of the primary ways in which this can be accomplished: The current speaker directs the first pair part of an adjacency pair to some other participant. The identity of this other person can be indicated by the current speaker in various ways, including using the person's name, making eye contact, and so forth. Notice that this must be done *during* the course of the current utterance. Then, at the first TRP, the person who has been selected has exclusive rights to the next turn and is actually obligated to take that turn. Assume, for purposes of illustration, that Data Segment 4.2 occurs in a conversation of several participants.

(4.2) [Sacks et al., 1978, p. 51, simplified]

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1  A:  Uh you been down here before [havenche.
2  B:                               [Yeh.
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The current speaker, A, selects B as next speaker by directing a question to B (line 1). Note A's stress on "you," which we will assume may have been accompanied by other behaviors or context identifying B. The next turn is then taken by B (line 2), who produces an answer to the question. No other participant may take the turn following A—to do so would violate turn-taking etiquette for conversation. In effect, current speaker selects next has priority over the other methods of allocating the turn because it is employed before the TRP and because

once it has been used no other participant may be selected as next speaker. This is a powerful technique not only for determining the next speaker but for extending the conversation another turn.

Before discussing the other two techniques for turn allocation, we should clear up a feature of this last segment (4.2) that seems to contradict the statement that speaker change occurs at the end of a turn construction unit (that is, at the TRP). B's "Yeh" clearly overlaps A's "havenche." Why does B's turn begin before the end of A's turn? Remember that participants are able to project the end of a turn construction unit and thus the occurrence of a TRP. In this case, A produces a sentence that projects to completion just after the word "before." Producing a statement for another participant to confirm or deny is a routine conversational action, and "Uh you been down here before" can be seen as a complete turn construction unit. B may have projected a TRP at that point and gone ahead to take a normal turn. The overlap would then be caused by A adding the tag question "havenche" to the end of a turn that B is treating as already complete. The point to be learned from this example is that the smoothness and coordination we frequently find in conversation depends on the skill levels of the participants and on their ability to respond to unexpected events.

How is the next turn allocated if the current speaker does not select the next one? Not every utterance is part of an adjacency pair, and many utterances do not require a particular participant to respond. What happens, for example, after someone makes an offhand observation or comment, or after someone answers a prior question? Sacks et al. (1978) say that if current speaker does not select next, then at the TRP any listener may begin a turn; that is, he or she may *self-select* (p. 13). Furthermore, the first listener to do so then has exclusive rights to the turn and any others who have begun to speak should stop. This rule puts a premium on starting quickly, since several participants may self-select and failure to be first may mean either that one drops out or that one continues with the risk of being judged as "butting in" on someone else's turn. Tannen (1986)

suggests that serious miscoordination problems can arise when one participant is a quick self-starter and another is slower to begin a turn (perhaps because he or she needs a more clearly marked TRP). Not only do such people have difficulty conversing with one another, but they often attribute negative intentions or characteristics to each other (for example, he wants to hog the entire conversation; or, she won't talk, she must not be interested in me). Sacks et al. (1978) point out that the existence of the self-selection option means that if current speakers are to be assured of selecting the next speaker they must accomplish it before the TRP, since at the TRP any listener may get the next turn.

Data Segment 4.3 involves several instances of listeners self-selecting. Six people are having breakfast, five of them seated around a table; B and J have just talked about someone who went skiing with his dark glasses on under his (tinted) goggles. B has just self-selected and begins to talk about yesterday's skiing.

(4.3) [Cliff Story, simplified]

49 B: Just like I did yesterday
50 I might as well have had my
51 dark glasses on under my goggles.
52 W: Yeh. [( )]
53 B: [I cou-]
54 I couldn't see anything.
55 (2.6)
56 J: Well it's amazing tha:tuh (.) I picked
57 the right day to get sick on.

B's remark in lines 49-51 is not directed at anyone in particular, but is a statement to the entire group. Furthermore, it is not the first part of an adjacency pair (it does not require one of just a few specific second actions). So B has not used current speaker selects next. At the end of that turn, W self-selects with an acknowledgment of B's remark and a few additional words that are not clear on the tape (line 52). It does not seem

that W has used current speaker selects next, so B's next utterance (line 53) is probably another self-selection. Notice that either the listener misprojects a TRP after "Yeh," or the current speaker suddenly elects to continue just after the TRP (we will consider this method of allocating turns in a moment). The resulting overlap is similar to the one in the "havenche" segment (4.2). In any case, B breaks off his utterance and restarts it again in line 54 (another self-selection). Then, after a fairly lengthy silence, J self-selects (lines 56-57). In this segment, then, who gets to speak is determined by who self-selects, when and how quickly they do it, and by the fact that no current speaker selects the next one. Let us now consider a third practice by which participants allocate the next turn.

What happens when neither of the two methods we have discussed is used to determine the next speaker? Sacks et al. (1978) say that if current speaker does not select the next one, and if no listener self-selects as next speaker, then (at the TRP) the current speaker may continue (p. 13). *Speaker continuation* is the technique by which a single participant may take an extended turn, but its use depends on the other two options not being used. Timing, as we said before, is critical if things are to go smoothly during turn allocation. In the two segments just above, we have seen instances of the current speaker electing to continue, where the current speaker's continuation was overlapped by a listener self-selecting (Segment 4.2, lines 1-2; Segment 4.3, lines 52-53). And the existence of the speaker-continues option is another reason for listeners to self-select quickly, for any delay may result in the current speaker resuming his or her turn.

Two other places in the "dark glasses" segment (4.3) are worth closer examination. It might seem from the written transcript that a TRP occurs at the end of line 49 (which would make lines 50-51 an instance of current speaker continues). On the tape recording, however, one can hear that B rushes on through "yesterday" and into "I might as well"; participants would most likely not project a TRP at the end of line 49. Lines 49-51

contain but a single turn construction unit. The other place is the short, untimed pause in line 56. This is not a TRP because "tha:t uh" indicates that J is not at the end of a turn construction unit and is not finished with his turn. So this, too, is not a case of current speaker continues, but is rather a case of a single turn construction unit. Finally, note that each of the three turn-allocation options applies again at the next TRP, and at the next, and so on.

The Sacks et al. (1978) model portrays conversational turn taking as *locally managed* and also *interactionally managed* by the participants (pp. 40-43). That is, it is the participants themselves, through the various practices they employ, who determine who shall speak next (and other important characteristics of turns, as we shall see). This management is local in the sense that it deals with the current turn and the impending next turn right at the point where speaker transition is relevant—the TRP. Turn allocation is not determined before participants begin (as in the case of the guitar recital), nor is it determined several turns ahead of time (as in standing in line at the ticket window). Conversational turn taking is interactionally managed in the sense that what one participant does affects what the others may acceptably do (for example, the use of current speaker selects next rules out other listeners self-selecting). Turn management is also interactional in the sense that the *possibility* that participants *can* do something affects how a participant may behave at the moment (for example, the possibility of the current speaker continuing affects how listeners use self-selection).

This locally, interactionally, participant-managed turn system—with its three turn-allocation practices operating at the TRP—is one of the defining characteristics of conversation. Other types of communication, other systems for exchanging talk, usually have their turn taking organized in ways different from that found in conversation. And the conversational system of turn taking has important consequences for how conversation unfolds, for how it is shaped and organized, and for how mistakes and other problems are dealt with.

Consequences of the Turn System

The system of turn taking discussed above is closely connected to the organization or structure that unfolds as conversation progresses. In fact, the turn system is largely responsible for several obvious structural characteristics of everyday conversation. It also provides students of conversation with an analytical framework with which to examine these and other characteristics of conversation. We begin with a consideration of a few of the most obvious and observable facts.

GROSSLY APPARENT FACTS

Sacks et al. (1978) relate their turn-taking model to a list of "grossly apparent facts" of conversation (pp. 10-11, 14-40). In each case, they describe how the fact is a result of, or at least compatible with, some feature(s) of the model. We shall review five selected facts.

First, only one participant usually speaks at a time, and overlap, when it occurs, is brief. As we have seen, the turn system localizes speaker change at the TRP. This means that instances of coordination problems will generally cluster around specific points in the flow of talk, points at which speakers will have reached a possible completion. In addition, whichever participant is properly selected as next speaker is given exclusive rights to the turn. That is, participants orient to resolving overlapping talk, usually by one person dropping out. On the other hand, the encouragement given by the turn system for listeners to self-select as early as possible results in instances of this brief overlap being fairly common. By way of contrast, certain audience response modes (responsive reading, for example) in religious services or political meetings are organized so that a single participant (the "leader") takes one turn, but the entire audience responds together in the next turn.[2]

Second, the order and distribution of speaker turns is not fixed or determined in advance, but varies within and between conversations. The turn system allows this variation in who

speaks next, who speaks after that, who gets more turns, and who gets fewer by providing three options for how the next turn is allocated. Each of these options leads (potentially) to a different next speaker. For example, current speaker selects next leads to the current speaker's choice of the moment, while listener self-selection leads to whoever starts first at the TRP. This is a good example of a fact of conversation that results directly from the local management of turns. A nonconversational contrast to this is formal debate, in which the order of speakers is determined ahead of time, usually by the style of debate being performed. Even the number of times each participant speaks may be fixed in advance.

Third, the size or length of turns varies from one turn to the next. Two different aspects of the turn system contribute to this characteristic of conversation. Turns are constructed out of various size units in the first place. Words, phrases, clauses, and sentences are generally of different sizes, and each type of unit can vary in length as well (sentences can be long or short, for example). In addition, the option that current speaker can continue (if neither of the other options has been exercised) allows a speaker to lengthen his or her turn after the first turn construction unit. Again, this is a clear example of the effect of local management of turns. Debate again provides a good contrast, because the speeches of participants have a fixed maximum length (measured, say, in minutes and seconds).

Fourth, what participants say in their turns, or what actions they do with their turns, is not restricted or specified in advance. Of course, what participants may acceptably do in any particular turn is restricted by what happened in prior turns and by general social norms, but the turn system itself does not require that conversational turns be used only for certain types of actions or contain only certain types of information. Along with the local management of turns, this also is a defining characteristic of conversation. The turn systems of broadcast news interviews and courtroom direct and cross-examination of witnesses, in contrast, both operate under the restriction that one participant will use turns primarily to ask questions

and other participants will primarily answer them. And in many ceremonies, the actual words participants must speak are scripted ahead of time. Note also that in some transcontinental telephone calls, participants routinely end their turns by saying some transition word, such as "over." This is a way of coping with the long time lag between the ending of one's turn and the first sound of the other's turn. Conversational turn taking does not depend on participants' saying anything special.

The very nature of everyday conversation derives from its turn-taking system.

Finally, perhaps the most obvious fact about conversation (and again, a defining characteristic of it) is that speaker change occurs. The turn system provides for this through its two options for transferring to another speaker: current speaker selects next and listener self-selection. In addition, the turn system supplies periodic places at which speaker change can conveniently occur: the TRP at the end of each turn construction unit. Contrast this with both classroom lecturing and public speaking, in which speaker change may not occur, or may be restricted to a few places controlled by the lecturer ("Are there any questions?").

Thus the very nature of everyday conversation derives, in large part, from its turn-taking system. Its most noticeable characteristics are closely linked both to the ways in which turns are *constructed* (using words, phrases, clauses, sentences, and TRPs) and to the ways they are *allocated* (using the practices of current speaker selects next, listener self-selects, and current speaker continues). Even more important to the study of interpersonal communication, however, is the fact that many of the conversational tendencies and orientations that we commonly attribute to participants' personalities or interpersonal relationships derive (at least in part) from the turn system. For example, other participants may listen to us not because they are interested or because we are fascinating, but because they have to. We now examine several of these far-reaching consequences of turn organization in conversation.

MOTIVATION FOR LISTENING

Why do people listen to each other during ordinary conversation? Although it occasionally happens that someone is discovered not to have been listening, for the most part we listen to each other's everyday talk. One answer to the question might be that people are interested in what other participants have to say. While this may be true, it does not adequately account for why we listen, because we all listen to talk that we are not interested in. Another answer might be that we listen to maintain the interpersonal relationships we have with other participants (for example, we want to be polite). This answer is closer to the point, but fails to address the connection between our interpersonal relationships and how conversation is conducted. One connection lies in the turn system.

The organization of conversational turn taking provides "an intrinsic motivation for listening" (Sacks et al., 1978, pp. 43-44). During the current turn anyone can be selected by the speaker to be next. Participants who are willing to speak if selected—that is, who are not willing to be "caught napping" or to be found rude—must monitor the course of the current turn to discover whether they have been selected. Furthermore, participants who may want to self-select at the upcoming TRP—regardless of whether they intend to continue the ongoing discussion or change it radically—must monitor the current speaker's talk to determine whether anyone has been selected as next speaker. If a given listener has been selected to speak next, he or she must cope with responding to the current utterance; if a given listener has not been selected, he or she must still determine whether anyone else has been selected as next speaker, because, if so, self-selection is ruled out. So things that happen in the current turn are potentially vital to how we should conduct ourselves in the next turn, whether we should speak (and, if so, what we may appropriately say) or whether we should remain silent. Participants who do not wish to be called to account for violations of conversational norms have a reason for listening that stems from the turn system, independently of whether the speaker's talk is interesting in the broader sense.

COMPETITION FOR TURNS

Conversational turns are valued, sought after (and sometimes avoided, negatively valued). When the current speaker has not selected next, there is frequently competition for the next turn. We have seen that the rule giving exclusive rights to the earliest self-selecting listener contributes to this, but there is more involved. Why should a listener (who wants to talk) compete for the very next turn? That is, why not wait until other participants have had their say and then self-select when there is no competition for the turn? We occasionally do this, of course, but it is usually when what we have to say can be said anytime during the conversation. When participants wish to respond to, comment about, or elaborate on what the current speaker is saying, they strive to obtain the very next turn. Why should this be so? For one thing, participants interpret an utterance done in the very next turn as being relevant to the adjacently prior one, as we saw in Chapter 3. It is easier to show the relationship of one's talk to what the current speaker is saying if one can get the very next turn. But the constraint imposed by the turn system is also a major influence on turn competition. If a participant does not successfully self-select for the next turn, then whoever does become next speaker may select someone else as the following speaker; that person may select still another participant, and so on. The availability of the current speaker selects next technique means that a participant can *count* on his or her impending utterance being relevant to the ongoing talk *only* if it is done in the very next turn. After that, the conversation may take other directions not related to what he or she was going to say. This can be a major contributor to competition for turns.

TURN RESERVATION

A potential problem faced by conversational participants is that on occasion they may wish to take an extended turn (to tell a story, for example). The reason this could be a problem lies in a particular feature of the turn system. We have examined how

a speaker has rights to the current turn up to the first TRP. That is, turns are allocated one turn construction unit at a time. A participant who wishes to produce an utterance several units long is subject to losing the turn at each TRP, where any listener may self-select. This leads to the common practice of using a turn to secure participants' agreement to allow the speaker to take an extended turn (or possibly an extended series of turns). Reserving the turn is a major function of the presequence (or at least the pre), which we looked at in Chapter 3.

Just as an adjacency pair sequence is often projected by an earlier sequence (the presequence), so larger structures of talk such as jokes, stories, and actions accompanied by background or other preparation are projected or announced in various prefaces or presequences. Stories and jokes, for example, are often announced, as in Data Segment 4.4.

(4.4) [Levinson, 1983, p. 323 (from Sacks)]
1 K: You wanna hear muh- eh my
2 sister told me a story last night.
3 R: I don't wanna hear it. But if you must.

K produces a story announcement and gets the go-ahead from R, although a somewhat reluctant one. After some banter among the participants, K then tells a fairly lengthy dirty joke. This use of the presequence serves other functions as well, such as ensuring that the speaker does not tell a joke or story that others have already heard. But a major function is temporarily to suspend competitive self-selection at TRPs and allow a speaker to work through an extended turn. In other cases, the speaker gets a series of turns, with some other participant briefly acknowledging each one. In his study of action projections, Schegloff (1980) notes that when people say something like "Can I ask you a question?" the next thing they typically produce is not the question, but some preliminary talk leading up to it. Data Segment 4.5 begins with B projecting that a question will be forthcoming (lines 1-2).

(4.5) [Schegloff, 1980, pp. 108-109, abbreviated]
1 B: Now listen, Mister Crandall, let
2 me ask you this. A cab. You're
3 standing onna corner. I heardjuh
4 talking to a cab driver.
5 A: Uh::uh
6 B: Uh was it- uh was a cab driver,
7 wasn' i'?
8 A: Yup,
9 B: Now, yer standing onna corner,
10 A: Mm hm,
11 B: I live up here in Queens.
12 A: Mm hm,
((18 speaker turns omitted))
46 B: Now is he not suppose' tuh stop fuh me?

In this case, B's action projection ("let me ask you this") is a pre that helps to secure a long series of turns leading up to the intended action (a question about when a cab is supposed to stop to pick up a customer). Throughout this series of turns, A produces continuers (such as "Mm hm") that occupy a turn in only a token way and return speakership to B (see Schegloff, 1982). B is thus able to lead up to and eventually produce the projected question without having to compete for the turn at each TRP. Notice that stories and other extended-turn structures in conversation are not simply produced by a single speaker, but are jointly or interactively produced by a primary speaker together with other cooperating participants (see, for example, Mandelbaum, 1987).

The place where a silence occurs is an important factor in how it gets treated.

TREATMENT OF SILENCES

As students of conversation, we should not treat all conversational silences in the same way, in large part because participants do not either. The place where a silence occurs in the turn construction and allocation process is an important determining factor in how it gets treated. Sacks et al. (1978) distinguish among three different types of silence. One is the *lapse*, which occurs during and after a TRP, when the current speaker has not selected a next speaker, no listener has self-selected, and current speaker elects not to continue. That is, at the end of a turn, when no next speaker is selected through any of the three turn-allocation options, the conversation comes to an end—lapses—at least for the moment.

A second type of silence is the *gap*. This is a silence at the TRP (usually brief, often about one second or less) when the current speaker has not selected a next speaker and a self-selecting listener has not yet started. In other words, a gap is the silence between the end of one turn and some listener self-selecting for

the next turn. In the "dark glasses" segment (4.3), the silence in line 55 is an example of this (despite its 2.6-second duration). We might think of this as a sort of reaction time, the time it takes a listener to "read" the TRP, generate something relevant to say, and begin talking. An important characteristic of the gap, however, is that it is not attributed to any specific participant (it does not "belong" to anyone). It is just the silence—the gap—between speakers.

The third type of silence is the *pause*. This is a silence within a participant's turn, a silence that is attributable to that person. Pauses arise in three primary ways. First, a speaker can produce a silence during the course of his or her turn. This version of the pause does not occur at a TRP and can be related to a variety of factors, from being momentarily distracted to searching for the right word. The short, untimed silence in line 56 of the "dark glasses" segment (4.3) is this sort of pause. Note that J's pause is short in part because he uses "uh" to fill some of the space between "tha:t" and "I." Second, a pause arises when, after a silence at the TRP, no listener self-selects and the current speaker elects to continue. The silence at the TRP then retrospectively becomes a silence *within* that speaker's turn—a pause. Third, a pause can occur when the current speaker selects a next speaker and, at the TRP, that person delays in responding. Line 2 in the "met Missiz Kelly" segment (4.1) is a case in point. After A selects B by asking a question (line 1), B delays a full second before speaking. Why is this type of silence a pause rather than a gap? Because it is attributable to the person selected as next speaker. In this example, B has rights and obligations to the turn effective immediately after A's turn ends (that is, at the TRP). Thus the silence in line 2 is considered *B's* silence—B's pause before speaking. As participants, we often treat pauses differently from gaps. We may attribute uncertainty or impending disagreement (as discussed in Chapter 5) to a selected next speaker's pause, for example, when we would not make such attributions to a speaker self-selecting after a gap.

Silence is an important component of everyday conversation. The interpretation that participants give to conversational silence, as reflected in their subsequent utterances (or lack of such utterances), depends on the location of the silence in the turn-taking sequence. This is our justification for using three different terms to name silences. The most critical distinction is probably that between silences before a self-selecting listener starts to speak and silences within an already selected speaker's turn. Unfortunately, while this usage is standard among conversation analysts, it is not standard among many communication and other scholars who study interpersonal processes.[3] Despite some problems in terminology, however, research has rather consistently shown that perceptions of participants' communicative competence and even the viability of their conversation is related to the way they manage conversational silence (see, e.g., Cappella & Planalp, 1981; Wiemann, 1977).

BIAS IN TURN ALLOCATION

The turn system allows participants to allocate speaking turns in very unequal or biased patterns. The newcomer to the group, for example, may be favored with frequent selection as next speaker by various current speakers. Someone in disfavor may not be selected at all and may be able to speak only through self-selection in competition with everyone else. Listeners may choose not to self-select after the turns of a particularly powerful, esteemed, or interesting participant, thus allowing him or her the option to continue. One of the most common patterns (as noted by Sacks et al., 1978) is for the current speaker to select the previous speaker to talk again. This pattern allows the development of more extended dyadic structures of conversation, such as elaborated arguments, dialogues, or colloquies.

This possibility for bias in turn-taking patterns is a good illustration of an important characteristic of Sacks et al.'s (1978) model. The turn system is *context free*, yet it can be *context sensitive* to a variety of particular conversational happenings (p. 10). What this means is that the organization of turn taking

and the practices used to accomplish it do not depend on any particular types of participants, social situations, physical settings, and so on. None of the participants has to be (or is prohibited from being) a student, the mayor, or a staff member of the local telephone crisis line, for example. And the conversation does not have to occur (nor is it prohibited from occurring) just after class has ended, at city hall, or over the telephone. Conversation operates across a very broad spectrum of different types of people, purposes, locations, group sizes, and interpersonal relationships. In order to do this, its basic mechanisms must be context free in the sense just described. At the same time, however, participants can design their talk and allocation of turns for the people who are actually present (and how many), for why they are having the particular conversation, for what their interpersonal relationships are, and so forth. In this sense, the turn system is context sensitive.

These consequences of the turn system for conversation (and others we have not examined here) derive from the system's orderliness and the way it organizes turns at talk. Who gets more turns (and who gets fewer), who gets longer turns (and who gets shorter ones), why there is often competition for turns, why people often listen to conversation even when they are not really interested in what is being said, and why silences are meaningful to us in different ways are all related to the practices we use for constructing and allocating turns. But what makes the system orderly and what happens when its orderliness breaks down? We now turn to a consideration of these questions.

❑ Turn Taking as a Normative System

We have all experienced conversations during which some sort of turn-taking trouble occurred. When two listeners begin talking at the same time, one usually drops out. A participant who misreads a TRP and starts talking before the current

speaker has finished may apologize for the "interruption." Such instances show us that participants attempt to follow some set of rules or norms in their turn taking and to let others know what they are doing. In general, conversation is orderly because the participants work to make it so. That is, participants routinely take steps to display to each other that their talk is orderly and that the conversation as a whole has been orderly. When this is called into question, participants take steps to restore orderliness. This is as true of turn taking as it is of other aspects of conversation. In fact, it is because participants make their turn taking orderly *for each other* that it can be seen as orderly by analysts and other observers. One of the ways in which this orderliness is displayed is through participants' attention to the rules of conversational turn taking.

ORIENTATION TO RULES

The turn system is a normative system. That means that participants orient to the observance of certain communication rules (see Shimanoff, 1980). In most cases, participants design their talk so that it can be seen to be in conformity to one or more norms of turn taking. For example, listeners not selected as next speaker (by the current one) normally remain silent at the TRP so that the person selected can exercise his or her rights to the turn. In some cases, when a participant's talk can be seen as violating a norm, the person will take steps to bring his or her behavior into observable conformity with the rules. This occurs, for example, when a current speaker, in electing to continue, overlaps with a self-selecting listener and immediately drops out, thus orienting to the self-selecting listener's rights to the turn. In other cases, participants may bring sanctions to bear on someone whose behavior they see as violative. For example, they may mention the rule, or request that the person's behavior change in certain ways. Of course, participants sometimes ignore apparent violations of turn-taking norms and the talk proceeds without further incident.

Data Segment 4.6 presents an example of one participant reacting to the observable norm violation of another. The participants are playing the game of Scruples, in which the person whose official Scruples turn it is presents some selected other player with an ethical dilemma to respond to. In this case, the question is: Would you tell the hostess of a dinner party that a corpulent guest sat in her antique chair and cracked it?

(4.6) [Aakhus, 1988, p. 42, modified]

```
1 T:  Okay: Jim
2 J:  (1.3) hm:
3 T:  You are at a dinner party. (.)
4       And hear a distinct [crack  (0.8) as a corpule-]
5 M:                Jim [at a dinner party (.) nchhh]
6       (1.0)
7 T:  Can you [sh:ut. up.
8 J:          [a distinct (1.0) [a distinct what?
9 T:                            [a dis- a distinct cra:ck
```

T's summons (in line 1) and J's answer (in line 2) establish that T will be asking J a Scruples question (and taking an extended turn to do it). Other participants do not self-select during J's 1.3 second pause, thus orienting to the rule that only J has rights to that turn (after current speaker has selected next). T then begins her next turn by again selecting J as next speaker (with "you"), relying partly on having named him in the earlier summons. In the context of reading a multipart Scruples question from a card, and having identified J as the intended recipient, T's TRP at the end of line 3 is allowed to pass by all participants. This shows their orientation to her rights to finish the Scruples question. She continues on with the next part of the question (in line 4) and is overlapped by M, who jokes about Jim being invited to a dinner party. Note that the overlap (marked by the brackets between the lines) clearly begins before T's pause, so even if we judge the silence to occur at a TRP, M's utterance begins *during* T's turn and can be seen as a violation of turn-taking norms. A more accurate interpretation might be that T has reserved (and been granted) an extended turn

through the combination of the Scruples game context and the summons-answer sequence. T breaks off her utterance (in line 4), which shows an orientation to the norm that only one person should speak at a time in conversation. M and T finish at about the same time and a one-second silence follows. One way of interpreting this is that other participants are treating the turn as still T's turn and are withholding their talk, thus orienting to her rights to continue speaking. She does (in line 7), and produces a complaint against M. This displays her orientation to turn-taking norms and to M's line 5 as a violation. Notice the emphasis on "sh:ut. up." Finally, J's question in line 8 seeks clarification of just that part of the Scruples question that was overlapped. It shows J's orientation to his selection as next speaker, along with his obligation to attempt an answer: J is requesting a repeat of that part of the question he apparently did not hear but is still responsible for answering.

Participants use the term interruption in a variety of ways.

Displays of orientation to the rules may be produced as much for observers or overhearers as for the participants themselves. In Data Segment 4.7, *CBS Evening News* anchor Dan Rather and (then) Vice President George Bush are engaged in a combative "news interview." There have been many instances of overlapping talk prior to this point, but on this occasion Rather produces an account for the overlap, thus displaying to the television audience (and to Bush) his orientation to turn-taking norms.

(4.7) ["Rather/Bush 'Interview,' " 1988-1989, p. 321, modified]

```
126  R:  Mis[ter Vice President, you set thee::,
127  B:     [an' the who:le story has been]=
128       =[told to the congress.
129  R:    [you set the rules fer this]:: this talk here.=
130       =I didn't mean to step on your line there, .hhh
131       but you insisted that this be li::ve,
```


The overlap in lines 126-127 and 128-129 is accounted for as having been inadvertent ("I didn't mean to"), despite the fact that such overlaps have been and continue to be frequent throughout the entire episode.

Note our continuing use of the term *overlap* rather than *interruption*. This is related to a potential problem in the way that both participants and researchers describe such incidents in conversation, a problem we now address.

OVERLAPS AND INTERRUPTIONS

Participants in everyday conversation apparently use the term *interruption* in a variety of ways. For example, a current speaker might regard a listener's slightly premature self-selection (just prior to a TRP) as an interruption if it is critical or otherwise unsupportive of the speaker, but not an interruption if it is supportive. Or, if current speaker selects a next speaker who pauses before starting, participants might regard a third party's self-selection during that pause as an interruption even if no actual overlapping talk resulted. If participants in a discussion regard themselves as being on opposite sides of the issue, they may feel interrupted by overlapping talk. But if the conversation is a generally cooperative one among friends, they may not feel that overlapping talk is a violation of their turn-taking rights. The point is that *interruption*, used as a folk (or vernacular) term by ordinary members of society, seems related not only to conversational structure, but to such factors as whether the participants like or agree with each other. Some overlaps (and even some nonoverlaps) may be regarded as interruptions—violations of turn-taking norms and social etiquette—while other overlaps may not. Bennett (1981) discusses the notion of interruption: It is "an interpretive category which participants can make use of to deal with currently prevailing rights and obligations in actual situations" (p. 176). This variability in the use of the term can be a source of confusion in studies of conversation when researchers use *interruption* in the vernacular.[4] Drummond (1989) contends that the premature

labeling of overlap as *interruption* serves to obscure what is actually going on for the participants, such as one person dominating another, or one trying to help another (pp. 163-164).

Used in one way, *overlap* refers to simultaneous talk that arises from the normal operation of the conversational turn system (where two or more participants in a single conversation end up talking at the same time). As the turn system makes clear, this can arise in several different ways. First, a listener can self-select prematurely (under the pressure of trying to be first, or by misreading the extent of the current turn, for example). This would normally occur within a syllable or two of the TRP.[5] Second, more than one listener could self-select at the same moment. This would also occur at the TRP. Third, a listener could self-select at the same moment that the current speaker elects to continue. Again, this type of simultaneous talk would cluster at the TRP. In each of these categories, overlap occurs (due to slight miscoordinations and the like), even though all participants are orienting toward compliance with turn-taking norms. We will also use the term *overlap* more broadly to refer to simultaneous talk in general, including what others would call interruption. Used in this way, it is the generic term for simultaneous talk. None of the cases just described, however, would be interruption in the technical sense.

Interruption is used here to refer to simultaneous talk that does not occur at or near a TRP (Schegloff, 1987b, p. 85, n. 5; 1988-1989, p. 239, n. 10). It involves the apparent violation of turn-taking norms, in contrast to simultaneous talk that results from participants' orientation to those norms (overlap). When one participant begins to talk at a point where another (the current speaker) is taking a turn but not yet approaching a TRP, we shall (in most cases) term the resulting simultaneous talk an interruption.

Data Segment 4.8, taken from the same *CBS News* interview as Data Segment 4.7, contains two instances of simultaneous talk.

(4.8) [Nofsinger, 1988-1989, p. 284]

```
11  R:  let's talk about the record.
12      You say that we'[ve misrepresented your record]
13  B:                  [Let's talk about the ful]l record
14  R:  Let's talk about the record if [we've] misrepresented
15  B:                                 [ Yeh ]
16  R:  your record in any way (0.4) . . .
```

Just prior to this segment, Bush had complained that *CBS News* was not conducting the interview properly. Rather, in line 11, proposes his version of how their talk should proceed and immediately continues by noting Bush's earlier charge that CBS was misrepresenting his record on Iran/Contra. After Rather's second sentence is well started ("You say that we-") and well before the next possible TRP (which would be at the end of line 12), Bush interrupts with a correction to the way Rather had formulated what the focus of their talk should be (Nofsinger, 1988-1989; on correction, see Jefferson, 1987; Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977). Bush proposes that the interview should be about the *full* record. This instance of simultaneous talk does not result from Bush orienting to the rules of the turn system: His utterance begins too late to count as occurring in conjunction with the prior TRP (at the end of line 11) and too early to be a "premature" self-selection related to the upcoming TRP. Also, note that Rather's utterance seems to have been broken off (we expect him to continue on with a question for Bush) and that he then repeats all of the overlapped portion (lines 14 and 16). The observation that Rather stopped and then produced his utterance again is an additional reason for categorizing this instance as an interruption. Compare this to the next instance of simultaneous talk (in lines 14-15). Here, it is possible that Bush projects a TRP after the word "record"; such an utterance would be similar to Rather's line 11. Bush self-selects with "Yeh," but Rather continues right on. Bush has (perhaps) misread the design of Rather's utterance and projected a TRP where Rather did not place one. This miscoordination while

orienting to the rules of the turn system results in an overlap that is not an interruption. It is unclear whether Bush was merely acknowledging Rather's utterance at this point (producing a one-word turn) or whether "Yeh" was to be the first word of a larger turn construction unit. If it is the latter case, by not continuing his utterance, Bush does show an orientation to the norm that only one participant should speak at a time.

Distinguishing among various types of overlap (including interruptions) is important because participants make strategic and normative decisions on the basis of how overlap occurs and their interpretation of it. Overlap can be a tactic for dominating a conversation, but it can just as well be a tactic for showing vigorous support of a speaker. Participants with different conversational styles may have trouble coordinating their turn taking and may attribute sinister motives to each other when overlap occurs (Tannen, 1984). Continuing research is needed to sort out the various functions of overlap and the meanings that participants attribute to it.

A temporary solution to the problem of how to use the terms *overlap* and *interruption*, then, is to confine the latter to a narrow technical use. But there are still other unresolved problems of a similar nature, such as the question of what to call instances in which a pause in the current speaker's turn is occupied by a listener self-selecting, or where a listener completes a current speaker's turn, with no resulting simultaneous talk. *Interruption* is not nearly as useful a term for the analyst as it is for participants.

So the turn system in conversation is a normative system in the sense that participants orient to its rules—by designing their behavior so that it conforms, by sanctioning or demanding an account of behavior that seems not to conform, or by providing accounts for or initiating repairs of such behavior. We will examine the details of various types of conversational repair in Chapter 5.

A Different Turn-Taking System

Throughout this book, we have occasionally used data segments involving talk that did not occur in ordinary, everyday conversation. For example, the "Bush/Rather" segments (4.7 and 4.8) are excerpts from what began as a broadcast news interview, and other data segments have been from courtroom testimony. This raises the question of how turn taking is managed in these nonconversational yet thoroughly interactional episodes. It turns out, at least for communication episodes that are not predominantly scripted in advance (such as formal ceremonies), that their turn systems are modifications of the one for conversation. Another way of putting this is that the turn system we have just examined provides a useful point of departure for analyzing the turn organization in courtroom testimony, public news conferences, business meetings, and the like. We shall now briefly examine the turn system of broadcast news interviews (relying primarily on Greatbatch, 1988) as a way of advancing our understanding of conversational turn taking.

One major difference between ordinary conversation and broadcast news interviews is that, in the latter, participants generally limit themselves to producing one of only two types of communicative actions: questions and answers. In ordinary conversation, participants' turns may generally be used for the production of virtually any type of communicative action or action sequence. The turn system places no restriction on what a turn may consist of or be used for (although, as we have seen, some constraints do arise as a result of participants' designing their utterances to "fit" with prior ones). So, for example, while the recipient of an invitation may be expected to orient toward producing an acceptance, rejection, or clarifying insertion, there is no general requirement in conversation that "first" turns be used for invitations (or any other action), or that "second" turns be used for acceptances (or any other

action). In broadcast news interviews, however, interviewers are generally constrained to use their turns for the production of utterances that are (at least minimally) recognizable as questions, and interviewees systematically orient to using their turns for producing answers. This constraint on what type of action participants are expected to produce in their respective turns is called *turn-type preallocation* (Greatbatch, 1988). Questioning turns are preallocated to interviewers and answering turns to interviewees. While this may seem to be an obvious (one might even say "grossly apparent") characteristic of this kind of interview, it is accomplished through the use of several coordinating practices that are not so obvious. Interviewers, for example, routinely produce statements during their turns, but they design them so as to support and provide for an impending question. That question is normally designed to make use of the preceding statements as preliminary material (Greatbatch, 1988, pp. 407-409). So the part of an interviewer's talk that is not actually a question is produced as leading up to, or as being in the service of, the next question. Furthermore, as prospective recipients of impending questions, interviewees routinely withhold comment on these preliminary statements and begin their turns upon completion of a recognizable question (Greatbatch, 1988, pp. 409-413). Interviewees thus treat interviewers' statements as preliminary to questions. Participants also have ways of orienting to the utterances of interviewees as being answers. For example, when interviewees produce talk that is not responsive to a prior question, they often attach it to a recognizable answer in the same turn (Greatbatch, 1986). As a result of participants' orientation to this preallocation of turn types, both interviewers and interviewees tend to get more extended turns than in everyday conversation. There are other systematic differences between conversational and broadcast news interview turn taking, as well.

The same sort of analysis could be conducted on the turn systems of courtroom testimony (see Atkinson & Drew, 1979), small group meetings, presidential (White House) news conferences, and other interactive communication episodes. In

each case, participants employ modifications of conversational turn-taking practices. This makes a great deal of sense if we remember that children learn initially to converse and to use the everyday system of turn taking. Only later do people begin to attend business meetings and listen to news conferences or news interviews. And even though they may never solicit, give, or hear testimony in court, they would likely be competent participants in such activities, due to their conversational competence. As mentioned in Chapter 1, this is one of the things that makes the study of conversation so fundamental to understanding other forms of talk.

Summary

The conversational turn-taking system is a major source of orderliness in everyday talk. From the perspective of the Sacks et al. (1978) model, turns are constructed using any of several different size units: words, phrases, clauses, and sentences. The possible completion point of a turn, the TRP (transition relevance place), can be projected by participants, who then employ three basic practices for allocating the next turn to someone. These practices are current speaker selects next, any listener self-selects, and current speaker continues. The transfer of speakership occurs at the TRP. The turn system operates the way it does because participants treat it as normative; that is, they orient to certain rules and treat certain behaviors as departures from (violations of) those rules. When such departures occur, participants work toward restoring orderliness. The operation of this turn system generates several patterns or tendencies in turn-taking behavior. Since failing to get the next turn when one wants it could result in not being able to produce one's utterance when it is most relevant, some competition for turns arises at TRPs. Certain types of overlaps and silences cluster around the TRP as well, although other types occur (with less frequency) away from the TRP. These patterns, and

certain kinds of bias as to which participants get to speak more often and more extendedly, are closely related to the details of the turn system. Before we decide that "hogging the conversation," "not getting a word in edgewise," "being interrupted," "missing your turn," "finishing what someone was going to say before he or she said it," "getting your point across," "being a courteous conversationalist," and "having an interested conversational partner" are due to the personalities of the participants or the relationships among them, we need to examine closely how turn taking is being managed and what implications that has for the conduct of that particular conversation. Sacks et al. (1978) provide a practical model with which to work, although other models of conversational turn taking are available (see Wilson, Wiemann, & Zimmerman, 1984).

The picture that emerges from our study of turn organization in conversation is that of moment-by-moment coordination practices through which the participants themselves locally determine who shall speak next (and a variety of other characteristics of conversation). An episode of talk turns out to be a conversation (or a classroom discussion, or a news interview) partly because participants orient to the turn-taking rules of that particular form of talk. Note that we are not saying that certain rules or norms are somehow activated and then somehow "cause" participants to produce a conversation. On the contrary, it is the repeated demonstration by participants that they are orienting to a particular set of norms (out of a sense that others expect them to, or for whatever reason) that makes an episode recognizable to us as a conversation. Indeed, one of the interesting things about the Rather/Bush episode (from which Data Segments 4.7 and 4.8 are taken) is that it begins as a news interview and gradually becomes something like a conversational argument (see Clayman & Whalen, 1988-1989; Schegloff, 1988-1989). The set of practices through which turn coordination is achieved, however, is not the only respect in which participants display to each other what they are doing and what they mean. Conversations are cooperatively brought

to a close, mistakes are repaired, and understandings are checked. Although these and similar processes are often treated separately in the conversation-analytic literature, we will group them together under the general term *alignment*. This is the topic of Chapter 5.

Notes

1. Sacks et al. (1978) do not describe the mechanisms by which participants recognize these possible turn completion places (TRPs). Cues that function as turn yielding, and other turn-related signals, have been discovered by Duncan and his colleagues. Many of these are nonverbal, such as changes in voice pitch and termination of gestures. See Duncan (1972, 1973), McLaughlin (1984, pp. 99-103), and Wiemann (1985).

2. Note that even this sort of turn organization does not seem like such a great departure from that of ordinary conversation if we think of turns being taken not by an individual person, but by a *party* to the communication episode. In the case of mass audience participation, one party is the leader and the other party is the entire audience. In fact, Sacks et al. (1978) do not generally speak of people or participants, but rather say that the turn system allocates turns to parties.

3. The term *hesitation pause* is sometimes used for silences within one speaker's turn (whether at a TRP or not) and *switching pause* for silences between different speakers. McLaughlin (1984, pp. 111-122) provides a good discussion of these usages. *Switching pause* often equates to one of the three terms discussed above, but it may also involve elements of several different types of silences (including gaps and pauses). *Lapse* is sometimes used to mean a relatively long gap at the TRP, regardless of whether the talk that follows indicates that the conversation (or at least the topic) actually ended. McLaughlin and Cody (1982), for example, use a three-second minimum in defining *lapse* for their study. And since they wanted to examine the relationship between these long silences and the talk that follows, they avoided defining the lapse in terms of the following sequence. But from the perspective of the Sacks et al. (1978) model of conversational turn taking, the failure of anyone to self-select should be thought of as a gap if talk resumes "just where it left off" (with an utterance designed as a sequentially next turn to the last one, for example), but should be considered a lapse if talk resumes in a way that restarts (rather than continues) the conversation.

4. The issue has become important because interruption, operationalized in various ways, is thought to be a factor in dominance and gender effects in communication (see, for example, Dindia, 1987; Kennedy & Camden, 1983). Researchers have been using increasingly sophisticated definitions of interruption in recent years, incorporating such elements as the distance from a TRP

that an overlap begins and whether the overlapping talk is facilitative (supportive) of the utterance it overlaps (West & Zimmerman, 1983). Although the beginning, termed the *onset*, of overlap is often used as a criterion for determining interruption, some studies include the end or resolution of overlap as a criterion as well. Roger and Schumacher (1983), for example, distinguish between successful and unsuccessful interruptions on the basis of whether "the first speaker was prevented from completing an utterance by the second speaker's taking the floor" (p. 702). Another procedure involves coding various characteristics of pre- and postinterruption talk as well as characteristics of the "interrupting" talk itself (Dindia, 1987; Kennedy & Camden, 1983). Drummond (1989) presents an excellent discussion of the shortcomings of these approaches, arguing that they are not sufficiently sensitive to the microdetails of how overlap actually occurs. One possible solution to this problem would be for analysts simply to give up using the term and to devise new terms or descriptions based (for example) on the word *overlap*. A similar solution, adopted by many conversation analysts, is to restrict *interruption* to a narrow technical use and not give it the broad range of interpretation it has in everyday parlance. Instances of overlap that both do and do not meet this narrow interpretation then receive descriptive accounts of their status. This is the practice adopted in this book.

5. See West and Zimmerman (1983, pp. 104, 113-114, n. 4) for a discussion of one way to distinguish overlaps from interruptions operationally.

a cura di

MARIACHIARA RUSSO GABRIELE MACK

INTERPRETAZIONE DI TRATTATIVA

La mediazione linguistico-culturale nel contesto formativo e professionale

EDITORE ULRICO HOEPLI MILANO

6

La trattativa d'affari: osservazioni generali e strategie didattiche

Annalisa Sandrelli

6.1 L'interpretazione di trattativa: caratteristiche generali

Sotto la dicitura di "interpretazione di trattativa" ed i rispettivi termini usati in altre lingue si nasconde un'ampia gamma di contesti lavorativi. Esistono infatti molte altre denominazioni, che richiamano l'attenzione sull'ambito di lavoro (interpretazione di comunità, interpretazione nei servizi pubblici, interpretazione per i tribunali ecc.) o sul processo comunicativo (interpretazione bilaterale o di trattativa)[1]. Fra i vari contesti lavorativi possono esserci notevoli differenze relativamente al ruolo dell'interprete, alle aspettative dei clienti e all'interazione fra i partecipanti. Infatti, come sottolineano Jiménez Ivars *et al.* (1999, p. 198)[2]:

> Cualquier situación de diálogo entre hablantes de lenguas diferentes es susceptible de ser objeto de una *interpretación de enlace*. [...] más bien son situaciones condicionadas por el contexto, por el número de participantes, por su grado de formalidad o de informalidad, de espontaneidad (es decir, una situación que *surge* y que necesita ser interpretada) o de preparación (es decir, una situación *premeditada* o dispuesta de antemano) y por su finalidad.

Nonostante le differenze, è però possibile fare alcune considerazioni generali valide per tutte le situazioni[3]. La caratteristica distintiva dell'interpretazione di trattativa è la bidirezionalità, cioè la necessità di tradurre dalla lingua materna alla lingua straniera e viceversa, in una serie di scambi piuttosto brevi che rispecchiano i ritmi della conversazione. Infatti, mentre nell'interpretazione di conferenza la comunicazione è per lo più monologica e unidirezionale (dall'oratore al pubblico), nell'interpretazione di trattativa si ha una situazione dialogica e bidirezionale con un numero ristretto di persone (spesso solo tre): i partecipanti primari e l'interprete.

Secondo Bazzanella (2002), il dialogo fra i partecipanti può essere di tipo simmetrico o di tipo asimmetrico. Il dialogo simmetrico si ha quando i partecipanti primari, pur essendo di lingua e cultura diverse, hanno più o meno lo stesso *status* e livelli di istruzione simili. È questo il caso di una trattativa commerciale, in cui gli interlocutori hanno anche in comune le conoscenze extralinguistiche sul loro settore e la padronanza della microlingua relativa[4].

Nel caso del dialogo asimmetrico, invece, vi è uno squilibrio di potere a favore di uno dei partecipanti primari, quando ad esempio uno dei due interlocutori è un membro della società del paese ospitante, mentre l'altro è uno straniero appartenente ad una minoranza. Spesso l'interlocutore appartenente alla cultura dominante ha la facoltà di prendere delle decisioni che hanno un impatto diretto sulla vita dell'altro interlocutore (Mason 1999, p. 148). In situazioni di questo tipo esiste spesso una marcata diversità fra i due anche in quanto a mezzi espressivi: è questo il caso, ad esempio, dell'interpretazione di trattativa in campo medico e in ambito giudiziario[5].

In tutti i tipi di trattativa il livello di interattività tra i partecipanti è elevato, il che influenza i contenuti della conversazione: anche se il dialogo è parzialmente pianificato, il suo sviluppo dipende dall'andamento di ogni scambio dialogico. Sotto questo punto di vista il ruolo dell'interprete è fondamentale, poiché le sue scelte traduttive e interazionali possono influenzare le reazioni dei suoi clienti. Inoltre, a differenza di quanto accade nell'interpretazione di conferenza, l'interprete può interagire direttamente con i clienti per verificare la comprensibilità della traduzione, per chiedere chiarimenti, o per gestire i turni dialogici. Da non sottovalutare è anche il ruolo della comunicazione non verbale: grazie alla prossimità fisica fra i partecipanti, l'interprete ha accesso diretto ai significati espressi anche attraverso la gestualità, e dev'essere in grado di decifrare correttamente tutte queste informazioni (Mason 1999, p. 153).

Per riassumere, l'interprete di trattativa svolge due ruoli fondamentali, relativi rispettivamente alla trasmissione delle informazioni e alla gestione del dialogo (Wadensjö 1998a, pp. 102, 111-113). Non si limita a far passare le informazioni, ma interviene anche per chiarire incomprensioni, fornire spiegazioni ecc. In altri termini, nella trattativa si ha una vera e propria interazione a tre: l'interprete non è un filtro o un partecipante invisibile, ma un partecipante a pieno titolo (Mason 1999, pp. 149-151; Roberts 1997, pp. 10-11). Data la natura dialogica dell'interpretazione di trattativa, l'interprete sfrutta il contesto per la decodifica e successiva trasmissione delle informazioni: di conseguenza, ogni turno dialogico è tradotto come se fosse un discorso completo, mantenendo però un alto livello di coerenza e coesione con il segmento precedente (Hatim e Mason 1997, pp. 50-51).

Dopo questo rapido *excursus* sulle caratteristiche comuni a tutte le situazioni di trattativa, nel paragrafo seguente passiamo a discutere la specificità della trattativa d'affari.

6.2 La trattativa d'affari: specificità e competenze

Nella lingua inglese il termine più diffuso per indicare l'interpretazione in ambito commerciale e aziendale è *business interpreting* (Ko 1997)[6]. Tuttavia, tale termine è ambiguo, in quanto può comprendere anche quelle situazioni in cui si utilizza l'interpretazione consecutiva e/o simultanea. Smirnov suggerisce di operare una distinzione fra "liaison interpreting" (interpretazione di trattativa) generica, e "...'liaison interpreting' for business liaison" (Smirnov 1997, p. 213). In questo senso, in italiano potremmo parlare di *trattativa d'affari*, che racchiude al suo interno il settore turistico, commerciale, aziendale e fieristico. Al riguardo, Del Rosso (1997, pp. 241-242) suggerisce un elenco di possibili situazioni di lavoro:

> L'interprete potrà essere chiamato per trattative d'affari a livello aziendale, per la stipula di contratti presso studi notarili o legali, per rogatorie internazionali, per udienze in tribunale, per manifestazioni sportive, per assistenza linguistica in caso di fiere, per sfilate di moda, per degustazioni enologiche, per coadiuvare consorzi internazionali in vista di gare d'appalto, per visite a fabbriche, aziende, opere edili, musei, per incontri politici, per visite mediche all'estero, per gruppi di lavoro internazionali, per manifestazioni turistiche, per riunioni di agenti esteri di un'azienda, per incontri di associazioni di volontariato, per seguire una troupe televisiva durante la coproduzione di un documentario, per spettacoli artistici, e l'elenco potrebbe continuare.

Abbiamo osservato che il dialogo caratteristico della trattativa d'affari è simmetrico (cfr. paragrafo 6.1), in quanto "modern business ritual is more or less founded on the idea of equal relation of *partnership* between negotiating parties" (Smirnov 1997, p. 215)[7]. In effetti, la difficoltà principale di questo tipo di trattativa non riguarda lo *status* dei clienti, ma il ruolo dell'interprete stesso. Rileva infatti Katan:

> There are three basic approaches for the business community with regard to language: a lingua franca; the adoption of the client or the seller language; or, thirdly, the use of external (and sometimes professional) interpreters and translators. (Katan 1999, p. 109)

La scelta di avvalersi di un interprete professionista è spesso all'ultimo posto nella scala delle preferenze. Katan spiega che tale atteggiamento da parte delle imprese è dovuto a due ragioni fondamentali: prima di tutto, l'interprete è visto come un intruso; inoltre, spesso non è considerato sufficientemente preparato, sia dal punto di vista delle conoscenze specialistiche che della conoscenza della cultura d'impresa[8]. Potendo scegliere, molte imprese preferiscono utilizzare dipendenti bilingui, poiché questi hanno le conoscenze tecniche necessarie, conoscono l'azienda e i suoi obiettivi, e soprattutto sono considerati più fidati: possono cioè essere messi a parte della strategia di negoziato, ed aiutare a condurre la trattativa nella direzione voluta[9].

Stando a vari studi compiuti sul campo, la scarsa considerazione attribuita alla mediazione linguistica e culturale e l'atteggiamento negativo nei confronti degli

interpreti sono causa di un alto numero di fallimenti nelle trattative internazionali. Come osserva Katan (1999, p. 112): "International business communication is, in fact, more a case of international communication breakdown and failure". Un aspetto che spesso sfugge ai dirigenti d'azienda è che una buona conoscenza della lingua straniera non è sufficiente per poter interpretare una trattativa d'affari. Secondo Balboni (1998, p. 27), le parti coinvolte nella comunicazione interlinguistica (personale aziendale, addetti al commercio, giornalisti, docenti universitari ecc.) tendono a sottovalutare o ad ignorare la dimensione interculturale. Chi studia una lingua straniera per lavoro generalmente privilegia la correttezza sintattica e lessicale, trascurando il piano socio-linguistico, pragmatico e testuale. Ad esempio, per quanto riguarda l'architettura testuale, gli italiani tendono ad usare i periodi complessi basati sulla subordinazione, mentre gli anglosassoni preferiscono le frasi brevi dalle strutture semplici: un dirigente d'azienda italiano, parlando inglese, tenderà ad adottare il periodare tipico della sua lingua, con il risultato di essere poco chiaro e di dare l'impressione di poca affidabilità (Balboni 1998, pp. 30-31). Per avere successo nelle trattative d'affari internazionali occorre quindi anche una comprensione profonda dei metodi di negoziato, come sottolinea Ko (1996, p. 119): "Knowledge of the negotiating styles adopted by different cultural groups is of paramount importance for successful interpreting".

Inoltre, bisogna ricordare che i codici extralinguistici (cinesica, prossemica, vestemica, oggettemica ecc.) variano da una cultura all'altra (Balboni 1998, p. 31). Tutti noi filtriamo l'esperienza quotidiana attraverso le lenti dei *cultural frames*, i riferimenti culturali attraverso i quali ogni persona seziona ed interpreta la realtà:

> A cultural frame is the perceptual window through which an individual defines him or herself, others, and the world. [...] Our physical senses flood us with data; we can only make meaningful sense of it all by passing it through the selective filters derived from our value orientations embedded in our cultural frame". (Brake *et al.* 1995, p. 159)

Questi filtri culturali ci abituano a vedere la realtà in un certo modo, per noi "normale", e possono essere causa di fraintendimenti nelle trattative d'affari. Fra di essi, troviamo la concezione del tempo (e della puntualità), dello spazio (distanza accettabile fra le persone), il livello di formalità (forme di cortesia, forme negoziali), l'importanza delle gerarchie, lo stile di negoziato (aggressivo o cooperativo, individuale o di squadra), l'organizzazione aziendale (rigidamente gerarchica o con comunicazione fra la base ed il vertice), il modo di ragionare (induttivo o deduttivo), di presentare il proprio punto di vista (punto per punto o con una panoramica) ecc. (Brake *et al.* 1995; Lewis 1999).

Grazie alla diffusione dei corsi sulla comunicazione interculturale, si sta lentamente facendo strada nella mentalità dei dirigenti d'azienda la necessità di ricorrere ad interpreti professionisti. L'interprete può infatti svolgere una funzione di "consigliere culturale", intervenendo per scongiurare incomprensioni, e fornendo spiegazioni su aspetti potenzialmente rischiosi, ad esempio lo scambio di regali, la durata dei convenevoli, gli argomenti da evitare, come il denaro, le tasse, il ses-

so, il bere, la religione, la politica e molti altri (Wadensjö 1998b). Insomma, sono sempre di più le imprese disposte ad ascoltare il seguente consiglio:

> When I hear of people who spend days on end negotiating a promising business relationship only to see it fall apart later due to a language-based misunderstanding, I don't say, 'Get a life'. I say, 'Get an interpreter'". (Dal sito Internet di David James)

Tuttavia, nelle trattative il ruolo dell'interprete non è sempre chiaro ai clienti che possono avere delle aspettative erronee sul suo conto. Per esempio, chi paga la parcella spesso tende a considerare l'interprete un suo alleato, e sulla base di questa convinzione potrebbe chiedergli la sua opinione sulla sincerità dell'altro interlocutore: "The client sees this as legitimate information for the successful clinching of a deal, and has the same expectations of the interpreter as of any other expert or consultant engaged to help with decision-making" (Ko 1996, p. 121). Di conseguenza, potrebbe essere opportuno affrontare l'argomento "neutralità" con i clienti prima dell'inizio della trattativa, spiegando che l'interprete è al servizio di entrambi, e cioè che il suo obiettivo è permettere la comunicazione tra gli interlocutori. Come abbiamo già esposto, infatti, l'interprete è un mediatore culturale oltre che linguistico. Di conseguenza, deve anche dimostrarsi sensibile nella gestione di stereotipi sulle nazionalità, di commenti poco lusinghieri o eventuali espressioni offensive usate in un momento di rabbia (Del Rosso 1997, p. 246).

Un altro rischio è la possibilità che l'interprete sia usato come capro espiatorio durante una trattativa dall'andamento difficoltoso. Se uno dei due clienti non vuole scendere a compromessi, per obbligare l'altro a cedere può far finta di non capire, attribuendo la colpa ad un errore di traduzione. L'interprete dovrà decidere se accettare o meno quest'atteggiamento, eventualmente chiarire la situazione o, in casi estremi, addirittura ritirarsi (Ko 1996, p. 123).

Per quanto riguarda gli aspetti linguistici e traduttivi veri e propri, la maggiore difficoltà è costituita dalla varietà di situazioni di lavoro. Generalmente i clienti hanno un patrimonio comune di conoscenze relative al loro settore, e segnalano l'appartenenza a tale settore attraverso l'uso della microlingua scientifico-professionale corrispondente (ciascuno nella propria lingua)[10]. Secondo la definizione di Balboni (2000, pp. 20-21), "le microlingue scientifico-professionali sono usate tra specialisti con lo scopo (a) di una comunicazione che sia *il meno ambigua possibile* e (b) del *riconoscimento di appartenenza* ad un settore scientifico-professionale".

Non essendo un addetto ai lavori, l'interprete non ha né il bagaglio di conoscenze settoriali, né la completa padronanza delle microlingue nelle due lingue fra cui interpreta. Perciò, durante la fase di preparazione cerca di acquisire le conoscenze e le competenze essenziali per svolgere il suo compito e per essere accettato come interlocutore competente dai due clienti. Come si è già rilevato nel paragrafo 6.1, durante le discussioni tecniche a volte è possibile chiedere aiuto ai clienti stessi: ad esempio, di fronte ad un termine sconosciuto, si può chiedere una definizione al cliente che l'ha usato, tradurla nell'altra lingua, e ottenere il vocabolo corretto nella lingua d'arrivo dall'altro cliente che, grazie alle sue conoscenze set-

toriali, ha capito di cosa si sta parlando.

Come si vede da questo breve *excursus*, la trattativa d'affari è una specialità complessa che implica una molteplicità di competenze e conoscenze. Del Rosso (1997, p. 248) sottolinea giustamente:

> [...] siamo perciò di fronte ad un profilo professionale che può e deve riuscire a raggiungere livelli compiuti di competenza lungo tutto l'arco della propria carriera; una professionalità non data per definitiva fin dall'inizio, ma che si va creando gradualmente grazie ad un impegno ed una passione costanti.

A livello didattico, quindi, si possono ottenere risultati apprezzabili soltanto formulando degli obiettivi realistici, scegliendo pochi settori di specializzazione a titolo esemplificativo, e puntando sulla trasmissione di metodi e tecniche applicabili ad ogni contesto. Seguendo quest'impostazione, l'autrice ha deciso di dedicare un corso di Trattativa italiano-spagnolo della laurea triennale in Interpretazione e Traduzione di trattativa alla trattativa d'affari in ambito turistico e fieristico.

6.3 Il modello didattico[11]

Il corso di Interpretazione di Trattativa I (italiano-spagnolo) del secondo anno presso la Scuola Superiore di Lingue Moderne per Interpreti e Traduttori di Forlì (Università di Bologna) si inserisce in un percorso didattico che prende le mosse dal corso di Mediazione Linguistica del primo anno. Se in quest'ultimo gli studenti cominciano ad analizzare le caratteristiche della comunicazione orale e si esercitano per migliorare la propria capacità di parlare in pubblico sia in italiano che in spagnolo, nel corso di Trattativa I si gettano le basi della tecnica dell'interpretazione di trattativa, tenendo presente che gli studenti sono abituati a lavorare prevalentemente su testi scritti e non orali. In seguito, nel corso di Trattativa II del terzo anno gli studenti migliorano ulteriormente la propria padronanza della tecnica applicandola ai settori dei servizi pubblici, sanitario e giudiziario.

Poiché il corso di Trattativa I si propone di far acquisire agli studenti le competenze necessarie per l'interpretazione in maniera graduale e poiché, come abbiamo evidenziato nei paragrafi 6.1 e 6.2, si tratta di una tecnica piuttosto complessa, si è deciso di evitare un'eccessiva specializzazione degli argomenti trattati. Si è scelto perciò di concentrarsi sugli ambiti turistico e fieristico, dei quali ci si può aspettare una conoscenza preesistente (anche se superficiale) da parte degli studenti. Inoltre, i dialoghi tipici di questi due ambiti sono abbastanza ripetitivi (e quindi prevedibili), il che permette agli studenti di concentrarsi sul perfezionamento della tecnica. Infine, bisogna ricordare che per la combinazione linguistica italiano-spagnolo il settore turistico e quello fieristico ricoprono un ruolo rilevante sul mercato dell'interpretazione: una buona conoscenza di tali ambiti lavorativi è quindi essenziale per gli studenti che desiderino dedicarsi alla professione dopo la laurea.

Prima di descrivere le attività proposte in classe, si possono fare alcune con-

siderazioni generali relativamente all'impostazione di un corso di questo tipo e al ruolo del docente. È evidente che un corso di interpretazione di trattativa dev'essere eminentemente pratico e che quindi la dimensione ideale dei gruppi di lavoro debba essere ridotta (otto-dieci studenti), in modo che tutti possano avere un ruolo attivo durante le lezioni.

Nella (ancora scarsa) letteratura sulla didattica dell'interpretazione di trattativa l'esercizio raccomandato più di frequente è il *role play*, o simulazione di dialoghi, che presuppone la compresenza di due docenti, uno per ciascuna lingua (Keith 1985; Parnell 1989). La presenza contemporanea di due docenti di lingue diverse consente di dare indicazioni mirate agli studenti, sia sulle strategie di traduzione più adatte che sulle sfumature di significato o sulle differenze culturali. Naturalmente è auspicabile un'esperienza professionale come interpreti da parte di entrambi, per simulare situazioni di lavoro realistiche che assicurino un legame tra didattica e realtà lavorativa.

Tuttavia, il metodo delle simulazioni non è privo di problemi. Infatti, quando i docenti impersonano i clienti, vi è il rischio che gli studenti portino tale identificazione all'estremo, considerandoli due esperti dell'argomento in discussione. Come si è illustrato nel paragrafo 6.2, neanche l'esperienza fa diventare l'interprete professionista un vero "addetto ai lavori". Da questo punto di vista, la situazione del docente di interpretazione di trattativa mostra dei parallelismi con quella del docente di lingua straniera che impartisce un corso sulle microlingue scientifico-professionali, le cui difficoltà sono descritte da Matte Bon (2000). Così come il compito del docente di lingua è presentare le caratteristiche delle microlingue, senza per questo essere tenuto a saperle usare professionalmente, il compito del docente di interpretazione è proporre dei dialoghi realistici, senza per questo potersi considerare un vero esperto dell'argomento in esame. C'è però una differenza notevole fra le due situazioni: i corsi sulle microlingue sono destinati a professionisti che di solito hanno scarse conoscenze della lingua straniera, ma tutte le conoscenze tecniche e la totale padronanza della microlingua relativa nella propria lingua madre. Di conseguenza, in un corso di questo tipo il ruolo del docente di lingua è di aiutare gli studenti ad analizzare le caratteristiche linguistiche dei testi, mentre da parte loro gli studenti possono aiutare a chiarire eventuali dubbi sui contenuti, secondo un modello collaborativo di apprendimento (Balboni 2000, pp. 79-80). Invece, nel caso di un corso di interpretazione di trattativa in cui si affrontano argomenti tecnici, né i docenti né gli studenti sono esperti dei settori trattati. Il docente di trattativa non può contare sull'apporto degli studenti per ciò che riguarda il contenuto delle simulazioni, ma deve anche evitare il modello didattico tradizionale, cioè quello del "[...] docente che 'sa' e che deve comunicare il suo sapere ad una classe di allievi che 'non sanno' (Balboni 2000, p. 78), per non trovarsi in una posizione critica.

Analizzato in questi termini, il metodo delle simulazioni di dialoghi sembra sconsigliabile. Tuttavia, per affrontare correttamente la questione, non bisogna perdere di vista l'obiettivo primario dei corsi di interpretazione di trattativa, che non è la trasmissione di conoscenze settoriali su un dato tema, ma lo sviluppo di alcune tecniche (interpretazione bidirezionale, mediazione, traduzione a vista ecc.)

e di un metodo di lavoro (imparare a documentarsi e a prepararsi adeguatamente per un incarico professionale), oltre che delle capacità di autovalutazione per individuare le proprie debolezze ed i propri punti di forza. In altri termini, alla fine di un corso di interpretazione di trattativa gli studenti devono aver acquisito le basi di queste tecniche e devono aver capito come procurarsi le conoscenze linguistiche ed extralinguistiche necessarie per affrontare una trattativa. In questo senso, il metodo delle simulazioni dei dialoghi è sicuramente il più efficace. Tuttavia, la complessità della tecnica della trattativa rende opportuno un approccio graduale che adatti le varie attività didattiche alle esigenze di ciascun gruppo di studenti. Per una maggiore chiarezza espositiva, si è ritenuto di trattare la fase degli esercizi preparatori (sottoparagrafo 6.3.1) separatamente da quella relativa all'utilizzo delle simulazioni dei dialoghi (sottoparagrafo 6.3.2).

6.3.1 La fase preparatoria

La difficoltà iniziale della trattativa è abituare gli studenti a lavorare con testi orali. Per individuare gli esercizi propedeutici più adatti, appare utile applicare all'interpretazione di trattativa il Modello degli Sforzi di Gile (1995), come già suggerito in Sandrelli (2001) e in Abril Martí e Collados Aís (2001). In pratica, l'interpretazione di trattativa può essere vista come una serie di interpretazioni consecutive in miniatura (per la breve durata degli interventi) nelle due direzioni linguistiche. Di conseguenza, possiamo scomporre la dinamica della trattativa in ascolto e analisi, memoria e riformulazione, a cui giustamente Abril Martí e Collados Aís (2001, p. 95) aggiungono lo sforzo della bidirezionalità e quello dell'interculturalità.

Gli esercizi utilizzati nella fase preparatoria hanno perciò l'obiettivo di rafforzare le capacità di ascolto, comprensione, memorizzazione e produzione nelle due lingue, lavorando su testi che presentino difficoltà non solo linguistiche, ma anche relative a differenze culturali. La scelta dei testi deve anche servire a introdurre gli argomenti e la terminologia settoriale oggetto del corso, cioè, nel nostro caso, il settore turistico e il mercato fieristico.

In un primo tempo vengono proposti esercizi di ascolto di dialoghi, riassunti orali senza presa di appunti, analisi delle strutture testuali, clozing, e così via[12]: in questa fase è consigliabile tenere separate le due lingue di lavoro per evitare le interferenze, che in particolare nella combinazione linguistica italiano-spagnolo sono sempre in agguato. Contemporaneamente si lavora anche sull'arricchimento dei mezzi espressivi in entrambe le lingue, attraverso esercizi di attivazione del lessico (parafrasi), ricerca di sinonimi e contrari, esercizi di cambiamento di registro, relazioni preparate e presentate in aula dagli studenti ecc. (Abril Martí e Collados Aís 2001, pp. 114-119). In questa prima fase le lezioni possono essere tenute dai due docenti separatamente invece che in compresenza, alternando lezioni interamente dedicate alla madrelingua con lezioni nella lingua straniera.

Successivamente, si può introdurre l'elemento traduttivo cominciando con riassunti orali dalla lingua straniera alla lingua madre (la direzione meno problematica per gli studenti) e poi dalla lingua madre alla lingua straniera (Abril Martí

e Collados Aís 2001, p. 97). Molto utile risulta a questo punto l'esercizio di traduzione a vista nei due sensi[13]. Tra i meriti della traduzione a vista, Snelling indica lo sviluppo delle capacità di riassumere un testo succintamente e con precisione:

> Sight translation exercises remain to the author's mind excellent preparatory exercises in the summarizing of a source text and in acquiring dexterity, precision and succinctness in the target language, whether the latter be the interpreter's mother tongue or one of his foreign languages. (Snelling 1992, p. 4)

Inoltre, se introdotta a questo punto della preparazione, la traduzione a vista può essere uno strumento per combattere le interferenze, proprio perché questa tecnica mette gli studenti in una condizione di massimo contatto tra le due lingue:

> Precisamente por plantear una situación de máxima interferencia entre las lenguas de trabajo – texto escrito en una lengua y presentado oralmente en otra – la traducción a vista permite al estudiante comprobar su vulnerabilidad a las interferencias y desarrollar recursos para superarlas en una situación controlada. (Abril Martí e Collados Aís 2001, p. 122)

Oltre agli indubbi vantaggi didattici di quest'esercizio, bisogna poi tenere presente che la traduzione a vista è una prestazione professionale richiesta di frequente, soprattutto nell'ambito della trattativa: di conseguenza, gli studenti devono arrivare ad un grado di padronanza di questa tecnica piuttosto elevato (Ballardini 1998). Per riuscirci, è necessario sviluppare delle tecniche di lettura e di riformulazione del testo specifiche (Jiménez Ivars *et al.* 1999, pp. 201-202). Per quanto riguarda la lettura, ad una prima occhiata lo studente di interpretazione dev'essere in grado di individuare gli elementi chiave del testo e anticipare lo sviluppo di certe strutture linguistiche e semantiche, leggendo un segmento mentre sta ancora traducendo il segmento precedente. Gli studenti si abituano ad oralizzare i testi scritti, ad esempio scegliendo strutture più semplici, frasi più brevi, privilegiando l'uso delle coordinate invece che delle subordinate, spostando gli incisi, e così via. Imparano, quindi, a staccarsi dalla struttura superficiale del testo, sia a livello sintattico che lessicale e, con l'esperienza, a riconoscere e a risolvere i problemi di traduzione più comuni per ciascuna combinazione linguistica. È bene insistere anche sull'importanza di mantenere un ritmo fluido nel tradurre, per dar modo a chi ascolta di seguire agevolmente il testo: per chiarire questo punto può essere efficace registrare gli studenti mentre interpretano e far riascoltare loro il testo per consentire un'autovalutazione.

Infine, nella fase preparatoria alla trattativa, è opportuno dedicare uno spazio rilevante anche allo studio delle convenzioni dialogiche delle due lingue, cioè i cosiddetti *automatismi conversazionali*. Si tratta di quelle espressioni formulaiche fondanti del dialogo di registro formale, utilizzate per aprire e chiudere la comunicazione, per introdurre un nuovo tema, per contraddire l'interlocutore senza compromettere la trattativa, per interrompere educatamente, per ringraziare, per fare domande ecc. Faber *et al.* (2001) hanno elaborato una tabella di espressioni ritualizzate in spagnolo, inglese, tedesco e francese. La padronanza degli automati-

smi conversazionali nelle due lingue di lavoro è fondamentale per l'interprete, poiché evita effetti pragmatici indesiderati, come ad esempio l'impressione che il cliente abbia un atteggiamento minaccioso, autoritario, o poco rispettoso nei confronti dell'altro cliente. Come sottolineano giustamente le autrici:

> Desde el punto de vista de la mediación interlingüística, es importante señalar que las categorías pragmáticas que consideramos son actos de habla y deben entenderse como manifestaciones de valores culturales que no coinciden en las distintas lenguas. (Faber *et al.* 2001, p. 143)

Sulla base delle tabelle di cui sopra, gli studenti del corso di Trattativa I hanno elaborato una tabella di espressioni corrispondenti in italiano. L'obiettivo è quello di far sì che gli studenti riescano a tradurre queste parti del dialogo senza particolare sforzo, in modo da potersi concentrare sulle informazioni nuove o cognitivamente più complesse. Per far esercitare gli studenti su queste strutture, è sufficiente inserirle nei dialoghi di trattativa proposti nella fase successiva del corso.

6.3.2 La trattativa

Il primo contatto con la trattativa vera e propria avviene attraverso l'analisi di dialoghi autentici. Si possono utilizzare interviste scritte e far lavorare a coppie gli studenti sulla traduzione a vista del testo; oppure si possono proporre registrazioni audio o video di interviste, autentiche o simulate. In ogni caso, è importante comunicare l'argomento di ciascuna lezione in anticipo, in modo che gli studenti possano svolgere un lavoro di preparazione tematica e terminologica. Ad esempio per quanto riguarda il settore turistico, si forniscono testi paralleli in italiano e in spagnolo tratti da guide turistiche, riviste, dépliant, siti Internet ecc. Gli studenti usano il materiale per familiarizzarsi con il tipo di lessico e di strutture usati nelle due lingue. Nella lezione successiva, lo stesso materiale può fungere da base per creare un dialogo di trattativa: gli studenti svolgono il ruolo di interprete a turno, e poiché conoscono l'argomento e hanno già risolto eventuali problemi terminologici, sono liberi di concentrarsi sul potenziamento della tecnica.

È anche utile distribuire agli studenti delle tracce per far preparare a casa una trattativa da simulare durante la lezione successiva, a coppie o a piccoli gruppi. Attraverso la preparazione dei dialoghi, gli studenti migliorano la capacità di espressione orale, prendono confidenza con le caratteristiche della comunicazione dialogica e si rendono conto delle convenzioni d'uso nelle due lingue. In campo turistico, le tracce proposte rispecchiano situazioni realistiche, come la prenotazione di un servizio in un'agenzia di viaggi (volo, albergo, la progettazione di un itinerario), la presentazione di un reclamo, o un'intervista all'assessore al turismo di una data località.

La trattativa in ambito fieristico, invece, viene introdotta nella seconda parte del corso, sia per la maggiore specializzazione tecnica, sia perché entrano in gioco le dinamiche del negoziato vero e proprio. Tuttavia, le situazioni che si presentano

in ambito fieristico sono abbastanza ripetitive e quindi schematizzabili. Si può discutere con gli studenti il probabile andamento degli incontri, e stimolarli a prevedere in anticipo i contenuti dei dialoghi. Per permettere loro di prepararsi adeguatamente, è utile distribuire della documentazione su ciascuna fiera trattata in aula, ad esempio la scheda tecnica dell'evento. Il fatto di utilizzare materiali autentici (facilmente reperibili su Internet) dà agli studenti uno stimolo psicologico, e consente loro di effettuare ricerche terminologiche mirate. Gli studenti sono incoraggiati a preparare dei piccoli glossari tematici prima di ciascuna lezione.

Per quanto riguarda l'apprendimento della tecnica, i problemi riscontrati più comunemente durante il corso sono stati la scarsa capacità di concentrazione e di ascolto, una gestione difettosa dei turni di parola e la ridotta capacità di cogliere (e sfruttare) gli aspetti non verbali della comunicazione. Si è notato che molti studenti cercano di memorizzare le battute, per poi tradurle più o meno alla lettera, invece di adottare un approccio semantico e pragmatico più produttivo. Infatti, di frequente la parte finale della battuta viene dimenticata: questo fenomeno può essere spiegato come sovraccarico della memoria di lavoro, che porta al crollo della concentrazione. Per aiutare gli studenti a superare la tendenza a riprodurre le parole (invece del messaggio) è consigliabile che i docenti preparino solo delle tracce per i dialoghi e non si basino su un vero e proprio copione: l'avere a che fare con un dialogo spontaneo aiuta gli studenti a staccarsi dalla forma del messaggio per concentrarsi sul contenuto. Inoltre, è importante che i docenti si immedesimino nei rispettivi ruoli, rispondendo a quanto viene comunicato dallo studente che interpreta in quel momento, anche se ciò li porta ad abbandonare la traccia preparata (Keith 1985, pp. 6-7; Sandrelli 2001, p. 175). A volte è possibile segnalare un errore di traduzione allo studente-interprete fingendo di non aver capito e chiedendo una spiegazione supplementare per farlo riflettere su ciò che ha detto. Nel caso in cui lo studente commetta degli errori di lingua, è consigliabile annotarli e commentarli solo alla fine dell'esercizio: infatti, se si interrompe lo studente per correggere l'interpretazione, la simulazione perde di realismo. Per lo stesso motivo, ciascuno studente dovrebbe interpretare almeno uno scambio completo (domanda e risposta): ciò gli dà modo di immedesimarsi nella situazione, e permette ai docenti di far notare alcuni aspetti importanti della tecnica. Non sempre gli studenti si rendono conto che a causa delle continue interruzioni nella conversazione causate dall'interpretazione, si rende necessario rafforzare la coerenza e la coesione del testo: per esempio, nella traduzione di una risposta si può inserire un esplicito riferimento alla domanda (e viceversa). È quindi importante sottolineare in classe il ruolo dei connettori logici, spesso assenti nelle interpretazioni degli studenti.

Altri aspetti problematici riguardano la tecnica corretta per chiedere spiegazioni o ripetizioni: si è visto che di frequente gli studenti interrompono l'interlocutore mentre parla se sentono un termine sconosciuto; oppure iniziano ad interpretare, per poi fermarsi e chiedere conferma di un particolare. È necessario suggerire, attraverso degli esempi pratici, come gestire il flusso delle informazioni fornite dai "clienti", e come interagire con loro per richiedere chiarificazioni senza pregiudicare l'andamento della trattativa.

Anche per quanto riguarda gli elementi non verbali della comunicazione si possono verificare vari problemi: si è notato che alcuni studenti non guardano gli interlocutori per concentrarsi meglio (guardare per aria o chiudere gli occhi sono atteggiamenti abbastanza frequenti); altri non utilizzano la gestualità nella comunicazione (stanno seduti completamente rigidi) o, viceversa, manifestano una gestualità eccessiva o inopportuna (giocano con la penna o i capelli). Tutti questi aspetti possono essere individuati e corretti in questa fase dell'apprendimento, magari utilizzando la videocamera per riprendere gli studenti quando interpretano.

Questi sono solo alcuni aspetti relativi alla tecnica dell'interpretazione di trattativa, che vanno ad aggiungersi alle specifiche difficoltà di traduzione presenti in ogni dialogo. Poiché uno degli obiettivi del corso è lo sviluppo delle capacità di autovalutazione degli studenti, i docenti cercano di stimolare la discussione in classe sulle difficoltà incontrate. Compito dei docenti è di fungere da osservatori e guidare la discussione, oltre che segnalare eventuali errori e pregi di ogni studente.

Infine, ad integrazione del corso, ogni studente elabora un glossario specializzato concordato con i docenti, che ha l'obiettivo di insegnare ad approfondire un argomento e ad utilizzare le conoscenze acquisite in un'ipotetica situazione di lavoro. Per la compilazione del glossario si utilizzano materiali autentici, tra cui pagine Internet, registrazioni audio e video, interviste a esperti realizzate dagli studenti stessi ecc. Oltre alla presentazione del glossario, l'esame di profitto comprende una prova di traduzione a vista e una di interpretazione di un dialogo su uno degli argomenti trattati durante il corso.

In questo breve contributo abbiamo presentato una panoramica sulle caratteristiche distintive dell'interpretazione di trattativa (paragrafo 6.1) e, più specificamente, della trattativa d'affari, in particolare relativamente agli aspetti culturali e al problema delle microlingue scientifico-professionali (paragrafo 6.2). Quest'analisi è alla base del modello didattico, illustrato e discusso nel paragrafo 6.3, elaborato per rispondere a specifiche esigenze formative del corso di laurea triennale in Traduzione e Interpretazione di trattativa presso la SSLMIT di Forlì. Siamo perciò pienamente consapevoli di non avere esaurito l'argomento, di per sé assai vasto. La speranza è di avere in piccola parte contribuito a stimolare il dibattito su questi temi, che solo negli ultimi tempi cominciano a ricevere l'attenzione che meritano anche in Italia.

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[1] Sulle varie denominazioni si vedano Gentile *et al.* 1996; Mason 1999; Roberts 1997; Smirnov 1997; Wadensjö 1998b; Merlini e Mack in questo volume.

[2] Vedere anche Gentile *et al.* 1996, pp. 17-18.

[3] Per un'analisi del processo interpretativo vedere Collados Aís *et al.* 2001; Abril Martí e Collados Aís 2001 e Sandrelli 2001.

[4] Per una definizione del concetto di "microlingua", vedi paragrafo 6.2.

[5] Per un approfondimento sulle caratteristiche dell'interpretazione in tali ambiti si vedano, fra gli altri, Gentile *et al.* 1996; Mason 1999; Roberts 1997 e Wadensjö 1998a. Per la situazione spagnola in particolare vedere Martin 2000 e Valero Garcés 1998.

[6] Vedi Ko (1997, p. 192) per alcuni esempi di situazioni riconducibili all'etichetta di *business interpreting*.

[7] Vedere anche Ko 1996, p. 116.

[8] "First the interpreter is seen as an intruder, both physically and psychologically [...]. Secondly the interpreter is seen as a non-specialist, a generalist, above all with little understanding of corporate culture" (Katan, in Kondo *et al.* 1997, p. 162). Sullo stesso punto vedi anche Del Rosso 1997, p. 242.

[9] Esemplare in questo senso è la raccomandazione di David James, esperto di trattative d'affari internazionali, sul suo sito Internet (vedi bibliografia): "The ideal is to have bilingual employees of your company as negotiating team interpreters. They will have full knowledge of your company's organization, products and objetives and will have an accurate command of relevant technical terms in both languages. More importantly, they can be privy to your negotiating strategy and help lead the discussions in the right direction".

[10] Nell'interpretazione di trattativa in ambito legale-giudiziario ed in ambito medico solo uno dei due clienti fa uso della microlingua professionale (l'avvocato, il medico), mentre l'altro cliente ne è escluso (l'imputato, il paziente).

[11] Per l'impostazione didattica del corso spunti di grande utilità sono stati tratti da Collados Aís e Fernández Sánchez 2001 e Jiménez Ivars *et al.* 1999.

[12] Per una trattazione più esaustiva degli esercizi preparatori all'interpretazione di trattativa si rimanda ad Abril Martí e Collados Aís (2001, pp. 97-124) e Sandrelli (2001, pp. 175-184).

[13] Per un approfondimento del ruolo della traduzione a vista nella didattica dell'interpretazione si vedano, fra gli altri, Abril Martí e Collados Aís 2001; Ballardini 1998; Jiménez Ivars 1998; Jiménez Ivars *et al.* 1999; Laplace 1999 e Snelling 1992.

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Collana dell'Associazione Italiana di Linguistica Applicata

AItLA

Strumenti per la ricerca

La mediazione linguistico culturale:

una prospettiva interazionista

Guerra Edizioni

SARA MERLINO *

7. LA MITIGAZIONE NELL'ATTIVITÀ DELL'INTERPRETE. Il caso di una trattativa d'affari.

1. Introduzione

Come si è accennato più volte in questo volume, l'interpretazione dialogica rappresenta un tipo di traduzione orale che conosce oggi ampia diffusione e che inizia ad essere studiato in modo ricorrente. Da un lato, infatti, i campi di applicazione di questa pratica comunicativa sono sempre più numerosi e sono rappresentati da contesti istituzionali assai eterogenei, quali per esempio l'ospedale, il tribunale, la questura, i servizi sociali, e da eventi comunicativi come le negoziazioni commerciali. Dall'altro, alcune riflessioni sviluppate a proposito di questa pratica comunicativa (vedi ad esempio Bolden, 2000; Davidson; 2000, 2002; Mason, 1999; 2001; Roy, 2002; Wadensjo, 1998; 2004) hanno permesso di riconoscerle una posizione teorica e concettuale autonoma nel più ampio panorama dell'interpretazione.

Ciò che definisce questo tipo di attività traduttiva, distinguendola dal lavoro svolto tradizionalmente dall'interprete nel contesto della conferenza, del convegno, dell'intervista televisiva o dell'incontro politico-istituzionale, è il suo carattere eminentemente interazionale. L'interpretazione dialogica è infatti un tipo di traduzione orale che ha luogo all'interno di una comunicazione faccia a faccia tra parlanti di lingue diverse. In questo tipo di contesto la funzione svolta dall'interprete sembra andare ben oltre il passaggio indisturbato di contenuti da una lingua ad un'altra; a questo proposito, alcune ricerche che si basano sull'applicazione al contesto dell'interpretazione dialogica di studi sul parlato e sui processi discorsivi (Wadensjo,1998; Davidson, 2000; Mason,

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2006) hanno messo in luce come l'attività svolta dall'interprete non si esaurisca in un passaggio neutro di significato, ma sia piuttosto determinante nella produzione stessa di tale significato. Più propriamente, l'immediatezza dell'evento discorsivo, la presenza di tutti i partecipanti e gli obiettivi comunicativi alla base dell'incontro sembrano influenzare la dinamica interazionale, il modo in cui i significati sono costruiti e scambiati, e il tipo di atteggiamento assunto dall'interprete (Mason, 2001).

Gli studi sull'interpretazione dialogica, e soprattutto i contesti istituzionali che la richiedono, ricorrono talvolta all'idea di mediazione per riferirsi all'attività svolta dall'interprete; il termine è segno infatti di una concezione più flessibile del tradurre e dell'interpretare, che tenga conto del lavoro effettivamente svolto dall'interprete. In effetti, l'interprete dialogico sembra coinvolto in un'attività comunicativa assai complessa, che non si risolve soltanto nel lavoro di traduzione e che sembra piuttosto il risultato di una più ampia attività di mediazione. Le analisi fin qui elaborate sui contesti dialogici evidenziano infatti come l'interprete attui una serie di comportamenti che mostrano il suo farsi carico delle dinamiche interazionali in corso (e, in particolare, del raggiungimento degli obiettivi comunicativi) e, di conseguenza, il suo prendere in considerazione l'aspetto relazionale che entra in gioco in tali tipi di contesti faccia a faccia. Questi comportamenti manifestano quindi il fatto che nel contesto dialogico l'interprete assume una funzione di partecipante attivo all'interazione, e non di semplice tramite linguistico. L'attività di traduzione, alla quale teoricamente l'interprete dovrebbe limitarsi, è quindi ampliata da altre funzioni e competenze comunicative.

2. Metodo di studio e finalità

L'ipotesi ampliamente condivisa e motivata (Wadensjo, 1998; Mason, 1999; 2001; Davidson, 2000; 2002; Roy, 2002) sulla centralità comunicativa svolta dall'interprete nei contesti dialogici, ha portato a mettere in discussione l'impostazione tradizionalmente assunta dagli studi sull'interpretazione. L'obiettivo delle nuove ricerche sull'interpretazione dialogica è quello di abbandonare un atteggiamento prescrittivo che impone all'interprete una condotta neutrale spesso impraticabile, e di favorire invece un approccio descrittivo: tramite l'osservazione empirica dei dati (costituti dalle registrazioni e trascrizioni di conversazioni mediate) si mira ad analizzare quello che effettivamente accade nei contesti dialogici e ad offrire all'interprete un insieme di considerazioni effettivamente spendibili nel proprio lavoro. Questo metodo di ricerca introdotto di recente nel campo dell'interpretazione dialogica da Wadensjo (1998) e Davidson (2002) si rifà all'approccio metodologico dell'analisi conversazionale (AC).

L'AC è già stata introdotta all'inizio di questo volume e ripresa in alcuni dei suoi capitoli; ci limiteremo qui a richiamarne alcuni aspetti che ci sembrano utili per la comprensione dell'analisi qui proposta della strutturazione dell'attività e della partecipazione. L'AC studia il parlato come attività socialmente organizzata ed ordinata,

e che può essere descritta dall'analista grazie alla registrazione e trascrizione di interazioni spontanee (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). Tali interazioni possono avere luogo in contesti informali, come nel caso delle conversazioni in famiglia, o in contesti istituzionali, come, per esempio, nelle interviste di lavoro, nei tribunali, negli ospedali o nei colloqui d'affari.

Tra i principi fondamentali (Gülich & Mondada, 2001) che sono alla base di questa corrente disciplinare ricordiamo: l'assunzione del punto di vista dei partecipanti (ovvero, un fenomeno conversazionale esiste per l'analista solo quando esso esiste per i soggetti coinvolti, e come tale è reso manifesto nell'interazione); il principio d'ordine della conversazione (ovvero, il fatto che, sebbene la conversazione spesso possa sembrare caotica, essa è il risultato invece di un lavoro di coordinazione e sincronizzazione, sistematicamente e metodicamente realizzato dai partecipanti e visibile innanzitutto nel sistema di presa del turno); e infine il principio di sequenzialità e temporalità che giustifica e realizza il principio d'ordine (ovvero, le forme studiate dall'analista non sono mai analizzate in modo isolato ma all'interno di una sequenza conversazionale, le cui componenti esercitano l'una sull'altra un'azione contemporaneamente prospettiva e retrospettiva).

L'assunzione di questa prospettiva d'analisi nello studio dell'interpretazione dialogica permette di considerare e studiare il contesto dialogico come un luogo di interazione spontanea nel quale si realizza una co-produzione locale di significato e nel quale la presenza dell'interprete sembra influire, innanzitutto (e in modo abbastanza evidente), sui meccanismi di presa di parola, e, in secondo luogo e di conseguenza, sulla produzione di senso. Tale approccio permette quindi di ipotizzare nella figura dell'interprete un ruolo di partecipante attivo all'interazione, ruolo che, studi sulla traduzione di matrice più tradizionale hanno spesso visto come rischioso sul piano professionale (vedi Viezzi, 1996).

Il nostro studio, relativo ad una trattativa d'affari mediata dall'interprete, metterà in evidenza una serie di fenomeni comunicativi che confermano questo aspetto della partecipazione. In particolare, l'osservazione dei dati, registrati e trascritti, si soffermerà su una serie di atteggiamenti comunicativi ricorrenti nel fare dell'interprete e individuati in concomitanza con fasi problematiche dell'interazione: in queste fasi, l'interprete non si limita a tradurre i contributi delle parti ma sembra invece adoperarsi per far continuare la comunicazione e per garantire il raggiungimento degli scopi interazionali. Questi atteggiamenti saranno qui ricondotti a quella che in pragmatica è definita come una attività di *mitigazione*.

In quest'ottica il nostro contributo si basa su un approccio al discorso orale interattivo (più che su un approccio AC *stricto sensu*, per richiamare la distinzione terminologica di Gülich e Mondada, 2001), prendendo in considerazione fenomeni eterogenei, di natura non solo sequenziale, ma anche stilistica, e utilizzando come supporto teorico e analitico una teoria linguistica di stampo pragmatico (la teoria della mitigazione di Caffi, 1999; 2001).

3. L'interprete come coordinatore

Una funzione interazionale molto importante svolta dall'interprete nel contesto dialogico, e che dimostrerebbe l'aspetto di partecipazione dell'interprete nell'interazione (Gavioli, 2006: 55) e il suo ruolo di mediatore, è data dall'attività di coordinamento dei contributi delle parti. Wadensjo (1998) ha messo in luce come questa funzione proceda di pari passo con il lavoro di traduzione: il coordinamento è implicito quando riguarda il sistema di presa dei turni, mentre è esplicito quando si costituisce in formulazioni verbali come, per esempio, richieste di spiegazioni o chiarimenti elaborati autonomamente dall'interprete stessa nei confronti di una delle due parti. Più in generale il coordinamento è esplicito quando si realizza in enunciati ampliati o ristretti rispetto agli originali.

A questo proposito, e in riferimento al contesto della trattativa d'affari, Fogazzaro e Gavioli (2004) hanno evidenziato come l'attività di coordinamento e, conseguentemente, di mediazione svolta dall'interprete sia realizzata attraverso una selezione delle informazioni e una ristrutturazione del messaggio: queste operazioni permettono all'interprete di attribuire a sé alcune parti (quelle ridondanti) e di passare all'altro interlocutore altre parti (quelle ritenute fondamentali); e dunque, operando come un filtro, di ridefinire il ruolo degli interlocutori e i contenuti da loro espressi (Fogazzaro & Gavioli, 2004: 179). Invece, per quanto riguarda il coordinamento implicito, Fogazzaro e Gavioli (2004) osservano come l'interprete, nel corso dell'interazione, entri a far parte di quel sistema per il quale i parlanti negoziano costantemente la presa dei turni di parola e i significati espressi; infatti, attraverso segnali di conferma o richieste di chiarimento, i parlanti segnalano che il messaggio è stato compreso o meno e che il parlante può o non può continuare a parlare.

D'altra parte, è già stato osservato come un aspetto rilevante degli incontri mediati sia rappresentato proprio dal fatto che la negoziazione del significato deve essere sempre accompagnata da una negoziazione dell'ordine interazionale, e quindi della presa dei turni. Davidson (2002) definisce come inseparabili questi due processi di negoziazione. E Mason li individua come peculiari degli incontri cosiddetti "triadici":

> The picture that emerges [...] is an extraordinary complex one. To the multi-tasking processes involved in all interpreting (simultaneous listening/watching, discourse processing, speaking, self-monitoring) is added constant (re-) negotiation of role, turn management and general monitoring of the unfolding of the talk exchange, in which at least three parties are involved (Mason, 2001: i).

L'interprete rientra dunque in questo sistema di negoziazione, sistema che determina il ruolo che essa andrà a svolgere. In particolare, Fogazzaro e Gavioli (2004) osservano come, nel corso dell'interazione, vi siano delle fasi in cui gli interventi dell'interprete e la sua funzione esplicita di mediatore sono negoziati e resi partico-

larmente rilevanti dagli altri parlanti. Tali fasi coincidono con momenti delicati della trattativa in cui vengono espressi messaggi complessi o potenzialmente conflittuali. L'interprete quindi è chiamata ad intervenire in momenti problematici e, attraverso il lavoro di coordinamento, realizzato soprattutto tramite la gestione dei turni e la formulazione di enunciati ampliati o ristretti rispetto agli originali, essa opera una mitigazione di quelle fasi dell'interazione che sembrano comprometterne l'intero andamento.

4. L'interprete e la gestione di elementi conflittuali

Gli studi sulla conversazione spontanea hanno messo in luce la tendenza dei parlanti a mantenere buone relazioni tra loro per consentire il proseguimento dell'interazione; in particolare, si nota una tendenza dei parlanti a massimizzare l'accordo e a minimizzare il disaccordo (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990, in Fogazzaro & Gavioli, 2004: 179-80). Questa tendenza, nel caso di, almeno alcuni, contesti mediati, si riproduce in modo singolare; la massimizzazione dell'accordo corrisponde spesso ad un tentativo dei parlanti di mettersi direttamente in contatto fra loro, scavalcando l'interprete, oppure alla formulazione di un messaggio che contiene elementi di condivisione che l'interprete in traduzione tende a valorizzare; invece, la minimizzazione del disaccordo corrisponderebbe di solito a pause ed esitazioni che invitano l'interprete a prendere la parola (Fogazzaro & Gavioli, 2002). Queste osservazioni evidenziano già il ruolo molto importante svolto dall'interprete nei confronti di elementi problematici o conflittuali. Il suo intervento, come già detto, è fondamentale e, in un certo senso, preteso e negoziato dagli interlocutori.

L'analisi della nostra trattativa ha messo però in luce il fatto che, sebbene effettivamente i parlanti nell'interazione manifestino la tendenza alla massimizzazione dell'accordo, la minimizzazione del disaccordo è invece molto più rara. È già stato osservato come, in certi contesti istituzionali, la presenza di un terzo elemento all'interno dell'interazione modifica gli atteggiamenti dei parlanti ed in particolare sembra autorizzare una libertà di espressione della conflittualità che non è presente invece nella conversazione ordinaria. Greatbatch (1992), per esempio, osserva come, nelle interviste televisive, la presenza del conduttore permetta un'escalation del disaccordo fra le parti e faccia sì che quell'attività di moderazione e mitigazione di asserzioni precedenti - riconosciuta da Pomerantz (1984b) come fenomeno ricorrente attuato dai parlanti nella conversazione al fine di evitare o almeno superare il conflitto - venga assorbita dall'intervistatore.

Relativamente al caso qui analizzato, il sospetto è che, nel contesto mediato, la presenza dell'interprete riduca la tendenza dei parlanti a mitigare i propri contenuti, e quindi autorizzi una maggiore libertà di espressione della conflittualità; il disaccordo quindi verrebbe manifestato dalle parti in modo molto più diretto ed esplicito, e l'at-

tività di mitigazione verrebbe assorbita dall'interprete stessa. Questo atteggiamento assunto dai parlanti sarebbe inoltre la dimostrazione dell'ipotesi per la quale la presenza dell'interprete nel contesto dell'interpretazione faccia a faccia modifica e ridefinisce la situazione comunicativa, e, di conseguenza, gli atteggiamenti e i contenuti espressi dai partecipanti.

5. *Una definizione di mitigazione*

Tradizionalmente la mitigazione è un fenomeno studiato in pragmatica con riferimento all'ambito della cortesia; con mitigazione si intende parlare di strategie per attenuare l'impatto di un atto minaccioso per la faccia, un *face threatening act (FTA)*, secondo il modello di Brown e Levinson (1987). La cortesia è definita come quell'"insieme di strategie che mirano a stabilire, conservare o alterare relazioni fra interlocutori - che esse rivestano carattere interpersonale, o sociale, quando non istituzionale"- (Bianchi, 2003: 91). Le relazioni sociali sarebbero quindi governate da un implicito e costante riferimento alle norme della cortesia che da un lato definirebbero i limiti d'azione, linguistica e non, entro cui i parlanti possono sostare, dall'altro richiederebbero, quando tali limiti vengono superati (quindi quando si verificano *FTA*), il ricorso a meccanismi riparatori. La mitigazione è quindi annoverata tra le attività di riparazione messe in atto dai parlanti per evitare o superare situazioni di disturbo e mantenere l'equilibrio relazionale.

Nell'ambito dell'Analisi Conversazionale, il riparo (o rimedio) è definito come un fenomeno in base al quale i parlanti in interazione risolvono determinati elementi problematici, quali, per esempio, forme linguistiche, riferimenti a persone, luoghi o momenti, affermazioni, modi di selezione del locutore successivo (Gülich & Mondada, 2001: 212). D'altra parte, l'organizzazione del sistema di riparo (che permette di localizzare il riparo in interazione, distinguendo se/dove esso è iniziato, dove è risolto e da chi) è inoltre strettamente legata a quella dei fenomeni di accordo/disaccordo e di preferenza/dispreferenza (Schegloff, 1977: 380). In particolare, il riparo è individuato come strategia utilizzata dai parlanti là dove si sviluppano complementi non preferenziali di coppie adiacenti. È stato, infatti, osservato come in conformità con il concetto di preferenza - in base al quale, le accettazioni, le risposte che soddisfano una richiesta o le espressioni di accordo sono definite preferite, mentre quelle come il rifiuto, il declino di un invito, una risposta che non soddisfa una richiesta o un'espressione di disaccordo sono definite dispreferite (Pomerantz, 1984a, vedi anche Gavioli, 1999: 55) - le azioni non preferenziali siano accompagnate da forme di rimedio come "le pause, le esitazioni, le giustificazioni, o i tentativi di aggiustare il tiro, volti a ripararne il carattere non-preferenziale" (Gavioli, 1999: 58). All'origine del lavoro di riparo troviamo quindi un tentativo da parte dei parlanti di mantenere l'orientamento reciproco e favorire la "cooperazione" discorsiva; come evidenziato

da Hutchby e Wooffitt (1998: 66):

> The organization of repair is closely bound up with the question of interpersonal alignment, or intersubjectivity, in social life.

La questione dell'allineamento interpersonale è cruciale anche nella pratica comunicativa della mitigazione. In un vasto studio di stampo pragmatico sull'utilizzo della mitigazione in contesti terapeutici, Caffi (1999; 2001) sottolinea infatti come alla base della mitigazione vi siano l'idea di adattamento del locutore e del suo agire nella situazione comunicativa e rispetto al destinatario, l'idea di calibraggio e di aggiustamento:

> L'ajustement l'un à l'autre des membres d'une interaction (Birdwhistell in Caffi, 2001: 39).

D'altra parte, la mitigazione è intesa da Caffi come un *processo di modulazione linguistica* (ma vedi anche la nozione di "intensità" in Labov, 1984; Holmes, 1984; Bazzanella *et al.*, 1991; Gili Fivela & Bazzanella, 2009). Più propriamente, secondo Caffi:

> Una delle due direzioni, opposta e complementare alla direzione "rafforzamento", della modulazione, definibile come la messa in forma retorica e stilistica dell'enunciazione, la sua espressività, lungo le due direttrici, l'una attenuativa, l'altra rafforzante (2001: 3).

Tale modulazione, operando in senso attenuativo su determinate componenti dell'atto linguistico (locuzione, illocuzione, perlocuzione), realizzerebbe a livello comunicativo degli effetti sui diversi parametri interazionali in gioco (parametri come per esempio, il ruolo, il potere, la certezza epistemica, la conoscenza, la rilevanza topicale, la distanza psicologica ed emotiva) e, in modo più esteso, sulla relazione interpersonale.

Questa visione nuova e ampliata della mitigazione prevede quindi, da un lato, il fatto di considerare un fenomeno linguistico come uno strumento di realizzazione di un ampio processo comunicativo, nel quale l'azione svolta su determinati parametri permette una definizione e costruzione della relazione interpersonale fra i locutori. Dall'altro, la prospettiva proposta da Caffi permette di spiegare il fenomeno della mitigazione andando oltre questioni di *politeness* ed esigenze legate alla faccia, e riconducendolo piuttosto a due dimensioni particolari, quella dell'efficienza interazionale e quella della costruzione dell'identità. La modulazione linguistica attenuativa favorirebbe quindi sia il raggiungimento degli scopi interazionali, sia il soddisfacimento, a livello relazionale, delle esigenze d'auto-presentazione che portano i parlanti ad assumere strategicamente un determinato ruolo comunicativo (per quale tipo di persona vogliono essere presi).

Ai fini del nostro studio, il lavoro di Caffi si mostra interessante non solo per la messa in luce di determinati elementi che coinvolgono e giustificano concettualmente (a livello speculativo) la pratica della mitigazione ma anche per la distinzione che viene fatta dei vari strumenti di mitigazione e che nel nostro lavoro è stata utilizzata per lo studio dei dati. L'analisi di Caffi (2001) ha infatti condotto ad una tripartizione degli strumenti di mitigazione basata sull'ambito di intervento della modulazione attenuativa; vengono così distinti strumenti relativi al contenuto proposizionale di un enunciato, che Caffi stessa (2001: 303) chiama *cespugli (bushes o hedges)*, strumenti relativi agli indicatori di forza illocutiva, detti *siepi (hedges)*, strumenti relativi all'origine deittica dell'enunciazione, detti *schermi (shields)*[1].

6. La mitigazione nell'attività dell'interprete

Nella sua analisi e classificazione del fenomeno mitigazione, Caffi (2001) distingue tra mitigazione e riparazione con riferimento alla diversità dello statuto ontologico su cui vertono le due operazioni. Secondo Caffi, infatti, nel caso della riparazione (o rimedio) l'oggetto esiste ed è rappresentato da una sequenza precedente, mentre, nel caso della mitigazione, l'oggetto non c'è ancora, è in fieri, o nel caso delle presequenze è in pianificazione (Caffi, 2001: 68).

Nell'ottica dell'interazione mediata dall'interprete, questa distinzione assume un aspetto particolare: il fatto che, da un punto di vista sequenziale, i messaggi espressi dalle parti debbano teoricamente passare sempre attraverso l'interprete fa sì che un'eventuale attività di attenuazione da lei svolta si riferisca sempre a un qualcosa di già detto e formulato da un parlante (come nel caso del lavoro di riparo) ma si concretizzi in un enunciato nuovo, prodotto dall'interprete e diretto ad un ascoltatore (come per la mitigazione). D'altra parte ci sembra significativo fare una distinzione tra i due fenomeni del riparo e della mitigazione, sottolineando come quest'ultima, sia essa intesa in modo ristretto (come tradizionalmente legata alla *politeness*) o più ampio (come nella teoria di Caffi), implichi una negatività del valore perlocutorio dell'elemento che viene mitigato, negatività che non è invece implicata nel caso del riparo. Nel presente lavoro appare quindi più interessante parlare di mitigazione anziché di riparo in riferimento all'attività svolta dall'interprete; in effetti, gli interventi dell'interprete volti a realizzare una riparazione sono sempre individuati in concomitanza con elementi i cui effetti interazionali sarebbero potenzialmente o palesemente problematici, se non conflittuali. Inoltre, il concetto di mitigazione si incentra sull'idea

[1] Gli schermi sono poi distinti in:
Attanziali ("quando uno diventa nervoso fa così"). Spazio-temporali (di eventualizzazione e di fizionalizzazione). Citazionali ("fra virgolette; per così dire; diciamo così"). Topicali (Digressioni strategiche: "tra l'altro; per caso". Esempi strategici: "ad esempio, per esempio") (Caffi, 2001: 313-23).

di progettualità e intenzionalità, e si delinea in quanto *attività valutativa*: la mitigazione è intesa come un processo che interviene e modifica strategicamente (quindi per realizzare un obiettivo comunicativo) un determinato elemento. Ci sembra che riconoscere nell'attività traduttiva svolta dall'interprete le tracce di una valutazione e conseguente attenuazione di certi elementi non possa che confermare, ulteriormente, la funzione di partecipazione svolta dall'interprete nell'interazione.

La mitigazione è un fenomeno che negli studi sull'interpretazione dialogica non riveste ancora ampio spazio ed è studiato in riferimento soprattutto a questioni legate alla cortesia e alla faccia. Recentemente è stata infatti messa in luce l'importanza di questi aspetti nei contesti mediati e sono state avviate delle analisi volte a dimostrare come i *face threatening acts*, fenomeno d'altra parte ricorrente negli scambi triadici, vengano frequentemente modificati nell'atto di traduzione (Mason & Stewart, 2001: 51; Pöllbauer, 2007). Più in generale la mitigazione è individuata come effetto dell'attività di coordinamento esplicito ed implicito (Wadensjo, 1998) realizzato dall'interprete e come parte del più ampio processo di mediazione da lei svolto. Wadensjo ne parla come di:

> A means of sustaining a cooperative atmosphere and simultaneously exercising discoursal control, attempting to keep the client relevant and on topic (Wadensjo, 1998: 164).

Sono d'altra parte in molti gli autori (Wadensjo, 1998; Davidson, 2000; Fogazzaro & Gavioli, 2004) che concordano nell'individuare la ragione di questo tipo di intervento nel contesto sociale in cui si sviluppa l'interpretazione dialogica: la presenza di un obiettivo comunicativo da raggiungere (per esempio, nel caso dell'interazione medico-paziente, la definizione di una diagnosi o di una cura, nel caso di una trattativa d'affari, la firma di un contratto o la definizione di una strategia di mercato) favorirebbe da parte dell'interprete la messa in atto di strategie comunicative volte soprattutto a mantenere la conversazione *on topic* e a garantire la riuscita dell'incontro.

In linea anche con quanto affermato da Caffi, individuiamo, in quella che si potrebbe definire un'attività di mitigazione realizzata dall'interprete a fianco o all'interno dell'attività di traduzione, una funzione strettamente legata alla dimensione dell'efficienza interazionale; ovvero, l'interprete mitigherebbe al fine di raggiungere gli obiettivi comunicativi dell'incontro (nel nostro caso, per esempio, un accordo all'interno di una strategia di mercato). Il fatto che il presupposto della realizzazione di tale funzione risieda, in generale, nell'adattamento del locutore alla situazione comunicativa e al destinatario, giustificherebbe quindi una preoccupazione dell'interprete per questioni di natura relazionale, e conseguentemente, l'aggiustamento interazionale da lei operato quando la sintonizzazione fra i parlanti è compromessa.

7. Lo studio

I dati presi in esame in questo lavoro riguardano appunto una trattativa d'affari, evento comunicativo che ben si inserisce nell'ampia gamma di casi cui abbiamo fatto riferimento parlando di interpretazione dialogica. L'incontro, che ha avuto luogo a Milano nel 1996, coinvolge i rappresentanti di un'azienda italiana e quelli della casa fornitrice giapponese. L'interazione avviene grazie alla presenza dell'interprete, italiana, che traduce utilizzando l'inglese, lingua usata dal gruppo giapponese per comunicare. La trattativa si svolge in più fasi, con varie pause tra l'una e l'altra; la parte che è stata trascritta riporta circa due ore di registrazioni audio. L'argomento della seduta è lo smaltimento dei materiali obsoleti presenti nei depositi dell'azienda italiana e il conseguente acquisto della nuova serie di prodotti. In particolare vengono discusse le strategie da attuare sul mercato per favorire la svendita dei prodotti della passata stagione e i prezzi di acquisto dei nuovi arrivi.

Le informazioni relative ai partecipanti, in particolare all'interprete e ai suoi rapporti con l'azienda italiana, sono molto limitate. Il luogo dell'incontro definisce l'azienda italiana come ente ospitante e quella giapponese come ospitata. L'interprete è impiegata dal gruppo milanese con cui manifesta nell'interazione un certo grado di confidenza, dimostrando anche di conoscerne gli obiettivi commerciali. Come già ricordato, il portavoce giapponese per comunicare utilizza l'inglese, quindi una lingua che non è la sua, mentre il gruppo italiano comunica con l'interprete nella propria lingua e mostra anche talvolta di comprendere gli interventi in inglese formulati dall'altra parte. Questi aspetti sono richiamati all'attenzione come rilevanti perché potrebbero motivare, almeno parzialmente, quegli squilibri relazionali che spiegherebbero, in parte, il carattere conflittuale della nostra trattativa e quindi gli interventi, linguistici e non, attuati dall'interprete per superare questa conflittualità. Sebbene l'intento di questo lavoro sia quello di individuare tali interventi e non sia quello di sviluppare una riflessione sul modo in cui i ruoli e le relazioni dei partecipanti precedenti all'interazione influenzino la capacità dell'interprete di gestire l'interazione, si terrà in debita considerazione il fatto che:

> The dynamics of the exchange in terms of power and distance - and also in terms of who, within the exchange, is truly monolingual and who, in addition to the interpreter, is actually bilingual - are of primordial importance in seeking to understand what is going on linguistically (Mason, 2001: ii).

Per quanto riguarda il metodo di trascrizione usato, il riferimento è al modello elaborato da Bazzanella (1994: 92)[2].

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[2] Riportiamo i simboli utilizzati in particolare nella trascrizione trattata in questo capitolo:
X interprete

8. Analisi dei dati

Dall'analisi complessiva della nostra trattativa d'affari è emerso che l'interprete non si limita a tradurre letteralmente e in modo canonico i contributi dei parlanti ma svolge una funzione più ampia di mediazione fra le parti. Questo aspetto viene evidenziato soprattutto in fasi problematiche della trattativa, quando le parti coinvolte mostrano di non condividere determinate posizioni, oppure quando c'è incomprensione di intenti. In questi casi si verifica un potenziale disturbo per ciò che rappresenta la finalità principale dell'incontro che consiste nel raggiungimento dell'accordo. L'interprete sembra farsi carico di questo aspetto e ciò sarebbe dimostrato dal suo costante tentativo di fare in modo che la conversazione, anche quando gravemente compromessa, non collassi. D'altra parte, i parlanti non sembrano curarsi degli effetti negativi dei propri interventi e questo potrebbe essere motivato da un'implicita aspettativa nei confronti del lavoro dell'interprete.

Dall'ascolto e dalla lettura dei dati si osserva che, quando si verificano dei momenti di disturbo, l'interprete garantisce il proseguimento dell'interazione attraverso una costante attività di mitigazione dei contributi delle parti; i meccanismi più frequenti che realizzano questa attività sono:

1. La riduzione dei contenuti nella traduzione.
2. La formulazione di interventi propri.
3. La sostituzione di espressioni implicitamente aggressive.
4. L'utilizzo di *quotational shields*.
5. I *continuatori*.

L, L2	parlanti della delegazione italiana
G	parlante della delegazione giapponese
[ ]	sovrapposizione ([indica l'inizio, sia nel turno A che in quello B;] indica la fine – se pertinente indicarla)
=	latching
.	intonazione discendente
,	intonazione sospensiva
?	intonazione ascendente
testo:	prolungamento del suono
testo-	parola tronca
-	pausa: - pausa molto breve -- pausa breve --- pausa media
≈	parola non comprensibile acusticamente
( )	più parole non comprensibili acusticamente
testo°	parola trascritta per deduzione ma non chiaramente comprensibile acusticamente
testo	enfasi dell'oratore
(.....)	informazioni contestualizzanti ricavabili dalla registrazione

in neretto le parti della trascrizione che si è voluto mettere in evidenza ai fini dell'analisi

I primi due strumenti di mitigazione realizzano quella che Wadensjo (1998) definisce un'attività di coordinamento esplicito; i meccanismi tre e quattro riguardano invece la sfera della modulazione linguistica; infine lo strumento cinque opera soprattutto a livello del sistema di presa dei turni rispetto al quale manifesta un inserimento e una partecipazione legata all'iniziativa spontanea dell'interprete. La sezione successiva presenta alcuni cenni relativi alla conflittualità interna alla trattativa e quindi all'ambiente interazionale in cui si sviluppa il conflitto e in cui avviene il ricorso agli strumenti di mitigazione. In seguito sarà proposta l'analisi di tali strumenti.

9. La conflittualità interna alla trattativa

Nel caso analizzato, le sequenze problematiche che si verificano nell'interazione riguardano due casi principali; uno è quello in cui sorgono errori di comprensione fra le parti (in particolare quando il gruppo giapponese non capisce i problemi che manifesta la parte italiana) e tali incomprensioni rallentano il corso della seduta. L'altro è il caso in cui la possibilità del raggiungimento di un accordo finale viene negata o messa in discussione. Entrambe le situazioni possono essere considerate come tipiche del contesto della trattativa d'affari. In generale, la trattativa si caratterizza infatti per essere un ambiente interazionale nel quale gli interlocutori si trovano a confrontare interessi o posizioni diversi, con l'obiettivo di arrivare ad una soluzione comune; questo aspetto stimola fortemente il dibattito e limita la possibilità di un decorso verbale lineare. Frequente è la possibilità che i contenuti espressi dai parlanti si sviluppino e si modifichino in itinere (soprattutto attraverso dibattiti interni alle singole delegazioni) e che tali contenuti non siano chiari per una delle due parti coinvolte. Questi elementi complicano il lavoro dell'interprete. Inoltre, la dinamica della trattativa d'affari, in particolare il fatto che la fine dell'interazione corrisponda di solito al raggiungimento di un accordo finale o perlomeno ad un'avvenuta analisi delle reciproche posizioni delle parti coinvolte, potrebbe essere motivata da un'attitudine generale osservata nella conversazione.

Alcuni studi sul parlato (vedi ad esempio Pomerantz, 1984b) hanno infatti messo in luce il fatto che il disaccordo e la difficoltà di comprensione reciproca, pur essendo all'origine di sequenze problematiche nell'interazione, possono anche rappresentare un modo per garantire il proseguimento dell'interazione stessa. I parlanti sono costantemente coinvolti nella realizzazione di attività che richiedono delle risposte, e, quando tali risposte non vengono fornite dall'interlocutore, ciò è attribuito generalmente a difficoltà di comprensione, mancanza di un sapere condiviso o disaccordo. Per questo, al fine di ricevere tali risposte, i parlanti si adoperano per offrire chiarimenti, verificare l'esattezza dei fatti o modificare le proprie posizioni. In questo modo, quando la comprensione è raggiunta, l'interazione raggiunge anche una fase in cui i parlanti possono potenzialmente negoziarne la conclusione.

Una delle caratteristiche della nostra trattativa, come accennato sopra, è che i parlanti della delegazione italiana mostrano talvolta di comprendere ciò che viene detto in inglese dal parlante giapponese. Nel nostro caso ciò accade soprattutto da parte del portavoce italiano che ha una conoscenza approssimativa dell'inglese ed è il rappresentante del gruppo che fa le richieste commerciali ai fornitori giapponesi, quindi quello maggiormente interessato e attento alle reazioni di questi. Così, è frequente il caso in cui il portavoce italiano segnala di comprendere le aspettative degli interlocutori senza che l'interprete abbia la possibilità di tradurre ed, eventualmente, "filtrare" il messaggio. Quando questa comprensione "diretta" si attua, si osservano due tipi di situazione. La prima è quella in cui il messaggio percepito incontra il consenso italiano e di fatto non si verificano problemi ai fini della seduta. C'è una convergenza dei punti di vista delle due delegazioni e c'è desiderio da parte dei parlanti di comunicare direttamente fra loro (magari anche solo con formule di conferma tipo "ok"). L'interprete viene momentaneamente esclusa dalla conversazione ma solitamente si inserisce di nuovo nel quadro partecipativo, soprattutto tramite l'utilizzo di *continuatori* (Schegloff, 1982), e ristabilisce quindi l'ordine interazionale previsto dal contesto mediato. La seconda situazione è quella in cui la percezione dei contenuti espressi dal delegato giapponese provoca negli italiani un sentimento di insoddisfazione. Qui la comunicazione rallenta e dà luogo a momenti di tensione. Il conflitto, potenziale o palese, si manifesta o attraverso un commento esplicitamente negativo e diretto del portavoce italiano o attraverso una concitata discussione interna al gruppo, sempre italiano (è interessante notare che questo non accade all'interno del gruppo giapponese). In entrambi i casi, l'interprete tenta di far continuare l'interazione mitigando in traduzione gli elementi polemici o offensivi.

10. Gli strumenti che realizzano l'attività di mitigazione

10.1. Le riduzioni nella traduzione

In concomitanza con gli interventi dei parlanti caratterizzati da un tono aggressivo o ironico o da espressioni forti, si osserva che l'interprete opera una selezione dei contenuti tradotti, realizzando ciò che Wadensjo (1998) definisce *reduced renditions*, ovvero enunciati in cui sono omesse delle parti dell'originale. L'attività di mitigazione realizzata dalla riduzione nella traduzione opera al livello dell'efficienza interazionale: il messaggio ridotto focalizza infatti l'attenzione dei parlanti sui contenuti rilevanti per raggiungere gli obiettivi comunicativi.

Nell'esempio riportato sotto, le parti stanno cercando di accordarsi sulla cifra che i fornitori metteranno a disposizione dell'azienda italiana per la nuova campagna commerciale; il rappresentante giapponese si mostra abbastanza restio ad accettare la proposta italiana perché vuole conoscere in dettaglio come verrà speso l'eventuale

budget messo a disposizione. Il parlante italiano è irritato dalla diffidenza mostrata, ai suoi occhi, dal fornitore, e interviene in modo polemico e "colorito". Tuttavia l'interprete tralascia in traduzione tutto il discorso sulla fiducia e l'intervento più alterato; riduce il contributo del parlante italiano ai termini essenziali per ottenere l'approvazione del delegato giapponese (ovvero, "la nostra proposta si traduce in un costo quindi decidiamo prima quale sarà il vostro contributo"), rimuovendo dall'enunciato ogni traccia polemica. Come si può notare, tutta la parte evidenziata in neretto nel contributo del parlante italiano non ha una corrispondenza nella traduzione:

Estratto 1

(L: rappresentante della ditta italiana, convenzionalmente chiamata *Schianchi*, nella trascrizione; X: interprete; G: rappresentante della ditta giapponese, convenzionalmente chiamata *Nappo*, nella trascrizione)

1 L **ma voglio chiedere a Mister Nappo perché vuole sapere** che tipo
2 di azione dovremo andare a fare quando in ogni caso si tramuta
3 in un costo, definiamo un costo e poi **visto che ci ha sempre**
4 **detto che la Nappo ha fiducia nel in in come opera la Schianchi**
5 **non vedo perché adesso non la debba più avere, abbiam sempre**
6 **fatto i pre-stagionali, li abbiam fatti a modo nostro qualcuno con**
7 **un incentivo, qualcuno con una riduzione di prezzo, qualcuno**
8 **con una dilazione di pagamento, sono cose che bisogna vedere**
9 **caso per caso, c'è quello che desidera andare a puttane ma io**
10 **non lo posso portare a puttane beh, come si fa?** ha un valore
11 tutto questo definiamo il valore poi commercialmente ragionan-
12 do sui cambi il direttore commerciale deciderà come andare a
13 spendere questi soldi
14 X so in any, what Mister Schianchi is saying
15 G mh mh
16 X is that in any case we won't ask a big to you our proposal
17 about what what ~ thinking
18 G (incomprensibile)
19 X yes but in any case the our proposal will be a cost so if we
20 know, if we decide now what will be your contribution and our
21 contribution to this in order to eh: undertake this proposal
22 to undertake this action in how to affect the market if we
23 know what will be the final cost then we can make a ~ our sale
24 ~ and decide how to use this amount how to un- un- undertake

Dopo i due tentativi di traduzione alle linee 14 e 16 (che sembrano rallentare l'impatto della richiesta successiva), l'interprete fornisce quindi una traduzione che mostra il suo orientarsi alla dimensione dell'efficienza interazionale: in effetti, l'interpretazione manca dei toni polemici dell'originale ed è strettamente centrata sul raggiungimento degli obiettivi comunicativi.

La riduzione di traduzione è considerata anche come parte di un'attività di coordinamento esplicito (Wadensjo, 1998); in effetti, essa permette di indirizzare i parlanti (e quindi i loro contributi) verso determinati contenuti, spostando la loro attenzione da elementi problematici verso elementi essenziali al raggiungimento degli obiettivi comunicativi.

10.2. La formulazione di interventi propri

Un altro modo attraverso il quale l'interprete può coordinare esplicitamente gli interventi delle parti è quello di formulare interventi autonomi. Un tipo di intervento dell'interprete che si verifica nella nostra interazione è quello di ri-aprire la conversazione dopo un turno che ne proietta una potenziale chiusura. Vi sono casi infatti in cui la comprensione delle aspettative e delle posizioni delle parti porta i partecipanti a rinunciare alla trattativa e a chiuderla. Gli interventi dell'interprete in questi casi hanno la caratteristica di "rilanciare" il *topic* conversazionale, riproponendolo per, ad esempio, un ulteriore chiarimento.

Nella sequenza successiva, alle linee 3 e 4, abbiamo un intervento del parlante italiano che mostra di comprendere la posizione del partecipante giapponese e inizia un turno ("allora è inutile che") che proietta una potenziale conclusione della conversazione. In questo momento l'esito della trattativa sembra gravemente compromesso perché le parti non riescono ad accordarsi sulla politica comune da intraprendere e soprattutto perché il parlante italiano sembra voler rinunciare a proseguire la negoziazione. Qui l'interprete interviene con una richiesta di spiegazioni al rappresentante giapponese che ripropone una discussione del topic conversazionale al fine di comprendere qualcosa di più della proposta fatta. In questo modo permette all'interazione di proseguire ed offre al parlante giapponese la possibilità di spiegare il proprio punto di vista. Non lascia che la comunicazione collassi e lo fa mitigando l'intervento del delegato italiano: la mitigazione si concretizza attraverso la mancata traduzione dell'enunciato "di rinuncia" e l'intervento autonomo dell'interprete che "rilancia" il topic per un ulteriore chiarimento (linee 5, 6 e 7):

Estratto 2

```
1   X   allora lui dice se lui ci se lui riduce i nostri costi da
2       ottocento da ottocentocinquantatre [milioni]
3   L                                      [ottocentocinquantatre]
4       allora è inutile che [(  ) ]
5   X                        [why why] do you why do you say say
6       why do you say re-reduce our cost by eight thousand
7       [eight hundred fifty three
8   G   [this this
```

```
9   X  mh mh
10  G  is the the the part of the offer you made
11  X  yeah questo è l'ultima offerta che abbiam fatto noi
```

Come si vede nello scambio, la domanda di chiarimento è un chiaro tentativo di riaprire la conversazione. A livello relazionale, essa crea nei confronti dell'interlocutore un avvicinamento, ulteriormente rafforzato dall'uso del *continuatore* "mhm" (linea 9). Come sarà discusso meglio nel corso della nostra analisi, l'utilizzo dei *continuatori* da parte dell'interprete sembra giocare un ruolo molto importante nel favorire la sintonizzazione interazionale, e quindi il proseguimento della conversazione.

Un altro caso in cui troviamo un intervento spontaneo dell'interprete, sempre nella forma di una negoziazione di chiarimento è quello che segue. Qui l'interprete (turno 1) riporta una domanda della rappresentanza giapponese - una quantificazione delle giacenze per la fine del mese di ottobre - alla quale i parlanti italiani dicono di poter fornire una risposta certa (linee 8-9). L'interprete non tratta questa prima risposta come la risposta da tradurre e chiarisce che è necessario definire una cifra più precisa (linea 11). In questo modo ottiene un risultato che può comunicare all'altra parte e ciò, da un lato fornisce la risposta che era stata resa rilevante nell'interazione, dall'altro "salva la faccia" degli interlocutori italiani che evitano così di mostrare di avere dati imprecisi.

Estratto 3

```
1  X   dice che prima di: di continuare vuole sapere allora per quanto
2      riguarda i modelli che sono a- a- appunto eh: concernenti questo
3      problema, che con- concernono questo problema quali sono quale
4      sarà il numero dei modelli effettivamente che avremo eh che
5      saranno obsoleti che avremo per la fine di ottobre
6  L   dobbiamo [vedere]
7  L2           [≈     ]
8  L   [li  ricaveremo°] alla fine di ottobre
9  L2  [alla fine di ottobre]ci viene ≈ insomma
10 L   eh!
11 X   ok, facciamo  a fine settembre allora quanti [ne avremo]
12 L                                               [noi li] abbiam
13     chiamati per vedere il numero dei pezzi. - comunque normalmente
14     il settanta per cento della giacenza è dato da pre- da da
15     pezzi obsoleti mi sbaglierò di uno o due punti
16     percentuali indicativamente è il settanta [per cento]
17 X                                             [more] or less
18     indicatevely is seventy per cent of the units in stock so let's
19     say seventy percent of the units in stock will be replaced
```

Gli interventi introdotti spontaneamente dall'interprete, senza che vi sia una richiesta esplicita delle parti, sono quelli in cui si manifesta in maniera più evidente il suo lavo-

ro di coordinamento mirato all'ottenimento degli scopi dell'interazione e, nel nostro caso, di mitigazione che accompagna l'attività di traduzione, e sono dunque quelli che testimoniano maggiormente la complessità dell'attività svolta dall'interprete. Poiché l'interprete è responsabile della corretta comprensione dei contenuti e delle aspettative dell'interazione, le richieste di chiarimento costituiscono uno strumento importante per perseguire gli scopi dell'interazione e possono essere utilizzate per evitare una potenziale chiusura insoddisfacente della conversazione o anche per evitare di dare un'immagine insoddisfacente dell'operato degli interlocutori.

10.3. La sostituzione di espressioni implicitamente aggressive

Nell'analisi dei dati si è osservato che la traduzione fornita dall'interprete è talvolta caratterizzata da una sostituzione e modulazione in senso attenuativo di alcune espressioni lessicali che nell'originale sono implicitamente, o potenzialmente, aggressive o polemiche.

Nell'esempio che segue, il parlante italiano fa riferimento alla passata esperienza della propria azienda e alle difficoltà da questa incontrata nella svendita dei prodotti evidenziando come i costi sostenuti siano sempre stati affrontati dal suo gruppo da solo senza che sia stato richiesto un aiuto da parte dei fornitori giapponesi. Più propriamente, il termine utilizzato è quello di "accollarsi", parola che suggerisce un carico di responsabilità o onere dovuto essenzialmente alla mancanza di responsabilità di qualcun altro, il partner giapponese in questo caso. L'interprete mitiga il potenziale tono di accusa nei confronti dell'altra parte modificando il verbo; nei due esempi che seguono, i verbi *suffer* (estratto 4, linea 17) e *afford* (estratto 5, linea 6), rispettivamente "sopportare" e "potersi permettere", incentrano il motivo della richiesta di aiuto sull'impossibilità del soggetto a compiere l'azione e non sulla pretesa di intervento esterno. Tale significato è ulteriormente accentuato nell'estratto 5 (linee 6 e 7) dall'impiego di *alone* (non potersi permettere da soli) e di *at least*, che introduce nella riformulazione dello stesso verbo una richiesta indiretta di aiuto alla delegazione giapponese:

Estratto 4

1 L allora, comincio io? Noi apprezziamo, lo sforzo, che riteniamo
2 abbiate fatto nel darci i prezzi per il millenovecentonovan-
3 tasette (colpo di tosse) vorremmo però ricordare con le prime
4 - del rapporto, che noi veniamo da una stagione, completamente
5 negativa, completamente negativa sotto due aspetti, primo,
6 quello che abbiamo già detto che abbiamo ridotto, i prezzi di
7 vendita, **accollandocene il novanta per cento noi,** e la seconda
8 cosa è che ad oggi ci ritroviamo con un magazzino, di prodotti

9 che entro quattro mesi verranno sostituiti da una nuova
10 collezione
11 X ok, eh: so first of all we would like to say that we appreciate
12 the we appreciate that we have appreciated your effort in giv-
13 ing us the prices in ninetyseven. but as Mr Rossi a- already
14 told you before we would like to remind you that we are coming
15 early from a negative sales season for two reasons, the first
16 one is that we were forced to reduce a lot our sales prices,
17 and of course **suffering ninety percent on ninety percent of**
18 **this reduction had been suffer had been suffered by Schianchi,**
19 the second reason that we have got our stock house full of
20 products which in four months will be replaced by new ones

Estratto 5

1 L è chiaro che **noi non possiamo accollarci al cento per cento una**
2 **svendita di prodotti**, eh non ce non ce lo possiamo permettere, e
3 ottomila pezzi di case corrispondono praticamente al cinquanta
4 per cento di un fatturato ipotetico millenovecentottanta
5 millenovecentonovantasette
6 X surely **we can not afford to put on sales a- at least we can not**
7 **afford alone** to put on sales eight thousands pieces conside-
8 ring that they in in m- money in a- amount they correspond to
9 early fifty percent of our early turnover

Nella sequenza successiva, ritroviamo lo stesso tipo di intervento attuato dall'interprete: la sostituzione e modulazione attenuativa di un enunciato polemico proferito dal parlante italiano. Qui "la Schianchi si è stancata di contribuire" (linee 9 e 10) rappresenta una chiara accusa nei confronti dell'altra parte che viene però palesemente mitigata da un "Schianchi alone cannot afford hundred percent", dove l'accento viene posto sul "non potersi permettere", che con l'impossibilità oggettiva giustifica la richiesta.

Estratto 6

1 L questa è la proposta che facciamo noi di accollarci o di
2 studiare insieme dei prezzi particolari per affrontare il
3 novantasette nella migliore maniera nel modo migliore con
4 questi prezzi noi non riusciremmo sicuramente ad affrontare
5 un novantasette in maniera serena assolutamente
6 X so [this is]
7 L [la la]la concorrenza sicuramente e: l'informazione che
8 tutt'oggi abbiamo sicuramente abbasseranno il prezzo il
9 prezzo delle ditte tutti gli anni è destinato a calare. **la**
10 **Schianchi si è stancata di contribuire al cento per cento a**
11 **questi cali di mercato a questi cali di prezzo**
12 X so with the prices in our hands for the moment being with the
13 prices with these sale prices we surely not we will surely

14 not be able to sell out the units we have got in stock now
15 so the only way we can do we can the only thing we can do
16 in order to be able to start the season in march a: at least
17 in the right way is to come to an agreement to reach togheter
18 an agreement because **Schianchi alone cannot afford hundred**
19 **percent to undergo all these eh: these expenses** as an another
20 thing eh: our competitors as far as we know at least to now
21 probably will reduce their prices because are aware of the
22 prices of these split in future will always will always de-
23 crease will not surely increase

Ci sono molti altri casi, in questa interazione, in cui troviamo interventi mitigatori attuati dall'interprete tramite la sostituzione di espressioni, soprattutto verbali. Un esempio molto chiaro si trova più avanti nella stessa conversazione dove "non gliene può fregare di meno" detto in riferimento alla ditta Schianchi viene reso più garbatamente con "we don't care". Questi interventi di sostituzione e modulazione proposizionale sono la traccia di un intervento partecipativo dell'interprete. In particolare essa tratta le manifestazioni polemiche e/o aggressive degli interlocutori come esplicitazioni "per i soli orecchi dell'interprete", ovvero destinate "soltanto" a lei, e si assume la responsabilità di agire nella comunicazione interpretando le aspettative degli interlocutori rispetto allo scopo dell'interazione. A tal fine calibra le proprie scelte linguistiche in base alla situazione e agli interlocutori, mitigando le scelte lessicali dei parlanti, sulla base della propria interpretazione della situazione e dei ruoli in atto.

10.4. L'utilizzo di quotational shields

Un altro caso di modulazione attenuativa realizzata dall'interprete nella sfera questa volta della deissi, è quello rappresentato dall'impiego dei *quotational shields*; questi strumenti di mitigazione sarebbero utilizzati, secondo Caffi (1999: 891), per prendere le distanze dal contenuto di un determinato enunciato (per esempio attraverso l'uso di una forma impersonale o passiva), per sospendere l'interpretazione letterale (per esempio attraverso formule del tipo "per così dire, fra virgolette"), o ancora per lateralizzare un argomento rispetto ad una direttrice topicale maggiore (per esempio attraverso l'uso di espressioni del tipo "tra l'altro", "oltre a tutto", "per esempio"). Nei dati analizzati osserviamo che essi vengono utilizzati dall'interprete in determinati momenti della trattativa, per esempio quando una delle due parti rifiuta l'offerta e quindi si affaccia la possibilità di un esito negativo dell'incontro.

Nell'estratto 7 riportato sotto, l'interprete ricorre allo strumento di attenuazione per alleggerire il tono dell'enunciato; qui la traduzione di "final agreement", espressione utilizzata dal parlante giapponese nel primo turno (vedi linee 1 e 2): "I don't think we can reach any final agreement") mostra una mitigazione che viene attuata attraverso l'uso di un *quotational shield* ("diciamo così", linea 6) immediatamente

prima della traduzione dell'aggettivo. Con la scelta di tradurre "non penso che riusciremo a raggiungere un accordo diciamo così definitivo", l'interprete tenta una distensione del contenuto. Si può osservare, inoltre, che l'intero turno dell'interprete è impostato in modo da alleviare l'effetto potenzialmente negativo che potrebbe avere sul destinatario. Si veda per esempio, l'attribuzione di quanto viene detto al parlante giapponese ("dice, fa", linea 5) che distanzia il contenuto del messaggio dalla persona dell'interprete, l'esitazione nella scelta del verbo di attribuzione, l'utilizzo del futuro ("riusciremo" linea 5) che sembra spostare a un altro momento la realizzazione dell'atto problematico (il non raggiungimento dell'accordo) oppure la scelta di "nel senso che" (linea 6) che offre una fra le diverse conseguenze possibili, piuttosto che la sola conseguenza.

Estratto 7

```
1   G   so the: maybe the e: I-I don't think we can reach any final
2       agreement today because I think that you have to think ~ all
3       very careful and also you have to find some ~ accounting I mean
4       account I mean ~ opinion
5   X   dice fa non penso che riusciremo a raggiungere un un accordo:
6       diciamo così definitivo oggi nel senso che anche noi dovremo
7       poi con le nostre con le nostre azioni fare bene i conti eh:
8       vedere,
```

Come si può osservare nelle prime linee (1-4) le mitigazioni sono interpretate, ma non introdotte dall'interprete. Segnali di mitigazione sono infatti presenti anche nel turno del parlante giapponese (vedi ad esempio *maybe* a inizio frase e l'utilizzo della negazione del verbo assertivo (*I don't think* anziché *I think*). A questo proposito, alcuni studi hanno messo in luce come nel discorso di trattativa prevalgano atteggiamenti linguistici di riparazione là dove vengono rifiutate le offerte dell'altra parte e come tali atteggiamenti si concretizzino nel proferimento per esempio di scuse o giustificazioni ("ci dispiace ma non possiamo accettare l'offerta", o, nel nostro caso, *maybe I don't think that*). D'altra parte l'*accountability* è stata individuata come una caratteristica distintiva della condotta sociale dei parlanti, i quali la utilizzano al fine di evitare o riparare fratture interazionali quando le loro azioni potrebbero risultare inaspettate, dannose o comunque problematiche (Firth, 1995: 200). Le azioni dell'interprete qui sono dunque in linea con ciò che sembra essere l'aspettativa del parlante giapponese e si orientano agli scopi di questa interazione.

10.5. I continuatori

I *continuatori* (Schegloff, 1982) sono espressioni prodotte da un parlante nel corso

dell'interazione mentre l'interlocutore sta parlando. Nella conversazione ordinaria essi tendono dunque a sovrapporsi al parlato altrui rappresentando così un coinvolgimento positivo o *cooperative overlap* (Tannen, 1981: 146, in Wadensjo, 1999: 257): incoraggiano l'orientamento dei partecipanti e contemporaneamente facilitano il coordinamento fra gli stessi. Questa funzione originaria dei *continuatori* svanisce in parte nella conversazione mediata dove i contributi dei parlanti vengono regolarmente sospesi da quelli dell'interprete. Qui li ritroviamo piuttosto fra i turni dell'interprete e quelli della persona alla quale lei si sta indirizzando. L'interprete può usare formule come *mhm*, *ok*, *yeah*, come strumento per incoraggiare il parlato di un interlocutore che al momento detiene il turno, lavorando come una sorta di *deputy listener* (Wadensjo, 1998: 257). Attraverso queste espressioni l'interprete segnala quindi al parlante che fra i due è in fase di costruzione quel terreno di conoscenza comune (Davidson, 2002: 1285) che permetterà successivamente di offrire al discorso un contributo nuovo e rilevante. Inoltre, è da notare il carattere "universale" di queste espressioni, il fatto che tendenzialmente esse siano comprensibili per entrambe le parti, anche perché solitamente accompagnate da una particolare gestualità ed espressione facciale; la "bivalenza" dei *continuatori* permette così all'interprete, quando li utilizza, di indicare contemporaneamente ad entrambe le parti qual è la funzione che sta svolgendo in quel determinato momento nell'interazione. Tale funzione può essere il semplice riconoscimento di ciò che viene detto da una delle parti, oppure, nel caso questi interventi si trovino all'interno dei cosiddetti *boundary turns* (Davidson, 2002: 1289), il passaggio dell'interprete dall'uso di una lingua a quello di un'altra, e quindi da un coinvolgimento conversazionale con un interlocutore ad un'attività di traduzione.

Nel corso della nostra trattativa troviamo molto spesso delle lunghe alternanze di turni che coinvolgono l'interprete e il rappresentante della delegazione giapponese e che sono accompagnate da questo tipo di espressioni. Tali sequenze sono giustificate in parte dal fatto che spesso l'intervento di traduzione non è richiesto visto che i parlanti italiani mostrano di capire le intenzioni dell'altra parte; l'interprete così mantiene la propria posizione intermediaria mostrandosi, agli occhi dell'interlocutore, destinataria momentanea del messaggio. L'aspetto interessante però è dato dal fatto che si osserva una tendenza, da parte dell'interprete, ad utilizzare questi meccanismi comunicativi immediatamente dopo che si è verificato un momento di tensione e in particolare dopo che un atteggiamento potenzialmente minaccioso per l'altra parte è stato mitigato dall'interprete stessa. In particolare, quando il tono del parlante italiano si fa ironico o quando questi manifesta un palese disappunto, i *continuatori* sembrano andare a compensare l'"attacco" nei confronti della parte lesa, facendo riguadagnare spazio ed importanza ai contenuti da questa espressi e prevenendo una reazione negativa che potrebbe compromettere la riuscita dell'incontro.

Nell'estratto 8 riportato sotto, una battuta formulata in inglese dal parlante italiano nei confronti del delegato giapponese ("just complete", turno 2) scatena l'ilarità del gruppo italiano, alludendo alla pignoleria del delegato giapponese che il gruppo

italiano ha più volte criticato nelle sequenze precedenti. A questa battuta potenzialmente offensiva segue una serie di turni che coinvolge l'interprete e la parte "offesa". Questi turni sono molto brevi e, per quanto riguarda l'interprete, sono caratterizzati dall'impiego di tali espressioni "continuative". La catena discorsiva viene iniziata dall'interprete (linea 3). Anche se è impossibile definire, per problemi di acustica, che cosa dica l'interprete al parlante giapponese nel primo turno, si intuisce che il messaggio è rivolto a lui e che costituisce uno spostamento di *topic* rispetto a ciò che ha detto il rappresentante italiano: è come se l'interprete gli stesse comunicando "non facciamo caso a ciò che ha detto, andiamo avanti". In questo modo viene manifestata una sorta di distacco da parte dell'interprete nei confronti della frase proferita, che rappresenta una derisione nei confronti del delegato giapponese, probabilmente legata alla ritrosia da questi mostrata nell'accettare l'offerta (in questo senso, la risata del gruppo contribuisce a definirla come tale). L'interprete, quindi, svia da un fattore di disturbo e potenziale conflitto riparando prima con un intervento suo personale che non corrisponde all'enunciato proferito dall'italiano e che cambia *topic* rispetto al suo commento, e poi con una focalizzazione dell'attenzione sul messaggio dell'interlocutore attraverso l'uso dei *continuatori*:

Estratto 8

```
1   G  eh: on this, eh: so the[::]
2   L                          [just] complete°! (risate)
3   X (    )
4   G you are talking about [this]?
5   X                       [yah]that column off
6   G mh mh, and the ~ is four, four billion two hundred fifty, five million
7   X yeah
8   G this amount
9   X yeah
10  G ah ah on six thousand six hundred forty fifth
11  X mh, mh
```

Similmente nell'estratto 9, in una fase particolarmente tesa della trattativa, in cui una domanda polemica da parte del parlante italiano introduce ancora una volta la possibilità di uno scontro tra le parti ("ottocentocinquantatré da dove salta fuori?", turno 1), ritroviamo lo stesso tipo di intervento attuato dall'interprete. Qui, l'utilizzo dei *continuatori* a sostegno dello scambio interazionale col delegato giapponese è preceduto da un'attenuazione del carattere aggressivo della domanda (che viene tradotta con "why", turno 2). Attraverso questo tipo di interventi, l'interprete incoraggia il parlante giapponese a spiegare il proprio punto di vista, mostrando collaborazione e riducendo la possibilità di una presa di parola del parlante italiano. Questi, a sua volta, può tornare a condividere i contenuti espressi dal fornitore, come dimostrano gli interventi "sì"(linea 6) e "more or less" (linea 19).

Estratto 9

```
1   L  sì ma ottocentocinquantatré da dove salta fuori?
2   X  [why
3   G  [this is the cost
4   X  [yeah
5   G  [on on
6   L  sì
7   G  on the [~
8   X         [ok
9   G  of part expressed
10  X  yeah
11  G  and not played by ~
12  X  yeah
13  G  you can leave here
14  X  yes [eh
15  G      [and this twenty percent of this
16  X  mh mh
17  G  is one point sixtyfive
18  X  the price, ok
19  L  more or less
20  G  so ~ this one
21  X  yes
```

Limitatamente alla nostra trattativa, si potrebbe quindi riconoscere ai *continuatori* una funzione molto importante nella più ampia attività di mitigazione realizzata dall'interprete. Tali espressioni sembrano infatti completare e rafforzare il ruolo svolto da altri meccanismi di mitigazione, operando nel senso di uno sviamento dall'elemento problematico e della dimostrazione di un atteggiamento di ascolto e collaborazione. L'attività di mitigazione si comporrebbe quindi di due meccanismi principali, il primo rappresentato dall'intervento personale dell'interprete volto a modificare il topic in corso (il commento o la frase polemica), mitigandolo o modificandolo; il secondo costituito da un atteggiamento complementare al primo, finalizzato a indirizzare l'interlocutore su tale topic nuovo o modificato e incoraggiandolo a focalizzarsi su questo piuttosto che su quello potenzialmente offensivo.

L'utilizzo dei *continuatori* è un meccanismo che manifesta esplicitamente la partecipazione spontanea dell'interprete nell'interazione, il suo inserimento all'interno del sistema di presa di parola, e, soprattutto, la modifica che essa attua di tale sistema; in effetti, dando rilevanza agli interventi della parte offesa, ed escludendo momentaneamente dall'interazione l'altro interlocutore, l'interprete crea una diversa configurazione partecipativa con una delle parti, coordinando autonomamente lo scambio. Tale coordinamento sembrerebbe favorire lo sviluppo e il proseguimento dell'interazione globale, creando empatia ed agendo quindi anche ad un livello relazionale.

11. Conclusioni

L'analisi della trattativa d'affari mediata dall'interprete ha messo in luce il fatto che, in concomitanza con sequenze interazionali problematiche, nelle quali le parti coinvolte non condividono determinate posizioni e nelle quali il tono dei parlanti si fa polemico o aggressivo, l'interprete non si limita a tradurre ma assume una serie di comportamenti comunicativi volti ad attenuare la carica espressiva degli enunciati.

Tale attenuazione è stata qui ricondotta ad una più ampia attività di mitigazione, identificata, nei dati analizzati, con cinque meccanismi comunicativi individuati nelle azioni dell'interprete. In particolare, si è osservato come una riduzione della traduzione e la formulazione di interventi propri consentano all'interprete di sviare da elementi problematici, e, in quella che è generalmente identificata come un'attività di coordinamento, permettano di focalizzare l'attenzione dei parlanti su un *topic* rilevante ai fini dell'interazione. Per quanto riguarda la modulazione linguistica, si è osservato come l'interprete modifichi in traduzione certe espressioni implicitamente polemiche attenuandone il valore proposizionale oppure come essa utilizzi dei mitigatori che permettono un alleggerimento dell'impatto di contenuti negativi (come il rifiuto ad accettare un'offerta di mercato). Infine, si è notato come, in alcuni casi, l'attività di mitigazione sia completata dall'interprete attraverso l'impiego dei *continuatori* che: a. manifestano collaborazione da parte dell'interprete-interlocutore, b. confermano il nuovo *topic* proposto dall'interprete (o quello da lei mitigato) come *topic* di conversazione, ignorando una precedente azione potenzialmente offensiva (o la componente offensiva di un'azione precedente). In questo modo l'interprete sospende la presa del turno da parte della parte che ha potenzialmente offeso e dà spazio e rilevanza ai contenuti della parte che ha potenzialmente ricevuto l'offesa.

Questi interventi comunicativi mostrano come il lavoro svolto dall'interprete non si componga soltanto di un'attività traduttiva, ma, nel caso dei contesti dialogici, implichi anche una presa in considerazione di questioni che riguardano il rapporto fra gli interlocutori. In effetti, l'interprete sembra in primo luogo preoccuparsi e farsi carico della riuscita dell'incontro, e quindi del raggiungimento degli obiettivi comunicativi; in secondo luogo, e come diretta conseguenza di questo, l'interprete mostra uno sforzo costante nel garantire il proseguimento dell'interazione, favorendo la cooperazione tra i parlanti e un'attenzione al rapporto fra essi, quando questo rischia di essere compromesso da elementi di potenziale offesa. È interessante notare che tale potenziale offesa è un'interpretazione dell'interprete ed è visibile all'analista negli interventi dell'interprete stessa che, attraverso la propria azione mitigatrice, mostra di riferirsi ad aspettative diverse dei due interlocutori. Da questo punto di vista l'interprete agisce come filtro di tali aspettative. Questo ruolo assunto dall'interprete in questa interazione, soprattutto come traduttrice del contributo dei parlanti italiani, non viene mai sanzionato e anzi in alcuni casi la parte italiana riprende le parole o i contenuti proposti dall'interprete, mostrando così di avere compreso e accettato la sua

"mediazione". L'attività di mitigazione esercitata dall'interprete testimonia quindi un suo intervento partecipativo nell'interazione, intervento che, sebbene teoricamente non previsto nel lavoro dell'interprete (ma vedi Gentile *et al.*, 1996, che riconosce le trattative di affari come particolarmente sensibili a interventi mitigatori dell'interprete), appare invece inevitabile in un contesto come quello dell'interpretazione dialogica, dove l'interprete è chiamato ad intervenire come un vero e proprio parlante, e non come un semplice tramite linguistico.

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L'interprete come mediatore: riflessioni sul ruolo dell'interprete in una trattativa d'affari

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1. *Obiettivi dello studio*

L'interpretazione cosiddetta «di trattativa», all'interno cioè di transazioni commerciali fra parlanti di lingue diverse e, più in generale, l'interpretazione di dialoghi in situazioni istituzionali come il tribunale, la questura, l'ospedale o altri servizi sociali, hanno costituito un tipo di evento comunicativo che per molti anni non è stato ritenuto degno di particolare attenzione in termini di status, retribuzione e ricerca (Gentile, 1995). Solo molto di recente, probabilmente in seguito alla frequenza sempre maggiore con cui si verifica la necessità di interagire fra lingue diverse nelle aziende o all'interno delle istituzioni sociali, sono sorti un nuovo interesse e una nuova consapevolezza nei confronti di questa pratica. In particolare, si è sottolineata la necessità non solo di una apposita figura che si presti a tradurre le sempre più numerose esigenze di una società multiculturale, ma si è anche e soprattutto posto l'accento sul compito estremamente delicato che tale figura viene a svolgere e sul bisogno che essa sia formata in modo professionalmente adeguato (cfr. Pöchhacker e Kadric, 1999; Cambridge, 1999).

Dal punto di vista della ricerca linguistica, lo studio dell'interpretazione dialogica si sta spostando sempre più da ciò che Gile (1998: 70) chiama una «raccolta di riflessioni dell'interprete professionista» ad uno studio basato su dati registrati e trascritti (cfr. Wadensjö, 1998; Mason; 1999; Davidson, 2000). Questo interesse per i dati si rifà da un lato agli studi sul parlato e sulla conversazione spontanea che hanno reso sempre più evidente l'importanza di tali dati come risorsa per l'osservazione di dinamiche interazionali strutturate e organizzate da un punto di vista sociale; dall'altro può essere ricondotto alla crescente attenzione degli studi linguistici per la lingua prodotta spontaneamente (in forma parlata o scritta) come base di osservazione per descrivere regolarità di uso linguistico. Tale approccio, che sposta l'attenzione dal singolo testo al *corpus* di testi per poter verificare la possibilità di generalizzare le caratteristiche esaminate, è entrato in modo abba-

stanza significativo negli studi sulla traduzione (cfr. ad es. Baker, 1995; Sinclair *et al.*, 1996) e, più recentemente anche sull'interpretazione (Shlesinger, 1998).

In linea con tale tipo di studi, questo saggio propone l'analisi di una trascrizione di una lunga trattativa commerciale condotta con l'aiuto di un'interprete. Parte dal presupposto che l'interpretazione avvenga in un contesto sociale interattivo. Come osserva Davidson (2000: 380),

> Interpreters interpret *for a reason*, because there is some communicative or social goal that needs to be met; they do not simply wander upon two speakers shouting at each other in different languages and offer their services. [corsivo dell'autore]

È proprio su questo contesto sociale che si focalizza il nostro studio. Pur trattandosi di un incontro solo e di un'interprete alle prime armi, si possono infatti individuare in questa trascrizione alcuni aspetti interessanti della dinamica dell'interazione che sembrano riflettersi sensibilmente anche sulla traduzione. In particolare, ci pare che la negoziazione fra i parlanti possa da un lato rendere conto della molteplicità di ruoli che l'interprete può trovarsi a ricoprire (come osservato anche da altri autori come Gentile *et al.*, 1996 e Wadensjö, 1998), dall'altro stimolare una consapevolezza più precisa di alcuni tipi di competenza richiesti all'interprete in situazioni analoghe a questa.

1.1 L'interpretazione dialogica e gli studi sul parlato conversazionale

Prima di passare alla descrizione dei dati e all'analisi della trascrizione sono necessarie alcune premesse teoriche. Innanzitutto l'approccio metodologico usato è quello dell'analisi della conversazione (Sacks, Schegloff e Jefferson, 1974).[1] Si tratta di un metodo di analisi linguistica che studia l'organizzazione sociale dell'evento parlato dal punto di vista dei partecipanti alla conversazione. È stato sviluppato per l'analisi della conversazione spontanea in ambiti quotidiani e familiari, in gruppi che parlano la stessa lingua. Un primo punto da chiarire è quindi la misura in cui questo approccio può contribuire a dire qualcosa sul dialogo di trattativa da noi esaminato, che non si verifica in ambito familiare e contempla l'uso di due lingue. Per quanto riguarda il primo punto, la risposta è abbastanza semplice poiché esiste già un filone di studi di analisi della conversazione che riguardano il parlato istituzionale: quello cioè che ricorre ad es. fra medico e paziente, in udienze in tribunale, in colloqui di lavoro ecc. (cfr. Drew e Heritage, 1992). Tali studi si sono mostrati di grande interesse per capire meglio sia le dinamiche che

[1] Per una trattazione dei fondamenti della disciplina cfr. ad es. Hutchby e Wooffitt (1998).

caratterizzano le varie tipologie di eventi istituzionali, sia i modi in cui i parlanti le mettono in atto. È stato ad es. notato (Jefferson e Lee, 1992) che un consiglio dato in risposta a qualcuno che si lamenta per un malessere o per una malattia contribuisce a distanziare i ruoli dei due parlanti e a ridefinirli come «esperto»-«non esperto», mentre un'espressione di solidarietà può essere funzionale a costituire ruoli di «amici» o «colleghi»; è stato pure osservato che la gestione di questa dinamica può avere implicazioni nella costruzione dei ruoli in interazioni fra, ad es., medico e paziente. Da questo punto di vista, un'analisi del nostro evento di interpretazione di trattativa può sia suggerire alcune dinamiche che caratterizzano l'evento stesso (ad es. quelle legate alla domanda e alla risposta in una trattativa di affari), sia far luce sui modi in cui i partecipanti negoziano il proprio ruolo nel contribuire alla costruzione di queste dinamiche.

Il secondo aspetto da chiarire riguarda il fatto che l'analisi della conversazione è stata utilizzata principalmente in riferimento a interazioni che avvengono in una sola lingua. Tentativi di applicare l'analisi della conversazione in ambiti plurilingue si sono avuti finora nello studio di interazioni che coinvolgono parlanti non nativi della lingua usata nella conversazione (cfr. ad es. Gumperz, 1992) e attraverso il confronto di eventi conversazionali simili in due lingue diverse (cfr. ad es. Sifianou, 1989; Aston, 1996). Solo molto recentemente l'approccio dell'analisi della conversazione è stato utilizzato anche per studiare interazioni in dialoghi in cui vengono usate due lingue diverse con la mediazione dell'interprete (cfr. soprattutto Wadensjö, 1998, ma anche Straniero Sergio, 1999 e ancora Davidson, 2000). Il nostro lavoro si inserisce nella linea proposta da questi studi, di cui intendiamo qui chiarire alcuni presupposti. Il primo riguarda l'approccio ai dati, cioè alla trascrizione. Gli studi sulla conversazione spontanea hanno dimostrato che le trascrizioni di testo parlato sono effettivamente materiale «studiabile» e che la conversazione avviene in forma ordinata e strutturata secondo un sistema di negoziazione di turni mediante il quale i parlanti stabiliscono chi parla, a quale punto interviene e per chi quel contributo è da considerarsi rilevante. Questo implica che né l'analizzabilità di questo materiale, né l'ordine dei turni possono essere dati per scontati nell'analisi di una conversazione trascritta. Molto più spesso, come analisti, la prima impressione che si ha è di una quasi totale inintelligibilità, anche quando la conversazione è sembrata del tutto normale e intelligibile ai parlanti che vi hanno preso parte. Dal punto di vista dell'analista, questo implica che la difficoltà di comprendere la trascrizione (in termini di singoli turni o di sequenze) può non corrispondere a un'effettiva difficoltà degli interlocutori a capirsi durante l'evento reale. A sua volta ciò significa che una qualsiasi valutazione circa la qualità dei contributi dei partecipanti all'interazione e dell'interprete che fornisce la traduzione risulta estremamente difficile.

Un ulteriore punto, collegato a questo, emerso dagli studi sul parlato spontaneo, è che nella conversazione i partecipanti «ritagliano», calibrano il proprio contributo sulla base del contributo (anche tacito) dell'interlocutore; una conversazione prodotta per un pubblico che ascolta un dibattito televisivo, ad es., è gestita in modo molto diverso da una conversazione quotidiana in ambito familiare o istituzionale in cui questo «terzo partecipante» non sia presente (cfr. Greatbatch, 1992; Clayman, 1992). Questo permette di postulare una possibile sostanziale differenza nella dinamica interattiva tra eventi mediati dall'interprete che siano prodotti per un pubblico esterno (come nel caso di conferenze, tavole rotonde, eventi pubblici o televisivi, cfr. ad es. Amato, 2002) ed eventi che non lo siano (come nel caso della nostra trattativa di affari), con possibili conseguenze sulle scelte operative dell'interprete.

Dati questi presupposti, il nostro studio non intende offrire una valutazione del lavoro dell'interprete in termini di qualità; il suo interesse principale si concentra sull'evento di trattativa nel suo complesso e l'interprete è visto come uno dei partecipanti all'evento. L'analisi è di natura descrittiva, non prescrittiva; vuole cioè mettere in luce alcune dinamiche ricorrenti che si verificano all'interno del nostro testo con lo scopo di definirne meglio l'organizzazione discorsiva e di osservarne le conseguenze o le implicazioni in termini di *outcome* dell'interazione e di ruoli dei partecipanti (incluso quello dell'interprete). Dal punto di vista di quest'ultimo, l'interazione qui proposta costituisce un dato da esaminare e non si propone in nessun modo come un modello di ciò che l'interprete dovrebbe fare. Si intende piuttosto offrire all'interprete (apprendente o professionista) materiale di riflessione rispetto alle azioni che possono essere rilevanti o necessarie nel contesto di una trattativa di affari e alle conseguenze che queste azioni determinano relativamente all'interazione e ai ruoli dei partecipanti.

2. *Lo studio*

Come abbiamo detto sopra, questo lavoro riguarda lo studio di una trattativa commerciale della durata globale di circa cinque ore che ha avuto luogo alla fine del 1997 in una cittadina del nord Italia, nella sala riunioni di un hotel. La trattativa si è svolta in tre fasi intervallate da pause in cui le due delegazioni svolgevano incontri interni di consultazione riservata. Il dialogo bilingue vero e proprio, della durata approssimativa di tre ore, è stato interamente registrato e poi trascritto per circa due terzi. L'azienda che aveva organizzato l'incontro e ingaggiato l'interprete era una piccola impresa della città in questione, attiva nella produzione di macchine agricole; l'azienda ospite era un grande gruppo industriale svedese

del medesimo settore. L'argomento della seduta era piuttosto delicato poiché riguardava la possibilità di fusione delle due aziende e, in particolare, l'assorbimento dell'azienda italiana da parte del gruppo svedese. La seduta, come vedremo, si conclude con un rinvio dell'affare. Erano presenti due delegazioni, composte ciascuna di quattro persone. Le lingue in cui si è svolta la trattativa sono state inglese e italiano. I partecipanti svedesi parlavano tutti l'inglese e hanno usato questa lingua per comunicare con l'interprete; fra gli italiani, una sola persona sapeva l'inglese e «collaborava» in qualche modo con l'interprete. L'interprete era una laureanda in interpretazione, alle prime armi, ma non del tutto inesperta di interpretazione di trattativa, che aveva già collaborato con le stesse ditte in occasione di incontri precedenti. Questi incontri precedenti costituiscono l'intero bagaglio di conoscenze dell'interprete rispetto alla situazione; prima dell'incontro studiato, infatti, non ci furono ulteriori consultazioni o incontri preliminari fra l'interprete e le ditte italiana e svedese coinvolte.

La registrazione è stata curata direttamente dall'interprete, che nel contempo era anche l'unico partecipante a esserne al corrente. Questo ha avuto da un lato lo scopo di limitare il paradosso dell'osservatore e di far sì che i dati fossero influenzati dalla registrazione il meno possibile. La *privacy* delle persone coinvolte è stata tutelata garantendo che: a) le cassette con la registrazione non sarebbero state rese pubbliche; b) nella trascrizione sarebbero stati sostituiti tutti i nomi propri di ditte, località e persone, nonché cifre e/o percentuali; c) nelle eventuali pubblicazioni sarebbero stati citati solo brevi frammenti dell'interazione che non permettessero di ricostruire la trattativa nella sua interezza. Inoltre questo studio viene pubblicato per la prima volta sette anni dopo il momento in cui ha avuto luogo l'interazione, quando la situazione del settore in questione non può essere influenzata in alcun modo dalla sua divulgazione. Il metodo di trascrizione è quello sviluppato da Jefferson (1978a), usato in molti studi ormai classici di analisi della conversazione (per una discussione più approfondita cfr. Orletti e Testa, 1991). Le convenzioni adottate qui fanno riferimento alla versione semplificata del modello di Jefferson, elaborata da Bazzanella (1994). Un elenco completo delle convenzioni è riportato in appendice.

3. *Analisi e risultati*

L'analisi della nostra trascrizione si articola in tre sezioni. Nella prima abbiamo osservato le regolarità che soggiacciono al sistema di alternanza dei turni, identificando sequenze ricorrenti che costituiscono per così dire l'ossatura dell'interazione. Da questo punto di vista ci sembrano interessanti le dinamiche relative a do-

mande (poste da una delegazione) e risposte (date dall'altra) che, come vedremo, si articolano in modo particolare. Nella seconda sezione abbiamo analizzato più specificamente i ruoli dell'interprete e, in particolare, il modo in cui questi ruoli si manifestano nei contributi all'interazione dati dagli interlocutori e dall'interprete stessa. Abbiamo infatti constatato che ci sono delle parti in cui l'intervento dell'interprete viene reso particolarmente rilevante dagli altri parlanti e che in queste parti l'interprete, tradizionalmente considerato neutrale, assume in maniera più o meno esplicita un ruolo di vero e proprio mediatore. Mentre nelle prime due sezioni abbiamo osservato i meccanismi di interazione fra i partecipanti, nella terza sottosezione ci focalizziamo invece più in particolare su una caratteristica interna la singolo turno e legata all'enunciazione. Si tratta di ciò che Goffman (1981) chiama «cambiamento di *footing*». Nella nostra interazione anche il cambiamento di *footing* sembra essere soggetto a negoziazione, e siccome può essere accompagnato da un cambiamento o da una riselezione dei destinatari del messaggio rappresenta un punto potenzialmente molto importante per l'azione dell'interprete.

3.1 La negoziazione all'interno del sistema di alternanza dei turni

All'interno della conversazione spontanea, i parlanti si mettono d'accordo su chi prende la parola e quando, gestendo un complesso sistema di presa del turno. Tale sistema è basato sull'unità minima della coppia adiacente, concetto tecnico secondo cui un determinato tipo di turno rende rilevante un determinato altro turno (un saluto, ad es., rende rilevante un altro saluto, una domanda rende rilevante una risposta). Questo ovviamente non significa che le coppie saluto-saluto, domanda-risposta siano sempre rispettate, ma implica che, quando la seconda parte della coppia non si realizza, i parlanti mettono in atto dei meccanismi di riparazione attraverso cui ne giustificano in qualche modo la mancanza. Per restare nell'esempio, se a una domanda non segue una risposta, il più delle volte si riscontrerà un elemento che giustifica questa apparente anomalia.

Se osserviamo i meccanismi di alternanza dei turni nel nostro evento di interpretazione di trattativa, una prima cosa che ci sembra caratterizzi questo tipo di evento è che non troviamo un'articolazione del tipo domanda-risposta in cui l'interprete traduce di volta in volta (e nell'una e nell'altra direzione) domande e risposte, bensì vere e proprie fasi in cui una delle delegazioni ha una parte principale nel porre quesiti o nell'esporre ragionamenti ai quali l'altra delegazione dovrà rispondere o reagire nella fase successiva, spesso dopo una consultazione interna. Benché queste fasi siano stabilite *a priori* – e quindi i partecipanti sappiano che uno dei parlanti (cioè il rappresentante di una delle delegazioni) avrà il diritto di

parlare più a lungo degli altri – ogni fase è preceduta da una sessione più o meno lunga in cui i partecipanti negoziano il diritto al turno. I due estratti che seguono si trovano rispettivamente all'inizio della prima e della seconda fase di discussione della nostra trattativa. Nell'estratto (1), all'enunciato iniziale di It.1, con cui questo propone se stesso come parlante principale («gradiremmo impostare la riunione in questo modo»), segue una negoziazione con It.2 che suggerisce invece che sia l'altra delegazione a intervenire per prima; ciò richiede un chiarimento fra It.1 e It.2, dopo il quale It.1 organizza la discussione e la distribuzione dei turni fra i parlanti («io distribuirò questo foglio», «eppoi tu traduci e cominciamo a parlare»). Nell'estratto (2) è invece il parlante svedese Sv.1 che si autopropone come parlante principale e organizza la discussione («I should be the one that should try to talk and my colleagues here will try to support me when I miss most of the things»):

(1)	1.	It.1	bene. allora, direi che gradiremmo impostare la riunione in questo modo. noi abbiamo preparato un foglio di carta molto semplice, con otto punti,
	2.	It.2	vorremmo sentire prima loro, dottore?
	3.	It.1	no, +no*
	4.	It.2	+no?*
	5.	It.1	+no, no,* direi che noi, ehm l'altra volta abbiamo fatto - dei ragionamenti. noi al nostro interno abbiamo, -- quindi - vorremmo vedere, s- come procede questo ragionamento, per capire una serie di fattori. noi ci eravamo già disposti con due approcci. al di là dei numeri, dopo i numeri glieli diamo alla fine. ehm io ho preparato otto punti di cui noi avremmo piacere di parlare, e avere delle risposte, eppoi i numeri li lasciamo alla fine. nel senso che poi l'altra volta dei numeri bene o male se n'erano fatti, e avevamo piacere di capire che che anche tutti gli altri, anche gli altri anche gli altri ragiona+ment-*
	6.	It.2	+altri aspetti*
	7.	It.1	gli altri aspetti della faccenda.
	8.	Ω	ok. +so*
→	9.	It.1	+io distri*buirò questo foglio,
	10.	Ω	+we:*
→	11.	It.1	+eppoi* dopo tu traduci e cominciamo a parlare.
(2)	1.	It.1	well.
	2.	Sv.1	yeah.
	3.	It.1	there we go.
→	4.	Sv.1	let's go. yeah. should we, I should be the one that should try to

		talk and my colleagues here will try to support me when I miss most of the things.
5.	Ω	ok. ha detto che lui sarà quello che cercherà di parlare, e i suoi colleghi invece cercheranno di correggerlo quando sbaglierà la maggior parte delle cose che ha da dirvi.
6.	It.1	mhm mhm mhm mhm
7.	It.2	mhm mhm mhm mhm
8.	Sv.1	yeah. *befirst* to make it easy. I would propose that we start with number three. and we take number two as the last one, be+cause*

In questo caso, benché sia stato identificato un parlante principale che espone una serie di punti, la sequenza non si articola come un monologo; vi è, invece, da parte degli interlocutori una negoziazione rispetto a cosa dovrebbe costituire un punto di discussione.

Il tipo di sequenza probabilmente più ricorrente si articola invece in tre turni secondo il seguente schema: il parlante principale smette di parlare e segnala implicitamente o esplicitamente all'interprete che è il momento di tradurre, l'interprete traduce e l'interlocutore principale o gli interlocutori insieme confermano. Vediamo ad esempio gli estratti (3) e (4):

(3)	1.	Sv.1	ahm then on number three, then we have the board of directors of the company,
	2.	Ω	cioè il consiglio di amministrazione è al numero tre.
→	3.	It.1	sì mhm

(4)	1.	Sv.1	but to garantee the minority, the minority as long as you are controlling 30%, should have you right to have two persons at the board.
	2.	Ω	ma per garantire questa quota di minoranza che deve comunque sempre essere garantita, eh lui pensa che sia giusto per voi avere sempre due persone nel consiglio.
→	3.	It.1	sì. due persone nel consiglio.

Questa conferma da parte dell'interlocutore sembra necessaria perché il parlante principale prosegua il discorso. Quando l'interlocutore non conferma, è l'interprete a farlo (estratto 5, grassetto):

(5)	1.	Sv.1	and we think that that relation should always be reflected in the number of board members,
	2.	Ω	e che questa relazione pensa lui debba *sempre* essere ri- ehm riflettuta anche nel numero di tutti i membri, **mhm**

In alternativa alla conferma (e nello stesso punto in cui abbiamo di norma la conferma) possiamo avere una richiesta di chiarificazione (indicata con →). A tale richiesta di chiarificazione segue una sequenza in cui viene fornito il chiarimento, conclusa da una nuova conferma da parte degli interlocutori (turni indicati con ⇒):

(6)	1.	It.1	nell'immobile di = c'è una parte utilizzata e una parte che è oggi vecchia. +non utilizzata*
	2.	Ω	+mhm, yes because* the building is divided into two parts, a: -- [forte brusio]
	3.	Ω	a part of the building is currently used, and a part is old.
→	4.	Sv.1	is it a part of number four? or isn't it that,
	5.	It.1	questa qui è una problematica contabile. la quattro è una problematica contabile.
	6.	Ω	mhm, ehm, this, the forth one is an accountance problem, accountancy problem, whereas the seventh is ehm +something,*
	7.	It.1	+perché noi abbiamo* una sola società, l'immobile, e la gestione. noi dobbiamo staccare l'immobile dalla gestione.
⇒	8.	Sv.3	and number seven is renting of the building.
⇒	9.	¦Ω	yes.
⇒	10	¦It.1	yes.

Da questi dati possiamo vedere che, nonostante ci sia un parlante principale, il testo non si articola come un monologo, ma c'è una negoziazione fra i partecipanti che da un lato si mettono d'accordo su chi ha diritto al turno di parola, dall'altro sul contenuto stesso su cui una delle delegazioni chiede all'altra una risposta. In questo senso, attraverso le loro conferme gli interlocutori danno al parlante principale un doppio segnale: a. che il messaggio è chiaro, b. che può continuare a parlare; la richiesta di chiarificazione invece interrompe il parlante principale e segnala la necessità di una rinegoziazione del messaggio. I segnali di conferma che si hanno in conclusione della sequenza di chiarificazione segnalano sia che il messaggio è stato chiarito, sia che il parlante principale può riprendere il turno.

3.2 I ruoli dell'interprete

Abbiamo finora esaminato sequenze ricorrenti in questa trattativa che sembrano in qualche modo determinarne l'organizzazione base. Inoltre si può notare che, così come vengono negoziati il diritto al turno di parola dei partecipanti e il messaggio, viene negoziato anche il ruolo dei partecipanti, siano essi i membri delle delegazioni o l'interprete. In precedenza abbiamo visto ad es. come il parlante che

organizza la discussione si costruisca di fatto anche il ruolo di parlante principale e di portavoce della delegazione. Per quanto riguarda il ruolo dell'interprete, si può notare, negli esempi già riportati, che ci sono turni che vengono tradotti punto per punto, mentre altri turni non vengono tradotti affatto. Riportiamo ad es. due coppie di turni dell'estratto (6): qui al turno in inglese segue immediatamente quello in italiano e viceversa, senza che i parlanti aspettino la traduzione dell'interprete:

(6a)	1.	Sv.1	Is it a part of number four? or isn't it that,
	2.	It.1	questa qui è una problematica contabile. la quattro è una problematica contabile.
(6b)	1.	It.1	+perché noi abbiamo* una sola società, l'immobile, e la gestione. noi dobbiamo staccare l'immobile dalla gestione.
	2.	Sv.3	and number seven is renting of the building.

Non richiedendo l'intervento dell'interprete, in queste sequenze i parlanti dimostrano di potersela «cavare anche da soli»; le sequenze interessate vengono pertanto ridefinite come secondarie o comunque non problematiche. Il fatto che l'interprete intervenga o meno contribuisce quindi a dare uno status o un peso diverso a ciò che viene discusso. Decidendo di astenersi da un intervento normalmente dovuto, l'interprete contribuisce alla definizione (o ridefinizione) del messaggio e si conferma ancora una volta partecipante attivo dell'interazione.

Un altro modo in cui l'interprete si pone come partecipante attivo ha a che fare con il fatto che in altri casi l'interprete è il primo ricevente del messaggio e rimane l'unico fintanto che il messaggio non è stato riformulato nell'altra lingua per l'interlocutore. Poiché si tratta di un dialogo spontaneo (anche se i contenuti generali sono stati, ovviamente, decisi in precedenza), il «dettaglio» dei contributi non viene (se non in misura minima) strutturato *a priori*. Non è raro quindi trovare turni ridondanti e confusi dal punto di vista formale. Confrontata con turni del genere, l'interprete seleziona l'informazione cercando di ristrutturarla in modo più chiaro. Abbiamo esempi di questo tipo di scelta negli estratti riportati qui sotto, in cui il turno dell'interprete di fatto «riassume» quello del parlante italiano:

(7)	1.	It.1	yes correct. but ehm ≈ ≈ ≈ ≈ noi dobbiamo dare un valore a questa azienda. allora. al di là dei debiti e dei crediti che loro ci pagano le azioni, io come contabile voglio dire. a livello dell'attivo. poi lasciamo stare il passivo. io voglio capire questo valore, perché è tutto lì il problema. questo valore dell'avviamento di quest'azienda che fattura 10-12 miliardi. che ha il 30% del mercato italiano. l'avviamento quanto vale? secondo i numeri che han dato loro, se non ho capito male loro dicono che vale un miliardo e due. ok?
	2.	Ω	so. ehm beyond the fact that you will ehm pay that value with the shares. ehm we would like to understand the value you give to brand name and ehm we understood *but we understood* ehm that the value you attach to the goodwill and the brand name is 1.2 billion Italian lire. is that correct?
	3.	Sv.1	that is correct.
(8)	1.	It.1	sì dico, diciamo che per esperienze già fatte, non so loro come la pensano, - solitamente il presidente potrebbe essere espresso dalla maggioran- dalla minoranza, che il presidente onorario è qui sul territorio eccetera. l'amministratore delegato che invece è quello operativo che prende le scelte eccetera, potrebbe essere cioè *dovrebbe essere* il loro uomo. solitamente è così.
	2.	Ω	on the basis of the past experiences ehm Mr Nerolini says that normally things work like that. eh that ehm the minority shareholding can suggest a: president. but the majority will decide on the managing managing director

Attraverso la selezione delle informazioni e la ristrutturazione del messaggio l'interprete ne ridefinisce gli interlocutori, attribuendo a sè stessa alcune parti (ad es. quelle ritenute ridondanti) e passando all'altro interlocutore altre parti (ad es. quelle ritenute fondamentali). Questa sorta di filtro evidenzia ancora una volta il duplice ruolo dell'interprete: come traduttore che riferisce quanto detto in modo completo e imparziale, ma anche come coordinatore o appunto mediatore dell'interazione. Come nota Wadensjö,

> In dialogue interpreting, the translating and coordinating aspects are simultaneously present, and the one does not exclude the other. As a matter of fact, these aspects condition each other. Seen like this, it is not an empirical question whether interpreters are translators or mediators – they cannot avoid being both. (1998: 105)

Poiché l'interprete attua inevitabilmente una cernita delle informazioni assume di fatto anche il ruolo di coordinatore e mediatore.

Uno degli spunti più interessanti notato a proposito della conversazione spontanea è la tendenza degli interlocutori a mantenere buone relazioni tra loro per consentire il proseguimento dell'interazione. In particolare si nota una tendenza dei parlanti a massimizzare l'accordo e a minimizzare il disaccordo. A questo proposito Goodwin e Heritage (1990: 296 e ss.) osservano che

> different kinds of responsive actions (e.g. agreements vs. disagreements) are performed in markedly different ways. While agreements are usually performed promptly and in intensified form, disagreements are delayed and mitigated in a variety of ways [...] the institutionalized prefacing and delaying of disaffiliative actions is systematically associated with opportunities to minimize their occurrence, while the promptness with which affiliative actions are performed maximizes their occurrence.

Questo non significa che l'accordo o il disaccordo si verifichino con frequenza maggiore o minore l'uno rispetto all'altro, bensì che, mentre l'espressione di accordo è sottolineata e resa visibile nell'interazione, l'espressione di disaccordo tende ad essere mitigata.

Nonostante la trattativa esaminata in questo studio sia nel complesso molto conflittuale, c'è anche qui una tendenza alla massimizzazione dell'accordo e alla minimizzazione del disaccordo, come si osserva negli estratti (9) e (10). Nel primo esempio, uno degli svedesi espone una linea nella politica degli aumenti di capitale dell'azienda che trova la delegazione italiana completamente d'accordo; nel secondo invece si parla della possibilità di mantenere il personale che attualmente occupa posizioni dirigenziali in posizioni di uguale rilievo, e su questo punto la delegazione svedese non vuole impegnarsi in alcun modo. Vediamo qui che l'accordo è più volte sottolineato dai partecipanti (estratto 9, turni 11.-16.), mentre il disaccordo non viene rimarcato in forma esplicita. In particolare, nel secondo estratto i partecipanti usano attenuatori (estratto 10, turno 1.: «we have understood it like»; turno 7.: «diciamo che») ed evitano di esprimere disaccordo in maniera diretta (turno 7.: «possiamo decidere di andarci, possiamo decidere di non andarci»; turno 11.: «it is hard for us to know you see»).

(9)	1.	Sv.1	= and I think what should be said more direct is this. that we don't have any interest to try to raise the capital in such a way that we are becoming only shareholder of the company.
	2.	Ω	lui +vuole m-*
	3.	Sv.1	+as I mean* our first principle is the ruleset that we should try to go together.=
	4.	Ω	certo.
	5.	Sv.1	the reason why they want to have is is that we want that the company to survive in the future. +this is our aim.*
	6.	Ω	+dunque* il, lui vuole puntualizzare il fatto che loro non hanno nessuna intenzione di aumentare il capitale in modo da ah ottenere la: il +100% della proprietà.*
	7.	It.1	+sì è chiaro è chiaro è chiaro.*=
	8.	Ω	=loro vogliono che le due quote di partecipazione=

	9.	It.1	=camminino +di pari passo.*
	10.	Ω	+procedano* parallelamente, perché questo è il modo migliore per assicurare il futuro dell'azienda.=
	11.	It.1	=benissimo. ok. condividiamo in pieno.
	12.	Ω	we ah we agree with you.
	13.	¦Sv.3	all right?
	14.	¦Sv.2	ok?
	15.	¦Sv.1	yeah?
	16.	It.1	ok. -- very =.
(10)	1.	Sv.1	= and then we have understood it like that you Mr -- Bianchini and Mr Rossoli, when they are coming new. you are retiring from the company.
	2.	Ω	chiede se quando,=
	3.	Sv.1	=that's that how we have understood it.
	4.	Ω	appunto. **chiede, vuole capire se ehm è stato detto** che quando loro assorbono l'azienda, ehm Mr il signor Bianchini e il signor Rossoli vanno in pensione.
	5.	It.1	sì
	6.	Ω	è vero questo quando loro,
	7.	It.1	diciamo che. vanno in pensione. [ride] possiamo decidere di andarci, possiamo decidere di non andarci. non dipende da +noi*.
	8.	Ω	+it de*pends +on*
	9.	It.1	+cioè* loro stanno bene, sono in forma, sono in salute, sono sono attivi,
	10.	Ω	it depends on on what we want to do. ehm I mean Mr Bianchini and Mr Rossoli could as well retire but could keep working. it depends on what ehm
	11.	Sv.2	yeah. ehr it is hard for us to know you see.

In queste sequenze, l'interprete si allinea completamente con ciò che fanno gli interlocutori. Nell'estratto (9), infatti, la traduzione sottolinea l'accordo in forma esplicita (turno 12.: «we ah we agree with you»); nell'estratto (10), invece, il disaccordo viene mitigato (vedi testo in grassetto).

Un fatto interessante che si può osservare confrontando questi due scambi è che l'intervento dell'interprete sembra essere negoziato in modo diverso. In particolare, nell'estratto (9) si nota che il parlante italiano non lascia spazio all'interprete e conferma ancora prima che la traduzione sia stata terminata (turno 7.), completa la traduzione lui stesso (turno 9.) e alla fine «scavalca» l'interprete dando la sua conferma in inglese («ok. --very ?», turno 16.). Nell'estratto (12), invece, il parlante non interrompe l'interprete; anzi, è quest'ultima che segnala la con-

clusione della traduzione e sollecita l'intervento del parlante italiano (turno 6.). Qui non abbiamo, inoltre, alcun intervento rivolto in forma diretta agli interlocutori svedesi. Questa differenza nella negoziazione dell'intervento dell'interprete si verifica in modo ricorrente nella trattativa analizzata. Come abbiamo accennato sopra, sembra che l'intervento dell'interprete venga richiesto in misura maggiore per quelle parti che i parlanti identificano come più problematiche, non solo per la trasmissione di messaggi difficili da comprendere, ma anche, come in questo caso, per la negoziazione dei punti più delicati e su cui c'è maggiore disaccordo potenziale fra gli interlocutori.

Fra le sequenze problematiche della nostra trattativa, in cui la negoziazione fra i parlanti lascia maggiore spazio di intervento e di intermediazione all'interprete, ce n'è una a nostro avviso particolarmente interessante. Si situa verso la fine dell'incontro, quando la parte svedese si rende conto che il prezzo richiesto dagli italiani è molto più alto di quanto previsto. Questo provoca un irrigidimento della delegazione svedese la quale dichiara che, a queste condizioni, non c'è più nulla da discutere. In questa parte della trattativa i turni sono lunghi e ben scanditi, l'interprete ha tutto lo spazio per fornire una traduzione completa. Di tutto l'evento analizzato è questo il momento in cui l'espressione di disaccordo è maggiormente esplicita, con l'interprete che ricalca i turni del parlante svedese in modo del tutto pedissequo. In conclusione di sequenza si verifica però un fatto interessante: il parlante svedese, che fino qui è stato estremamente duro e non aveva dato spazio alcuno alla mediazione, pare aprire uno spiraglio usando una serie di espressioni che sembrano un attenuazione («and perhaps we can have a nice evening, but and if you want to come back later, it's another question», vedi grassetto nell'esempio (11)):

(11) 1. Sv.1 and it means that we think that it's better that we stop here and you go on with the company as you think it's proper to make it with the company, **and perhaps we can have a nice evening, but and if you want to come back later, it's another question** but for the moment I think there is nothing to discuss.

2. Ω ehm allora aggiunge anche che per concludere, ehm per concludere dice che lui pensa che sia il caso di terminare la discussione qui, perché mhm non c'è mhm non c'è niente da discutere perché l'offerta per loro è troppo alta. è meglio che voi continuiate a andare avanti con l'azienda così come come pensate che questa possa ehm dare i suoi profitti, se volete ritornare sui vostri passi è un discorso, però altrimenti non c'è niente da discutere. questo non toglie che possiamo comunque avere una piacevole serata insieme.

3. It.2 come?
4. Ω +passare una piacevole serata insieme.*
5. It.2 +ah beh certo.*

Come si può vedere nel turno dell'interprete nell'esempio (11), la potenziale mitigazione del parlante svedese viene spostata nella traduzione dell'interprete in ultima posizione. Il turno dell'interprete si chiude quindi con la mitigazione che, in questa posizione, viene recepita come un invito a trattare e apre una lunga sequenza di scuse da parte degli italiani, con un rinvio dell'affare all'anno seguente. Dando maggiore rilievo alla mitigazione del parlante svedese, l'interprete sembra essersi assunto così ancora una volta il ruolo di mediatore.

In conclusione, nell'evento di trattativa analizzato la gestione dei turni fra gli interlocutori è condotta in modo da lasciare maggiore o minore spazio all'interprete secondo le esigenze puntuali dei parlanti. Abbiamo notato che l'intervento dell'interprete è richiesto in misura maggiore (con pause nette perché l'interprete possa fornire la traduzione) nelle sequenze che si presentano in qualche modo problematiche, o per la complessità del messaggio o per la delicatezza dell'argomento. In questi casi l'interprete deve saper modulare il suo ruolo, privilegiando di volta in volta la funzione informativa (fornendo cioè una versione fruibile del messaggio ristrutturando e selezionando le informazioni) o la funzione relazionale (ad es. mediante l'esplicitazione dell'accordo o la negoziazione del disaccordo). Soprattutto in relazione a quest'ultima funzione, il confine fra i due ruoli dell'interprete è molto sfumato; in quale misura ritenga necessario e opportuno rivestire l'uno o l'altro è lasciato in larga misura alla sua discrezione. La scelta dell'interprete che noi abbiamo esaminato va certamente nella direzione di costruire un ruolo di mediazione. Non vogliamo qui entrare nel merito di questa scelta (che può variare a seconda del contesto e degli accordi presi fra l'interprete e il committente); ciò che ci interessa sottolineare è come questa scelta abbia forti implicazioni sul ruolo che l'interprete si trova ad assumere e vada quindi gestita in modo consapevole.

3.3 Il cambiamento di footing

Nelle sezioni precedenti abbiamo visto le dinamiche attraverso cui i partecipanti negoziano la propria partecipazione e i propri ruoli all'interno del sistema di alternanza dei turni. In questa sezione analizzeremo invece alcuni esempi di ciò che Goffman (1981) definisce cambiamento di *footing*, riferendosi a quelle occasioni

in cui il parlante produce un enunciato e quindi ne prende le distanze dal punto di vista affettivo o critico:

> A change in footing implies a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance. A change in our footing is another way of talking about a change in our frame for events (1981a: 128)

Alcuni esempi possono essere quegli enunciati in cui il parlante riferisce un'opinione altrui prendendone le distanze (ad es. attraverso marcatori come «sembra che», «*X* dice che») o in cui fa un errore (una *gaffe* o un lapsus) e quindi prende per così dire le distanze da sé stesso per segnalare l'involontarietà dell'errore, ad es. ridendo, correggendosi o scusandosi esplicitamente (cfr. Goffman, 1981a, b).

Nella nostra trascrizione abbiamo alcuni casi in cui si verifica un cambiamento di *footing* da parte del parlante principale. Nell'estratto (12) riportato qui sotto, It.1 recepisce e conferma la traduzione dell'interprete («più soldi. chiaro chiaro»); poi aggiunge un commento («però dopo la nostra quota vale di meno») e ride. Con la sua risata, It.1 prende le distanze da quella che in un primo momento sembrava un'approvazione («più soldi. chiaro, chiaro») e segnala che ha capito, ma che non è del tutto d'accordo.

(12)	1.	Ω	se: ehm la la la via normale è proprio appunto quella di: decidere delle delle quote di: partecipazione. no, quindi stavamo parlando di 70 e 30. però per quanto riguarda gli investimenti, se non c'è la capacità da parte della +ehe vostra*
	2.	It.1	+del 30*
	3.	Ω	parte, del 30, loro devono mettere più capitale.=
→	4.	It.1	= più soldi. chiaro chiaro. però dopo la nostra quota vale di meno. [ridacchia] quindi bene o male è sempre la stessa cosa. va bene va bene. procediamo.
	5.	¦It.2	+andiamo avanti. forse,*
	6.	¦Sv.3	+you can keep* the two +of your places*
	7.	It.1	+we understand*
	8.	Sv.3	in the board of directors.
	9.	Ω	+però loro,* [forte brusio]
	10.	It.1	+is ok.*
	11.	Ω	il signore di- aggiunge anche che comunque ehm si potrà mantenere la parte della quota del 30% i due membri all'interno del consiglio.

Il cambiamento di *footing* può causare problemi nell'interazione. Nell'estratto (12), prendendo le distanze dalla propria approvazione, It.1 non solo segnala una

diversa partecipazione critica rispetto a ciò che viene detto, ma seleziona anche diversi interlocutori-destinatari. Infatti, mentre l'approvazione («chiaro, chiaro») è rivolta alla delegazione svedese, il commento aggiuntivo («però dopo la nostra quota vale di meno. [ridacchia] … stessa cosa») non lo è affatto, e It.1 segnala pertanto all'interprete che si può procedere senza traduzione («va bene va bene. Procediamo»). In questo esempio, il cambiamento di *footing* si riflette sull'interazione portando con sé anche un cambiamento o una riselezione dei ruoli degli interlocutori come destinatari del messaggio, negoziata e chiarita fra i partecipanti.

Nell'estratto (13) abbiamo nuovamente un cambiamento di *footing* da parte di It.1, che prima fa un commento sull'opportunità di non comprare macchine e poi prende le distanze da quello che poteva sembrare un commento personale, ripresentando la questione come un progetto dell'azienda («macchine non abbiamo intenzione di comprarne»). Il cambiamento di *footing* qui è segnalato dal volume della voce e, di nuovo, da una serie di conferme che indicano all'interprete quale parte del messaggio va tradotta per la delegazione svedese:

(13)	1.	Sv.1	and also if you have bought some machinery from that date. that they are still in that value.
	2.	Ω	sì e che se c'è qualche macchina nuova dalla data del primo d- dal trenta di giugno, eh che sia inclusa in quel valore. questa macchina nuova.
→	3.	It.1	[sottovoce] basta non comprarne. [a volume normale] va bene. d'accordo. macchine non abbiamo intenzione di comprarne,
	4.	It.3	non c'è problema.
	5.	It.1	benissimo.
	6.	Ω	no problem. ok.

Ci sono però anche casi in cui il cambiamento di *footing* (in grassetto nell'estratto (14)) non è seguito da una rinegoziazione esplicita dei ruoli dei partecipanti; ne può risultare che l'interprete non sappia a chi è rivolto l'enunciato e quindi neppure se deve essere tradotto. In questi casi, l'interprete può chiedere esplicitamente un chiarimento (vedi turno indicato con la freccia):

(14)	1.	It.1	così hanno lo spazio. oppure possiamo fare un'altra proposta visto che mi sembra giusto, **è una proposta mia. eh, non loro.** cioè se andiamo d'accordo che loro siccome hanno un impegno di cinque anni, noi con i termini che avevamo possiamo fare un altro capannone e glielo affittiamo, se ci daranno un affitto ragionevole.
	2.	I3	[sottovoce] con i soldi di chi?
	3.	It.1	dipende da quello che prendiamo Bianchini. - se lo- cioè loro ritengono che lo spazio,

	4.	It.2	[si consulta sottovoce con It.3 - brusio indistinto]
	5.	It.1	eh?
	6.	It.3	[sottovoce] no dicevo con = = = [si consulta con It.2 che risponde - testo incomprensibile]
→	7.	Ω	mi dica se devo tra+durre questa cosa e se del tutto.*

In un altro caso la mancata rinegoziazione dei ruoli degli interlocutori dopo un cambiamento di *footing* crea invece un problema. Nell'estratto 15, in cui si sta discutendo un problema di bilancio, It.1 esprime una sua conclusione attraverso un cambiamento di *footing* (in grassetto nell'estratto 15). Tuttavia, non segnala se questa conclusione è da considerarsi una sorta di commento ad alta voce o se è effettivamente destinata (anche) agli interlocutori stranieri. L'interprete decide di considerarla un contributo alla conversazione, diretto all'altra delegazione, e la traduce, creando così un *impasse* (vedi turni indicati con frecce):

(15)	1.	It.1	+sì va bene bisogna vedere* bisogna vedere chi chi li paga i due miliardi. se li paga se li deve pagare la società o se li pagano i soci.
	2.	Ω	it depends on who is going to pay these 2.8 billion. if the society, the company sorry, or the partners.
	3.	Sv.1	someone has to pay it. I think [confusione di voci sovrapposte]
	4.	Sv.4	if you put it in the balance sheet than it is the company.
	5.	Ω	se viene messo nel bilancio dev'essere l'azienda a pagare.
	6.	It.1	sì d'accordo. **allora vuol dire** che per i soci l'investimento è sempre uguale. non cambia niente.
	7.	Ω	and therefore for the partners the investment is always the same. nothing changes.
→	8.	Sv.4	nothing changes, ehr what do you mean.
→	9.	Ω	cioè non ha non hanno capito.
→	10.	It.1	lo so che non han capito.

In conclusione, abbiamo visto in questi esempi che un cambiamento di *footing* a livello di enunciato può riflettersi sull'interazione rendendo potenzialmente necessaria una rinegoziazione di chi sono i destinatari del messaggio e quindi dei ruoli dei partecipanti alla conversazione. Mentre in diversi casi questa rinegoziazione avviene su iniziativa del parlante principale o sollecitata dall'interprete, ci sono casi limite in cui non ha luogo, con conseguenti dubbi dell'interprete su ciò che deve o non deve essere tradotto. Se ne deduce che il cambiamento di *footing* costituisce una caratteristica del parlato che merita tutta l'attenzione dell'interprete in quanto si riflette in modo significativo sulle dinamiche conversazionali di cui è coprotagonista.

4. *Conclusioni*

Per quanto concerne la gestione dei turni, la nostra analisi di una trattativa d'affari in inglese-italiano mediata da un'interprete ha evidenziato l'esistenza di alcune dinamiche ricorrenti. Innanzitutto, il dialogo si articola in fasi in cui le domande vengono esposte o trattate tutte insieme, fasi che sostituiscono la struttura alternata domanda-risposta tipica di altre forme di interpretazione dialogica (ad es. presso i servizi sociali, cfr. Roberts, 1993 e 1995). Queste fasi vengono negoziate nella parte iniziale della discussione, in cui gli interlocutori si mettono d'accordo su chi avrà il turno di parola per conto della propria delegazione. Queste fasi, inoltre, non sono organizzate come monologhi, bensì gli interlocutori negoziano ciò che dovrebbe costituire ogni singolo quesito attraverso conferme e domande di chiarimento e segnalano quando il parlante principale può riprendere la parola e passare al prossimo punto.

All'interno di questa dinamica si crea lo spazio di intervento per l'interprete che, a seconda del ruolo che è chiamato a rivestire nei vari passaggi, può essere invitato a tradurre (attraverso le pause degli interlocutori) o a non tradurre (attraverso segnali diretti a confermare che la comprensione è già avvenuta). In linea con quanto evidenziato anche da altri studi sulla conversazione spontanea, le parti più problematiche dell'interazione, o per la complessità del messaggio o per la potenziale conflittualità di quanto viene discusso, sono caratterizzate da un maggior numero di pause ed esitazioni; tali pause costituiscono un invito all'interprete a intervenire. Gli interventi dell'interprete possono pertanto essere resi maggiormente rilevanti in punti delicati dell'interazione, quando può essere necessario far passare non solo un messaggio complesso in modo chiaro, ma anche i tentativi degli interlocutori di mitigare un potenziale disaccordo. In questo senso, e secondo il tipo di mitigazione con cui sceglie di contribuire, l'interprete può ritagliarsi un ruolo più o meno esplicito di mediatore nell'interazione.

Un ulteriore punto preso in esame è il cambiamento di *footing*. Nonostante questo fenomeno riguardi più l'atteggiamento del parlante verso l'enunciazione che non la dinamica della presa dei turni, esso si riflette anche sui meccanismi di negoziazione dei turni e dei ruoli dei partecipanti. Un cambiamento di *footing* da parte di un parlante sembra infatti rendere necessaria una rinegoziazione dei ruoli degli interlocutori in termini di destinatari del messaggio. In casi limite, una mancata specificazione dei ruoli da parte del parlante principale può causare problemi all'interprete che, non essendo più in grado di identificare i veri destinatari del messaggio, può essere indotto a tradurre ciò che nelle intenzioni del parlante non doveva essere tradotto (e viceversa).

In conclusione, questo studio ha messo a fuoco alcune caratteristiche conversazionali di un lungo evento di interpretazione di trattativa con lo scopo di vederne le implicazioni per i ruoli e i contributi che vengono resi rilevanti da parte dei partecipanti all'interazione, dall'interprete in particolare. Ci sembra che queste osservazioni possano assumere un'importanza non secondaria nella formazione dell'interprete di trattativa, contribuendo a creare una maggiore consapevolezza delle dinamiche stesse di cui quest'ultimo è partecipe. In assenza di un *corpus* di eventi trascritti, le caratteristiche da noi individuate non sono ovviamente generalizzabili, ma possono costituire delle ipotesi di partenza per migliorare la comprensione delle dinamiche che soggiacciono alle conversazioni di trattativa commerciale mediate dall'interprete.

Appendice

Convenzioni di trascrizione

Ω	interprete
It.1, It.2, It.3, It.4	parlanti della delegazione italiana
Sv.1, Sv.2, Sv.3, Sv.4	parlanti della delegazione svedese
+testo*	sovrapposizione (+ indica l'inizio, sia nel turno A che in quello B; * indica la fine)
=	*latching*
→	turno evidenziato per l'analisi
⇒	turno evidenziato per l'analisi
¦ A ¦ B	partenze simultanee
.	intonazione discendente
,	intonazione sospensiva
?	intonazione ascendente
testo:	prolungamento del suono
testo-	parola tronca
pause	
-	pausa molto breve
--	pausa breve
---	pausa media
----	pausa lunga
-----	pausa molto lunga
≈	parola non comprensibile acusticamente
TESTO	parola volutamente non trascritta
testo°	parola trascritta per deduzione ma non chiaramente comprensibile acusticamente
testo	enfasi dell'oratore
[....]	informazioni contestualizzanti ricavabili dalla registrazione

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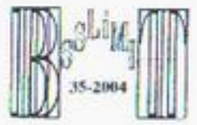

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Introduction

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Introduction

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It is now more than twenty years since Ranier Lang (Lang 1978) observed the work of an interpreter in a Papua-New Guinea courtroom and published findings which effectively constituted the beginnings of empirical research into the work of the dialogue interpreter. At the same time, Brian Harris (Harris 1978) was drawing our attention to evidence of the behaviour of 'natural' interpreters, bilinguals with no training as interpreters, who were – and still are – frequently called upon to act as interpreters in a variety of professional contexts. What they observed were phenomena not generally found, or considered as applying to, the work of conference interpreters, hitherto the only object of research interest in interpreting studies. Role conflict, in-group loyalties, participation status, relevance, negotiation of face – all of these being issues which are now recognized objects of enquiry – were implicitly or explicitly present in these early studies. We now know far more about these and other issues, thanks to the work of a small but increasingly important body of research carried out over the years since then. What are these studies? What insights into the work of the interpreter do they afford us? And what is the current state of our knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon investigated in this volume?

In order to set the scene for the studies brought together here, we need to define our terms, especially those used in the title of this special issue of *The Translator*. We then need to sum up the 'state of the art', the stage we have reached in investigating dialogue interpreting and how the studies in this volume add to our understanding of the process. This in turn leads us to consider new directions in dialogue interpreting research, the as-yet-uncharted areas which are bound to receive attention in years to come, in what is a burgeoning field of research.

1. Defining the field

For the purposes of this issue, dialogue interpreting includes what is variously referred to in English as Community, Public Service, Liaison, Ad Hoc or Bilateral Interpreting – the defining characteristic being interpreter-mediated communication in spontaneous face-to-face interaction. Included under this heading are all kinds of professional encounters: police, immigration and welfare services interviews, doctor-patient interviews, business negotiations, lawyer-client and courtroom interpreting, and so on. Dialogue interpreting is

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thus to be distinguished from Conference Interpreting (both simultaneous and consecutive), which is typically monologic and does not involve face-to-face interaction (although dialogue encounters do take place on the fringe of conference activity). It should be noted that our definition includes the simultaneous mode, when used in face-to-face encounters (see, for example, Riddick 1998)[1] but, strictly speaking, excludes telephone interpreting. The latter however is an instance of dialogue and shares so many characteristics with the forms of interpreting considered in this volume that an investigation of the difference in communicative outcomes between telephone and face-to-face interaction (Wadensjö, this volume) is of particular interest. By the same token, signed-language interpreting (Brennan, this volume) is not strictly conducted face-to-face – or rather, the face-to-face relationship is between producer and receiver of signs instead of between the 'principal' participants or interlocutors. But all parties are present and active in the exchange so that this mode falls within the general interpersonal category we are considering.

Of course, one can cut up the interpreting cake in many different ways, and equally valid in its own right is the situational distinction, often made, between conference and community interpreting. For example, in terms of power and distance – two variables of prime importance in the investigation of interpreting, whereas conference interpreting often, or even typically, involves equal-to-equal relations, in community encounters there is almost always a power differential, which in itself places a range of additional constraints on the interpreter. Likewise, the stressful and sensitive situations in which community encounters take place are less familiar to the conference interpreter. But whereas situational descriptions can account for a number of important factors, it is the interpersonal dimension which, we submit, is the prime determiner of the range of concerns which dialogue interpreters experience in their day-to-day work. A glance at the issues listed below, as they emerge from studies carried out over the last two decades, shows quite conclusively the centrality of face-to-face dialogue in the interpreters' dilemmas, role-adopting and decision-making processes.

Within these boundaries, a wide range of user variables may be involved. As already observed, the **mode** may be consecutive or (less frequently) simultaneous. Where simultaneous mode is involved, it may be conducted by *chuchotage* (typical of some courtroom interaction), signing (signed-language interpreting) or via headsets and microphones. **Fields** include all those mentioned above, most research hitherto focusing on either courtroom interaction (e.g. Berk-Seligson 1990, Hale 1997, Morris 1989, 1995) or police and immigration interviews (Wadensjö 1992, 1998). Medical consultations are also the subject of a number of studies (e.g. Englund-Dimitrova 1997) and are prominent in this volume. It is, of course, the particularly sensitive and face-threatening nature of much of this interaction which sets these fields apart from other, less investigated fields such as business meetings or diplomatic

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negotiations, an issue we shall return to below. But tensions arise in these encounters too and the interpreter may feel herself to be under just as much pressure. In general, wherever a particular outcome is of vital importance to one or both parties, pressures on the interpreter increase and go well beyond those experienced in routine conference simultaneous work. Finally, addresser/addressee relationships (**tenor**) may vary and deserve much greater attention than merely recording that there is a power differential between the principal participants. The interpreter herself may enjoy greater or lesser prestige within the exchange, demoted to the role of 'speak when I say so' or promoted to the role of genuine intercultural mediator and counsellor. For Anderson (1976: 218), the interpreter, as the sole bilingual in an exchange, enjoys "the advantage of power inherent in all positions which control scarce resources". In some cases, principal participants may be observed virtually to ignore their interlocutor, addressing all their remarks and questions directly to the interpreter. In other cases, however, primary participants conduct dialogue with each other directly, almost as if no interpreter were present; in such cases they may short-circuit the process, over-riding the interpreter's turn where they are able to understand each other without the latter's assistance. All of these attitudes, perceptions of attitudes, displays of deference or condescension are bound to surface in the linguistic and paralinguistic features of the exchange, the way they are (or are not) translated and, most importantly, the observable outcomes of the event.

2. The state of the art

Within this diversity, what are the findings of studies conducted so far into dialogue interpreting? It is, of course, impossible within the confines of this introduction to include mention of (let alone do justice to) all the work that has been done and all of the observations made. For although the research field is in its infancy, it is now attracting a lot of attention and many of the studies have been scrupulously thorough. Nevertheless, there is a striking convergence between very different studies in terms of what they reveal about dialogue interpreting encounters, and it is this consensus which we shall attempt to describe here. The consensus is best captured in a number of recurring themes, identified by various scholars in the context of different kinds of interpreted events.

The first of these is the gross mismatch between, on the one hand, commonly held perceptions (among the public at large and users of interpreting services alike) of the dialogue interpreter as a kind of 'translating machine' which simply transfers language products from one language into another and, on the other, the observable reality of a situation in which meaning is subject to constant negotiation, literal translations lead to misunderstandings while, conversely, attempts by interpreters to convey intended meaning may

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sometimes lead them into hot water; and there is constantly shifting ground as the speech event unfolds. This issue is not a new one. It was Reddy (1979) who coined the term 'conduit metaphor' to describe commonly held assumptions about language communication, noting that the way we talk about language ('getting one's message across'; 'sending the wrong message'; 'I can't get through to him', etc.) reveals what is tacitly assumed about the nature of communication. It is interpreters who find themselves at the sharp end of the consequences of such mistaken assumptions. Roy (1990) shows how the pervasiveness of the conduit metaphor and and its applicability to dialogue interpreting have led to confusion among interpreters about the nature of their own role. Often it is assumed that what is missing is a code of ethics; but, as Roy (1990:84) observes, quoting a view put forward and warmly applauded at a conference of practitioners, "Interpreters don't have a problem with ethics, they have a problem with the role". Berk-Seligson (1988, 1990) draws attention to the fact that training for court interpreters in the United States explicitly enjoins them to translate closely and accurately. Standards of Professional Conduct include statements such as "The interpretation should be as close to verbatim and literal in content and meaning as possible".[2] She is then able to show how relaying complex English passive constructions, used by attorneys in a very deliberate way to avoid attributing blame in their cross-examinations, is highly problematic in a language such as Spanish, in which the standard passive is dispreferred but a variety of alternative formulations are available, none of which is a literal translation of the English passive. Morris (1995) documents the tension which results from the legal profession's insistence that interpretation (a specific judicial process) should be the exclusive domain of lawyers and judges and that translation – the activity allotted to the court interpreter – should consist of verbatim rendition of utterances and nothing more than that. Specifically, interpreters may not mediate by relaying their own understanding of speaker meanings and intentions: this must be left to the court.

Roy (1993), observing a very different kind of encounter – that between an academic in a university and a Deaf doctoral student – is able to explode the 'conduit' myth by showing that it is simply untenable as an account of the interpreter's actual behaviour in resolving problems of overlapping talk. In effect, the interpreter's decisions about who will be awarded the next turn appear to depend on his or her sociolinguistic competence in deciding what is appropriate within the social situation of an interview between student and professor. In other words, the interpreter is not a neutral and uninvolved machine but rather an active participant in the talk exchange, fulfilling a crucial role in coordinating others' talk – a central theme in the research of Wadensjö (e.g. 1992, 1997; see below).

In the courtroom, however, interpreters do not enjoy such latitude. Hale (1997) adduces telling examples of the ways in which the literal translations

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which court interpreters are exhorted to produce may be seriously misleading. Thus, when a Spanish-speaking witness insists:

> Yo soy una persona educada/ siempre he sido educado/ Yo puedo probar que soy una persona educada

and is interpreted:

> I'm an educated person/I've always been educated/I can prove I'm an educated person

those present in the courtroom, including monolingual speakers of English, may feel that the translating machine is functioning properly, but the magistrate's response to the last offer ('No thank you!') shows that something has gone wrong: the repeated claim is seen as irrelevant to the current communicative situation. But in fact, the witness, by referring to his respectable upbringing (*educación*), is implying that he would never behave in a particular manner, previously referred to in the exchange. Pragmatic meaning, derivable only through matching of words uttered to the sociocultural and sociotextual context in which they are uttered, cannot possibly survive the injunction to translate literally in this way. Yet pragmatic meaning can be shown to be central even to monolingual exchanges in the courtroom, where presupposition, implicature and inference are exploited by defence and prosecution lawyers (cf. Berk-Seligson 1990:22-25).

The pretence of the interpreter's invisibility cannot, however, be sustained. Whereas cross-examination or any question-and-answer session may for part of the time proceed as if the interpreter were no more than a mechanical device assisting a two-way exchange between primary interlocutors, many studies document the multiple ways in which attention is inevitably drawn to the interpreter's presence. These include correction of interpreters' errors by other bilingual participants in an exchange (Morris 1995:33-34), untrained and very nervous witnesses who persist in addressing the interpreter directly instead of addressing all their answers to the judge or attorney who has asked them a question (Berk-Seligson 1988), officials such as immigration or police officers who address remarks to the interpreter which they do not intend them to translate (Wadensjö 1992:238-39), and other courtroom witnesses who, under extreme pressure, turn on the interpreter who has relayed a threatening question posed by a prosecuting lawyer (Harris 1981:198).

Such incidents as these bring us to the second major preoccupation of researchers in recent years, namely the participation framework (Goffman 1981) of dialogue interpreting encounters. Keith (1984) was the first study to draw attention to the relevance of Goffman's work to the analysis of liaison interpreting and to make use of the concept of 'footing' to characterize the interpreter's and speaker's relationship to each other. But it is Wadensjö's

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(1992, 1998) analysis of 'footing' that has had a major impact on our understanding of the interpreter's status and role within a speech exchange. Footing (Goffman 1981:227; see also Metzger, this volume) is defined as "the alignment of an individual to a particular utterance, whether involving a production format, as in the case of the speaker, or solely a participation status, as in the case of the hearer". That is, participants adopt different – and shifting – roles and attitudes vis-à- vis each other and vis-à-vis what is uttered. "Participants over the course of their speaking constantly change their footing, these changes being a persistent feature of natural talk" (ibid:128). Speakers may behave as 'principal', showing commitment to and ownership of what is expressed; as 'author', responsible for the thoughts expressed and the words uttered; or merely as 'animator', a sounding-box or talking machine. Correspondingly, there are reception roles, in the sense of the set of attitudes assumed by or ascribed to an individual towards the utterances of other parties. Wadensjö (1992:124) classifies these as the roles of 'responder' – listening in anticipation of speaking as a primary participant or 'principal'; 'recapitulator' – listening in order to repeat or give an account of what was said as 'author'; and 'reporter' – an assumed or ascribed role of listening in order to repeat words heard without assuming any responsibility for them. An interpreter may, at various stages in an exchange, adopt all three such roles. For example,

> as *responder*: (to a courtroom witness who has addressed the interpreter directly) 'Please address your remarks to the attorney, not to me'.
>
> as *recapitulator*: (relaying the request: 'Ask him to spell his name, please') 'Please spell your name'.
>
> as *reporter*: (following a primary party's injunction: 'Spell your name, please') 'Spell your name, please'.

It is important to realize that these stances are not just the result of a free choice on the part of the interpreter but also a reaction to what is assumed by the principal parties as being the appropriate interpreter role. Evidence for this comes from the way the primary interlocutors address each other. As Wadensjö (1997:48) observes, there are four possibilities here: third-person (he, she), first-person inclusive (we), second-person (you) or avoidance (no address forms used). The choice is not necessarily consciously made and, as many authentic samples quoted in the literature show, the shift of footing reflected in a shift of pronoun of address is commonplace in interpreter-mediated exchanges of this kind. Thus, the footing of each party is subject to constant renegotiation, with the stance of the primary interlocutors often influencing the interpreter's style. Harris (1981) cites a case of a court interpreter deliberately opting for the indirect, third-person style throughout a trial with

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the explicit aim of creating a certain distance between herself and what, in the context of a war crimes trial, was bound to be a particularly stressful and sensitive set of exchanges. But even when such distance is created, the exchange remains essentially a three-party interaction. Thus, as Wadensjö (1992: 4), following Simmel (1964), observes, such events must be seen as triadic as well as dyadic. Indeed, a major contribution by Wadensjö (e.g. 1992, 1995) to our understanding of dialogue interpreting is her investigation of the interpreter's role as a *coordinator* of others' talk.

The dynamics of the interaction are, it seems, subject to negotiation not only by means of linguistic cues but also through the strong influence of paralinguistic features: gaze, posture, gesture. By such means, primary parties can signal inclusiveness or exclusiveness vis-à-vis the interpreter. On the basis of his observation of court interpreting in Papua New Guinea, Lang (1978:241) concluded:

> Although his official role is that of a passive participant as far as the origination of primary conversation is concerned, the realisation of that role depends on the active cooperation of his clients and the extent to which they wish to include him as an active participant not only linguistically but also gesturally, posturally and gaze-wise. Likewise it is the interpreter who can by these means actively involve himself, or abstain from such involvement.

Lang was here writing, of course, of non-trained interpreters operating in an unregulated (save by tradition) courtroom situation. In many countries nowadays, the role of the court interpreter is pre-defined, even if prescribed behaviour and actual behaviour are frequently at variance, creating a constant tension (see, for example, Pym in this volume). But in many other situations, no rules have been laid down and one may observe constant shifts of footing, posture and so on within a single institution or a single exchange. For example, in a televised documentary on illegal immigration shown in the UK on Channel Four (*Cutting Edge*, 'Illegal Immigrants', 30 September 1997), it can be seen that, in interview, some immigration officers seek to make eye contact with the interpreter while others direct their gaze solely towards the immigrant being interviewed. Some of the persons interviewed make eye contact with the interpreter only, averting their gaze throughout from the officer interviewing them, while interpreters seek to establish eye contact with both primary parties. Naturally, such matters as seating arrangements, often regarded as peripheral, exert a strong influence on who faces – or is forced to face – whom.

One interesting concomitant of all of these uncertainties among participants is the phenomenon, well known to dialogue interpreters, of 'ownership' of meaning. Thus, a particular lexical choice selected by the interpreter to relay one interlocutor's meaning may be taken up or challenged by the other

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interlocutor as if it emanated not from the interpreter but from the other speaker. Wadensjö (1992:74) cites the example of a medical consultation involving Russian and Swedish in which the doctor suggests, in Swedish, that a thyroid problem has been 'worrying' the patient; this is then relayed to the patient by the interpreter, using a Russian word which relays the dual notion 'disturbing/worrying'. But the patient objects to the term, stating that the thyroid has not been 'disturbing/worrying' her; it has just got bigger. The objection is, of course, to a lexical item selected by the interpreter, not by the doctor. How then can the objection be relayed back to the doctor in a manner which is coherent with the doctor's original utterance in Swedish? The interpreter's response, here back-translated into English, shows her awareness of the problem that has arisen and the need to handle it: 'No, it is not that I feel worried or it hurts, but it seems to have grown bigger'. This expanded rendition attempts to make more explicit for the doctor the locus of the patient's disagreement. In other cases, the lexical item(s) at issue may be altogether more crucial. Krouglov (this volume) cites the case of a murder investigation in which a key lexical item uttered by a suspect is interpreted in three different ways by three different interpreters. Fortunately, the fact that the source of each of the three renditions (I'll kill you/I'll get you/I will stitch you up) was one lexical item was picked up and indicated to the police investigators, who thus avoided attributing to the suspect one particular lexical choice made by the interpreter.

Other phenomena investigated in research carried out include the interpreter's role and status as a cross-cultural mediator. Reporting on the relative dominance of one language over the other in bilinguals, Anderson (1976:213) states that "[i]n general, it is expected that the greater the linguistic dominance the more likely an interpreter will identify with the speakers of the dominant language, rather than with clients speaking his "other" language". It has been observed, for example, that, in a situation of unequal power distribution such as Latin American accused persons or witnesses in a United States courtroom (Berk-Seligson 1988, 1990), interpreters are sensitive to in-group loyalties towards relatively powerless participants whose language and culture they share. Indeed, the neutrality of the dialogue interpreter, referred to in instruction manuals and codes of practice, is not nearly as unproblematic as is often assumed. Wande (1994) reports similar findings from a research project involving Swedish/Finnish community interpreting. In other situations, the interpreter may easily be perceived by powerless parties to be an agent of an oppressive institution. Barsky (1994) documents in some detail the loss of status, even of identity, of applicants for asylum whose voice is heard only through the official interpreter. In order to succeed in gaining refugee status, applicants are obliged to construct an identity for themselves as appropriate refugees, all other aspects of their personal history being deemed irrelevant to the Convention Refugee hearing. Yet applicants are unfamiliar with the particular Western image they have to construct and, in a situation in which

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interpreters are required to translate 'accurately' and 'faithfully', "variation between the speakers' intended meaning and the text that emerges is, by the very nature of the procedure, inevitable" (Barsky 1994:41). Another study of interpreting across a wide cultural divide is Baker (1997), who analyses the performance of an interpreter in a televised interview by Trevor Macdonald, the British political interviewer, of Saddam Hussein just before the commencement of the Gulf War. In this case, the injunction to translate 'accurately' comes not from the employing institution but rather from the highly sensitive nature of the event, watched by millions of viewers and potentially influential on the evolution of diplomatic relations and the possible outbreak of war. In such circumstances, as Baker argues, interpreters will want to minimize the threat to themselves involved in either committing a highly visible error or through incurring the wrath of two primary participants whose interpersonal relations deteriorate as the interview proceeds. Consequently, the interpreter seeks to relay at all times the closest semantic sense of the words used by Saddam, even offering several alternatives, ostensibly to 'play it safe' and cover his own back; for example:

> Let us... we must rather... we must choose or take or adopt a single criterion or a single standard.

As Baker (1997:117) points out, repetition and hesitation of this kind are not a feature of Saddam's speech so that a monolingual Western viewer is liable to form a false impression of the coherence of his speech.

These studies of cross-cultural interaction involve well trained interpreters who, for all their expertise, are influenced in their interpreting behaviour by situational constraints: role conflict (cf. Anderson 1976), in-group loyalties, stress in a sensitive situation, perceptions of power and distance, and so on. Another fertile strand of research has been into the performance of what Brian Harris calls natural, i.e. untrained, interpreters. Indeed, it can be convincingly argued that, if we wish to understand the basic (cognitive and non-cognitive) mechanisms involved in the process of dialogue interpreting, then we should investigate not the results of training, based as it is on sets of normative assumptions about what constitutes appropriate behaviour, but rather the spontaneous behaviour of bilinguals who can and do interpret in a wide variety of social situations, prior to any norms of behaviour inculcated by training. This point should not, of course, be construed as in any way implying that it is appropriate for untrained individuals to interpret in community interpreting situations which demand professional expertise. The deleterious consequences of relying on children, for example, to act as interpreters in sensitive and stressful medical situations are well known in the profession. Studies included in this volume (Cambridge; Pöchhacker and Kadric) bear witness to what is at stake when untrained staff serve as interpreters in medical consultations. But the investigation of such situations can

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indeed provide insights into the nature of the very issues outlined so far in this introduction to the field.

As suggested above, awareness of different client needs and expectations in cross-cultural encounters can be a powerful influence on interpreter behaviour. An early study of natural interpreting, Harris and Sherwood (1978), relates the case of a business negotiation conducted between an Italian immigrant to Canada and an English-speaking Canadian, interpreted by the former's bilingual daughter. Both primary parties behave according to their own cultural norms and when, at a crucial point in the negotiation, the Italian – appropriately, within his own cultural expectations – calls the other man a fool, the untrained interpreter exhibits both bi-cultural awareness and an instinctive move to save face all round:

Father:	Digli che è un imbecille!
Daughter (to 3rd. party):	My father won't accept your offer.

What the natural (as opposed to the trained) interpreter may not have considered is how such a move can backfire. In this case, the father, whose English is apparently good enough for him to monitor his daughter's performance, immediately interjects (in Italian): "Why didn't you tell him what I told you?".

The natural interpreter's awareness of the need to preserve face is among the issues investigated by Knapp-Potthof and Knapp (1986), in an experiment involving discussions between Germans and Koreans, interpreted by a Korean student in her mid-twenties. They found that, whereas the interpreter does not relay many markers of politeness from German into Korean (e.g. *vielleicht*, 'perhaps'; *mal*, 'just'), she also introduces her own politeness strategies which "strongly suggest that [she] is very much concerned with saving her own face" (Knapp-Potthof and Knapp 1986:198). For example, when the German speaker asks to know the age of his interlocutors, the interpreter introduces this intrusive question by saying "what interests him" and "what he wants to know", thus disowning responsibility for any threat to face in the question. It is significant that these deictic transformations had not occurred previously in the interpreter's output and are clearly linked to this particular speech act. Many other examples are available in the evidence presented by these analysts, who conclude (1986:199) that the interpreter "regards her role as that of an independent, active party in the interaction, who, too, has a face to lose". We return to the issue of face below but, for the moment, let us note the similarity of these conclusions to those reported in many other independent studies.

3. Research directions

The articles in this volume speak for themselves and I shall not attempt to summarize them here. What is striking though is the number of common

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themes, issues and interrelated observations in a variety of different dialogue interpreting settings. At one and the same time, these observations provide corroborative evidence for many of the hypotheses advanced and attested in earlier work and point to new directions in interpreting research. Reference has already been made to some of these topics but at this point let us try to identify some of the most salient strands.

3.1 Participation framework

Franz Pöchhacker and Mira Kadric's observation of a natural interpreter in a medical setting picks up many of the themes alluded to above. Let us highlight just one incident which contributes to our understanding of shifts of footing. In the data, a shift from first-person to third-person style is clearly initiated by one of the primary parties when she says: 'do you understand me? Tell him to ...'. The shift of addressee from patient to interpreter seems to coincide with a sudden loss of confidence in direct therapist-patient interaction and an appeal to the interpreter to act as intermediary. This incident highlights not only the fact that primary participants are often influential in determining the interpreter's footing, as suggested above, but also that shifts of footing are motivated rather than random. Thus, in the data presented here by Helen Tebble, it is striking that a shift of footing by a doctor coincides with having to announce relatively bad news to a patient: the distancing effect of asking the interpreter to address the patient is an option which participants are instinctively aware of. Likewise, in the courtroom interaction which is the object of Mary Brennan's investigation, a lawyer's shift of footing in questioning ('Did he actually see ...', instead of 'Did you see ...') is probably traceable to the fact that the lawyer cannot establish eye contact with the Deaf witness, who is bound to face the interpreter rather than the questioner. Cecilia Wadensjö, whose previous work on footing was referred to above, is able to show here how participation framework is inevitably and radically affected by the different situational context of telephone interpreting. Such comparative studies are of great relevance to users of interpreting services who need to know more of the communicative effects of different forms of provision. From our perspective, these studies, taken together, open up a rich vein of future research: what motivates shifts of footing? How does the participation framework respond to the situational constraints of particular modes and settings?

3.2 Lexical choice and discoursal value

The way in which an interpreter chooses to relay a particularly salient lexical item has been shown to have repercussions on later talk and especially on the attribution of responsibility for use of the term to an interlocutor who has

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not, in fact, used it. Mary Brennan shows how a lawyer, cross-examining a witness, takes up the exact terms used by the interpreter but not by the person interpreted. Given what is at stake in courtroom interaction, it will be appreciated that such decisions can have far-reaching consequences (see also Anthony Pym's discussion of the key terms *hit* and *slap* in an exchange from the O. J. Simpson trial). The issue of interpreting in sensitive contexts, investigated by Baker (1997, see above) also surfaces in the work presented here by Helen Tebble, Jan Cambridge, Cecilia Wadensjö and Alex Krouglov. What happens, in cross-cultural contexts, to the discoursal value of lexical selections? A hospital doctor addressing a patient may well refer to a 'problem with the waterworks' rather than a 'genito-urinary tract' problem; the discourse adopted is one which acts as an appropriate sign (informality, friendly bedside manner) within its culture; if used cross-culturally without interpreter mediation, it may meet with a look of blank incomprehension or, worse, result in offence being taken. Of similar discoursal significance is the key term discussed by Alex Krouglov ('I'll kill you/I'll stitch you up'), which belongs in the source language to a non-standard dialect. Such lexicalizations are marked – in the sense of unexpected and therefore dynamic – and are bound to take on additional discoursal values within their own culture; how can such values be relayed and, if they cannot, is the interpreter then drawn into assuming the role of expert witness by explaining what is involved? How, indeed, do interpreters negotiate appropriate discourses and genres (cf. Hatim and Mason 1997) across cultural boundaries, especially in situations of unequal access by all parties to what is culturally sanctioned within particular settings?

3.3 Visibility and audience design

The fact that primary parties, who are not entirely monolingual, often monitor their interpreter's performance is well attested in the literature and an issue discussed by Anthony Pym in this volume. In the O. J. Simpson trial, the interpreter is called upon not because the witness knows no English but rather because, in a courtroom whose language is English, the Hispanic witness is at a disadvantage and must be seen to be offered linguistic protection. Moreover, many officers of the court know Spanish so that, as Pym observes, "despite apparent invisibility, the interpreters are being checked on all sides". The interpreter is therefore aware of being highly visible and is bound to design her output for various categories of receivers. Following Bell (1984), we may distinguish between direct addressees (e.g. the witness, the counsel), auditors (ratified participants who are not being directly addressed, e.g. counsel for the defence while prosecuting counsel is cross-examining), overhearers (who are present but not ratified participants, e.g. the public), and eavesdroppers (whose presence the participants are not currently aware of, e.g. the

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analyst, observing the trial on television). Francesco Straniero Sergio illustrates similar diversity of receiver groups in a very different setting, that of the television chat show. In media interpreting of this kind, the influence exerted on the interpreter's audience design is even more apparent. The extent to which each of the categories (addressee, auditor, overhearer) influences interpreter style – in contrast to, say, the interpeter in the private medical consultation – is an obvious area for future research to investigate.

3.4 Power and face

There is a sense in which power within the speech event resides with the interpreter who, as gate-keeper, controls the attribution of turns at talk (cf. Anderson 1976, cited above). As bi-cultural and bilingual, the interpreter may also enjoy certain other forms of power within the interaction by virtue of his/her knowledge. But it is the overall power dynamic formed among the triad of primary parties and interpreter within a particular social setting which acts as main determinant of how the event proceeds. In the medical consultation, asymmetrical power relations may result in important information being skewed or overlooked. All parties seem tacitly to acknowledge the right of the doctor to control the exchange. Englund-Dimitrova (1997) shows how a doctor, by interrupting the interpreter's turn, potentially misses an important response by a patient. Similarly, Mary Brennan notes in her paper in this volume how the sign language interpreter's turn management is usurped when speakers ignore some of the actions of signers and take their turn before the relay of meaning is complete. In the illuminating data studied by Mira Kadric and Franz Pöchhacker, it is apparent that the natural interpreter feels able to take unwarranted initiatives of her own when addressing the ten-year-old boy patient but would be much less likely to offer directive advice to the therapists who are the other primary parties in the interaction. Above all, there seems to be evidence, in accordance with previous research mentioned above, that interpreters are keenly aware of threats to face and adopt politeness strategies (Brown and Levinson 1987) aimed at protecting their own or their addressee's face: downtoning or hedging (see Helen Tebble's analysis); introducing conventional apologies (see Mary Brennan's data, in which a sign meaning 'Again?' is interpreted as 'I'm sorry what do you mean?'). What these papers collectively show is that there is undoubtedly scope for a much more far-reaching investigation of the negotiation of face in interpreted encounters in relation to the variables of power and distance.

These then are some of the issues which surface in the studies brought together here and which suggest interesting directions that future research might take. In conclusion, let us note that all of these pointers lead away from concern with the measurement of 'interpreter error', 'correctness', 'equivalence', and so on and thus away from a narrow source-text/target-text

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Role, Positioning and Discourse in Face-to-Face Interpreting

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Abstract. *Whereas "role" and "role conflict" have been key terms in the research and development of public-service interpreting, this paper proposes, following Davies and Harré (1990), to substitute the notion of "positioning" for that of "role" in order to reflect the constantly evolving nature of interaction among participants in interpreter-mediated encounters. Positioning differs from footing in that, rather than being the choice of an individual speaker, it evolves as a result of joint negotiation among all the participants (i.e. positions adopted by one participant are either accepted and adopted by other participants or rejected and replaced). The main source of data is a series of televised immigration interviews that illustrate a variety of positioning behaviours. A number of (para)linguistic and pragmatic categories will be suggested to illustrate ways in which participants, by their discursive practices, position themselves and others and are, in turn, affected by each other's positionings. These discursive practices are seen as emanating from social institutions or "communities of practice" (Wenger 1998), which play a part in shaping the perceptions, stance, behaviour and utterances of all those involved.*

1. Introduction

The research perspective within which this study is situated is (1) interactional and (2) descriptive. Instead of seeking to observe interpreter behaviour in isolation from that of the other key participants in the public service encounter, it is expected that, by close observation of interaction between all participants, we may find regularities of behaviour that will improve our understanding of the nature of such interpreter-mediated events. Research in the field of face-to-face dialogue interpreting has evolved from the prescriptive account of what does or does not fall within acceptable professional standards towards non-judgemental observation of events and detailed description of what actually happens. In this spirit, we shall not consider participant moves in terms of their professional acceptability but rather in terms of their potential impact on the event and its internal evolution.

2. From role to positions

Roy (1990) reports an incident from a conference of practitioners, at which the topic of codes of ethics for interpreters had arisen. One delegate received warm applause for the assertion "Interpreters don't have a problem with ethics, they have a problem with the *role*". Indeed, "role" and "role conflict" are frequently cited topics in the literature on PSI (e.g. Anderson 1976; Niska 1995; Roy 1990, 2000; Pöllabauer 2004; Inghilleri 2003, 2005) and the debate between the interpreting profession and users of interpreting services about what the margins are within which interpreters operate remains unresolved. Investigations into the roles actually adopted by participants in a variety of settings are consequently a useful contribution to our understanding of the consequences of particular behaviours. Discussion of the interpreter's role can, however, give the impression that a role is a fixed stance, adopted in advance and sustained throughout an encounter. In this respect, a useful distinction is made by Wadensjö (1998), following Goffman, between "activity role" and "participation status" or "footing". Whereas an activity role involves mostly pre-determined stances deemed to be appropriate for fulfilling a particular socio-professional task, the "footing" adopted by participants is of a temporary and evolving nature. Loosely defined by Goffman (1981:128) as "the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance", footing is perceptible through the frequent shifts enacted by participants, often within a single utterance. These shifts may be from one addressee or group of addressees to another, say, or they may have to do with the ownership or non-ownership of the meanings one seeks to express. Footing, as an analytical category, has been applied with great insight to the work of the interpreter by Wadensjö (e.g. 1998, 2004).

The distinction between the global activity role and these local shifts of footing brings to mind a similar distinction made in a seminal article by Davies and Harré (1990). "Role", they claim, is a fairly static concept, which might imply that participants are somehow locked into pre-determined patterns of behaviour. They offer the term "positioning", on the other hand, as a dynamic feature of talk, one that is constantly changing and subject to negotiation among participants. By their conversational moves, participants position themselves and others and are, in turn, positioned by others' moves. Davies and Harré's account is, in particular, about "the force of discursive practices and the way people are positioned through those practices" (*ibid.*:43). A simple example is provided by a recent event

in UK politics. A Labour-government Home Secretary's use of the term "swamped" in reference to the number of claims for asylum in the UK provoked immediate controversy for its evocation of a notorious previous use of the same term in the 1960s by a Conservative politician in a speech widely condemned at the time for its racist overtones. Thus, the very use of such an emotively charged term positions the utterer. It does so in two ways. The speaker, in opting to employ the term rather than some other, wittingly or not, aligns himself with the discourse that it is associated with. And hearers, whether well-disposed or not, cannot avoid making the association if it has become part of their own socialisation. (It can, of course, be argued that not all hearers were in a position to make this association – i.e. not all of them would have been familiar with the type of discourse mentioned here – and that the media played a fundamental role in bringing the original use of the term to public attention).

More broadly, the discourses we choose to employ and the way they are reacted to by co-participants position us within the interaction. Such positioning is by no means always deliberate. Davies and Harré (*op. cit.*:55-57) provide a "worked example" of "how people can be living quite different narratives without realizing that they are doing so". Two academics, a male (A) and a female (B) meet at a conference. B is unwell and A offers to lead her to a pharmacy where she may be able to obtain medication. After a long walk they fail to find a pharmacy that is open for business. The following exchange then takes place:

A I'm sorry to have dragged you all this way when you're not well.
B You didn't drag me, I chose to come.

A dispute then arises between A and B as to their behaviour and intentions towards each other. What A saw as a genuine apology on his part was taken up by B as an assertion of power and control, as a positioning of B as weak and helpless. In this way, a distinction has to be made, in the analysis of speech, between **intended** meanings and **hearable** meanings, the latter depending on take-up, the hearer's disposition towards what is uttered and their reaction to it. An application of these notions to the field of dialogue interpreting becomes immediately apparent: if misunderstanding of this kind can arise naturally in a dyadic exchange between two interlocutors sharing the same language and (presumably) similar cultural backgrounds, how much more likely is it that people may "hear" each other's meanings differently in triadic exchanges where participants' attempts to represent

their own and each other's meanings have to cross linguistic and cultural boundaries? Discourses signify within their own cultural environment and may not be hearable (in the way intended) by receivers whose cultural context is distinct (see for example, Sequences 9 and 10 below). By the same token, the inability (through lack of familiarity) of certain speakers to adopt particular discourses in a context in which they are the expected currency may lead to marginalization or exclusion.

Barsky (1994) gives a compelling account of the Canadian Convention Refugee Hearing, in which he suggests that the task of the asylum seeker is, in the terms of the work's title, to "Construct a Productive Other". Projecting the self, including aspects of linguistic and other behaviour imported from the culture of origin, is unlikely to lead to success in these interviews. The nature of the event is such, he suggests (*ibid.*:60), that "one (albeit cynical) hypothesis is that the hearing could be seen as a test of the claimant's ability to construct an appropriate version of the 'Convention Refugee'". In other words, what counts is projecting the right persona and adopting the right linguistic comportment – those valued by the host country – rather than those imported from the home country. If Barsky is correct, then it will be appreciated that the intervention of the interpreter in a site of linguistic (and cultural) difference such as the Convention Refugee hearing will be crucial in relaying or constructing the required image. How do refugees position themselves and how do interpreters re-position them for target-language receivers? How do participants react to each other's positionings? The interface between source language and target language evinced in the interpreter's performance throws into sharp relief the cultural relativity of language behaviour.[1]

At the interpreter's swearing-in during these hearings, s/he is enjoined to "Translate faithfully, correctly and to the best of your ability" (*ibid.*:41). How is this task to be accomplished by verbatim translation, except in an imagined world of cultural (including linguistic) uniformity? Berk-Seligson

[1] In a monolingual linguistics it is possible to treat language, and even language use (cf. some conversation analysis), as a culture-independent entity. In Translation Studies, on the other hand, where the raw data are situated at the interface between two languages, it is impossible (or futile) to conduct analysis independently of cultural considerations, including perceptions of power, status, role, socio-textual practices, etc. This is perhaps where the true link between Translation and Interpreting Studies and applied linguistics lies: contributing to the study of linguistic difference by providing evidence of the relativity of (cultural) factors that may be treated as constants in monolingual exchanges.

(e.g. 1990), Morris (1995), Hale (e.g. 1997) among others have conclusively demonstrated not only the impossibility but also the inadvisability of such an undertaking. Recognition of this opens up an area of sociolinguistic enquiry (of interpreter behaviour in three-way exchanges) that is still relatively neglected, despite recent pioneering work in the field (e.g. Wadensjö 1998; Inghilleri 2003).

Barsky's work points the way to a power- and discourse-sensitive linguistic analysis of such events but does not actually conduct such an analysis. The data samples in the work are all cited in English, thus effacing the question of linguistic difference, and the analysis is of content rather than discourse. Yet analysis of personal reference devices in one or two of the dialogues he cites would bring to light some interesting features. For example the contrast between the systematic use of agent-deleted passives in the Counsel's questions ("you were held", "you were beaten", etc.) and the all-encompassing "they" of the claimant's answers ("they beat me", "they asked", etc.). This non-specific third-person plural is used to refer to unidentified kidnappers and torturers, but also to employers and doctors (in the words of the claimant, "because they control everything, the people from the government", (Barsky *op. cit.*:138)). The claimant's pronominal use thus brings together (positions) in a single, undifferentiated category individuals who, from the perspective of the host culture, might be seen as belonging to very different categories.

What follows is an attempt to show, via evidence from several interpreter-mediated events, some of the ways in which all participants, by their discursive practices, position themselves and others and are, in turn, affected by each other's positionings. These acts of positioning are effected linguistically and paralinguistically. A number of discrete categories have been identified to be illustrated below: orientation to others, attempts to control responses, contextualization cues, markers of in-group solidarity, gaze and discoursal choices. The primary source of evidence is a series of immigration interviews, shown on a terrestrial television channel as part of a documentary about illegal immigration.[2] Although this is a small dataset and did not allow either participant observation or the opportunity for post-interviewing the participants, it does illustrate a variety of positioning behaviours and is thus useful for our purposes here. Other data sources are cited, here and there, to corroborate or further illustrate the point at issue.

[2] *Cutting Edge*, "Illegal Immigrants", broadcast on the UK's *Channel Four*, 30.09.97.

3. Orientation to others

As suggested by Reddy (1979), our use of language about language provides evidence of some of our fundamental attitudes towards communication: how we conceptualize it and how we treat it. In similar vein, a cursory observation of the terms and metaphors commonly used to refer to the interpreting process reveals an image of interpreting as an automatic process and of the interpreter as a "non-person", a mere conduit through which people speak and listen. Thus, we are often presented, on news programmes, with foreign statespersons "*speaking through* an interpreter", a metaphor which offers a belief both about the (non-)status of the interpreter and about the ability of communicators using interpreter services to make their own voice directly heard by each other. Similarly, the interpreter's task is often referred to as that of "conveying a message" in another language, as if, somehow, meaning will remain invariant and input equals output (except that the code has changed). According to this outlook, the interpreter would enjoy no power at all, simply responding automatically when prompted to do so, to a determinate stimulus.

Indeed, as attested by Berk-Seligson (1990) among others, the mode of interpreting adopted in United States courtrooms reflects this conception. Interpreters are required to give a close rendition only and are not to intervene on their own behalf. Thus, in Sequence 1 (taken from the trial for murder, in 1995, of the American football star, O.J. Simpson), it is apparent that the interpreter may not supply information which is evident to her, but must ask the witness to supply it. When the witness does so erroneously, she relays the error (of which she cannot fail to be aware).

Sequence 1

Att. What is the name of the airline?
Int. ¿Cuál es el nombre de la línea?
Wit. Es TACA
Int. It's TACA
Att. Could you repeat that? And spell it please?
Wit. TACA
Int. ¿Lo puede deletrear?
[*Can you spell it?*]
Wit. T-A-C-K
Int. T-A-C-K

[Key: Att = attorney; Int = interpreter; Wit = witness]

Thus, for legal reasons, the interpreter may not herself take responsibility for spelling TACA and is duty-bound to repeat the witness's misspelling. Later in the same cross-examination, the Attorney asks the witness to spell the Spanish first name "Josefina". The witness confesses she is unable to do so. The attorney continues to press the question, without success, until finally the judge intervenes and asks the witness, "Is it spelled in the normal way?", to which the witness replies in the affirmative. At no point in the exchange does the interpreter offer the spelling (which, for her, would be a wholly straightforward task), nor would she be expected to do so. She is, quite simply, not considered to be a participant in the communicative exchange. By translating "verbatim", she is deemed to be offering to the court an exact version of what has been said in another language. Let us note, in passing, that in behaving as required, the interpreter also positions herself as belonging to a "community of practice" (Wenger 1998) – the court of law – whose practices she has internalized and constantly reproduces. In such circumstances, the interpreter's own actions and those of other participants *position* her as a "non-person". At the same time, of course, this positioning positions other participants as being responsible for their own utterances. Thus, positioning can be both reflexive (i.e. positioning oneself) and interactive (as when one positions another participant by one's own moves; see Davies and Harré *op. cit.*:48).

The stance illustrated in Sequence 1 above, while it positions the interpreter as not authorized to intervene, does recognize the right of the "primary" participants to control their own responses (e.g. to make errors or to mislead) without interference. In this sense, it is, to a limited extent, empowering of witnesses or interviewees, who might be deemed to have very little power in the context of a courtroom cross-examination or a police interrogation. The instrumentality of the interpreter in allowing or disallowing this empowerment is illustrated in Sequences 2 and 3, taken not from court interpreting but from immigration encounters involving Russian/Swedish and Polish/English respectively. They show diametrically opposed interpreter stances.

Sequence 2

(An applicant for residence status in Sweden claims to have Greek nationality and suggests that her passport shows this)

Pol. [hands passport to Int] Can you show me where?
Int. [hands passport to Applicant] And can you show where?

(quoted from Wadensjö 1998:155 – cf. also Wadensjö 2004:110)
[key: Pol = police officer; Int = interpreter]

Sequence 3

Imm. [addresses Int.] So he understands why he's here.
Int. [to Imm.] Yes he does. [to PM] Pan rozumi dlaczego pan tu jest, prawda?
[*You understand why you're here, don't you?*]
PM. Tak
Int. Yes, he does.[3]

[key: Imm = immigration officer; Int = interpreter; PM = Polish man]

The essential difference between the two exchanges is one of footing (Goffman *op. cit.*). In each case, the initial move is made by the institutionally powerful participant (police, immigration officer), who addresses a question to the interpreter ("can you…"), referring to the other participant in the third person ("he understands…") and thus positioning the interpreter as his interlocutor. In Sequence 2, the interpreter appears to behave as animator (in that she reflects in Russian almost exactly the words uttered in Swedish by the interviewer) but in fact she alters the framework by projecting the question as if it had been posed directly to the interviewee.[4] In Sequence 3, on the other hand, the interpreter assumes responsibility for the belief expressed ("Yes, he does"), a role which Goffman designates as that of Principal. The importance of this distinction lies not so much in the categorization of interpreters' strategies and options as in the *effect* of the selected footing on the footing and status of the other parties involved. As noted, in both sequences, the interviewer initiates a particular participation framework by directly addressing the interpreter. The latter then has

[3] Cf. a further instance from the same data, in which an immigration officer offers pen and paper to a Polish man she is interviewing:
Imm [to PM] – Your passport's still with this woman? Will you write down her name for me?
Int [in Polish] – Write down her name [*takes pen offered by Imm to PM and writes*]

[4] Cf. Wadensjö (2004:115), where it is pointed out that the interpreter "authors" a new version. The police officer's "you" and the interpreter's "you" do not have the same referent and the officer's reference to himself ("can you show me") is omitted by the interpreter. As Wadensjö comments: "It also shows how interpreters can promote the primary parties' mutual attention by *positioning* the preceding speaker *as the current "principal"*, simultaneously as they withdraw from an *anticipated position of "responder"* (my italics).

the choice of prolonging this framework by responding to the interviewer (Sequence 3) or re-directing the question to the interviewee (Sequence 2). In Sequence 3, however, the interpreter, having initially accepted the dyadic exchange with the interviewer, then hastily revises her footing (perhaps out of professional conscience?). She turns to the interviewee and asks the interviewer's question, but selects her own words and syntax (question form), adopting the footing of Author – a matter to which we return below. Receiving the interviewee's reply, she relays this as Principal ("Yes, he does", rather than "Yes, I do"), thus reverting to the interviewer's and her own initial footing. While in Sequence 2 the interviewee is positioned as having full participation status by the interpreter's choice of footing, being invited to interact directly with the interviewer, the interpreter's choices in Sequence 3 set up two separate dyads: immigration officer with interpreter and interpreter with Polish immigrant. The effect of this is manifestly to exclude the interviewee from direct interaction with his interviewer, thus positioning him as a bystander.

The literature abounds with instances of such exclusion, often in the form of asides to the interpreter, which the latter is not expected to relay to the other participant (see e.g. Wadensjö 1998:256-57). The question that arises is: can other participants override the interpreter's gate-keeping by re-positioning themselves as primary interlocutors in the exchange? It would seem that they can, but only if they are recognized as having power within the exchange. Wadensjö (*ibid.*:166-75) relates the case of a patient having difficulty in expressing his venereal disease symptoms in a consultation involving a female interpreter and a female nurse. There is a long dyadic exchange between patient and interpreter, in which the patient fails to complete his utterance (describing his symptoms) while the interpreter back-channels and inserts encouragements such as "don't be embarrassed". The Swedish nurse, excluded from this dialogue in Russian, loses patience at her exclusion and interrupts, saying to the interpreter: "Would you break off and say what he says now?" She thus asserts her right to inclusion, founded no doubt upon the assumption that the social occasion (genre) of the medical consultation allows direct medical staff/patient dialogue only. The community of practice acknowledges norms and privileges to which the nurse, as the recognized medical expert in the exchange, can appeal.

The absence anywhere in the literature of any converse examples of the power-less participant (immigrant, patient, etc.) successfully intervening in this way points conclusively to an unstated assumption about positions across a range of genres within interpreter-mediated

exchanges. The interpreter has power to sustain or interrupt the normal turn-taking sequence.[5] This power may, occasionally, be challenged – but only if the challenger is recognized as having the status and authority to do so. Otherwise, the third party is effectively (if temporarily) excluded and positioned as bystander. The regularity of this behaviour points to an interpreter community of practice, overlapping with the other communities of practice, of which they become part by their professional activity.

4. Attempts to control responses

In an earlier study (Mason 2005), I cited instances of shifts in the form of questions, whereby a question inviting a yes/no answer is interpreted as one which suggests a preferred response. For example, a question such as "Did you speak to immigration at Dover?" may become something like "You spoke to immigration at Dover?" – which merely seeks confirmation of an assumption. Pöllabauer (2004:155) cites a sequence, reproduced as Sequence 4 below, in which an interpreter transforms "the officer's yes/no question into a suggestive question". A refugee is asked about an incident cited as grounds for seeking asylum.

Sequence 4

Imm Were there dead people or anything else?
Int People were killed in the course of the incident or?

[key: Imm = immigration officer; Int = interpreter]

What is striking about such cases is the frequency with which they are attested. In the literature on court interpreting, the reverse process is frequently attested. Hale (2006:210) cites an instance (reproduced here as Sequence 5) quoted in Berk-Seligson (1999:39), noting that the effect of omitting the tag ("did you not?") is to make the question put by the attorney less coercive.

[5] For Anderson (1976:218), the interpreter, as the sole bilingual in the exchange, enjoys "the advantage of power inherent in all positions which control scarce resources". Where the interpreter is not the sole bilingual participant, this power may be challenged: see Pym (1999).

Sequence 5

Att You made a report about this incident, did you not?
Int (in Spanish) Did you make a report about this incident?

[key: Att = attorney; Int = interpreter]

Hale (2006) also reports on research showing that Spanish-to-English court interpreters often omit question tags in this way.

From the point of view adopted in this paper, the relevant point is that participants in three-way exchanges (police officers, attorneys – and also interpreters) may from time to time seek to control the replies of their interlocutors by asking preferred-response questions. In doing so, they position themselves as making a prior assumption about the truth of some state of affairs and position their interlocutor as likely to agree with their assumption. The interlocutor can, of course, refuse to accept this positioning by denying the assumption. However, such dispreferred responses require more elaboration, rendering acquiescence with the offered positioning more likely, as in Sequence 6 below, reproduced from Mason (2005:37). Here, the interpreter's positioning of the interviewee goes much further than the immigration officer's yes/no question, suggesting a whole rationale for the interviewee's presence in the United Kingdom.

Sequence 6

Imm. Did you look round for a job in Poland?
Int. [*in Pol.*] Did you look for work? You looked for work and there wasn't any?
PM Tak
Int. Yes, he was looking for work but there was no work.

[key: Imm = immigration officer; Int = interpreter; PM = Polish man]

In this instance, the interpreter may appear to show some solidarity with the immigrant in suggesting an appropriate response. These temporary positionings shift, however, within the exchange and elsewhere in the same interview the interpreter may appear to position herself as much closer to the immigration officer, in fact as co-investigator with the latter, as in Sequence 7.

Sequence 7

Imm What did they say?
Int I co oni powiedzieli?
[*And what did they say?*]
PM Że pojedziemy do pracy do Anglii.
[*That we'll travel to work to England*]
Int Co znaczy pojedziemy? Bo było więcej?
[*What does it mean "we'll travel"? Because there were more?*]
PM Tak
[*Yes*]
Int Yes they said they'd go and work in England because apparently he wasn't the only one, there were several people involved.

[key: Imm = immigration officer; Int = interpreter; PM = Polish man]

Thus, whereas "role" in the sense of activity role is generally taken by all concerned (interpreters, users of interpreting services) to be unvarying within an assignment, the evidence presented here (and in the work of other scholars) suggests that positioning shifts and, with each shift, brings about a potential realignment of the exchange.

5. Contextualization cues

"Contextualisation cues" is the term used by Gumperz (1982:131)[6] to refer to constellations of linguistic features which signal the ways in which speakers intend and hearers accept the meanings of their utterances. They include code-switching and style-shifting, prosodic cues, lexical and syntactic choices and the use of, or deviation from, standard formulae. The meanings of these cues are not semantically encoded. They are implicit and therefore have to be inferred from the particular context in which they occur. What is typically involved is a departure from normal (unmarked) linguistic behaviour. As such, the cues frequently give rise to misunderstandings, particularly at sites of linguistic or cultural difference, where judgements are likely to differ as to what constitutes the norm and what a departure from the norm may signal.

[6] "Roughly speaking, a contextualisation cue is any feature of linguistic form that contributes to the signalling of contextual presuppositions".

In the set of immigration interviews drawn on here (see footnote 2), the genre is highly routine. An immigration officer, by means of a fairly standard set of questions, seeks to establish (1) that the immigrant entered the UK as a tourist, (2) that the immigrant has been in paid employment, (3) that, therefore, deception has occurred. A supplementary goal in some interviews is to discover the identity and whereabouts of any third party who may have organized travel and employment for a group of illegal immigrants. Once these facts have been established, the interview is effectively at an end. The questioning is conducted in a brisk manner and rarely departs from the routine. At a particular juncture in one interview, however, the interviewer's shift of pitch and intonation, in conjunction with multiple self-reference ("I") for the first time in the interview, appears to intend to signal a reduction of distance and a general benevolence – in striking contrast to the formality and coldly detached tone of what had preceded. This is clear evidence of reflexive re-positioning. It is as if, now that formal business is at an end, the immigration officer seeks to position herself as showing a human side and concern for the plight of the would-be immigrant.[7] These utterances by the interviewer (also discussed in Mason *op. cit.*) are reproduced here as Sequence 8, including the main paralinguistic features involved.

Sequence 8

Imm Because I'm going to go and try to get your PASSport back off her. (...)
[smiles] Well I'll see if she wants to give you the money before you go [nods] (.) [smiles] I think that {would be good.

Int {Ona, Liza, postara się o te pieniądze nim pan odleci, nim odlecisz ona, Liza, postara się o pieniądze.
[*She, Lisa, will try to get the money before you (formal) depart, before you (informal) depart she, Lisa, will try to get the money*].

Imm I'll tell her where you are, and I'll bring her over and see if she'll pay you (.) OK?

Key:
Imm = immigration officer; Int = interpreter

[7] It is, of course, equally possible that the officer is seeking to exhibit to *the interpreter* a human side to her character. In terms of Bell's (1984) audience design, the interpreter could be said to be influential on the speaker's style as an auditor. In Sequence 8, however, the officer's gaze is directed towards the interviewee only.

CAPS = emphasis
(...) = omitted sequence
{ = overlapping talk
(.) = brief pause
. = falling intonation
, = continuing intonation
? = rising intonation

In addition to the contextualization cues already mentioned, there is a noticeable style-shift in the relatively colloquial formulations "go and try", "get... back off her", "see if", etc. These cues appear not to have been relayed by the interpreter. Moreover, by explicitly referring to the interviewer in the third person, the interpreter makes it clear that she is adopting her own voice – as Principal – rather than the interviewer's – as Author. She positions herself as an independent actor, commenting on what has been uttered by the interviewer. On this footing, the contextualization cues, which belong to the interviewer's speech style, cannot be translated, for any attempt to do so would be attributed by the hearer to the interpreter rather than to the participant referred to in the third person. This may explain the interpreter's momentary uncertainty over which second-person form of address to use and her odd use of the officer's forename in her rendition as a way of signalling reduced distance.

It is, in any case, difficult to imagine how an interpreter could relay such cues in a manner that might communicate the intended values. Wadensjö (1998:246-8), following Goffman, makes a distinction between "displaying" and "replaying" others' talk. In the former case, the interpreter tends to adopt neutral prosodic features, eliminating most of the expressive features of the utterance being translated and thus signalling detachment from (or non-ownership of) the words being used. Alternatively, the interpreter may seek to "replay" the expressive features, temporarily positioning herself as adopting the persona of the participant being translated. For a variety of reasons, however, such behaviour is hazardous. Crucially, it may not communicate what it intends to communicate and/or it may be perceived as disrespectful mimicry by the participant being translated. For it seems to be characteristic of many contextualization cues that they are intimately personal, belonging uniquely to the speaker, in a way that semantically encoded meanings are not. How, for example, might the interpreter in Sequence 8 seek to replay (without over-playing) the prosodic shift and the implicatures in "I'll see if she wants to give you the money before you go, I think that would be good"? It is not surprising, in such circumstances,

that the interpreter adopts here an explicit third-person footing. Yet again, though, the interpreter becomes the arbiter of which discourses are and which are not relayed. An attempt by the Immigration Officer to reduce distance and establish more direct contact with the interviewee has failed because the re-positioning has not been taken up. A further way in which attempts at direct communication fail is examined under section 8 below.

6. In-group solidarity

Consideration of Sequence 8 also suggests another parameter affecting communication rights. It will have been noted that the interpreter makes use of the T-pronoun when interpreting the interviewer's question to the Polish interviewee. Most dialogue interpreters would no doubt consider this to be entirely non-standard, or even unethical, behaviour. But this anomalous use brings to light another area where power differentials are signalled. Expression of power, deference, solidarity, distance may all be either signalled or filtered out and taken up or ignored. Hearable meanings depend on take-up. Berk-Seligson (1988) cites the case of the use of honorifics by monolingual Spanish-speaking witnesses in US courtrooms. She notes the inevitable in-group solidarity of interpreters and witnesses who belong to the same ethnic group in a (largely) monocultural event and notes that interpreters often initiate a "cycle of politeness" by using honorifics (*señor, señora*) in addressing the witnesses. But they may or may not translate the same honorifics, uttered by the witness, when interpreting for the benefit of the court. Berk-Seligson's research suggests that the presence or absence of these markers of deference (i.e. interactive positioning) makes a great deal of difference to the perception by jurors of how trustworthy and convincing the witness is.

It is a commonplace of studies of the use of T/V pronouns, ever since Brown and Gilman (1960), that speakers' choices are affected by, and at the same time affect, perceptions of power and solidarity. In our data, the same intra-ethnic solidarity that Berk-Seligson perceived in her interpreters may have motivated the Polish interpreter to address her fellow-countrymen and women with T, even though these were no doubt total strangers to her prior to the encounter described here. Corroborating clues lie in the (non-source-text-motivated) use of colloquialisms here and there by the interpreter, signalling a reduction of distance in the interaction (perhaps unwanted by the interviewee). Yet, whatever the real motivation for the use of T by the interpreter (in Sequence 8, but also throughout the interview),

the effect of non-reciprocated use of T in situations of unequal power can only serve to reinforce the power differential. Indeed it may be perceived as an attempt by the interpreter to place on record a difference of status. Here too, the issue of footing is involved. Were contemporary English to involve a T/V distinction, it is inconceivable that the immigration officer would, herself, initiate a cycle of T-address. The tenor of her questions is formal throughout. Therefore the interpreter's use of T concerns *her own* relationship with the addressee: the translated voice cannot be that of the immigration officer. The interpreter is in fact presenting evidence that she is speaking in her own voice – positioning herself as Principal in Goffman's terms – thus establishing direct communicative contact between herself and the interviewee, rather than facilitating contact between officer and immigrant. The interviewee is thus positioned as a direct interlocutor of the interpreter (only), in that a communicative norm is established of two dialogues, between interviewer and interpreter and between interpreter and interviewee but not, crucially, between interviewee and interviewer. In section 7, we find further evidence of the Polish interviewees' acceptance of this impoverished participation framework.

7. Gaze

The potential of such paralinguistic features as gaze to signal not only a participation framework but also the negotiation of turn taking has long been recognized in studies of face-to-face interpreting. In a pioneering study, Lang (1978) recorded evidence of gaze, posture and gesture among participants in court proceedings in Papua New Guinea and noted in particular how inclusionary or exclusionary strategies are signalled by these means. By averting gaze while speaking, an interpreter can signal his/her own voluntary exclusion from what is deemed to be a two-way dialogue between other participants. Similarly, by not directing their gaze towards the interpreter, other participants can treat each other as addressees, relegating the interpreter to the role of auditor, a ratified participant whose role is to relay others' speech as an animator of others' voices.

In our (limited) dataset, a number of behaviours can be observed. In some circumstances, for example recording basic details of identity or asking routine questions (cf. Sequence 3 above), an immigration officer may direct gaze solely towards the interpreter, who reciprocates with gaze towards the Officer, as in Figure 1.

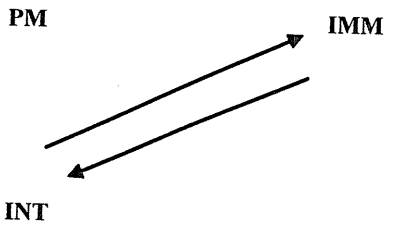

Figure 1: Speaker's gaze in an immigration interview: Option 1

Key: PM = Polish man
IMM = immigration officer
INT = interpreter

Such a strategy clearly excludes the linguistically-different (i.e. Polish-speaking) participant. This arrangement, however, is not the preferred option in these interviews. On most occasions, the immigration officer, when asking questions, directs gaze towards the interviewee only, perhaps reflecting a behaviour acquired through training. The interpreter, meanwhile, seeks eye contact with each interlocutor in turn as she translates from English to Polish and from Polish to English. To do this, she has to turn her head from one interlocutor to the other. She thus signals her want to be included as a participant in triadic exchange. The Polish-speaking interviewee is seated facing the Immigration Officer on the opposite side of a table. In two of the interviews, there is a distinct tendency for the interviewees (male and female) to direct gaze to the interviewer only when being addressed *but not when speaking*. In responding to questions, these interviewees invariably turn their gaze towards the interpreter. The pattern of speaker's gaze is as illustrated in Figure 2.

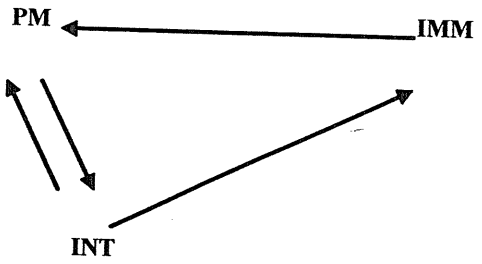

Figure 2: Speaker's gaze in an immigration interview: Option 2

On this evidence, the interviewees position the interpreter as their only interlocutor. The possible motivations for such behaviour are many and varied. Prominent among them may be simple linguistic insecurity, a lack of confidence in their ability to communicate with anyone except in their own language. (The immigration officer's stance in Figure 1 could be attributed to the same cause). But whatever the real reasons for the pattern of gaze shown in Figure 2, the effect is to deny the interviewees any chance of projecting a persona of their own to the immigration officer. By their gaze-shift, they position themselves as excluded onlookers and, by implication, interactively position the immigration officer and the interpreter as joint deciders.

8. Relaying discourses

In section 5 above, it was seen that a number of contextualization cues combined to signal a discoursal shift on the part of the interviewer, from official interrogator to conciliatory sympathizer. The shift could not be relayed to the interviewee by an interpreter adopting the footing of Principal. As I have reported elsewhere (Mason 2004), the interpreter also controls the selection of which discourses are represented and which are not. A lexical item which is reiterated no fewer than seven times in the responses of the Polish woman and man in the two major interviews featured here is *szkoły* (lit. "school"). This is partly accounted for by the fact that attending an educational course may, in certain circumstances, be counted as a legitimate reason for seeking entry to the UK. Yet the word is also used (see Sequence 10) to refer to activities undertaken in Poland before leaving that country. The item clearly covers a wide range of educational activities, from the academic to training in manual skills. But the frequent reiteration of the same term adds a discoursal value to it. Education (*szkoły*) becomes an aspiration, an activity which it is good to be engaged in, and thus, an element of self-esteem for these deportees, who have, prior to the interview, been positioned as illegal and deceitful. Sequences 9 and 10 exemplify this reflexive positioning and show how it is at least attenuated, if not effaced, in translation.

Sequence 9

Imm How is it that you're still IN this country?
Int Dlaczego tutaj dalej jesteś?
[*Why are you still here?*]

PW Bo chciałam iść tutaj do szkoły, do tej pory udało mi się, musiałam zarobić pieniądze, żeby iść do szkoły bo szkoła jest dosyć droga,
[*Because I wanted to go to school here, till now I've managed to, I had to earn money to go to school because school is quite expensive.*]

Int I had to/ my intention was to attend an English course here, but I didn't have enough money so I had to earn the money in order to pay for the course.

PW I do tej pory (.) chodzę do szkoły, chodziłam raz w tygodniu (.) niestety.
[*And I still go to school, I did go to school once a week, unfortunately.*]

Int And I have been attending an English course once a week,

[key: Imm = immigration officer; Int = interpreter; PW = Polish woman]

Sequence 10

Imm What were you doing before that in Poland.

Int A coś robił przed przyjazdem tutaj do Anglii w Polsce.
[*And what were you doing in Poland before coming here to England.*]

PM Znaczy (.) uczyłem się w szkole.
[*I was learning at school.*]

Int Jako student?
[*As a student?*]

PM Nie, mechanik samochodowy.
[*No, a car mechanic.*]

Int Right um he was attending (.) um a course um a car mechanics course.

[key: Imm = immigration officer; Int = interpreter; PM = Polish man]

The dissipation of the cohesive device of reiteration, in conjunction with other interpreter selections (e.g. deletion of "wanted to", "managed to", "unfortunately" in Sequence 9) combine to restrict the meaning potential offered in the Polish utterances to something more instrumental and non-committal in English. One plausible reading of this sequence would be that the immigrant positions himself as having been in full time education, the interpreter asks him to specify whether this involved intellectual or manual activity and then re-positions him to the officer as a manual worker.

Perceptions of status and value attaching to education and manual labour may well be involved. Significantly for our purposes here, the interpreter in Sequence 10, by her independent question to the interviewee, re-positions herself once more as co-investigator. This is reinforced by her use of the utterance-initial "Right", suggesting a successful outcome to her initiative.

9. Conclusion

In this short study of participant behaviour in a small set of data from interpreter-mediated encounters, I have sought to highlight the range of moves, both linguistic and paralinguistic, which may signal attempts at reflexive and interactive positioning and the take-up of these by other participants. Gate-keeping, footing, manipulation of preferred/dispreferred responses, contextualization cues, in-group identity, gaze and lexical choice were all seen to be involved in the process. Following Davies and Harré (*op. cit.*), we have suggested that positioning provides a useful alternative to the rather static notion of "role" and we have sought to widen our focus from the interpreter's role to the positions adopted by and suggested to *all* participants in the exchange. Positions evolve as an exchange develops and are the subject of joint negotiation among all involved. In some ways, then, positioning is similar to footing. The latter, though, may be treated as a choice of an individual speaker (like, say, code-switching in conversation) whereas, in the treatment of positioning here, I have sought to stress its interactive nature: positionings are either accepted and adopted by other participants or rejected and replaced.

In the particular interviews that have formed the main focus of our attention, the interpreters' strategic choices were unlikely to affect the outcome of the events, which was more or less pre-determined. "Illegal immigrants" had been arrested and were about to be deported, immediately following a routine interview that was little more than a legal requirement. The interviewees accept without demur the positioning of them offered by the other participants. However, the same linguistic and paralinguistic parameters are involved in situations (such as those described by Barsky *op. cit.*) where there is altogether more at stake. The positions adopted and accepted by participants, it has been suggested here, may exert considerable influence on the likely development of the exchange. Yet the impact of participants' choices remains under-investigated. Indeed, large-scale empirical investigations of actual participant behaviour in interpreter-mediated face-to-face exchanges are still relatively few (e.g. Berk-Seligson 1990; Wadensjö 1998) and much work remains to be done, both in the ethnography and in the linguistics and pragmatics of such communicative events.

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BIBLIOTECA SCUOLA SUPERIORE DI LINGUE MODERNE
S.B.A.

Interpreting and Translating in Public Service Settings

Policy, Practice, Pedagogy

Edited by
Raquel de Pedro Ricoy, Isabelle A. Perez and Christine W. L. Wilson

Translation, interpreting and other forms of communication support within public sector settings constitute a field which deals, quite literally, with matters of life and death. Overshadowed for many years by interpreting and translating in other domains, public sector interpreting and translating (PSIT) has received growing attention in recent years, with increasingly mobile populations and human rights, diversity and equality legislation shining the spotlight on the need for quality provision across an increasing range and volume of activities.

Interpreting and Translating in Public Service Settings offers a collection of analytically-grounded essays by researchers and practitioners in both translating and interpreting and in the public sector. Against a backdrop of breaking down barriers in PSIT, it aims at providing new insights into the reality of the interaction in public sector settings and into the roles and positioning of the participants by challenging existing models and paradigms. Issues of local need, but with global resonance, are addressed, and current reality is set against plans for the future. The triad of participants (interpreter/translator, public sector professional and client) is investigated, as are aspects of pedagogy, policy and practice. Empirical data supports the study of topics related to written, spoken and signed activities in a variety of professional settings. The studies presented here point to a clear need for cooperation, as well as scope for collaborative developments, across professional boundaries and international borders. Indeed, new directions in research and practice will only be fruitful if all three groups of participants come together, as decisions regarding practice should be based on theoretical tenets underpinned by empirical research.

Bringing together academics and practitioners from different countries in order to explore the multidisciplinary dimension of the subject, this collection should serve as a valuable reference tool, not only for academics and students of public sector interpreting and translating, but also for practising linguists, providers of language services and policy makers.

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

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

9.2 Cultural Orientations

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

- ***Orientations***

- Meta-programs
- Chunk Size
- Separate shapes – Single picture

The word 'orientation' is another case of a nominalization (in this case, a de-verbal noun), suggesting a frozen state. The verb 'to orient' means "to adjust or align oneself according to surroundings or circumstances" (CED 1991). People, in fact, tend to orient their way of doing things consistently over a wide range of circumstances, according to their character or personality. In NLP, these orientations are called 'meta-programs': "perceptual filters that we habitually act on" (O'Connor and Seymour 1993:149). Orientations tend to be consistent, but this is not always the case (emphasis in the original):

> Metaprograms are systematic and habitual, and we do not usually question them if they serve us reasonably well. The patterns may be the same across contexts, but few people are *consistently* habitual, so metaprograms are likely to change with a change of context. What holds our attention in a work environment may be different from what we pay attention to at home.

In Chapter 4.7, we noted that much of our imprinting is fully developed by the end of school-age. Likewise, meta-programs, and hence personality, are relatively fixed by that stage. But, as O'Connor and Seymour mention above, our orienting can change across contexts.

It is our orientations which govern *how* perception is generalized, distorted and deleted. A well-known example of how an orientation distorts reality is as follows:

a bottle that has been opened and drunk from, can either be perceived as being half empty or as half full. Our perception of it has little to do with that actual bottle and the quantity of liquid inside (reality). Perception is distorted to fit in to the way we orient ourselves to the world in general. Our perception of the contents ultimately has to do with who we are. In this case, optimists or pessimists.

One of the orientation meta-programs suggested in NLP regards chunk size. Chunk size has already been introduced during the discussion on local and global translation styles. The polar-opposites of chunk size are the generalities (the context) or the details (the individual words themselves). This chunking orientation has an important place in Gestalt therapy, and is now understood to be a major factor in learning.

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

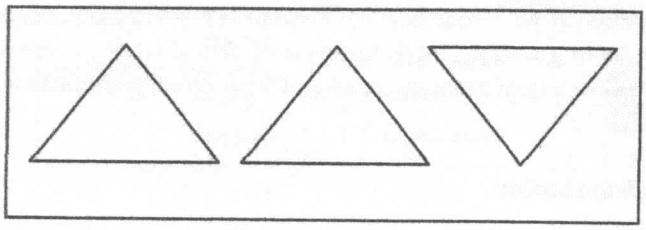

Figure 37. Testing Orientation: Local or Global?

Example descriptions of this diagram are as follows:

1. there are three separate shapes
2. there are some triangles, one upside down, in a picture
3. there is a picture with two identical triangles and one upside down
4. there is a (single) picture of triangles

All four answers are correct, just like the bottle being half-full or half-empty. This sorting of information comes under a variety of names[6] depending on the field and the application. The terms below come from Gestalt psychology, cognitive psychology and linguistics. Apart from 'sorting' and 'mismatching' which is only to be seen in NLP literature, the other terms now tend to be used across all disciplines:

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

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

• local/part	global
• analytic	synthetic
• atomist	holistic

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

It should always be remembered that the idea of polarization is a convenient model (deleting, generalizing and distorting the far more complicated reality), and that any orientation is, as the word suggests, no more than a tendency towards one way of perceiving the world. Creating taxonomy of these orientations is necessarily limiting. However, if we remember that none of the orientations operate in isolation, and that, as in grammar, we have levels of delicacy and exceptions, then we can begin to build a useful grammar primer of what actually happens in the context of culture.

• *Cultural Orientations*

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

• *The Cultural Iceberg*

A cultural orientation is a shared meta-program: a culture's tendency towards a particular way of perceiving. The orientation or meta-program influences how reality is modelled, i.e. which aspects are to be generalized, distorted and deleted. An orientation is based on a number of complex and interrelated (and sometimes conflicting) values, which, as we have seen, are also in dynamic relation with a number of other factors. At the heart lie the fixed and totally-out-of-awareness core values. Figure 38 illustrates the relation between values and orientations.

There are relatively few core values. These generate a number of more context-defined values, (see figure 38 overleaf). A cluster or set of these specific values will result in a certain orientation towards or away from a particular way of perceiving, interpreting and behaving in a number of contexts. Reality, then, within a specific culture will be distorted, generalized and deleted to suit the cultural orientation.

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

> Value orientations are complex but definitely patterned (rank-ordered) principles, resulting from the transactional interplay of three analytically

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distinguishable elements of the evaluative process – the cognitive, the affective, and the directive elements – which give order and direction to the ever-flowing stream of human acts and thoughts as these relate to the solution of 'common human' problems.

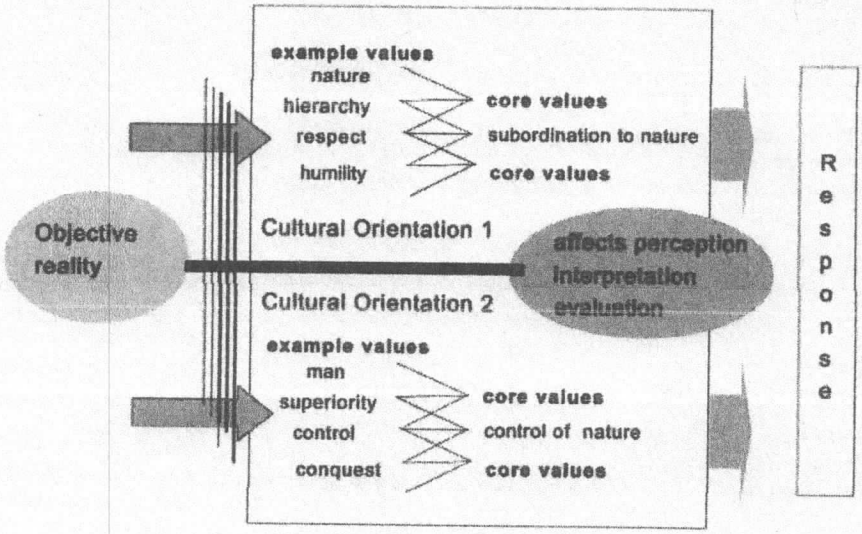


Figure 38. Cultural Orientations

She (ibid.:10-20) suggested that there were five basic problems or concerns common to all human groups, and also mentioned a sixth common human problem, the conception of space, but admitted that the orientation had "not been worked out sufficiently well to be included":

1. What is the character of innate human behaviour?	*Human Nature Orientation*
2. What is the relation of man to nature (and supernature)?	*Man-Nature Orientation*
3. What is the temporal focus of human life?	*Time Orientation*
4. What is the modality of human activity?	*Activity Orientation*
5. What is the modality of man's relationship to other men?	*Relational Orientation*

For each of these questions there are three possible responses that constitute a culture's (dominant or variant) value orientations (see table in page 232).

It should be pointed out that every culture and every individual will, in theory, have access to every orientation, but will tend to favour the use of one orientation over the others, and conversely will have difficulty in comprehending the other orientations. A cultural mediator, on the other hand, should have almost equal access to all orientations. This may of course result in disorientation through too much choice, as we shall see in Part 4.

Concerns/ Orientations	Possible responses based on core out-of-awareness beliefs		
Human Nature What is the basic nature of people?	**Evil** People ae basically bad and need to be controlled. People can't be trusted.	**Mixed** There are both good and evil people in the world. you have to check people out.	**Good** Most people are good at heart. They are born good.
Man-Nature Relationship What is the appropriate relationship between man and nature?	**Subordinate to Nature** People really can't change nature. Life is largely determined by external forces, such as fate and genetics. What happens was meant to happen.	**Harmony with Nature** Man should, in every way, live in harmony with nature.	**Dominant over Nature** The great human challenge to conquer and control nature. Everything from air conditioning to the "green revolution" has resulted from having met this challenge.
Time Sense How should we best think about time?	**Past** People should learn from history, draw the values they live by from history, and strive to continue past traditions into the future.	**Present** The present moment is everything. Let's make the most of it. Don't worry about tomorrow: enjoy today.	**Future** Planning and goal setting make it possible for people to accomplish miracles, to change and grow. A little sacrifice today will bring a better tomorrow.
Activity What is the best mode of activity?	**Being** It's enough to just "be". It's not necessary to accomplish great things in life to feel your life has been worthwhile.	**Becoming** The main purpose for being placed on this earth is for one's own inner development.	**Doing** If people work hard and apply themselves fully, their efforts will be rewarded. What a person accomplishes is a measure of his or her worth.
Social Relations What is the best form of social organization?	**Hierarchical** There is a natural order to relations, some people are born to lead, others are followers. Decisions should be made by those in charge.	**Collateral** The best way to be organized is as a group, where everyone shares in the decision process. It is important not to make important decisions alone.	**Individual** All people should have equal rights, and each should have complete control over one's own destiny. When we have to make a decision as a group it should be "one person one vote".

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

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

Inkeles and Levinson	**Hofstede**
1. relationship to authority	Power Distance
2. concept of self, in particular:	
a. the relationship between the individual and society	Individualism/Collectivism
b. the individual's concept of masculinity and femininity	Masculinity/Femininity
3. ways of dealing with conflicts including the control of aggression and the expression of feelings	Uncertainty Avoidance

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

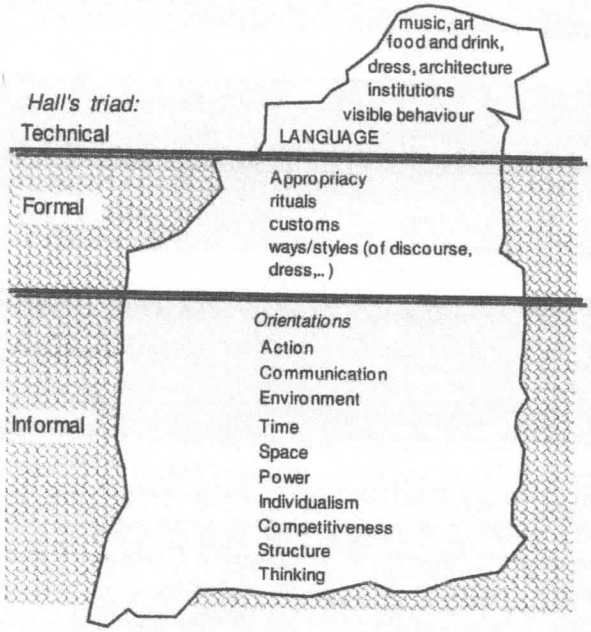


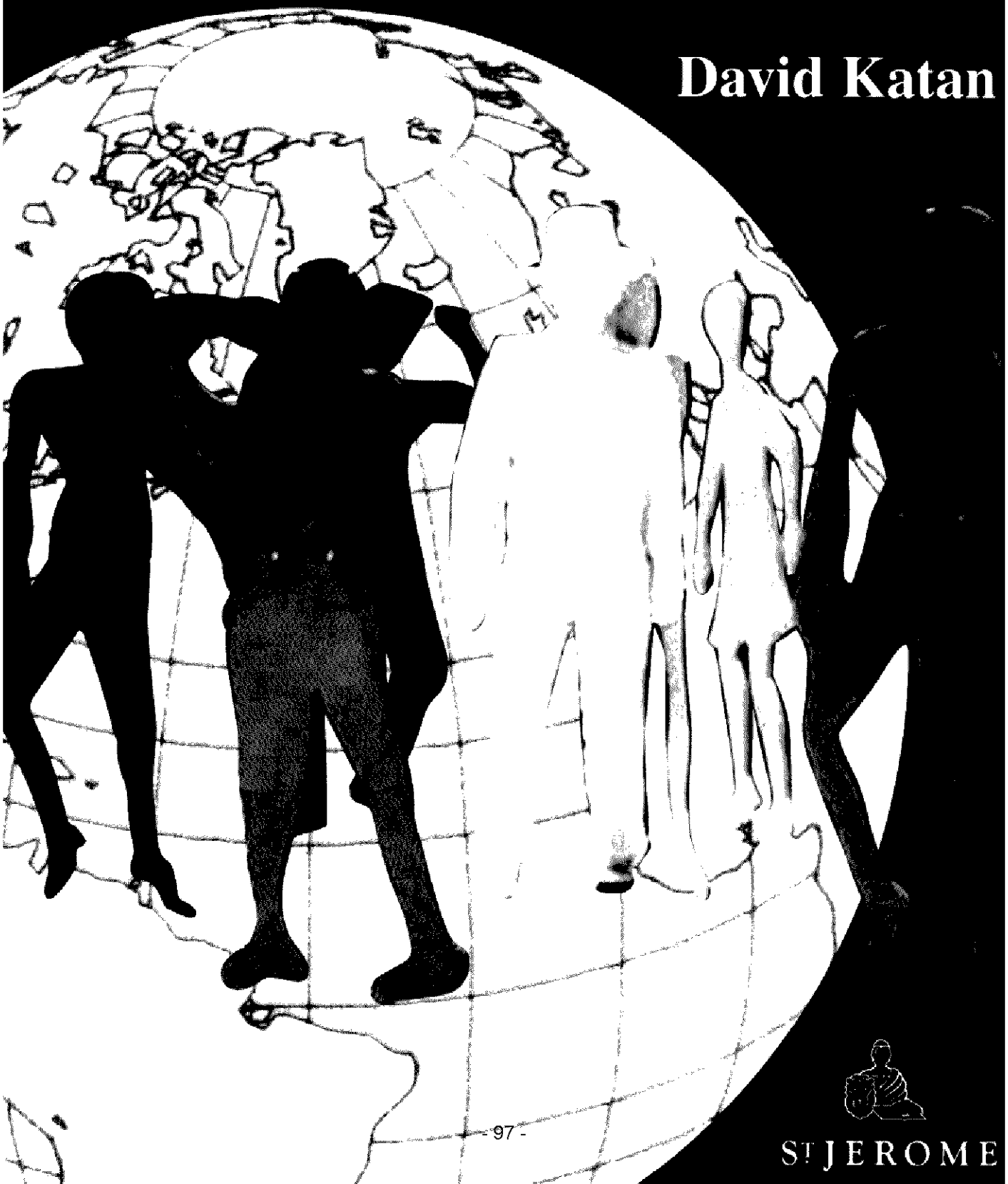
Figure 39. Brake's Iceberg of Cultural Orientations

[7] Brake *et al.* have integrated other authors too, but those of most interest here are the five orientations introduced by Kluckhohn (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961); Hall's (1982, 1983, 1990) time, space and contexting, and Hofstede's (1991) four dimensions.

Translating Cultures

An Introduction for Translators, Interpreters and Mediators

David Katan



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

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

9.3 A Taxonomy of Orientations[8]

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

• ***Action***

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

• ***Communication***

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

• ***Environment***

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

If we accept that cultures are animate agents for a moment, we can then say that they vary in their perception of the environment: some may feel that they can control the environment, as in "Just Do It" discussed in Chapter 5.4, and feel in charge of their own destiny. Others, at the opposite end of the cline, will believe that the environment – including supernatural forces, destiny and luck – has a measure of control over them (*Che sarà sarà, Inshalla*).

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

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

A third perception of the environment is the dominant Native-American and Eastern orientation, which is to operate in harmony with real or perceived environmental forces. The following extract from "Isho: the vigyana bhairava tantra[9] offers us a glimpse of how the two polar orientations differ in their fundamental perception of what really happened:

> **When Hillary reached to the highest peak of the Himalayas, Mount Everest, all of the Western world reported it as a conquering – a conquering of Everest. Only in a Zen monastery in Japan, on a wall newspaper, it was written, "Everest has been befriended" – not conquered! This is the difference – "Everest has been befriended"; now humanity has become friendly with it. Everest has allowed Hillary to come to it. It was not a conquering. The very word 'conquer' is vulgar, violent. To think in terms of conquering shows aggressiveness. Everest has received Hillary, welcomed him, and now humanity has become friendly; now the chasm is bridged. Now we are not unacquainted. One of us has been received by Everest. Now Everest has become part of human consciousness. This is a bridging.**

• *Time*

Brake et al		*Hall*	*NLP*	*Trompenaars*	*Kluckhohn*
• single-focus	fixed	monochronic	through time	sequential	Past/Present/Future
• multi-focus	fluid	polychronic	in time	synchronic	

• *Monochronic/Polychronic Time*

Hall (1983) devotes most of his book to the cultural understanding of time. Monochronic time cultures perceive time as the frame. The focus is on the task rather than the relationship; and schedules are important and adhered to. According to Tannen (1992) and Pease and Pease (2001) men in general are more task oriented than women. With regard to national cultures, rather than gender, Northern Europeans and Americans also tend towards this orientation. Those with this orientation would consider it rude to interrupt a meeting, client or phone call to attend to another person. The word "interrupt" is itself a monochronic word.

Polychronic or multi-focus cultures, on the other hand, place greater emphasis on the relationship, and multi-tasking. Tasks will be completed according to relationship needs rather than time needs. In a bank, serving only one person, and not

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

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

• *Fluid/Fixed Time*

Fixed time cultures perceive time technically. A minute is sixty seconds: "Time is money", and can be spent, used and wasted. "On time" means technically 'on time', and apologies are expected between 1 and 5 minutes after, depending how close to fixed time the culture is. Time management, 'Just in Time' and 'Time and Motion' studies work well in these cultures. American, German and Swiss cultures are particularly conscious of technical time.

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

From Spanish Abroad, Inc.[10]

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

• *Past/Present/Future*

Past-oriented cultures emphasize tradition. Any change tends to take place over a long period and in relation to the past. The historical context is paramount to understanding the present, and history itself is highly valued. This is certainly true of Italy with many of its road names recording an event or personality in history. Television interviews (both in Britain and in Italy) tend to concentrate on the background of the subject in question, much to the irritation of the American guest who wants to talk about 'now'.

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

Present-oriented cultures, such as America, emphasize the here and now. "History is bunk", said Henry T. Ford. The future also is not so important: "time waits for no man"; "take care of today and tomorrow will take care of itself". Long-term planning tends to be in terms of five to ten years at maximum (Hall 1990:141).

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

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

TO SPIN OR NOT TO SPIN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

• *Space*

• Private/Public	Individual privacy v more public use of space
• Distance/Proximity	Preference for distance/low physical contact v. proximity/ high physical contact
Trompenaars:	
• Specific orientation	Open access to personal life space; but access, position and authority etc., segregated according to context
• Diffuse orientation	Selected entry to individual's private life space, but relationship, position, authority, etc., crosses contexts

The Japanese have an orientation towards public space and distance, with open-plan offices, and small communal living quarters, but very little physical contact (public/distance). In comparison, an American or European house or office will tend towards the private, and higher levels of proximity are tolerated (private/proximity). We have already mentioned (in Chapter 4.1) Hall's appropriate distances for white North Americans when discussing culture at the level of environment. Typical appropriate distances for Southern Europe and South America will be closer – and will be perceived as much too close for the British.

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

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

• ***Diffuse/Specific***

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

A diffuse life space orientation, on the other hand, has a relatively guarded approach to acquaintances. However, once a relationship has been formed (whether business or personal), entry, including entitlements and obligations is expected to all areas of private space. Germany is a prime example of this system, and Italy also tends towards this system. The meaning of the word "friend" and the expected reciprocal rights and the duties will vary according to cultural orientation. The word itself should not be translated but mediated. Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1997:83) write about a personal experience in the U.S.A:

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

• ***Power***

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

In all societies there is power. It can be distributed evenly, with an attempt to reduce the degree of visible status. Alternatively, hierarchy and visible status can be emphasized. Italy is a relatively high power distance country, while Northern Europe, Britain and the States in particular tend to emphasize low power distance. South America, Asia, and (to a lesser extent) Southern Europe tend to respect high power distance. The importance of 'respect' when addressing a person, address rituals, and the degree of HAP or LAP type language most of the citizens have, are indications of a culture's power distance orientation.

In a similar way, Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner distinguish between cultures that tend to accord status according to 'who' someone is (according to family, background or title) and those cultures oriented towards awarding status to proven results (achievement) regardless of background. Clearly a professional's obligations are also culture-bound here: to the people who employ you (ascription) or to the task (achievement), as Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1997:109-10) explain:

> ...it often becomes clear that the translator from an ascriptive culture behaves "unprofessionally" according to the standards of achieving cultures. According to British, German, North American, Scandinavian and Dutch values, the translator is an achiever like any other participant and the height of his or her achievement should be to give an accurate, unbiased account of what was said in one language to those speaking the other language. The translator is supposed to be neutral, a black box serving the interests of modern language comprehension, not the interests of either party who may seek to distort meanings for their own ends.
>
> In other cultures, however, the translator is doing something else. A Japanese translator, for example, will often take a minute or two more to "translate" an English sentence 15 seconds long. And there is often extensive colloquy between the translator and the team he or she serves about what the opposite team just said. The translator on the Japanese side is an interpreter, not simply of language but of gesture, meaning and context. His role is to support his own team and possibly even to protect them from confrontational conduct by the western negotiators.

• *Individualism*

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

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

•*Particularism*

Trompenaars	*Hofstede*
Universalism	Truth
Particularism	Virtue

Universalist codes are universally applicable. There is a tendency to generalize laws and procedures, and to apply them universally. American mass-production, McDonald's, sneakers (as we have seen in Chapter 4.1) and Henry Ford's "You can have any colour you like as long as it's black" symbolize the desire for universalism. Particularist cultures, such as those on the Russian subcontinent, Asia, Central and

South America, and Southern Europe plus France and Italy, do not reduce situations to simplistic rules. These cultures emphasize difference, uniqueness and exceptions, from food and restaurants to the application of parking fines and queuing. We have already mentioned the universalist American difficulty in understanding the particularist Mexican approach to speeding offences in Chapter 2.3.

George Orwell noted how it is possible to be particularist in a politically collectivist society in his political satire *Animal Farm*: "All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others" (see also Hofstede 1991:161). This orientation nurtures the patronage system, which can work for the good of the collective society as in Japan, or for a particular group or family as in Italy (see also Mead 1994:111-37 and Gannon 2001:126). This means that the translation of the term 'democracy', for example, needs to be contextualized (see also Lewis 2000:131). Francesco Rossi does so in his 1963 film *Le Mani Sulla Città*/'Hands Over the City', an investigation into the collapse of a block of flats. Jones, in his *The Dark Heart of Italy* describes the plot to explain Italy today, perceived, understandably enough from a universalist orientation, as corrupt:

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

• *Competitiveness*

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

Competitive cultures privilege the more masculine character. There are winners and losers, people "live to work", workaholics are respected, and material success is a high motivator. Cooperative cultures, on the other hand, work together as interdependent teams, "work to live" and place a higher value on the quality of life. Japan, Germany, Italy and the Anglo-American countries are all competitive cultures. High-cooperative cultures include the Scandinavian countries, Spain and a number of South American countries. As Hofstede (1991:90, emphasis in the original) explains, this orientation affects the interpretation and evaluation of terms such as 'average' and 'best':

> Experience in teaching abroad and discussions with teachers from different countries have led me to conclude that in [...] the more masculine cultures like the U.S.A. the *best* students are the norm. Parents in these countries expect their children to try and match the best. The 'best boy in class' in the Netherlands is a somewhat ridiculous figure.

• ***Structure***

Brake et al.	*Hofstede*	*NLP*
Order	Strong Uncertainty Avoidance	Procedures
Flexibility	Weak Uncertainty Avoidance	Options

The future is an unknown factor for all cultures, and day-to-day life can also present people with the unknown. The degree to which a culture feels threatened or uncomfortable with ambiguity, uncertainty or change, is an indication of its orientation towards order or flexibility. Japan, Greece, Italy and Germany have a strong orientation towards order, and tend to avoid ambiguity or change in all things. Hence change tends to come about through destabilization and revolution. In Italy, though the appearance of structure is highly valued, its particularist orientation ensures that the orientation towards order is never fully achieved.

The Anglo-American countries have a relatively high toleration for uncertainty and change. According to Hofstede (1991:113), Great Britain is the most unperturbed of that group, and rates forty-eighth out of the fifty-three countries surveyed in terms of "the extent to which members of a culture feel threatened by uncertain or unknown situations". Singapore, at number fifty-three, has the highest toleration. These cultures have less need for detailed rules which attempt to define all situations. Flexibility (except for time itself), choice and options are valued. To a certain extent this orientation explains the reasons why the Italian equivalents of "No Smoking" or "Thank you for not smoking" notices are the more detailed and legally structured:

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

• ***Thinking***

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

• ***Deductive/Inductive***

Alternative labelling for deductive/inductive has already been given at the beginning of the chapter. Deductive thinking orientations focus on theories, logic and principles. This is very true of Germany and France, and to a lesser extent Italy. Situations are classified according to already existing theories. Inductive cultures are more pragmatic and specific, starting from empirical observation. Facts and statistics are highly valued. The United States and Britain are particularly inductive.

• ***Linear/Systemic***

Linear-oriented cultures will dissect problems into logical and precise sequences, look for detail, precision and minute cause and effect, such as the McDonald's itemization of the service counter routine. Systemic, on the other hand is holistic, and tends to look at the full picture, the background and relationships with other parts of even bigger pictures. Explanations will be less in terms of statistics and logic; but rather in connections, feelings and similes. Italy tends towards the systemic, while Japan is a clear example of the most systemically oriented culture.

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

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

Chapter 10. Contexting

The aim of this chapter is to:

- introduce Edward T. Hall's Theory of Contexting in communication
- discuss the links between contexting and left/right brain distinctions
- illustrate a number of the language behaviour differences as a result of contexting differences
- show the relevance of contexting for a cultural interpreter/mediator involved in translation and interpreting transactional situations

10.1 High and Low Context

Communication			**Possible cultural priorities**	
Hall	*Trompenaars*	*Simons et al.*		
• HCC	Diffuse	loosely knit	Relationship	what is understood the context of the message the meta-message
• LCC	Specific	tightly woven	Task	what is said the text of the message

One of the guiding orientations, which perhaps could be termed a meta-orientation, is 'contexting'. This term was coined by Hall in 1976 (1989:85-128) and further discussed in 1983 (59-77). The basic concept is that individuals, groups, and cultures (and at different times) have differing priorities with regard to how much information (text) needs to be made explicit for communication to take place.

The words 'text' and 'context' have particular meanings here. Context is "stored information", and as such is very close to Halliday's (Halliday and Hasan 1989:47) "non-verbal environment of a text" which is made up of "the context of situation and the wider context of culture". In terms of communication, according to Hall (1983:61), it is "the amount of information the other person can be expected to possess on a given subject", while the text is "transmitted information".

Both Halliday and Hall, among many others, agree that communication entails both text and context. Gregory Bateson's comment (as cited by Ting-Toomey 1985:83) is clear and to the point: "All communication necessitates context and ... without context there is no meaning".

Halliday suggests that the context of situation is "the total environment in which a text unfolds" (Halliday and Hasan 1989:5, 36) but then goes on to say: "In the normal course of life, all day and every day, when we are interacting with others through language ... we are making inferences from the situation to the text, and from the text to the situation". It seems that here Halliday is concentrating on the immediate context of the text within a single frame of culture. Hall's context though, is explicitly both the context of situation and the context of culture, i.e. it includes the beliefs and values that determine the behaviour to be interpreted.

Clearly, also, in any communication, the speaker and listener will have their own perception of the context. The more these perceptions are shared the more possible it will be, as Halliday suggests (Halliday and Hasan 1989:5), to use them as a framework for hypothesizing what is going to be said. Sperber and Wilson (1995:15) also understand 'context' in terms of perception rather than reality. They suggest that it is "the set of premises used in interpreting an utterance" and that it is "a psychological construct, a subset of the hearer's assumptions about the world. It is these assumptions, of course, rather than the actual state of the world, that affect the interpretation of an utterance".

Halliday (Halliday and Hasan 1989:12-14; also Taylor Torsello 1992), on the other hand, sees context of situation as a tangible construct (visible and audible). The description is in terms of a simple conceptual framework of three headings:

the field	what is happening
the tenor	who are taking part
the mode	what part the language is playing

Problems in understanding, through translation or otherwise, arise from the fact that assumptions about the world differ. Widdowson (1979:138) shows the importance of sharing mutual assumptions in successful communication with this well-known conversation exchange:

A: doorbell!!
B: I'm in the bath.
A: Ok.

Both parties 'know' that "I'm in the bath" did not mean what was textually said. As a result, the meta-message is successfully communicated through what is already shared. In another situation, between two other people who do not know each other, less can be assumed to be understood; and the conversation might be as follows:[1]

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

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

Interlocutors in each communication event will, usually out-of-awareness, arrange themselves and others along the context scale. We tend to believe we know how much needs to be said and explained to have our message understood the way we meant. Whether or not this is true, as we cannot mind read, is usually difficult to objectively judge. In cross-cultural communication, the scope for error is even larger.

There are, then, two aspects to communication (text and context), each represented by a triangle:

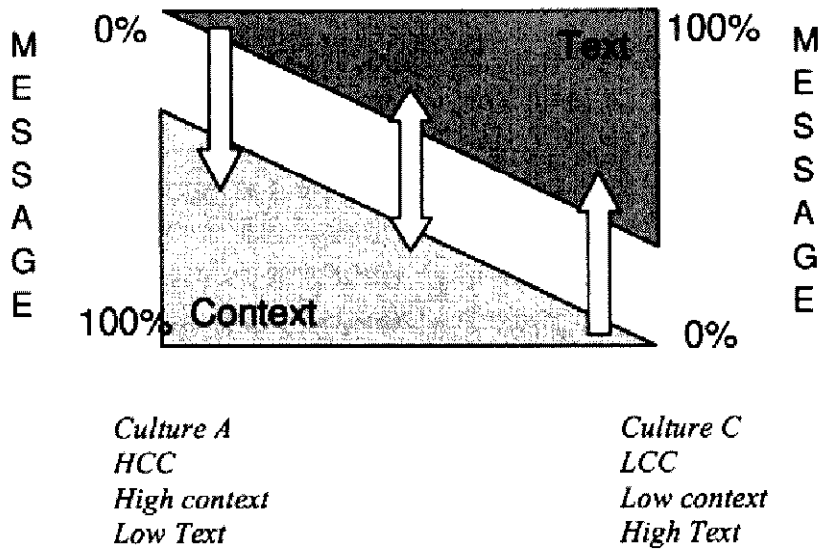


Figure 40. Hall's Triangles

At one theoretical extreme, all the information that is to be conveyed is made visible, or explicit, in the 'text' triangle. While at the other extreme, no text is necessary as all the information is implicit, i.e. it is contained in the 'context' triangle. The diagram, adapted from Hall (1983:61), shows how both triangles operate together in a cline to form the message. He explains that, "as context is lost, information must be added if meaning is to remain constant".

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

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

[2] See also Katan (1994).

use of this HCC/LCC polarity in their volume on cross-cultural business management. They also suggest that all cultural orientations depend on this meta-orientation, which they relate to two principle types of culture: 'loosely knit' and 'tightly woven'. The metaphors relate to the adaptability of a loosely knit fabric, which has yet to take on a final form and can be stretched without damage. This is compared with a dense, interwoven, more solid fabric – and more resistant to change. We begin to see parallels here with the uncertainty avoidance orientation: either towards structure or flexibility.

How much written information is available for the foreign visitor, and how much will need to be obtained from a local informer is a possible indication of how high or low context a culture is. In New York, there are helpful signs indicating the best time and angle from which a photograph should be taken at every tourist site. In Cairo there are no signs telling you which pyramid is which – but there is no shortage of guides.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Identity, in tightly woven cultures, is closely related to social position. People take their place within a pre-formed, stable and interwoven network where change is unusual. Japan would be a case in point. Trompenaars (1997:102-119) uses the term 'achievement' and 'ascription' orientations to explain cultures' options in according status. An LCC culture will tend to accord status to the person who merits the position through proven capability in the field and through election. Particularly important is a written CV. In an HCC culture you already need to be known for who you are. Long-term contacts and networking become increasingly important – paper qualifications less so.

So, HCC cultures are not immediately oriented to the newcomer (though the guest will be very well looked after). The United States, on the other hand, is a prime example of a 'loosely knit' society, accepting newcomers into its social fabric. The successful newcomers will also have an orientation to low uncertainty avoidance and the ability to change identity. They quickly become, for example, ethnic Black, Afro- or Chinese- American. In this melting pot there is space (both physical and mental) for change.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The fact that a culture is more HCC or LCC will also mean, according to Hall, that there will also be other related text/context orientations. Victor (1992) and Simons *et al.* (1993) have produced lists of typical (and simplified rather than actual) features of these two different orientations. With some adaptations, they are outlined below:

Low context operating mode	**High context operating mode**
More loosely knit	More tightly woven
shallow rooted	deep rooted
Emphasis placed on:	*Emphasis placed on:*
• text	context
• facts	relationship/feelings
• directness	indirectness
• consistency	flexibility (in meaning)
• substance	(social/personal) appearance
• rules	circumstances
• monochronic	polychronic

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

If we take two different cultures, such as Italy and Britain, and compare them on the above lists, it is clear that they can be associated more with one list than with another. Italy would tend to operate on a more tightly woven, high context basis, while the British would tend to operate on a more loosely-knit, low context basis. Comparing Britain and the United States, it would seem that the US is even further down the cline towards low context. We should also remember that the operating mode favoured will, as we have already mentioned, depend on many variables: culture, sub-culture, gender, class, age, situation, and, of course, individual personality.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Figure 41. Full Representation of Italian "normal"

What is hidden in the English remark is as follows:

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

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

Figure 42. Full Representation of English "obliged"

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

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

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

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

The following contexting cline comes from a business article adapted by Victor (1992:143). Hall's theory, in fact, has been developed, like much anthropological theory more in the very pragmatic field of business management than in any other field. It should also be pointed out that unlike the other orientations mentioned in the previous chapter, this particular cline is not based on any published statistics:

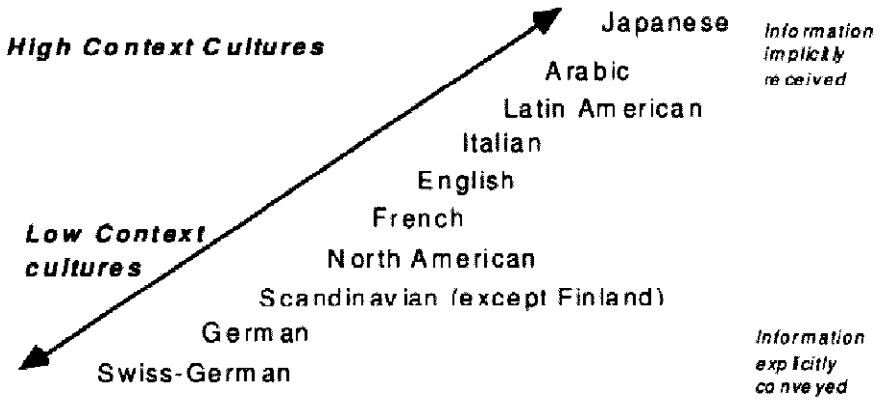


Figure 43. Context Ranking of Cultures

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

An extreme example of a low context character comes from Charles Dickens' *Hard Times* (1987). The schoolmaster, Thomas Gradgrind is presented to the reader with these words:

> **Now what I want is Facts. Teach these boys and girls nothing but facts. Facts alone are wanted in life. Plant nothing else, and root out everything else. You can only form the minds of reasoning animals upon Facts: nothing else will ever be of any service to them. Thomas Gradgrind, sir. A man of realities. A man of fact and calculations. A man who proceeds upon the principle that two plus two are four, and nothing over, and who is not to be talked into allowing anything else.**

Thomas Gradgrind, as we can see from the cline, will be appreciated by cultures lower down the ranking scale. In fact, he has problems enough in England, and with

this orientation should not be sent to a teaching post in Japan.

Returning now to an earlier discussion on language and culture, we can now look at the relationship between the use of the lexico-grammar and the contexting theory. We will look first at the English language, and then at British and American differences in the use of English.

10.2 English – The Language of Strangers

The English language itself, as a lexico-grammatical system, is decidedly LCC in comparison with many other languages. The language is well-adapted to explication, and less suitable for the signalling of pre-established social relationships, as Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990:32-33) note. They point out that in Japanese, the language itself obliges speakers to pronounce themselves on one of the four levels of relationship with others. Membershipping the relationship itself is an essential part of Japanese discourse: "To speak at all some choice must be made among the four. Whatever word one selects expresses a particular relationship". English, on the other hand "does not facilitate the expression of social relations between speakers and audience at all".

Halliday (1992:75) notes exactly the same point, and explains the LCC nature of the English language itself (as used by the middle-class): "the ways of meaning of the listener are precisely not taken for granted. This kind of discourse can be spoken to a stranger". Hasan (1984:131, 151) notes that cultures select from 'implicit' and 'explicit' options (without ever mentioning Hall or the contexting theory). In her study, contrasting Urdu and English, she notes that an English person:

> could not speak as implicitly as the Urdu speaker, even if he tried – the system of his language will not permit him to do so ... We can claim without hesitation that the dominant semantic style in Urdu is the implicit one ...

Urdu, spoken by eighty-five million people in Pakistan, North and central India and Bangladesh is an example of a language spoken by a tightly woven group. According to both Halliday and Hasan, speakers of this language will tend to select the implicit option, not only for lexico-grammatical reasons, but also because the context of situation will not have changed in time and there are strong relations between events.

Concluding her research on the high level of assumptions made by Urdu speakers, and the expectation that the addressee (whether total stranger or not) will implicitly know, Hasan (1984:153) makes a strong case for the tightly woven/loosely structured hypothesis: "the Urdu speaker's world must be a fairly-well regulated place in which persons, objects and processes have well-defined positions with reference to each other, and the speakers know the details".

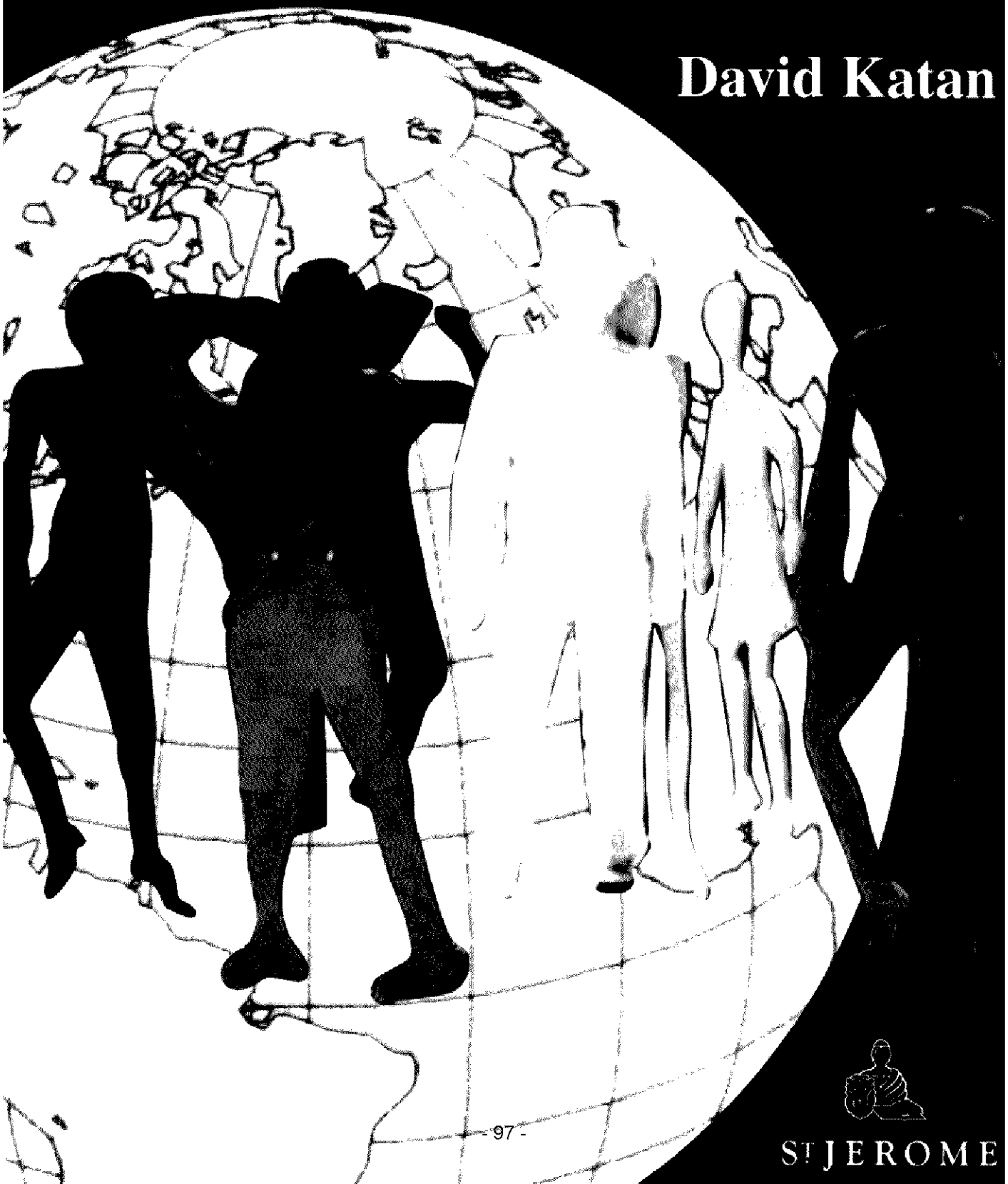
• *American and British English*

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

Translating Cultures

An Introduction for Translators, Interpreters and Mediators

David Katan



ST JEROME

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

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

9.3 A Taxonomy of Orientations[8]

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

• ***Action***

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

• ***Communication***

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

• ***Environment***

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

If we accept that cultures are animate agents for a moment, we can then say that they vary in their perception of the environment: some may feel that they can control the environment, as in "Just Do It" discussed in Chapter 5.4, and feel in charge of their own destiny. Others, at the opposite end of the cline, will believe that the environment – including supernatural forces, destiny and luck – has a measure of control over them (*Che sarà sarà, Inshalla*).

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

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

A third perception of the environment is the dominant Native-American and Eastern orientation, which is to operate in harmony with real or perceived environmental forces. The following extract from "Isho: the vigyana bhairava tantra[9] offers us a glimpse of how the two polar orientations differ in their fundamental perception of what really happened:

> **When Hillary reached to the highest peak of the Himalayas, Mount Everest, all of the Western world reported it as a conquering – a conquering of Everest. Only in a Zen monastery in Japan, on a wall newspaper, it was written, "Everest has been befriended" – not conquered! This is the difference – "Everest has been befriended"; now humanity has become friendly with it. Everest has allowed Hillary to come to it. It was not a conquering. The very word 'conquer' is vulgar, violent. To think in terms of conquering shows aggressiveness. Everest has received Hillary, welcomed him, and now humanity has become friendly; now the chasm is bridged. Now we are not unacquainted. One of us has been received by Everest. Now Everest has become part of human consciousness. This is a bridging.**

• *Time*

Brake et al		*Hall*	*NLP*	*Trompenaars*	*Kluckhohn*
• single-focus	fixed	monochronic	through time	sequential	Past/Present/Future
• multi-focus	fluid	polychronic	in time	synchronic	

• *Monochronic/Polychronic Time*

Hall (1983) devotes most of his book to the cultural understanding of time. Monochronic time cultures perceive time as the frame. The focus is on the task rather than the relationship; and schedules are important and adhered to. According to Tannen (1992) and Pease and Pease (2001) men in general are more task oriented than women. With regard to national cultures, rather than gender, Northern Europeans and Americans also tend towards this orientation. Those with this orientation would consider it rude to interrupt a meeting, client or phone call to attend to another person. The word "interrupt" is itself a monochronic word.

Polychronic or multi-focus cultures, on the other hand, place greater emphasis on the relationship, and multi-tasking. Tasks will be completed according to relationship needs rather than time needs. In a bank, serving only one person, and not

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

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

• *Fluid/Fixed Time*

Fixed time cultures perceive time technically. A minute is sixty seconds: "Time is money", and can be spent, used and wasted. "On time" means technically 'on time', and apologies are expected between 1 and 5 minutes after, depending how close to fixed time the culture is. Time management, 'Just in Time' and 'Time and Motion' studies work well in these cultures. American, German and Swiss cultures are particularly conscious of technical time.

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

From Spanish Abroad, Inc.[10]

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

• *Past/Present/Future*

Past-oriented cultures emphasize tradition. Any change tends to take place over a long period and in relation to the past. The historical context is paramount to understanding the present, and history itself is highly valued. This is certainly true of Italy with many of its road names recording an event or personality in history. Television interviews (both in Britain and in Italy) tend to concentrate on the background of the subject in question, much to the irritation of the American guest who wants to talk about 'now'.

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

Present-oriented cultures, such as America, emphasize the here and now. "History is bunk", said Henry T. Ford. The future also is not so important: "time waits for no man"; "take care of today and tomorrow will take care of itself". Long-term planning tends to be in terms of five to ten years at maximum (Hall 1990:141).

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

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

TO SPIN OR NOT TO SPIN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

• *Space*

• Private/Public	Individual privacy v more public use of space
• Distance/Proximity	Preference for distance/low physical contact v. proximity/ high physical contact
Trompenaars:	
• Specific orientation	Open access to personal life space; but access, position and authority etc., segregated according to context
• Diffuse orientation	Selected entry to individual's private life space, but relationship, position, authority, etc., crosses contexts

The Japanese have an orientation towards public space and distance, with open-plan offices, and small communal living quarters, but very little physical contact (public/distance). In comparison, an American or European house or office will tend towards the private, and higher levels of proximity are tolerated (private/proximity). We have already mentioned (in Chapter 4.1) Hall's appropriate distances for white North Americans when discussing culture at the level of environment. Typical appropriate distances for Southern Europe and South America will be closer – and will be perceived as much too close for the British.

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

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

• ***Diffuse/Specific***

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

A diffuse life space orientation, on the other hand, has a relatively guarded approach to acquaintances. However, once a relationship has been formed (whether business or personal), entry, including entitlements and obligations is expected to all areas of private space. Germany is a prime example of this system, and Italy also tends towards this system. The meaning of the word "friend" and the expected reciprocal rights and the duties will vary according to cultural orientation. The word itself should not be translated but mediated. Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1997:83) write about a personal experience in the U.S.A:

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

• ***Power***

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

In all societies there is power. It can be distributed evenly, with an attempt to reduce the degree of visible status. Alternatively, hierarchy and visible status can be emphasized. Italy is a relatively high power distance country, while Northern Europe, Britain and the States in particular tend to emphasize low power distance. South America, Asia, and (to a lesser extent) Southern Europe tend to respect high power distance. The importance of 'respect' when addressing a person, address rituals, and the degree of HAP or LAP type language most of the citizens have, are indications of a culture's power distance orientation.

In a similar way, Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner distinguish between cultures that tend to accord status according to 'who' someone is (according to family, background or title) and those cultures oriented towards awarding status to proven results (achievement) regardless of background. Clearly a professional's obligations are also culture-bound here: to the people who employ you (ascription) or to the task (achievement), as Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1997:109-10) explain:

> ...it often becomes clear that the translator from an ascriptive culture behaves "unprofessionally" according to the standards of achieving cultures. According to British, German, North American, Scandinavian and Dutch values, the translator is an achiever like any other participant and the height of his or her achievement should be to give an accurate, unbiased account of what was said in one language to those speaking the other language. The translator is supposed to be neutral, a black box serving the interests of modern language comprehension, not the interests of either party who may seek to distort meanings for their own ends.
>
> In other cultures, however, the translator is doing something else. A Japanese translator, for example, will often take a minute or two more to "translate" an English sentence 15 seconds long. And there is often extensive colloquy between the translator and the team he or she serves about what the opposite team just said. The translator on the Japanese side is an interpreter, not simply of language but of gesture, meaning and context. His role is to support his own team and possibly even to protect them from confrontational conduct by the western negotiators.

• *Individualism*

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

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

•*Particularism*

Trompenaars	*Hofstede*
Universalism	Truth
Particularism	Virtue

Universalist codes are universally applicable. There is a tendency to generalize laws and procedures, and to apply them universally. American mass-production, McDonald's, sneakers (as we have seen in Chapter 4.1) and Henry Ford's "You can have any colour you like as long as it's black" symbolize the desire for universalism. Particularist cultures, such as those on the Russian subcontinent, Asia, Central and

South America, and Southern Europe plus France and Italy, do not reduce situations to simplistic rules. These cultures emphasize difference, uniqueness and exceptions, from food and restaurants to the application of parking fines and queuing. We have already mentioned the universalist American difficulty in understanding the particularist Mexican approach to speeding offences in Chapter 2.3.

George Orwell noted how it is possible to be particularist in a politically collectivist society in his political satire *Animal Farm*: "All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others" (see also Hofstede 1991:161). This orientation nurtures the patronage system, which can work for the good of the collective society as in Japan, or for a particular group or family as in Italy (see also Mead 1994:111-37 and Gannon 2001:126). This means that the translation of the term 'democracy', for example, needs to be contextualized (see also Lewis 2000:131). Francesco Rossi does so in his 1963 film *Le Mani Sulla Città*/'Hands Over the City', an investigation into the collapse of a block of flats. Jones, in his *The Dark Heart of Italy* describes the plot to explain Italy today, perceived, understandably enough from a universalist orientation, as corrupt:

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

• *Competitiveness*

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

Competitive cultures privilege the more masculine character. There are winners and losers, people "live to work", workaholics are respected, and material success is a high motivator. Cooperative cultures, on the other hand, work together as interdependent teams, "work to live" and place a higher value on the quality of life. Japan, Germany, Italy and the Anglo-American countries are all competitive cultures. High-cooperative cultures include the Scandinavian countries, Spain and a number of South American countries. As Hofstede (1991:90, emphasis in the original) explains, this orientation affects the interpretation and evaluation of terms such as 'average' and 'best':

> Experience in teaching abroad and discussions with teachers from different countries have led me to conclude that in [...] the more masculine cultures like the U.S.A. the *best* students are the norm. Parents in these countries expect their children to try and match the best. The 'best boy in class' in the Netherlands is a somewhat ridiculous figure.

• ***Structure***

Brake et al.	*Hofstede*	*NLP*
Order	Strong Uncertainty Avoidance	Procedures
Flexibility	Weak Uncertainty Avoidance	Options

The future is an unknown factor for all cultures, and day-to-day life can also present people with the unknown. The degree to which a culture feels threatened or uncomfortable with ambiguity, uncertainty or change, is an indication of its orientation towards order or flexibility. Japan, Greece, Italy and Germany have a strong orientation towards order, and tend to avoid ambiguity or change in all things. Hence change tends to come about through destabilization and revolution. In Italy, though the appearance of structure is highly valued, its particularist orientation ensures that the orientation towards order is never fully achieved.

The Anglo-American countries have a relatively high toleration for uncertainty and change. According to Hofstede (1991:113), Great Britain is the most unperturbed of that group, and rates forty-eighth out of the fifty-three countries surveyed in terms of "the extent to which members of a culture feel threatened by uncertain or unknown situations". Singapore, at number fifty-three, has the highest toleration. These cultures have less need for detailed rules which attempt to define all situations. Flexibility (except for time itself), choice and options are valued. To a certain extent this orientation explains the reasons why the Italian equivalents of "No Smoking" or "Thank you for not smoking" notices are the more detailed and legally structured:

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

• ***Thinking***

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

• ***Deductive/Inductive***

Alternative labelling for deductive/inductive has already been given at the beginning of the chapter. Deductive thinking orientations focus on theories, logic and principles. This is very true of Germany and France, and to a lesser extent Italy. Situations are classified according to already existing theories. Inductive cultures are more pragmatic and specific, starting from empirical observation. Facts and statistics are highly valued. The United States and Britain are particularly inductive.

• ***Linear/Systemic***

Linear-oriented cultures will dissect problems into logical and precise sequences, look for detail, precision and minute cause and effect, such as the McDonald's itemization of the service counter routine. Systemic, on the other hand is holistic, and tends to look at the full picture, the background and relationships with other parts of even bigger pictures. Explanations will be less in terms of statistics and logic; but rather in connections, feelings and similes. Italy tends towards the systemic, while Japan is a clear example of the most systemically oriented culture.

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

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

Chapter 10. Contexting

The aim of this chapter is to:

- introduce Edward T. Hall's Theory of Contexting in communication
- discuss the links between contexting and left/right brain distinctions
- illustrate a number of the language behaviour differences as a result of contexting differences
- show the relevance of contexting for a cultural interpreter/mediator involved in translation and interpreting transactional situations

10.1 High and Low Context

Communication			**Possible cultural priorities**	
Hall	*Trompenaars*	*Simons et al.*		
• HCC	Diffuse	loosely knit	Relationship	what is understood the context of the message the meta-message
• LCC	Specific	tightly woven	Task	what is said the text of the message

One of the guiding orientations, which perhaps could be termed a meta-orientation, is 'contexting'. This term was coined by Hall in 1976 (1989:85-128) and further discussed in 1983 (59-77). The basic concept is that individuals, groups, and cultures (and at different times) have differing priorities with regard to how much information (text) needs to be made explicit for communication to take place.

The words 'text' and 'context' have particular meanings here. Context is "stored information", and as such is very close to Halliday's (Halliday and Hasan 1989:47) "non-verbal environment of a text" which is made up of "the context of situation and the wider context of culture". In terms of communication, according to Hall (1983:61), it is "the amount of information the other person can be expected to possess on a given subject", while the text is "transmitted information".

Both Halliday and Hall, among many others, agree that communication entails both text and context. Gregory Bateson's comment (as cited by Ting-Toomey 1985:83) is clear and to the point: "All communication necessitates context and ... without context there is no meaning".

Halliday suggests that the context of situation is "the total environment in which a text unfolds" (Halliday and Hasan 1989:5, 36) but then goes on to say: "In the normal course of life, all day and every day, when we are interacting with others through language ... we are making inferences from the situation to the text, and from the text to the situation". It seems that here Halliday is concentrating on the immediate context of the text within a single frame of culture. Hall's context though, is explicitly both the context of situation and the context of culture, i.e. it includes the beliefs and values that determine the behaviour to be interpreted.

Clearly, also, in any communication, the speaker and listener will have their own perception of the context. The more these perceptions are shared the more possible it will be, as Halliday suggests (Halliday and Hasan 1989:5), to use them as a framework for hypothesizing what is going to be said. Sperber and Wilson (1995:15) also understand 'context' in terms of perception rather than reality. They suggest that it is "the set of premises used in interpreting an utterance" and that it is "a psychological construct, a subset of the hearer's assumptions about the world. It is these assumptions, of course, rather than the actual state of the world, that affect the interpretation of an utterance".

Halliday (Halliday and Hasan 1989:12-14; also Taylor Torsello 1992), on the other hand, sees context of situation as a tangible construct (visible and audible). The description is in terms of a simple conceptual framework of three headings:

the field	what is happening
the tenor	who are taking part
the mode	what part the language is playing

Problems in understanding, through translation or otherwise, arise from the fact that assumptions about the world differ. Widdowson (1979:138) shows the importance of sharing mutual assumptions in successful communication with this well-known conversation exchange:

A: doorbell!!
B: I'm in the bath.
A: Ok.

Both parties 'know' that "I'm in the bath" did not mean what was textually said. As a result, the meta-message is successfully communicated through what is already shared. In another situation, between two other people who do not know each other, less can be assumed to be understood; and the conversation might be as follows:[1]

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

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

Interlocutors in each communication event will, usually out-of-awareness, arrange themselves and others along the context scale. We tend to believe we know how much needs to be said and explained to have our message understood the way we meant. Whether or not this is true, as we cannot mind read, is usually difficult to objectively judge. In cross-cultural communication, the scope for error is even larger.

There are, then, two aspects to communication (text and context), each represented by a triangle:

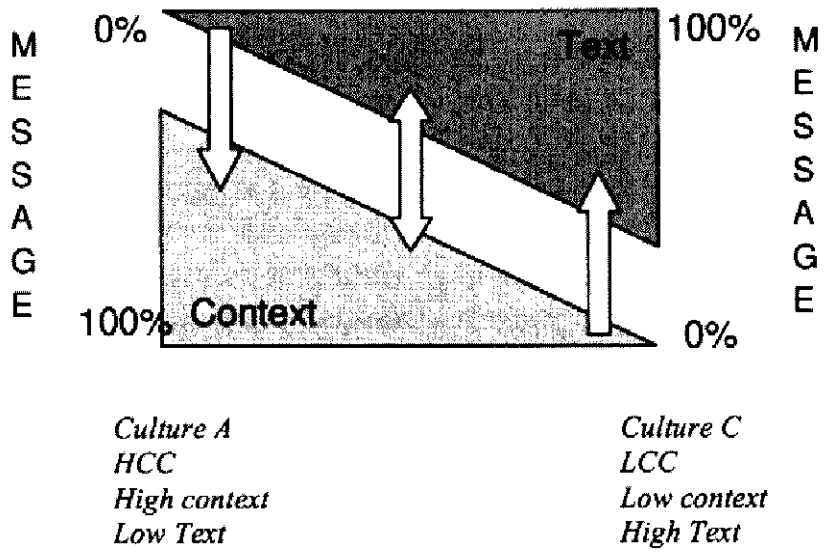


Figure 40. Hall's Triangles

At one theoretical extreme, all the information that is to be conveyed is made visible, or explicit, in the 'text' triangle. While at the other extreme, no text is necessary as all the information is implicit, i.e. it is contained in the 'context' triangle. The diagram, adapted from Hall (1983:61), shows how both triangles operate together in a cline to form the message. He explains that, "as context is lost, information must be added if meaning is to remain constant".

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

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

[2] See also Katan (1994).

use of this HCC/LCC polarity in their volume on cross-cultural business management. They also suggest that all cultural orientations depend on this meta-orientation, which they relate to two principle types of culture: 'loosely knit' and 'tightly woven'. The metaphors relate to the adaptability of a loosely knit fabric, which has yet to take on a final form and can be stretched without damage. This is compared with a dense, interwoven, more solid fabric – and more resistant to change. We begin to see parallels here with the uncertainty avoidance orientation: either towards structure or flexibility.

How much written information is available for the foreign visitor, and how much will need to be obtained from a local informer is a possible indication of how high or low context a culture is. In New York, there are helpful signs indicating the best time and angle from which a photograph should be taken at every tourist site. In Cairo there are no signs telling you which pyramid is which – but there is no shortage of guides.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Identity, in tightly woven cultures, is closely related to social position. People take their place within a pre-formed, stable and interwoven network where change is unusual. Japan would be a case in point. Trompenaars (1997:102-119) uses the term 'achievement' and 'ascription' orientations to explain cultures' options in according status. An LCC culture will tend to accord status to the person who merits the position through proven capability in the field and through election. Particularly important is a written CV. In an HCC culture you already need to be known for who you are. Long-term contacts and networking become increasingly important – paper qualifications less so.

So, HCC cultures are not immediately oriented to the newcomer (though the guest will be very well looked after). The United States, on the other hand, is a prime example of a 'loosely knit' society, accepting newcomers into its social fabric. The successful newcomers will also have an orientation to low uncertainty avoidance and the ability to change identity. They quickly become, for example, ethnic Black, Afro- or Chinese- American. In this melting pot there is space (both physical and mental) for change.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The fact that a culture is more HCC or LCC will also mean, according to Hall, that there will also be other related text/context orientations. Victor (1992) and Simons *et al.* (1993) have produced lists of typical (and simplified rather than actual) features of these two different orientations. With some adaptations, they are outlined below:

Low context operating mode	**High context operating mode**
More loosely knit	More tightly woven
shallow rooted	deep rooted
Emphasis placed on:	*Emphasis placed on:*
• text	context
• facts	relationship/feelings
• directness	indirectness
• consistency	flexibility (in meaning)
• substance	(social/personal) appearance
• rules	circumstances
• monochronic	polychronic

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

If we take two different cultures, such as Italy and Britain, and compare them on the above lists, it is clear that they can be associated more with one list than with another. Italy would tend to operate on a more tightly woven, high context basis, while the British would tend to operate on a more loosely-knit, low context basis. Comparing Britain and the United States, it would seem that the US is even further down the cline towards low context. We should also remember that the operating mode favoured will, as we have already mentioned, depend on many variables: culture, sub-culture, gender, class, age, situation, and, of course, individual personality.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Figure 41. Full Representation of Italian "normal"

What is hidden in the English remark is as follows:

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

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

Figure 42. Full Representation of English "obliged"

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

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

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

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

The following contexting cline comes from a business article adapted by Victor (1992:143). Hall's theory, in fact, has been developed, like much anthropological theory more in the very pragmatic field of business management than in any other field. It should also be pointed out that unlike the other orientations mentioned in the previous chapter, this particular cline is not based on any published statistics:

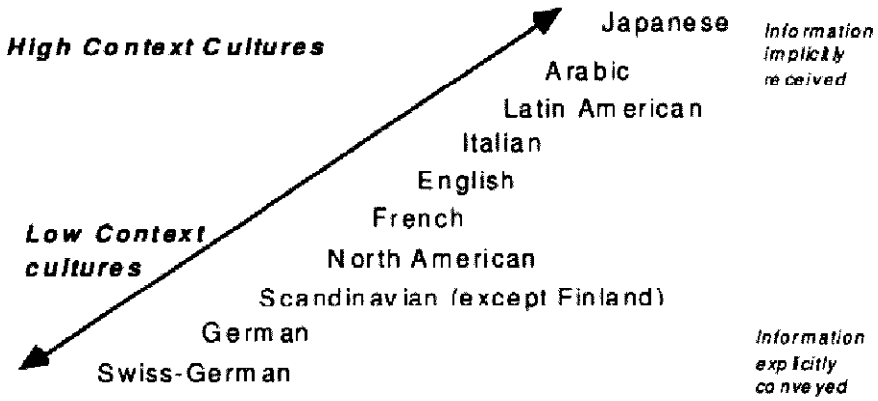


Figure 43. Context Ranking of Cultures

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

An extreme example of a low context character comes from Charles Dickens' *Hard Times* (1987). The schoolmaster, Thomas Gradgrind is presented to the reader with these words:

> **Now what I want is Facts. Teach these boys and girls nothing but facts. Facts alone are wanted in life. Plant nothing else, and root out everything else. You can only form the minds of reasoning animals upon Facts: nothing else will ever be of any service to them. Thomas Gradgrind, sir. A man of realities. A man of fact and calculations. A man who proceeds upon the principle that two plus two are four, and nothing over, and who is not to be talked into allowing anything else.**

Thomas Gradgrind, as we can see from the cline, will be appreciated by cultures lower down the ranking scale. In fact, he has problems enough in England, and with

this orientation should not be sent to a teaching post in Japan.

Returning now to an earlier discussion on language and culture, we can now look at the relationship between the use of the lexico-grammar and the contexting theory. We will look first at the English language, and then at British and American differences in the use of English.

10.2 English – The Language of Strangers

The English language itself, as a lexico-grammatical system, is decidedly LCC in comparison with many other languages. The language is well-adapted to explication, and less suitable for the signalling of pre-established social relationships, as Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990:32-33) note. They point out that in Japanese, the language itself obliges speakers to pronounce themselves on one of the four levels of relationship with others. Membershipping the relationship itself is an essential part of Japanese discourse: "To speak at all some choice must be made among the four. Whatever word one selects expresses a particular relationship". English, on the other hand "does not facilitate the expression of social relations between speakers and audience at all".

Halliday (1992:75) notes exactly the same point, and explains the LCC nature of the English language itself (as used by the middle-class): "the ways of meaning of the listener are precisely not taken for granted. This kind of discourse can be spoken to a stranger". Hasan (1984:131, 151) notes that cultures select from 'implicit' and 'explicit' options (without ever mentioning Hall or the contexting theory). In her study, contrasting Urdu and English, she notes that an English person:

> could not speak as implicitly as the Urdu speaker, even if he tried – the system of his language will not permit him to do so ... We can claim without hesitation that the dominant semantic style in Urdu is the implicit one ...

Urdu, spoken by eighty-five million people in Pakistan, North and central India and Bangladesh is an example of a language spoken by a tightly woven group. According to both Halliday and Hasan, speakers of this language will tend to select the implicit option, not only for lexico-grammatical reasons, but also because the context of situation will not have changed in time and there are strong relations between events.

Concluding her research on the high level of assumptions made by Urdu speakers, and the expectation that the addressee (whether total stranger or not) will implicitly know, Hasan (1984:153) makes a strong case for the tightly woven/loosely structured hypothesis: "the Urdu speaker's world must be a fairly-well regulated place in which persons, objects and processes have well-defined positions with reference to each other, and the speakers know the details".

• *American and British English*

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

Interpreter-mediated interaction in healthcare and legal settings

Talk organization, context and the achievement of intercultural communication

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Studies of dialogue interpreting have shown that interpreters are active participants in interpreter-mediated interaction and that their contributions are not simply a gloss of the interlocutors' turns. Wadensjö (1998), in particular, has underlined the coordinating and mediating functions of dialogue interpreters. In this paper we analyse the activity of interpreters in the interaction by looking at different ways of organizing sequences of turn-taking and their effects on intercultural mediation. We analysed a sample of 65 encounters in healthcare and legal settings in Italy, involving (Italian) institutional representatives, (English speaking) patients/defendants from West African regions and an interpreter. We note that different types of interpreter-mediator contributions are promoted or prevented in different ways in the medical and in the legal sets of data, in line with different contextual expectations, and with different results for the involvement of participants, particularly the "laymen".

Keywords: dialogue interpreting, social interaction, intercultural mediation, healthcare, legal settings

1. Introduction

The analysis of the linguistic and communicative functions of interpreter-mediated public service encounters (e.g. Wadensjö 1998, 2006; Mason 1999, 2005, 2006; Davidson 2000; Merlini 2009 and also Angelelli 2004; Hale 2007; Corsellis 2009) has shown that the interpreter's discourse roles, including those of language facilitator and of cultural and social mediator, are highly complex. Interpreter-mediated interactions generally occur in public service settings, such as hospitals

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and courts, and may be considered a particular type of institutional talk, in that they involve at least one participant who represents an institution and are related to a task the participants need to achieve (Drew & Heritage 1992: 3). The participation of the interpreter, however, introduces some important differences in the setting. First, interpreters are usually hired by the institution, and are thus seen as performing "institutional roles," but strictly speaking, they are not institutional representatives. Second, while in institutional interaction there are generally two parties, the institutional representative(s) and the layman/men, the interpreter in interpreter-mediated encounters is a third party in the interaction with the task of providing interpreting, rather than giving/receiving the service her/himself. So while negotiating reciprocal understanding is a task characterising interaction in general, in interpreter-mediated interaction, one participant (the interpreter) is there with the sole communicative function of making understanding possible.

Through co-construction of the conversation, the interpreter as well as the other participants orient themselves to both the "local context" (what is actually said in the interaction) and the broader "frame," provided by the setting (hospital, court) in which the interaction takes place and by the respective participants' roles as patients, defendants, doctors or judges (see Cicourel 1992; Baker 2006; Mason 2006: 364). In this paper we look at interpreter-mediated interactions in healthcare and legal settings and analyse the ways in which interpreting is achieved, with reference to the relevant contextual assumptions. We note that the ways in which interpreter-mediation is achieved have interesting implications for the actual participation of interlocutors in the interaction and for the management of intercultural communication.

Given the complexity of interpreter-mediated interaction, our data lend themselves to being studied from a perspective that combines different approaches, integrating research in the field of interpreting studies, interaction research and work on interlinguistic and intercultural communication. Following studies in Conversation Analysis (Sacks et al. 1974), we look at the ways in which participants co-construct understanding through a coordinated system of turn-taking. In particular, we observe the mechanisms by which the participants (all of them) contribute to talk construction (Jefferson &Schenkein 1978; Jefferson 1979; Schegloff 1980; Pomerantz 1984) and project institutional and individual expectations (Mason 2006). Our presupposition is that the interlocutors' responses are very important in explaining how participants take up each other's actions (Schegloff 1995) and that it is interesting to see how this takes place in interpreter-mediated talk, where not all participants speak the same language and direct uptakes show particular configurations (see Mason 2006: 364).

In this paper we also look at interpreter-mediated interaction as mediation (e.g. Bush &Folger 1994; Winslade& Monk 2008) in intercultural settings, with

particular attention to cultural diversity and to its treatment in the interaction (e.g. Carbaugh 2005; Kotthoff& Spencer-Oatey 2009). Our attempt to combine these perspectives is guided by the aim of seeing the potential for cross-fertilization between studies that focus on features of language production and those that focus on features of cultural production — two perspectives that are very closely interrelated in bilingual interpreter-mediated talk, such that each of them can profit from taking the other into account (see also Gavioli 2009).

2. Interpreting, interaction and intercultural mediation

Research on interpreting has recently come to foreground the communicative and social competence of interpreters (see Straniero Sergio 1999, 2007). Studies of dialogue interpreting centering on analyses of naturally occurring data (Wadensjö 1998; Bolden 2000; Davidson 2002; Mason 2005, 2006; Wadensjö et al. 2007; Jacobsen 2008) have shown that interpreters are active participants in interpreter-mediated interactions and do not confine themselves to translating on a mere, automatic, turn-by-turn basis. In particular, Wadensjö (1998: 108–110) has shown that access to both languages allows interpreters to play an important role in "coordinating" the organization of talk, either implicitly, by providing or not providing translation, or explicitly, by projecting the point where translation can be provided or by contributing to the clarification of actions and sequences occurring in the interaction.

Examining interactions in hospital settings, Davidson (2000, 2001) has looked at the function of interpreters as "gatekeepers." In particular, he noted that they tend to prevent some patient-generated questions from reaching doctors if these questions are not strictly connected to medical diagnosis or treatment. By the same token, Bolden (2000) shows that interpreters select the quantity and quality of information as related to the "world of medicine" rather that the "lifeworld"and similar conclusions have been reached by Brennan (1999), Cambridge (1999) Hale and Gibbons (1999), Tebble (1999), Pöchhacker and Kadric (1999), Meyer (2002) and Bührig and Meyer (2004), some of whom discuss the work of non-professional interpreters and warn against the risk of poor coordinating abilities. Davidson (2002), in an attempt to provide a model of turn-structuring for interpreter-mediated conversation, shows that such a structure is unexpectedly complex, reflecting the interpreters' contribution to the (re)construction of contextually relevant meaning.

These studies consistently underline the complexity of analysing the participants' and interpreters' respective contributions to the interaction. In particular, they have noted that concepts such as that of equivalence are far more complex

when studied in an interactional communicative context. Mason (2006: 360) notes that the very notion of "source text" creates problems in talk-in-interaction where the "text" is jointly negotiated among and co-constructed by participants in their ongoing activity. Interpreters cannot limit themselves to turn-by-turn translation, and in their attempt to understand what is meant by participants in talk, and select what is actually to be translated, they contribute to the achievement of talk. What emerges in these studies, then, is that the interpreters' "interpreting" activity is co-constructed so that their contribution does not consist in "mere" repetition in another language but amounts to a complex interactional and intercultural achievement (Wadensjö 1998: 75; Davidson 2000: 381).

Considering the inevitable function of interpreters as interactional mediators, it maybe worth having a look at the interpreters' activity in the broader context of mediation, when seen as an activity aimed at facilitating communication (Bowling & Hoffman 2000; Sahah-Kazemi 2000), and as a form of active interactional participation (Bush &Folger 1994; Mulcahy 2001; Ayoko et al. 2002; Brigg 2003). Mediators actively intervene in conversation distributing opportunities to speak, giving the parties space to introduce and deal with particular issues, reinforcing particular roles and identities and promoting successful outcomes. Mediation is then seen as the active co-ordination of communication, and includes facilitation of participants' contributions as well as the production of shared alternative narratives (Winslade& Monk 2008), helping conversation go on, offering turns to talk and monitoring mutual understanding. The mediator's task is that of empowering other participants, avoiding expressions liable to impede communication, such as status assertions and other forms of dominance behaviour.

Within this frame of reference, interpreters areseen as intercultural mediators: they promote and coordinate linguistic communication and in so doing become coordinators of intercultural relations (Baraldi 2006). Looking at the ways in which interpreters participate in co-constructing the interaction, as they strive to balance their translational and non-translational interventions, has thus become a matter of interest and a key to appreciating interpreters' social and communicative competence in intercultural interactions. A key issue in both interpreting studies and research on intercultural mediation in general is that of observing ways in which interpreters' activity, both translational and non-translational, facilitates participants' active involvement and offers them a space in which to provide their contribution.

In the following paragraphs, we look at the ways in which interpreters provide opportunities for shifting from sequences in which translation is provided "bit by bit" — i.e. on a turn-by-turn basis — to those in which it is suspended or delayed. We will not deal with interactions that take place in one language only, e.g. separate conversations of the interpreter with one of the parties or those in which one of the parties is present but temporarily preoccupied with an unrelated task (for

instance, a doctor who is busy examining records or reviewing tests). This analysis also excludes sequences involving code-switching or code-mixing mechanisms, where the interpreting is shaped by a (partial) knowledge of the "other" language on the part of (one of) the participants. Consequently some interpreters' contributions which may be significant in our data (e.g. interpreter-patient talk about the organization of hospital activities, or lawyer-interpreter talk about defendant assistance, or "zero" rendition when understanding of the "other" language is achieved) will not be discussed in this analysis. It should also be mentioned that the interactions analysed below were produced by interpreting professionals of varying levels of skill, training and experience, working at institutions with different requirements. To some extent, this is a reflection of the policy of some institutions in Italy whereby community interpreters' primary role is that of "cultural mediators" (see Merlini 2009). As a consequence, some of the instances presented below may seem to represent non-professional — or even "unprofessional" — behaviour on the part of experienced interpreters. As we know, however, the interpreter's choices do not necessarily tell the whole story when it comes to her/his proficiency or competence, and as we hope to make clear, these choices may be the result of a range of complex orientations, expectations and requirements enforced by the institutions and the social systems in which they occur. In our analysis, "unskilled" or "skilled" interpreting behaviour may be observed in the work of highly qualified professionals as well as less qualified ones. Our goal here is to look at the consequences of particular sequences of actions, and to suggest in what ways such sequences may favour or inhibit communication in intercultural situations. It is our hope that this research will prove conducive to further reflection on professional standards — a topic which lies beyond the scope of the paper itself.

3. Data

This study is based on the analysis of a sample of 65 interpreter-mediated interactions, of which fifty took place in healthcare settings, and fifteen at a local police centre dealing with residence permits for immigrants.[1] All of the interactions involve institutional representatives (a doctor or a nurse; a judge, a lawyer and a police officer); a patient or a defendant; and an interpreter. In all cases, the interpreter had been hired by the institution for the purpose of making communication possible and facilitating those institutional activities that involve immigrants. Interactions in hospital settings generally involve three or four parties (one or two healthcare providers, a patient and an interpreter). Interactions at the police centre are in fact short trials and involve five participants: a judge, a lawyer, a police officer, a defendant and an interpreter.

The interactions were recorded in Italian institutional settings and all of the institutional participants were Italian native speakers; the patients/defendants were immigrants from central Africa (mainly Ghana and Nigeria) who spoke English. There were three interpreters involved, all of them women in their thirties. The two women working in the medical setting were Nigerian and spoke a West-African variety of English (see e.g. Christophersen 1999), while the interpreter at the police centre was an Italian native speaker and a competent speaker of English. As explained by Merlini (2009: 57–62), Italy does not have a system of national, regional or public service interpreter registration. Thus, the three interpreters were employed on the basis of the current criteria adopted in Italian healthcare and legal institutions. With respect to their training and experience, the two Nigerian interpreters had an educational background in nursing and belonged to an association that had provided them with training in communication as well as intercultural and conflict mediation. At the time of recording, one had worked at the institution for approximately five years and the other for approximately two years. The interpreter in the legal setting had a Masters degree from a prestigious university program in interpreting/translation studies and had worked at the institution for three years. The three were selected as representing the highest possible standards in each of the two settings and were described by their employees as very good and experienced.

The two institutions concerned applied different requirements with respect to their interpreters. While interpreters in the legal setting were primarily required to "translate carefully" and training in translation and interpreting was appreciated, the primary requirement of the interpreters in the medical setting was that they facilitate contact between doctors and patients. Their training focused on cultural and intercultural competence with less emphasis on translation proper. In healthcare services, there is an acknowledged preference for working with interpreters from the immigrant community rather than the host one, and the interpreters are trained *ad hoc* for the requirements of the particular setting. In the legal sphere, interpreters with bilingual expertise are hired irrespective of their nationality or ethnicity. The labels used by the two institutional frameworks differ as well, with the legal institutions referring to the interpreters as "interpreters", the healthcare institution referring to them as "mediators." In this study, we will use the expression "interpreter-mediator" (IM) to reflect the two types of discourse and the implicit complexity of the task.

The healthcare settings involve clinics in or out of the main hospital building, most of which deal with the prevention or treatment of gynaecological conditions or with pre- or post-natal monitoring of patients (all of them female.) Some of the healthcare providers were male, some were female. Interactions recorded at the

police centre dealt with individuals (both male and female) who had been apprehended by the police for not possessing a legal residence permit.

The data used in this study had been audio- rather than video-recorded. This was due to Italian legal restrictions on recording in general and on video-recording in particular, and to a strong reluctance on the part of the institutional representatives to accept the possibly intrusive presence of a video-camera. For this reason, participants' posture, gaze and gestures could not be included in the data.

The samples of data used here have been fully checked for transcription accuracy by at least three researchers, applying the transcription conventions commonly used in Conversation Analysis (developed by Jefferson 1978, see also Psathas& Anderson 1990). All personal details have been altered in the transcription to protect participants' anonymity.

4. IMs' interventions in mediated talk

In interpreter-mediated talk, the interpreter is the only participant who is assumed to fully understand both languages. As a result, it is the interpreter who provides responses to most turns — both those of the institutional representatives and those of the laymen. The IMs in our data respond to other participants' turns either by providing a rendition of the previous turn or by other actions, such as asking for clarification or providing the interlocutors with acknowledgment tokens and continuers. While the IMs' own interventions were invariably oriented towards the potential translatability of the previous turn, the actual interpretation could either be provided immediately or suspended until a later stage. A case of immediate rendition is shown in extract 1, in which a judge asks about the defendant's nationality, then we have the IM's rendition and the defendant's response.

Extract 1.[2]
((J: Judge, IMF: Interpreter-mediator Francesca; D: Defendant))

```
1 J       nazionalità nigeriana?
          Nigerian nationality?
2 IMF     are you from Nigeria?
3 D       yes
```

In extracts 2 and 3 we observe two different types of suspended rendition. In extract 2, rendition is suspended by a clarification sequence, with the judge's question about the defendant's date of birth (turn 1) being rendered immediately by the IM and answered by the defendant providing his place rather than date of birth, whereupon the IM repeats the question (turn 4) and initiates clarification.

The question is then repeated by the judge in Italian (turn 6), rendered by the interpreter in English (turns 7, 9) and answered by the defendant (turn 10).

Extract 2.
((J: Judge, IMF: Interpreter-mediator Francesca; D: Defendant))

```
1 J       ((typing)) quand'è na:to?
          when was he born?
          (.)
2 IMF     whe:n were you bor:n=uh?
          (0.6)
3 D       (Gha:na)
          (.)
4 IMF     whe:n
          (0.2)
5 IMF     Gha:na
6 J       Ghana [i:l uh?
          Ghana [o:n uh?
7 IMF     a da:te uh?
8 D       mptu[h
9 IMF         [theda:te
10 D      (fourty oh) four seventy fi:ve
```

A second type of suspension occurs when the IM provides feedback to the interlocutor in the form of continuers and acknowledgment tokens (Schegloff 1982; Jefferson 1985; Gardner 2001). In extract 3 the IM provides continuers and acknowledgment tokens as the doctor explains the complex procedure of inducing labour. This activity provides a space for the doctor to negotiate what should be explained to the patient. An abridged rendition of the IM-doctor sequence follows (data not shown here).

Extract 3.
((Doc: Doctor, IMH: interpreter-mediator Heather, Pt: patient))

```
1 Doc  In base alla densità quindi come comincia: il riscontro con
       la visita nel collo uterino, si decide di mettere un gel a
       livello vaginale oppure l'ossitocina a livello (venoso) più
       avanti. Però (.) eh: sicuramente bisogna dirle (.) che non
       è tutto scontato cioè non è che siccome lei ha partorito una
       volta in un attimo si sbriga.
       On the basis of the density so as the check-up sta:rts with
       an examination of her cervix, we decide whether we use a
       vaginal gel or intravenal oxytocin later on. But (.) erm: we
```

```
          certainly need to tell her (.) that she cannot take it for
          granted that is even if she has already given birth once it
          doesn't mean this will be quick
-> 2 IMH  Sì infa[tti.
          Yes ri[ght
   3 Doc        [Ogni donna è dive[rsa.
                [each woman is differ[ent
-> 4 IMH                           [Sì certo
                                   [yes sure
   5 Doc  e' una storia a sé.
          each one is a different story
   6 IMH  [E poi il bambino-
          [and then the baby-
   7 Doc  [Quindi non si deve demora- (??) tempi diversi dipende (??)
          un certo orario (??) eccetera. Non si deve demoralizzare nè
          deprimere se vede che- i miei colleghi le metteranno prima
          un gel, poi di nuovo un'altra ossitazione dopo sei otto o:re=
          [So she shouldn't get discour- (??) different reactions it
          depends (??) particular timing (??) and so on. She shouldn't
          lose heart or feel depressed if she sees that my colleagues
          will place gel first, and then again a new oxytocin
          induction after six eight hou:rs=
-> 8  IMH Sì.
          Yes.
   9  Doc =poi valuteranno loro.
          Then they will make their assessment.
-> 10 IMH Sì.
          Yes.
   11 IMH Anche il fatto che la rivisitano e le rimettono un gel e la
          reinducono non vuol dire che- è fallita l'induzione=
          Also the fact that she is checked again and that they place
          gel again doesn't mean that- the induction has failed=
-> 12 IMH Sì.
          Yes.
   13 Doc =vuol dire che ci vuole un po' di te- E' raro che dopo il
          primo gel [parte e inizia il travaglio ok?
          =it means that it takes a bit longer- It is rare that labour
          [starts after the first gel induction ok?
   14 IMH          [Parte, sì.
                   [it starts, yes.
```

Extracts 1–3 above show what are probably the main types of interpreting sequences found in our data. They also show that different types of intervention may figure in interpreter-mediated interactions — some of which involve immediate renditions and some require other types of intervention (such as requests for clarification, displays of understanding or acknowledgment tokens.) Thus, it appears that both types of intervention are sometimes necessary to achieve understanding, with different interactional consequences following each. When providing an immediate rendition, the IM passes the turn to the next interlocutor, treating the sequence as non-problematic, understandable and immediately translatable. On the other hand, in the case of suspended interventions of the types shown above, the interpreter treats the turn as problematic and proceeds to solve the trouble or to negotiate the comprehensibility and translatability of the previous utterance. This type of interactional work, however complex it may be, seems necessary to achieve understanding. In the following section we focus on the interactional consequences of suspended renderings.

5. Consequences of suspended contributions

There are several mechanisms for negotiating the suspension of rendition in interpreter-mediated talk, including the code-switching mechanism by which interlocutors show that they speak and (partly) understand their interlocutor's language and may not need rendition at local points (see Angermeyer forthcoming; Anderson 2009; Baraldi & Gavioli 2010). Here we focus on two types of suspending mechanisms initiated by the IM. Both seem quite frequent in our data (see also Englund Dimitrova 1997): 1. IM's initiation of a repair or clarification (e.g. to pursue a particular response, as in extract 2 above); 2. IM's minimal responses, such as continuers or acknowledgment tokens (as in extract 3 above) prompting the interlocutor to continue.

The initiation of a repair treats the interlocutor's response as non-relevant; the IM may then intervene for the sake of clarification and may pursue a contribution that responds to the content that had been made relevant in the previous sequence of turns. Thus, for example, in extract 2 above, the IM intervened to pursue the defendant's answer concerning his date rather than place of birth. Another example is provided in extract 4 below, taken from the medical set of data. Here the doctor's question ("Does she know if she's allergic to any drug?") is rendered by the IM and then answered by the patient with "mm" in turn 3, and "yeah" in turn 5. These minimal responses are treated as non-relevant, and the IM reformulates the question in turn 6, thus opening a side sequence in which clarification is negotiated. In line with the side sequence mechanism described by Jefferson (1972),

these clarification sequences end when the answer that was required is provided. The relevance of the answer is confirmed by the IM rendering it and resuming the immediate, turn-by-turn rendition mechanism.

Extract 4.
((Doc: Doctor, IMH: interpreter-mediator Heather, Pt: patient))

```
1 Doc  Mh. Va bene. Sa di essere allergica a qualche farmaco?
       Mh. Alright. Does she know if she's allergic to any drug?
2 IMH  Did you allergic to any medicine?
3 Pt   (.) Mmm
4 IMH  Is there any medicine you take (??) that caused you problem?
5 Pt   Yeah.
6 IMH  Which one?
7 Pt   Clorochina in Ghana.
8 IMH  Clorochina.
9 Doc  Clorochina. Eh.
10 IMH E:: Sempre quella.
       E:: that one always.
11 Doc Ok. Trasfusione di sangue ne ha mai avu[te?
       Ok. Blood transfusions, did she have [any?
12 IMH                                       [You don't have blood
       before. They don't give you blood before?
```

Sequences similar to those shown in extracts 2 and 4 are observable in both the medical and the legal data.

The second mechanism conducive to the suspension of interpretation is seen when the IM provides minimal responses, as in extract 3 above. Extract 5 below shows a similar case from the legal setting, with the IM "listening" to the defendant. In turn 1, the judge asks the defendant a question, which is translated by the IM in turns 2 and 4. In turn 5 the defendant asks for clarification and the IM responds in turn 6. In turn 7 the defendant describes the problems he has encountered in attempting to have his passport validated and the IM, in turn 9, provides a continuer and a possible completion of the defendant's turn. The IM then initiates a rendering in turn 11, but the defendant continues recounting his story to the IM, who eventually reports it to the judge in turns 15 and 17.

Extract 5.
((J: Judge, IMF: Interpreter-mediator Francesca, D: Defendant, L: Lawyer, P: Policeman))

```
1 J    = PERCHé NON SI è RIVOLTO AL CONsola:[to per avere il  [rinnovo
       del::docume:ento?
       = WHY DIDN?T HE ASK THE CONsula: te to get the document
       [validation?
2 IMF                                      [co:nsula:te, WHy [ di:dn't
       you: (0.2)
       didn't your: =
3 L?                                                          [((
       coughs))
4 IMF  = why didn't you ask to the co:nsulate or to the e:mbassy mm
       uh:: for ne:w docume:nts=uh, >°.hh°< the embassy of you:r
       country¿
5 D    for der:: pa- >for der pa-<pa:sspo[:rt
6 IMF                                    [<ye:s[:>
7 D                                            [>be-be-<becau:se:
       be- befo:re: >de- dey< do: it in he:re but now we have to send
       money to: (.) a:frica. <an' i do:n't 'ave mo:ney to do it.
       (.)
8 D    <so i ha[:ve to-       ] [<i ha:ve [to
9 IMF         [>you have to-<] [you:     [NOW You ha:ve to se:nd
       so:meo:n: [:e
10 D             [ye::s <bu:(t) nu:-
11 IMF [perchè n-
       [because n-
12 D   [nu- now is alrea:dy- is co:ming.
       (0.4)
13 D   no::w i have finished will have to find a jo:b.
       (.)
14 D   an' i can ge:t, (0.2) a proof on (s:ome). (.) [k-
15 IMF                                               [<eh::: dice che
       [pri:ma si pote]:va: fare: dall'ita:lia<me:ntre ade:sso: =
       [<eh::: he says that [be:fore you cou:ld do: it from
       Ita:ly<whi:leno:w: =
16 D   [(a- a: dito:) ]
17 IMF = si deve fare dall'a:fri:ca e:: >non ave:va i so:ldi< °per
       poterlo fa:re°
       = it has to be done in A:frica a::nd > he didnt' ha:ve the
       mo:ney< °to do it°
```

When the IMs produce minimal responses, they position themselves as listeners and encourage the speaker-in-turn to continue speaking, which leads to the production of a long turn on the part of this participant. This long turn generally ends with a rendition in the form of a formulation (Heritage 1985: 100–4) reporting the gist of the preceding sequence. The opening of this (often summarised) rendition is generally signalled by the IM with a marker for drawing attention, such as "so", "well", "erm" or throat clearing, followed by a reporting verb and speaker attribution ("he said", "the doctor said")

It is worth noting that suspending mechanisms may function to solve interactional problems such as the need for clarification or taking/giving a longer turn in the case of an interlocutor who needs more time in which to provide, e.g., explanations of complex procedures, as in extract 3, or personal trouble's telling (Jefferson 1988) as in extract 5. Unlike immediate renditions, in which the IM treats the turn as non-problematic and as not being directed at her/him, suspended interventions treat the turn as not immediately translatable and as being directed at the interpreter. Thus, while immediate rendition projects a response by the third party and involves the third party in the interaction immediately, suspended contributions project a monolingual interaction involving an interactional problem.

In this respect both requests for clarification and continuers or other displays of listening activity are necessary if the participants are to identify shared meanings and to achieve understanding. However, renditions may sometimes be suspended for several turns. In order to construct understanding, involve the participants in the interaction and give them space to contribute to talk in interpreter-mediated interaction, it is therefore necessary to strike a balance between immediate rendition and suspended interventions (Baraldi & Gavioli 2007, 2010).

6. Participants' co-construction of translation relevance in the legal and the medical data

The interactional mechanisms described above are recurrent ones in both the legal and the medical data sets, and seem to be in line with more general conversational mechanisms described in the literature on conversation analysis. Interestingly, however, the IMs' contributions are treated differently in the two settings, with immediate renditions and suspended interventions being promoted or prevented in different ways in each of the two.

In the legal set, immediate rendition is generally provided at the participants' first turn completion point. Feedback by the IM occurs in just a few cases. When the IM does not provide a rendition, the judge invites her to do so, as in extract 6 below, in which the judge starts her turn by saying that the defendant has been

ordered to move out of Italy, then stops and asks the IM to interpret ("traduca pure"/"please translate", turn 1), which the IM accepts ("okay", turn 2) and does (turn 2).

Extract 6.
((J: Judge, IMF: Interpreter-mediator Francesca, P: Policeman, L: Lawyer))

```
-> 1   J  è stato e:spu:lso tra:duca pure con decre:to della
       prefettura lo sa già perché[:: (gli è stato notificato [ieri)
       he was expe:lle:d please translate under an order by the
       council he knows that already because[:: (he got a notice
       [yesterday)
-> 2 IMF                          [okay                      [the[::
   3 P                                                           [c'è:
       c'è un provvedimento di espulsione regolare notifica:[to a lui::
       [there's: there's a regular expulsion order notifie:[d to him::
   4 J                                                    [Quattro
       dodici duemila tre:,
                                                          [Four twelve
       two thousand three:,
       (.)
       ((J, L e P talk and type documents in overlap with IMF's
       translation))
   5 IMF  on the=uh::: (.) f:ourtee:nth of dece:mber you were- (.)
       order:ed (0.2) from:: (.) the la:w, (.) from the- offi-
       officials here: in Padova .hhh to:: leave italy? because (.)
       you a:re here without do:cume:nts
```

In the legal set the IM's suspending contributions occur mainly in the form of side clarification sequences and are rapidly re-directed to the predominant immediate rendition mechanism of turn organization; e.g. in extract 2 above, where the IM reformulates the judge's question several times (turns 4, 7 and 9) in an effort to elicit a relevant response. The relevance of the response is then confirmed by the IM interpreting it to the judge and then resuming the immediate rendition mechanism. In extract 2, the judge contributes to maintaining the immediate rendition mechanism by asking a precise question concerning the date of birth, as initially requested. In other cases, the judge seeks to end the clarification sequence by overtly re-directing the IM's attention to her interpreting task.

Extract 7 is very explicit in this respect. In turn 2 the defendant asks for clarification about what is meant by "drugs", which the IM had mentioned in turn 1. As the IM and the lawyer then engage in an attempt to solve the problem, the judge intervenes (turn 10) by questioning the interaction order that is being established

with this clarification sequence and affirming his role as the one who addresses questions to the defendant : "(chiedo io gli) faccio io le domande./(I ask) I am the one who asks the questions." The judge's contribution then stops the IM–defendant sequence, as the IM abides by the judge's request to establish a different interactional order ("ye:s," turn 11), and the immediate rendition mechanism is taken up again in turns 12–13.

Extract 7.
((IMF: Interpreter-mediator Francesca, D: Defendant, J: Judge, L: Lawyer))

```
1 IMF      and for drugs in pa:dova.
           (0.6)
2 D        (what was it)
           (.)
3 IMF      dru:gs=uh¿
           (.)
4 D        wha:t is drugsen
5 IMF      dru:gs,
           (0.6)
6 IMF      uh:::::: hhhh uh::[:
7 L                          [(dice dru:g non lo so)
                             [(she says dru:g I don't know)
           (0.6)
8 IMF      you don't know drug=uh?
           (0.3)
9 D        drug to say s[omething to me
-> 10 J                 [(chiedo io gli) facc[io io le domande. =
                        [(I ask) I am the one who asks [the questions.=
11 IMF                                                 [ye:s.
12 J    = a:llora. si chia:ma Norda Dominic na:to Accra, (.) il no:ve
        o:tto sessanta ci:n[que
        = n:ow. Your name i:s Norda Dominic you were bo:rn in Accra,
        (.) on ni:nthei:ght sixty fi:[ve
13 IMF                              [you we.re born in Accra on the:: ni.nth of
        augu:st sixty five
```

It may be noted that the clarification sequence in extract 7 above is initiated by the defendant, who first asks for clarification and initiates a side sequence. Even in those cases where it is the judge who initiates a clarification sequence, the interaction is rapidly restored to the immediate rendition mechanism. Extract 8 below provides a clear example of this. Here the judge in turn 2 asks the IM to confirm whether the defendant's first arrival in Italy was in the South of Italy

("meridione?"/"southern regions?"). The IM confirms this in turn 3 ("sì"/"yes") and the judge asks for further clarification in turn 4 ("giù giù sicuramente in Sicilia"/"down down surely in Sicily"). Once again, the IM offers confirmation, in turn 5, then reports back to the defendant and interprets the judge's request in turn 6 ("Sicily, was it an island or was it the mainland"); after further clarification in turns 8–10, the defendant's answer is rendered (turn 11: "era sì su un'isola"/"he was yes on an island")

Extract 8.
((IMF: Interpreter-mediator Francesca, J: Judge, D: Defendant))

```
1 IMF  nn::: non sa- non conosce:va nie:nte dell'ita:lia allo:ra
       qui:ndi:
       nn:: he didn't kno:w any:thing about ita:ly at the ti:me so
2 J    =meridio:ne?
       =southe:rn regions?
       (.)
3 IMF  [s:ì.
       [ye:s.
4 J    [giù  giù s[:icuramente in sici:lia?
       [down down s[u:rely in sicily?
5 IMF             [sì
                  [yes
6 IMF  si:ci:ly:, was it an i:sla::nd =uh or was i:t the mai:nland=
7 D    =(sì.)
       =(yes.)
       (0.4)
8 IMF  an isla:n[d?
9 D        [sì
           [yes
       (.)
10 D   sì.
       Yes.
11 IMF era:: sì, su un isola
       he wa:s yes, on an island
```

These extracts from the legal set of data indicate that the rendition is made relevant by the participants (including the IM) at the first possible turn completion point; when other actions (such as requests for clarification) are introduced in the sequence they are treated as "asides," are rapidly responded to and are terminated by returning to what seems to be an immediate rendition mechanism. Interpreting then is overwhelmingly provided immediately after participants' turns, with

occasional side clarification sequences, which may be initiated by any one of the three participants. In all cases the clarification sequences end rapidly (even when the problem has not been solved, as in extract 8) and the participants return to the immediate rendition organization.

In the healthcare set of data, interpreting activity is organized differently and the rendition is made relevant at different points. Particularly at possible turn completion points, IMs provide minimal responses to one interlocutor (most often the doctor), which encourage her/him to proceed, and interpretation is generally provided in a long turn, summarizing what has been said previously, as in extract 3 above. Extract 9 below provides a further example of this type of turn organization. In turn 1 the doctor explains that the patient is infected with the hepatitis B virus and that her newborn was given a vaccination which needs to be repeated several times. The IM, in turns 2, 4, 6 and 8, provides acknowledgment tokens and minimal responses and the doctor continues with a lengthy explanation. In turn 10 the IM provides a summary, in English, for the patient.

Extract 9
((Doc: Doctor, IMA: Interpreter-mediator Alice))

```
1  Doc Le cure particolari per il bimbo sono queste, mhm ecco. La
       mamma ha questo virus dell'epatite B, quindi al bambino abbiamo
       fatto la vaccinazione per l'epatite B. La prima dose l'abbiamo
       fatta q[ui
       The particular treatments for the baby are these ones, mhm
       here. Mummy has this hepatitis B virus, so we have given the
       baby a vaccination against hepatitis B. The first dose was
       given to the baby here.
2  IMA        [uh uh
3  Doc La vaccinazione dovrà fare le altre dosi. E' una vaccinazione
       che in Italia è obbligatoria, quella per l'epatite B. Noi
       l'abbiamo anticipata senno la faceva entro il terzo me[se
       The vaccination she will get more doses. It is a vaccination
       that is compulsory in Italy, that for the hepatitis B. We have
       anticipated it for her, otherwise she should have done that
       before the age of three months
4  IMA                                                    [uh mhm ok
5  Doc Il laboratorio vaccinazioni, se è qua di ((ci[ttà))
       The vaccination lab, if she lives here in ((city))
6  IMA                                              [ah si in via
       Nova[ra
       [ah yes in Novara street
```

```
7  Doc     [andrà a ((città 2)) a farle. La chiamerà per fare le altre
       dosi della vaccinazio[ne
           [She will go to ((city2)) to get that. She will be called
       to get the other doses of the vaccination
8  IMA                      [mhm
9  Doc Ok
->10 IMA  Ok, you know. They say you have the epatite B that they
       say your baby, they did the-the anticorpi, the-the vaccin. But
       later, they say that you come for the vaccination mhm they say
       they did this to baby of mhm three months but it will be too
       late for your baby to do the vaccination then
```

While this type of suspending contribution may be observed in the legal data too in some cases (see e.g. extract 5 above), it applies to most of the encounters in the medical set. Conversely, while the immediate rendition organization is observed also in the medical data, it is probably not the predominant type (but see extract 4 above). The IMs' responsive actions, such as acknowledgment tokens or minimal responses, are accepted by participants in the medical data, and rendition is provided in the form of lengthy reports. This difference may be connected to the different types of professionals involved in the two sets of data, but may also relate to particular features of legal and medical institutions. Legal institutions require certainty regarding normative conversational processes, so accuracy in interpreting each utterance is considered essential. In medical institutions, the emphasis is on monitoring the patient's condition and adapting her/his behaviour to clinical requirements. Interpreting techniques will thus be oriented primarily toward this goal.

7. Translation organization and the promotion of participants' involvement in talk

The analysis above highlights two of the main organizational patterns regarding sequences of turns in our data. In the one case, the interpretation is provided as an immediate rendition, interspersed with side clarification sequences where problems of hearing or understanding are being managed or where a particular response is negotiated and pursued. In the other case, the IM exhibits a more proactive response, providing acknowledgment tokens and minimal responses, and summarised renditions for the third participant.

While, as suggested above, the nature of the interpreter's intervention may be related to the setting (medical or legal), it may also be related to the purposes of the service required. As mentioned in Section 3, the IM's primary requirement in

the legal setting is that of getting accurate renditions whereas in the medical setting IMs are also required to act as intercultural mediators (see Section 2 above); i.e. to facilitate contact between healthcare providers and patients and to direct attention to patients' needs. Analyses of data collected in different healthcare settings (Amato 2006; Amato & Gavioli 2007) suggest that when the IMs are not explicitly required to work as facilitators of contact, i.e. as mediators, they may use practices other than the ones we have observed above, and may make more frequent recourse to immediate rendition.

Two points seem worth considering here: first, alignment to the one type of sequence or the other is not the sole responsibility of the IM; second, alignment to one type of sequence or the other fosters different types of involvement on the part of the participants. In the hospital setting, where the IMs are required to work as intercultural mediators, they respond to the participants directly and provide helpful feedback. In the legal setting, the turn organization assumes a different pattern: since the IM's primary requirement is to render the participants' contributions, interpretation is overwhelmingly provided at participants' first turn completion point and the IM's self-positioning as a listener is a rare exception to the rule. For example, in extract 10 below, the IM interprets what the judge has said ("it's not a good enough reason for you not to renew the residence permit", turn 3) and in turns 4–6 the defendant replies to the judge's decision by saying that he was in the process of having his permit validated when he was apprehended. In turn 8 the judge replies directly to the defendant, and his reply is rendered by the IM in turns 9 and 11. In turns 15–17 the defendant complains that he needed to get his passport validated first and that it takes time to do this.

Extract 10.
((J: judge, IMF: interpreter-mediator Francesca, D: defendant))

```
1 J    p- (.) non è: una ragio:nesufficie:nte pe:r uh per uh::
       [per non aver rinnovato il perme:s[so di soggiorno.
       f- (.) this is no:t a sufficie:ntreaso:nfo:r uh for uh::
       [for not having renewed the reside:n[ce permit
2 IMF  [per no:nave:rrinnova:to          [sì
       [for no:t havi:ng renewe:d        [yes
3 IMF  fo:r a:- (0.5) it's not a good enough rea:son for you: not to
       rene- ne:w the: re:sidencepe:rmit
       (1.4)
4 D    because of wha:t
5 IMF  sorry?
       (1.0)
```

```
6 D    (wha:t i decided to do) is for- is for me i i: (0.2) i'm- i'll
       make it
       (0.8)
7 IMF  .hhh eh[:
8 J           [avrebbe dovu:to rinnova:re i docume[::nti e:
              [he should ha:ve renewed his pape[::rs and:
9 IMF                                           [you: shou:ld
10 J   =  rifa:re
       =  do it a:gain
11 IMF = 'ave do:ne i:t be:fo:re [er:: you should 'ave do:ne
12 J                            [rifa:re: la:
                                [do: a:gain the:
13 IMF = i:t befo:re
14 J   = segui:re la procedu:ra per ave:re di nuo:vo [il permesso
       = follo:w the procedu:re to ge:t agai:n [the residence permit
15 D                                            [(    ) but i-
16 J   = (di soggiorno)
17 D   = i do:n't have er that i do:n't ha:ve th- the way to do de
       pa:sspo:rt (0.4) so i 'a:ve to fi:nd a way to do the pa:ssport
       da- da:t's [(   )
```

In this example, by translating the judge's turns in sequence, the IM allows the defendant to react to what is being said. In other words, the interpreter's organization of the interaction provides the defendant with an opportunity to participate by offering a reply to the judge's turn, mediated by the IM. Thus, while postponing interpretation with minimal responses and acknowledgment tokens, IMs allow the speakers to describe their problems and viewpoints, they risk reducing the relevance of third participants' contributions. This type of tension is characteristic of interpreter-mediated interaction and accounts for much of its complexity.

8. Interpreter-mediated interactions and intercultural mediation

The different organizations of translation sequences that we have shown and the IM's positioning as a listener (e.g. providing "mhm"s and other types of feedback) or as a turn-rendition provider (e.g. in immediate renditions) have different interactional consequences for the participants' co-construction of talk. It also seems that such different co-constructions have, in their turn, consequences for the activity of intercultural mediation.

The first and probably main consequence is that when the IM positions herself as a listener, she actually "takes the place" of the participant she is supposed

to give voice to. This, paradoxically, risks the exclusion from the interaction of precisely that participant whom the IM aims to serve, in that the interpreter may literally "take that voice." Taking the voice of one of the participants may also lead to the IM's siding with the participant she has been speaking with. In this way, the distribution of active participation in the interaction is unequal and this in turn prevents effective intercultural mediation, including the process of facilitating participants' contributions, producing shared alternative narratives, helping the conversation proceed, offering turns to speak, checking reciprocal understanding — in a word, empowering participants (as discussed in Section 2 above).

IM's provision of feedback thus gives space to the participant-in-turn but risks reducing the space of the other participant(s). A careful and balanced shift to a rendition-oriented activity may then be essential in the organization of interpreter-mediated interaction as a way of promoting participation and contact between the institutional participant and the layman, favouring effective intercultural mediation. This is a major problem in interpreter-mediated interactions. Summarized renditions, provided after long stretches of talk between the IM and one interlocutor only, seem in fact to have negative consequences for intercultural mediation. In extract 11 below, the IM renders a lengthy explanation by the doctor in English, for the patient. The concern is about the patient's behaviour before and after kidney transplant. The doctor, as well as the IM in her rendition, highlight the importance of the patient's being maximally informed and in contact with the institution before and after his surgery. In the (quite evident) attempt to reassure the patient, the IM introduces distinctions between the doctors ("the doctors are ready to answer", turn 4, "the doctors are here for you and they are very careful", turn 11) and "we", the patients-laymen ("we are not animals we are men", turn 6) and misses a more personal direct contact that seemed to be introduced by the doctor in turns 1–3 ("se lui non sa o vuole qualche informazione il mio consiglio è di chiederetutto" / "If he doesn't know or if he wants any information my advice is that of asking everything").

Extract 11.
((Doc: Doctor, IMA: Interpreter-mediator Alice, Pt: Patient

```
1 Doc  volevo chiedere se lui sa qualco[sa. Se lui non sa o vuole
       qualche informazione il mio
       I wanted to ask if he knows someth[ing. If he doesn't know or if
       he wants any information my
2 IMA                                     [mhm
3 Doc  consiglio è chiedere tutto, anche le domande più banali.
       advice is that of asking everything, even the most banal
       questions
```

```
4 IMA  You can ask them all the questions. If you want, they are
       there. Before the operation.
       If it doesn't come to you when you are there with the doctor and
       it comes to you when you go home, then write it down. So ask
       the questions, there are no problem. If you remember, you can
       come or you can call me (??) Any question and the doctors are
       ready to answer the questi[on
5 ?Pt                             [because, if (?) want to know
       everything ab[out
6 IMA                    [you understand, eh? Because we are not
       animals, we are [men
7 Pt                    [men
8 IMA  (h) So, ask, ask any question, don't be afraid. Every time it
       comes, you can ask question
       (.)
9 IMA  And after the operation you have to be very very careful
10 Doc Noi siamo qui per aiutarlo.
       We are here to help him
11 IMA the doctors are here for [you and they are very careful
12 Pt                           [mhm
```

This interactional organization of translation sequences and a delayed shift to the actual rendition leads participants to accept being excluded and leaves it up to the IM to "give voice" to them in her own terms, replacing them in the process of contributing to the interaction. These terms may not correspond to those used by the participant and may indeed give space to what the IM views as appropriate to interactions between institution and laymen or between host culture and guest culture, impeding any direct contact between the two. Thus participants' acceptance to be excluded from the interaction does not necessarily provide them with an advocate and their "voice" fades, not only in conversational terms, but also from the point of view of intercultural participation.By positioning herself as the patient's co-participant (summarizing what the doctor has said), the IM, in effect, reinforces the institutional cultural system and the gatekeeping role of the IM (see Davidson 2000). This is observable in extract 11, where the IM uses her own terms to insist on the reliability and high quality of the medical staff and inhibits direct reassurances from the doctor.

Delayed renderings may be connected to a lack of interest in the IM's activity as an interpreter and may lead the institutional representatives to blindly trust the IM's understanding of the situation and decline to take responsibility for it. This, in turn, leads the IMs to de-emphasize the importance of interpreting and to take the responsibility of the institution upon themselves, so that they may be regarded

as its "representatives" in talk and, in assuming the role of gatekeepers, may lose not only the role of "interpreter," but also that of "mediator."

The consequences of different organisations of interpreting for intercultural mediation are controversial. Above, we suggested that when participants adopt a mechanism of turn organization in which immediate rendition is made relevant, this organization seems to favour more direct contact between the institutional representative and the layman as the IM's action makes participation by the third interlocutor relevant after each previous participant's turn. Direct contact (e.g. in extract 10 above) promotes the perspective of the patient/defendant who sometimes participates actively in the interaction. This, at least, gives the patients/defendants the possibility of complaining or of rejecting the institutional norms and promotes a space in which they may express themselves. Immediate renditions, however, treat turns as non-problematic and easily translatable, allowing little space for the participants to say what may be difficult for them to say; e.g. to tell about their problems, worries or to describe complex procedures. Moreover, direct contact promotes the institutional cultural perspective, which, in the legal context for instance, emerges in its normative character ("(chiedo io gli) faccio<u>io</u> le domande/(I ask) <u>I</u> am the one who asks the questions").

By listening to one interlocutor the IM is able to perform what are considered empowering actions in mediation and to achieve effective intercultural communication (Gudykunst 1994; Kim 2001), by facilitating the interlocutors' contributions, offering them turns to speak, checking their perceptions and understanding, actively listening to them, particularly in those cases where the interlocutor who is given space is the layman, e.g. the migrant patient. Thus, while on the one hand immediate renditions put the interlocutors in close contact, suspending contributions allow the IM to give the participants space to talk, to deal with problematic issues, and to understand in greater depth what is to be translated. The management of these "spaces" is risky and may involve a very complex balancing activity on the part of the IM, but can actually be the space through which dialogic mediation is coordinated and achieved in intercultural communication (Baraldi & Gavioli 2007, 2010; Baraldi 2009).

9. Conclusion

The analysis above leads us to a series of conclusions regarding the IM's function in talk organization and the effects of her/his activity on the process of intercultural mediation. In particular, this concerns the dynamics of interpreting as a *pas de trois* (Wadensjö 1998: 10), a triadic interaction in which the interpreter is quite central. In this respect, it may be interesting to note that "third parties" in this

triadic interaction change constantly, causing considerable attention to be devoted to the interpreter's coordination of talk.

Second, there seems to be a relationship between the organization of interaction and the types of contributions provided by the IMs. In particular, after a participant's turn at talk, IMs may intervene either with a rendition of that turn or with a suspended intervention, such as the initiation of a clarification or acknowledgment tokens and continuers. Immediate rendition works as a "pass" in the terms of Jefferson and Schenkein (1978), a signal that the interlocutor-in-turn is not the main addressee of the previous interlocutor, and avoids any delay in involving the third interlocutor (the "relevant" one) in the interaction; through suspending contributions, on the other hand, the IM assumes the position of interlocutor of the first participant, delaying the rendition but providing space for the participants to express what cannot be said quickly and easily.

Third, there seems to be a difference between the two sets of data with regard to the actions pursued in each of them. In the legal set, suspended contributions are systematically resisted, and in the (rare) event of acknowledgment tokens or clarification sequences, the immediate rendition mechanism is quickly re-established. In the healthcare set, suspended contributions, particularly through indicators of listening activity, such as continuers or acknowledgment tokens, are frequent and are favoured by participants. While this talk organization may have to do with differences between the types of professionals involved — "mediators" in the healthcare settings vs. "interpreters" in the legal one —, it seems unlikely that this mechanism would be so systematically favoured by the participants in the interaction if it were not in line with participants' wider expectations. Parallel analyses of healthcare data involving different types of IMs (Ciliberti 2009), moreover, indicate that this mechanism also prevails in the case of highly qualified professional interpreters working in Italian public healthcare settings. It seems then that while immediate rendition promotes immediate responses and balanced space for the participants, it also limits the space allotted to individual interlocutors. In all probability, therefore, the rendition activity must be suspended when space for single interlocutors is more overtly needed, as may be the case in healthcare settings, e.g., when dealing with patients' reluctance to speak.

Fourth, different interactional structures have different consequences for inclusion/exclusion of participants in/from talk and seem to be associated with different types of mediation. An interesting point here is that when the IM "takes the part" (talks on behalf) of one of the interlocutors, she excludes that interlocutor, depriving her/him of a voice. This is particularly relevant in the asymmetric role structures of legal or hospital settings: indeed, as Davidson shows (2000, 2001), by assuming the part of one participant the IM excludes the weaker party (the migrant patient, in the present case) from the interaction and reinforces the asym-

metry of the relationship. When rendition is suspended, it is a delicate and complex interactional work for the IM to re-involve all participants in talk and give them a voice. Participants' inclusion/exclusion in mediated talk, then, is not only a matter of information selection, as the literature seems to suggest, but is closely connected to the structure of the interaction. In this way, the analysis contributes to clarifying the connection between interlingual (translational) and intercultural aspects of interpreter-mediated interactions.

Finally, we believe that this type of research may contribute to the study of interpreting and other mediating practices. There are different approaches to the training of interpreters and mediators and these have often been kept apart — leading to a separation between "interpreters" proper, as professionals with knowledge and skills in translation, and "mediators," as professionals with special cultural knowledge and skills. This, in its turn, is reflected in some contradictory disciplinary approaches (linguistic vs. pedagogical and sociological). Our analysis suggests that there may be different ways of achieving the task of interpreting, that these may be strictly connected to contextual expectations and that they affect intercultural mediation.

In this article, we have looked at interactions involving different types of professionals and at the consequences of their actions in talk as interpreting *and* as mediation. We suggest that an analysis of these different actions and interactions contributes to improved understanding of intercultural communicative competence in different settings and under different requirements.

Notes

1. The medical interactions are part of a larger corpus of over 200 conversations in healthcare settings including more institutions, more IMs and more languages (Arabic, Chinese). The set used here has been selected for the languages and the participants involved, which are comparable to those in the legal set.

2. An English approximate gloss of the Italian utterances is provided in italics below each Italian turn. Following Wadensjö (1998), prosodic symbols are inserted in the translation to give an approximate representation of the sounds.

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1 Business Organizations: The Internal Environment

Julie McFarlane and Ross Curran

Anyone embarking upon a journey towards a genuine understanding of business must acquire an underpinning knowledge of the inner workings of the firm, how a firm sustains its operations, and the relationship between the firm and its external environment. This chapter gives a detailed definition of the internal business environment, and the main purpose of both business organizations and strategy are discussed. Furthermore, an understanding of the key concepts relating to business organizations and how such organizations continue to create value for the consumer in today's uncertain business environment will be developed.

The purpose of a business organization – its vision/mission

A **business organization** is an individual or group of individuals who collaborate in order to achieve certain commercial objectives; in essence, it is an economic system where goods and services are exchanged in return for profit. Business organizations come in a variety of forms, and each varies in type and size, from small family businesses to large multinational corporations. A business organization can be privately owned, not-for-profit, or state-owned. An example of a large corporate business is PepsiCo, while a small business such as an independently owned restaurant or shop is termed a private enterprise (Casadesus-Masanell and Ricart, 2010). These business organizations are usually formed to earn income for their owners, while the public or social enterprise is often founded to raise money and to utilise additional resources to provide or

support public programmes. There are three common types of business organizations: public, private and voluntary, and there is often crossover between each type, as indicated by the arrows in Figure 1.1.

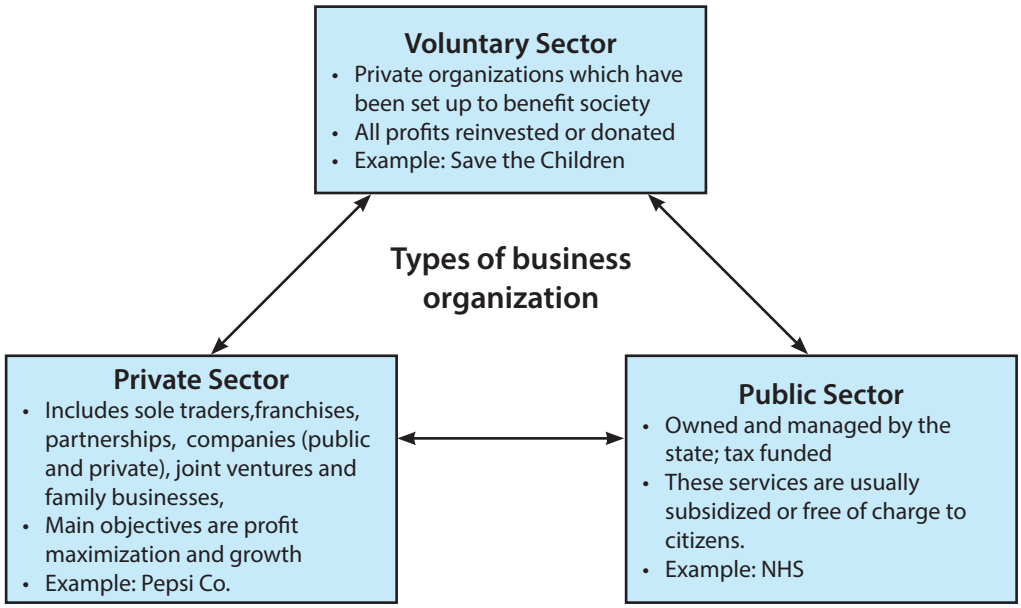


Figure 1.1: Types of organization

Defining business size can be surprisingly complex, as no single measure exists. Usually business size is determined by a combination of factors: the number of employees, the number of outlets or business units, total revenue, overall gross profit, capital investment and market value. However, the number of employees is the most common measure of the size of a business (Table 1.1).

Table 1.1: UK Business Statistics, 2014

Business type	Number of employees	Number of enterprises (000s)
Micro	0-9	5,010
Small	10-49	195
Medium	50-249	31
Large	250+	7

Source: Ward, M., and Rhodes, C., 2014. *Small Business and the UK Economy*. Standard Note: SN/EP/6078. (9 December 2014). Economic Policy and Statistics. House of Commons Library. P. 3.

Table 1.1 shows both the number of micro, and small and medium enterprises (SMEs) in the UK in 2014. There are a small number of multinational corporations (MNCs) (those with over 250 employees). In fact, in 2014 there were 4.9 million businesses in the UK, rising to 5.2 million businesses in 2015,

and of those 99% were SMEs, accounting for 14.5 million in employment (Rhodes, 2013). This is significant in that many of these SMEs are micro in size with between 0-9 employees, and the number is growing with increased access to technologies. Thus, the contemporary business landscape in the UK comprises of a small number of dominant, influential organizations, contrasted by far more small and micro enterprises.

Exercise

Spend the next 5 minutes outlining what a business organization means to you.

How might you measure business success?

The strategic direction of an organization: Industries and markets

As well as establishing clear vision and aims for an organization, managers must also determine its direction. Strategy is therefore a fundamental part of the planning process, allowing firms to determine where they want to be in relation to where they currently are. There is no commonly agreed definition, and the term strategy means different things to different business organizations (Mintzberg *et al.*, 2005), not only in terms of what their strategy is, but also how they implement it. That said, most strategy scholars agree that the strategy of an organization should make clear the answers to key questions of identity, positioning and purpose. Regardless of size, type, or focus then, there should be a clear view of where the organization is, where it wants to be, and how it plans to get there.

According to McGoldrick (2002), these questions form a 'blueprint' upon which a firm will draw to achieve its objectives. Three levels of strategic decision-making are generally identified, (Table 1.2).

All three levels hold distinctive strategic concerns and draw on different sets of tools, techniques and approaches. Traditionally, corporate level strategy has set the direction for businesses, but we can see that there are occasions when corporate strategy emerges from, or is shaped by, functional level and business level decisions and actions (McIntosh and Maclean (2015). Thus, each level of strategy interacts in an iterative and dynamic manner with the others. For example, whilst marketing and advertising are seen as part of the functional role of the business strategy, corporate strategy cannot be set without a clear understanding of the consumer – this in essence is the purpose of marketing.

Table 1.2: Levels of strategic decision-making

Strategic Level	Description	Typical areas of decision
Corporate	Concerns the direction and composition of an organization, and the co-ordination of the businesses and activities that comprise large and diversified organizations.	• Mission of the organization • Unique attributes • Business portfolio management • Obtaining/retaining businesses • Priorities and portfolio
Business	Relates to the operation and direction of each of the individual businesses within a group of companies.	• Positioning to compete in strategically relevant markets • Product offerings • Internal management in support of chosen competitive approach
Functional	Concerns individual business functions and processes such as finance, marketing, manufacturing, technology and human resources.	• Translating higher-end strategies into operational terms. • Functions and processes organization

Source: Adapted from McGoldrick (2002)

Understanding strategy at all levels is essential. Strategy is concerned with creating value for the consumer and stakeholders of the business organization. Therefore business strategy is often heavily concerned with the wealth and well-being of the organization now and in the future. The strategic blueprint is also about articulating the values of the business, internally and externally, in assisting the implementation of ideas and ideals. Strategy also provides focus at all levels of a business, empowering those within to follow suit. Corporate strategy strengthens the brand while also providing motivation for employees towards achieving objectives. It strengthens the direction of the firm by empowering its employees, providing them with direction and achievable goals, while enriching management and the social contract within the organization. Tools such as **mission statements** can be used to provide general guidance on the internal strategic direction and values of the firm.

Mission statements can provide organizations with an opportunity to explain (both internally and externally) the company's goals, ethics, corporate culture, values and norms for decision-making. Usually, mission statements are one-sentence statements describing the reasons an organization exists, guiding subsequent decision-making about its priorities, actions, and responsibilities (MacIntosh and Maclean, 2015). The mission statement is also used internally, providing a clear idea of where the business is going and how it intends to get there. When these value statements are outlined to the public they are used to articulate the fundamental assumptions of the business.

Economic Systems

Every economy is faced with a fundamental economic problem. In every economy, whether rich or poor, there are limited resources and unlimited wants i.e., the resources of a country are not enough to satisfy the wants of all its citizens. Since the resources of a country is limited and wants unlimited, choices will have to be made. For example, the government may have to decide whether to spend more money on schools, hospitals, transportation or on road work. The process of choice begins with a scale of preference. This is a list of all options in order of preference. For example

Scale of Preference:

-hospitals

-transportation

-schools

-road work

The option to build hospitals being placed at the top of the scale of preference indicates that this choice is most preferred as it yields the greatest satisfaction from the resources to be spent. Transportation is the opportunity cost of this choice as it is the second most preferred option that had to be given up to accommodate the building of hospitals. Opportunity cost is defined as the next best alternative foregone as a result of making a choice.

Economic Systems

An economic system is a programme that a country uses to organize production and the distribution of goods and services, to maximize the benefits to its society. Economic systems vary worldwide. In this lesson we will discuss four types. These are the Subsistence, Free Market, Planned and Mixed economic systems. Governments choose particular economic programmes that will effectively manage their economies, bring about economic growth and improve the lifestyles of its citizens. The following economic questions must be answered by managers of economies.

1. What to produce?
2. How much to produce?
3. What methods of production are to be used?
4. How will goods and services be distributed?

Answers to questions 1, 2, & 4 will depend on the economic system of each country.

Subsistence Economic Systems

The Subsistence economic system as its name suggests are economies in which just enough is produced by its citizens for their survival. Since there is no surplus wealth is not created. Subsistence economies exist in many villages in Africa and South America among peoples who live in simple societies.

Free Market Economic System also called Free Enterprise or Laissez Faire

Private individuals own the greater share of the property and capital resources that are used in the production process. There is little or no government intervention in the economic activities of the country. The government may provide essential services e.g. transportation and water. Therefore the private sector provides the majority of goods and services.

Advantages

-Competition among business will result in increased quality of output and lower prices.

-Competition also leads to innovation i.e. newly invented goods, services and production processes.

-Consumers are free to choose the goods and services that they wish to purchase and therefore production is based on their demands.

Disadvantages

-Consumer exploitation by suppliers may go unchecked by government as there is little or no government intervention.

-There is an unequal distribution of wealth as goods are purchased by only those who can afford it.

-In the case of no government intervention public goods such as postal service, streetlights and roads are not provided

The Planned or Controlled Economic System

Property and capital resources are owned by the government on behalf of the society. The government makes all decisions concerning the use of the country's resources and the distribution of its output. Goods and services are provided through government-owned and run operations. These include factories, telephone services, newspapers, television stations, etc.

Advantages

-There is a fair distribution of goods and services as the government determines how goods are distributed.

-Citizens in these economies enjoy a least a basic standard of living as the government provides all goods and services.

Disadvantages

-Resources are inefficiently allocated as consumers are not free to indicate their demand for goods and services. Therefore resources are not sent to where they are most needed but into industries based on the government's decision.

-The lack of competition reduces innovation and the motivation to produce quality output.

The Mixed Economic System

The private and public sector are both involved in the production of goods and services.

The economic resources are owned by government and private individuals.

Advantages

-Consumer protection through the regulation of businesses by government.

-Economic benefits of competition coupled with goods and services provided by government for those who cannot afford to access these through the market system.

Disadvantage

-Public sector companies tend to be inefficient as they are supported by taxpayer's money.

-Government regulatory policies may reduce the enthusiasm of the private sector e.g. the setting of prices of goods and services resulting in the closure of businesses.

Functional Areas In The Operation Of Businesses

Departments in a business organization are structured according to certain functions. The departments of various organizations will differ depending on the type of business.

Production

The production department is responsible for transforming raw materials into finished products. They are also responsible for quality control to ensure that required standards are met.

Finance/Accounts

The accounts department makes and receives all payments on behalf of the business and records all financial transactions

Marketing

This department creates awareness for the firm products and motivates consumers to buy. They also carry out market research to identify customer's needs

Human Resources/Personnel

The human resource department recruits and selects staff for the business organization. They are also responsible for staff training and welfare.

The Purchasing Department

This department is responsible for the purchasing of the firms raw material, stationery and goods for re-sale.

Customer Service/ Customer Relations Department

This Department bridges the gap between a business and its customers. it deals with customers' queries, advising and assisting customers to place orders and handling customers' complaints.

Legal Department

This department is concerned with legal problems that might arise for the company. For example, compensation for employees and customers, who have brought lawsuits against the company.

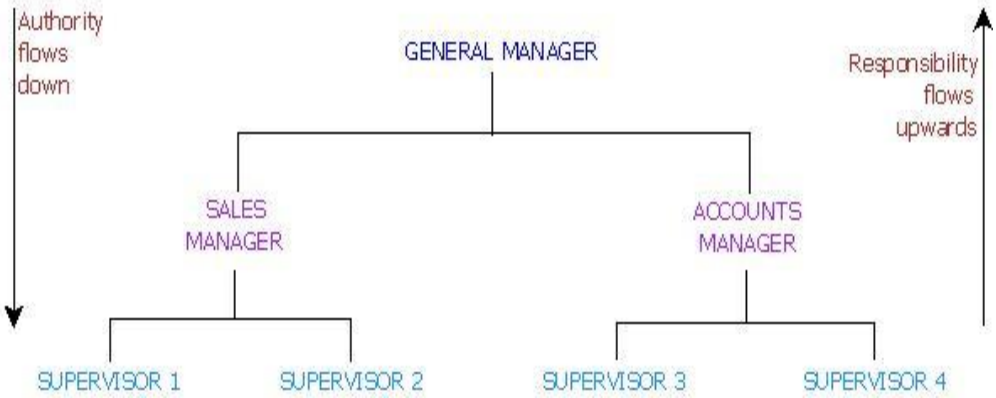
Research and Development (R&D)

This department is involved with research to explore ways of improving the company's existing products, developing new ones and identifying efficient processes to increase production. This department works closely with the marketing department as products developed must satisfy consumers' needs.

Organizational Charts

An organizational chart is a diagram of the organization of an enterprise. Its pyramid shape illustrates the hierarchy system that exists in the organization. The most senior position in the organization is placed by itself at the apex. The pyramid gets wider towards the bottom depicting the greater number of workers at its base.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL CHART



Those who have the power to issue commands have *authority* in an organization. In the organization chart above the sales manager has the authority in the Sales department. All persons with the same level of authority are placed at the same level on the chart. For example the sales manager and the accounts manager have the same level of authority in their various departments.

Responsibility is the capacity to accept duties and to carry out their tasks. Both sales supervisors are responsible to the sales manager.

The chart shows the following:

-each person's position

-the number of levels of managers

-to whom each employee is responsible (reports) to

-the span of or (area) of control for senior staff members.

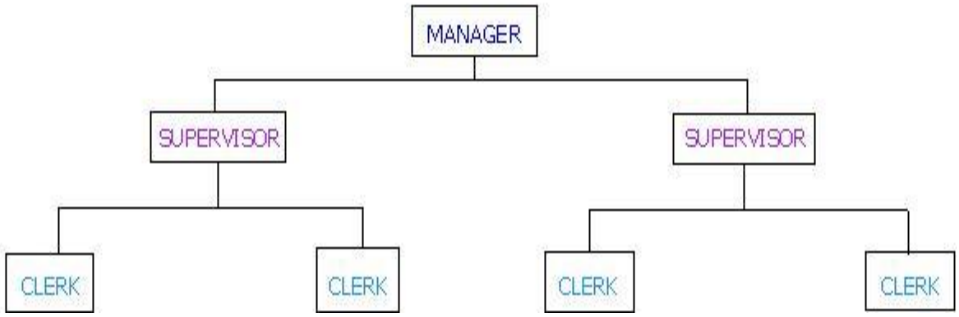
Types Of Organizational Charts

Line or Direct

The line organizational chart depicts a straight line of command. Authority is said to flow downwards *only* in the line organization. The line organizational structure is found in schools or in the military.

SIMPLE LINE ORGANIZATIONAL CHART

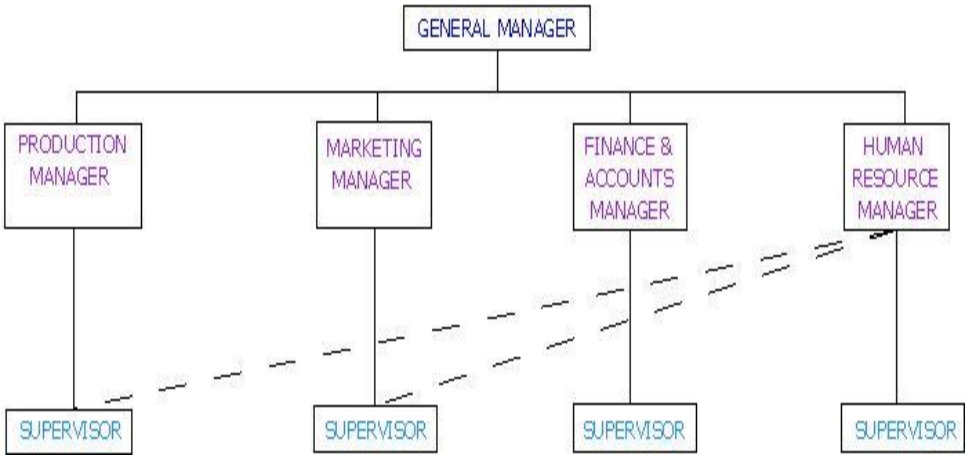
COMPLEX LINE ORGANIZATIONAL CHART



Functional Organizational Chart

The Functional organization chart is a diagram of an organization that is arranged by its functions. For example, there is a manager in charge of marketing, and another in charge of production. This type of organization has an advantage over the Line as experts are appointed to run each department. All managers report to the General Manager.

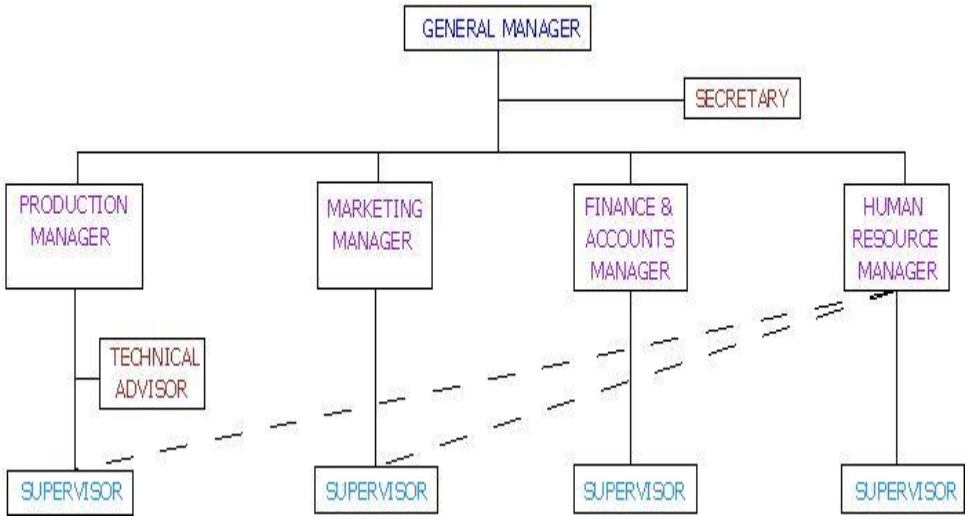
FUNCTIONAL ORGANIZATIONAL CHART



The Functional organizational chart combines the straight line of command of the line organization with horizontal dotted diagonal lines representing functional authority. The dotted diagonal lines in the figure above show the authority that the Human Resource Manager has over other departments. The Human Resource Manager is allowed authority in these department over human resource matters only e.g. to hire and fire workers. He therefore cannot give directives on production or marketing matters.

Line and Staff Organizational Chart

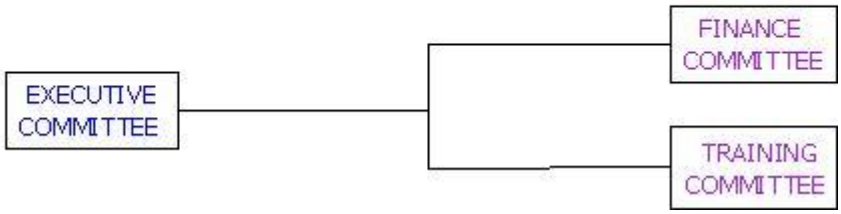
FUNCTIONAL ORGANIZATIONAL CHART



The Line and Staff organizational chart combines the line and functional organization with the addition of staff personnel. Staff workers assist and advise line workers. Staff workers include consultants, advisors, company lawyers, executive secretary, auxiliary workers etc. Staff officers do not have authority, that is, the power to delegate tasks to subordinates in the organization. Their main role is to advise and assist line officers. This is why there are no vertical lines connecting staff officers to any other member of staff on the chart. They are therefore, placed at the side directly below the line officer whom they assist or advise.

Committee Organizational Chart

COMMITTEE ORGANIZATIONAL CHART



Committees are advisory bodies. They are usually appointed to advise organizations. Examples of committees include; parent teachers associations and student councils which are committees within a school organization. Committees usually delegate certain duties to sub-committees. For example, an executive committee may appoint a finance committee to advise it on financial matters. Note that an element of the line organization exists in the committee organization as all sub-committees are responsible to the executive committee.

Features Of A Business Plan

A business plan is a document outlining the goals of a business and the strategies to achieve these goals. It is mainly prepared by new businesses or by ones making major changes.

Executive Summary

The Executive Summary is a synopsis of the full business plan. It presents the salient points of the plan. It contains information on the purpose of the business, its methods of operation and future expectations.

History of the business

This section gives full details on previous operations of a business. For a new business it will explain where the idea came from and the reasons for starting the business.

Mission Statement

The Mission Statement gives the overall goal of a business as well as its values. It serves as a guide to the operation o the business. For example: providing the highest quality goods and services.

Business goals and objectives

The firms' short-term, medium-term and long-term goals and the time in which these are to be achieved is outlined in this section.

Organization

The business must state the ownership structure and give details of the management team.

SWOT Analysis

Looks at the strength and weaknesses of the business

E.g. Strengths – strategic location, years of experience

Weakness – Loans at affordable interest rates,

Industry Analysis

How has the industry changed in the past few years and who are the other firms in the industry.

Product /Service Description

Describe clearly the product or service that you will be offering.

Market Analysis

Describe your target market and your competitors.

Marketing Strategy

Explain the various promotional, pricing and distribution strategies.

Operations

Explain how the business will function on a day-to-day basis. For example: Procurement of raw materials, the use of technology and operating methods.

Sales Forecast

What amount of sales the business expects to make on a monthly basis.

Start –up Cost

The total amount needed to start the new business, giving a detailed description of what the money will be used for.

Operating costs

E.g. fixed Costs (rent, insurance and salary) and variable costs (utilities and wages)

Projected Cash Flow

An estimate of how much you expect to earn periodically once you start operating.

Acquisition of Funds

Information on how funds will be obtained e.g. personal savings, borrowing from friends and family, borrowing from financial institutions or by selling shares

Types Of Production

Primary Production

This includes all kinds of extractive industries such as agriculture, mining and fishing.

Secondary Production

This includes manufacturing such as assembling, refining and construction (building) industries.

Tertiary Production

This includes all kinds of service industries such as transportation, communication and tourism.

Cottage Industry

Cottage industry is a generic term for any type of home–based production business. The term is specifically used to describe industries of a craft nature e.g. basket weaving, carving and pottery. This type of home–based business is not difficult to start as it requires little capital to purchase tools and employs family members. These small scale businesses are important to an economy. They utilize local raw materials such as clay for pottery, wood for carving and straw for baskets. They earn foreign exchange from selling to tourist at craft markets and fairs.

Linkage Industries

This refers to industries that are connected because they depend on each other to obtain or to sell raw materials.

Forward Linkage

If the final product or finished products of one industry is used in another industry as its raw material then a forward linkage occurs. For example, sugar produced from a sugar factory is used by a bakery to make pastries. Sugar is therefore the end product of one industry and used as raw material in another. Other examples include agriculture and canning, lumber and construction and cattle farming and meat processing.

A **backward linkage** occurs when the demands of an industry leads to the establishment of other industries to produce for the needs of this industry. For example, the establishment of several multinational fast food restaurants in the Caribbean has led to new businesses being established to supply these restaurants with raw materials (vegetables, ground provisions, meats and paper based products).

Strategies To Manage Personal Income

Subsequent to the deduction of taxes and other statutory payments the income earner must manage his money to maximize its use. He must exercise and develop habits of careful spending and saving techniques. A good money manager will budget.

A budget outlines how much of an individual's income is to be spent on his various expenses; it disciples an individual to live within the constraints of his personal income. The process of preparing a budget involves the record keeping of past expenditures, and making decision based on these about future expenditures. Priorities must be set to meet basic needs and a systematic plan for savings to achieve future goals.

Balance Of Trade & Balance Of Payment

A countries balance of payments account records all the flow of money between residents of that country and the rest of the world. A country's balance of payments thus shows the difference between the receipt for goods and services exported and payments made for goods and services imported and movements of capital in and out of the account. The two main parts of the balance of payments accounts are the current account and the capital account.

The current account records payments for imports and exports of goods and services. The balance of trade or visible balance records imports and exports of physical goods only. The current balance includes both the balance of trade and net invisible trade balance. A

negative balance is a deficit balance and a positive balance is a surplus balance. In the table below there is a balance of trade deficit for 2001 (-800) and in 2002 (-1000). There is a current account surplus of US$200MN in 2001 but a deficit of US$300MN in 2002.

Example BOP for Country X (US$MN)

Year	2001	2002
Imports	5500	6200
Exports	4700	5200
Balance of Trade/ Visible Tarde balance	-800	-1000
Transport, tourism		
Interest & profits		
Government		
Net Total Invisible Earnings		
Invisible Trade balance	+1000	+700
Current balance	+200	-300
Capital Movements		
Loss of Reserve		
Long term borrowing		
Short term borrowing		
Assets	-200	+300

Balance of Trade/Visible balance = Export ($) – Imports ($)

Invisible balance = Net transportation +net interest & profits + net government

Net figures are arrived at by subtracting payment from the receipt for each service. For example, subtracting the out flow of money spent by locals on trips overseas from payments received from visiting tourist, will give a net figure for tourism.

Current Balance = visible balance + invisible balance

The capital account

The capital account or financial account shows the flows of capital between countries i.e. Flows of capital into a country and flows of capital leaving a country.

The Balance of Payments Accounts must balance

The sum of the current account and the capital account must be zero. A firm's balance sheet shows its financial position after one year of trading. The balance of payment similarly shows the countries financial position on a yearly basis. Similar to a firm's balance sheet the balance of payments account must balance, since a debit or a credit balance must be covered in some way.

Credit items are- Inflows /receipts

Debit items are- outflows /payments

Monthly Budget

Expenditure	$	Income $
Rent/Mortgage	15,000	45,000
Food	7,000	
Utilities	4,000	
Transportation	5,000	
Loan Repayment	3,000	
Miscellaneous	8,000	
Savings	3,000	
Total Expenditeure	45,000	

S[n]57
salonenautico

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La storia del mare. Il futuro della nautica.
The story of the sea. The future of yachting.

Genova, 21 - 26 settembre 2017
Genoa, 21 - 26 september 2017

Organiser:
I SALONI NAUTICI

Patronage:
UCINA
CONFINDUSTRIA NAUTICA
Italian Marine Industry Association

Member of:
IFBSO
THE WORLD'S LEADING BOAT SHOWS

GENOVAINBLU
Il Salone Nautico in città

GENOVA
MORE THAN THIS

L'ENTUSIASMO DEGLI ESPOSITORI

THE ENTHUSIASM OF EXHIBITORS

"È stato un Salone estremamente proficuo per noi che a Genova abbiamo siglato quattro contratti importanti. È stato un crescendo soprattutto per le visite di stranieri che nel nostro caso hanno superato il 34% del totale".

"It was definitely a fruitful Boat Show for Sanlorenzo, who signed four important contracts in Genoa. After a moderately slow start, there was an escalation, especially in the presence of foreigners, who accounted for over 34% of all visitors at our stand".

Massimo Perotti
SANLORENZO

"Siamo stati molto contenti di partecipare alla 56ª edizione. Ci aspettavamo un buon Salone visto il lavoro fatto dagli organizzatori, ma questa edizione ha superato le aspettative sia per l'affluenza sia per la qualità dei visitatori".

"We were really happy to be taking part in Genoa Boat Show. We were expecting a lively Show, considering the organizers' hard work, but this edition exceeded our expectations, in terms of both number and quality of the visitors to our stand."

Antonella Di Leo
ADVANCED YACHTS

"Abbiamo avviato alcuni contatti interessanti e abbiamo già appuntamenti post Salone, non solo per la barca esposta qui a Genova. Sono felice del bellissimo clima: l'anticipo della data è un aspetto da ripetere nel 2017. Settembre è un periodo giusto, dopo Cannes e prima di Monaco".

"We established some interesting connections and made a few appointments for after the Boat Show, and not just in relation to the boat we had on display here in Genoa. I am happy with the wonderful weather and the very pleasant atmosphere – I think the 2017 Boat Show should be held again in September, which is the perfect timing, after Cannes and before Monaco boat shows."

Jean-Marc Zubovic
SUNSEEKER

"È stato un crescendo continuo. Venerdì e sabato sono stati due giorni che hanno fatto la differenza. C'è stata un'affluenza incredibile con una richiesta di informazioni e documentazione sicuramente sopra la media degli ultimi anni".

"After the first few days, it was a crescendo. Friday and Saturday really made the difference. Yesterday we had an incredible number of visitors asking for information and brochures, definitely above the average of the last few years".

Alessandro Conti
BRUNSWICK MARINE

"Sold out. Abbiamo venduto tutta la produzione a motore di quest'anno".

"Sold out. We have sold all this year's power boats"

Andrea Cragnotti
JEANNEAU ITALIA

L'HUB PERFETTO PER LA NAUTICA INTERNAZIONALE

THE IDEAL HUB FOR INTERNATIONAL YACHTING

L'edizione 2016 del Salone Nautico di Genova si è conclusa con un grande riconoscimento da parte di tutta la community internazionale per un evento capace di unire business, stile, innovazione, tendenze, life style, interattività, cultura del mare.
L'evento più visitato del Mediterraneo è l'unico in grado di coniugare padiglioni e spazi a terra direttamente affacciati sulle Marine, creando lo spazio ideale per l'esposizione di ogni categoria di prodotto: dai prestigiosi Motor Yacht dei top brand Internazionali, agli Accessori e Componenti, dalle imbarcazioni a Vela al grandissimo mondo delle Motorizzazioni Fuoribordo e gli Sport Nautici.

The entire international business community universally recognized the 2016 edition of the Genova International Boat Show as an event that combines sales, style, innovation, trends, lifestyle, interactivity and maritime culture.
The Genova International Boat Show is the most popular event of its kind in the Mediterranean; and the only one capable of combining pavilions and exhibition booths that directly overlook the Marina. This makes it the ideal venue to display all product categories from prestigious motor yachts of the top international brands, accessories and components, to sail boats, the world of outboard engines and of water sports.

2016

I NUMERI DEL SALONE NAUTICO

GENOA BOAT SHOW - FACTS AND FIGURES

1.000 IMBARCAZIONI ESPOSTE
BOATS EXHIBITED

819 ESPOSITORI
EXHIBITORS

2.416 PROVE IN MARE
SEA TRIALS

36 PAESI RAPPRESENTATI
FOREIGN COUNTRIES INVOLVED

430 OPERATORI ESTERI ACCREDITATI
FOREIGN REGISTERED OPERATORS

127.190 VISITATORI
VISITORS

530 USCITE MEDIA
PRESS MATERIALS

33.618 VISITATORI STRANIERI
FOREIGN VISITORS

245.000 VISITE AL SITO
WEBSITE VISITS

53.115 FAN DELLA PAGINA FACEBOOK
FACEBOOK PAGE FANS

174 PAESI CONNESSI VIA WEB
COUNTRIES LINKED BY WEBSITE

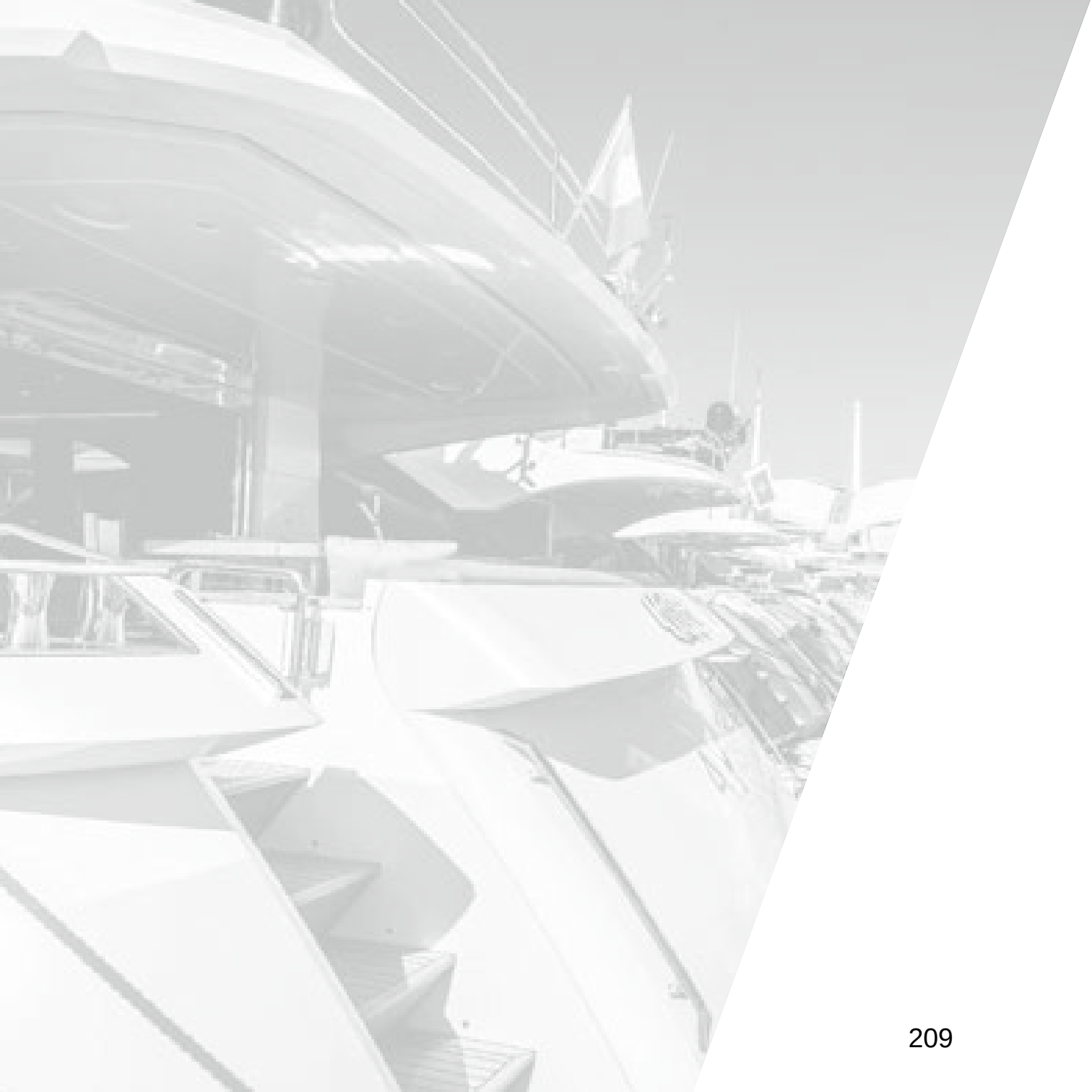
UN ALLEATO FONDAMENTALE: IL MERCATO

A STRATEGIC PARTNER: THE MARKET

Il Salone Nautico: uno strumento efficace per un mercato in continua crescita.
I dati della Nautica in Cifre di UCINA Confindustria Nautica confermano il trend di sviluppo di uno dei mercati più importanti a livello Internazionale. Dopo le affermazioni del 2015, che hanno visto un aumento del fatturato complessivo pari al 17,1% e di quello interno pari al 21%, la chiusura dell'anno nautico 2015/2016 segue un trend assolutamente positivo con un +13% e previsioni di crescita di fatturato per l'anno 2017 in linea con il biennio precedente.
Anche i numeri del leasing nautico per il 2016, caratterizzati da un aumento del 26% del numero di contratti stipulati, confermano l'entusiasmo registrato durante la scorsa edizione del Salone Nautico e testimoniano la struttura estremamente solida del mercato Italiano e dell'Italia come hub Internazionale per la nautica da diporto.

The Genoa International Boat Show: an effective tool for an ever-growing market.
UCINA Confindustria Nautica's data on the yachting industry confirms the growth trend of one of the most important markets worldwide. After the success of 2015 that saw a 17.1% turnover increase and 21% internal growth, final data on the 2015/2016 nautical year shows a notably positive trend with a 13% increase and a 2017 revenue forecast in line with the previous two years.
Figures linked to 2016 marine leasing financing also point in the same direction with a 26% increase in the number of contracts, thus confirming the enthusiasm recorded during the last edition of the Genoa International Boat Show, and showing the extremely solid structure of the Italian market and reaffirming Italy's role as a hub for international yachting.

+17,1%	CRESCITA DEL FATTURATO (2,9 MILIARDI DI EURO) *TURNOVER INCREASE (2,9 BILLION EURO)*
+23%	CRESCITA CANTIERISTICA (1,8 MILIARDI DI EURO) *GROWTH IN BOATBUILDING (1,8 BILLION EURO)*
+21%	CRESCITA MERCATO INTERNO DELL'INTERA INDUSTRIA NAUTICA *GROWTH OF NAUTICAL INDUSTRY IN THE DOMESTIC MARKET*
+3%	ADDETTI DIRETTI (OLTRE 18.000) *NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS DIRECTLY EMPLOYED (OVER 18.000)*
+19%	CRESCITA CONTRIBUTO AL PIL DA PARTE DEL SETTORE NAUTICO *NAUTICAL INDUSTRY CONTRIBUTION TO GDP*



AD OGNUNO IL PROPRIO TARGET. CONDIVIDERE PER VINCERE

TO EACH HIS OWN TARGET. SHARING TO WIN

Sei identità di prodotto con l'obiettivo di condividere la grande opportunità di un evento capace di accogliere e servire target differenti ma complementari.
Il Salone Nautico è un evento dove ogni area merceologica ha una sua precisa corrispondenza di layout, definita e immediatamente riconoscibile da ogni utente, garantendo il massimo della visibilità per ogni brand esposto e servizi targettizzati sull'identità del visitatore.

Six product identities with the aim of sharing the great opportunities offered by an event that is able to welcome and serve different but complementary targets.
The International Boat Show is an event where each market sector has its own showcase layout that is instantly recognizable by all guests, ensuring every brand maximum visibility and offering targeted services tailored to the visitors' identity.

MOTOR YACHT
MOTOR YACHT

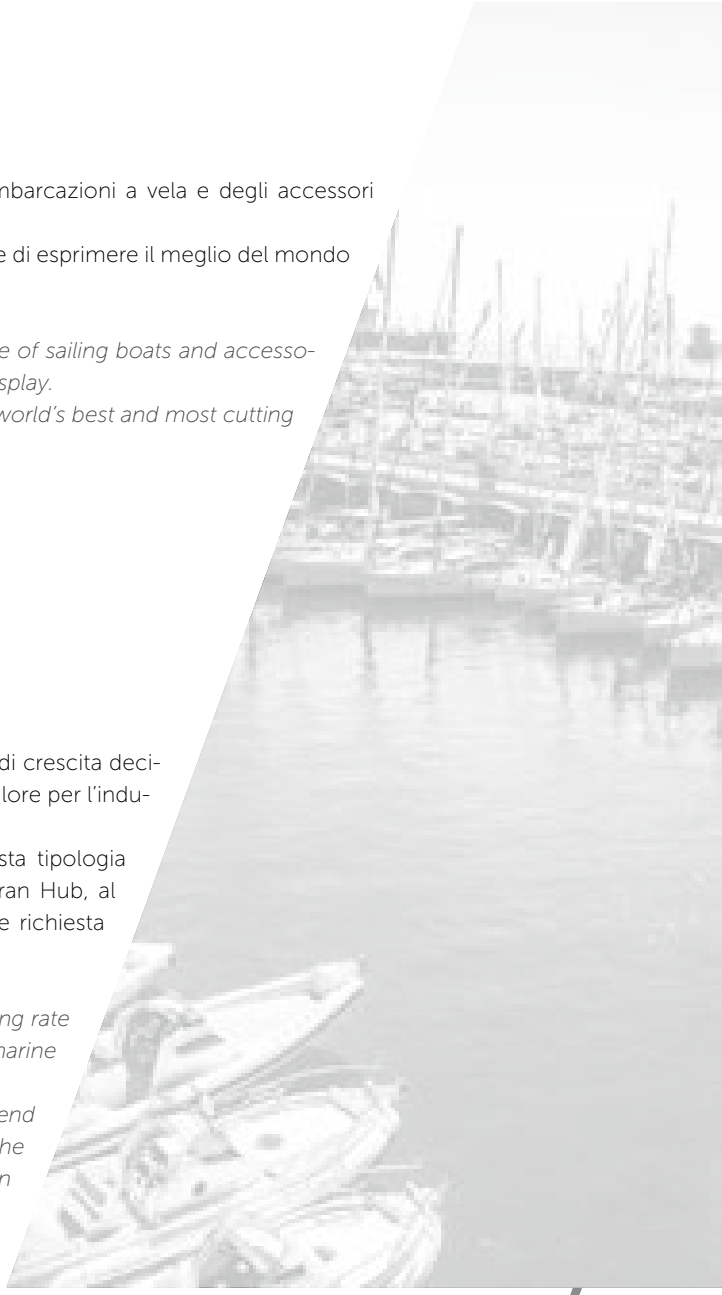
Una grande novità per l'edizione 57 del Salone Nautico. La Nuova Darsena ridisegna il suo layout aumentando il coefficiente di riempimento per dar seguito alle numerose richieste di partecipazione e accogliere il visitatore in un contesto unico.
Sarà, infatti, allestita una raffinata VIP Lounge, accessibile con ingresso riservato, nella quale i Top Brand potranno far arrivare i propri ospiti direttamente a bordo delle loro vetture e garantire un servizio di welcome di altissima qualità con una suggestiva overview su tutto il Salone Nautico.

The New Darsena is one of the great novelties of the 57th Genova International Boat Show. The new dock redesigns the layout of the harbor, increasing occupancy rate to satisfy participation requests and to welcome visitors in a unique context.
A sophisticated VIP Lounge will be accessible only by private entrance; a venue where the Top Brands can welcome their guests offering them the highest quality services against the backdrop of a breathtaking overview of the Genova International Boat Show.

VELA
SAILING YACHT

Il Salone Nautico conferma la centralità dell'esposizione delle imbarcazioni a vela e degli accessori dedicati nella Darsena 1 e nella Tensostruttura di Marina 1.
Un format consolidato di grande soddisfazione espositiva e capace di esprimere il meglio del mondo della vela internazionale.

The Genova International Boat Show reaffirms the vital importance of sailing boats and accessories dedicating Dock 1 and the Marina 1 tensile structure to their display.
This format has met with great success for its ability to exhibit the world's best and most cutting edge solutions in international sailing.



CATAMARANI
CATAMARANS

Il mondo delle imbarcazioni Multiscafo continua a regalare trend di crescita decisamente interessanti posizionandosi come segmento di grande valore per l'industria nautica internazionale.
Il Salone Nautico prosegue il progetto di valorizzazione di questa tipologia di imbarcazioni confermando e ampliando il layout del Catamaran Hub, al centro dell'esposizione in mare e capace di accogliere la grande richiesta espositiva.

The world of multihull yachts continues growing at a very interesting rate positioning itself as very valuable segment for the international marine industry.
The Genova International Boat Show continues to promote this trend by confirming and expanding the Catamaran Hub area located at the center of the maritime display space and ensuring that all exhibition request are met.

BAVARIA

FUORIBORDO
OUTBOARDS

Un intero padiglione, tutte le aree all'aperto e la banchina adiacente sono pronte ad accogliere la grande esposizione delle Motorizzazioni Fuoribordo, delle Imbarcazioni Pneumatiche e dei package di imbarcazioni sia pneumatiche che rigide.
Una delle aree più interattive del Salone Nautico che ha visto, nell'edizione 2016, oltre 1500 prove in mare effettuate per una stima di utenti di circa 5000 unità.

An entire pavilion, all outdoor areas and the adjacent dock are ready to welcome the wide-ranging exhibit of outboard engines, inflatable boats and both pneumatic and rigid boat packages.
This in one of the most interactive areas of the Genova International Boat Show, which in 2016 witnessed over 1500 sea trials performed by about 5000 boating enthusiasts.

ACCESSORI
ACCESSORIES

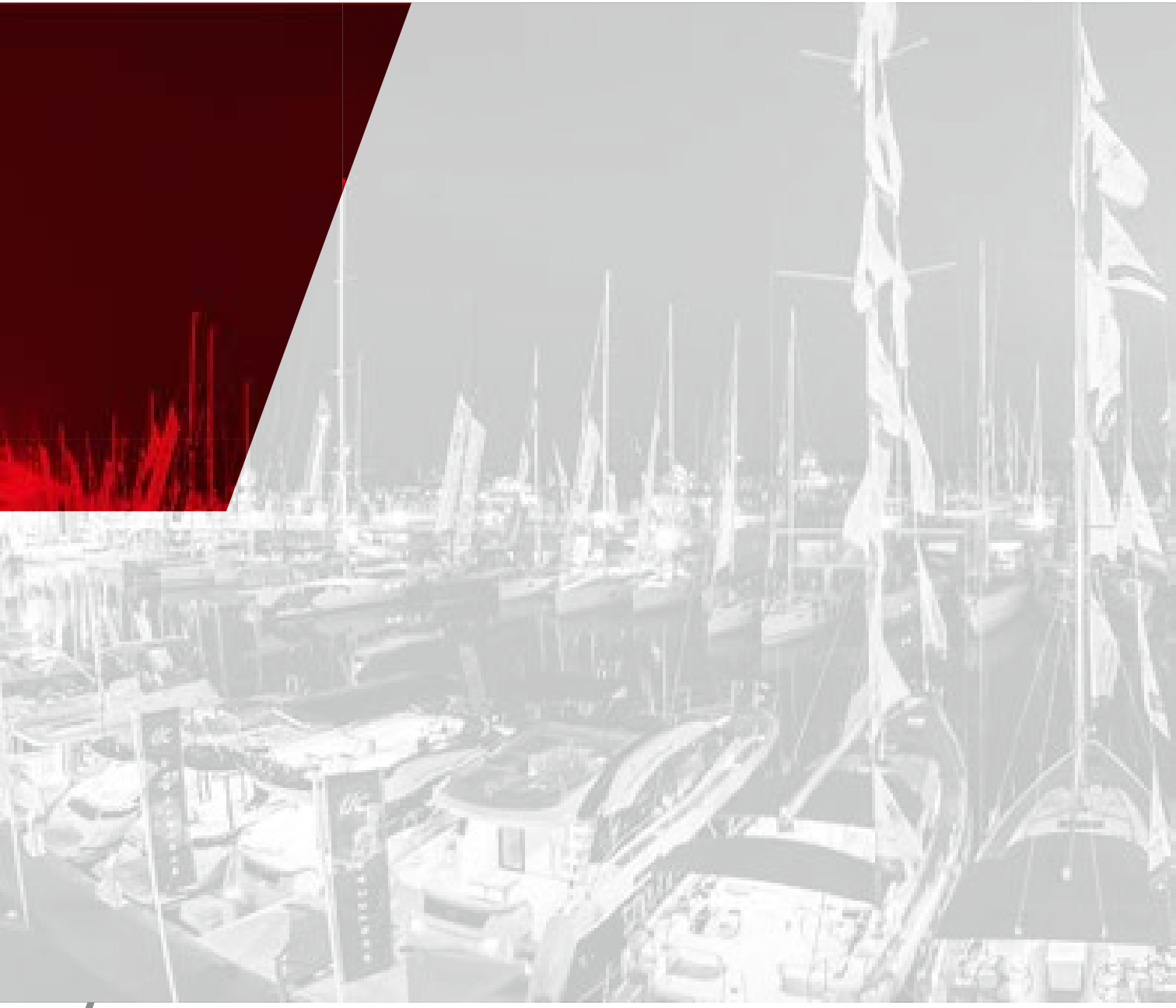
Tutto il mondo dell'accessoristica e della componentistica, della strumentazione elettronica di bordo, il mondo dei sistemi di generazione e controllo della potenza si fondono nel layout espositivo del padiglione B superiore trovando così logiche di condivisione dei target e di sviluppo delle attività B2B.

The world of accessories and components, of on-board electronic systems and of power generation and control systems are all under one roof in Pavilion B top floor; a winning exhibition layout that allows the sharing of targets and promotes the development of B2B activities.

SPORT
SPORTS

Una grande area dedicata agli sport nautici e alle discipline del mare, per il format più dinamico dell'evento. Un' ampia area espositiva accoglierà il meglio della produzione del mondo degli sport da tavola e tutte le tendenze del momento, dal jet surf al paddle, dal kitesurf alla canoa, dal mondo della pesca sportiva alla subacquea insieme a tante aree prova. Un Villaggio dedicato all'acquisto tra curiosità e accessori per le imbarcazioni dove il visitatore troverà interessanti opportunità.
E ancora tanti eventi nell'area a mare dedicata all'Experience dove i campioni delle diverse discipline saranno i perfetti tutor per far conoscere le diverse attrezzature e opportunità di pratica degli sport nautici.

A vast area dedicated to water sports and sea activities are set aside for the most dynamic format of the event. A large exhibition area will host top-level board-sport equipment and all the latest trends ranging from jet surf and paddleboards to kitesurf and canoeing, from sport fishing to scuba diving. This section also features multiple gear testing areas and a village where visitors can purchase curios and accessories discovering many interesting opportunities.
The Experience area offers countless events with the champions of the different disciplines will be the perfect tutors to teach about the different equipment and illustrate the various opportunities to practice the chosen water sports.



IL SALONE NAUTICO ALLARGA I SUOI ORIZZONTI

THE BOAT SHOW WIDENS ITS HORIZONS

Il piano di comunicazione prevede, anche per il 2017, un forte investimento volto a massimizzare la visibilità dell'evento e degli espositori sul panorama italiano ed internazionale, sia attraverso un piano media completo ed integrato, sia grazie al coinvolgimento diretto di testate e giornalisti.
In particolar modo, in ambito nazionale, è stata intensificata ulteriormente la pianificazione sui main media, con l'obiettivo di una penetrazione sempre più puntuale sul pubblico di riferimento.

The communication plan for 2017 again provides for substantial investment aimed at maximising the visibility of the event and its exhibitors on Italian and international fronts, both through a complete and integrated media programme and thanks to the direct involvement of media publications and journalists.
In particular, on a national level, main media planning has been intensified, with the aim of an ever-more precise impression on audience targeted.

36
PAESI RAPPRESENTATI *COUNTRIES REPRESENTED*

1.300
GIORNALISTI *JOURNALISTS*

MOTOR BOAT
ybw.com
Yachting
ANSA English
YACHTS
YACHTS
BOAT
Yacht
naviga
Bâtiv
AFLOAT
[N&Y]
VOILES
Yelken Dünyası
BOAT
BOAT
Water Kampioen
boatbuilder
boote
JACHTBOUW
Yachting World
عالم اليخوت
YACHTING
zagle.com.pl
Yachting
neptune
mar
yacht
pleisi
yacht rivista
ONDECK
SUPERYACHT Times
IBI
YACHTS
NAUTICA
BOATING

SEMPRE PIÙ SOCIAL

INCREASINGLY SOCIAL

A fianco della tradizionale comunicazione off line il progetto di comunicazione social traguarda numeri sempre più importanti garantendo all'evento una comunicazione targettizzata sulle diverse community e un contatto costante con la fan base.
Una community che si allarga sempre di più dove protagonista è il mare, con il suo Salone Nautico, con le eccellenze della produzione nautica.

Side by side to traditional offline communication, social media has reached increasingly important results ensuring communication tailored to the needs of the different communities and constant contact with the fan base.
A community that is rapidly growing, where the sea is king together with its Boat Show and the best products available in the nautical world.

962.693 (+32,4% su 2015)

VISUALIZZAZIONI SITO WEB SALONENAUTICO.COM
DA 174 PAESI NEL MONDO (+9.5% SU 2015)
WWW.SALONENAUTICO.COM WEBSITE VIEWS
(+ 32.4% ON 2015)
ACCESS FROM 174 COUNTRIES (+ 9.5% ON 2015)

32.319

MEDIA VISUALIZZAZIONI POST GIORNALIERI SU FACEBOOK
AVERAGE FACEBOOK DAILY POST VIEWS

47.580

UTENTI RAGGIUNTI DAL LIVE FACEBOOK
CON LE DIRETTE STREAMING DAL SALONE NAUTICO
USERS REACHED BY LIVE FACEBOOK WITH DIRECT STREAMING OF EVENTS AT THE GENOA INTERNATIONAL BOAT SHOW

58.918

VISUALIZZAZIONI TWITTER
TWITTER VIEWS

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info@isaloninautici.com - www.salonenautico.com

EDIZIONE 56
EDITION

REPORT BOOK

salonenautico.com

S[n] salonenautico

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21 **Omaggio alle Olimpiadi** / *A Tribute to the Olympics*
22 **Lights in the Blue** / *Lights in the Blue*
23 **A Genova, nel 2017** / *In Genoa in 2017*

1.000
IMBARCAZIONI ESPOSTE
BOATS EXHIBITED

819
ESPOSITORI
EXHIBITORS

2.416
PROVE IN MARE
SEA TRIALS

36
PAESI RAPPRESENTATI
FOREIGN COUNTRIES INVOLVED

430
OPERATORI ESTERI ACCREDITATI
FOREIGN REGISTERED OPERATORS

127.190
VISITATORI
VISITORS

530
USCITE MEDIA
PRESS MATERIALS

33.618
VISITATORI STRANIERI
FOREIGN VISITORS

245.000
VISITE AL SITO
WEBSITE VISITS

53.115
FAN DELLA PAGINA FACEBOOK
FACEBOOK PAGE FANS

ACESSI AL SITO DA
THE WEBSITE WAS ACCESSED FROM
174
PAESI DIVERSI
DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

SANLORENZO - Massimo Perotti

"È stato un Salone estremamente proficuo certamente per Sanlorenzo che a Genova ha siglato quattro contratti importanti. Dopo un esordio moderato è stato un crescendo soprattutto per le visite di stranieri che nel nostro caso hanno superato il 34% del totale"

"It was definitely a fruitful Boat Show for Sanlorenzo, who signed four important contracts in Genoa. After a moderately slow start, there was an escalation, especially in the presence of foreigners, who accounted for over 34% of all visitors at our stand".

ADVANCED YACHTS - Antonella Di Leo

"Siamo stati molto contenti di partecipare al Nautico di Genova. Ci aspettavamo un buon Salone visto il lavoro che era stato fatto dagli organizzatori ma questa edizione ha superato le aspettative sia per l'affluenza sia per la qualità dei visitatori che ci hanno fatto visita. Il Salone si è confermato una bella vetrina dove poter valorizzare l'eccellenza del made in Italy che tutti nel mondo ci invidiano".

"We were really happy to be taking part in Genoa Boat Show. We were expecting a lively Show, considering the organizers' hard work, but this edition exceeded our expectations, in terms of both number and quality of the visitors to our stand. The Boat Show has once more proven it is an excellent showcase, where Made-in-Italy products, much envied all over the world, can be promoted at best".

SUNSEEKER - Jean-Marc Zubovic

"Abbiamo avviato alcuni contatti interessanti e abbiamo alcuni appuntamenti dopo il Salone, non solo per la barca esposta qui a Genova. Sono felice del bellissimo clima: l'aver anticipato la data è un aspetto che, a mio avviso, si deve ripetere nel 2017. Settembre è un periodo giusto, dopo Cannes e prima di Monaco. Siamo soddisfatti e possiamo affermare che partecipare ne è valsa la pena".

"We established some interesting connections and made a few appointments for after the Boat Show, and not just in relation to the boat we had on display here in Genoa. I am happy with the wonderful weather and the very pleasant atmosphere – I think the 2017 Boat Show should be held again in September, which is the perfect timing, after Cannes and before Monaco boat shows. We are very satisfied and can firmly state that taking part in this Show was really worth it".

BRUNSWICK MARINE - Alessandro Conti

"È stato un crescendo rispetto ai primi giorni. Venerdì e sabato sono stati due giorni che hanno fatto la differenza, la giornata di ieri da quello che sento dire è stata una giornata "come non ce la si ricordava da tempo". Per quello che riguarda noi è difficile dire, c'è stata un'affluenza incredibile ieri con una richiesta di informazioni e documentazione sicuramente sopra la media degli ultimi anni".

"After the first few days, it was a crescendo. Friday and Saturday really made the difference, and yesterday in particular, based on what I hear, was an extraordinary day, like in the old times. As far as we are concerned, it's difficult to say – yesterday we had an incredible number of visitors asking for information and brochures, definitely above the average of the last few years".

FIPA MAIORA - Francesco Guidetti

"Fa piacere riparlare con qualche italiano che si riavvicina alla nautica. Genova è una location che ha potenzialità e una sua storia, abbandonarla è assolutamente sbagliato".

"It was nice to talk to some Italians making their comeback to boating. Genoa has great potential and a glorious history as the Boat Show venue, leaving it would be a big mistake".

JEANNEAU ITALIA - Andrea Cragnotti

"Sold out. Abbiamo venduto tutta la produzione a motore di quest'anno".

"Sold out. We have sold all this year's power boats"

BWA - Fabrice Boyer

"Quest'anno siamo veramente contenti, c'è un'affluenza veramente straordinaria in questo Salone. Non solo rivediamo le famiglie venire con i loro figli a riprendere contatto con la Nautica, ma anche tanti stranieri che sono tornati a visitare il Salone di Genova, quindi una nota di ottimismo sicuramente molto positiva per noi."

"This year we are really happy, attendance at this Boat Show was really impressive. Not only did we see, again, families with their children revive their interest in boating, but many foreigners too were back to the Genoa Boat Show, so this makes us really optimistic".

C-CATAMARANS - Davide Caroselli

"Siamo sorpresi da un'affluenza che non mi aspettavo, non solo in numero, soprattutto in qualità. Genova ci ha dato un eccellente posizionamento per un prodotto nuovo e innovativo sul mercato dei catamarani come il nostro".

"We were surprised by an attendance I did not expect, not just in terms of numbers, but as regards the high level of visitors. Genoa has allowed us to successfully position a new and innovative product in the world of catamarans".

SAIM - Marco Donà

"Esperienza positiva, superiore alle aspettative, sia per il lato più strettamente professionale sia per il lato visitatori e grande pubblico. È evidente un ritorno della nautica medio-piccola, sentimento molto positivo".

"A satisfactory experience, better than expected, both in strictly professional terms and as regards visitors at large. Clearly there is a comeback to medium-small size boats, and this is very good".

FAIRLINE - Carlo Maria Piatti

"Fairline ha una lunga storia con il Salone di Genova, anche negli anni bui abbiamo cercato di portare delle barche in acqua per la nostra clientela italiana. Il mercato italiano sta cambiando e quest'anno Fairline Italia porta tre barche importanti in acqua che per noi simboleggiano la nostra gamma".

"Fairline has a long history at the Genoa Boat Show, and even in 'dark' years we did our best to have boats on display in the water for our Italian customers. The Italian market is changing, and this year Fairline Italia had three important boats in the water, representing our range".

RAYMARINE - Carlo Baj

"A parte i primi due giorni che sono stati un po' più tranquilli, a livello di pubblico c'è stata parecchia gente, da giovedì in poi più del previsto. Siamo contenti, per noi il Salone è stata positivo. L'interesse è aumentato, la manifestazione in generale è andata molto bene, dobbiamo riportarla in alto".

"Except during the first two days, which were a bit quieter, there were really many visitors, from Thursday onwards even more than expected. We are happy, the Boat Show was a success for us: there was more interest, the show in general went well, we have to make it great again".

MONTE CARLO YACHTS - Federico Peruccio

"Crediamo fortemente in questo Salone. Un Salone molto positivo, lo si vede dai pontili sempre affollati di appassionati del mare, di clienti molto esperti che vengono con particolari esigenze e vengono per cambiare la propria imbarcazione. Un segnale di ripresa di questo mercato che si è riflesso nei contratti stipulati. Peculiarità di questo Salone è anche la possibilità di poter uscire in mare e provare le imbarcazioni."

"We firmly believe in the Genoa Boat Show, and this edition a very successful one, as one could tell from the piers constantly crowded with sea enthusiasts as well as very experienced customers who have specific needs and came here to change their boat. All this bears witness to the ongoing market recovery. A special feature of this boat show is the opportunity to easily perform sea trials".

Il Salone si rilancia "Qui nel 2017".
The Boat Show gains new momentum - "Back here in 2017".
La Repubblica

Nautica: Genova confermato unico Salone del settore.
Recreational boating: Genoa Boat Show officially confirmed as the only official boat show in Italy
Ansa

A Genova il Salone della riscossa.
The great comeback of the Genoa Boat Show.
Milano Finanza

Salone Nautico: affluenza 9,2%. Boom di stranieri.
Genoa Boat Show: Visitors + 9.2% A boom in foreign visitors.
Ansa

La nautica italiana ritrova il mercato interno: +2,13%.
Italian yachting industry: domestic market again on the increase: +2.13%.
Il Sole 24 Ore

Genova: barche da far girar la testa.
Genoa: head-turning boats.
velvetstyle.it

A Genova oltre 127 mila visitatori.
Over 127 thousand visitors in Genoa.
Il Sole 24 Ore

Da Genova al futuro, la barca va.
From Genoa to the future - full steam ahead.
Il Mattino

Salone Nautico da record con 127 mila visitatori.
127 thousand visitors for a record Boat Show.
La Stampa

A Genova il giro di Boa. Il settore ha ripreso a navigare, l'Italia conferma i suoi primati.
A turning point for the Genoa Boat Show. The boating sector is back at full speed, Italy confirms its leadership.
Il Corriere della Sera

La nautica a 360°: 819 espositori e 1000 imbarcazioni hanno reso ancora una volta il Salone Nautico il più completo per varietà di tipologie merceologiche rappresentate e ampiezza della gamma esposta. La grande presenza di cantieri stranieri e italiani, tra cui alcuni di ritorno a Genova dopo anni di assenza, hanno confermato il Salone come un'occasione imprescindibile per aggiornarsi sulle novità più interessanti del mercato. A rappresentare le tante novità, le tre ammiraglie esposte al Salone Nautico: il 47 metri della Wider 150 Genesi per la categoria yacht, l'Advanced A80 per vela e l'Anvera 55S, ammiraglia dei gommoni.

Yachting at 360°: 819 exhibitors and 1,000 boats have once more made the Genoa Boat Show the most complete one in terms of product range and product categories on display. The presence of a large number of Italian and foreign boat builders, including some who were back to Genoa after a few years, confirmed that the Boat Show is a real must for those who want to be up to date with what's new on the market and the most interesting opportunities. Among the many new boats on display were this year Boat Show's flagships: 47-metre yacht 150 Genesi by Wider, the Advanced A80 among sailing boats, and the Anvera 55S among inflatable boats.

Per il secondo anno consecutivo l'area Sea Experience ha dedicato grande spazio agli sport acquatici e alla vela. Sport, divertimento ed emozioni hanno accolto i tanti protagonisti e appassionati del mare per un'immersione a 360°.
Ecco i numeri significativi di quest'area:
• **2.000** iscrizioni per partecipare alle regate M32
• **1.000** ragazzi coinvolti nelle attività con le scuole
• Oltre **3.000** bambini hanno provato il simulatore all'interno dello stand della capitaneria di Porto
• **650** le prove di Sup in piscina
• Oltre **300** le persone che hanno provato gli sport del mare.

For the second year in a row, the Sea Experience area hosted water sports and sailing activities, allowing a large number of enthusiasts to get fully enjoy the thrill and emotions of the sea.
Here are some numbers reflecting this edition's success:
• ***2,000*** *forms were filled out to take part in the M32 regattas*
• ***1,000*** *boys and girls took part in activities with schools*
• *more than* ***3,000*** *children tried the simulator installed at the stand of the Harbour Offices*
• ***650*** *SUP trials were performed in the pool*
• *over* ***300*** *people tried sea sports.*

IL FASCINO DELLA REGATA M32 SERIES

La quarta tappa della M32 series Mediterranean ha avuto come cornice Genova e il suo Salone Nautico. La regata ha affascinato il numeroso pubblico che è stato ammaliato dalle performance dei veloci catamarani M32 che si sono esibiti al meglio con partenze a tutta velocità, coinvolgendo i visitatori che hanno provato l'emozione della regata insieme agli equipaggi, vivendo un'esperienza unica ed elettrizzante.

THE CHARM OF THE M32 SERIES REGATTA

The fourth stage of the M32 Series Mediterranean regatta was held against the wonderful setting of Genoa and its Boat Show. A huge number of people were fascinated by the incredible show offered by the M32 catamarans, which performed at best, with breathlessly fast starts and also directly involved some lucky Boat Show visitors, who could experience the thrill of racing together with the catamaran crews.

UNA NUOVA PROTAGONISTA DEL MARE

Tra le novità di questa 56ª edizione, una grande protagonista del mare: la pesca sportiva. Workshop e stage in collaborazione con The O' e Garmin Fishing Academy hanno dato vita ad un'intera giornata dedicata al mondo della pesca, per diffondere in modo didattico e pratico il valore di questo sport, la sua disciplina e il suo rigoroso rispetto del mare.

A NEW SEA STAR

One of the new features of this 56th edition of the Boat Show was sports fishing. An entire day was devoted to the world of fishing, with workshops and practical sessions held in cooperation with TheO' and the Garmin Fishing Academy, so as to tangibly and effectively share with the public the great value of this discipline and its deep respect for the sea.

LA VELA PER TUTTI

Particolare risalto hanno avuto anche le attività sportive dedicate ai diversamente abili a bordo di imbarcazioni prive di barriere. All'interno dell'area "Vela per tutti", atleti e sportivi hanno raccontato le loro esperienze. Tra i personaggi e testimonial Andrea Stella, in procinto di partire con il suo grande catamarano, Lo Spirito di Stella, per un sensazionale viaggio dagli USA con destinazione finale in Vaticano con a bordo un equipaggio misto di velisti diversamente abili e non, per portare a destinazione la mission di "Wheels on Waves": diffondere dall'America all'Europa un messaggio di pace e di rispetto dei diritti delle persone con mobilità ridotta.

SAILING FOR ALL

During this year's edition, sports activities targeted at differently-abled people onboard barrier-free boats were particularly in the spotlight. Athletes and champions shared their experiences in the area "Vela per tutti" (Sailing for All). Among them was Andrea Stella, about to sail off onboard his large catamaran Lo Spirito di Stella for a sensational voyage from the US to the Vatican, with a mixed crew of typically- and differently-abled sailors carrying the "Wheels on Waves" message from the US to Europe: a message promoting peace and respect for the rights of people with reduced mobility.

Il Salone Nautico di Genova ha celebrato lo sport con la partecipazione delle medaglie olimpiche. Ogni giorno in diretta su Rai Sport Uno condotto da Giulio Guazzini, le Olimpiadi, i suoi atleti e lo sport.

Genoa Boat Show celebrated sports also by hosting many Olympic medal winners. Every day, sports journalist Giulio Guazzini hosted live on Italian broadcasting channel Rai Sport Uno a special focus on the Olympics and Italian Olympic champions.

LIGHTS IN THE BLUE

Anche quest'anno il Salone Nautico ha organizzato una serata benefica a favore dell'Istituto Giannina Gaslini di Genova, per raccogliere fondi destinati alla ricerca scientifica delle malattie pediatriche. Sulla suggestiva terrazza con vista mare, un'affascinante scenografia di giochi di luce e performance di danza ispirate al mare e all'acqua hanno accolto gli invitati che durante la cena di gala hanno contribuito all'iniziativa.

This year too the Boat Show organized a charity dinner to raise funds for research on paediatric diseases for Genoa children's hospital Istituto Giannina Gaslini. A wonderful terrace offering a breathtaking view on the sea and a charming setting with light effects and dance performances drawing inspiration from the sea and water welcomed all guests, who during the gala dinner contributed to this important charity event with their donations.

Nel 2017 Genova si riconferma la città del Salone Nautico. I lavori per la prossima edizione sono già partiti per continuare a raccontare la storia del mare e il futuro della nautica.

Genoa will be the venue of the Boat Show next year too - preparation activities are already under way for the next edition, when Genoa will continue its tradition of telling the world about the history of the sea and the future of the boating industry.

ARRIVEDERCI AL
GOODBYE TO

2017

salonenautico.com

S[n] salonenautico

IL SECOLO XIX.it

Salone Nautico, così si fanno i salvataggi in mare

22 settembre 2017 **E.M.**

videoservizio di Davide Gentile e Alberto Maria Vedova

Genova - Il mare dà spettacolo all'*Experience Village*. È qui che ogni giorno, fino a martedì prossimo, i visitatori del Salone Nautico si potranno godere show unici come lo spettacolare "Abbandono della nave" **andato in scena ieri nell'ambito di "Sicuro inMare"**. Uno spettacolo nello spettacolo, pieno di azione e di curiosità. Quasi come vivere un film.

Sicuro InMare: dimostrazioni di salvataggio al Salone Dimostrazioni di interventi in mare per bagnanti, diportisti e subacquei

Ieri, ad esempio, i visitatori hanno scoperto che quando si abbandona la nave che affonda non è affatto vero che i primi a lasciare i ponti debbano essere "donne e bambini". Almeno non subito, visto che sulle **zattere** gonfiabili e le **barche** di soccorso è meglio che salgano per primi uomini forti e preparati, capaci di aiutare gli altri passeggeri. Di certo tra zattere autogonfiabili, tecniche di soccorso, fumogeni per segnalare, è stato davvero interessante l'appuntamento di ieri. Sottolineato persino dall'applauso dei presenti.

Nei prossimi giorni, a cominciare da oggi, il "film" della sicurezza in mare avrà *sequel* altrettanto interessanti. I titoli sono già scritti: "Uomo in Mare", "Intervento con la moto d'acqua", "Le unità cnofile", "Il lancio della zattera", "L'accensione dei fuochi".

Sempre all'*Experience Village*, grande attenzione sarà data alla **mobilità elettrica**: nell'area dedicata ci saranno infatti prove e dimostrazioni di mobilità elettrica con biciclette, overboard, monopattini, pedane elettriche. Il *Sea Experience* sarà teatro anche di prove sup per adulti, con tavole gonfiabili e l'assistenza di istruttori qualificati. Pensato anche per i più piccoli, all'interno dell'*Experience Village* è collocata una **piscina di acqua bassa** per dare la possibilità anche ai bambini di provare questo divertente sport acquatico.

Il Sole 24 ORE

FIERE

Dal Salone nautico di Genova segnali di fiducia per il settore

–di **Raoul de Forcade** | 22 settembre 2017

La nautica italiana continuerà a crescere anche nel 2017. A sostenere, con forza, questa previsione è stata Carla Demaria, presidente di Ucina Confindustra nautica, nella giornata di apertura del Salone di Genova. A fronte di un fatturato di settore che, come testimoniano i dati dell'associazione, nel 2016 è cresciuto del 18,6% rispetto all'anno precedente, dopo il +17,1% del 2015, la Demaria ha fatto il punto sull'anno in corso. «Il settore – ha affermato - si è ripreso dalla crisi più lunga e pesante che abbia mai avuto. Siamo rassicurati dai dati e anche il 2017 sarà un anno importante».

Il mercato, ha proseguito, «è tornato e si tratta di una crescita solida, superiore a quella di altri comparti. Il Nautico, con 70 brand in più presenti rispetto all'anno scorso e +8% di espositori, è lo specchio di un settore che si è ripreso dalla più dura e lunga crisi mai sofferta».

A supportare la visione positiva della leader di Ucina sono giunte anche le parole del ministro delle Infrastrutture e dei trasporti, Graziano Delrio, nonché l'*endorsement* del presidente di Confindustria, Vincenzo Boccia. Entrambi erano presenti alla cerimonia di inaugurazione, insieme al viceministro dell'economia, Luigi Casero. «Questo salone e la nautica italiana - ha detto il ministro - hanno numeri di crescita impressionanti». Poi ha rassicurato Ucina in merito al finanziamento di 1,5 milioni di supporto al salone che il ministero dello Sviluppo economico non ha ancora versato. «Ci sono delle difficoltà burocratiche – ha affermato Delrio - ma il finanziamento c'è, arriverà assolutamente. Ho parlato con il ministro dello Sviluppo economico, Carlo Calenda, proprio ieri». Delrio ha ricordato che si è «risollevato un settore che era in ginocchio e che sta dando nuovi posti di lavoro». Ha poi parlato delle opere infrastrutturali che andranno a supporto della logistica ligure e del sistema Paese: «In questi due anni e mezzo abbiamo dato la certezza della realizzazione del terzo valico ferroviario»; E ha ricordato l'impegno per la gronda autostradale del Ponente, che di fatto raddoppierà la A10 da Voltri a Genova Ovest. «I primi cantieri per l'opera partiranno nel primo semestre 2018. La gronda è la più grande opera che verrà fatta in Italia. Vale più di 4,7 miliardi».

Da parte sua, il presidente di Confindustria Boccia ha ricordato che «la nautica è lo specchio del Paese, un'attività d'investimento che attiva anche la domanda». Il settore, ha aggiunto, è uscito dalla crisi e ora cresce a doppia cifra grazie alle misure del Governo e alle capacità degli imprenditori e «l'errore che non dobbiamo fare è smontare le riforme che sonostete fatte e ritornare a vecchi modelli». Riferendosi poi al rischio di uno sdoppiamento del Salone, ha affermato: «Genova è una dimensione prioritaria che riguarda l'idea di fiere che dobbiamo avere nel Paese», perché «le fiere sono una finestra sul mondo dell'industria italiana ed è evidente che dobbiamo fare in modo che abbiano una location definita e chiara e non siano oggetto di confusione. Genova dimostra storicamente di essere il Salone nautico e, tra l'altro, qui si dimostra di saper fare sistema tra Governo, istituzioni locali, Confindustria, Ucina». Ha poi aggiunto che «bisogna stabilire delle priorità» e che il Nautico, «è la finestra del Paese che presenta un pezzo di industria italiana nel mondo. Chi viene dall'estero deve sapere che il Salone è qui».

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BARCOLANA®

SOCIETÀ VELICA DI BARCOLA E GRIGNANO
49ª COPPA D'AUTUNNO
BARCOLANA 2017

COMUNICATO STAMPA

"UNICA COME LA SUA CITTÀ":
LA CAMPAGNA PUBBLICITARIA DELLA BARCOLANA 2017
IN ANTEPRIMA NELLA HALL DI TRIESTE AIRPORT E NEI PORTI TURISTICI DELL'ALTO ADRIATICO

Mitja Gialuz, presidente della Società Velica di Barcola e Grignano, ha presentato oggi il concept della campagna 2017 nella sala convegni dell'aeroporto regionale

Ronchi dei Legionari, 1 settembre 2017 - **"Unica, come la sua città"**. E' stata presentata oggi, nel corso di una conferenza stampa organizzata al Trieste Airport la campagna pubblicitaria della Barcolana, ideata in vista della prossima edizione della regata. La promozione, infatti, parte dall'aeroporto del Friuli Venezia Giulia, con il duplice obiettivo di promuovere l'evento e unire l'immagine della regata a quella di Trieste.

La partnership tra Società Velica di Barcola e Grignano, Trieste Airport e il Network FVG Marinas prevede uno scambio di visibilità che rappresenta un esempio di efficace sinergia tra realtà protagoniste dello sviluppo turistico del Friuli Venezia Giulia.

Con la nuova campagna, Barcolana non parla solo agli appassionati di vela ma diventa ambasciatrice, in Italia e non solo, della magia della città che la ospita. Fascino che raggiunge il suo livello più alto nei giorni in cui lo splendore dei palazzi affacciati sul mare si unisce al colpo d'occhio offerto da migliaia di barche a vela nel golfo.

"Barcolana, unica come la sua città" promuove quindi, oltre alla regata, le attrattive turistiche di una settimana davvero unica anche per chi non vive l'evento a bordo di uno yacht. L'obiettivo è quello di valorizzare il brand Barcolana attraverso un taglio più istituzionale, che veda protagonisti insieme il mare, la città e la regata.

La campagna, che si presenta in anteprima con un'installazione spettacolare e in fase di completamento nella hall di Trieste Airport, sarà pianificata sulla stampa nazionale e vedrà il coinvolgimento della rete dei porti turistici del Friuli Venezia Giulia, oltre a un'azione di direct mailing. Il messaggio verrà inoltre riproposto nell'arredo urbano di Trieste nei giorni dell'evento.

"Le sinergie funzionano - **ha commentato il presidente della Società Velica di Barcola e Grignano, Mitja Gialuz** - *e questa in particolare ha un grande potenziale: per Barcolana dare il benvenuto ai viaggiatori è una grande opportunità di immagine, mentre l'aeroporto ha riconosciuto il valore di promuovere il proprio sviluppo, le nuove tratte e gli investimenti in corso nell'ampliamento dello scalo, anche attraverso il nostro evento, che è un efficace veicolo per parlare ai viaggiatori, visto che la Barcolana è una delle principali manifestazioni annuali che garantiscono incoming al Friuli Venezia Giulia".*

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"Sono felice che il presidente Gialuz abbia accolto la nostra proposta di realizzare delle installazioni scenografiche nel terminal - **ha affermato Antonio Marano, presidente di Trieste Airport** - *Trieste è la città della vela e la Barcolana è il simbolo di questa relazione intima tra il capoluogo regionale e il suo mare. Siamo felici di accogliere i passeggeri in arrivo e in partenza con questo speciale benvenuto o arrivederci d'altra parte, questa è per noi l'occasione di valorizzare le grandi opportunità di immagine e promozione che lo scalo offre alle imprese del territorio con i suoi spazi pubblicitari".*

"È la prima volta - **ha detto ancora Gialuz** - *che Barcolana investe in una campagna di comunicazione nazionale: si tratta di importante sviluppo nella comunicazione della manifestazione, che punta a divulgare ed accrescere la propria immagine in vista della 50.a edizione, in programma nel 2018".*

La campagna promozionale "Unica come la sua città" sarà divulgata attraverso numerosi canali: è attivo un co-marketing con Trenitalia, volto a promuovere i treni regionali speciali attivi in occasione dell'evento, ed è stata avviata un'azione di visibilità attraverso la Rete FVG Marinas composta dai principali porti turistici del Friuli Venezia Giulia, con circa 7000 posti barca dai 6 ai 100 metri di lunghezza, dalle foci del Tagliamento a Muggia. I 19 marina aderenti alla rete promuoveranno l'immagine della Barcolana e garantiranno sconti consistenti agli armatori iscritti alla regata, che sceglieranno di ormeggiare presso le loro strutture prima e dopo l'evento.

"Sinergia, fare sistema sono termini abusati, ma in questo caso concreti ed attuali. E' un piacere ed un onore per la rete FVG Marinas lavorare insieme alla Società Velica di Barcola e Grignano e a Trieste Airport per fare incoming in Friuli Venezia Giulia - **ha dichiarato Giorgio Ardito, presidente del Network FVG Marinas** - *Un evento così importante, una vera festa del mare, è un'opportunità da cogliere per la Rete regionale dei porti turistici, perciò quest'anno abbiamo studiato una speciale promozione: dal 1 settembre al 30 ottobre per tutte le imbarcazioni che si ormeggeranno almeno 4 giorni nei marina del network, sarà praticato uno sconto del 25% sulle tariffe. E' una grande occasione per far scoprire ai diportisti italiani e stranieri, le coste, i porti turistici, le altre regate, le manifestazioni nautiche come Nautilia, i servizi dei cantieri delle marine e l'entroterra di una Regione unica. Con il lavoro di squadra puntiamo a raggiungere l'obiettivo posto dal presidente Gialuz dei 2000 iscritti alla 49° edizione della Barcolana".*

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ACCORDO DI COLLABORAZIONE TRA RETE FVG MARINAS NETWORK E BARCOLANA: COME VIVERE AL MEGLIO LA REGATA PIÙ AFFOLLATA DEL MONDO E UN INTENSO AUTUNNO IN FRIULI VENEZIA GIULIA

Trieste, 23 agosto 2017 - In autunno c'è più di un motivo per scegliere di ormeggiare la propria imbarcazione in uno dei Marina della Rete FVG Marinas. Gli amministratori della Rete e Mitja Gialuz, Presidente della Società Velica Barcola e Grignano, organizzatrice della Barcolana, hanno infatti stretto un accordo di collaborazione per offrire ai diportisti la migliore ospitalità per vivere il Friuli Venezia Giulia, le sue coste e località, ben oltre il periodo della regata.

La Rete FVG Marinas Network offrirà a tutti gli iscritti alla 49^ Barcolana, sconti del 25% sulle tariffe d'ormeggio mensili o giornaliere (a partire da un minimo di 4 notti e salvo disponibilità) nel periodo dal 1 settembre al 31 ottobre e in diversi marina sconti su lavaggio carena, alaggi e vari.
L'accordo sarà esteso anche alle imbarcazioni a motore che vorranno raggiungere il Golfo di Trieste per assistere allo spettacolo della regata più affollata al mondo domenica 8 ottobre, che beneficeranno delle stesse scontistiche.

"Siamo molto felici della collaborazione con Barcolana - **ha dichiarato Roberto Sponza, amministratore per l'area Trieste-Muggia e direttore di Porto San Rocco** - *la Rete dei Marina ha colto la sfida della Barcolana di raggiungere quest'anno le 2000 barche alla partenza e ha pensato che il metodo migliore era invitare i diportisti ad arrivare nei Marina del Friuli Venezia Giulia alla fine delle crociere estive, per godersi tutto l'autunno velico giuliano e friulano e per essere poi parte attiva o testimoni di una regata da vero record. Grazie alle tariffe particolari applicate, tutti potranno avvicinarsi alla partenza della 49^ Barcolana anche con settimane di anticipo, senza avere la fretta di tornare ai propri ormeggi subito dopo. In questo modo si abbatte l'ostacolo meteo e si creano i tutti presupposti per poter dire: nell'anno del record io c'ero"*.

"La Rete Marinas – **ha dichiarato il presidente della Svbg Mitja Gialuz** – *è un partner importante della Barcolana e ha colto subito la nostra richiesta di collaborazione volta a garantire agli armatori maggiori servizi e opportunità legati alla fruizione del territorio durante l'evento. Uno sconto-ormeggio consistente a chi partecipa alla Barcolana ha la valenza di un importante benvenuto, offre l'occasione ai velisti di gestire al meglio arrivo e partenza dal Friuli Venezia Giulia, soprattutto tenendo conto dell'aspetto sicurezza meteo. Grazie agli amministratori delle Marine che attraverso la Rete hanno costruito un pacchetto turistico-nautico di grande valore, un elemento di sinergia che rende, ancora di più, la Barcolana uno strumento a servizio del turismo regionale, oltre che grande evento"*.

Da settembre a fine ottobre il calendario di regate ed eventi in Friuli Venezia Giulia è molto ricco, con appuntamenti Open e a compenso da Lignano a Muggia, il programma completo è disponibile sul sito della XIII Zona FIV.

Per finire, nei week end 14/15 e 20/21/22 ottobre ad Aprilia Marittima (accanto a Lignano Sabbiadoro - Udine) si terrà Nautilia, l'unica fiera nautica dell'usato con esposizione di imbarcazioni a terra. Per l'edizione 2017 sono attese oltre 300 barche, con più di 30 marchi rappresentati, tutte in pronta consegna e con un buon rapporto qualità prezzo. Su una superficie espositiva di 50.000 mq., i visitatori potranno usufruire di 1000 metri lineari di banchine a terra, attraverso pratici pontili fissi che consentiranno di controllare le barche anche sotto la linea di galleggiamento.

RETE FVG MARINAS NETWORK
La Rete riunisce 19 porti turistici nella regione Friuli Venezia Giulia, con circa 7000 posti barca dai 6 ai 100 metri di lunghezza, dalle foci del Tagliamento a Muggia:
- Lignano Sabbiadoro, Aprilia Marittima e fiume Stella: Porto Turistico Marina Uno, Marina Punta Faro, Marina Punta Gabbiani, Marina Punta Verde, Darsena Porto Vecchio, Dry Marina Aprilia Marittima 2000, Marina Stella;
- San Giorgio di Nogaro e laguna di Marano: Portomaran, Marina Sant'Andrea, Cantieri Marina San Giorgio, Marina Planais;
- Grado: Darsena San Marco, Marina Primero, Porto San Vito;
- Monfalcone: Marina Hannibal e Marina Lepanto;
- Trieste e costa triestina: Marina Portopiccolo, Porto San Rocco, Marina San Giusto.

BARCOLANA
E' la regata più affollata del mondo, giunta alla 49° edizione. Organizzata dalla Società Velica di Barcola e Grignano, in sinergia con le Istituzioni di Trieste e la partnership del main sponsor Generali, Barcolana si svolge a Trieste, ogni anno, la seconda domenica di ottobre, preceduta da dieci giorni di eventi che trasformano il capoluogo del Friuli Venezia Giulia nella capitale internazionale della vela e nella sede di uno dei principali Festival del mare. Quest'anno, l'evento è in programma dal 29 settembre all'8 ottobre.
Per maggiori informazioni: www.barcolana.it

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BARCOLANA 2017

BANDO DI REGATA

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1 REGOLE

1.1 La regata sarà disciplinata dalle Regole come definite dalle Regole di Regata della Vela (di seguito RRS).

1.2 Si applicheranno le prescrizioni nazionali della Federazione Italiana Vela limitatamente ai punti 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13. Non si applicheranno le regole di classe se non per le classi Meteor e J70, qualora costituiscano una categoria a sé stante.
1.3 La Regata è di categoria 4 come descritto nelle WS (World Sailing) Offshore Special Regulations – OSR – nella sezione 2, punto 2.01.5.

1.4 Eventuali successivi comunicati del Comitato Organizzatore, del Comitato di Regata e della Giuria, anche a modifica del presente Bando e delle Istruzioni di Regata, saranno esposti all'Albo Ufficiale entro le 21.00 della giornata precedente la partenza. Il presente Bando è redatto in lingua italiana e lingua inglese; in caso di conflitto prevarrà la versione italiana.

1.5 Le proteste saranno discusse da una Giuria Internazionale, debitamente costituita come da appendice N al RRS. Le sue decisioni saranno inappellabili come da autorizzazione FIV.

Modifiche alle Regole e prescrizioni particolari

1.6 La RRS 49 "Posizione dell'equipaggio" verrà applicata integralmente, con la precisazione che non potranno venire usati artifici al fine di proiettare fuoribordo il peso di qualsiasi membro. Sono proibiti pertanto tralicci, trapezi e cinghie. Nessun membro dell'equipaggio potrà far sporgere, se non temporaneamente, la parte superiore del proprio corpo (tronco) dalle draglie.

1.7 La RRS 31 "Toccare una boa" è così modificata: "Una barca può toccare una boa ma non può tenersi ad essa. Inoltre, quando in regata una barca non deve toccare un vascello del comitato di regata che sia anche una boa.".

1.8 Ogni imbarcazione dovrà essere dotata di un motore (entro o fuoribordo) funzionante ed adatto alla propulsione della stessa.

1.9 Dal momento del segnale di partenza i motori destinati alla propulsione dell'imbarcazione dovranno essere spenti (non è sufficiente avere la marcia disinnestata).

1.10 Dal momento del segnale di partenza in poi i motori fuoribordo dovranno essere stati rimossi o mantenuti in posizione verticale.

1.11 Dal momento del segnale preparatorio in poi l'ancora non dovrà essere esposta a prua o sporgere dallo scafo.

1.12 A modifica di RRS 40 "Dispositivi personali di galleggiamento" tutti i componenti degli equipaggi di età inferiore ai 18 anni dovranno indossare il giubbotto salvagente per l'intera durata della regata.

1.13 I concorrenti dovranno munirsi di una radio VHF in ascolto sul canale 9, anche portatile. In mancanza della stessa è fatto obbligo dotarsi di una radio portatile FM.

1.14 I concorrenti non devono indossare o portare indumenti o equipaggiamento allo scopo di aumentare il proprio peso (vedi RRS 43 "Indumenti ed Equipaggiamento dei Concorrenti").

1.15 Proteste per un'asserita infrazione alla RRS 48.2 "Schemi di Separazione del Traffico" non potranno essere oggetto di una protesta barca contro barca. Ciò modifica RRS 60.1.

1.16 A modifica di RRS 51 "Zavorra mobile" è ammesso l'uso di chiglia e di zavorra mobile (ballast); per dette operazioni sono consentite azioni manuali o l'uso di pompe azionate da motori non destinati alla propulsione e non collegati con l'asse elica. Per motivi di sicurezza, le imbarcazioni dotate di una deriva retraibile dovranno mantenerla nella posizione di massima estensione durante tutta la regata.

1.17 A modifica di RRS 52 "Forza manuale" le imbarcazioni di costruzione e varo recenti, il cui progetto preveda in maniera documentata, a causa dell'elevata potenza necessaria, l'esistenza di un solo motore destinato a manovre idrauliche ed elettriche, allo spostamento di zavorra ed alla propulsione, potranno richiedere al Comitato Organizzatore di essere autorizzati ad impiegare il motore anche quando in regata, esclusivamente per le manovre e per lo spostamento di zavorra.

1.18 Qualunque infrazione ad una regola dal punto 1.6 al punto 1.17 del Bando di Regata o ad una regola della parte II o IV del RRS o ad eventuali altre regole specificate nelle Istruzioni di Regata comporterà una penalità del 30% degli iscritti totali alla regata con un arretramento nella propria categoria di non meno di sei posizioni; qualora un'imbarcazione incorresse in più di due penalità, la stessa verrà squalificata. Per infrazioni alle regole di classe la penalità sarà a discrezione della Giuria, da 0 punti alla squalifica. Per tutte le altre infrazioni l'imbarcazione verrà squalificata.

1.19 Infrazioni a RRS 28 "Compimento del percorso", RRS 42 "Propulsione", RRS 49 e bando 1.6 "Posizione dell'equipaggio", RRS 43 e bando 1.14 "Indumenti ed Equipaggiamento dei Concorrenti ", bando 1.7 (tenersi alla boa), bando 1.9 (motore acceso), bando 1.10 (posizione motori fuoribordo), bando 1.11 (ancora a prua), bando 1.12 (salvagenti) e bando 8 (Classe Crociera) rilevate dal Comitato di Regata o dalla Giuria comporteranno una penalizzazione senza udienza come previsto nel punto 1.18; ciò modifica di RRS 63.1 e RRS Appendice A5.

1.20 Infrazioni ai punti bando 1.9 (motore acceso), bando 1.10 (posizione motori fuoribordo), bando 1.11 (ancora a prua) non potranno essere oggetto di protesta da parte di una barca ma potranno comunque essere sanzionate con una penalità come previsto dal punto 1.19. Ciò modifica RRS 60.1(a).

1.21 Per protestare non è necessario esporre una bandiera rossa. Ciò modifica RRS 60.1 (a).

1.22 È ammesso giuncare gli spi e altre vele con materiali biodegradabili, senza dover recuperare le giuncature nel caso finiscano in acqua. Ciò modifica RRS 55.

1.23 Qualora, a insindacabile giudizio del Comitato Organizzatore o del Comitato di Regata, le condizioni meteo marine fossero tali da poter creare situazioni di pericolo, gli stessi avranno la facoltà di escludere dalla partenza alcune categorie. Le imbarcazioni escluse non potranno accedere all'area di regata. Qualunque sia la decisione, questa non potrà essere oggetto di richiesta di riparazione da parte dei concorrenti, ciò modifica la RRS 62 WS.

2 PUBBLICITÀ

2.1 Le imbarcazioni possono esporre pubblicità in accordo con la Regulation 20 WS (Advertising Code). I concorrenti italiani dovranno essere in possesso della apposita licenza rilasciata dalla FIV per l'esposizione della pubblicità. Alle barche partecipanti potrà essere richiesto di esporre la pubblicità scelta e fornita dall'autorità organizzatrice.

3 ELEGGIBILITÀ

3.1 La regata è aperta a tutte le imbarcazioni monoscafo che soddisfino le prescrizioni indicate nel presente Bando di Regata; esse saranno suddivise in categorie in base alla lunghezza fuori tutto (LFT). All'interno di queste verrà istituita la classe "CROCIERA" come successivamente definita al punto 8. L'attribuzione della classe e della categoria è effettuata dal Comitato Organizzatore e non potrà essere oggetto di richiesta di riparazione. Ciò modifica la RRS 60.1.b.

3.2 Non sono ammessi pluriscafi, classi olimpiche, derive e simili anche se modificate.

3.3 Non sono ammesse imbarcazioni che non corrispondano alle specifiche costruttive vigenti e che non rispettino le sistemazioni di sicurezza previste dalle Special Regulations del WS per le regate di IV Categoria, quali pulpiti, candelieri pozzetti autovuotanti ecc. e non siano in regola con le dotazioni di sicurezza stabilite dall'Autorità Marittima per le

imbarcazioni abilitate a navigare entro le tre miglia. È facoltà del Comitato Organizzatore richiedere un certificato di stazza attestante la conformità dell'imbarcazione alle regole WS sia al momento dell'iscrizione che a regata effettuata e sino a classifiche ufficiali esposte.

3.4 Qualora la documentazione non venga consegnata entro 1 giorno dalla richiesta o in caso di mancanza di tale documentazione l'imbarcazione verrà squalificata senza udienza (questo modifica la RRS 63.1 e RRS Appendice A5).

3.5 Non sono ammesse imbarcazioni con larghezza massima superiore al 40 % della LFT per le categorie Mega Yacht, Super Maxi, Maxi, 0 e 1°; superiore al 45 % della LFT per le categorie 2°, 3°, 4° e 5°; e superiore al 50 % della LFT per le categorie 6°, 7°, 8° e 9°.

3.6 Potranno essere ammesse imbarcazioni one design (monotipo) appartenenti ad Associazioni di classe le cui dotazioni e sistemi di sicurezza previste dai rispettivi regolamenti siano preventivamente verificate e accettate dal Comitato Organizzatore ma dovranno comunque essere in regola con le dotazioni di sicurezza stabilite dalla Autorità Marittima.

3.7 Imbarcazioni con LFT inferiore a m. 5,95 potranno essere iscritte dopo valutazione del Comitato Organizzatore; passere e gozzi dovranno avere LFT non inferiore a m. 5,95.

3.8 Le imbarcazioni appartenenti alla categoria PASSERE possono derogare dalle prescrizioni sopraindicate, riguardanti le sistemazioni di sicurezza quali pulpiti, candelieri, pozzetti autovuotanti, ecc. ma dovranno essere in regola con le dotazioni di sicurezza stabilite dalla Autorità Marittima. Tale deroga si applica anche alle imbarcazioni che rientrino nei criteri di ammissibilità della regata Barcolana Classic e che si siano iscritte all'edizione in corso della Barcolana Classic.

3.9 Le imbarcazioni dovranno essere in possesso dei documenti richiesti dalle Autorità Marittima per la navigazione da diporto, o dovranno essere in possesso di un certificato di stazza valido per l'anno in corso emesso dalla FIV. Per i concorrenti stranieri i certificati di stazza dovranno essere rilasciati dall'Autorità nazionale di appartenenza riconosciuta dal WS. Il Comitato Organizzatore e/o il Comitato di Regata si riservano di accettare o di respingere o di annullare l'iscrizione di qualsiasi imbarcazione per motivi di sicurezza e/o di qualsiasi imbarcazione che si allontani dallo spirito e dalle prescrizioni del bando di questa regata (RRS 76 "Esclusione di barche o concorrenti").

4 TESSERAMENTO

4.1 La Regata è aperta a tutti i concorrenti in regola con il Codice di eleggibilità WS (Sezione II° Regulation 19, appendice 3).

4.2 I concorrenti italiani dovranno rispettare i requisiti FIV richiesti per l'iscrizione a questa regata.

5 ISCRIZIONI

5.1 Dovranno essere effettuate entro le ore 20.00 del sabato precedente la regata, presso la segreteria della Società Velica di Barcola e Grignano (Viale Miramare, 32 - Trieste) utilizzando l'apposito modulo, compilato e sottoscritto in tutte le sue parti, allegando la lista dell'equipaggio accompagnata dalla quota di iscrizione come dalla tabella qui riportata.

È possibile iscriversi anche via fax o email con bonifico bancario, oppure *on line* sul sito web www.barcolana.it come sotto specificato.

5.2 Iscrizioni a mezzo fax e via email

Il modulo d'iscrizione allegato a questo Bando di Regata dovrà essere inviato alla segreteria della Società Velica di Barcola e Grignano, compilato e sottoscritto in tutte le sue parti unitamente a copia del bonifico bancario, via FAX al n° 040.413838 O EMAIL (SCANSIONANDO IL MODULO E LA RICEVUTA DEL BONIFICO, INVIANDOLI ALL'INDIRIZZO MAIL iscrizioni@barcolana.it), entro il mercoledì precedente la regata. Il pagamento della quota di iscrizione dovrà essere effettuato a mezzo bonifico bancario intestato alla Società Velica di Barcola e Grignano presso Unicredit Banca Spa indicando il codice IBAN: IT 08 O 02008 02213 000050368506. Gli stranieri oltre al codice IBAN, dovranno indicare il codice BIC SWIFT: UNCRITMM account n° (IBAN) IT 08 O 02008 02213 000050368506

ATTENZIONE L'iscrizione sarà completata solo presentandosi negli orari di cui al punto 6 nella sede della Segreteria Iscrizioni (c/o Società Velica di Barcola e Grignano – viale Miramare 32), presentando la lista

dell'equipaggio e ritirando la documentazione, le Istruzioni di regata, il numero di mascone (obbligatorio) e i gadget.

5.3 Iscrizioni *on line*

È possibile iscriversi alla Barcolana anche *on line* pagando la tassa di iscrizione e compilando in ogni sua parte il form pubblicato sul sito. L'iscrizione on line si effettua dal sito internet www.barcolana.it seguendo il link iscriviti dal 21/4/2017 fino al venerdì precedente la regata.

ATTENZIONE L'iscrizione sarà completata solo presentandosi negli orari di cui al punto 6 nella sede della Segreteria Iscrizioni (c/o Società Velica di Barcola e Grignano – viale Miramare 32), presentando la lista dell'equipaggio e ritirando la documentazione, le Istruzioni di regata, il numero di regata (obbligatorio) e i gadget.

6 ORARIO DI APERTURA DELLA SEGRETERIA ISCRIZIONI

6.1 La segreteria iscrizioni presso la sede della Società Velica di Barcola e Grignano (viale Miramare 32) sarà aperta, con orario continuato, da giovedì 21/9 al sabato precedente la regata dalle ore 9.00 alle 19.00.

7 DIVISIONE IN CATEGORIE E QUOTA DI ISCRIZIONE

7.1. Le imbarcazioni saranno suddivise nelle seguenti categorie:

Categorie	LFT	Quota di iscrizione
SUPER YACHT	da 24.01 m in poi	Euro 1.100,00
SUPER MAXI	da 19.01 m a 24.00	Euro 850,00
MAXI	da 16.01 a 19.00 m	Euro 600,00
0	da 13.51 a 16.00 m	Euro 280,00
I	da 12.01 a 13.50 m	Euro 170,00
II	da 11.11 a 12.00 m	Euro 120,00
III	da 10.26a 11.10 m	Euro 90,00
IV	da 9.41 a 10.25 m	Euro 90,00
V	da 8.46 a 9.40 m	Euro 80,00
VI	da 7.71 a 8.45 m	Euro 80,00
VII	da 7.11 a 7.70 m	Euro 65,00
VIII	da 6.46 a 7.10 m	Euro 60,00
IX	fino a 6.45 m	Euro 50,00
PASSERE	Passere e gozzi	Euro 50,00
METEOR	Meteor	Euro 50,00
J/70	J/70	Euro 60,00

7.2 Meteor e J/70 costituiranno una categoria a sé stante solo se vi saranno almeno 30 iscritti; in caso contrario, verranno inclusi nella categoria di appartenenza in base alla LFT.

7.3 La quota d'iscrizione non ha valore di corrispettivo per la prestazione di un servizio e si intende finalizzata alla copertura delle spese di organizzazione della regata.

8 CLASSE CROCIERA

8.1 I partecipanti le cui imbarcazioni per caratteristiche costruttive, per dotazioni ed attrezzatura nonché per il loro uso (come di seguito specificato) potranno definirsi da "crociera", dovranno segnalarlo barrando l'apposita casella all'interno del modulo d'iscrizione. Tali imbarcazioni saranno inserite nella classe "crociera" all'interno di ogni categoria e concorreranno ai premi di classe ed al Trofeo Generali per la prima imbarcazione da "crociera" overall.

8.2 Un'apposita Commissione interna al Comitato Organizzatore valuterà, in fase d'iscrizione, o anche successivamente qualora non immediatamente individuata, la rispondenza dell'imbarcazione ai principi, allo spirito nonché alle caratteristiche della classe "crociera".

8.3 La valutazione di tale Commissione sarà inappellabile e non soggetta a richiesta di riparazione, ciò modifica la RRS 60.1.b (riparazione).

8.4 Un'imbarcazione si definisce da "crociera" e può essere inserita nelle classi "Crociera" se soddisfa entrambe le seguenti condizioni:

– è progettata principalmente per questo scopo con un layout ed un allestimento interno tale da permettere periodi anche prolungati di confortevole permanenza a bordo, mantenendo permanentemente installate, durante lo svolgimento della regata, tutte le dotazioni interne originarie e/o accessorie necessarie ad un uso crocieristico;

– il seguente rapporto tra superficie velica di bolina di randa + genoa, espressa in metri quadri diviso ((il dislocamento, espresso in kg diviso 1026) elevato a 2/3) deve essere inferiore a 38.

8.5 Per le imbarcazioni iscritte alle Classi "Crociera" sono vietate le vele di prua non inferite sullo strallo di prua. Sono vele di prua le vele la cui larghezza tra i punti mediani di ralinga e balumina è inferiore al 75% della base, come da RRS 50.4. A titolo esemplificativo e non esaustivo sono vietate le vele note come drifter, Code Zero o "frulloni" mentre, sempre a titolo esemplificativo e non esaustivo, sono concesse le vele note come gennaker e spinnaker.

9 PROGRAMMA

9.1 La partenza della Regata verrà data alle ore 10.30 di domenica 8 ottobre 2017.

10 MISURA DELLA LUNGHEZZA FUORI TUTTO

10.1 Sul modulo di iscrizione dovrà essere dichiarata la lunghezza fuori tutto (LFT) dell'imbarcazione, sottoscrivendo la dichiarazione 'bona fide' da parte del proprietario o dello skipper.

10.2 La lunghezza fuori tutto è definita come la lunghezza dello scafo secondo la regola D3.1 dell'Equipment Rules of Sailing WS 2017-2020, ed esclude timone, bompresso, tangone, pulpiti ed altre attrezzature sporgenti dallo scafo.

10.3 Qualora, in seguito ad un controllo dell'imbarcazione, la dichiarazione risultasse non veritiera, la Giuria potrà considerare il fatto "Grave infrazione al Regolamento" e aprire una procedura di infrazione alla RRS 69 WS "Imputazione di comportamento gravemente sconveniente", notificando il tutto alla Federazione di appartenenza del concorrente.

10.4 Il Comitato di Regata potrà effettuare il controllo della lunghezza fuori tutto delle imbarcazioni sia prima che dopo la regata, per decisione propria o a seguito di una protesta di un concorrente.

11 ISTRUZIONI DI REGATA

11.1 Saranno a disposizione dei concorrenti presso la Segreteria SVBG a partire dalle ore 10.00 dal giorno di apertura delle iscrizioni e potranno essere consultate anche sul sito internet www.barcolana.it a partire dalla stessa data.

12 LOCALITÀ E PERCORSO

12.1 Percorso a vertici fissi nel Golfo di Trieste con la linea di partenza posizionata nella zona di mare situata fra la sede della Società Velica di Barcola e Grignano ed il Castello di Miramare.

13 CLASSIFICHE, PREMI E PREMIAZIONI

13.1 Verranno compilate una classifica assoluta e classifiche separate per ogni categoria e classe, basate sugli arrivi in tempo reale. I Premi, le Coppe ed i Trofei verranno assegnati come da tabella allegata "Coppe e Trofei" al presente Bando.

13.2 La premiazione avrà luogo a Trieste in data da definirsi.

14 RADIO COMUNICAZIONI

14.1 Tranne che in caso di emergenza una barca in regata non dovrà fare trasmissioni radio e non dovrà ricevere comunicazioni non accessibili a tutte le altre barche.

15 RESPONSABILITÀ

15.1 Il Circolo Organizzatore, il Comitato di Regata e la Giuria non si assumono alcuna responsabilità per qualsiasi danno che potesse derivare a persone o a cose, sia in mare sia in terra, prima, durante e dopo la Regata, od in conseguenza della Regata stessa.

15.2 I concorrenti partecipano alla Regata a loro rischio e pericolo e sotto la loro personale responsabilità. Spetta unicamente al responsabile di ciascuna imbarcazione iscritta decidere se partire o continuare la regata, valutando attentamente le condizioni metereologiche e i fattori di rischio derivanti dalle peculiarità della Barcolana. Al fine di compiere una scelta consapevole si invitano i concorrenti ad acquisire le informazioni messe a disposizione dal Comitato Organizzatore attraverso il sito www.barcolana.it, eventuali canali social ed il briefing dei regatanti, che si terrà nella giornata del sabato antecedente la regata.

15.3 Il fatto che un'imbarcazione sia stata ammessa alla regata non rende il Comitato Organizzatore responsabile della sua attitudine a navigare. La sicurezza dell'imbarcazione e del suo equipaggio è responsabilità unica e non trasferibile dell'armatore, di un suo rappresentante o dello skipper, che deve fare del suo meglio per assicurarsi delle buone condizioni dello scafo, dell'alberatura, delle vele, del motore ausiliario, di tutta l'attrezzatura e dell'equipaggiamento. Lo stesso deve inoltre assicurarsi che tutto l'equipaggio sia idoneo a partecipare e sappia dove si trovi l'equipaggiamento di sicurezza e come debba essere utilizzato. Compete ad ogni concorrente la responsabilità personale di indossare un mezzo di galleggiamento individuale adatto alle circostanze.

16 ASSICURAZIONE

16.1 È obbligo del concorrente essere in possesso di idonea assicurazione RC a copertura di danni a cose e verso terzi con massimale minimo pari a €. 1.500.000,00.