Intercultural Translation

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Preface

In 1969 the National Science Foundation funded over 30 research committees in the USA that were paired with similar research committees in Japan. The "US-Japan Sociolinguistics Committee" was one of those committees. The head of the Japan side was the cultural anthropologist Chie Nakane of Tokyo University and the head of the US side was the linguist Eleanor Jorden of Cornell University. The joint committee had its first meeting in Hawaii in 1970 with Masanori Higa and myself as two members of the US side. By the time of the meeting in 1973 in Tokyo, Higa had moved to a Japanese university and was a member of the Japan side. The joint committee met several more times and the paired research scholars continued to do research together for much longer.

The article below is based on research funded by the Social Science Research Council during the summer of 1973 in Tokyo.* The resulting paper was presented at the 1973 meeting in Tokyo. Masanori Higa and I were able to discuss the paper at some length and his suggestions are part of the revised version below.

I. Introduction

I. A. At the 'International Conference on Telecommunications' held in October of 1972 in Tokyo, much attention was focused on the hardware of telecommunications. One speaker, however, turned his attention to a much more than human and therefore difficult problem. William Royce of the Stanford

Research Institute in Tokyo emphasized[1] that instant communication did not solve any basic problems but intensified and magnified them. It is now possible, he stressed, to be misinterpreted and misunderstood anywhere in the world instantaneously. An important point to remember here is that "Information sending" does not necessarily result in any communication and may, in fact, result in complete misunderstanding, hostility, and cessation of contact.

The problems of communication are difficult enough, but when they involve different cultures and especially when they involve top-level meetings in which the future of million of people is concerned, the solutions to those problems become crucial. There was probably no period in the field of linguistics during which anyone considered communication to involve only the physiology of phonetics (analogous to the hardware of communication) and a list of the grammar patterns and words. Human communication has always involved cultural background, social settings, personal histories, and so on. In some cases these factors are irrelevant, it is true; yet we are here interested in those cases where systematic differences may indeed help translators (and translatees) achieve better communication. To achieve this situation, all aspects of communication must be studied.

I. B. Human communication is much more than information sending. Jakobson[2] has specified that the analysis of communication must include study of at least the addresser, addressee, situation, channel of communication and mode of communication, the editing procedure, and the referential meaning. Given the limited space here, his analysis is used in a somewhat altered fashion. The material below is limited to treatments of introducers, channel, medium, editing, and reference.

Introducers: Languages have means to begin communication, means such as greetings, telephone answering phrases, and so on. There are several different types of introducers that open different kinds of communication. It is important to recognize and use the proper introducers for situations where the following follow the introducer:

public, formal communication
public, friendly communication
private, formal communication
private, friendly communication and so on

For example, the use of the title "Professor" with one of my colleagues may signal the beginning of official information. First names are used otherwise in my university.

Channel: Languages have means to keep the channel of communication open; this also involves the devices to "keep the floor" (remain the speaker) although someone wants it, the devices to attract wandering attention (perhaps by intermixing questions of the addressee), and the devices for giving up the floor. Of the three, the last is most embarrassing to me; that is, when I am through but my end-point signals are not received. There are also devices to switch channels, e.g. to move from "public, friendly" to "public, formal" such as a device used by a meeting chairman reinstating order after some deterioration. Such switching is important, most especially in government to government communication. The basic channels are there, but a device for switching to high priority information is necessary or the information may be interpreted as everyday, mundane, and relatively meaningless information. Royce, in the paper mentioned earlier, documents the fact that the Japanese had received information for more than a year before President Nixon's strong balance-of-payments actions of the early 1970's. Had there been a device for switching this information indisputably to a high priority channel, perhaps the "Nixon shock" would not have been so great.

Editing: Languages have various devices for erasing production, altering structure, changing vocabulary, and so on. Simultaneous translators especially must command these devices in both languages. Take the example of the editing device meaning "erase". Eleanor Jorden has pointed out that the "erase preceding" device in English may consists of speeding up, perhaps accompanied by a hand gesture/of a raise in pitch. Consider a speaker who becomes aware of the two meanings of "ignorant" as he uses them in an international meeting. One meaning resembles "stupid" and the other resembles "be unaware of". We might hear:

> "The president is ignorant…the-president-is-unaware of that particular situation." (hyphens = faster)

Without the erasure, the sentence appears to be cause and effect: "unaware because of the stupidity". Editing devices are important because they allow the alteration of the information flow without cutting the channel. Too often in government work an attempted editing is interpreted as a change in the foreign policy – a mistake that is reported only too often in the newspaper.

Reference: Reference can be referred to as the dictionary meaning and involves the "real world" situation in which language is used. Communication and translation are easier where culture is shared, where objects are similar, when value systems are similar. Obviously it is harder where these are not

shared. The difficulties are magnified where the two sides of the communication do not share cultures, social systems, and so on, but do superficially seem to share them. An American in Japan sees signs in English, sees 1000's of familiar items, Western attires, and on and on., and expects easy communication. Japanese children these days see the similarity of dress and commodity, see some four dozen Western TV series which use dubbed, and could expect easy communication. In this situation each side could and sometimes does consider any failure in communication to be deliberate, Royce mentions one businessman – I have known some myself – who is convinced that Japanese do not wish to be understood and who deliberately confuse him. It is appalling to realize the vast numbers of people engaged in business and government work who do not know that communication involves more than, say, word for word translation.

Medium: In general the medium of communication is a language, occasionally a code or some signaling system. It is often assumed for the purpose of grammar exposition that a language is a monolithic system shared by all its native speakers. In contrast to this assumption, the sociolinguistic study of intercultural communication is concerned with the systematic variations within the language where these variations reflect the groups who use them. These variations include:

1. the social correlations of geographical, ethnic, and social dialects, their prestige/nonprestige and other ranking by native and nonnative speakers, together with the systematic differences in those rankings according to various groups of speakers.
2. the style differences and their use.
3. the differences in speech toward superior, equals, and inferiors; toward the opposite sex; toward children etc.
4. vocal qualifiers which add to or change the total meaning of utterance.

The rest of this paper is concerned with some of the broad problems raised by these last four items. The full study of all aspects of communication is beyond the scope of any single study; this study focuses on some of the problems of the **Medium,** treated in Part II. Part III gives the research design involving American TV shows dubbed into Japanese, Part IV gives more detailed analysis of three of those shows, and Part V draws some more broad conclusions.

II. **The Medium**

II. A. The definition of human communication as outlined in I.B. includes semantic, social, and cultural factors. In is important to remember that a basic

part of communication involves no referential meaning at all; that is, the semantics are often trivial. In “greeting” and “departure” rituals, often no referential meaning is conveyed. It is in the nature of **Introducers**, **Channel** and **Editing** devices that they hold little referential meaning. But it would be wrong to conclude that the are trivial because without them “communication: devolves into ‘information sending’”. Obviously translators translate the total meaning (when they can understand it) and not just the referential meaning. The simplest example which comes to mind is that the greeting “good morning” in English is not translated by the Japanese “ii asa” and the phrase “it’s a good morning” does not contain “ohayoo gozaimasu”. Perhaps we could agree that the components of communication cause more and more difficulty as we move through the series: **reference**, **introducers**, **channel**, **editing**, and **medium**. Here I deal with the last, although the others – especially editing – crop up from time to time. The **medium** involves all sort of social and cultural factors that have been receiving the attention they deserve over these last several decades.

II. B. The language variant used should be appropriate to the situation. Overly formal style to friends may be interpreted by them as hostility or some such negative feature. 'Underly' formal style in a public forum may be interpreted so that the speaker is rather rude or uncouth. In this and other situations, “Proper” speech may be defined as “appropriate” speech. Any absolute standard with says “X is the best to use in any situation” is wrong; i.e. it will lead the user into all sort of misleading usage. The numerous social and cultural variants around the U.S. or Japan are important considerations. In government the language and social behavior of President Kennedy from Massachusetts was not that of President Clinton from Arkansas. Using the same standards to evaluate their behavior and translate their language use might be extremely misleading. In business it will be an astonished Japanese businessman who expects the same language and social behavior in New York, Houston, New Orleans, and Atlanta. In the creative arts of fiction, movies, and TV, often the humor, the story’s conflict, and the interpretation of the work depends on the social and/or cultural variants in language and social behavior. For two obvious examples, take the Nobel Prize winners William Faulkner and Yasunari Kawabata. I have identified[3] over half a dozen Black dialects used by Faulkner for structural purposes in his works; i.e. the differences are important for the novel’s conflict and resolution. These dialects and their prestige ranking to native English speakers are almost impossible to convey in translation. In a similar was the delicate and shifting interpersonal relations used by Kawabata in his work are all but unimaginable to the English speaker because English does not have the devices which Japanese has. Kawabata told us during his stay at the University

of Hawaii [as a Visiting Scholar in 1968, just after he had won the Nobel Prize in Literature] that he carefully worked out the dialect, style and so on differences in his characters. The more subtle differences are essentially non-existent in the English translations of his works. Variations in language can indeed be important in communication.

II. C. Now let us take four aspects of the **Medium** and get a concrete example of how each can be important in communication. The four are: style, power, level, dialect, and vocal qualifier.

> **Style or formality level**: the style of speech may vary along the dimensions of dimensions of complete familiarity with close relatives and friends, though casual, consultative, and so on to the rigorously formal style of scholarly report[4]. The style should be appropriate to the situation but that does not mean that the style to be used can be predicted from the situation. You can hear formal or casual speech at a public function and you can also hear a mother use her child's full name to him, such as when angry. The general rule is that the predicted style for the situation carries no extra or social meaning, but the nonpredicted one does. For example, my son's first clue that his mother is angry may be the formal "Stephen Mark Hoffer" rather than the usual "Steve". A further rule, and perhaps more significant, is that a style shift during communication carries a great deal of social meaning. For a personal example, if I am talking to the president of my University and he switches from the casual first name "Bates" to the consultative "Professor Hoffer", I get ready to leave his office because I know that the meeting is almost over. For a more literary example, take the following incident from the classic novel by Owen Wister, *The Virginian* [5]. An Easterner arrives in the American West about 120 years ago and observes two cowboys approach each other. Cowboy A calls cowboy B some vile and obscene names and cowboy B responds by returning them. The Easterner expects instant death for one or the other, but instead the two break into smiles, slap each other on the back, and begin talking. Thinking he has learned the greeting ritual (**Introducer**) of these strange Westerners, the Easterner approached cowboy A and tries a vile name. The cowboy becomes stone-still. Finally he says, "Smile when you say that, mister." It was the Easterner who used inappropriate greeting insults and who approached instant death. The formality of the "mister" is a style shift that highlights the Easterner's error: vile and obscene names are appropriate

between friends on the frontier as greeting, but are derogatory and inflammatory between nonfriends.

Power level: In any situation in which there are superiors and inferiors along some scale such as in business, government, or academia, the English used is likely to show some "power" differences, although these are not as systematic as in Japanese and wide variations occur. For example, I can say to a student (even is older and perhaps a high ranking officer) "Close the door." However, to my departmental chairman I would never use such a direct command. A more natural sentence is "Would you close the door?" or perhaps, "It is all right to have the door closed?" Since the power usage differs across the country, the appropriate usage cannot be predicted from hierarchy alone. For example, in the Southwest U.S.A. first names are used quickly, but that does not mean the power hierarchy is dissolved. Consider a person from a part of the country where the use of first names means the power hierarchy is irrelevant. He causes great friction in the Southwest with his behavior as an equal. Such a situation often occurs when a researched or professor from Germany arrives at a university in Texas. So strong is the meaning of "first name uses" as "equalizer" that often the shift back to last name or title by the American is ignored by the nonnative. Remember the rule mentioned earlier that a shift carries more meaning than even nonpredicted usage.

The language of power and solidarity varies widely across the U.S. and the variations are important background for communication with the various areas. Let me close this section with an example from a Rock Hudson movie 'Ice Station Zebra'. Hudson plays the captain of a Navy ship with a fairly casual style among the officers – at least it so appears to a visitor. That visitor sees the camaraderie and casual style, interprets them too broadly, get to friendly too fast be asking Hudson what he wishes to be called. The visitor relaxes when Hudson says "We're on a first name basis here," but is brought to an understanding of his presumption by the following "You may call me 'Captain'".

Dialect: Since proper language is appropriate language, the "standard" dialect to be used in almost any situation is the one which is not considered a dialect. We are using the appropriate language when this listener listens to <u>what</u> rather than <u>how</u> we say it. The neutral dialect varies by region, ethnic group, and/or social class, together with many other variables. It is not possible to predict the dialect by the situation, the nature of the listeners, or the speaker's last name. Anything that is perfectly predictable carries no meaning; it is the use of nonpredictable dialect that carries social meaning. For one example, the sociolinguist William Labov noted years ago that the

white New York teenagers' use of black dialect in situations where it had been inappropriate indicated their growing alienation from their background[6]. He was subsequently proved correct. Again, a shift may be more meaningful than nonpredicted usage. A literary example comes from the novel *Fail-Safe*[7] made into a movie with Henry Fonda playing the president of the U.S.A. As nuclear was looms, the president is to talk over the hot-line to the Russian head of state. He tells the only other person in the room, his Russian-English translator, that he wants to know <u>everything</u> about the communication, not just <u>what</u> is said in Russia, but <u>how</u> it is said and what that, too, means. At the crucial point in the conversation, the translator notes that the Russian has begun to speak in the dialect of his home area. The president needs to know what added meaning that fact has. The translator suggests that the shift to that particular rural dialect of the Russian's home area indicates the truthfulness of the message. Acting on this information (now raised to the level of true communication), the president believes the message, makes a decision, and indeed a nuclear war is averted.

Vocal Qualifiers: Languages have all sorts of devices to add to or change the basic meaning of utterances. These may be considered types of 'editors', but perhaps a better way to think of them is as meaning **qualifiers** because they are not language devices that regulate grammar and clarify referential meaning. Vocal qualifiers do such things as indicate in general the speaker's emotional state, sex, age, confidence level, aggression quotient, and many other things, as well as changing or reversing the lexical meaning of the sentence. For example, the sentence" He thinks he's tall." May be said in a variety of ways and have meaning such as:

1. He thinks he's tall. [general statement]
2. He thinks he's tall (but he isn't).
3. He thinks he's tall (but he isn't…and he's presumptuous to think so).
4. He thinks he's tall (but he most definitely isn't).

Although these examples may seem to be stretching the number of possibilities of qualifying one utterance, consider Jackobson's discussion of one of Stanislavski's methods for teaching actors. A person takes a simple utterance, such as "good morning", mentally constructs a few dozen situations in which the varying pronunciations would be appropriate, and produces those before an audience. The percentage of correct reconstructions by the audience of the imagined situations is a measure of

the talent of the actor. With a good speaker and a fairly sophisticated audience, two or three dozen correct reconstructions are possible.

One reason why it is important to analyze these qualifiers is that they can reverse the meaning as noted above about the "tall" man. If the translator or partial bilingual is not aware of these, the repercussions can be disastrous. For a hypothetical example, the president of an American company is in Japan being entertained by a cooperating Japanese company and is asked if he is enjoying himself. With no realization of the limits of the translator, he might say "I am having a horrible time, can't you tell?" with the vocal qualifiers which reverse the meaning from "horrible" to "wonderful". A word for word translation would possibly destroy the cooperation.. Since a vast amount of information is sent back and forth between the U.S. and Japan, a through attention must be paid to the qualifiers to insure accurate communication.

III. **Research Design for Broad Problem Areas**

III. A. There are several ways of exploring the relative accuracy of total translation, that is, the translation of all relevant components of human translation. Such complete translation can be labeled "intercultural translation". One way of exploring the proficiency of intercultural translation involves the analysis of simultaneous translation at a governmental or business conference. This analysis would involve a great deal of time and yet perhaps arrive at no useful result because simultranslators have enough to do without focusing attention on such minute details are we are interested in. Another way involves comparing novels in the original to the translation; but novels are <u>not</u> natural language, only written products on which translators can spend years if necessary. Furthermore, such components of speech as editing and vocal qualifiers cannot be well handled in print. In this study we concentrate on the dubbing of American TV series into Japanese because the shows involve English users of various backgrounds, a great variety of dialects and styles, a variety of dubbers, and so on. A fuller analyses of intercultural intercultural translation involves the visual demnsion[9], but that is far beyond the limits of this paper.

III. B. The high quality of dubbing work in Japan makes this research valid. The huge number of English language classes, books, and simultranslation training centers here and in the U.S. highlights the need for maximum communication – to say nothing of the high volume of trade or the business and governmental ties between the countries. Only in such a situation is this type of research necessary,

but of course the results are useful for other languages in contact as well. To get an idea of the volume of dubbing work in Japan, refer to the list below that gives some of the TV series shown in Tokyo at the time of this research project and the average number of dubbed American movies per day.

III. C. The set of TV series provides data for an enormous amount of work on a panorama of intercultural translation problems. For examples:

1. Jargon, specialized lexicon of a profession or group.
   "Medical Center": Medical jargon in a major U.S. hospital
2. Ethnic dialects. "Little People": Hawaiian ethnic groups.
3. Styles. "The FBI": Panorama of human contacts.
4. Power. "Combat": US military in Germany in WWII.
5. Dialects. "Beverly Hillbillies": Various dialects.

Following is a list of most of the English language TV series shown in a regular or irregular basis in the summer of 1973 in Tokyo – excluding documentaries. Every commercial channel has one or more of these.

Andy Williams
Annie Get Your Gun
Arnie
Beverly Hillbillies
Brady Bunch
Columbo
Combat
Disney Parade
Eddie Cantor Comedy Theater
The FBI
Flipper
The Fugitive
Gilligan's Island
Hanna-Barbara Cartoons:
  Tom & Jerry
  Yogi Bear & others.

Here Come the Brides
Highway Patrol
Josie & the Pussycats
The Little People
Love: American Style
The Lucy Show
Medical Center
Mighty Mouse
Mission: Impossible
Mod Squad
Mr. Christian
Mr. Deeds Goes to Town
Mr. District Attorney
My Mother the Car
The Prisoner
Rat Patrol
Ripcord (In English)
The Saint
Sesame Street (In English)
Star Trek: (called "Space Patrol")
Suspense Theater
This is Tom Jones
  (in English & Welch)
Wanted: Dead or Alive
Warner Bros. Cartoons:
  Bugs Bunny
  Daffy Duck
  Tweety
  Sylvester & others
Whirleybirds

In addition, there are a great number of movies each week. Based on a random sampling during a week in July, 1973, there were slightly more than 4.5 dubbed English language movies per day..

Since medical jargon and the specialized situations in medicine are beyond average experience, 'Medical Center' is not used here. Perhaps jargon is less of an intercultural problem since the professions can keep in contact between the countries by publications, cross-cultural specialists, and so on, coupled with the fact that mostly medicine involves material "things". In other words, medical doctors deal with the same basic physiology so that the translation problems should be mainstreamed to the referential level. Sociolinguistic factors enter in that, for example, taboo words and taboo parts of the body may differ in the two cultures, but each profession needs its own study for its own jargon.

The great amount of ethnic diversity in America has led to a great number of ethnic dialects. Sociolinguisitic evaluations by native English speaking Americans classes them on relative merit scales in many ways, depending on the area, social class, ethnic groups, etc., of the evaluator. In San Antonio, for example, the museum called "The Institute of Texas Cultures" exhibits the 26 different major ethnic groups which settled San Antonio and area and it documents their current status and viability. A TV show, movie, or novel which uses a Spanish-type accent will have an evaluation in San Antonio, where about 65% of the population has a Mexican background, much different from say, an evaluation in Atlanta, Georgia. A black dialect in Washington, D.C., which has over 60% blacks, will have a different evaluation from one in Phoenix, Arizona. These different sociolinguistic profiles are much different from the situation in Japan. The high level of homogeneity of culture in Japan and the lack of large numbers of ethnic groups prevent a writer from using ethnic dialects for the wide variety of effects possible in English. An example is the original "I Love Lucy" show, which used Cuban dialect for the husband of the star, Lucille Ball. The sociolinguistic evaluation of the various "Spanish" accents differs in the various groups of Cubans, Mexicans, and other speakers of varieties of Spanish. In very gross terms, the sociolinguistic evaluations are: (1) Cuban = emotional and personable, intelligent, reserved to a degree, rather formal; (2) maximal (that is, the one most unlike an American counterpart) Mexican = highly emotional, somewhat stupid, lazy (such as the Frito Bandito in American commercials); (3) Spanish (from Spain) = less emotional, intelligent, rather aloof (such as Ricardo Montalban in most of his movie roles), very formal. One part of the humor in "I Love Lucy" lies in the fact that the Cuban Desi Arnez' (the husband) reserve prevents his anger from erupting until the provocation provided by his wife Lucy is too much to handle and his consequent

switch to an explosion of the Spanish language late in each show. The stereotypical Mexican in movies would most likely explode earlier and the stereotypical Spaniard in movies would probably not put up with Lucy's silly behavior in the first place.

For these reasons, then, this paper covers only "The FBI", "Combat", and "The Beverly Hillbillies".

III. E. The research procedure of this project is simple. The target shows are taped in the US and episodes are shown to native English speakers who then fill out forms which provide a sociolinguistic profile of the various features as noted above. Potential points of difficulty are noted. Then episodes of the dubbed Japanese version of the series are taped (the same episodes where possible) and then native speakers of Japanese are asked to listen to the tapes in Japanese and to answer a set of questions concerning their evaluation of the vocal characteristics. The sociolinguistic evaluations are administered by a native Japanese who has been trained in the topic of sociolinguistic profiles. After the feature analysis is complete, each informant is encouraged to add any comments at all about the Japanese dubbed version. There are several things to say about this procedure and some are listed here:

1. The results do not depend on the bilingual or bicultural knowledge of the researcher or any informant.
2. The procedure does not pretend to answer all relevant sociolinguistic problems involved; it only sketches in some broad ones.
3. Of course the evaluations may be colored by knowledge of the particular TV shows and characters on the test, but that cannot be helped in societies so saturated with TV sets.

IV. Analysis of Three Shows; the Four Problem Areas

The three shows selected are treated in ascending order of difficulty in perceiving the sociolinguistic factors in translation.

IV. A. "The FBI": "Standard" urban sophisticated style. Here "standard" means the speech expected of national radio or TV announcers. The equivalent "standard" in Japanese is the educated Tokyo standard speech; "urban, sophisticated" is matched by Japanese use of polite verb and adjective forms: "-masu" for verbs, "desu" after adjectives.

Problem: In "The FBI", the main character Inspector Erskine is involved in a power structure; he has a boss and an assistant. FBI stands for Federal Bureau of Investigation; it is the national investigating agency for intra-

U.S.A., governmental, and cross-state-line felony investigation. The FBI cannot try or punish, only investigate and suggest action. In such a situation, the criminals can be said to be below the assistant in a power scale. The problem is that in English Erskine uses exactly the same formal speech to superiors, equals, inferiors, even alleged criminals (with sporadic exceptions). The TV series treats Erkskine as a thorough professional, reserved to the point of aloofness, and it does not develop his characterization because the show primarily concerns the criminal action.

Consider now that Japanese has speech forms for use by superiors, equals, and inferiors in formal, polite, and plain modes. If Erskine uses polite inferior forms to superiors, equal forms to equals, superior forms to inferiors, the speech would emphasize the FBI as a power structure bureaucracy instead of a close knit professional organization. On the other hand, the use of a single style of formality in Japanese would be rather inappropriate. The dubbers solution to the problem is shown graphically here.

CHART I

Features of Inspector Erskine in English and Japanese

	English		Japanese
	Standard English		Standard Tokyo
	Formal Style	!	Neutral Style
	Sophisticated		Sophisticated
	Educated		Educated
	Urban		Urban
	Male, 40-55	!	Male, 25-55
	Powerful		Powerful
	Reserved	!	Neutral Reserved
	Nonaggressive	!	Neutral Aggressive
	Assured	!	Neutral Assured
	Wise		Wise

The five marked items reflect a slight but important difference in the evaluation of the two versions. The actor Zimbalist plays Inspector Erskine as a thoroughly competent professional working for an organization which completely handles any situation. The formality of his English sets him apart from others, somewhat aloof, and emphasizes his assured, reserved behavior. The distancing behavior emphasizes the fact-finding nature of the work, Zimbalist is never aggressive until forced to be so by the criminals. The five

marked features are thus seen to be important ingredients in the characterization of Inspector Erskine and the FBI. Obviously, much more work on the components of style in English is needed before expecting the dubbers to transfer these features more accurately. For TV shows, such results may not be necessary for high ratings. However, in the case of government and business, they help identify the most powerful professional in the group.

IV. B. "Combat": This military show concentrates on a sergeant, his lieutenant, and his men. The show contains speech that is almost always directed to superiors, equals, or inferiors on the military hierarchy scale. The series concerns a set of American army men in World War II in or near Germany. The series stars Vic Morrow as the sergeant and Rick Jason as the lieutenant; several regulars are featured as the corporals and privates. Each week a guest star appears in any of those ranks. As noted in III. C. 4, "Combat" presents situations in which the three levels of the power structure (officer, non-commissioned officer, others) dissolve into two or occasionally one level of speech.

CHART TWO

Power Levels in Conversations

3 levels:	normal situations- lieutenant down to sergeant and his men the men (corporals and privates) up to sergeant and lieutenant sergeant up to lieutenant and down to men
2 levels:	lieutenant and sergeant talk of their responsibility (men not present) or sergeant and men group together opposed to officers in general
1 level:	high stress/danger dissolves most power structure altogether

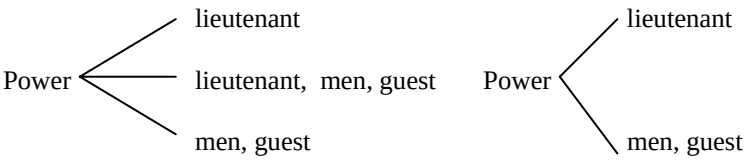
Problem: In the English language version, linguistic shifts accompany the various power groupings. Titles, first or last name usage, voice quality signifying "authority", and syntactic changes are some of the signs that signal the groupings. In terms of the structure of each episode, these groupings are critically important. They show whether the guest star is accepted into the group at the appropriate level or whether he is and remains an outsider. One of the conflicts in the story is whether the guest star will or will not accept his responsibility or lack of it within the group. In such a precarious situation as war, each member of the power hierarchy must fulfill his responsibility or the group may be annihilated. In this show, Sergeant Saunders (Vic Morrow) is the pivotal

figure. He and the men often group together (linguistically and nonverbally) when the guest is an officer who does not fit into the system; he and the lieutenant group together when the guest star is a regular who causes some friction. The major dubbing problem is that, while the sergeant uses “inferior” speech to the lieutenant at times and “superior” to the men at times, he may use “inferior” or “equal” to the lieutenant, “superior” or “equal” to the men, and “superior”, “equal” or “inferior” to the guest star. This situation is further complicated by the fact that he may use polite or familiar style when talking to “equals” or “inferiors”. The dubbers solution to this problem is given here.

CHART IIB

Features of Saunders in English and Japanese

English	Japanese
Informal standard, unsophisticated, neutral educated. Male, 25-40, powerful, unreserved, aggressive, assured	Informal standard, unsophisticated, neutral educated. Male, 25-40, powerful, unreserved, aggressive, assured.



All features except the critical power level are handled well here. Recall, however, that shifts in usage are more important than any single usage. The audience is “warned” that important communication is coming when the sergeant uses or responds to a different power level. When he and the lieutenant speak as equals, danger is usually imminent; when their power usage levels are maximally apart they are usually ending a controversy over procedure and the lieutenant has been forced to exercise his power of rank. Thus, in a pale reflection of the changing personal relationships signaled in Kawabata's novels, the English language usage reflects changes in personal relationships in the TV show. The use in the Japanese version of a single usage level toward each group prevents the use of this significant “literary” device. “Combat” was a long running series in which the growth and development of personality and personal relationships under stress constituted a primary focus. Without that development of interpersonal relationships while in a "power" situation, the show devolves into merely another action show. Much work on power level usage in English is

necessary so that such complicated power/authority usage in English can be interpreted properly.

IV. C. “The Beverly Hillbillies”: (In Japanese, “Jajauma Okumanchoja”). Several geographical and social class dialects are used in this long running hit series. This series involves the conflict in value systems between a set of hillbillies (uneducated mountain people from Arkansas) who discover millions of dollars of oil on their farm and move to California and a set of West Coast bankers and bank employees. The central humorous themes are: (1) the country people, although apparently naïve, triumph over the 'big city' rich; (2) the banker’s attempts to retain their money in his bank. Some of the conflicts in values systems can be illustrated by the following chart:

Hillbillies	Banker
Strict code of conduct (“code of of the hills”)	Conduct of peer group (“high society”)
Family and friends most important thing	Money is the only important thing
Wisdom resides in old people from home country	Wisdom derives from money accumulation

These and other conflicts would be representative of any “county bumpkin meets city slicker” show, except that mountain people have the reputation of being rigidly honest, truthful, moral in general, while Beverly Hills, as the home of show business producers, has the reputation of a money society. The show goes to great lengths to emphasize these conflicts. The Hillbillies still brew mountain dew (an alcoholic brew), called “granny’s cough medicine”; the banker serves champagne. The Hillbillies drive their old broken-down jalopy; the banker has a new convertible. Among several other conflicts is the one most important for the present purpose: the Hillbillies retain fully their mountain speech, the banker retains standard Midwestern, his wife speaks snobbishly elegant English of the *nouveau rich*e, and his secretary speaks the pretentious, too elegant English of the pseudo-intellectual. The native purity of the mountain dialect directly correlates with the mountain code of honor, truth, and so on. Any mixture with other features destroys to correlation and reduced this long-running show to the “bumpkin vs. urbanite” level. (At one point late in the show's run on prime-time television, the show had more shows than any other in television history among the 60 most watched TV shows.) In the minor characters the show does indeed use the country/urbanite theme by having various types of

humorous bumpkins appear. One regular, the young man Jethro, is a rather foolish extrovert who admires city ways; another of the four regular characters, the young girl Elly, is a native mountain girl; and Granny constantly wants to leave the city for her native mountain country at the last provocation.

Problem: In order to preserve the structure which enabled this somewhat low level TV series to last for many years, the Japanese dubbers might use varieties of Japanese that suggest some of the feature in the sociolinguistic profiles of the characters:

Original	Japanese
Hillbillies: Mountain speech	Country dialect associated with strictest code of honor.
Bankers: (Drysdale) Midwestern	Standard Urban (Tokyo? or "money" city (Osaka?)
Banker's Wife: snobbish, pseudo-Boston	"Nouveau riche": dialect
Secretary: pseudo-intellectual	Same
Individual hillbillies (see following)	
Jed: wise, mature, reserved mountain speech	Same
Granny: emotional, aggressive	Same
Jethro: young and foolish, impulsive, girl crazy	Same
Elly: young and naive, shy	Same

The Japanese evaluation of this show is given below. Notice the marked features on the chart. Here only a few of them can be treated. The mixed dialect used for the Clampetts loses the important feature "strict code of conduct" and perhaps accounts for the feature of "naïve" attached to Jed. A primary structural element in the series is the Jed's common sense and down-to-earth wisdom indicate a native I.Q. (aka 'common sense') higher than the supposedly "superior" upper classes of sophisticated Beverly Hills. Another primary element is that Jed's formality (his "manner") never deserts him since it is part of his character, but the banker Drysdale's formality deserts him under any emotional stress,

indicative of course of the pseudo-sophistication and pseudo-niceness of the big city folks. These last two elements are not evident in the dubbed language. I do not know whether it is possible to dub in such a way that all the marked features above can be present; I do know much analysis is yet to be done on describing dialects above can be present; I do know much analysis is yet to be done on describing dialects and especially the investigation of native speakers' sociolinguistic evaluations of those dialects.

CHART III

The Beverly Hillbillies in English and Japanese

	English		Japanese
Elly:	Country Specific	!	Country, mixed
	Young		Young
	Naïve	!	Naive, somewhat
Jethro:	Country, specific	!	Country, mixed
	Young		Young
	Overaggressive	!!	Aggressive, somewhat
	Foolish		Foolish
Granny:	Country, specific	!	Country, mixed
	Old		Old
	Emotional		Emotional
	Overassertive	!!	Assertive, somewhat
Jed:	Country, specific	!!	Country, mixed
	Mature		Mature
	Reserved		Reserved
	Wise	!!!!	Naïve, somewhat
	Honorable, very	!!!!	Honorable, neutral
	Formal	!!!!	Informal
Banker:	Standard		Standard
	Mature		Mature
	Sophisticated (pseudo-)	!!	Naïve, somewhat
	Educated	!	Educated
	Formal (unless under stress)	!!!	Informal, somewhat
	Reserved or unreserved		Reserved, mixed

Based on the sociolinguistic profiles provided by the Japanese viewers, most of the features that helped 'The Beverly Hillbillies' to be a long-lasting hit TV show are not apparent in the Japanese version. Much of the research into the usual sociolinguistic profiles that are generated by the various types of speech in most language areas of the work is yet to be done. For such a low level humorous TV show as this one, the differences are not important. For the translation/dubbing of major literary works, however, such research can help with the intercultural translation.

IV.D. **Vocal Qualifiers**

Since TV does not use spontaneous language and usually stars experienced actors, the natural use of vocal qualifiers cannot be systematically studied with the technique used earlier. This section must be a compilation of vocal qualifiers used in the English version that may or may not have been transferred to the Japanese.

1. The first example is concerned with the vocal qualifier that reversed the lexical meaning of the sentence, as noted in II.C. the example is from “The FBI” production called “Sweet Evil” and shown in the Spring, 1973, in the U.S., dubbed into Japanese on June 29th in Tokyo, ands shown on Channel 6 (TBS) on July 17th. Through the help of Prof. Tetsuya Kunihiro of Tokyo University and others, I was able to attend the dubbing session and learn about the procedure. Before the example, a brief digression on the outline of the dubbing procedure is in order. First the English written script and videotapes are received. Separate tapes carry the background music, the lead-ins, and the voices. Next the translator for the series views the tape and makes notes on the English script. Then he translates the English version into Japanese and several copies of the paperback script in Japanese are available to the various production and dubbing people involved. TBS was kind enough to furnish me with copies of the script in both languages. The producer made the major point that the translation is <u>not</u> meant to be a point-to-point translation; rather, it is conceived as a whole in Japanese and dubbed as such. The production people and dubbers gather on Friday night for a 5-hour session during which the dubbing is done. First the entire show is viewed in English while the dubbers become familiar with the visual version. Then there is a rehearsal of each act followed by the dubbing of that act. The particular example of concern here is on page 12 of the English version and page 16 of the Japanese.

<u>English</u>:

CASS

"Baby, aren't you happy here?"

Mary Ann is more or less expressionless.

MARY ANN

(hollowly)

"Sure. I'm having the time of my life."

Japanese:

CASS

"…(Warau) Anata shiawase?"

MARY ANN

"Mochiron yo."

We are not here concerned with the lexical differences, only with the qualifier indicated by "hollowly" in the English script and the way in which the actress's interpretation is evaluated. When my native English speaking informants listened to the voice alone, they reported that the intended meaning is that Mary Ann is having a "horrible" time That is, Mary Ann used the vocal qualifier called a meaning reverser. The informants reported that they would more likely label the qualifier as "sarcasm" than as "hollowly", but the label is not important here. It is important that the English uses a device to reverse the lexical meaning and the dubbed Japanese does not have that effect according to the informants. ['Mochiron' means 'of course' in Japanese and the actress said the word in a happy sounding voice.] It seems to me that this qualifier is important in English because the "reversed meaning: effect is common. A fat boy may be called "Fatty" but also "Skinny"; a slow running may be nicknamed "Leadfoot" but also "Speedy" or "Bullet". A now outdated way of pointing out a pretty girl is: "Man, is she some kind of ugly!" Recall that American businessman mentioned earlier who replied, "I'm having a horrible time, can't you tell?"

2. In the English version of "Combat", there are more vocal qualifies than the earlier analysis suggested. For one illustrative example, the sergeant issues orders in a variety of ways. Some indicate:

nonurgent orders he agrees with

nonurgent orders he disagrees with
nonurgent orders he is surprised with
urgent orders he agrees with
urgent orders he disagrees with
urgent orders he is surprised by
emergency orders
orders while disgusted with superiors
orders while disgusted with his men and so on

The variety should remind us of Jakobson's exercise mentioned in II. C. Much more research is needed to see if the Japanese versions transfer these vocal qualifiers which indicate changing interpersonal relations. After working through three shows my informant's comments suggested that the variety of orders is quite restricted in the Japanese versions.

3. A whole set of vocal qualifiers is used by Jane Hathaway, the secretary in "The Beverly Hillbillies". With little change in grammar, lexicon, or phonemics, she manages to talk to each other character in a distinctly different way.

JANE HATHAWAY

Talking To:	Speaks as if:
Jed (head of the family)	To an equal
Elly	To a child
Granny	To an older and often naughty child
Jethro	To a potential boyfriend
Drysdale (her boss)	To a nephew or little brother

As a secretary, she is "below" Jed on a social scale, but she speaks only to Jed as an equal. She also demonstrates the "secretary syndrome" wherein she considers herself as or more important than the boss. All these qualifying devices are reasonable obvious to a native English speaking informants; whether or not they are conveyed in the Japanese requires further study. The example is brought up to make a point about "bosses" and "power level" usage in English. Jane often talks to her boss as to an inferior, a naughty schoolboy, or some such. Yet the total authority in the situation and for any decision rests in the boss. It is only after Drysdale signals that he is asserting his authority that the listener can learn the true power situation: Jane shifts to inferior speaking to her boss. Anyone who tires to identify the power structure before it is "signaled", so to speak, might be completely misled. Indeed, the authority might not ever be exercised during an entire show. An easy analogy can be made at this point concerning those government and business meetings mentioned earlier. A great deal of work

is needed to identify the various ways in which the "power switch" is thrown.

IV. E. All the various aspects of the **Medium** in communication can carry a great deal of social meaning. There is an instructive anecdote to this effect concerning George S. Kaufman, the brilliant American playwright and top level bridge player. One version of the story has the acerbic wit at the bridge table saying "May I have a review of the bidding?". Pause. "With original inflection, please." Obviously, in studying language only those variations that are systematic can be analyzed. For example, Kaufman could not have learned that a cough meant "2 Aces" if his opponents has secretly decided so. But there are many other things he could have learned. He could have interpreted the qualifier as the one that suggests finality. Assume the bidding has gone:

Opponent A	Opponent B
1 Club	1 Spade
2 Clubs	2 Spades
3 Clubs	

The rules of bridge state the players must bid in inflectionless tones, but in my experience B's third bid is liable to be a rather strong "3 SPADES!" These various features which affect the **Medium** are fruitful areas of research for years to come.

V. Conclusion

At the November, 1972, conference on telecommunication, it was suggested that a psychologist be present at every international meeting to insure communication. I think it is indicative of a limited knowledge of the communication process to think any one psychologist could achieve what thousands of people have worked on for thousands of years, namely perfect communication. Our present state of knowledge of sociolinguistics across cultures forces us to face the reality that it will take years of work to study the relevant variables. Rather than one overworked psychologist, it will require skilled anthropologists, intercultural communication specialists, sociologists, linguists, psychologists, translators, educators, and several other specialists. Let us put the importance of the work into perspective. While some linguists are arguing about how to put the vowel "a" in the lexicon or whether features are binary, we are here concerned with the effective communication between countries. Japan and the U.S. have an enormous amount of information exchange, send each other thousands of tourists each year, have "exchanged" Nobel Prize winners in literature, do billions of dollars of business with each

other each year, hold joint governmental meetings where the decision affect the lives of 100's of millions of people. Maximizing the effectiveness of communication across the social, cultural, and linguistic barriers is of top priority.

The key to successful communication in the international situation is still the proficiency of the translators. Consider a translation that affected U.S. – Russia relations for many years. Premier Khrushchev said something in Russian which was translated as "We will bury you!"- most distinctly a threat to annihilate our country. That phrase has been used over and over to indicate Russia's "real" threat to the world. More recently it has been suggested that his saying could have been translated as "We will leave you in the dust." – meaning Russia will pass the U.S. in the race for affluence and power and no direct threat. Which one is the more correct translation in this particular case is not the issue; the issue is that the translation of one phrase might affect the relations between countries for years, so the translation had better be accurate. In cases which involve the U.S. and Japan, translators (including, of course, bilinguals who act as their own "translator") need to know much more than the phonology, grammar, lexicon, and idiom set of the target language. All the components of human communication ought to be handled. Research into these components should be done with a priority list in mind. For example, farmer's speech is far down the line. The high priority language devices involved in introducers, channel, editing, and medium should be worked into the language training of advanced students and most certainly into the testing of potential simultaneous translators. Even after certification, translators could use some refresher courses that include the latest research findings.

* *Thanks go to Professor Tetsuya Kunihiro, Professor of Linguistics at the University of Tokyo and a member of the Japan side of the US-Japan Sociolinguistics Committee. As noted in the paper he arranged for my visits to a Japanese TV studio where various US TV shows were being dubbed. I was able to observe the process, meet some of the dubbers, and interview in depth one of the major script translators whose work the dubbers used.*

At the time of the research, the volume of dubbing from English to Japanese was so great that there were two unions of dubbing experts. In the studio that I observed, the man dubbing Erskine in "The FBI" was also the dubber for major US stars with deep voices such as Clark Gable, Gary Cooper, John Wayne and so on.

Thanks also go to Ken Kawatani, a graduate student in linguistics at the University of Tokyo, for handling the sociolinguistic profiles with Japanese viewers of the dubbed TV shows.

Notes

1. Wm. Royce, Stanford Research Institute, Tokyo, Japan.
2. Roman Jakobson's basic comment on information theory appear in R. Jakobson, "Linguistics and communication theory", pp. 245-252 in *Structure of Language and Its Mathematical Aspects*. American Mathematical Society. 1961.
3. "The use of black dialect by Faulkner". Presented before the regional American Dialect Society in Tulsa, November, 1972.
4. Martin Joos, *The Five Clocks*. Harcourt, Brace & World, 1967 (1961).
5. Owen Wister, *The Virginian*. MacMillan, 1930.
6. Wm. Labov, *Social Stratification of English in New York City*. Center for Applied Linguistics, 1966.
7. E. Burdick and H. Wheeler, *Fail-Safe*. Dell, 1964. .
8. R. Jakobson, in his Selected Writings.
9. R. Birdwhistel, *Kinesics and Context*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970.