

19th European Symposium on



Languages for Special Purposes

**Languages for Special Purposes in a
Multilingual, Transcultural World**

Keynote Addresses

Languages for Special Purposes in a Multilingual, Transcultural World

**Proceedings of the 19th European Symposium on
Languages for Special Purposes**

Keynote Addresses

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Table of Contents

Foreword	1
Keynote Addresses	2
Pragmaterminology: Company & Organisational-speak oriented Terminology Dardo de Vecchi.....	2
LSP Studies As a Quest For Meso-Level Regularities Jan Engberg.....	14
Challenges in Intercultural Contexts: How to Overcome Communication Failure Marie J. Myers.....	26

The 19th European Symposium on Languages for Special Purposes (LSP 2013) took place on 8-10 July 2013 at the Centre for Translation Studies in Vienna, Austria. This three-day international event was hosted by the University of Vienna and was held under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). LSP 2013 continued the long tradition of bringing together LSP researchers and practitioners of various backgrounds, languages, and research traditions. We were honoured to host the Symposium for the second time; the first was held in Vienna in 1995.

The theme of LSP 2013 was Languages for Special purposes in a Multilingual, Transcultural World. The timeliness and topicality of this focus was illustrated by over 200 delegates from more than 40 countries in attendance. The Symposium started with the opening addresses by Dr Eva Nowotny, President of the Austrian Commission for UNESCO, and Professor Larisa Schippel, Director of the Centre for Translation Studies of the University of Vienna. The Symposium itself offered three invited keynote speeches, two invited colloquia and nine parallel tracks on the following topics: multilingualism and language policies, theoretical and methodological issues of LSP research, LSP teaching and training, domain-specific languages, professional communication, terminologies in theory and practice, corpus-studies for LSP, and specialized translation. We decided to incorporate a new feature to this Symposium. For the first time, we organized a new track called Forum for Early-Stage Researchers to encourage graduate students, post-docs, and junior researchers to present their work and to discuss their research and methodology with distinguished senior researchers.

The papers selected to appear in the Proceedings of the LSP 2013 were first presented at the LSP 2013 and are organized under nine major headings: Domain-specific languages, inter alia: legal, medical, maritime, business, engineering; LSP in specific languages, countries, regions of the world; Multilingualism, language policies, and socio-cultural issues of LSPs; Professional communication; Specialized translation; LSP teaching and training; Corpus-studies for LSP practice and research; Terminologies in theory and practice; and Colloquium LISE: A quality boost for terminological resources.

The papers are available at https://phaidra.univie.ac.at/detail_object/o:359149 and <http://lsp2013.univie.ac.at>.

This special issue features the keynote addresses by Dardo de Vecchi (Kedge Business School, France), Jan Engberg (Aarhus School of Business and Social Sciences, Denmark) and Marie J. Myers (Queen's University, Canada).

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Pragmaterminology: Company & Organisational-speak oriented Terminology

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For many years now, I have been observing and experiencing how people speak inside a company. Often depreciated, the way people speak is a real and useful treasure for the company itself. At work we all speak in our way, but we do not think about it. In this speech I will present a way of thinking this extremely dynamic linguistic material and my opinion about what terminology can bring to. The way people speak at work is not an anecdote, but linguistic material at the border of material and immaterial assets.

1. Introduction

Every day at work we use expressions of natural aspect. Nevertheless simple words and expressions may hide other sometimes unexpected meanings. For example “follow me” sounds like an invitation or order to follow someone but as a noun, it is a special car usually yellow that invites an aircraft to follow it on the taxiway of an airstrip in many airports. Both the expression and the action are part of a procedure that must be known by the driver of the follow me and the aircraft’s pilot. It is not necessary here to distinguish umpteen languages for general purposes (LGP) and languages for special purposes (LSP). But it is central to acknowledge that organisations and companies exist because people working there do things they know, and to do so they shape LGP for their specific needs. Organisations and companies shape their everyday language producing sociolects: organisational-speak or company-speak as the case may be.

In the text, I will often use the expression company, but the same rational is used for any type of organisation, governmental or not. Widely seen, what matters is that there is a group of people working together in the same institutional body and gathering their knowledge in order to obtain results.

In the first section, I will show at least six arguments that identify sociolect. In second section, I will show the reasons for this sociolect to be approached through a specific terminological way: pragmaterminology. This approach reshapes the notion of term, and puts the needs of staff at the heart of the analysis because they are at the target of pragmaterminology.

2. Arguments for Identification of a Sociolect: Company-speak or Organisational-speak

Have you ever experienced being confronted to text like the following?

Once rotations (patters) are given. Standards require at least two back to back, and one carry-in. A carry-over remains possible. If needed: swap board except if AQ. Waive example 1 in 7; 3 in 9 and 10 in 30.

or

Pay Monthly or Pay & Go. It’s your choice. We have Pay Monthly tariffs to suit all budgets, or if you prefer to pay by topping up, all our Pay & Go tariffs come with a little something extra.

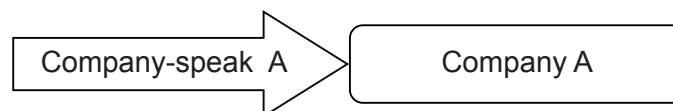
Speaking like this is very useful and results in an efficient economy of words. Expressing it in another way would be very long and in some cases, commercially absurd if not useless. The situation is quite frequent and usually identified as “jargon”. With this denomination, it is easy

to understand the situation but is not really adequate mainly for its pejorative aspect that puts away its real cognitive and communicational value (de Vecchi, 2013). But it is important here to understand the reason that makes a group of people shape a natural language in this way. Six arguments can explain it: sociolinguistics, professional communication needs, LSP, knowledge, identity, and description.

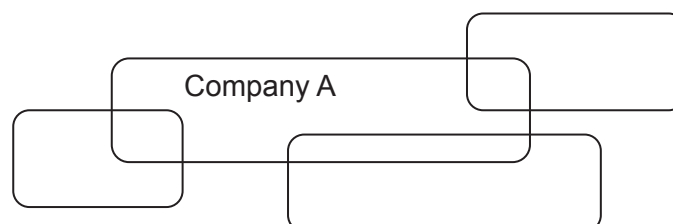
2.1. The sociolinguistic argument

In the examples above, we saw examples of the way people express their activities at work. It is important to notice that in each case people speaking like that belong to the same group. In other words, the group recognises itself in the use of their expressions. It is not only the fact that these expressions are part of the linguistic repertoire needed to say what people know, it is the way of their group to say it. Renault, Peugeot and Citroën are French cars constructors; if they share the automobiles' mechanics they name their objects, activities and ways of working in their own way. The clearest example of this situation appears in the use of brand names. Clio is not an expression produced by neither Peugeot nor Citroën but only by Renault. Besides, many daily expressions like “file, program, objective, etc.” get a special meaning in each group because it is the group that links the expression to its specific local meaning and praxis in which the members recognise the appropriate use of the expression.

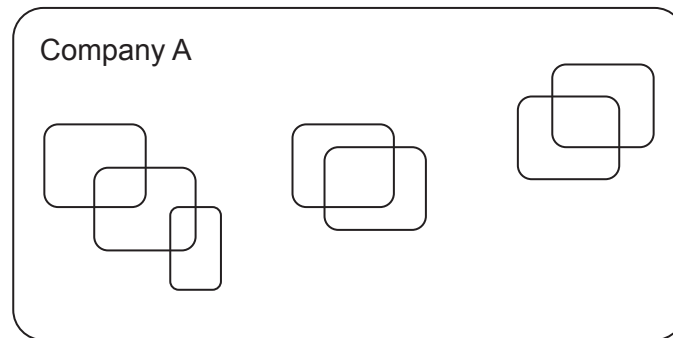
A first sociolinguistic fact is considering the company or the organisation as a group. Therefore, a member of the group can be recognised by the use of the group's expressions, and the group can be recognised exactly in the way an accent permits a geographical or social identification. The company-speak appears to be a social dialect that coincides with the limits of the company. Other types of organisation like NGO or administrations are in the same situation. In a nutshell: Speak to me, I will tell you where you work... this situation is not very different from that of dialectology studies. It appears mostly under its lexical characteristics (phonemic, morphological and syntactical producing only minor examples). For example in the airline Air France the different pronunciations of the acronym “COI” [koi] vs [seoi] (name of an administrative department) clearly showed who is aware of the correct pronunciation, the first one. The diagram below shows a company identified by its company-speak.



A second sociolinguistic fact is that like close geographical dialects that are often understandable by people from different regions, different companies working together or their families may understand the expressions of the company with which the work or a parent works for. They may not know exactly the internal rules of using them, but they know roughly what it is about. The group and its identity are recognised by the expressions it uses. We could say that even satellite groups can share enough lexical bases that allow them to exchange satisfactorily. The following picture shows the situation: other groups or companies (other rectangles) have an “information linguistic exchange-zone” where mutual understanding may happen quite satisfactorily.



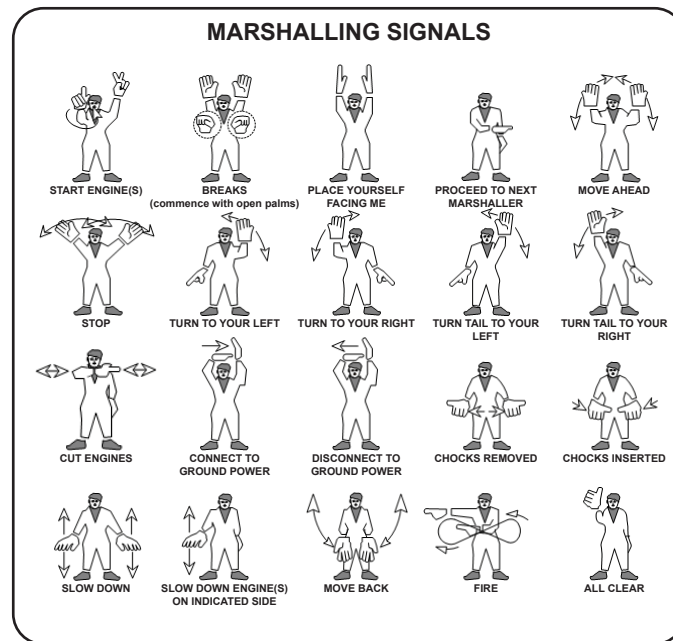
A third sociolinguistic fact is that inside company-speak there are smaller very local speaks. This is due to the fact that in a big company not everybody has the same activity or works in the same place. Different buildings may experience different names for similar objects. Continuums may even exist among people that “hear” how other persons from a closer area speak. In the picture below the information and communication linguistic exchange-zones inside a same company are shown through different intersections of the inside groups shown by squares.



In a nutshell, between identification of the company and of sectors inside and outside of it there is a strong link to the use of linguistic expressions (and largely semiotic productions) that mark out their identity, recognition, and culture. The principal characteristic of the company-speak (social dialect) is terminological in the sense that these expressions reveal the conceptual processes of the group. It may be confidential or not, more or less accessible, but in any case it enables the identification of the considered group. The company-speak must be learned to integrate the group and to be socialised in it and we will see below in the Human Resources mention.

2.2. The professional communication argument

Between professionals the transmission of knowledge, information or instructions needs language. The point here is which type of language it is. The distinction between language and natural language is from now on fundamental and confusions can appear because the nature of the signs involved in a language is not the same. Computer languages, mathematics or chemistry can be read in any natural language. The signs they use are not originally vocal signs. For these reasons when people work the construction of a message, they can use different channels for the transmission of a message. For example the marshalling signs used to place an aircraft on the ground can be expressed in a natural language, but this would be useless. The pilot cannot speak nor listen from inside the plane. This is done by a human being facing the aircraft (see figure). He uses his arms - during the daytime and light stickers during the night when only theses can be seen. Divers under the water use a similar system to communicate since they cannot speak nor listen. Today in big airports the system is electronic and the signals have been transformed into electronic data but its semantics remains the same because the final actions required are the same. For the trains the system can go further. Signals can be done visually in different ways (day or night) but can be done also using different lengths of whistles: “_._.” meaning “slow down” where “_” mean long and “.” short. These signals are standardised, but it must be acknowledged that the information system can use different channels. Knowledge, channel and conceptualisations are the result of different user’s agreement. In other words, the terms of company-speak can use different support other than a natural language. Members of the group need to learn these systems, and like for the sociolinguistic argument, they can be recognised as belonging to a company by the way they make those signs.



2.3. The LSP argument

A language for special purposes is a natural language that has been specialised to express a specific knowledge. The specialisation done by a science is not necessarily the one done by a business activity that uses the knowledge of that science. For companies and organisations it matters where, by whom, and in which conditions a natural language specialises to express the required knowledge to do their activity. In other words, what the organisation does with that LSP. A “local” shaped language creates then a border between those who know and those who do not know it. I call “local LSP” or company-speak / organisational-speak the semiotic ways to express what a company knows in order to do its activity. The border appears between those who understand it and those who do not.

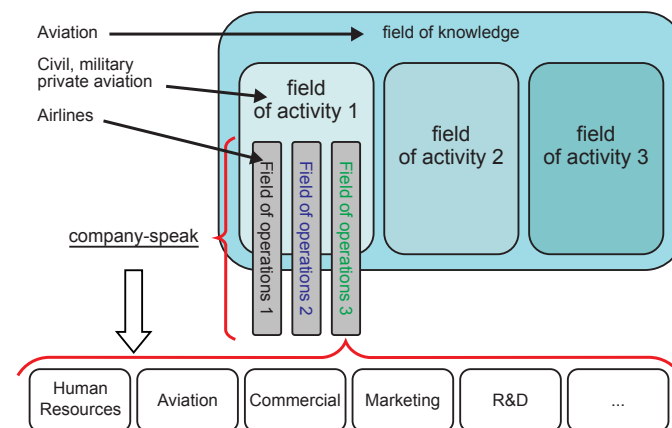
Mergers of companies clearly show such a contrast when a spontaneously onomasiological activity appears: *We call it X. In your company, how do you call this object?* (de Vecchi, 2012). How could this be? A plane flies thanks to the laws of physics for any airline, but different companies in their commercial needs shape natural languages producing company-speaks. In the path that goes from teaching and researching science(s) or any type of administration to the language used in real life a LSP has been transformed. Nobody learns how to speak IBM, Barclays Bank, NATO or World Health Organisation at university.

At the same time, each company creates and has its own objects, activities, working methods, and commercial ideas¹. These are not the same everywhere, and have to be distinguished. For doing that each company uses names that result from an internal agreement. That is to say that the group creates an expression or shapes a linguistic unit for its own needs and different from units used by an analogue company. Commercial names are the upper tip of the iceberg. For a company it matters what to do with these linguistics units that are in constant evolution. It is important here to note that the whole system of a company-speak turns around the production needs of the group and naming is one part of it, the other being the relations existing between these “names”. For this reason what is said in one company cannot be said in another. The idea of field of knowledge in LSP needs further analysis and asks needs fragmentation because it cannot cover every linguistic need of every company of the same sector.

When a natural language specialises into one field of knowledge this naturally produces its own terminology. This situation is far from being that of the knowledge required for an economic activity. I think that the question of field can be analysed otherwise going from field of knowledge to field of product and service. Communication and aviation are two fields of

knowledge producing LSPs with their own terminologies. In the first case, television, radio, press and telephones are activities that may use the very wide LSP of communication. In the second case, civil, military, private and sport aviation share the LSP of aviation but need more particular expressions. The notion of field of knowledge contains that of fields of activity. When a specific activity becomes operational, “local”, and done by a specific organisation or company we may fragment the field of activity into fields of operations. For example, there are many airline companies in civil aviation and many mobile telephone companies in the field of telephony communication. Customers must distinguish between them and the expressions they use, among other commercially, must be different to concretise the difference between them. For each case a specific and local terminology arises. Then it is possible to explore even fields of products or services and their specific terminologies.

The field fragmentation



Dardo de Vecchi - Kedge Business School

When operating, a company does not use *only* one LSP of any type of field. Administration, marketing, trade, production, etc. are also fields of knowledge that find themselves fragmented. Company-speak then results from the gathering and simultaneous use of LSP from different fields of activity for a single company. Company-speak is a mix resulting from how each company shapes and make all these LSP that use their particular terminologies coexist. The link between different terms belonging to different field of knowledge becomes real because it is the need of the company to gather them.

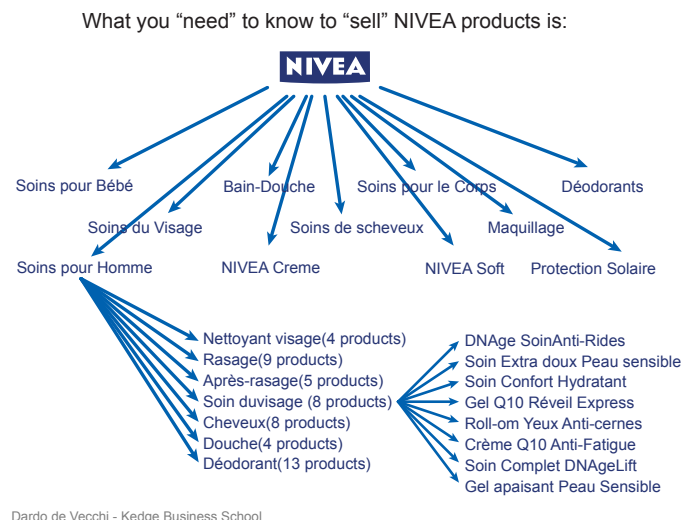
2.4. The knowledge argument

Besides the argument of fragmentation of field of knowledge into smaller fields, and very much linked to it, the knowledge argument can be seen from another perspective and arises from two fundamental questions: i) what does the group need to know to work? and ii) what does an individual need to know to join de the group that has that knowledge? The answer to the first question comes from the intellectual and material necessities of a group to make its activity and become operational. The answer to the second concerns Human Resources (HR).

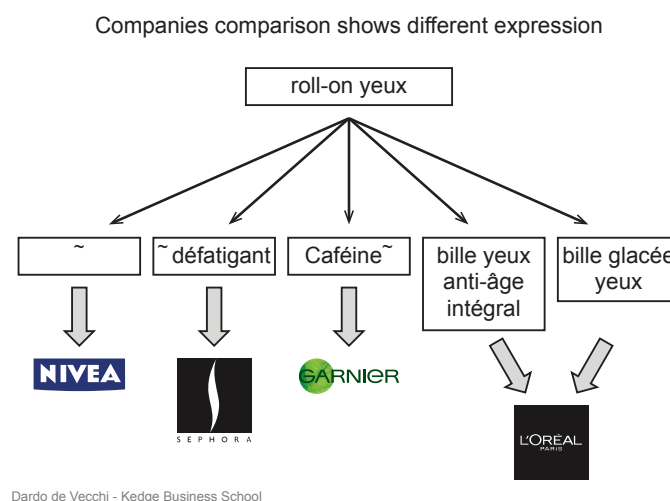
What an aircraft pilot needs to know in order to be member of the airline that employs him goes much further than what he learns at aviation school. He needs to know *how* he will work in the company where he works. Except for individuals working on their own, jobs are not isolated but interdependent. The job of one person finds itself in a chain of jobs where each one somehow needs to know the necessities of the other. An air traffic controller knows enough about the pilots' activity to interact with him. HR department knows enough about a pilot's activity to make what is necessary from the administrative point of view. The airline itself knows it necessities of crews for them to do their job, etc. Philippe Roqueplo (1990) calls this situation a *savoir décalé* (knowledge-lag). For an activity to work or to run, it is necessary to know part of someone else's job.

From the linguistic point of view, HR departments are conscious that new staff need to learn and to integrate expressions unknown to them. Welcome booklets often show new members of the group acronyms but also words. The terminological aspect of these is not so much explored because they are considered as part of the “local surrounding language” (French, English, etc.). In other words, these are the expressions someone needs to know to work for us efficiently.

A chemist may well join a company like Nivea. He may have his chemistry knowledge (field of knowledge) and even cosmetics knowledge (field of activity) but not how Nivea manages its organisation, products, their history and commercial strategies linguistically. In this case, the first step for a newly hired chemist or marketer will be to learn and understand the structure of commercial products as shown in the picture below and shown through linguistic units.

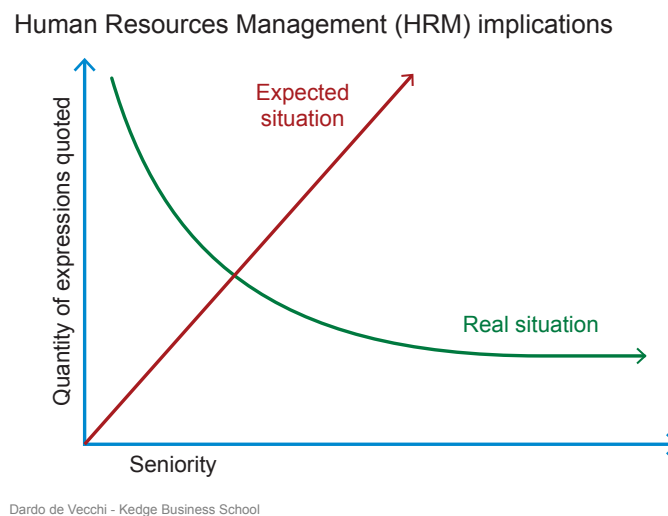


Usually this structure is not “learned” outside the company except if one searches to explore it as in this example. Nevertheless, when companies are compared in the figure below for the case on one single product manufactured by Nivea (Roll-on-Yeux Anti-Cernes) we can see that contrasting expressions appear, and that they cannot be interchanged between companies. This cannot be done not only for commercial reasons but also because they are the result of commercial strategies or concepts as mentioned before. The mix of languages (French and English) in the denomination strategy does not matter here because they are small units in English in a French discourse.



It is important to notice that the mere list of expressions is not only interesting from the description point of view as we will see but also from the knowledge point of view as it is a whole structuration that matters here because it is what has to be known, and this as soon as possible to be rapidly efficient.

I asked the members of a company if they can quote expressions of their “jargon” and confronted the result to the seniority of respondents (de Vecchi, 1999). I expected that someone who has years of seniority was able to quote a lot of expressions because he knows the company well whereas someone new in the company could quote fewer expressions because he does not know the company. But the real situation showed that the newer someone is, the more expressions he can quote and that senior staff have difficulty to “find” examples. The reason could be that the latter had integrated so much company-speak in their daily discourse, and that newcomers “find” it easy to quote what they do not understand. Further research of this aspect has to be done but this corroborates the fact that welcome booklets are right in explaining new expressions.



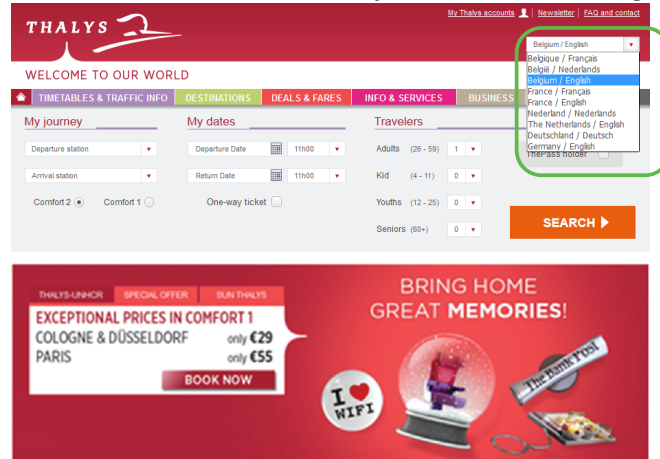
The point is how to do this in an efficient and pedagogical way rather than through a simple list of acronyms and/or expressions followed by definitions. A term of a company-speak is much more than a pair item/ definition. The knowledge argument shows that what people need to know to get their work done is not only something that comes from education but also from the linguistic counterpart of the corporate culture: the company-speak.

2.5. The identity argument

This argument can be summed in a sort of proverb: “tell me how you speak, and I’ll tell you where you work”. Having made a short lexicon from the three mobile telephone companies in France in 1986, I called one using the expressions of the other. The results were categorical. Three situations appeared: i) *Sorry, I do not « understand »*. ii) *I understand, but we call it X* and iii) *I see, we call it X but since you are a customer of Y, we could offer you something better*. As we can see, company-speak is more than jargon to be learned.

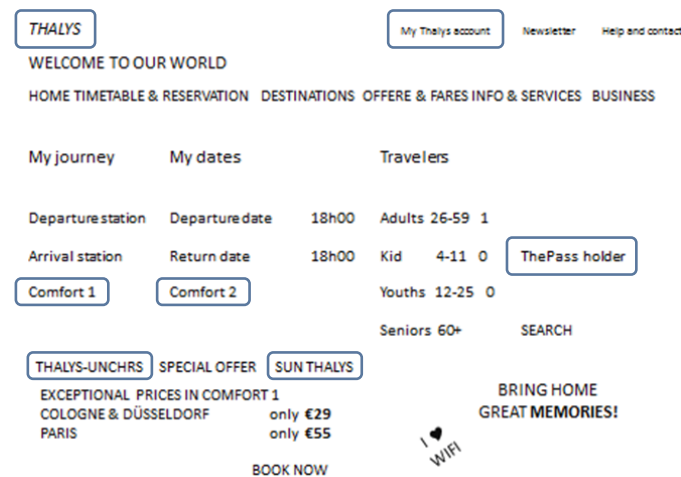
Linguistic expressions are part of the repertoire of semiotic processes that may enter the identity of a social group. Among other signs, graphic charts contribute in the contextualization and appropriate sematic interpretation of a sign. We often recognize a company because of the logos, colors, and even fonts used. In the picture below all semiotic and contextualization elements appear and are maintained in every language used by the railways company Thalys.

Charts contribute to identity and sense making



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If the non-linguistic elements disappear attention must be paid to linguistic ones to recognize the identity of the company as shown in the picture below:



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Among these linguistic units those where the sequence - Thalys- appears clearly show the identity of the company. But at the same time others also show this identity (*Comfort 1*, *Comfort 2*, *ThePass holder*) because they belong to the company-speak and were shaped by Thalys. They are not used by other railways companies and not only for legal reasons. Finally if the units are the same as another company (price, journey, offers, etc.) the way to put them in discourse, use of collocations (*jaune Clicquot* – *Clicquot yellow*² and not **orange Clicquot*) and phraseologies will help in distinguishing them (price vs. *Our Price*; journey vs *My journey*). The use of typography also has its semiotic value. In conclusion, every semiotic element may contribute to identify and to contrast with those of an equivalent company of the same activity. As such, these elements also enter into the area of knowledge required to work in the company and to be a member of it. In this sense, whether they are terms or not, they have a special value in the company considered. In what “words” concern, it is not a unit like “journey” that is part of the company-speak, but the discursive value it has for Thalys and the implications of it in the life and culture of Thalys.

2.6. The description argument

A fine description of documents from a company cannot ignore the formal aspect of units conveying sense to construct knowledge and identifying the group. New signs are shaped (logos

and names) or existing re-shaped (*Comfort 2*) by the group to convey a specific meaning. The first question to ask is: why is that sign there? Why does <*Comfort 2*> make up part of the semiotic and linguistic universe of Thalys? The description will have an important implication with the LSP and will bring its terminology accurate information. Many problems arise here. It is easy to observe a company from the outside, but from the inside it is not. Participant observation (Malinowski) is required to detect signs and their value in the group. The observer / describer must be legitimate to do such observation. Why is he here observing the way we speak? How far can I say things that are confidential in the company? It is important to people to trust the describer to avoid the observers' paradox raised by Labov: how does a person speak without being observed, because when he is observed, the person changes the way of speaking.

What the describer needs to detail what makes a sign valid is the organisation: form, components, shape, etc. For Thalys, the name with a capital "Comfort 2" is not the same as with lower case: "comfort 2". This is what makes of *Comfort 2* part of Thalys' company-speak. The real French cloths company Lacoste's symbol, a crocodile, has been often copied and the legal protection of the sign is based on any type of difference that may alter its original form and colour. The food industry Nestlé made from part of its name a morphemic unit: "Nes(t)-" that enters in many compounds (*Nescafé*, *Nespresso*, *Nescau*, etc.). The meaning of the form nest- in Nestlé itself is at the origin of the logo: a nest. Counterfeiters observe all these types of details that are important in lawsuits. For company-speak, what enters into the description of such items may also be descriptors of its terms.

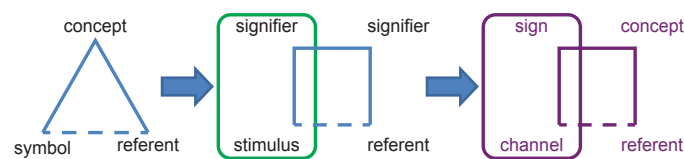
The observer has to describe at least the LGP, the LSP, the activity of the company, the company itself and the actual job done by the group. In a company document not everything is "linguistic" as we can see from logos, colours, or typography. Wüster noted that other semiotic systems can be used (de Vecchi, 2013). Nowadays, many activities need considering as there are different ways of perception in sense construction and knowledge construction. Staff may need to know the name of something but also have experience of it and here perception is important, and specially in food, beverages and cosmetics industries.

The sign

Necessity of considering the perception of the support.

→ different canals used to convey meanings

From triangle: (cf. Ogden & Richards) through square (cf. Klinkenberg) to the pragmat terminology approach:



The links made by staff are not necessary made by the observer.
Those links have to be described.

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In 1921 Ogden and Richards formalised the links between concept, symbol and referent. In 1993 Klinkenberg linked signified, signifier stimulus and referent. In 2006 Kravchenko proposed an intersubjectivist perspective. I think it is useful for the user of a sign in a company to consider that links must be established between sign, concept, channel, and referent. In fact in a company a sign conveying information and constructing knowledge may use a visual, auditory, and tactile (if we consider Braille writing) "supports". For example we can read, hear or touch the word "stop". If these three senses are obvious, olfactory and gustative are also important in communication, knowledge, and identity, of company-speak (de Vecchi, 2013). Staff may use them all, and to do so they need the experience of them. Food and beverage industries, and cosmetics industries flavours and smells are most important and their designation is part of the linguistic repertoire of staff that has to be described. They also need knowing this experience.

Quality, image, and strategy may depend on this knowledge; therefore, the perceptual support of these knowledge units must be included in the signs' information, and description.

3. Considering the terms of the sociolect: pragmaterminology

In an organisation or company and for any of the arguments I exposed above signs must be identified and connected to others. When an employee knows something about a sign he uses, he also knows how it is connected to others: *If I know this, I also know that (as far as I am concerned)*. The interconnection of all the signs used in a company is part of its culture. Linguistic signs are the most evident. In 1912, Edward Sapir wrote the following about vocabulary in a community: "It is the vocabulary of a language that most clearly reflects the physical and social environment of its speakers. The complete vocabulary of a language may indeed be looked upon as a complex inventory of all the ideas, interests, and occupations that take up the attention of the community, and were such a complete thesaurus of a language of a given tribe at our disposal, we might to a large extent infer the character of the physical environment and the characteristics of the culture of the people making use of it". (1949 [1912], 90–91). Organisations and companies are in the same situation, and cannot do otherwise. Signs reflect the users' needs of expression in their daily tasks and result from their designation needs. This makes me think the term as the semiotic result of a conceptualisation process. Concepts are not fixed, but often re-negotiated and modified in every day's companies' activities because a concept in an organisation is in a specific situation and serving the organisation's needs. For example, when a new type of fare is conceived, created, and named, it is not only a "word" but a knowledge unit that enters with its characteristics into all the arguments we have seen in a specific network. The idea of *conceptualisation* (as an activity) gives a better plasticity and dynamics to a sign's production than the static idea of concept. In companies, signs can be considered as terms as far as they work in this direction. It is not the word "fare" that is a term in company-speak, but what the company does with it in its own network of signs. The word "yellow" is not a term in any LGP, but is a term in Veuve Clicquot champagne company because it is part of its company-speak.

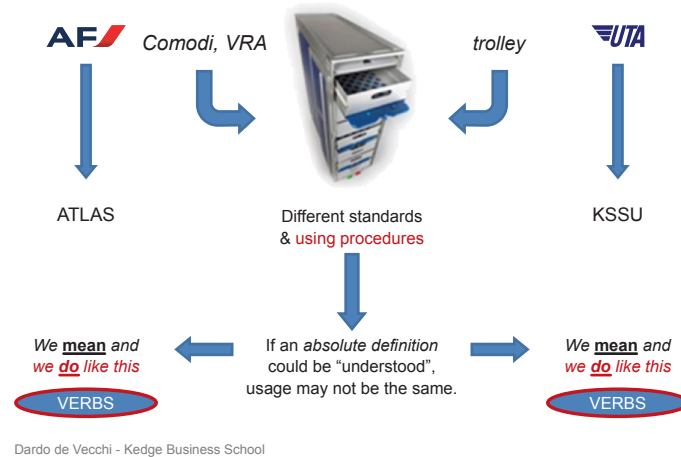
The pragmaterminological approach seeks to describe:

1. The linguistic and knowledge reasons
 - a. The presence of a term: *this is what we say/use*.
 - b. The definition of the term: *when we say this, it is because this is what we know and define in this way*.
2. The social reasons: *with what we say and know, we work and have our identity*.
3. The temporal reasons: *with our expressions we track our history and evolution*.
4. The cultural reasons: *we say our expressions in this way and our work in this way*.

All these factors together characterise a term of company-speak or organisational speak and have to be explored.

The linguistic and cognitive aspect of a term (1a & 1b) arise when contrasting companies of the same activity; like in mergers. In 1990 when the two airlines Air France and UTA merged, terms of their respective company-speaks were not systematically the same, and if they were, they showed differences in the activities linked to them, and in these communication conflicts appeared that needed clarification. This is the reason for a "local" definition and a classical terminological treatment.

Groups and expressions



The social aspect (2) concerns the communities of the company where a term is used and its implications shared. This shows the extension of the meaning throughout the group. If terms can be understood and used, it is because some knowledge is shared (cf. Roqueplo). When employees change from one position to another, they keep the knowledge they had before and can be sort of “interpreters” between different working areas. Identity is also part of this aspect.

The time aspect (3) shows the real life and use of terms in the company. It keeps records of the beginning, modification and death of terms. When a company is compared at two periods of time the expressions used vary. New and old names of products are concerned here, or products that have been modified or discontinued. In the same way procedures or denominations may change during the life of the organisation, and it may be necessary to check if they are in usage, abandoned or modified.

The pragmatic aspect (4) concerns two sub-aspects. If pragmatics is the study of the action of language on the world and if the terms of a company-speak exist because the group needs them, then terms have to be explored in discourse. The way they are used reveals not only local collocations, most important for the linguistic part of texts but also because they show the action done by people and objects (real or abstract) on people and objects. In this case exploring verbs is most important.

Observing a term of company-speak is more than taking its linguistic aspect into consideration. It is placing it at the centre of the social and cultural life of a company. In this sense, company-speak is a part of the company to be studied and not a linguistic object. This perspective allows linking the sociolect to every sector of the organisation because it becomes somehow a raw material that concerns all its activities beyond terminology, ontologies and translations: marketing, human resources, finance, communication, training, production, research and development, benchmarking, etc.

4. Conclusion

In 2003 Jacques Girin wrote: “Languages [...] are at the center of given cooperation devices, and the interpretation capacities of participating speakers is one of the fundamental condition of collective efficiency.” This is so evident that we tend to forget it. Piekkari et al. also noticed this in 1997 in “Language: The Forgotten Factor in Multinational Management”. The point here is what type of studies is a fundamental condition and important factor?

It is important to know what an organisation or company does with a natural language, and how it is inside an organisation because it uses languages (the plural is important) to construct meaningful actions, specific know-how, and identity. Every sign in this process has to be considered. Counterfeiters of business productions know this very well because they use it to

imitate a real business. Indeed, identity is seen through the signs of a culture, and among them terms. What matters is informational content, identity, and knowledge of each sign concerned by the question: *what's this sign, what should I do, and what do I need to know?*

The linguistic policy of an organisation should take this into account. It is making an organisations' semantics and considering language as an immaterial asset. An organisation adapted terminology may account for a variety of forms, usage, and objectives of terms. Teaching future managers about all this is making a Business Applied Linguistics for which a pragmateterminological approach can shed new perspectives, and this is a specific type of terminology.

5. Notes

¹ These are usually called "concepts" and concern original ideas that organise the creation of a product or service.

² It is the characteristic colour of the Clicquot champagne. See <http://www.veuve-clicquot.com/>, permalink.

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LSP Studies As a Quest For Meso-Level Regularities

The Example of Knowledge and Meaning

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Abstract. This paper suggests amending the toolbox of analytical approaches to the study of specialized communication and LSP by a knowledge-oriented meso level analysis. The basic idea behind this type of analysis is to combine studies of actual communicative interaction and of individual contributions to such interactions with studies of specialized meanings at a collective level keeping complexity high in the descriptions. The unit of analysis allowing this is specialized knowledge seen as simultaneously individual and collective. The paper begins with an example demonstrating the complexity to be studied through the suggested type of analysis. I proceed to present Knowledge Communication as theoretical-methodological framework of such analyses, followed by a presentation of the differences between a micro, a macro and a meso level approach to studying specialized communication. In the last part of the paper, I demonstrate the ideas on an analytical example.

Keywords. Knowledge Communication, frames, knowledge of experts, specialized meaning, semantic dynamics.

1. Introduction

Since at least the last half of the 1990s the field of studies of specialized communication and LSP has been influenced by what has been termed a *cognitive amendment* (Baumann 1997; Engberg 1996; Roelcke 2010). It was an amendment and not an actual cognitive turn, as the cognitive view can best be seen as complementing rather than substituting previous approaches (Engberg 2012). However, introducing a cognitive view introduced an alternative focus in the study of specialized communication and LSP: The focus upon the influence of the cognition of individual experts on the stability and change of specialised conceptual meaning (Engberg 2007). This way we gain a wider the scope of perspectives to study specialized communication from and gain access to a more complex picture of our research object.

In order to give an example of such a more complex picture, I will start this contribution with an example that I have presented in previous work (Engberg 2010). In Switzerland, the statutory rules on the legal concept of *Mord* (= aggravated form of killing someone) was changed in 1990. In example 1 and 2, we see the two different formulations from the statutes:

1. Art. 112 Mord. Hat der Täter unter Umständen oder mit einer Überlegung getötet, die seine besonders **verwerfliche Gesinnung** oder seine Gefährlichkeit offenbaren, so wird er mit lebenslänglichem Zuchthaus bestraft.¹ (Swiss StGB, 1942 version; my emphasis)
2. Art. 112 Mord. Handelt der Täter besonders skrupellos, sind namentlich sein **Beweggrund**, der **Zweck** der Tat oder die **Art der Ausführung** besonders **verwerflich**, so ist die Strafe lebenslängliches Zuchthaus oder Zuchthaus nicht unter zehn Jahren.² (Swiss StGB, 1990 version; my emphasis)

The difference between the two formulations lies mainly in the fact that the disposition of the perpetrator, i.e., a part of the perpetrator's personality, constitutes an important aspect when

assessing whether someone should be charged with *Mord* in the old version of the statute. In the new version, focus is instead upon aggravating characteristics of the actions of the perpetrator (cf. the emphasized parts of the examples).

From the point of view of the formulations in the statute, it is clear how to describe the content of the concept of *Mord*: Between 1942 and 1990, the content of the concept and thus the meaning of the specialized word *Mord* followed the old definition (basing the categorisation of a killing as *Mord* on the disposition of the perpetrator), and after that it followed the new one (basing the categorisation on characteristics of the act). However, by investigating texts written by different legal experts at two periods of time in the process before and after the reform (in the 1970s and in the 1990s) I was able to show that the picture is actually more complex:

- In the 1970s, some legal experts held the position that already the old version should be interpreted in such a way that the characteristics of the act played a more central role than the general disposition of the perpetrator, in the light of the requirements setup by the general rules and principles of criminal law etc. In opposition to this, the highest Swiss federal court (*Bundesgericht*) stuck to their traditional approach, which was closer to the letter of the statute. They traditionally used facts from the life of the perpetrator preceding the act under scrutiny in order to argue for categorising an act as *Mord*. Thus, two different interpretations of the same statute existed alongside each other.
- In the 1990s, the position held by the legal experts in the 1970s could be said to have been incorporated into the law, as the 1990 formulation of the statute largely follows their previous position. This is visible, e.g., in the argumentation from the government for reforming the statute in 1990. Looking at the decisions by the *Bundesgericht* in the first 10 years after, however, I found a number of examples, where the court uses almost exactly the same wording and thus the same argumentation as under the former statutory formulation. This shows that the court still tends to hold a position that lays some weight upon disposition.
- Late in the 1990s, we also find some other legal experts holding a new position based upon the 1990 formulation, stating that even reproachable actions may not fall under the category of *Mord*, if the disposition of the perpetrator does not enable him or her to realise that the actions are reproachable. Therefore, instead of being a characteristic of *Mord* the perpetrator's disposition may actually in this new position be seen as a characteristic that prevents the perpetrator from being charged with *Mord*.

I do not want to go into a legal and political discussion of the relevance of the different positions, as this is beyond the scope as well of my expertise as of the scope of this contribution. But what we can gather from the situation described above is that instead of one meaning of *Mord* existing at a time in society, as the approach focusing upon the statutory formulation suggests, what we have are diverging interpretations and thus different knowledges connected to *Mord* existing in a society simultaneously. Over time, there is a change in what is the dominating interpretation of the concept. This change leads to a change in the statutory formulation: As the position that emphasises characteristics of the act rather than of the actor gains ground, it becomes relevant to change the formulation of the statute in order for it to be in accordance with the dominant approach. However, this does not make the other position go away. It makes it necessary for the *Bundesgericht* to modify its argumentation, but they seem to keep at least parts of their traditional argumentation also under the umbrella of the reformed formulation. Thus, also in the situation of the new formulation there is more than one interpretation among the relevant experts.

I call this view of the meaning of a legal concept *non-monolithical*. In a monolithical view the basic assumption is that all experts share the same interpretation of, e.g., legal texts and thus the same meaning of a concept. In opposition to this, a non-monolithical view focuses upon

what individual experts actually know and on the overlaps as well as the differences. Point of departure is thus that there will be divergences and that these divergences are what drives the conceptual development as seen in the example. In my view, it is this last aspect that constitutes the major theoretical advantage of working with a non-monolithical approach to legal concepts, apart from the fact that the approach gives us a more correct picture of the actual complexity of conceptual knowledge. Additionally, it also can give us better insights into what the actual process of understanding looks like at the level of individual experts.

The present contribution departs from these assumptions about the importance of focusing upon cognition and knowledge and elaborates upon some of the methodological consequences. The cognitive amendment to the methods applied in the study of specialized communication and LSP and the acceptance of the actual complexity makes it relevant to focus upon the interplay between knowledge as a collective and at the same time an individualised phenomenon. This focus, in its turn, creates a need for a kind of observational middle ground between the knowledge of individuals (relevant for studies of individuals' cognitive structures and processes) and the collective knowledge reflected in word meanings as represented, e.g., in specialised dictionaries and encyclopaedia. The central aim of the approach to be presented in this contribution, focusing upon the middle ground (meso level regularities) is to study the collective knowledge of a group of experts, but without abstracting away the individual differences between the experts. It is my claim to be substantiated below that all of these additional observational perspectives emerge because the concept of knowledge is focused.

In this contribution, I will start out by presenting the Knowledge Communication approach developed at the Department of Business Communication in Aarhus. This presentation functions as a basis for the knowledge concept I rely upon when developing methods that may systematically grasp the kind of complex picture demonstrated above. Next, I develop the idea of a meso level approach to conceptual analysis as a middle ground between micro and macro level approaches. Finally, I present a small example of an analysis that I have carried out as a meso level analysis.

2. Knowledge Communication – a theoretical framework for the analysis

In the context of the Research Group on Knowledge Communication at Aarhus University we have worked with the following basic definition of knowledge communication with relevance for the subject of this contribution:

Knowledge communication is strategic communication. As 'strategic' it is deliberately goal-oriented, the goal being the mediation of understanding across knowledge asymmetries. As 'communication' it is participative (interactive) and the communicative 'positions' converge on the (co-)construction of (specialized) knowledge. (Kastberg 2007)

We see three perspectives as central for looking at specialized communication (Kastberg 2010; Ditlevsen 2011; Engberg 2012):

- Construction of knowledge (e.g., cognitive and linguistic structures of individuals)
- Representation of knowledge (e.g., texts and genres, signs)
- Communication of knowledge (e.g., interaction, sociology, setting)

In accordance with the non-monolithical approach demonstrated above, we see knowledge as being inherently tied to individual human beings as the actual carriers of (specialized) knowledge and the empirical source for studies of knowledge. Furthermore, the basic interest is in knowledge in its actual complexity (Kastberg 2007, 2010). The ambition of grasping better the actual complexity, however, also means that the collective aspects of individually held knowledge have to be taken into account. Although knowledge is only empirically present in individuals, this knowledge is dependent not only upon personal experiences, but also upon

interpersonal communication (teaching, instruction, ...) and social control and tradition (cf., e.g. Barth 2002).

On this basis, it is the aim of the group to study the strategic (= decision-based) communication of specialised knowledge in professional settings with a focus upon the interplay between knowledge and expertise of individuals and knowledge as a social phenomenon and the coping with knowledge asymmetries, i.e., the communicative consequences of differences between individual knowledge in depth as well as breadth.

The aspect of knowledge asymmetries is not important for the purposes of this contribution.³ Instead, the interaction between knowledge at individual (micro) and collective (macro) level will be the focus of the remainder of this contribution (Engberg 2007: 4-5).

3. Suggested levels of analysis: Macro, micro, meso

I will now introduce the basics of a type of analysis of specialized communication rooted in the presented ideas of Knowledge Communication as a supplement to the more traditional ways of investigating specialized communication and LSP. I call this type of analysis 'meso level analysis'. The name indicates that it is positioned between a micro and a macro level approach. I will demonstrate the differences between micro, macro and meso levels of analysis on the basis of the following figure:

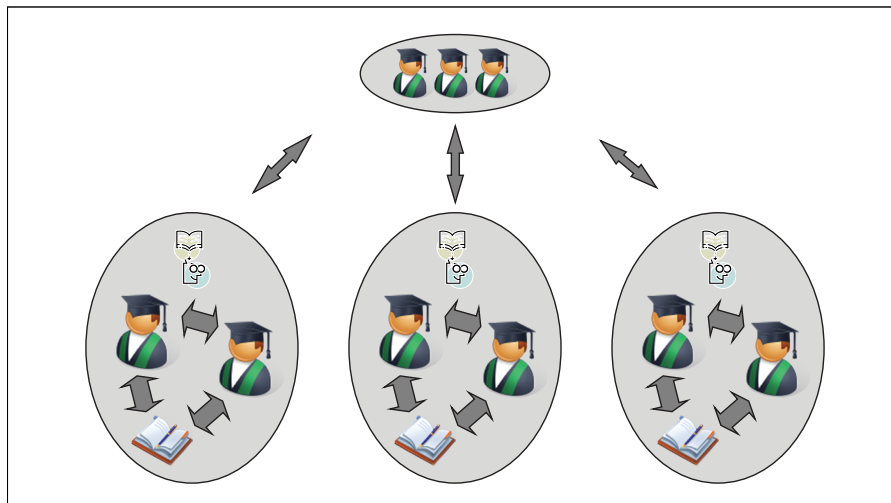


Fig. 1: Descriptive levels for the investigation of specialized communication

The model in fig. 1 represents two different levels of conceptualising and investigating specialized communication and LSP:

- At the lower level, we find individual actors (in our case legal experts) interacting communicatively. Specialized communication in this perspective is an interaction between such actors, which they carry out from each their (institutional) position, standpoint and specific background of knowledge and experience. The arrows between the actors represent this interaction. The communicative interaction in the legal field will regularly be carried out based on knowledge fixated in some data carrier (in the figure represented as a book, but in today's world the data carrier may as well be placed in a computer medium). Thus, arrows between the actors and the book represent this relation: The communicative interaction in the legal field will, as in the introductory example, often be about how to interpret legal concepts contained in legal statutes or commentaries. As a result of this interaction mutual knowledge emerges, which the interactors agree upon, represented in the model in the form of a sketched head-and-book at the top of the circles.

- At the higher level, we see a number of experts, in this case legal experts, represented together next to each other as members of a group (indicated by the circle around the experts). This represents the perspective that the basis of specialized communication is the specialized knowledge shared and agreed upon among experts constituting a discourse community. This shared knowledge may be gained and stabilized, e.g., through their university studies. In order to underline the more static nature of this perspective on specialised communication, there are no arrows between the members of the group.

From the point of view of Knowledge Communication, we would see both perspectives as describing aspects of communication of specialized knowledge. In the lower perspective, specialized knowledge is seen as emerging from communicative interaction. Focus is upon the co-constructed nature of such knowledge and the knowledge construction processes at the individual level. In the upper perspective, on the other hand, specialised knowledge is the basic shared prerequisite of experts binding together and characterising the community of experts. One of the goals of the Knowledge Communication approach is to accept both perspectives and to combine them in order to achieve a more complex description. The double arrows between the three lower circles and the upper circle shows this relation. The idea is that each of the interactions shown in the lower part of the model is carried out on the basis of the shared knowledge that the experts need to have in order to be accepted as members of the discourse community. The shared knowledge thus influences the interaction, as it is part of the background knowledge of both interactors. On the other hand, the shared knowledge is not as stable as it may seem from the representation of it. For it is actually dependent upon how members of the discourse community use and interpret it in their different specialised communicative interactions. Therefore, the arrows between the two levels go in both directions. This is intended in order to model the circumstance that changes emerging from individual interactions may influence and eventually alter the shared knowledge, as was shown in the introductory example. In this way, the Knowledge Communication approach combines static and dynamic perspectives to a complex picture of specialised knowledge in communication.

It is my claim that traditional studies of specialized communication have tended to focus on either the lower part of the model (micro level studies) or (predominantly) on the upper part (macro level studies). I see also a need for a meso level type of analysis in order to get closer to showing the actual complexity of specialized communication in the form of the interaction between the levels as described above. In section 4, I will present an example of this type of analysis. But first I will present some background on what I mean by studies at the macro, micro and meso level.

By studies focusing upon the macro level I mean the bulk of traditional studies in specialized communication, i.e., studies of the language of a domain or a genre. Researchers are interested in the specific linguistic characteristics (e.g., Engberg and Rasmussen 2003) on the Danish language of statutes), in characteristic pragmatic elements of the language (e.g., Cao 2009) on illocutionary acts in Chinese legal language or Trosborg (1995) on illocutionary acts in English legal language), or in formulation conventions tied to specific situation types (e.g., Engberg 1997) on the genres of court decision in German and Danish), to mention only a few examples, all from the field of law. Work on terminology and specialized lexicography typically also belongs to this group. The list could easily be continued. Prototypical for these approaches is that they approach their object of study as a socio- or functiolect (Kalverkämper 1998). This means that the lower part of figure 1 is abstracted away. Naturally, authors are aware of the social roots of any linguistic system. But focus is upon the upper part studied as being independent from communicative interaction. This is, of course, unproblematic as such, among other things because such studies are necessary in order to create text books, dictionaries, databases and other sources of regularities and norms for the communication within a specialized domain. Nevertheless, it requires a process of abstraction that reduces heavily the level of complexity in the descriptions compared to the complexity of the real world situation studied.

A different position is taken when doing studies at micro level. By this designation I mean studies of the language and linguistic behaviour of individual experts. In the above figure, this means focusing upon the lower part of the model. Focus may be on individual actors and their language use and knowledge, but without focus upon the interaction between the elements inside the circles in the model. A recent example of this type of analysis is a study of John Swales' research articles and the idiolectal elements that may be deduced from a corpus study of them (Hyland 2010). Focus is here upon the regularities of the linguistic activity of one player in the field. Focus may also be on the interaction between different actors and the co-construction of knowledge through this interaction. A recent example of this type of analysis is a study of the negotiation of the borders between (objective) facts of a case and (subjective) legal interpretations in a US court case (Anesa 2009). Here, idiolects play no role, but focus is upon how the interaction works and what results the interaction produces. Typically, in micro level studies we also have a reduction of complexity in that the level of general regularities plays no central role. Instead, studies of individual cases is more normal. Again, this is sensible and leads to interesting insights into the functioning of a system at individual level.

However, the situation described above leaves a gap in the research landscape for what I would suggest to call meso level studies. I define them as studies of the (linguistically expressed) knowledge of a group of experts with focus upon the contribution of individuals and upon convergence and divergence between their knowledge – in order to describe the actual complexity of the knowledge and the interactive knowledge construction processes underlying discourse in the group. So the idea is to take as vantage point the communicative interactions, as they are the only relevant place to empirically study the process of exteriorisation and interiorisation of the shared knowledge constituting specialized communication (cf. Hoffmann 1993: 614). However, in order to keep a higher degree of complexity in the description as is traditionally the case, not only singular interactions should be studied. Instead, the object of study is a number of similar interactions, in order to also be able to say something about regularities across more instances as is normally done in macro level studies. The meso level character of such studies lie in the fact that they include the interaction between the upper and the lower level of the model in fig. 1: Interest lies in abstracting regularities at the upper level, but without forgetting or neglecting the concrete contributions from the lower level to this process. It is also possible and often relevant to stop the process of abstraction before we reach, e.g., the level of the law of a nation. It may be relevant to assess the concepts of smaller groups, even as a step on the way to a higher level of abstraction (Budin 1996: 180). At the same time, the meso level character is visible in the fact that the analysis of micro level situations will include the influence from shared knowledge from the macro level. With a meso level approach, we intend to take seriously the two-sided character of knowledge mentioned in the description of the Knowledge Communication approach, viz. to be simultaneously individual and collective, and to describe both sides and their interrelatedness.

In order to make it clearer what the distinguishing characteristics of meso level analysis are, we will in the following section present a small example from a major analysis that intends to apply the meso level approach.

4. Example of meso level analysis

4.1. Core assumptions

The example stems from a still unpublished analysis of the legal concept of Corporate Criminal Liability as it has been developed in US law. A pilot study of the analysis has been published (Engberg 2009b). In accordance with the Knowledge Communication approach, I see legal concepts as elements of knowledge situated in the minds of individual legal specialists, but with a collective background: Individual legal specialists have learnt the concepts from others as the shared and consolidated concepts of the field. And every individual legal specialist knows how other experts in the field generally perceive a legal concept, even if they do not agree with this

(Engberg 2009a). In accordance with the model in fig. 1, legal concepts are seen as being subject to potential changes (also at collective level, i.e., the upper level in the model) due to the fact that they are involved in ongoing communicative meaning-making processes in dialogue (discursive interactions, i.e., the lower level in the model).

4.2. Corporate Criminal Liability

The concept investigated here has three main components:

liability, *n.* **1.** The quality or state of being legally obligated or accountable; legal responsibility to another or to society, enforceable by civil remedy or criminal punishment

criminal, *adj.* **1.** Having the character of a crime; in the nature of a crime

corporation, *n.* An entity (usu. a business) having authority under law to act as a single person distinct from the shareholders who own it and having rights to issue stock and exist indefinitely; a group or succession of persons established in accordance with legal rules into a legal or juristic person that has legal personality distinct from the natural persons who make it up, exists indefinitely apart from them, and has the legal powers that its constitution gives it.

(Garner 2009)

We are thus talking about the responsibility for criminal activities of an entity (the corporation) that acts as an independent player by way of natural persons, but in its own right and as an independent legal person. The concept is especially interesting for our purposes, because it is an example of a legal concept that holds two conflicting interests at the same time:

- On the one hand, society wants to be able to punish the person actually responsible for criminal activities. In some cases, this is rather the *corporation* as such than the natural persons carrying out the activities. At the beginning of the 20th century the concept of corporate criminal liability was introduced into US law in order to avoid situations, in which a corporation could take advantage of actions carried out by employees at lower levels of the hierarchy, for which only the employee could be punished.
- On the other hand, it is a basic principle in US law that criminal liability presupposes *criminal intent* or *mens rea*. As corporations are not natural persons, it is at least relevant to discuss to what extent it is possible to ascribe such criminal intent to the corporation as such (and not merely to the natural persons acting on behalf of the corporation).

Expert discussions on this concept and its precise content circle around assessing the correct balance between the conflicting interests and the consequences of this balance for the relative weight of the components of the concept. Thus, knowledge about the different principles and their balance, when applying the concept, is part of the knowledge base necessary for participating in specialized legal communication on the topic. And different individuals may have different positions concerning the importance of different factors influencing the balance. This fact makes the concept especially relevant for research on the structure and composition of specialized knowledge as an individual and a collective unit.

4.3. Frames as analytical tool

The example from the analysis presented here uses conceptual frames as the basic unit of analysis. As the focus of this contribution is to present and demonstrate the idea of meso level analysis, and not the actual results of the analysis, I will not go deeply into a methodological description of frame analysis.⁴ Nevertheless, I will present the main characteristics briefly, before approaching the actual example:

- Frames are supposed to model elements of the organisation of knowledge in human memory. They are derived from schema theory from psychology and cognitive studies.
- The basic assumption behind this theory is that knowledge is organised in network structures with associative relations. Knowledge elements that have been experienced or been taught as being connected to each other are also connected in memory. The organisational unit for the knowledge elements are called frames.
- A frame contains elements characterising aspects of a concept. As an example, a (Danish) house frame contains among many others such knowledge elements as *roof*, *door*, *window*, *garden*, *shelter*, *cosiness*, *family*, and *investment*.
- The frame is not just a mere container, but a structured unit, structured in dimensions called slots. The slots constitute the structure of a concept, showing the categories to which the constitutive knowledge elements of the concepts belong. Knowing a shared concept at expert level means possessing a mental slot structure similar to that of the rest of the group of experts and thus knowing what elements may be expected to be communicatively introduced or presupposed about a concept.
- Slots are (pre-)filled based on experience (we know what to expect from experience) and may be actively filled through communicative interaction. The elements ascribed to the slots are called fillers. Communicative interaction may change the pre-filling of a slot and thus the expectations of the knower. That slots are typically pre-filled in memory enables us to infer elements not actually introduced in a communicative interaction and thus to understand what an interacting person actually means.
- The elements from the Danish house example above could be seen as fillers for the slots *constructive elements* (roof, door, window), *surroundings* (garden), *emotions* (cosiness, family) and *retirement funds* (investment). The function of the frame in memory related to communicative interaction is to organise knowledge so that we may systematically access background knowledge relevant for understanding words in context.

Summing up, *frames* are internally structured knowledge units. *Slots* are the elements constituting the structure. And *fillers* are the concrete knowledge elements expected or actually introduced in communicative interaction. A frame analysis of the kind I present an example of here is performed based on texts treating the concept under scrutiny, constructing the organisation of knowledge elements from the analysis of empirical data. It thus focuses upon the parts of the frame actually introduced actively and refrains from studying.

4.4. Corpus of study and principles of analysis

The empirical basis of the study consists of 18 articles from US law journals. They are issued between 1988 and 1993. The time span was chosen because a landmark case was decided in 1987, leading to discussions about the right balance between the two conflicting interests described in section 4.2. The texts were chosen from a database based on key words related to the concept of Corporate Criminal Liability in order to secure that the concept played a role in them. All relevant articles fulfilling the key word criteria were included in the corpus. The meso level idea behind designing the corpus this way was to collect a population of articles that treated the concept under scrutiny within a limited period, thus enabling us to sketch out a picture of the different aspects of the concept communicatively virulent within this period.

The analytical approach (called *Knowledge Collection and Categorization Method*, Engberg 2009b: 129) is to first manually scrutinize parts of the texts in which the concept is mentioned in order to collect the knowledge mentioned about the concept. In a second interpretive step the collected knowledge is categorized into slots and subslots in accordance with the concept of Matrix Frames introduced by Konerding (1993). This part of the analysis is thus qualitative

and interpretive. In a second analytical phase, we look at quantitative aspects of the results and investigate the data for more or less generalizable tendencies. In this way, we move towards the generalised macro level, but without abstracting away the details from the qualitative micro level studies. Hence, the analytical approach is in accordance with the principles of the intended meso level analysis.

4.5. An example of analysis

As an example of the kind of meso level analysis performed in the project, I have extracted the graphic representation of the subplot *mens rea* (or criminal intent), which is part of the slot circumstances and conditions, consisting of knowledge elements indicating the *circumstances and conditions* under which someone may be charged with corporate criminal liability.

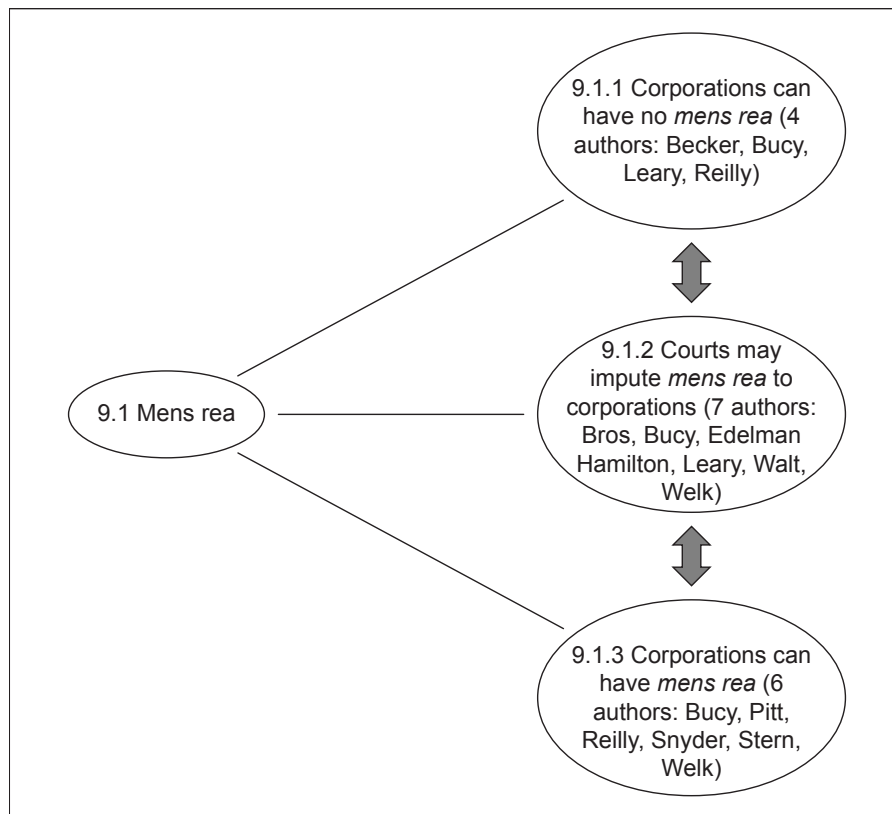


Fig. 2: Structure of the subplot *mens rea* and its three different filler types

What fig. 2 shows is that based on the analysis of the texts in the corpus three different positions as to the importance of the concept of *mens rea* have been found. In the figure, we have indicated the number of authors presenting the different elements, along with their names. One author (Bucy) actually mentions all three positions (as he presents all positions in the discussion in his article), whereas three authors mention two positions (Leary, Reilly, Welk) and the rest only present the position they stand for themselves. This is an example of the fact that only the elements relevant for a specific interaction are introduced. And if the intention of the author is to argue for his or her position, but not to present the others, only one is mentioned. As all positions are held by a number of authors, however, we can suppose that all three positions are part of the overall shared knowledge. Thus, readers can infer the positions not mentioned and in this way understand correctly a given contribution to a communicative interaction.

Looking at the content of the three different filler types, we find that the three positions are mutually exclusive: one expert cannot at the same time hold more than one and must reject the other two. This is indicated in the figure by the use of the arrows between the circles in the figure).

What makes the analysis underlying this result an instance of a meso level analysis is the fact that on the one hand we intend to describe regularities tending towards a macro level, as we aggregate the utterances in the different texts from the corpus and construct a smaller number of different possible positions by way of abstraction. But we do not abstract away the differences or intend to find the most widely held position, as one would do in a fully macro-oriented study for, e.g., many dictionaries, intending to find the generally accepted view and to exclude the diverging views. Instead, we preserve the complexity by showing all three mutually exclusive positions in the description of the frame fragment. We indicate the number of authors mentioning the different positions, thus also indicating the relative strength of the different positions: Positions held by few people will have a weaker position than those held by many people.

What we achieve through this type of analysis is that we get access to data of importance to the interaction between the upper and the lower level of the model in fig. 1. The fact that we have three fairly strong positions represented means that a fight over the actual content of the concept is raging among the experts. Thus, we can predict a certain instability of the concept in this respect. Furthermore, we may follow over time the role of specific authors in the process of developing a concept. We may look at more texts by the different authors and thus follow the conceptual dynamics that tends to be lost in the traditional macro as well micro perspectives.

Finally, we can compare the quantitative data for the different slots in order to assess the degree to which the knowledge elements contained in the frame are disputed, as was the case with the subplot *mens rea*. As the study is still unpublished, I will limit myself to presenting the data for the slot *circumstances and conditions*, to which also the subplot *mens rea* belongs.

	Total number of subslots	Subslots without disagreement	Subslots with disagreement
Circumstances and conditions	26	23	3

Table 1: Number of subslots to the slot *circumstances and conditions* of the frame *corporate criminal liability*; division according to whether the fillers of the subslots show internal disagreement between positions.

As is visible from table 1, the subslots without disagreement are in the vast majority. The experts that have been subject to this analysis tend to agree upon what are the important aspects of the circumstances and conditions under which the specialized concept treated here may be applied. However, we also see that disagreement exists and is virulent. This way, we have established knowledge about the relative stability of this (part of the) concept. And it is possible to compare the numbers from this slot with similar numbers for the other slots that the specialized concept of Corporate Criminal Liability consists of and thus say something about the stable and more instable parts of the concept.

5. Concluding remarks

With this rudimentary example analysis I wanted to demonstrate a specific consequence of focusing upon knowledge in the study of specialised communication and thus following what Roelcke (2010) calls the cognitive-linguistic function model. The focus upon knowledge enables us to see the underlying shared knowledge and, at the same time, the communicative interactions constructing this shared knowledge. Amending the toolbox for analysing specialized communication with this kind of focus is in my view, substantiated in this contribution, relevant in order to describe better the actual complexity of our object of study.

This idea of intending to focus on more levels at once in the analysis is relatively new to our field, but it is emerging in other fields, too, in these years. As an example, in the project presented by Harder (2010) he intends to combine insights from cognitive linguistics with socio-cognitive approaches in order to give descriptions that include analyses at the level of formulation and individual cognition together with analyses at societal and discourse level. Here we find also

the combination of a macro and a micro level. Furthermore, in the field of management studies a recent approach suggests to see strategies of business management not as a management tool to be used to influence the company from an outside position. Instead, strategies are seen as practices being performed within a company by managers and employees in cooperation. Thus, strategies are seen as emerging from the life of the company rather than being seen as imposed upon the company by management (Vaara and Whittington 2012). Interestingly in our context, this approach also works with a micro level of interactions and a macro level of shared and emergent knowledge of the strategies of a company.

Studying the interaction between micro and macro levels in a meso level analysis is thus apparently a timely suggestion, which in the field of specialized communication and LSP opens up for a focus on the knowledge of individual experts and its interaction with knowledge as a social fact. Future will show what the discipline may achieve from this wider perspective.

6. Notes

¹ Murder. Has the perpetrator committed murder under circumstances or due to considerations that show his highly reprehensible disposition or his dangerous character, he is sentenced to lifelong imprisonment (my translation).

² Murder. If the perpetrator acts very unscrupulously, if especially his motives, the purpose of the act or the way it is carried out is especially reprehensible, he is sentenced to lifelong imprisonment or imprisonment for no less than ten years (my translation).

³ Cf. for this aspect, e.g., Ushma Chauhan Jacobsen, 'Knowledge Asymmetries. A Situated Inquiry in Three Sites of Professional Communication', (Aarhus University, 2012), Peter Kastberg, 'Knowledge Asymmetries : Beyond to Have and Have Not', *Fachsprache - International Journal of Specialized Communication*, 34/3-4 (2011), 137-51.

⁴ For my approach to frame analysis of specialized communication, cf. Jan Engberg, 'Wie Und Warum Sollte Die Fachkommunikationsforschung in Richtung Wissensstrukturen Erweitert Werden?', *Fachsprache*, 29/1-2 (2007), 2-25, Jan Engberg, 'Methodological Aspects of the Dynamic Character of Legal Terms', *Fachsprache*, 31/3-4 (2009b), 126-38.. For recent general introductions to the concepts of frame used in text analysis, cf. Dietrich Busse, *Frame-Semantik. Ein Kompendium* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), Alexander Ziem, *Frames of Understanding in Text and Discourse* (John Benjamins, 2014).

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Challenges in Intercultural Contexts: How to Overcome Communication Failure

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Abstract. We examine current issues in intercultural communication in an attempt to find ways to avoid communication failure. First, we look at overall concerns and place contextual aspects under scrutiny. After an overview of the present situation, we look at research approaches that would be helpful when investigating specific problems namely relevant qualitative approaches such as the ones stemming from sociometry and psychology. We report on useful findings in recent documents aiming at better practices with a critical lens and identify the strategies to be retained such how to look at contradictions, perceived asymmetries and increasingly issues around voice as more and more diverse cultures and languages come into contact. Further on, we scrutinize research findings: first, we look at the Canadian situational context and report what can be learned from observing recent developments, then we examine research findings that offer interesting suggestions such as the way to re-examine identities and roles, re-align some concepts and raise overall awareness in people in order to improve intercultural communication. Finally, we delineate paths for further investigation and make recommendations.

Keywords. Communication difficulties, interpreting in interaction, intercultural contexts, improving communication through realignment.

1. Background

1.1. Overall concerns

Bates (2002) states that the migration of ideas, artefacts and people is not a new phenomenon, however its rapidity is, making it impossible for struggling states to maintain social, cultural and political characteristics. Capella (2000) suggests that the abolition of time in virtual contexts, through instantaneous communication, adds to the challenges. Carnoy (2002) stresses the need for increasing scrutiny of interpretive situations. We are dealing with such issues nowadays and many more challenges have been added to the mix with further impacts on thinking processes (Moigne, 1999; Morin, 2005; Myers, 2013).

Do we have to admit that conflicts are increasing in intercultural communication contexts? Helmy (2010) cites Angela Merkel as saying “the multicultural approach has failed”. A look at multiculturalism and communities of practice (Barton & Tusting, 2006; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) shows the importance of “situated cognition”. A Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) (2013) programme called “Intersections” allows the population at large to keep abreast of new developments in intercultural contexts. It appears that sensibilities are heightened and that people are becoming more protective of themselves to the point of raising barriers. A recent podcast shows that trying to be helpful can actually cause conflict, one has to ask first if help is wanted when interacting across cultures.

To navigate smoothly in general interactions requires a high level of understanding of what is involved. Complexity is added to the process across cultures and the difficulties created sometimes appear impossible to overcome. We are in a crisis in social connection cohesion. In articulating everything at hand we have to look both at top-down and bottom-up processes, with a sweep across the whole spectrum of possibilities. With that in mind, we need to look at macro- and micro-level approaches and situate ourselves at a meso-level of inquiry in trying to reach an understanding.

No doubt does the problem of communication failure have to be looked at differently if we want to overcome potential difficulties involved. In such an attempt we have to acknowledge that issues increase with augmented mobility and in a quest for recognition in the global knowledge economy (Morrow & Torres, 2000). Today we face more 'intersectionality'. New problems appear in the back and forth for global competition. With increased numbers of newcomers to a country, because everywhere immigration is seen as a need to maintain prosperity CIC (Citoyenneté et Immigration Canada, 2004), fast-paced changes are taking place in translational transitioning between cultures. In our era, we need to keep an open mind, while we take the multiple necessary steps in moving through ever-changing intercultural contexts, as with each time, learning a new dance, and there are risks involved, especially as we may not look so smooth, or balanced, nor fitting in, during our intercultural exchanges. The constant need to shift perspectives requires multi-tasking and constant renewal and takes a toll on human well-being (Jodelet, 1991). Mental health touches all components of development (Hawkey & Cacioppo, 2010; Mezirow, 2001). A number of researchers such as Parker (1997) view the new situation as a coming together or ever-increasing rapid convergence of diverse influences which makes others such as Capling et al (1998) and Copeland (1997) worry about some of the uncontrollable aspects all this rapid change entails (Blackmore, 2000). Nevertheless we have to agree that with the homogenizing there are as well differentiating tendencies observed when facing issues in intercultural communication. Interest groups find their identities challenged according to Morrow and Torres (2000) and people have to face more interdependence (Wells et al, 1998). What seems to be key for people, is to arrive at a positioning that makes them competitive (Daun, 2002). Juggling communication across many cultures within the same physical context is increasing for all of us with the high increase of newcomers in our countries and we strive at maintaining a balance despite serious barriers (Jandt, 2004). In Canada, as early as 1997, in an official document on multiculturalism McLeod commented that the concept of multiple cultures in contact was not seen favorably even in a country where we supposedly do well in that respect, sharing his perception of "the current hostile climate of conservative attacks on multicultural education and youth" (McLeod et al, 1997, p.15).

1.2. Situational context

We need to look at what has changed recently and how, in more detail, and then find implications for future action so as to avoid communication failure. The editors of the official Canadian document on multiculturalism mentioned above, claimed that a fourth integrated phase was starting in 1997 (MacLeod et al, 1997, p.1) with a period of cultural reinforcement (p.2), with group relations that are increasingly emphasized around 'interculturalism', support for anti-racism (p.3), multicultural citizenship through cooperation, networking and collaboration among those seeking a society marked by tolerance and acceptance. There is little evidence that this fourth phase has come into place or at least not along this vision. Some of the deep causes of conflicts underlying communication difficulties we are experiencing have to be identified. There are several areas of concern that need to come under scrutiny:

- a) In Canada, subcultures now have their sub cities, sub societies, their languages, their schools, their own religious schools as identified in recent Canadian Broadcasting Corporation 'intersections' programming. How is one to improve communication when faced by the recent creation of "shadism", an increase in ethnic differentiation through shades of skin color; how do we deal with recent immigrants requesting immediately equal status through a 'territorial' claim of their turf, in the form of obtaining branding for 'Little Ethiopia' covering a surface of three city blocks in central Toronto compared to similar recognition of ethnic groups that was progressively gained over many years by other communities; how to eliminate the conflict in attitudes between the so-called 'Fresh Off the Boat' versus 'Second generation' rich newcomers' children in schools on the West Coast (groups within which you find the well off and the more 'average', forming cliques in school groups where membership is evidenced by gadgets, expensive

- clothing and cars); how to be fair to long standing Canadian citizens of all diverse backgrounds when having to face exclusion as with the creation of a Chinese shopping mall in suburban Toronto not functionally accessible to speakers of another language.
- b) In their attempt to exercise equity (Garcia & Guerra, 2004), while reducing obstacles to everyone's participation, states are also allowing for wider gaps between the few very rich and the rest of us.
 - c) The greatest threat to successful communication in today's fast-paced knowledge economy comes from increasing mental health issues (Zapf, 1991). With added stress due to intercultural inter-linguistic communication some people feel they have too much to juggle, in addition to the other problems in their lives (Fischbach & Herbert, 1997; Portes & Hao, 2002).
 - d) A lack of reflexivity appears to also be problematic. If the general population is not as open as could be desirable, do we need an "intercultural interaction preparedness test" and some awareness-raising to improve communication? Additional problems created across countries but also within countries lead to miscommunication, like for example the state maintaining and constructing power relations around gendered family dynamics and self-identification for women (Gaebel, 2013).

The Conference Board of Canada has recently stressed the importance of intra-personal intelligence, thus placing the impetus and the responsibility on the individual, which in a way may help persons develop inner strength and better coping mechanisms. It will be very difficult to keep up with new developments given that more and more demands are placed on people with very little time for themselves, when, in addition, research around the current issues in intercultural communication is lacking and should be stressed more than ever and also be on-going. Another problem arises when considering the lack of adequacy of the approaches used for such types of enquiry. A look for pathways leading to success is a must with all this complexity at hand.

2. Approaches to researching these issues

It appears that there has been a plethora of research on immigrants and cultural differences with the purpose of devising frameworks outlining expected behaviors on the part of the newcomers, mainly to ensure workplace functionality and facilitate international trade. In a recent study conducted for the Ontario Ministry of Education (Myers, 2006), I uncovered that there is a need to develop awareness among sectors of the population in the host country as it only took a few unsympathetic individuals to undo all the good that others had provided over time and with great effort.

What has to be examined is how the connectivity between people is established. How can this connectivity be facilitated in order to improve communication? By researching shared values, identities, histories, cultural baggage including artifacts and memories, one acquires more knowledge and understanding. So, in our new emerging societies, we have to move to a new plane with all these aspects "in the making" and not constantly refer to past ethnic connections, which is often the case in Canada. Closely shadowing recent newcomers in their transitioning would allow monitoring such a process.

We suggest adopting a constructivist or interpretive approach as both offer a first-hand understanding of how people live their experiences and how they report on them.

Other research approaches that would be helpful include sociometry, namely creating sociometric maps. These would indicate how a group uses its environmental space and maintains territorial control over areas, and locus of control in various power and influence arrangements, and identify the social stance between different members and non-members of a group.

Another relevant approach in this type of research could come from cultural psychology. This domain advocates viewing culture as dynamic and evolving, and the process of ‘culturizing’ as central to educating and learning, based more on an indigenous approach, meaning that culture is only understood within the context in which it occurs. This way, psyche and culture are seen as interdependent and mutually constituting. Based on such tenets the only research approaches considered valid are phenomenology, ethnography and hermeneutics.

The research approaches mentioned above might help in building a vision of the future because only thus can people change their ways of being and doing. Keeping in mind positive aspects in cultural differences can become the objectives of individual choices, giving people autonomy, developing their awareness of their present condition and their capacity in action for change.

Hence communication in intercultural contexts could be facilitated with increased thoughtfulness. In a sense, research should provide answers to enhance everyone’s preparedness for ever-accelerated change as the new dance steps will be becoming faster with further population changes based on increased immigration quotas as one can see in many countries. This year Canada is advertising opening up to accept 250,000 newcomers, Germany is stating a need for 160,000 newcomers as skilled workers and France is holding an open border policy.

In addition people in the welcoming countries need to avoid reductionist views as regards the newcomer’s past experiences’ and the view of the ‘reluctant immigrant’ that may come into play. To this end, a number of aspects have to be examined according to research findings (Myers, 2006), namely 1. Level of participation: inviting more newcomers to be active in the community, with people sharing experiences to get people acquainted in communities; 2. Extent of dissemination and partnerships: making sure that information is distributed widely, not only to a select few and including newcomers in leadership roles; 3. Amount of self-awareness: providing awareness-raising workshops to people in sectors of identified need; 4. Scope of networking: taking advantage of new media to enable people to identify others with whom they share common interests and concerns on common platforms, even if their children or informants act as mediators; 5. Capability of thinking relative to the economic questions of the day: ensuring that newcomers remain aware of what is happening in the world and compare local issues with bigger issues and 6. Facilitation of interrelatedness of objectives: identifying ways that complex issues can be connected and the problems reduced through similarities in systems or different ways of organizing information (Luhmann, 1984, 1987; Vermeer, 2006).

Several textbooks offer insights on intercultural communication such as Banks et al (1993), with examples of questionnaire types and recommendations for schools. Questions often used to provide initial awareness-raising should carefully and thoughtfully highlight key points. When asking about a person’s background, referring to the country only provides only a narrow focus within which there are varied physical contexts that impact a person’s way of being according to cultural studies research and just common sense. Therefore one should find out about the region, area, city or countryside within the country or countries people come from, as with increasing mobility, experiences might be multifarious. Along the same lines of thinking, one should ask about the social identities and roles in the plural form, a person would like to be described as having had. This goes for languages as well, with, in addition, an indication as to which language or languages is the preferred one/s. In North America, differences are acknowledged and sometimes special support provided depending upon needs, be it a disability (learning or physical) or a learning style preference. By asking that question newcomers might be made aware of the fact, that in certain countries, special needs are to be declared, thus making people acknowledge this difference thus providing a springboard for further elaboration. Finding out the level of awareness of diverse contexts and the openness to further learning can help situate oneself in terms of the care with which one should engage in the conversation depending on whether a person had training on issues of diversity or not. Asking what a person’s preferred way to learn consists of, and which is the least favorite way to learn, allows gathering information on the ability to help one-self and to recognize individual differences. All these types of questions

also show that one is interested in people and their feelings, in an invitational way. To find common ground, it is also useful to find out what a person is specifically interested in.

3. Discussion of findings from past research and directions for future pathways.

3.1. Spin-offs from contradictions

In the series on lifelong learning, written for the Council Of Europe, Audigier (2000, p.39) points out that we need not be so worried by all the discussions taking place, as the very words used to express negatives in fact also reflect positives when taken in a different light, for instance, in societies ‘fragmentation’ shows ‘diversity’, ‘competition’ shows ‘initiative’, and ‘instability’ shows ‘movement’: so this would indicate that things have a chance to change as not anchored any longer in stubborn fixity and entitlements. This opens to wider possibilities of communication. Furthermore, he recognizes the importance of “creating a network of multipliers on democratic citizenship education, by ensuring the exchange of information and experiences [...] and create reflection and discussion forums” (p.3). Along the same lines he feels that instead of seeing open forums as situations to be concerned about, we have to see they constitute good venues to alleviate individuals concerns or feelings of inadequacies when answers to communication issues can be identified as shared concerns. Information gathering and entering onto a public platform for all to access is conducive to better intercultural understanding. Given all of the above I strongly advocate a central repository be put in place on intercultural communication issues.

Although we may not all agree with Luhmann (1984) when he says that nothing is lost in systems, everything is only just repositioned, in preparation for ever-accelerated change, repositioning is key. Moreover, horizontal, cross network and translational interdependencies are necessary just as what Luhmann identifies as happening with complex system.

Mezirow (2001, p.4) posits the importance of points of view, because they can be changed whereas mindsets are difficult to change. However he adds that to change mindsets, beliefs that are at the root of mindsets can change by working on points of view. Nonetheless he realizes the difficulties this entails as he says that people have to be cautioned about presuppositions, stereotyping, prejudice, manipulations of facts that can be due to either cognitive, sociocultural or epistemological reasons.

More awareness is necessary to alleviate problems of miscommunication. There are aspects of transitioning requiring consciousness-raising because they affect newcomer groups especially where community support is concerned. Very often community support is lacking even though some people in some circumstances deploy huge efforts to be accommodating. The problems appear to lie more deeply. Psychological problems are created when people are feeling limited in their functionality, not necessarily physically only, because they are not feeling empowered (Anczewska et al, 2013). Some of these concerns, to be paid attention to, stem from models of psychological effects and transition, and include separation anxiety, effects of the interruption of plans and a person’s shift in levels of control in the new situation.

Other possible difficulties stem from what was uncovered in theories of mobility and ensuing problem behavior, namely in parent-child relationships, through evidence of psychological distress, by feelings of victimization as well as with issues around ensuring oneself a peer social network.

In addition, in newcomers some feelings of homesickness may become dominant although kept quiet. This raises the need to be made aware of issues of homesickness in intercultural communication including information about its prevention and treatment during open discussions. As well, feelings of helplessness might be heightened when there are extreme differences in environmental moves as geographical location impacts on personal and circumstantial determinants, therefore a lack of familiarity can impact ability to communicate in a very different environment. Such factors need to be kept in mind and somehow mitigated.

An increase in help strategies will facilitate interaction and in turn improve intercultural communication. In situations where care is provided but deemed insufficient, better quality of care and more thoughtfulness are recommended rather than additional strategies and activities. Facilitating relationship formation through targeted community activities will provide repeated contact to persons and contexts, thus making them more and more familiar, in a sense providing “a common ground” for more even communication events with a lesser need to juggle huge fluctuations due to information gaps, between the people involved. For employed individuals and students alike, extra-curricular activities and physical activity like sports bring people together and because of the activity involved, interactions will take place at a more level playing field away from the competitive job situation.

Needless to say, a review of policies and programs regarding immigration is necessary with an emphasis on requesting that schools or workplaces and community come together as recommended by Myers (2006; 2012) because of the extreme importance of belonging to groups and associations in the process of one’s elaborations of support systems for oneself.

3.2. Realizing what the asymmetries are and compromising with difference

Successful communication is crucial because the feeling of belonging is very important in society. We need to feel supported, and to experience solidarity and trust. The issue of trust is complicated when it is based on multiple realities and concerns can be justified because it is our culture that helps us determine if someone can be trusted.

Communication cannot be improved with loneliness increasingly becoming an issue. The contradictions lie within the fact that more efforts seem to be put forth to improve communication, yet people increasingly say that they are lonely. Loneliness as a factor interferes with successful communication from two standpoints, as first this feeling indicates the person is not seeking interactions with others and second there is less communicative practice in such situations to help acquire and improve upon strategies. Even in people who have increasing numbers of cyber-contacts, the presence of feelings of loneliness in actual physical surroundings predicts later depressive symptoms (Masi et al, 2011), although the problems are not so acute in socio-technological environments, according to Gibson (1998).

There is often an acknowledged asymmetry in communication across cultures whereas people are looking for possible meeting points. We suggest to look at chains of interlinked events. As general interactions constitute a co-construction of meaning, people have to be more reflective on action (Wells et al, 1998). It is often thought that rather than being prejudicial when starting with some sort of indicator, a list kept in mind as a working tool allows a stepping stone onto a path for action. The following list given as an example is only intended for giving a sense of direction as cultures are positioned differently on these continuums. It may be surprising to see personal characteristics listed, however on the personal side, the following characteristics are said to belong to cultures to name only a few : tolerance vs intolerance, flexibility vs not being flexible, time limit vs no time limit, prioritizing vs no setting an order, stating needs vs expressing desires, inquisitiveness related to people vs interest in other things, shyness vs confidence, extroversion vs introversion As well, personal characteristics differentiate people, for instance, being into hard sciences vs the social sciences, on the gender continuum from Feminine to Masculine, whether cultural aspects are considered important vs importance attached to other factors, and finally self-knowledge vs a lack thereof.

Overall attitudes, as delineated in policies, also have an impact and have to be examined. In Canada, we now look at non-racialism as established in South Africa, i.e. there should be no discrimination on the basis of physical characteristics such as skin, colour, eyes, hair etc. and as well the tenets imply that humans should be looked upon as such, not as members of groups categorized on the basis of physical criteria. Yet, as mentioned earlier ‘Shadism’ appeared in North America recently, (perhaps only as a way of orienting oneself within contexts offering

huge degrees of diversity) and minorities are staking more demanding claims. This could also be due to people feeling that they have to raise their voices when their rights are not recognized and gather around a community to make themselves and their cause noticed, as we all know that there is more strength in numbers.

In general terms, miscommunication is seen as a blow to self-image. In turn, negative evaluations of one's interpersonal relationships can lead to depression, so avoiding communication failure is that much more important.

Needless to say, communication issues to be considered in interprofessional cultures become even more complex (Brannan, 2013). What about interaction in social contexts vs professional ones: What happens to the occupational 'other', when a lack of knowledge of the other exists? In such cases discourse is to be considered as structural rather than structuring like in regular dialogues. In these professional contexts one needs to monitor the self and the other as well as vocabulary and grammar use in order to properly manage interaction. However, when in addition, one is communicating in a less familiar language, features of discourse are lost in inner speech translations. Only a move beyond monological views into multilayered intersubjective spaces can correct this. More creative language use should be tolerated and even encouraged in such situations if necessary to increase comprehensibility.

There may also be a real gap in the professional other's knowledge base. In such cases interprofessional solidarity is at stake. Moreover, in professions, generally two divisions seem to be in place, with social sciences on the one side and the hard sciences on the other. But rather than this divide we ought to look at an involvement of creativity, the placing on the scale of field dependency vs field independence and learning style moving between both extremes of dependence/independence for problem solving. Socially embedded attitudes may also come into play during interprofessional communication. As general interactions constitute a co-construction of meaning, people have to be more reflective on action: yet signs, and symbols are coded differently across cultures. Examples of service provider judgments are often given when, with the best interest at heart, the service provided totally alienated the newcomer because of a lack of cultural understanding. Another common example is relative to court cases when untrained interpreters are used in a judgment call, there have been examples where they may filter in some of their views. In various studies, researchers identified newcomers who, in professionals contexts, were aware of possible conflicts and in order to avoid them, kept their professional persona separate from the personal roles they were expected to play at home. In such cases, interpretations regarding the personal aspects, are far off and do not correspond to accurate exchanges during interactions. As regards the field of education, despite many efforts, especially given the lack of intensive training in the local language in order to enable newcomers to integrate into mainstream society as quickly as possible, intercultural communication leaves much to be desired, as newcomers are often left behind their age-group peers. Not being enabled to access equal education opportunities often leaves newcomers in situations where they may be viewed as second class citizens.

In attempts to be fair to all, restructuring efforts in Kazakhstan (Nessipbayeva, 2013) have taken place. In Greece (Stamelos et al, 2013) they established zones of educational priority with unified restructured programmes including various features as for instance digital primary schools which also include vocational training. However unfortunately, like is also the case in Canada, with slower language development programs, the newcomers are always trying to catch up and few have access to higher education.

3.3. Issues with voice

With the poly-vocal sides of communication in mind, careful attention has to be paid to the opacity of many areas and it is only through examples that we can try to shed light on ways to use one's judgement to filter in some differing views and yet be open to varied attitudes.

Boler (2004 ; 2010) writes that there is often an issue with a voice or a way of articulating not being recognized which some people overlook as it is not recognizable as familiar, therefore rendered illegitimate and unspeakable (Butler, 1997). In certain communication situations the 'other', or non-familiar person or non-included in the group, is reduced to silence (McLaren, 1995) which causes that person anxiety.

Because of their different voice, people are often treated as inferior, less knowledgeable and as needing more help: these are signs of prejudice because the interlocutor is assuming someone's inferiority. Before deciding on intervening you should first ask specifically if people want such or such a thing explained to them. Professionals play key roles as they are required to take on a neutral and ethical approach but as individuals they also have varied personal attitudes and the question becomes how to stay clear of these influences.

Our words are often influenced by our cultures (Myers, 2012). The problem often lies in our lack of acknowledgement of the historical contexts that underlie our words and their usage as well as our actions, in making us create an atmosphere of 'non-identification' to keep a positive climate and maintain peace, thus avoiding frictions and arguments. In order to counter this situation of 'Angst' and 'self-protectionism', Aronowitz (1993) recommends to set-up 'liberating' spaces. Such a physical context already exist for politicians as for example Chatham House in London at St James Square (Niblett, 2013). It has traditionally been known as a safe place to start the conversation for politicians, with secrecy being a must.

Butler (1997) claims that codes established by society are meant to create a feeling of 'civility', a guise of solidarity, the code of conduct. However a lot of this is learned implicitly by native speakers in their culture, thus it is necessary to share that knowledge with the 'others', non-native speakers. So situations have to be created to allow for the learning of these codes in situations. Myers (2006) recommends that such activity take place through school and community involvements where newcomers have school age children. But for adults without children, are there booklets and detailed pamphlets available, the content of which is updated regularly? There used to be books on 'etiquette', yet in a multilingual, multicultural society where tolerance is key, there should be at least a comprehensive citizenship awareness program in order to allow people to fit in quickly, not just a start list of do's and don'ts, although such a list constitutes a good starting point.

In intercultural contexts prejudiced language and actions (often under the guise of bullying) have been observed to cause a semi-shock according. Not just actions but also words only when used in a hateful way impede the interlocutor from formulating a response as if paralyzed. Hateful words affect their victims in a way that they experience a gut feeling of disoriented powerlessness.

Everyone does not intervene to improve upon situations when seeing problems, hearing problems or is lack of reaction an issue of plain tolerance? Consciousness-raising is a must, although all persons are not able to acquire the required empathy. This fact has recently being deemed of such importance as to have given birth to a Center for Compassion and Altruism Research and Education (CCARE) at Stanford University (Doty, 2013). The Neuro-Innovation and Translational Neurosciences Institute has a programme of compassion-cultivation training courses and other institutions have also started courses in intervention and training to develop people's ability to be altruistic and compassionate (Svoboda, 2013a & b). The idea is to have "a profound effect on how one perceives one's responsibility to others. It gives [people] the realisation of our shared humanity and interdependence. It changes how [we] interact " (Doty, 2013).

In learning contexts, the affective filter also plays a part (Krashen, 1982; 2003) and it is therefore of crucial importance not to block emotional aspects in learning.

4. Proposed pathways

4.1. Overall considerations

We should no longer focus on competence in language performance but look for increased evidence of successful performance in intercultural competence plus be open to creative language use. We have to look at future crystallizations of the positioning of people and somehow look at them as unstable working models in process, Gee (2006) calls these “unstable mobiles” in the context of situated cognition. Moreover we could help retain flexibility in our judgements on people if we look at multipliers of identities and have them move on a sliding scale as regards interpretations of roles for a global “coming together of minds”, adapting Olson’s (2003) theoretical model.

To arrive at different advancements in positionings, future possibilities have to be hypothesized, starting from measures in the here and now. For instance we can look at steps recommended for students in schools in Canada based on problem avoidance or minimizing and their outcomes (MacLeod et al, 1997).

Bullying is still widespread and maybe even on the increase although students are to “... recognize and acknowledge power relationships in groups, society, and the international community and assess their causes and impact”. In essence, students in schools and people in the workplace suffer because of the prevalence of aggressive behavior.

Students are asked to “...think analytically in order to recognize past inequities and recognize and redress present inequities, stereotyping, and bias”. One would expect this to lead to more ‘equality’, yet the emphasis is on equity programs, by which certain sectors of the population are given preference.

As regards newcomers to Canada no recognition was given in the past for varieties of French or different Englishes, although the official document states that students “affirm and value their first language”, but, thankfully, this is changing towards more openness around different registers in the two official languages.

The document also states that students “understand and appreciate the similarities and differences between their own experiences and those of others and are able to express their own points of view while acknowledging and appreciating those of others”. Reader’s response is the prevalent critical stance taken in text analysis in schools, which altogether is encouraging, yet often no points of reference are provided on which to base critical thinking. There is often a lack of common theoretical knowledge to be used as a backbone against which to weigh one’s personal elaboration.

Just as these examples would indicate, although the intentions in the document were overall positive, some measures implemented in the past have caused more divisiveness, often because of limited knowledge or because of the pressure felt to implement a curriculum recommendation. Such an example was the implementation of ‘Heritage day’, i.e. a celebration of family origin, culture and customs, as this was interpreted as students having only one heritage, not taking an encompassing view of multifarious backgrounds found in people. Students were also to “acquire a positive self-image through learning about and taking pride in their own heritage”. Unfortunately that has often led to discrimination, because due the Heritage Days one needed to state one’s cultural heritage as of one culture only as of course for reasons of practicality, each pupil was only given so much time and had to choose what to talk about, which often could not encompass both parental heritages if both were non Canadian in origin. This statement in the document is also in contradiction with statements made on p.7 about “our multiple identities...” : “it is important to encourage students to explore and define their own identities rather than ascribing one or another to them” (MacLeod et al, 1997). Working around situational contexts in students’ lives, around diverse cultural events they found themselves in, would have been more fruitful.

The next objective, also aiming at promoting more awareness was for students to “learn about and respect cultures, races, faiths and languages other than their own”, constitutes again, a step in the right direction. However, the question is how much can pupils in school learn, except in sporadic ways, from their fellow classmates when, in addition, we all know that having only a little knowledge can be dangerous and lead to prejudice. Moreover, one wonders if teachers who are not well versed in all the cultures of their students can be effective and efficient in conveying the required information.

Needless to say, measures such as these that were implemented in schools did not necessarily help in facilitating intercultural communication although that might have been the intent. The overall objective was to have students “understand and develop interpersonal and problem solving skills needed to work together cooperatively and learn from one another”. However subsequently the Conference Board of Canada, the official body that takes steps in giving direction to the country, conveyed that it had been shown that group projects created great problems. At present the Conference Board of Canada stresses the importance of developing intra-personal intelligence, placing the onus for problem solving on each individual, including the responsibility for the development of self-knowledge and finding strategies to cater to one’s needs.

4.2. Adding to foundational considerations derived from research findings

We decided, in addition to the above, to revisit perspectives arrived at until today and examine where the foundations lay plus adding others’ points of view. It is deemed to be useful to take advantage of exposure to other cultures to increase tolerance to ambiguity. Douglas and Meleis (1995, p.89) write that ‘exposure to people from other cultures does something to us, personally. It improves attitudes, opens closed-mindedness, dispels ethnocentrism and generates a tolerance for ambiguity’.

Preparedness for successful communication becomes a personal responsibility, not only in international travel (Brannan, 2013) but also when navigating through intercultural contexts at home. It has been suggested for each person to be ready to learn the steps to follow. Preparedness is necessary for direction as it provides a ‘blueprint for action’ (Carty & White, 1996, p.93).

The Regis model introduced by these researchers in the context of preparing for study or work abroad (p.90) includes a mission statement, a vision statement, a current assessment, goals, objectives, strategies, a tactical plan, reality checks, ownership, facilitation and a cyclical review process. In situations of more acute tensions in order to avoid communicative tension one should be constantly vigilant and open to change.

General Briggs (June 2013) NORAD’s commander just recently talked on CBC about the need in defense for “a daily flexible response” and to go with the “constant ebb and flow”. Such strategies would be applicable also to communication in intercultural contexts.

Due to increased pressures in the world today we should be concerned about Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) often experienced by military personnel after a posting in a war zone, cases in which we are aware of such situations but also in contexts where we do not know a person’s background, as PTSD also is a consequence of culture-shock and has more recently been connected to experiencing diverse traumatic situations (Anczewska, 2013).

In professional contexts in order to help people work on an even playing field, with everyone in the know, it is recommended for all interested parties working together closely to take advantage of and seek out team effectiveness courses to facilitate inter-professional communication.

Another recommendation made by Bolton (2010, p.3) is to be thoughtful as reflective practice is another important constitutive ingredient as it sheds light on “what people know but do not know they know. What people do not know and want to know, what they think, feel, believe, value, understand about their role and boundaries, how their actions match up with what they believe, and how to value and take into account personal feelings...”.

All in all, researchers see hope in the future for people coming together as people are more and more open to change or so it would appear, although a lot of awareness-raising is still required (Myers, 2006) in some sectors of the population.

4.3. A shift to identities and roles

As regards roles, it is crucial to adopt a neutral and ethical approach. We always need to remember that contextualizing understanding goes hand-in-hand with contextualizing universes. Where identities are concerned, there often is misrepresentation and people are misread. Although education sometimes plays a stifling role, thankfully in Canada we are looking at opening doors! In Ontario, Ministry of Education (2013, p.5) the curriculum document even includes attention to the issue of mental health, stating that “mental health is much more than the absence of mental illness“, adding that “well-being is influenced not only by the absence of problems and risks but by the presence of factors that contribute to healthy growth and development. Moreover it is felt that by “nurturing and supporting students’ strengths and assets, educators help promote positive mental health in the classroom”.

In their attempts to bring diverse people together governments talk about integration and often deny that assimilation is what they are after. According to Senocak (1998, p.1) closeness is not necessarily accompanied by the disappearance and assimilation of all that is foreign. To look into problems research into mal-adaptive social cognition is necessary and intervention is needed. One of the major issues is that a negative evaluation of one’s interpersonal relations leads to depression and in addition loneliness is a cause of it too. A suggested pathway that is deemed to be effective is to bring schools and community together because of the extreme importance of belonging to groups and associations and having support systems. This way people will get recognition, can affirm their identities, exercise some of their roles, thus preventing the problems created when one is feeling limited functionality and not feeling empowered (Anczewska et al, 2013; Nessipbayeva, 2013).

Possible solutions lie in the meshing of the notions of ‘identities vs role systems’. Some fundamental understanding is necessary.

For improved intercultural communication, as regards ‘identities’, one has to realize that nothing is fixed but in constant development, so people should hold their judgement unless they have observed a number of the same occurrences over time. Although it might be more difficult when the interlocutor has an accent, people need to know how to listen as to avoid prejudging. As well, when making interpretations to arrive at a judgement one should keep one’s interpretations open and be ready to amend. The tendency to classify quickly with little information leads to misinterpretation and one should be open to history and people’s stories and think in terms of structural deficiencies rather than having to do with a given population (Ogunleye, 2013; Myers, 2006; Popescu, Popescu, & Popescu, 2013). Within our new knowledge economy we are dealing with more complexity and there is a need to look at intersectionality by keeping in mind the social, historical, the political and the newly created artefacts. In general we have to acquire the knowledge on how to communicate interculturally, to be aware of language and accent issues. We need to know how and when to be silent and not talk. It is also necessary to make our word and action choices more conscious rather than impulsive. Along the same lines, roles have to be re-imagined and to do this, people have to learn to shift their mindset in a certain way and this, in turn, will improve intercultural communication. Moreover, we have to accelerate our learning of our different roles. This is not new, as various studies show how newcomers speak the target language and take on their professional role in the workplace while the mothertongue and the corresponding cultural aspects are maintained in their home. I knew a newcomer from India who quickly decided to keep separate his role in the workplace from his role as father in the home culture, yet depending on the width of culture gaps and on how such divide may be alienating in the society concerned, such a strategy may not be desirable. To avoid feeling stuck in roles, we have to increase our personal agency to maintain and or improve our mental health with a

change of belief and of behaviour. Our view of humankind has to shift as we show respect for all in lifelong learning (Błaszczak (2013) taking care of the human being not looking at humans as 'a tool' or a means to an end only (Najder-Stefaniak, 2013) as has shown to be the case in the past. In our communicative perspective taking, we need to embrace the aim of success for all as opposed to market driven education. Furthermore, besides looking at identities and roles in a different light, there is an overall need to realign concepts. For instance we should no longer think of the contrast between 'crystallized intelligence' vs 'fluid intelligence' as intelligence is looked at differently today. Crystallized intelligence is the type that through continuous training is said to develop lifelong-learning on the condition that people remain mentally active, whereas fluid intelligence is the type attributed to what one is born with. Needless to say both types can complete each other. In fact more recent research points to different perspectives to be taken as it would appear that in addition to left and right hemisphere differentiation in brain activity, it has been identified that we also possess an organ stemming from thinking that our body does through a separate nervous system, possibly causing mental illnesses of the gut (Young, 2012).

In intercultural contexts we have to avoid prejudiced language and actions which often appear under the guise of bullying as they have been observed to cause a semi-shock. Such use of words and actions impedes the interlocutor from formulating a response as if paralyzed and hateful words affect their victims in a way that they experience a gut feeling of disoriented powerlessness, which can more easily be understood in the light of the latest research reopening the concept of the brain in the gut (Young, 2012). Moreover, when the affective filter is blocked (Krashen, 2003) because of seeing problems, hearing problems or experiencing plain intolerance, no learning can take place.

5. Conclusion

For successful intercultural communication a great number of factors have to come into play. Perhaps distancing oneself from identities and reconciling roles while keeping in mind fundamental human values might provide an answer. Najder-Stefaniak looked at subjectivity in modern thinking terms from a moral ethical perspective. A humanistic education needs to keep an open mind, with one's willingness to transpose oneself into new frames of reference. We have to rethink an articulation for accountability and different requirements for excellence.

Taking an action orientation is definitely a must. When explicitly looking at communication strategies we should reflect upon difficulties.

When providing learning and practice opportunities, we should favour action-oriented tasks that reflect the interests, abilities and individual styles and cultures. This can be done by exploring a variety of authentic situations, texts, models and artefacts and contrast music, videos, stories, news media and real objects in an action-oriented way.

To get people coming together in intercultural communication and collaborate, we need to create problems to resolve, based on tasks with a tangible outcome.

As well, in order to practice roles, the use of a different approach with activities of make belief or roles in which persons behave as social actors across cultures would be effective. In educational settings, just as in workplace contexts, goals have to be set to support specific authentic, action-oriented tasks.

In addition, for more advanced intercultural communication practice it is essential to make people apply critical and creative thinking skills when working on tasks.

To sum-up the solution lies in finding common ground from the polarizing mind-set to productive discussion (Nostrand, 1976). This can be achieved in many ways as for example by showing respect for cultural rights and creating a feeling of belonging. This can happen by 'inviting people' into 'one's space', as for instance giving newcomers administrative responsibilities in the community. Increasing possibilities for interacting inter-culturally is key to improving intercultural communication.

Douglas and Meilis (1985, p.88) state, after observing people interacting physically, that they “learn to transcend their values, learn to sensitize their glasses to see the world as others see it, which in turn tints how they see their own world“. However this makes people change to a point of no return which creates a difficult situation for others who do not engage into the process and might be left behind.

We also have to accept change as suggested by Pietersen (1995), with nowadays more emphasis placed on short term results, the symbolic and expediency, having the answers and sameness rather than focusing on long term results, real and substantive goals and objectives, discretion and reserving judgment, and character. Nevertheless, with all this in mind, we also have to remember that Carnoy (2002) warns us that the dynamics of the complexity of the impact of change are not fully grasped, especially with new situations being created constantly due to the tensions created between regionalization and globalization.

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