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Table of Contents

Unpacking the Teaching and Learning Practices of Arabic at a Major U.S. University 1-20

Abderrahman Zouhir

The attitudes of students in the Northwest of England towards Mandarin Chinese and their intercultural sensitivity 21-37

Qi Zhang

Strategies for Dubbing of cultural differences: the case of “Due South”, Episode 65 38-51

Zahra Shariati, Azizollah Dabaghi, Zahra Amirian

Unpacking the Teaching and Learning Practices of Arabic at a Major U.S. University

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Abstract

Many researchers have investigated the complexity of Arabic, but have not provided adequate possibilities to overcome the challenges facing students in learning Arabic. In light of this, the primary purpose of this study is to investigate the challenges that influence the teaching and learning of Arabic as a foreign language by U.S. university students. This study serves as a tool for improving the teaching and learning of Arabic in U.S. academic institutions. The study critically assesses the teaching and learning of Arabic, by providing some recommendations that are peculiar to the study setting as well as to the general field of teaching Arabic as a foreign language in the United States. Findings suggest that extracurricular activities should be promoted in teaching and learning Arabic at U.S. universities. My attempt is to place Arabic within the fold of other foreign languages.

Keywords Arabic, Teaching/Learning Practices, Diglossia, Challenges, Recommendations

1. Introduction

1.1. Arabic Growth in U.S. Universities

Foreign language enrollments in the United States are experiencing a shift from the traditional European foreign languages towards the less commonly taught languages such as Arabic. Arabic is gaining ground in U.S. universities and new Arabic programs have been established. Teaching Arabic is gaining ground and has matured as a profession in US. Students' enrollment in Arabic classes has increased rapidly in recent years and shows no sign of decreasing in the near future (Al-Batal and Belnap 2006). Arabic classes in colleges and universities have seen and still experiencing a burgeoning enrollment (Allen 2004; Welles 2004; Ryding 2013). In a similar vein, Rabiee (2010) noticed that Arabic language enrollment shot up more than 125% between 2002 and 2006 while enrollment in all foreign languages increased by less than 13% during the same time. The Modern Language Association (MLA) reports that the number of American students enrolled in Arabic programs is expected to increase due to various reasons, among which is the direct U.S. military involvement in the Middle East. A number of universities have expanded or added full-fledged Arabic programs to their curriculum. Moreover, many universities have established new summer programs in the Arab world, aiming at providing U.S. students with the opportunity to study Arabic in authentic cultural setting. Expansion in the field of Arabic also touched the organizational aspects of the profession. The American Association of Teachers of Arabic (AATA) has experienced a

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significant increase in its membership both at the institutional and individual levels (Ryding 2006).

An interconnected world with increasing international links and interests, as well as key political concerns at the global level has raised the public profile of Arabic language and the Arab world in general (Ryding 2013). Even before the military involvement in Iraq, Dillon (2003) wrote in the New York Times, "As the pursuit of Al'Qaeda and America's confrontation with Iraq intensifies, Arabic speaking educators and Islamic organizations, as well as universities and schools across the nation, are straining to respond to requests by students and the public for information and instruction about the language and culture of Islam" (p. 1). Universities have expanded new Arabic language programs to cope up with the increasing number of students and the higher demand for learning Arabic. Furthermore, many institutions and agencies "have sought to move away from the more traditional system in which the basic language courses were taught by faculty members to appoint instead new professionally trained Arabic teachers" (Allen, 2004, p. 275).

1.2. The Challenge of Arabic Instruction at the university level in US institutions

The United States Foreign Service Institute (FSI) classified languages into four levels or degrees of difficulty based on the amount of time spent by learners to attain a certain level of proficiency. According to the FSI ranking (Liskin-Gasparro 1982, cited in Stevens 2006), Group 1 (relatively easy) languages includes French, Spanish, and Norwegian; Group 2 includes German, Greek, and Farsi; Group 3 includes Czech, Russian, Finish, and Turkish; and Group 4 (relatively difficult) languages includes Arabic, Chinese, and Japanese.

Learning Arabic is found to be quite challenging to native speakers of English due to phonological and morphological complexity. It presents certain types of phonological and syntactical difficulties to the English-speaking student due to the vast differences between the two languages. However, these difficulties can be overcome with adequate practice and by rights such difficulties should be weighed against any problems caused by the process of instruction and the material used in class (Kara 1976). Stevens (2006) even questioned the FSI ranking. He compared the various aspects of the languages ranked by FSI and found that Arabic not to be complicated, calling into question claims about Arabic's extraordinary difficulty. He claimed that Arabic was badly taught in the past and advances in second language teaching occurred in other languages before they did in Arabic. He pointed out that "[it] is fair to say that the field of teaching Arabic as a Foreign Language did not exist 30 years ago, certainly not in the well-developed sense that the foreign language teaching existed for other, more commonly taught languages" (p. 61).

Most native Arabic teachers in U.S. universities are not necessarily language specialists and the process of attracting trained teachers of Arabic to U.S. universities has become more infinitely more difficult and time consuming. Allen (2004) argued that

The stringent regulations and costs associated with obtaining the appropriate visa to work in the United States and the checking procedures at various parts of entry mean that not only are some professionals unable to attend language teaching or other academic gatherings, but the entire process becomes so intrusive that few seek participation in the first place. We thus face the dilemma of a national need for a greater number of qualified teachers of Arabic than ever before and ever-diminishing supply of such people actually or potentially resident in the country. (p. 278).

1.3. Research and Studies about Teaching and Learning Arabic

Arabic has been the focus of many research studies. Many studies have been conducted in phonology, syntax, morphology, and sociolinguistics. The linguistic research works which were conducted in the area of phonology were mostly contrastive and comparative studies between Arabic and English. The objective of these studies was to discover the similarities and differences between these two languages. Several articles exist that established a contrast between various forms of Arabic and English. Setian (1974), for example, presented a comparison on the morphological and syntactic levels of some of the differences between colloquial Egyptian Arabic and English. He argued that the comparison of Colloquial Egyptian Arabic and English in terms of morphology and syntax is extremely revealing. Setian (1974: 253) also explained that “Arabic and English are almost antipodal to each other: the former being a highly synthetic (agglutinative) language, whereas the latter is highly analytic (isolating)”.

Malick (1956:65) compared and contrasted a number of clusters in both Arabic and English. She argued that the main problem in learning a new language is not learning vocabulary items, but the mastery of the sound system in order to hear the distinctive features and to approximate their production. Unlike these studies which were aimed at teaching English, Asfoor's (1982) study is mainly geared to the teaching of Arabic.

Asfoor (1982) investigated the Arabic sounds that American speakers of English find most difficult to learn and whether the dialectal differences of English speakers are significant for the acquisition of the pronunciation of these sounds. In this study he took as subjects thirty five American students of Arabic at the Defense Language Institute Foreign Language Center (DLIFLC) in Monterey in California. The study examined a selected number of phonological items in Arabic to determine the nature and degree of difficulty which speakers of English at DLIFLC encountered in learning Arabic pronunciation. Asfoor resorted to rating and ranking the relative frequency of errors made by students in pronouncing Arabic phonemes on a three point scale: 1= not difficult, 2= moderately difficult, and 3= difficult, in the initial, medial, and final position of all Arabic phonemes. Asfoor also used pretest and posttest scans on taped oral tests of students' ability to pronounce Arabic sounds, on a scale of 1= poor to 2= acceptable to 3=good. Asfoor (1982) found out that American speakers of English find most difficult pronouncing those Arabic letters which do not exist in English or in American dialects of English. He also confirmed that the American dialect spoken by students seemed to have no effect on their ability to pronounce the difficult Arabic phonemes. The general conclusion of this study is that

American students learning Arabic faced most difficulties with Arabic phonemes which have no correlates in English (El-Nekishbendy 1990).

1.4. Arabic Diglossia and its Effect on the Teaching of Arabic

The term *diglossia* (i.e. multiple Arabic varieties) was introduced by Ferguson (1959). He argued that there are two varieties in the Arabic linguistic situation. He named the superposed variety as the high (H) variety and the regional dialect as the low (L) variety. A number of linguists have challenged Ferguson's High/Low dichotomy. For example, Blanc (1960) and Badawi (1973) identified different intermediate levels between *fusha* and the colloquial. Badawi identified five different levels (a) *Fusha al-turath* (*fusha* of the Arab/Islamic heritage); (b) *Fusha al-fasr* (contemporary *Fusha*); (c) *Sammiyya al-muthaqqafin* (vernacular of the educated); (d) *Sammiyyat al-mutanawwiriin* (vernacular of the enlightened, literate); and (e) *Sammiyyat al-ummiyyin* (vernacular of the illiterate).

Ryding (2006) explained that diglossia refers to the fact that Arabs read and write one form of language (the so called "high") and use the spoken vernacular (the so called "low") to communicate among each other. However, for everyday spoken communication with each other, Arabs speak language variants that are substantially different. Slight differences between Standard Arabic are found in vocabulary and syntax in different Arab countries. The Arabic used in everyday conversation is quite different from the written form in its sounds, grammar, and vocabulary. With greater emphasis on communication in teaching Arabic, we are faced with the question whether Standard Arabic (H) or one of the colloquial varieties (L) should be used in the Arabic program. Several alternatives have been proposed (see Alos (1992), Al-Batal (1992), and Younes (2006), and Alhawary (2013)).

The specific research questions that motivate this study are as follows:

1. What are the foreign language history, literacy and practices of the participants?
2. What are the challenges that the participants face in learning Arabic and how to tackle these challenges?

2. Methodology

2.1. Participants

In order to meet the selection criteria and achieve a sufficient range of variation and important issues in this study, I recruited six participants: three male students (Adam, John, and Raj) and three female students (Sara, Dana, and Kate) studying Arabic at a major U.S. Midwestern University. Participating students are referred to by pseudonyms. The students' ages ranged from 18 to 19 years. The average number of years that they had studied foreign languages in secondary school before studying at the university ranged from 2 to 3 years. Dana had studied the longest, whereas the other students had studied Arabic the shortest length of time (2 years). They all studied foreign languages in high schools and all of them were at the intermediate level of Arabic with different majors. Appendix A table summarizes students' foreign languages literacy and practices and field of specialization.

2.2. Data Source and Data Collection

To ensure the validity of the findings of the study, I used questionnaires, interviews, and observation as data collection methods to collect data. The information in appendix B table summarizes analytical procedure by research questions and data sources.

2.3. Participant observation

Observations of the teacher and the students took place in the classroom and lab. I attended classes where the participants of this research were enrolled. The class meetings took place from Monday to Friday. As I was interested in eliciting more information from the students, I became more immersed in the research by meeting the participants every Friday from 3 p.m. to 5 p.m. The sessions took place over a 10 week period. It was a group activity that required from the students to come up with questions to the group about what they did not comprehend in class. It was a good opportunity to follow the participants' progress and see how they interacted. I chose to observe this activity every Friday because the participants felt more comfortable to discuss the challenges they faced in learning Arabic at the group meeting. During this group meeting, I volunteered to assist them on Arabic related work. I had the opportunity to take in depth look how they managed to write, speak, read and listen, and what strategies they used. The advantage of the regular and Friday meetings enabled me to record what I observed in field notes.

2.4. Interviews

I interviewed students and the teacher individually. Additionally, I had the opportunity to interview the students' former teachers. I practiced the following sequences when I conducted the interviews. I first interviewed the students to get some sense about their basic background and literacy practices in Arabic. The speakers were first asked simple questions that required them to talk about their family background. I asked them questions that represented areas of special interest or familiarity to them. Generally speaking, the students were asked to provide information about the reasons and motives for learning Arabic. They were also asked about their learning history in the past and how fluent they were. In addition, they were asked to tell their strengths and weaknesses in learning Arabic. The sample chief questions that I asked students revolved around the challenges that they faced in speaking, reading, listening and writing, and what characterized a good learner in these skills. From the sample interview queries, I was looking for the methods the students received in Arabic learning, classroom activities, and how they cope with the difficulties they faced. Sample interview questions are provided in appendix C.

I also interviewed the students' current teacher. The interview was conducted after I finished with the students. The aim of the interview is to find out how many orientations and workshops the teacher has been through. The teacher was asked to provide information about his experience in teaching Arabic. He was also asked about topics related to the teaching methodology he was using in class and the challenges that his students faced and how he helped them to overcome those challenges. Questions

about the teacher's perception of the book assigned were also asked. Sample teacher interview questions are provided in appendix D.

2.5. Data analysis

The analysis of the data obtained from questionnaires, observation, interviews and field note followed the method recommended by methodologists such as Bogdan and Bicklen (2003). I coded the data and searched throughout the data for regularities and patterns as well as for the topics they covered. I wrote down words and phrases to represent these topics and develop them in a list of coding categories. After generating preliminary coding categories, I tried to assign them to the data in order to discover their usefulness. These codes encompassed topics for which I had most substantiation to explore. After I developed the coding categories, I made a list and assigned each one a number as this is helpful in facilitating memorization of the coding system. This exercise resulted in different categories such as reasons and goals for learning Arabic and the problems faced in learning it. The choice of these categories is due to their frequent use by the respondents. I also looked for patterns and relationship from categories.

3. Findings and discussion

The first question sought to discover the foreign languages students learned in the past and how they contributed or hindered the learning of Arabic. Students' responses to this question have shown that the study of commonly taught languages such as French, German, and Spanish have maintained a viable position in foreign language programs. History and availability of certified instructors have rendered these languages the most commonly taught languages. The participating students in this study had been exposed to at least one commonly taught language in high school. Adam learned Spanish and German. John, Raj, and Kate studied French. Sara and Dana took Spanish. However, this success in foreign languages did not extend to less commonly taught languages such as Arabic. Nothing prepared the students for a Semitic, structurally different language. In fact, the history of Arabic teaching in the USA is bound with the study of the Bible and the emergence of Semitic studies (Allen, 1992). Ryding (2006) pointed out that Arabic was taught early in the United States, having been added to the offerings of Harvard University's courses in Semitic languages (Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Syriac) between 1654 and 1672. In a similar vein, McCarus (1992: 207) noted that "This became the typical pattern, instituting first Hebrew and cognate languages and then Arabic soon after." McCarus explained that Arabic was being taught in the USA over a century before the signing of Declaration Independence. It was introduced to complement the study of Hebrew and the Old Testament.

When students come to Arabic classes, they encountered dilemmas and were surprised with the degree of difficulty they experienced with the Arabic language in comparison to their prior foreign language learning. They were surprised to find that they had to master a new structure which was completely different from the system of English and the languages they were exposed to in high school. Therefore, anxiety tends to be high among

students of Arabic in the first year. Beliefs and attitudes have a strong effect on learning a language. Arabic has a reputation among U.S. students for being difficult to learn (Elkhafaifi 2005). The research data provide a strong supporting evidence and confirmation to the relationship between anxiety and the belief that Arabic is the most difficult language, especially when the students were asked about their perception of Arabic as a foreign language. It should be noted that research conducted in more commonly taught languages should be extended to less commonly taught languages as well. Since many U.S. students have the privilege to learn more commonly taught languages in high schools, this should also extend to Arabic. High schools should be double funded and encouraged to include Arabic in their curricula. It would be easier for students to learn Arabic in high school. A high school graduate with a background of Arabic structure would have the more potential to excel in learning Arabic at the university than a student who starts learning Arabic at the university. The number of high schools offering Arabic should be increased if we intend to prepare skilled students in Arabic who will be qualified to teach Arabic in the future. I also recommend that instructors of Arabic would develop an annual conventional with teachers of more commonly taught languages to exchange thoughts and ideas about the difficulties that the students are facing. The success in foreign languages teaching and learning should extend to Arabic through the participation in orientations and workshops. Arabic will never thrive if teachers of Arabic do not collaborate with other teachers of the commonly taught languages, who have more experience in teaching and have maintained a viable position in foreign language programs. There is no doubt that from this dynamic relationship, interaction and cooperation, there will be benefits to the whole language learning field.

4. Challenges and recommendations

The findings showed that Arabic is complex and posed a serious challenge to the participants. There are many differences between Arabic and English which would predict that second language learners of Arabic would experience difficulty in learning Arabic. Grammatically, it pales in comparison with some of the world's languages (Belnap 2006). Students were to master new system, which differed from English and the languages they learned in high school. The participants faced difficulties in Arabic morphology. They had problems with case, definiteness, word order, and the number system, among others. Given the peculiarities of the languages students learned in high school and English, the students seemed to benefit from their L1 and L2 closeness and similarities. They were able to draw on English at many levels. However, they did not profit much from their educational background when learning Arabic because Arabic is a non-cognate language (Hamdaoui 2006). The findings of the present study are similar to other studies regarding the difficulty caused by constructions which are different in Arabic and English.

There is also abundant of evidence of English influence in learning Arabic. The specific errors found reinforce the evidence of native language interference. Students' proficiency of Arabic was poor. They had problems in expressing themselves. It is also quite likely that the writing system of Arabic

played a major role in the estimation of the amount of time needed to acquire it. The Arabic alphabet presents major challenges for U.S. students in the first stages of Arabic learning. Letters take different forms according to their positions in words. Also, short vowels are not part of the word as they are in English and many words in Arabic have different meanings according to the difference in their vowels though they have the same consonants. Since texts are not always vocalized, this may lead to students' confusion.

The participants expressed more concerns about their vocabulary limitations. Even Dana, who is a student of Arabic descent, expressed concern about the vocabulary limitation. Finding the equivalent word in Arabic was her biggest obstacle. Students' struggle in finding the appropriate vocabulary reflects the marginality of vocabulary teaching in the Arabic curricula. This marginal attention to vocabulary was noted in the observed class. The vocabulary was explained in a non-context. The vocabulary building in the observed class consisted of learning a certain number of words for a certain number of days. They were presented in isolation and not in meaningful contexts so that students can use them. The vocabulary lesson was conducted in the manner that required students to memorize the meaning. Contextualization of vocabulary is very important in helping learners retain the new words. Effective communication in language relies on the possession of adequate and contextualized vocabulary. Further suggested recommendations about vocabulary teaching are explored and elaborated below.

4.1. Recommendations for Teaching Vocabulary

Despite its importance to the learning of Arabic at large, vocabulary remains less emphasized in most Arabic classes. The teaching of vocabulary building in the observed class consisted of learning a certain number of words for a certain number of days. As state above, students interviewed complained how difficult it was to retain and use the vocabulary in meaningful sentences. They pointed that the vocabularies were presented to them in isolation and not in meaningful contexts so that they could use them. Students' voices should be beneficial for Arabic teachers to re-consider the way they teach Arabic vocabulary. The Arabic teaching profession needs to address the dire need for studies addressing various aspects of the vocabulary learning process (Al-Batal 2006).

The Arabic teachers should present activities such as role play, games, and discussions to facilitate the use of learned vocabulary. For example, if a teacher wants the students to use certain learned vocabulary, he or she should introduce a conversation where that vocabulary is used in meaningful sentences and where all students participate in class. The teacher also should use pictures in teaching and reviewing certain vocabularies. Students should be taught words in their contextual contexts and be encouraged to use them. Using vocabulary in their contextual context is the best way to make the language more functional and learning more lasting. Through my experience in teaching Arabic, I noticed that whenever vocabulary is taught in context, the students learned it better and retained it much larger than they studied it as isolated words. It takes time for students of Arabic to retain vocabulary easily because of the nature of the Arabic

language and the absence of cognate words such that exists, for instance, between English and French, which makes very hard for the speaker of English to retain. However, though vocabulary lessons are important in the learning process, the teacher should not prioritize them over other linguistic aspects.

4.2. Recommendations for Dealing with Diglossia

Although the question of binary distinction between Standard Arabic and Spoken Arabic varieties has been posed ever since the teaching of Arabic began in the United States, it is far from having reached a consensus even in the Arab World. The issue of diglossia is not merely a linguistic one, but a political and national one as well. It mirrors the conflict in some Arab countries between Standard Arabic advocates who associate Standard Arabic with pan-Arab nationalism and the colloquial Arabic supporters who see the colloquial Arabic as marker of national identity (Zouhir, 2008).

It has been demonstrated that diglossia poses a great challenge to U.S. students learning Arabic. The differences between the everyday colloquial language and the standard written language are vast and problematic. Even though it is true that the systems of Standard Arabic and the Arabic dialects are closely related and show a considerable amount of overlapping in vocabulary, they are nonetheless two different systems. Many students are sometimes surprised to discover that they must master two languages, which would take them longer to learn than is the case for many other languages. Students felt frustrated and disappointed when they faced and experienced the realities of the diglossic situation in Arab countries and any endeavor to speak Standard Arabic with Arabs usually ends with unsatisfactory outcomes and expectations. It is worth quoting the challenges that some participants face when they travel to Arab countries. Adam's following email extract proved the point:

[...] When I first arrived and tried to speak Modern Standard Arabic with people, many people did not understand or only understood after a few repetitions. The Cairene dialect is significantly different from Modern Standard Arabic and only more educated know Modern Standard Arabic well. Although Cairene Arabic has a lot of differences from Modern Standard Arabic, it has a lot in common, obviously. Half the battle is just remembering to pronounce "qaf" like a "hamza," "jim like a "g", etc. The conjugation patterns are different from Modern Standard Arabic, but the differences follow an obvious pattern, so it is not too hard. It takes practice.

Kate also had the opportunity to visit Egypt as part of study abroad program. She experienced difficulties in communicating with local people using Standard Arabic. Kate reported that the Standard Arabic she learned was helpful to her in writing, reading, and listening only. She described her first experience when she had a chance to use Arabic in an authentic situation:

Since I had never taken Egyptian Arabic it was hard communicating with people in Egypt. It was difficult speaking with taxi drivers and waiters especially. Many times I would try and speak Standard Arabic and the taxi drivers would not understand. At restaurants I picked up on a few Egyptian Arabic words. Most waiters spoke a little English. So using the little Egyptian Arabic I knew and some English I was able to order. At the university where I studied I used Standard Arabic and most everyone understood. However, when speaking with college students from other universities in Cairo I had a hard time speaking with them in Standard Arabic. Although they knew it they were unable to talk with me using Standard Arabic. The most challenging thing I faced in Egypt was improving my Standard Arabic skills and trying to speak with local Egyptians. I did not take an Egyptian Arabic course because I was not sure if I should continue to focus on Standard Arabic until I become fluent. Overall, I think learning to speak Arabic is the hardest part because even though I lived in Egypt for 4 months there weren't many opportunities outside of the classroom to speak Modern Standard Arabic. As for learning Egyptian Arabic I was not sure if it was worth taking instead of taking a Standard Arabic course because any time I go to another country Egyptian Arabic will not be used. The Standard Arabic I learned here was helpful when reading, writing, and listening to the news. It was definitely important but it would have been nice to have a crash course in Egyptian Arabic before I went.

Teachers of Arabic as a foreign language are continuously faced with the question of which variety to teach. The majority of teachers in U.S. universities are from different Arab countries and they brought with them preferences of their own regional dialect and biases towards the other Arabic dialects. It is common to hear that a certain variety of Arabic dialect is closer to Standard Arabic than the other and every teacher should normally prefer to teach his or her dialect thinking that it is the closest variety to Standard Arabic.

Though it is true that diglossia poses a great challenge to the learners of Arabic, some linguists refused to accept any interpretation of the Arabic language situation as problematic because Arabic is not the only language with this diglossic nature (Steven, 2006). Along this line, I reject the assumption that the Arabic language situation is unique, unparalleled, and different from other language communities. Arabic diglossia should not be looked as a problem. It is useful and realistic for learners to master speaking a colloquial Arabic. Language reality in the Arab World shows that oral communication using a colloquial variety is important because it is an integral part of the linguistic repertoire of speakers of Arabic and used naturally in a large set of social situations. Many more students than before are taking Arabic classes to communicate with Arabs while abroad. If the goal of the Arabic programs is to prepare students for real proficiency, then the country the students plan to visit dictates the Arabic dialect to be taught in the classroom. If we accept such a conclusion, the question of whether to

start teaching Standard Arabic first and the colloquial or vice versa is not that important. Both approaches are effective if students' interests are taken into consideration.

4.3. Textbook Recommendations

Despite the surge in the number of students learning Arabic, textbooks designed to teach Arabic are deficient in several areas. The majority of universities use different books. There is a competition among Arabic textbooks, which leads to the absence of authors who strive to produce outstanding Arabic books. Some of these books do not have clear plans for equipping students with necessary linguistic tools to build up confidence to speak Arabic fluently. Even the books which claim to have such plans are often judged to be not well organized in material presentation. It is likely that the difficulties that students face in learning Arabic may result more from poor textbooks without efficient methods than from actual difficulties inherent in the Arabic language itself.

Some Arabic teachers might not be able to determine which book to use because the textbook they choose may have been predetermined for them. In fact, it is the teachers themselves who should shape the textbook and mold it to fit their teaching methods and style. They should select the vocabulary and structures that their students need when they try to write a textbook. Learning is most likely to take place when students perceive that the content and activities are relevant to their interests and goals. In view of this, students need to be consulted about the books that equip them with necessary vocabulary and that they can use in communication. From the teacher's voice and the learning outcomes, it is clear that there is a dire need for more research and better textbooks.

4.4. Recommendations for Students' Participation

The success of class participation depends to a great extent on the choice of topics and the involvement of all students in class participation. To help students accomplish this task, teachers as facilitators should create a classroom atmosphere that is conducive to the participation of all students in class. Cooperating with peers requires the students to work together on activities toward a common goal using games and simulations that encourage interactions among students. They should be encouraged to learn in groups and to learn from each others' mistakes. Furthermore, the relationship between instructors and students is important in the process of learning Arabic. Teachers should be aware that teaching students in a traditional fashion without involving them in the decision making process can dramatically cause a negative impact on students' overall performance in Arabic. Also, the power relation inherent between the teacher and the students in the classroom might impact learning.

The instructor should present the process of teaching Arabic in most pleasant classroom atmosphere. A feeling for social solidarity is required and the teaching style should reflect a non authoritative attitude. The total involvement of the students throughout the learning process is the principal factor underlying the success of any class. In that framework, learning becomes a dynamic process in which the students play an active role. The

instruction should focus on the learner-centered perspective with a wide variety of activities offered in class, which would encourage the students to actively participate. It is quite likely that this will successfully be achieved in small classes. Participation of all students, especially those who are shy or not motivated, can be even harder to expect in crowded classes. My observation regarding the impact of big Arabic classes suggested that this type of classes is not very conducive to promoting students' participations and student-students interactions.

4.5. The Need for Authenticity

Learning is generated through social interaction. With limited exposure to the authentic situations where the use of the target language takes place, learning tends to be slower and difficult. Therefore, the authenticity of the teaching materials is a subject of consideration. The outcomes of this current study support the claim that there were very rare occasions for the participants to have direct contact with Arabs. Though there are many international students from Arab countries working, visiting, and studying in the university where this research was conducted, the participants tended to speak with them in English because of the Arabic colloquial barriers. In order to respond to the non authenticity of Arabic classes, Arabic programs should take practical steps to include authentic teaching environment into their curriculum. This can be achieved through exchange with students of Arab universities and regular communication with them through meetings and teleconferencing. The Arabic language program should encourage students to apply for study abroad. This helps the students to access opportunities for Arabic literacy development outside the classroom realistically and in authentic situations. Since learning is not merely a linguistic endeavor, teachers should be encouraged to host exchange students from other Arab countries to their universities. Ironically, as interest among Arab students for study in the United States has arisen, students flow abroad have steadily decreased since the events of September 11. This is due to the greater difficulties for Arab students to obtain visas (Coffman 1996). Therefore, alternative strategies should be evolved in order to help Arab students to visit U.S. universities for study and research. Other useful suggestions include sending students to Arabic immersion and summer programs in U.S. universities.

4.6. The Need for Qualified Teachers

It is fair to say that advances in second language teaching occurred in more commonly taught languages before they did in less commonly taught languages such as Arabic. There was no tradition of pedagogy in Arabic and the teaching materials were not satisfactory. Also, the teaching of Arabic in large classes has posed a controversial issue in several Arab programs because they were not enough teachers. Despite the heightened interest in Arabic in U.S. universities, the need for trained teachers of Arabic outweighs the supply. The limited budget does not allow the university to fill up sufficient teaching vacancies that would make teaching of Arabic in small classes plausible. Therefore students are jammed in a class and teaching assistants or part-timers are hired to teach. Being a native or having native

fluency in Arabic is sometimes the only quality sought in the Arabic language teacher. These teaching assistants and part-timers are not necessarily language specialists and they are already overburdened by diverse responsibilities other than teaching. They do not have opportunities to attend workshops and orientations where they can hone their teaching skills and the materials used for teaching Arabic were not selected in accordance to the program curriculum. They need basic pedagogical training in teaching Arabic. Such training will introduce teachers of Arabic to principles of language teaching, preparing syllabi, and classroom management. Ideally, teachers would have the opportunity to prepare lessons under the supervision of experienced teachers. To support this point, Al-Batal and Belnap (2006) suggested micro-teaching that provide less experienced Arabic language teachers the opportunity to observe experienced teachers in action and prepare lessons under their guidance and supervision. Therefore, only teachers with special training in teaching foreign languages and with a special understanding of Arabic should be hired to teach the language. Only well trained teachers who showed interest and validity in foreign language teaching should be considered in hiring. Well trained teachers who project their vitality in foreign language instruction seem to retain a greater number of learners than do the other teachers (Kara 1976). Many U.S. students seem to see Arabic as the most difficult language to learn. If there were controlled teaching conditions and qualified Arabic teachers, it is unlikely that this standing belief will remain.

The need for teachers who can integrate technology in the teaching learning process is very pressing. Teachers should benefit from recent technology by going beyond the most practical use of technology in the lab only. Without systematic use of technology in class, teachers cannot enhance the traditional methods of teaching Arabic that prevailed in several Arabic programs.

5. Conclusions

The findings of this study indicated that the Arabic learning outcomes are influenced by a large number of factors. Some of these factors fell within established pedagogical framework and some are due to the nature of Arabic and the learning environment. To respond to such problems, I have proposed some recommendations for teaching and learning Arabic. My attempt is to place Arabic within the fold of other foreign languages rather than to keep it outside that milieu, like some exotic plant. It is important to note that without further systematic research involving both theoretical and empirical studies, the field of Arabic teaching and learning will never develop to serve the needs of teachers and students appropriately and effectively.

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Appendices

APPENDIX A

*Table 1
Students' Foreign Language Learning Literacy and Academic Background Information*

Features	Students' pseudonyms					
	Dana	Sara	Kate	Adam	Raj	John
Age	19	18	19	18	18	18
Major	International Studies	Political Science	International Studies	Anthropology	International Studies	Political Science
Ethnicity	Arabic	Pakistani and Italian	Caucasian	Caucasian	Indian	Caucasian
Foreign languages spoken and level of fluency	Palestinian Arabic (good)	Spanish (fluent)	French (fair)	Spanish (fluent)	Hindi (fluent)	Spanish (fluent)
	Spanish (fair)	Urdu (fair)		German (low)	French (low)	German (low)
		Pashtu (low)		Hindi (fair)		
			French (fair)			
Number of years learning Arabic	3	2	2	2	2	2
Perception of Arabic as a Semitic language	Difficult in speaking	Difficult	Difficult	Difficult	Difficult	Difficult

APPENDIX B

Table 2
Analytical Procedures by Research Questions and Data Sources

Research Questions	Data Resource		
	Interviews	Classroom Observations	Assessment
What are the foreign languages history, literacy and practices of these 6 students?	<p>Conduct interviews with the students.</p> <p>Ask students how they had learned to read, listen, speak and write in the languages they spoke.</p> <p>Ask them what characterizes a good speaker, writer, listener, and reader of a language.</p> <p>Conduct 3 interviews with students, and 1 interview with the teacher</p>	<p>Observe students in class.</p> <p>Look for how students participated in class. How they completed homework and assignments</p>	Examine students' answers to the interview questions

Research Questions	Data Resource		
	Interviews	Classroom Observations	Assessment
What are the challenges that students face in learning Arabic?	<p>Conduct 3 interviews with students, and 1 interview with the teacher</p> <p>Ask students about their perception of the curriculum, the book and the teaching materials used in class/ how they get support from their teacher/ which learning skill they find more challenging/ strengths and weaknesses of their teacher/ whether the teacher uses Arabic or English in teaching/ whether the teacher demonstrates a thorough knowledge of the subject.</p> <p>Interview the teacher about his experience in teaching/ about the difficulties students mostly find in learning Arabic/ about the book assigned and the teaching</p>	<p>Conduct 10-17 class observations.</p> <p>Observe students as they participate in class/ as they do drill and classroom activities individually and in groups.</p> <p>Observe the classroom as a context for learning and testing</p> <p>Look for formal learning processes/ what is taught in class/ how it is taught/ which language used in instruction/ interaction patterns (students/students and teacher/ students interaction)/ opportunities for</p>	<p>Analyze students' responses to assigned test.</p> <p>Examine students' homework, quizzes and exams.</p> <p>Assess the book and teaching materials.</p>

materials/ about the strengths and weakness of the students/ about the number of quizzes assigned during the semester/ About the grading system and students' grades.

Research Questions	Data Resource		
	Interviews	Classroom Observations	Assessment
What factors influence Arabic learning and teaching?	<p>Conduct 3 interviews with the students and one interview with the teacher.</p> <p>Ask the students about classroom management/ teacher's organization/ tests design and level of difficulty.</p> <p>Ask students about their attitudes towards Arabs and the Arabic language/ their motivation in class/ whether they feel nervous during exams/ whether they take the exam in comfortable classroom context/ about the level of difficulty of tests and their design/ test length/ whether they prefer take home or in class exams.</p> <p>Interview the teacher about the tests design and construct/ ask about the length and validity of the tests/ about students' scores in tests taken in class and take home exams/ students participation and motivation in class/ students' absence/ punctuality/ their seriousness/ about the physical surroundings in class (light, noise, comfort, and so forth)</p>	<p>Conduct 10-17 observations</p> <p>Observe students participation in class.</p> <p>Observe the organization of the classroom and physical surrounding such as light and comfort in class/ class suitability for exam taking/ whether there is any distracting noise inside and outside the classroom/ students interaction patterns/ observe students taking exam.</p> <p>Observe teacher teaching and proctoring students during exams.</p> <p>Observe the teacher's behavior towards the students</p>	<p>Examine students' responses to the interview questions.</p> <p>Assess the assigned test.</p>

Table 2 is a summative display of what data sources were used, and how to analyze the data to answer each research question. The complete details of the data sources and data collection procedures are described as follows:

APPENDIX C

SAMPLE STUDENTS' INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1) Why did you choose to learn Arabic?
- 2) What do you think about learning Arabic? How important it is to you?
- 3) Do your parents know you are taking Arabic? Do they support you to learn it?
- 4) How long have you been studying Arabic?
- 5) Tell me about your learning history of languages in the past. Which languages did you take?
- 6) How fluent are you in these languages?
- 7) What are your memories of success/failures in learning these languages?
- 8) Do you remember the first day you studied Arabic. Tell me about that experience.
- 9) What are your strengths and weaknesses in learning Arabic?
- 10) How many hours do you spend studying Arabic in the university and at home?
- 11) Which learning skill (i.e. reading, writing, speaking or listening) do you find more difficult?
- 12) How do you cope with your learning difficulties?
- 13) Have you even talked with your teacher or classmates about the difficulties you are facing in learning Arabic?
- 14) How often do you see your teacher in office hours?
- 15) Tell me about the teaching materials you are using in class.
- 16) Do you have a lot of assignments?
- 17) Tell me how you cope with these assignments. Do you work alone or with friends? Do you get support from parents or friends?
- 18) How do you read? What strategies do you use? (Do you read everything or just skim and summarize?)
- 19) Do you think you are a good reader of Arabic? What characterize a good reader?
- 20) How do you write? What strategies do you use in writing? (Do you write main ideas first and develop them or you directly write?)
- 21) Do you think you are a good writer of Arabic? What characterizes a good writer?
- 22) How do you listen? What strategies do you use in listening? (Do you take notes while listening?)
- 23) Do you think you are a good listener of Arabic? What characterizes a good listener?
- 24) Do you have the opportunity to use Arabic a lot? Tell me the opportunity when and where you use Arabic?
- 25) Do you think you are a good speaker of Arabic? What characterizes a good speaker?
- 26) Do you learn a lot in class? What do you learn?
- 27) Tell me about the common classroom activities? Do you participate a lot in class?

APPENDIX D

SAMPLE TEACHER'S INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. When and where did you first start teaching Arabic?
2. How long have you been teaching Arabic?
3. Can you tell me about the goals of teaching Arabic?
4. Have you ever attended any teaching orientation and participated in video critiques of teaching Arabic?
5. What is your preferred method of teaching Arabic? Do you think it is effective? Please state your reasons.
6. From your experience what teaching methods do most teachers use? Why do they use that method?
7. How many students do you have?
8. What have you noticed about your students' attitude and motivation in class?
9. What do you think about Alkitaab that is assigned for this class? Why did you recommend it?
10. In your experience, what are the biggest challenges that students of the Arabic program face in using this book?
11. How would you help your students face these challenges?
12. How do you follow your students' progress?
13. How many students stop by your office?
14. How many times per week do you assign homework to your students?
15. How many quizzes do you assign per semester?
16. Do you use other materials besides the book Alkitaab? If so, what are they?
17. Do you test students in the four learning skills (i.e. reading, writing, listening, and speaking)? Tell me how you rate the overall learning skills.
18. Other than homework, what do you encourage your students to read or do?
19. What have you noticed about your students' homework and assignment with respect to their Arabic literacy skills?
20. What are some of the constraints you face in teaching Arabic?
21. How do you deal with the Arabic diglossia in class?
22. If you are given the choice to use a dialect in class, which Arabic dialect will you choose? Why?
23. Do you use technology in teaching and what do you think about the use of technology in learning and teaching Arabic?
24. Which teaching activities do you use in reading, listening, speaking, and writing?
25. What do you view as strengths/weaknesses of U.S. students to study Arabic?
26. In your opinion, are you pleased with the present situation of the Arabic learning-teaching process? Please state your reasons.
27. Based on your experience and interaction with the students, what do you think can be done to improve Arabic learning for U.S. students?

The attitudes of students in the Northwest of England towards Mandarin Chinese and their intercultural sensitivity

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Abstract

This paper reports on a study of the attitudes of a group of university students towards Mandarin Chinese and on the development of their intercultural sensitivity through the learning of the language. Of the 56 students who were attending a university in the Northwest of England, 22 were British-born Chinese, studying Chinese as a heritage language (CHL), while the others were learners of Chinese as a foreign language (CFL). They were asked to complete a questionnaire, which consisted of three sets of questions. The results indicate that the majority of informants were instrumentally motivated to learn Chinese. Interestingly, both CHL and CFL learners agreed that learning Chinese provides a way to interact and identify with Chinese people. Although CFL learners tended to perceive Chinese both as more aesthetic and more difficult than CHL learners did, all informants considered it an aesthetic yet difficult language according to the average ratings for each group. In terms of cultural sensitivity, the findings suggest that both CHL and CFL learners develop intercultural sensitivity by being made aware of appropriate behaviours in the collectivistic Chinese culture.

Keywords: Chinese, attitudes, instrumental motivation, integrative motivation, intercultural sensitivity

1. Introduction

Chinese is the language spoken by the largest population in the world (Moore, 2001, p. 7). The estimated number of native Chinese speakers reached 1.1 billion by the end of the 20th century, and the number of young native speakers (aged 15-24) is expected to reach 166 million by 2050 (Graddol, 2004). However, in terms of second language acquisition, the Chinese language is perceived as one of the most difficult languages to learn. This is likely because the language is the product of one of world's oldest civilisations (Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the State Council, 2009, p. 3) and because its characteristics differ greatly from those of the Roman and Germanic languages (Liu, 2009; Zhang, 2010b). Therefore, it is not surprising that learners of Chinese as a foreign language (henceforth CFL) report experiencing certain difficulties and obstacles when studying the language (Liu, 2009; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009).

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Despite the challenges of studying Chinese, there has been a steady increase in the number of CFL learners, due in no small part to Chinese government support via the ever-expanding network of Confucius institutes and Confucius classrooms worldwide.¹ By the end of 2009, there were 282 Confucius Institutes and 272 Confucius Classrooms across 88 countries. The HSK (*Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi*, Chinese Language Proficiency Test), the Mandarin Chinese equivalent of the International English Language Testing System (IELTS), has witnessed “an annual increase in examinees of about 40–50%” (Gill & Huang, 2006, p. 18). Meanwhile, enrolment of international students in China increased by 30% to 41,000 between 1993 and 1996 (Chinese Ministry of Education [CME], 2011). This number continues to rise and the year 2007 saw the number of foreign students in China grow dramatically to 195,503 (CME, 2008). In addition, more than 75% of international students went to China to study a range of academic disciplines, such as Chinese language, arts, history, philosophy, and traditional Chinese medicine (Gill & Huang, 2006, p. 18). Given this growing global interest in learning Mandarin Chinese, the current study sets out to explore the attitudes of CFL learners towards the Chinese language.

At the same time that Chinese language learning has become more popular around the world, there has also been a rise in emigration from China. The current study defines learners of Chinese as a Heritage Language (hereafter CHL) as those learners “who see Chinese with a particular family relevance and who are English-dominant with no or limited reading/writing ability in Chinese” (He, 2006, p. 1). In other words, CHL learners are usually the later generations descended from Chinese immigrants. The expansion of Chinese communities worldwide has led to a rise in the number of CHL learners. Since the early 20th century, generations of Chinese people have left home to study or live in almost every major European country. The Chinese population in Europe grew from 14,000 in 1955 to 1,144,000 by 2007 (Li & Li, 2011). In the United Kingdom, the Chinese population experienced an average annual increase of 18.1% between 1955 and 1982 (Poston & Yu, 1990). As a result, it is unsurprising that the UK is considered to be “one of the countries that have hosted the largest Chinese communities in Europe” (Zhang, 2005). For historical reasons, up until the 1980s the Chinese community in the UK mainly consisted of Chinese from Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaysia (Pieke, 1998, p. 8). However, the composition of the Chinese community has been changing over the past three decades. In contrast to the late 19th-century demand for oriental labour during the expansion of industry, advanced industrialised countries such as the UK are nowadays in need of professional and technical workers thanks to the emergence of the new or information-based economy (Li & Li, 2011). Furthermore, the Chinese government tends to adopt relatively relaxed policies in relation to emigration and overseas Chinese, which clearly supports students and scholars from mainland China in studying abroad and guarantees their freedom to both leave the country and to return (Yao, 2004). As a result of these different factors, the later immigrants from Mainland China had usually completed tertiary education and emigrated from localities without a strong tradition of migration. It is very likely that they insist on using Mandarin rather than Cantonese in order to distinguish

themselves from Cantonese-speaking groups (Nyiri, 1999, p. 14), which might consequently influence and determine their children's linguistic choices. The present study aims to identify the perceptions of a group of CHL learners towards Chinese and to investigate potential parental influence on their attitudes towards the language.

2. Motivation and Intercultural Sensitivity

According to a survey of and interviews with a group of students attending a university in the Northwest of England between 2008 and 2009, it appears that a considerable number of British students learn Chinese for pragmatic reasons, such as to improve their employment prospects (Zhang, 2010a). This instrumental motivation refers to the potential pragmatic gains to be made from studying a language (Dornyei, 2009a; Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Gardner, 1991). Generally speaking, language learners are believed to benefit from learning this language when they are instrumentally motivated.

However, previous research shows that the parents of CHL learners usually perceive and value Chinese as a means of preserving their cultural identity (Bullo-Alos & Wang, 2009; Lao, 2004; Wu, 2005; Zhang, 2005; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). They typically regard Chinese as particularly aesthetic (Bullo-Alos & Wang, 2009) and become actively involved in passing it on to the next generation, for instance by sending their children to Chinese weekend schools (Bullo-Alos & Wang, 2009; Lawton & Logio, 2009; M. Li, 2005). Therefore, the current study explores whether this parental attitude could influence their children as CHL learners. If CHL learners also demonstrate that they learn Chinese in order to preserve their cultural identity, it could be concluded that they tend to be integratively motivated to study Chinese (Gardner, 1991; Gardner & Lambert, 1972). In other words, integrative motivation indicates the desire of language learners to become close to a valued language community and to interact with the members of this community (Dornyei, 2009a). In the UK, which is one of the European countries with the largest Chinese population (Li & Li, 2011; Poston & Yu, 1990; Zhang, 2005), there is a lack of information on whether second-generation immigrants perceive Chinese language as a means of ethnic identity retention.

Indeed, describing the construction of second language learning motivation has moved away from a traditional instrumental/integrative dichotomy towards the framework of an "L2 Motivational Self System" (Dornyei, 2009a & b). Broadly speaking, this new approach has contributed to the research into motivation for foreign language learning when the learners have no direct contact with the language speakers and, consequently, integration into the target language and community becomes unclear or even meaningless. For example, English is taught as a foreign language in Japan and China, which are relatively monolingual countries in comparison with multilingual settings such as Canada. In the context of the global spread of English, it might prove difficult to define the "specific target reference group of speakers" and ownership of the English language (Ushioda & Dornyei, 2009, p. 2). As a result, it is ambiguous to interpret an "integrative" motivation among Chinese or Japanese learners of English language

"because it is not quite clear what the target of the integration is, and in many language learning environments it simply does not make much sense" (Dornyei & Ushioda, 2009, p. 23). However, the current study will apply the concept of integrative motivation to the participating second-generation Chinese immigrants. Even though they were born and grew up in the UK, the possible target of integration for these learners of Mandarin Chinese is to get closer to the Chinese culture and community from which their parents originated.

It is naturally difficult to differentiate culture from language since they are usually tightly interwoven (Jiang, 2000; Risager, 2006, p. 6). Moreover, Chinese culture is considerably different from Western cultures, especially in terms of individualism (Ardichvili, Maurer, Li, Wentling, & Stuedemann, 2006; Chow, Deng, & Ho 2000; Michailova & Hutchings, 2006). It is therefore worthwhile investigating whether Chinese language learners develop greater intercultural sensitivity while studying the language.

One of the four dimensions² of a national culture established by Hofstede (1980), the individualism index is used to measure the integration of individuals into primary groups (Hofstede, 2009) and is defined as "the extent to which the interests of the individual are considered to be more important than the interests of the group" (Davis, 1999, p. 230). A high individualism index indicates that individuals have relatively loose ties with each other and that people primarily look after themselves and maybe also their immediate family. On the other hand, a low individualism index often occurs in collectivistic societies where people are, from birth onwards, tightly integrated "into collectivities or ingroups which may be their extended family [and] [e]verybody is supposed to look after the interest of his or her ingroup and to have no other opinions and beliefs than the opinions and beliefs in their ingroup" (Hofstede, 1983, p. 79). In spite of the criticisms of Hofstede's (1980) model (e.g. Mansour et al., 2006; McSweeney, 2002b; Signorini, Wiesemes, & Murphy, 2009), it is recognised as the most comprehensive and widely cited national cultural framework (Chandy & Williams, 1994; Kogut & Singh, 1988; McSweeney, 2002a; Williamson, 2002).

China is generally ranked as having a highly collectivist culture (Michailova & Hutchings, 2006), whereas the UK is ranked as the nation with the third highest individualism index (Hofstede, 2001, p. 215). Owing to the relevant difference in collectivism/individualism between the UK, where the participants grew up and have been living, and China, whose national language they were studying, the current study investigates the intercultural sensitivity of Chinese language learners by examining their understanding of the different ways in which they might be expected to behave in a collectivistic culture. Thus the study explores whether an awareness of the collectivistic aspects of Chinese culture is one of the outcomes of learning Chinese.

The current study intends to explore learners' attitudes, from the points of view of motivations and intercultural awareness in language studies. The hypotheses are as follows:

(a) CHL and CFL learners tend to be motivated to study Chinese for practical reasons (i.e. their attitudes towards Chinese illustrate that they have high levels of instrumental motivation);

- (b) similar to the perceptions of CHL learners' parents, both CHL and CFL consider it an aesthetic yet difficult language;
- (c) in line with previous studies, CHL learners tend to perceive Chinese as a marker of their cultural identity, and consequently have higher integrative motivation for studying Chinese than CFL learners;
- (d) both CHL and CFL learners develop intercultural sensitivity by being aware of appropriate behaviours in the collectivistic Chinese culture.

3. Research design

This section will first provide details regarding the backgrounds of the subjects. It then moves on to the description of the three parts of the questionnaire employed in data collection.

3.1. Participants

A total of 56 students attending a university in the Northwest of England participated in this study. The group consisted of 23 male and 33 female participants aged 18–24, studying Mandarin Chinese as an elective module (see Table 1).

	Male	Female	Total
CHL Learners	12	10	22
CFL Learners	10	23	33
Missing Data	1	0	1
Total	23	33	56

Table 1: Distribution of participants according to gender and CHL/CFL

Although 22 participants claim or trace an origin from China and are able to speak – but not read or write – Chinese dialects such as Cantonese or Hakka at various levels of proficiency, they all consider English their first language and had not learned or used Mandarin³ before they enrolled in the language programme. They fit into the definition of CHL learners formulated by He (2006, p. 1) and mentioned in Section 1.

All the participants were placed in a language class according to the previous level they had achieved or based on their results in a placement test. For example, if a participant had studied Beginners Mandarin in the previous academic year and passed the exam, he/she would progress into the Pre-Intermediate class. Although the CHL learners had not had any formal education in the Chinese language, they might have attended weekend schools before they entered university. For this reason, they were given a placement test in order to evaluate whether they should join Beginners for Cantonese/Hakka Speakers or be placed in Pre-Intermediate. Table 2 shows the distribution of participants in the current study according to their Mandarin Chinese proficiency levels.

Level	Number	Percentage
Beginners	18	32.1%
Beginners for Cantonese/Hakka Speakers	6	10.7%
Pre-Intermediate	11	19.6%
Intermediate	10	17.9%
Post-Intermediate	10	17.9%
Proficiency	1	1.8%

Table 2: Participants' Mandarin proficiency levels

More than 40% of the participants were at Beginners level, while just under 20% of participants fell into each of the Pre-Intermediate, Intermediate and Post-Intermediate levels, and only one participant was placed at Proficiency level. The distribution of participants also reflects the general tendency for the number of Chinese learners at each level: the higher the level gets, the smaller the number of students who continue to study the language and achieve the required level to progress. Since attitudes are very likely to be connected with people's linguistic knowledge (e.g. language proficiency) and cultural backgrounds (e.g. CHL or CFL), the current study will also look into the influence of their level of Mandarin proficiency on participants' attitudes.

3.2. Research method

The questionnaire employed in the current study consisted of three parts: (i) participants' background information; (ii) their evaluations of eight statements; and (iii) their responses to the 16-item intercultural sensitivity inventory. The first part of the questionnaire was used principally to collect ethnographic information on each participant, such as gender, Mandarin Chinese proficiency, their first language and their parents' first language(s), in order to divide the participants into CHL and CFL learners.

Of the eight statements in the second part of the questionnaire, four focused on the participants' attitudes towards the study of Chinese language in order to investigate their levels of instrumental motivation (hereafter InstruM) and/or integrative motivation (henceforth IntegM). These four statements were derived from interviews held with this group of students between 2008 and 2009. In the questionnaire, for example, participants were asked to evaluate on a 5-point Likert scale to what extent they would agree/disagree with statements such as "Knowing Mandarin Chinese will bring me better career opportunities" and "Speaking Mandarin Chinese can help me to interact or identify with Chinese people".⁴ The other four statements were designed to investigate whether the CHL learners would share their parents' attitudes about the aesthetic value of learning Chinese, which have been detailed in previous parental attitude studies (Bullo-Alos & Wang, 2009; Lao, 2004; Wu, 2005; Zhang, 2005; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009), or whether they would feel that the language is particularly difficult to learn (e.g. "Mandarin Chinese sounds nice" and "Chinese seems to be a difficult language to learn").⁵

The third section of the questionnaire consisted of 16 items dealing with individualism and collectivism from the 46-item Intercultural Sensitivity

Inventory (Bhawuk & Brislin, 1992; see Appendix A).⁶ The participants were instructed to “Imagine that you are living and working in China” and to indicate to what extent they would engage in certain behaviours in a collectivistic country such as China. The employment of these 16 items allows for examination of the participants’ sensitivity to the different behaviours which would be considered appropriate in a collectivistic culture. There are 7 individualistic items and 9 collectivistic ones. The assumption was that the participants would respond to collectivistic items with more agreement and to individualistic items with more disagreement if they considered themselves to be living and working in a collectivist society – i.e. China. Please note in relation to Appendix A that the letters ‘I’ and ‘C’ were not present in the original questionnaire. They have been included in Appendix A in order to illustrate clearly to the readers of this paper which items relate to individualism/collectivism.

4. Results

This section will present the results of the data analysis and offer discussions on these findings in the order of the Hypotheses (a)–(d) stated earlier. The general results for both CHL and CFL learners will be shown first and followed by the specific findings for CHL and CFL learners respectively. Table 3 shows the average ratings for the eight statements that were employed to investigate participants’ attitudes towards Chinese from four viewpoints: instrumental motivation for learning Chinese, integrative motivation for learning Chinese, the aesthetics of Chinese, the difficulty of Chinese.⁷ A paired samples t-test was used to assess the statistical significance of the difference between the mean ratings of any two statements. The existence of two significant differences was found: between the average ratings for InstruM and IntegM ($t=4.20$, $df=53$, $p=0.00$, <0.01), and between the average ratings for IntegM and Aesthetics ($t=3.77$, $df=53$, $p=0.00$, <0.01).

	Motivation	Mean	Std. Deviation
Instrumental Motivation (InstruM)	4.14	0.68 ($t=4.20$, $p<0.01$)	
Integrative Motivation (IntegM)	3.72	0.67 ($t=3.77$, $p<0.01$)	
Aesthetics	3.39	0.85	
Difficulty	3.36	0.81	

Table 3: Average ratings for the eight statements

The high ratings for statements relating to instrumental motivation indicate that both CHL and CFL learners in the current study do indeed study Chinese for pragmatic purposes, which confirms Hypothesis (a) as outlined in Section 2. The score for integrative motivation ranked second among the four attributes, which is significantly higher than that for aesthetics or difficulty. Despite the relatively low ratings in relation to the aesthetics and difficulty of the Chinese language in comparison with InstruM and IntegM, the mean scores of 3.39 and 3.36 suggest that participants tended to agree

with these statements rather than disagree. In other words, Hypothesis (b) is supported to some extent. The factor of language proficiency does not appear to have any significant effect on participants' attitudes towards Chinese from these four perspectives according to one-way ANOVA tests.⁸ The results for Hypotheses (a) and (b) were not factored by the participants' Mandarin proficiency level.

When the average scores for aesthetics and difficulty are further divided by CHL and CFL learners, CFL learners tended to perceive Chinese as more aesthetic but also more difficult than CHL learners did (see Table 4). Since the CHL learners had previously been exposed to a Chinese dialect and might have had some exposure to Mandarin Chinese, it is unsurprising to see that they did not consider Chinese as beautiful as CFL learners. For similar reasons, CHL learners might be less likely think that studying Chinese would be very demanding as compared with CFL learners.

		CHL Learners	CFL Learners
Instrumental Motivation (InstruM)		4.05	4.20
Integrative Motivation (IntegM)		3.7273	3.7258
Aesthetics		3.07	3.63
Difficulty		3.32	3.42

Table 4: Average ratings for CHL and CFL learners according to instrumental and integrative motivations, aesthetics and difficulty

A one-way ANOVA test was conducted to investigate whether being a CHL learner could have a significant effect on integrative motivation in order to test Hypothesis (c). Although the ratings for CHL learners seem to be a little higher than those for CFL learners in terms of integrative motivation (see Table 4), the one-way ANOVA test demonstrates that the small difference does not achieve statistical significance: $F(2, 51)=0.05$, $p=0.948$, > 0.05 .⁹ Thus, while there seems to be a trend, the fact of being a CHL learner or CFL learner is unlikely to have had a significant effect on perceptions of Chinese in terms of integrative motivation. Hypothesis (c) that CHL learners tend to study Chinese on the basis of integrative motivation should therefore be rejected.

The ratings related to the 16 items from the third section of the questionnaire were computed by averaging the rates for the 7 individualistic items and the 9 collectivistic items. The results for all Chinese learners, i.e. both CHL and CFL, are reported first in order to examine if Hypothesis (d) is supported or not. All the participants tended to agree more with the collectivistic items since their rating is slightly higher than that for individualistic items (see Table 5).

	Mean	Std. Deviation
Individualism	3.48	0.50 ($t=-2.15$, $p=0.036$, <0.05)
Collectivism	3.59	0.45

Table 5: Average ratings for individualism and collectivism

However, a paired-samples t-test reveals that there is a significant attitudinal difference ($t=-2.15$, $df=48$, $p=0.036$, <0.05) between individualistic and collectivistic items. The negative t-value indicates that the rating for individualism is significantly lower than that for collectivism. In other words, the participants agreed less with the individualistic items than with the collectivistic ones. This result demonstrates that this group of Chinese language learners was aware of the cultural differences between China and the UK in terms of individualism and tended to choose culturally appropriate behaviours based on the premise of living and working in China, which confirms Hypothesis (d).

Interestingly, the factors of being a CHL learner and participants' language proficiency do not have a significant effect on the evaluations of individualism and collectivism. That is to say, neither the participants' linguistic proficiency nor their cultural backgrounds have influenced their attitudes towards the collectivistic aspect of Chinese culture. Therefore, the result for Hypothesis (d) is not affected by the division of CHL/CFL or learners' levels of Mandarin proficiency.

5. Discussion

First of all, since the students were generally instrumentally motivated, it is necessary for teachers to identify specific types of instrumental motivation (e.g. for future academic pursuit or for better employment opportunities) and to adopt the appropriate instruction or strategies (e.g. concentrating on academic or business Chinese) in order to address students' needs and help them achieve high levels of proficiency in Chinese.

Second, the current study found that the participants perceived Chinese as a difficult but beautiful language. Previous studies have acknowledged the likely difficulties involved in learning Chinese, such as its orthography (DeFrancis, 1984, p. 52; Ke, 1998; Xiao, 2006) or phonology (Moore & Jongman, 1997; Shen, 1989; Wang & Spence, 1999). As a result, it might help learners to succeed in learning the Chinese language if teachers look out for these specific difficulties and adjust their instruction accordingly. For example, the learning focus could be on the tones of the language or on writing skills. In fact, the study by Lawton and Logio (2006, p. 153) notes "an increasing call to incorporate cultural activity-type classes into the language learning process". Teachers could also devote some time and attention to the aesthetic elements of the language that are of particular interest to learners. A recent study on Chinese heritage language teachers' beliefs has also indicated the importance of integrating culture into language teaching (Wu, Palmer & Field, 2011). However, there seems to be a scarcity of teaching resources for incorporating Chinese culture into language instruction (Liu, 2006; Wu et al., 2011). Therefore, there is a need for teachers to develop

appropriate materials. For instance, local ethnic media might be very useful and interesting to students learning Chinese as a heritage language (Zhang, 2009). Some research has been conducted on teaching the Chinese language and culture through cinema (Wang & Higgins, 2008; Zhang, 2010a). It might be worthwhile for future research to focus on increasing natural language input and increasing cultural awareness through media consumption (e.g. films, music, newspapers, etc.).

Third, a number of participants demonstrated intercultural sensitivity by favouring collectivistic behaviours in a fictitious work environment in China. Naturally, it is a broad-brush description to identify collectivism as one of the major aspects of Chinese culture, as this disregards regional and personal differences within this society and potentially overlooks cultural changes. As early as 2001, Hofstede pointed out that "country scores on the five dimensions [including collectivism/individualism] do not provide absolute country positions, but only their positions relative to the other countries in the set" (Hofstede, 2001, p. 36). This means that, even if the culture has undergone some shifts over time, there should be forces that cause the cultures of other countries to shift globally and consequently their relative positions remain the same or similar (<http://geert-hofstede.com/national-culture.html>). In comparison with the national culture in the UK, Chinese society still leans more towards collectivism than individualism. For this reason, cultural studies should be an important part of the language curriculum in order to avoid misleading learners or leading them towards any stigmas or stereotypes.

Another prominent finding of the study is that the CHL learners were not particularly motivated to study Chinese as a way of preserving their cultural identity, which suggests a discrepancy between the attitudes of the parents and their children (see also Liu, 2006). Previous studies of parents' attitudes have indicated that Chinese immigrant parents usually associate the language with ethnic identity (Lao, 2004; M. Li, 2005; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). This was especially the case with those surveys conducted in the UK (Bullo-Alos & Wang, 2009; Zhang, 2005). Zhang (2005, p. 117) revealed that 47% of the parents in her study make their children learn Chinese "purely for the sake of making their children remember their native language and culture, [while] only 10% do so to prepare their children for career development".

In addition, most of the research on the motivation of heritage language learners indicates that students show strong integrative orientation towards their own heritage languages (Lee, 2002; Pak, 2003; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Wen, 1997; Yang, 2003). Nonetheless, some studies have reported that CHL learners are strongly motivated in both instrumental and integrative orientations (D. Li, 2005) or are more instrumentally motivated than CFL students (Lu & Li, 2008). Consistent with these studies, the group of CHL students in the current research revealed that instrumental motivation is a significant factor. It has been pointed out that there might be two kinds of instrumental motivation: CHL learners may be seeking "easy credit" or an "easy A" versus a real desire to progress in Chinese (D. Li, 2005; Li & Duff, 2008; Lu & Li, 2008). Therefore, one possible explanation for CHL learners being strongly motivated in an instrumental orientation is the short-term

practical reason that Chinese courses are less demanding for CHL learners due to their cultural and linguistic backgrounds and, consequently, they might take the classes just for easy good grades or to meet foreign language requirements. This could explain the result that they perceived Chinese as less difficult than CFL learners did.

6. Conclusion

The current study has investigated the attitudes of a group of British CHL and CFL learners in order to assess their motivation and intercultural awareness. The confirmation of Hypotheses (a), (b) and (d), which were described in Section 2, has noteworthy pedagogical implications for university Chinese language courses. It would be worth investigating whether the trends reported reach statistical significance when tested on the basis of a larger population sample, since only a relatively small number of cases was examined in the current study.

In general, the findings may provide insights into language studies involving different types of learners, as well as facilitating interdisciplinary research. Apart from the implications for learning and teaching Chinese discussed in the previous section, the present research might also shed some light on general attitudes towards studying a foreign language in a globalised world, in the sense that the study of a language could serve as a way to prepare for life as a world citizen, or even provide access to a different way of life in another culture.

Endnotes

1. Confucius Institutes and Classrooms are committed to providing Chinese language and cultural teaching resources and services worldwide. They are public organisations affiliated with the Chinese Ministry of Education (see <http://english.hanban.org/node/7719.htm>).
2. The four dimensions are: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism and collectivism, and masculinity and femininity (Hofstede, 1980).
3. Mandarin is the majority dialect family of China, defined as a variety of Chinese based mainly on the Beijing dialect and other northern Chinese dialects (He, 2006; Huang & Liao, 2007; Zhang, 2010b). On the other hand, Cantonese or Hakka refers to a Chinese dialect spoken in southern China (Tang & Van Heuven, 2009; Zhang, 2010b). Although they share the same writing system, these varieties of Chinese are mutually incomprehensible (He, 2006; Tang & Van Heuven, 2009).
4. The statements were phrased according to the original comments given by students in response to the interview questions (e.g. “Why do you study Chinese?”) during this period.
5. These four statements were derived from the study by Bullo-Alos and Wang (2009) conducted in the same region as the current research. They were worded according to the original comments given by the participants, all of whom were parents of CHL learners.
6. All 16 items are listed in Appendix A. They are used to investigate participants’ attitudes towards individualism and collectivism, which is the main focus of the current research. The remaining 30 items from the 46-item

Intercultural Sensitivity Inventory (Bhawuk and Brislin 1992) concentrate on informants' flexibility and open-mindedness and were not pertinent to this research

7. The number of cases here is much smaller than normally required, e.g. at least 300 according to Tabachnick and Fidell (2001, p. 640), which makes it impossible to conduct factor analysis in order to test if these statements are grouped under these four factors or not.

8. InstruM: $F(5, 49)=0.41$, $p>0.05$; IntegM: $F(5, 48)=1.08$, $p>0.05$; Aesthetics: $F(5, 49)=0.98$, $p>0.05$; Difficulty: $F(5, 49)=0.70$, $p>0.05$.

9. The other three results do not reach statistical significance either: InstruM: $F(2, 51)=0.36$, $p>0.05$; Aesthetics: $F(2, 52)=2.10$, $p>0.05$; Difficulty: $F(2, 52)=0.68$, $p>0.05$.

10. The factor of being a CHL learner on the evaluation of individualism: $F(2, 47)=1.76$, $p>0.05$; on collectivism: $F(2, 50)=1.77$, $p>0.05$. The factor of language proficiency on the evaluation of individualism: $F(5, 44)=1.36$, $p>0.05$; on collectivism: $F(5, 47)=1.29$, $p>0.05$.

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Appendix

Imagine you are living and working in China. Then circle the appropriate number to show to what extent you agree/disagree with the following statements (adapted from Bhawuk & Brislin, 1992).

1. When I disagree with a group, I would allow a conflict in the group to remain, rather than change my own stance on important issues. (I)		
Strongly Disagree	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	Strongly Agree
2. I would offer my seat on a bus to my supervisor. (C)		
Strongly Disagree	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	Strongly Agree
3. I prefer to be direct and forthright when dealing with people. (I)		
Strongly Disagree	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	Strongly Agree
4. I enjoy developing long-term relationships among the people with whom I work. (C)		
Strongly Disagree	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	Strongly Agree
5. I am very modest when talking about my own accomplishments. (C)		
Strongly Disagree	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	Strongly Agree
6. When I give gifts to people whose cooperation I need in my work, I feel I am indulging in questionable behaviour. (I)		
Strongly Disagree	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	Strongly Agree
7. If I want my subordinate to perform a task, I tell the person that my supervisors want me to get that task done. (C)		
Strongly Disagree	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	Strongly Agree
8. I prefer to give opinions that will help people save face rather than give a statement of the truth. (C)		
Strongly Disagree	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	Strongly Agree
9. I say "No" directly when I have to. (I)		
Strongly Disagree	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	Strongly Agree
10. I define the other person's status by paying attention to name, gender, age, and other demographic attributes. (C)		
Strongly Disagree	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	Strongly Agree
11. To increase sales, I would announce that the individual salesperson with the highest sales would be given the "Distinguished Salesperson" award. (I)		
Strongly Disagree	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	Strongly Agree
12. I enjoy being emotionally close to the people with whom I work. (C)		
Strongly Disagree	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	Strongly Agree
13. It is important to develop a network of people with whom I work. (I)		
Strongly Disagree	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	Strongly Agree
14. I enjoy feeling that I am looked upon as equal in worth to my supervisors. (I)		

Strongly Disagree	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	Strongly Agree
15. I have respect for the authority figures with whom I interact. (C)		
Strongly Disagree	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	Strongly Agree
16. If I want a person to perform a certain task I try to show how the task will benefit others in the person's group. (C)		
Strongly Disagree	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	Strongly Agree

Note: 'I' vs. 'C' refers to the culture where this behaviour is more appropriate. The scoring is based on the assumption that the same person will respond to 'C' items with more agreement and 'I' items with more disagreement when working in a collectivist society. Please note that the designations 'I' and 'C' were not included in the questionnaires sent to the participants. They are presented here to help readers differentiate individualistic items from collectivistic ones. This instrument is adapted from Bhawuk and Brislin (1992).

Strategies for Dubbing of cultural differences: the case of “Due South”, Episode 65

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Abstract

One of the challenges for translating a text maybe the cultural differences between SL and TL. Schleiermacher (1813/1963) has introduced “domestication” as a strategy of translation which involves “an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text ...to the target language cultural values. This entails translation in a transparent, fluent, ‘invisible’ style in order to minimize the foreignness of the TT” (Venuti 1998b, qtd. by Munday, 2008). This domestication can be seen in cultural adaptation of the Persian dubbings of IRIB (Iran’s national TV). So, using domestication as the basic model, this descriptive study tried to examine strategies for adaptation of cultural parts of an episode of a very popular American series, namely “Due South”. Focusing on those parts which had been changed for the cultural reasons, general detected strategy was changing the story but, as it was observed here, changing the story has been done mostly through a more specific translation strategy which is modulation.

Keywords: culture, dubbing, domestication, cultural adaptation, translation strategies, modulation.

1. Introduction

Based on what has been studied in literature, culture is a controversial notion which has many different definitions. Bu the definition suggested by Encarta (2003) can be appropriate for the present study:

“culture can mean the arts collectively: art, music, literature, and related intellectual activities; knowledge and sophistication: enlightenment and sophistication acquired through education and exposure to the arts; shared beliefs, customs, practices, and social behavior of a particular nation or people; shared attitudes: a particular set of attitudes that characterizes a group of people”.

Pillar (2011) believes that “culture is an ideological construct called into play by social actors to produce and reproduce social categories and boundaries”. In this way, “the nation [is seen] as the basic unit of culture” (ibid.) There are a lot of examples in literature that show “one-to-one mapping of culture onto nation onto language” (ibid.) while “culture is in a constant state of flux and cross-fertilization. Given that, each of us belongs to many cultures or cultural groups of different age, sex, education, etc. so, in intercultural communication individual differences are important (ibid.)

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In a world of strong competition among mass media of the world, translation, as an important device for intercultural communication, "is seen as a general activity of communication between cultural groups" (Pym, 2010). Therefore, "the translator ...is engaged not only with words, but with the context in which those words appear, and any equivalent will have to take into account the two different contexts, that of the source and that of the target" (Bassnett, 2011).

IRIB (Iran's national TV) is one of the media that called "culture-making medium", used to make culture relevant to Iranians under the name of an Islamic country in order to maintain Islamic-Iranian (traditional) values (Kamyar, 2011).

For broadcasting foreign series which have a special place in its program lists, IRIB has used dubbing from the past and Iran is a dubbing country in which "viewers are more vulnerable to manipulation and censorship" because "with dubbed programs there is no way of choosing the translation on the basis of the original soundtrack" (Koolstra, Peeters, and Spinhol, 2002). So, watching the original version, after watching the dubbed one, may be a little disappointing.

Diaz Cintas (in Orero, 2004), as one of the famous scholars in AVTs, has compared different models of translation studies which can be especially used in AVT studies, too. He accepts that DTS "avoids being prescriptive or normative" as opposed to "descriptive".

He thinks that "to approach dubbing...from a mere linguistic perspective is clearly insufficient" where "translation is viewed as an act of intercultural communication, rather than simply interlinguistic". He believes that "all translation process shows tension between the two extremes: to be adequate or acceptable, or based on Venuti (1995) foreignized or domesticated. Diaz Cintas adds that these two extremes "are clearly insufficient" for AVT where the image tend to be more valuable than the word.

In this way, because of the shortage of time and other limitations of this study, these two poles, as the basic model of this study, will be focused here to document some strategies of translations to be found in a descriptive and comparative examination of ST and TT.

Schleiermacher (1813/1963) argued that translations could be either foreignizing or domesticating...: either the translator leaves the author in peace, as much as possible and moves the reader toward that author, or the translator leaves the reader in peace, as much as possible and moves the author toward that reader" (Pym, 2010). Domestication involves "an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text ...to the target language cultural values. This entails translation in a transparent, fluent, 'invisible' style in order to minimize the foreignness of the TT". (Venuti1998b; qtd. by Munday, 2008) Following Schleiermacher, Venuti (1995) offers "fluent" and "resistant" translations (Munday, 2008). He prefers the latter that "show[s] the reader the foreignness of the text" (Pym, 2010). It tries to "make visible the presence of the identity of the source text and protecting it from the ideological dominance of the target culture (Munday, 2008). "Schleiermacher's foreignizing strategies...try to make the reader aware that the [target] text is translation" (Pym, 2010). The same issue which seems important for Pilliar in her book (look at the references) and Lewis (1985/2004). The latter values

translations that do not adopt the norms of the target culture and which instead try to follow the source text so closely". (Pym, 2010)

What were seen in the present data had moved in an opposite way. In Iranian dubbing, domestication for cultural adaptation may be dominant. Translators (all of those responsible for the whole process from buying to the airing) seem to follow the ST unless they find a serious cultural conflict in both texts.

For AVT, "most scholars believe advocates the domesticating method...and the hold that it is much easier for the audience to understand the subtitles and dubbing translated by keeping the classical principle of faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance" (Guang-fa,2009).

Foreignizing has not been studied in the present data but it is mentioned as an option for translators in order to satisfy the viewers.

Synchronization, another key word in dubbing, also plays an important role but its related changes seem not to bother the audiences' expectations.

In dubbing the audiences can see the foreign context through different codes of the audiovisual texts (Chaume, 2004a, qtd. by Carmona, 1996, qtd. by Romero Fresco, 2006) but as with dubbing the original soundtrack is removed, [so] dialogues can be adapted easily" especially with the tendency to make the final version "easy to follow and enjoy" (Koolstra, Peeters, and Spinhol, 2002).

In the present study, the researcher has chosen the dubbing of one of the episodes of a very popular foreign series broadcast from IRIB in 2002 and rebroadcast in 2011, namely "Due South".

For cultural adaptations, Pettit (2009) uses some strategies (that can operate concurrently) based on a brief discussion from Tomaszewicz (1993) which are:

- "(1) Omission, whereby the cultural reference is omitted altogether.*
- (2) Literal Translation, where the solution in the target text matches the original as closely as possible.*
- (3) Borrowing, where original terms from the source text are used in the target text.*
- (4) Equivalence, where translation has a similar meaning and function in the target culture.*
- (5) Adaptation, where the translation is adjusted to the target language and culture in an attempt to evoke similar connotations to the original.*
Strictly speaking this can be considered a form of equivalence.
- (6) Replacement of the cultural term with deictic, particularly when supported by an on-screen gesture or a visual clue.*
- (7) Generalization, which might also be referred to as neutralization of the original.*
- (8) Explication which usually involves a paraphrase to explain the cultural term"*

Haryanto (2006) at the end of his article, adds some translation procedures in the translation of a cultural word or expression. Some of them are:

- ... *Naturalization: the SL word is brought into the TLT and the writing is adjusted to the TLT writing system.*
- *Using cultural equivalent: the SL word is replaced with the TL cultural word.*
- *Using synonym: the SL word is translated into neutral TL word...*
- *Using recognized translation: the SL word is replaced with previously recognized translation of the SL word in the TL..*
- *Reduction: SL word or phrase, as a translation unit, is replaced with a TL word or phrase which does not embrace part of the SL word meaning...*
- *Deletion: SL word or phrase, as a translation unit, is dropped in the TLT.*
- *Modulation: the SL word or phrase, as a translation unit, is translated into a TL word or phrase; and this involves change in the point of view. The translator sees the phrase from different point of view, perspective or very often category of thought in translating it...*

These kinds of strategies may work at the same time in order to both synchronize and adapt the dubbed version.

IRIB dubs foreign series to satisfy the audiences' tastes in the modern world of mass media competition. Dubbing, which is preferred by the Iranian audiences who are accustomed to it, has also been chosen for rendering foreign films to adapt their language (and manifested behaviors) to the target culture.

As a mode of AVT, the process of dubbing "is the means through which not only information but also the assumptions and values of a society are filtered and transferred to other cultures" (Diaz Cintas, 2009) by translators and dubbing directors. But, the process is also influenced by authorities' ideas to preserve cultural and religious traditions.

According to the previous study (Amirian, Shariati, 2013), in the way of domestication, this dubbed version has used many strategies in dubbing in order to adapt and synchronize source dialogues with target ones but of the most significant ones, is replacing some other words with unrelated meanings, that is, the target equivalent of a word is not meaningfully related to its original counterpart, but they are considered meaningful for a special scene (context). Changing and omitting some (even main) stories are observed among the strategies for domestication; however, the last result seems to be a ridiculous, confusing version.

In fact, "an audience exposed to [...] a television series whose translation poses numerous cultural shortcomings could become an audience prone to end up ignoring that series" (Martinez-Sierra, 2010). On the other hand, if the audience feels that they are deceived throughout the dubbing, they may prefer to switch IRIB to other channels. As a result, if IRIB wants to keep its audience satisfied, it has to pay more attentions to the process, what this article attempts to convey.

1.1 Research questions

After studying ST and comparing it with TT, some parts were detected to have been changed completely for cultural reasons. For this study, these parts will be considered in order to find the most frequent strategies used to domesticate the source text for dubbing. Some of these strategies are modulation, deletion, expansion, and reduction.

Regarding these strategies, these questions will be considered:

- 1) Which strategies are applied for cultural adaptations in the Persian dubbing of those parts which show some cultural differences between SL and TL?
- 2) Which strategy is the most frequently used one for cultural adaptation?

2. Methodology

2.1. Why Due South?

Regarding the goals of all media to increase their audiences, IRIB tries to have several foreign series in its broadcasting lists, and from the first days, dubbed versions were preferred by authorities and audiences. But, regarding the audiences' taste, some things are highly ignored such as increasing knowledge of English language, increasing subtitles for different languages, and more importantly, increasing demands for original versions of foreign films in the way of communication. These factors seem to play an important role in changing the audiences' taste.

"Due South" was- and maybe still is- one of the most memorable masterpieces and its main character is one of the most beloved heroes throughout the world. Constable Benton Fraser, from RCMP (Royal Canadian Mounted Policemen) and grown up in The Northwest Territories in Canada, "first came to Chicago on the trail of the killers of his father and for some reasons that don't need exploring, he has remained, attached as liaison between the Canadian Consulate and Chicago PD (Police Department)".

He was and is admired by Iranian audiences, as he is archetypal "Mountie", dogged, polite, and compulsively truthful, "a metaphor for the Canadian persona by creating an emotional conflict between himself and his American associates". He has been considered qualified enough to be transferred as a positive character into Islamic culture through domestication and cultural adaptation.

"Due South" is a [Canadian crime drama](#) series with elements of [comedy](#). The series was created by [Paul Haggis](#), produced by [Alliance Communications](#), and stars [Paul Gross](#), [David Marciano](#), and latterly [Callum Keith Rennie](#). It ran for [67 episodes](#) over four seasons, from 1994 to 1999.

"Due South" was first produced for [television movie](#) aired on [CTV](#) in Canada and [CBS](#) in the [United States](#). With higher than anticipated ratings, "Due South" was turned into a continuing drama series with its first season late in 1994. It was the first Canadian series to earn such a prime time slot on a major US network.

The basic premise of the series centers on an [Royal Canadian Mounted Police](#) (RCMP) [constable](#) named [Benton \(Benny\) Fraser](#) ([Paul Gross](#)) who travels to [Chicago](#) to solve the murder of his father; this is how he first meets his future partner, [Ray Vecchio](#) ([David Marciano](#)), a tough, streetwise cop, under the command of Lieutenant Welsh([Beau Starr](#)).The result of the investigation makes Fraser to leave Canada and live in Chicago. The cynical relations of Chicago life test his rigid moral code.

He also can see his father's ghost ([Gordon Pinsent](#) as [Sergeant Bob Fraser](#)), whose advice varies between helpful and absurdly useless. In the last episode, Benton and his father's ghost finally solve Benton's mother's murder. This results in the ghost's departure.

(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Due_south).

2.1.1. Hunting season

From 30 dubbed episodes, the researcher has worked on episode 11 of season 4, called "Hunting Season" for this paper, which is about Constable Maggie Mackenzie (Jessica Steen) who comes to Chicago on the trail of the killers of her husband and hopes to receive help from Canadian Consulate especially Fraser. Her mother, Allen, and Fraser's father (Bob) were friends and later Benton (Fraser) finds out that his father had had to shelter in Allen's cabin in a stormy night and this sheltering resulted into the birth of Maggie, i.e. Maggie is Ben's sister.

In dubbed version, of course there is not any mention of Allen and Bob's relationship because it is completely rejected in Iranian culture. Fraser's and Maggie's family had been neighbors and their mothers were friends. Maggie is not Mackenzie's real daughter and she has been found in desert while her parents had been killed. So, at the end, audiences will not know that Maggie is Benton's sister. Unlike the original, the target audience will not clearly know that Fraser And his friend, Ray, fall in love with Maggie, both at the first sight.

2.1.2. Dubbing of Due South

"Due South" series was dubbed early of this new century in IRIB, directed by Abbas Nabati (2000). Dubbers are George Petrosi for Fraser, Ali Reza Bashkandi for Vecchio, Manoochehr Valizade for Kowalski, and Hussein Erfani for Lieutenant Welsh, and Narges Fooladv and for Francesca as fixed ones.

2.2. Procedure

Dubbing of series is a little more complex than the dubbing of the movies as the translator(s) has to keep the trend of the story of the whole film. In addition, all the episodes may not be brought together or some key parts might be censored. This seriously endangers final results. Accordingly, for this study, at first, the movie was watched, and then, all of the four seasons in order for the researcher not to lose any point. Then, 30 dubbed episodes (broadcast in 2011 from channel 3, IRIB) were carefully watched. English subtitles of this special episode (10th episode of 4th season: Hunting Season) were considered and completed (as they had dropped some of the utterances) by watching them several times.

Then, Persian dubbed dialogues were put next to the originals (but not those parts which were censored because of the cultural conflicts or the shortage of time). Here, concentration has been on those parts which violated the whole plot and maybe just the gist of this episode. Some parts are changed mainly because of cultural differences between SL and TL but some (subsequent) parts are modified for the coherence of the whole episode.

The “sentence” has been considered as the unit of analysis but the indices have been the main verb or “to be” verbs which show the tense of the sentences, and subordinate clauses such as conditional and relative clauses, and tags have been regarded as a separate unit.

Some short “yes”, “no” utterances, “hello”, and the similar have not been taken into account unlike “short answers”, lone adjectives and adverbs with omitted subjects and verbs, like: “[it is] possible”, or “[I ride] across the border”. All of the word changes in a sentence (as the unit of analysis) have been considered as one so it can be said that this unit has been modified.

All the units and those which were replaced by something different in meaning, for example, putting a word which means “speak” in Persian instead of “drink” in source, are mentioned in the appendix. In that table, the cultural changes (where the translator(s) had domesticated the original text as they might think that the original dialogue may interfere with the target culture for the reason of cultural conflicts between the source and target context) are listed. Parts that are underlined show those modified words, and italic ones indicate censored pieces.

Here, based on the definition of domestication, some examined dialogues have been changed just because of cultural differences between the source and target context. They may show special cultural conflicts which has influences the strategy chosen by the translators.

From domestication perspective and in a descriptive study, the following non-literal strategies are extracted, based on the present observations, from two introduced models of Petitt (in Diaz Cintas, 2009) and Hariyanto (2006). Main strategies to be studied here are:

1. Replacement: of the cultural term with relevant or irrelevant equivalent to on-screen gesture or a visual clues.
2. Modulation or adaptation (modification as a way of changing the meaning can be considered as modulation): where the translation is adjusted to the target language and culture, and this may involve change in the point of view.
3. Deletion: SL word or phrase, as a translation unit, is dropped in the TT.
4. Reduction: SL word or phrase, as a translation unit, is replaced with a TL word or phrase which does not embrace part of the SL word meaning.
5. Expansion: SL word or phrase as a translation unit is replaced with a TL word or phrase which covers the SL word meaning plus something else.

For such a model, focus can shift to words and parts of the sentence. For some cases two strategies were used simultaneously, which were accounted for here. To be brief, the first two strategies are considered as one because

when the meaning of a sentence is replaced with another sense, the point of view changes, too. On the other hand, for modulation, the translator(s) may also replace the original sense with some other meanings.

3. Findings

As it can be seen in the table, the most frequent strategy in domesticating these cultural parts is modulation (42 cases) whereby a noticeable change can be observed. Cultural parts are more, so there are more cases of modulation in its sentences (26) than in the sentences of the subsequent parts (16). There are four cases of deletion, four cases of expansion, and 2 cases of reduction in all of 61 parts.

Regarding 61 parts, the total number of strategies is 52 because some strategies can be used simultaneously.

strategy	Cultural-based parts	Subsequent parts	Total frequency of the strategy
Modulation	26	16	42
Deletion	3	1	4
Expansion	3	1	4
Reduction	2	-	2
Total non-literal strategies	34	18	52

Table1. Number of Strategies

4. Qualitative Discussion

In the following tables, English and Persian dialogues of these parts have been juxtaposed but just those which have been changed for cultural reasons are underlined to be discussed for their strategies. Here, there is at least one case for each strategy.

“No.” shows the number of the change provided in the table, according to the table in the appendix. “TC” as “Time Code” shows the starting and the ending time of the inserted dialogue.

Context: Maggie enters the bar for asking questions in searching for some felons.

No.	Original dialogues	Dubbed dialogues	Back-T	strategy
1	Man: Get the hell out of here. We want to <u>drink</u> in peace.	حال از اینجا برو بیرون، میخوایم راحت صحبت کنیم	Now get out of here. We want to speak in peace.	Reduction and Modulation

Table 2. Strategies of Reduction and Modulation. TC: 00:00:47-00:00:48

“The hell” is reduced and modulated into a more neutral equivalent maybe because it is a swearing word while it can be translated more directly as “گورت رو گم کن”.

The word “drink”, as a noun or a verb, especially in a context which refers to “drinking alcohol”, is considered as a taboo word in the target society; so, it is modulated and replaced with a non-synonymous verb in TT: “speak”.

Context: It is the first time that Bob visits Maggie and this takes him back to those days of his friendship with her mother.

No.	Original dialogues	Dubbed dialogues	Back-T	strategy
5-8	Bob (Fraser's father): She looks just like her mother. God, it takes me back. I feel like a kid again. Well, 50. ... <i>Wonderful woman, Ellen. Many's the night I sheltered in her cabin. Long after your mother was gone, son.</i>	چقدر شبیه مادرش، پاد 40 سال پیش افتدام. دوباره مثل بچه ها شدم. نه 50 خانواده خوبی بودن. خیلی روزا به کلیشون پناه می بردم. مثل خانواده خوبید بودن.	She looks just like her mother. It takes me back 40 years. I feel like a kid again. No, 50. ... <i>Good family. Many's the night I sheltered in their cabin. They were like my own family.</i>	Deletion and Modulation

Table 3. Strategies of Deletion and Modulation. TC: 00:06:26-00:06:32, 00:06:41-00:06:45

In the first sentence, instead of speaking about a woman, Bob is talking about their neighborhood family in TT, so that in the next sentence, the literal meaning of the verb “shelter” does not interfere with the target culture. The words “wonderful” and “woman” are modulated and replaced with “good” and “family”, respectively. The name “Ellen” is deleted. It may be for the reason that in the target culture, it is a taboo behavior for an unmarried and strange couple to stay alone in a place.

“Her cabin” has been replaced with “their cabin”.

In the last sentence, Bob wants to emphasize that he had been loyal to his wife as long as she was alive. He wants to indirectly refer to his friendship with another woman. However, in TT, he turns to be a like a guardian of Ellen’s family. This sentence is completely modulated into the following compliment about a neighbor family.

Context: Bob is blaming his son for being suspended as he had not arrested Maggie. Bob thinks it is because of falling in love while Benton is the only person that knows Maggie is his sister.

No.	Original dialogues	Dubbed dialogues	Back-T	strategy
16	<i>you see a young</i>	زن جوانیه و نسبت به سنش	A young woman	Deletion and Expansion
17	woman, and might the attractive one,	با هوشه،	and she are clever, regarding her age.	Expansion and Modulation

Table 4. Strategies of Deletion, Expansion and Expansion. TC: 00:35:34-00:35:36

“You see” is deleted maybe because it is said very quickly and this makes problem for synchronization or it is just for expansion in the next part.

This expansion can be because of a rejection that is considered to exist in the target culture. It may be thought that speaking about a woman in this way is impolite.

Most of the other cultural parts are modulated. There are few examples of other strategies.

5. Conclusion

From what was expressed by some Iranian dubbing directors in a meeting with IRIB's authorities (2005), this can be inferred that IRIB's policies in keeping the cultural boundaries and other factors such as time pressure, have led to deviations in different translations as well as dubbing (as the dominant mode in translation and broadcasting) foreign films (movies, series, documentaries, etc.). Keeping cultural boundaries may cause a problem for translation that must be handled by translator(s) through testing different options in decision-making process.

In addition to unavailability of censored part, the researcher did not have access to all of those people responsible in IRIB to ask about their major hurdles and their solutions to deal with them. So, the researcher had to concentrate on academic theories in examining the dubbing of an episode of a very popular foreign series, i.e., “*Due South*”, which appears to be an extreme case of careless domestication and cultural adaptation.

Following the first study (Amirian, shariati, 2013), which had tried to refer to some of the cultural differences in examining 61 cases, this study focused on some strategies applied to render these cases according to the polices in giving priority to the target culture. Translator(s) have expanded, reduced, deleted, and mostly replaced some words and sentences; and some of these changes are subsequent ones to make the whole coherent.

Detecting modulation as the most frequent strategy showed that all of the cultural differences are domesticated which are about half of total changes but all the changes are less than one sixth of the whole dialogues. It seems that policy is to domesticate all of the cultural differences but where there is nothing to tamper with the target culture, literal rendition is dominant.

At the end, it was found that modulation has led to changing the theme of this episode. All of the adaptation and synchronization procedures were to match this strategy and result into a new version of the film which in most cases shows some kind of incoherence in the relationship among different characters. This is very risky and can easily disappoint audience. This kind of modulation may work for the written text but on screen a lot of care is needed to match the final product with the images because there are different codes in audiovisual texts that must be considered in dubbing. Intelligent audience can easily spot destroying mismatches and this may cause them feel insecure.

On the other hand, there is no consideration for cultural diversity and individual ways of thinking in addition to what Lewis calls against “fidelity”,

as he values translations that...try to follow the source text so closely" (Pym, 2010).

For further research, synchronization process and its effect on the final product, either because of cultural issues or not, can be examined. Translator(s)' strategies to deal with both linguistic and cultural differences according to the national norms or other policies can be explored through interviews or other devices for asking them about their reasons, as the researcher did not have opportunity for this asking.

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http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Due_south

Appendix

Complete table of all cultural and subsequent changes

No.	Original dialogues	Dubbed dialogues	Back-T
1,2	<u>Get the hell out of here.</u> We want to <u>drink</u> in peace.	حالا از اینجا برو بیرون، میخوایم راحت <u>صحبت</u> کنیم.	Now get out of here. We want to <u>speak</u> in peace.
3	Well, your <u>father</u> and my mother were friends.	خب مادر منو <u>مادر</u> شما دوست بودن.	Well, your <u>mother</u> and my mother were friends.
4 ⁴	<u>I certainly know your name.</u>	با هم همسایه بودن.	<u>They were neighbors.</u>
5	<u>Wonderful woman,</u> <u>Ellen.</u>	خانواده‌خوبی بودن.	<u>Good family</u>
6,7	Many's <u>the night</u> I sheltered in <u>her</u> cabin. Long after your mother was gone, son.	خیلی روزا به کلبشون پناه می بردم.	Many's <u>the day</u> I sheltered in <u>their</u> cabin.
8		مثل خانواده خودم بودن.	<u>They were like my own family.</u>
9	<u>Like, go out for dinner and drinks.</u> Later, naturally, after we find that stuff you need.	چون عدم شناخت کافی ممکن باعث دردرس بشه.	<u>As it may cause trouble if we don't know each other enough.</u>
10	Like the time you turned up <u>naked</u> at the Inuvik...	درست وقتی که در اینوویک پیدا شد.	Just the time you turned up at the Inuvik...
11	<u>So he ran buck-naked straight into the middle of Inuvik...</u>	آه چه روزایی بود. یا بر هنه تو جنگل دنبال شکار.	Uh...those days. Barefoot in the jungle, chasing prey.
12	In your <u>closet?</u>	در حمایت شما؟	<u>Under your protection?</u>
13, 14	<u>I see why you like her.</u>	ایشون رئیس شماست؟	<u>Is she your boss/superior?</u>
15	Inspector Thatcher and I have a... purely a... a... <u>you see</u> a young woman, and might (be) the attractive one,	بله، بازرس تاپر رئیس منه، من ...	Yes, inspector Thatcher is my <u>boss</u> ...
16, 17	<u>But that's no excuse for you not doing your duty.</u>	زن جوانیه نسبت به سنش باهوشه،	A young woman and <u>she</u> are clever, regarding her age.
18, 19	<u>No excuse at all.</u>	برای همینم تو نسته همه رو گول بزن. حتی تو رو	And because of this, <u>she</u> could deceive everybody, even you.
20, 21	<u>Oh when? When you were warming yourself in her cabin?</u>	شما اطلاع دارین، بالآخره دوست خانوادگیشون بودین.	<u>You know, you were their family's friend.</u>

⁴These underlined numbers show subsequent changes

22	- Great Scott.	حرف بزن پدر.	- Speak, dad.
23	You're not saying...?	درباره چی؟	What about?
24, 25	I am. Maggie can see you.	مگی رو مت تو بیابون پیدا کرد.	Matt found Maggie in the desert.
26, 27	Buck Frobisher can see me. I'm not his father.	پیر و مادر مگی هردو کشته شده بودن.	Her parents were both killed.
28	Pretty sure. Why didn't Ellen tell me?	مت و زنش نداشتند مگی یفهمه اونا والدینش نیستن.	Matt and his wife didn't let Maggie know that they're not her parents.
29	Would you have stayed?	ادامه بده پدر!	Continue, dad.
30, 31	She used to say she didn't want me to feel tied down.	اونا مثل دختر خودشون بزرگش کردن.	They raised her like their own daughter.
32	Obviously, you didn't.	یه کمی دروغگوه.	She's a liar.
33, 34, 35	My God. My kid. I didn't get to know her.	دروغ نمیگه ولی تمام واقعیتو نمیگه.	She doesn't lie but she doesn't say all of the truth.
36	You didn't get to know me either.	حالا واقعا باید چیکار کنم، پیر؟	Now, what do we have to do, dad?
37, 38, 39	But at least I knew you existed. You've got to find her, son.	مثل یه شکارچی رفتار کن. چاره ی کار ساده ست.	Just act like a hunter. There's an easy solution.
40	In more ways than you think.	هردو پلیس، هردو کانادایی.	Both police, both Canadian.
41, 42	Well, look, you can spare me the details.	نمیخواهد دوباره شروع کنی!	Don't start it again!
43	I'm your brother.	مگی، دست بردار!	Maggie, give up!
44	It's a shock, I know.	میدونم، سخت آزره ای.	You are seriously hurt, I know.
45	And it's probably 28 years too late to be dispensing advice.	من کم کم دارم به این نتیجه میرسم که برگردم.	I'm little by little deciding to go back. Go back to my hometown.
46	But you better let the law handle this.	برگردم به وطن خودم.	Go back to my hometown.
47, 48	My brother... If he's my brother...	برگردی؛ یعنی برگردی سر کار؟	Go back, you mean go back to work?
49	That's encouraging.	خیلی جسوری!	You are very bold!
50,	So if I need help tarring	امیدوارم دیگه موردی	I hope there wouldn't be

51	<u>the roof of my trailer, will you come?</u>	مثل مورد من برات بیش نیاد.	any case like mine for you.
52	<u>What if I need advice on some unsolvable case or elusive criminal?</u>	میدونی، بدرت واقعا مثل بزرگ فامیل ما بود. حیف. که مرده.	You know your father was our patriarch. Unlucky he's dead.
53, 54, 55	<u>Call me. And you know, if you need some advice, uh... say, about a relationship or things of a female nature...</u>	درسته! از حالا به بعد میتوانی رو کمک من حساب کنی. من عاشق موارد یالیسی ام. هیچ زحمتی نیست.	Right! From now on you can count on me for any help. I love mysterious cases. There's no trouble.
56	<u>Don't call me.</u>	ولی دروغ نگو!	But don't lie.
57	<u>I have a family.</u>	در دسر تهوم شد.	There's no more trouble.
58	<u>I never intended to stay away, son.</u>	میدونی چرا من همیشه یه جورم؟	You know why I'm always the same?
59, 60, 61	<u>It's just that, back home, everywhere I looked I saw <u>your</u> <u>mother.</u></u>	راستش من همه جا فقط چشم دنبال خانوادمه.	In fact I always think about my family.