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Interpreting as Linguistic and Cultural Mediation

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1. INTRODUCTION

Changes in China's attitudes to international affairs have propelled their people into the west. With it, there are growing Chinese communities in many countries, and which experience various linguistic and cultural phenomena. Many areas and districts in many cities are even considered as 'Chinatowns'. In the present paper, we will dive into the situation of the rapidly growing Chinese diaspora found in Spain, which in less than 20 years has multiplied itself by more than tenfold and birthed a second generation which find themselves strung between two cultures. Yet not much is known about this community, and when linking them to interpreting, not much is known either regarding Chinese interpreters. This lack of knowledge portrays a void in intercultural communication between Chinese and Spanish culture, and one which calls for intercultural mediators. Viewing this issue through interpreting, we could suggest that interpreters may be able to take on this role of intercultural mediation.

Therefore, our first goal is to research the cultural aspect of interpreting and how the role of the interpreter differs from that of the cultural mediator. The interest in researching this rose when we saw that many organisations and institutions declared that interpreting is different to cultural mediating due to a lacking cultural component in the former. Looking deeper into this, we found that many authors similarly argued that despite culture being inseparable from language, it is still quite frequently ignored when talking about interpreting. As a result, these authors explore different approaches to interpreting and suggest how, under certain perspectives, the interpreter could be indeed seen as a linguistic and cultural mediator. In a sense, this different way of viewing interpreting could suggest a new type of interpreter in which the cultural aspect of the job upholds larger importance. Then, a series of questions may arise: Does interpreting need a greater focus on its cultural component? How may we define and differentiate cultural mediators and interpreters? Are cultural mediation and interpreting coextensive?

Another objective would be to apply this interpreter as linguistic and cultural mediator role to the context of the Chinese diaspora in Spain, suggesting that it is possible to link acculturated bicultural individuals to linguistic and cultural mediating when viewing interpreting as a bridging of cultures. As a result, we intend to explore what is known as biculturalism by reviewing past research on the matter. The way in which we intend to then apply biculturalism to the context of the Chinese community is by linking the process of acculturation to biculturalism, as some authors suggest that being bicultural is one of the results of acculturation. As a result, we ask ourselves what is understood by acculturation, how it relates to other

processes of integration, the way in which the Chinese community fares in acculturating with Spanish culture, and the current and past contexts of Chinese immigration.

In the light of biculturalism, we also explored bilingualism. The reason for this is how both phenomena are often researched together as many argue that the ways in which they can be analysed, measured and acquired are similar. Thus, we reviewed past research on bilingualism and biculturalism under the scope of immigration, in the sense that both are linked together due to the cultural context of immigrants. Bearing this in mind, we focus on what is understood as bilingualism and how it may be acquired, whether the age of acquisition is a factor or a deal breaker.

Finally, our main objective with the paper is to review past research done on aforementioned topics with the intention to link them together in order to suggest, as previously mentioned in the introduction, that a greater emphasis on culture must be had when talking about interpreting, and that bicultural individuals are great candidates for linguistic and cultural mediating due to their cultural context.

2. STATE OF THE MATTER

Language and culture often come together as “culture was the creation of human beings within unique times, areas and ethnics, referring to the whole models of a society in cultural beliefs, tradition, system and values” (Yan & Huang, 2014, p. 490), meaning that a nation not only has its own culture, but that this common culture may then give pace to a common language as both of them are forged under a common social, historical and environmental reality (Yan & Huang, 2014).

Various scholars have explored the relationship of culture with specific linguistic activities where there is contact between two different cultural contexts, such as translating and interpreting. In the case of translating, Nida (2021) spearheaded translation studies into a new era away from word-to-word translation by highlighting the importance of the relationship between audience and message through a greater consideration of social backgrounds. This is especially important today, as we live in a world where international and intercultural communication through politics, economy, culture, etc. (Zhang, 2013) are becoming ever-more-frequent due to globalisation. As a result, some scholars consider that to study translation is to study culture interaction (Bassnett & Lefevere, 2001). This then alludes Bassnett and Lefevere’s (2001) cultural turn in translating, in which they consider that the act of translating is the construction of a source culture within a target culture, which could then be considered

as a process of ‘culture manipulating’, allowing cultures to interact through their deconstruction and reconstruction.

In the context of interpreting, however, there has been no clear links to this cultural turn. There have been many authors in the field of interpreting studies who have pondered the relationship between language and culture through the study of bilingualism and biculturalism. Li (1996) considered that bilingualism was a natural correlate of biculturalism, and in order to explore this, the author focused on the Cantonese community in Hong Kong, where codemixing between Chinese, Cantonese and English was studied. Li’s (1996) stated that in this context, codemixing was a both natural and inevitable consequence of biculturalism. Stating so, Li closely intertwined bilingualism with biculturalism. Still, other authors later on argued that although both phenomena may be encompassed under a same reality, they are not necessarily coextensive. In the light of this, Grosjean (2014) insisted that there are many bilinguals who are not bicultural as they are “members of diglossic communities, inhabitants of countries with lingua francas or different school languages, foreign language learners who then use their second language regularly” (p. 2). Nevertheless, the close relationship between bilingualism and biculturalism, and therefore language and culture, should not be ignored. Particularly when authors further study bilingualism through a multidimensional approach (Butler, 2013).

Yet, the emphasis on culture within interpreting could still be seen as lacking. Some relevant institutions and organisations in this professional field, although arguably taking into account the importance of interpreting, they do not highlight its relevance. The AIIC (2022) define the job as to translate spoken language in real time. UNICEF and the Women’s Refugee Commission (2021) identify interpreting as void of providing cultural contexts or support. The European Commission (2022) also focuses on the aspect of oral communication conversion from source to target language. Within these definitions, the only ways in which the relevance of culture could be implied would be by defining what is meant by communication and spoken language, and how culture is present within these contexts. Still, some of the aforementioned organisations differentiate interpreters from linguistic and cultural mediators, denoting the lack of cultural importance when viewing interpreting.

On the other hand, authors such as Pöchhacker (2008) suggest that interpreting could be seen as a synonym for linguistic and cultural mediation as language and culture cannot be separated. With this, many have delved the differences and similarities between interpreting and mediation, with some authors suggesting mediating roles such as the mediator-as-translator

and mediator-as-synthesizer (Archibald & Garzone, 2014). Therefore, we could portray the role of the interpreter in two different ways. First, the role of the interpreter as an oral speech and communication converter or transformer. Second, the role of the interpreter as a both linguistic and cultural mediator.

Furthermore, all this which has been mentioned has also been applied to the contexts of immigrants. Authors have suggested that biculturalism is closely related to the acculturation process (Benet, Martínez, 2018) and that bilingualism is often acquired by immigrant communities (Grosjean, 2014).

The following paper will explore these ideas and also link them to the current situation of the Chinese diaspora in Spain. There is not much knowledge regarding this particular community in relation to what has been discussed. There are many reasons for this, among them being that the Chinese community within Spain is really young, and how, due to various external factors, it is ethnically segregated, to some extent. Therefore, the motivation behind this paper is to attract further attention to this community and suggest that accultured individuals from the Chinese diaspora in Spain are good candidates for the interpreting role discussed above, that of the interpreter as a linguistic and cultural mediator.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. The Chinese diaspora

3.1.1. Historic precedents for Chinese diaspora

In order to understand the context of the migration flows of Chinese immigrants, it is important to first understand the recent history of China. The end of Mao Zedong's rule in China marked the start to the country's modernization, and so began the 'reform and opening up' (gaige kaifang) during the 1980's. The "new economic and political goals for the post-Mao era are symbolized by Four Cardinal Principles and the Four Modernizations of Deng Xiaoping" (Brady, 2002, p.565), which meant adopting capitalist systems and the marketization of the economy without ever admitting so (Brady, 2002). Still, despite the significance of this radical switch in the way China would handle its economy, the most innovative aspect of this 'reform and opening up' was indeed the fact that the country would open to the rest of the world when it previously rejected any sort of international affairs (Ferrer et al., 2014).

Interestingly, the 1980's marked the start to a period in which the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) would set the goal of changing the way in which the country showed itself to the world and re-establish itself in the global stage not only as an economic power, but also cultural.

Furthermore, the cultural aspect in China's opening up to the world gained further importance when culture was established as one of China's diplomatic pillars. With the announcement of the 'Going Global' (zhou chu qu) strategy in 2001, the Chinese cultural front responded by announcing their own 'cultural going global' in 2002 with the intention of "establishing a brand-new image of China and building China into an international culture centre" (Liu, 2018, p. 646).

However, the CCP's strategies and policies intended to reintegrate a new China into the global stage could be seen, to some extent, as self-contradictory. An increased contact with foreign parties meant the creation of a sense of 'Chineseness', through which the government would insist on the notion of the 'zuguo', or ancestral land (Brady, 2002). This meant an intertwining of what the CCP considered as traditional socialist and Chinese values, and the reconsideration and return to these values meant the resurgence of an ancient civilization (Brady, 2002). Even more so, with an increased outsider influence on China, "Jiang Zemin publicly urged cadres to 'stress politics,' and indirect reference to the perceived corrupting influences of excessive Westernization" (Brady, 2002, p. 568).

This rather enclosed-in-itself way of opening to the world found its way into immigration. Gracie (2017) comments on how Xi Jinping considers that the gene of traditional Chinese culture is deeply planted in the mentality of the modern Chinese, emphasising the notion of 'Chineseness', and how he contemplates the motherland, Chinese culture, the Chinese nation or race, and the Chinese socialist road as the 'four identifications.' The intention behind these identifications is to prevent talent drain through migration. 'Chineseness' could be therefore instilled in any possible Chinese migrant as these may be seen as a valuable resource which could greatly benefit China's national interests (Zhou, 2020). With it, a specific type of transnational immigration is motivated: 'overseas nationalism', in which a sense of unification among the Chinese population meant that those who moved on to create immigrant communities overseas would still strongly bear in mind the development and welfare of their homeland (Zhou, 2020). This way, and referring back to Xi's 'four identifications', Chinese migration would nurture two key slogans: the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation and the Chinese dream (Gracie, 2017).

As an attempt to further delve into Chinese migration, Goodkind (2019) mentions four possible classifications of Chinese migrants:

1. Huashang refers to Chinese mercantilists who “travelled abroad to conduct trade and business” (p. 3).
2. Huagong refers to those who travelled in order to provide labour for construction and mining industries.
3. Huaqiao alludes highly skilled professionals who travel abroad to learn about the outside world and who then return to the mainland after a period of time.
4. Huayi refers to Chinese immigrants living in a foreign country from China who then migrate to another foreign country.

Following this classification Goodkind (2019) identifies three trends of Chinese migration. Among them, two could be highlighted in the context of ‘overseas nationalism’. First, that migrants from China are progressively comprised by the “wealthy, highly skilled, or soon-to-be highly skilled (e.g., students pursuing higher education)” (Goodkind, 2019, p. 15). Second, that although evidence suggests an increasing circularity and globalization of migratory flows, there is still a negative net direction of international migration from China, which leads to migration outflow exceeding inflow (Goodkind, 2019). Its relevance within ‘overseas nationalism’ resides in the CCP’s fear of possible talent drain, as mentioned previously. However, the Xi administration sees this as an opportunity for the benefit of their two main slogans: the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation and the Chinese dream (Gracie, 2017), as they may observe this exodus as an opportunity for a “vast potential reserve of talent that it can draw upon for its own benefit” (Goodkind, 2019, p. 15). Therefore, instilling a sense of ‘Chineseness’ within China’s general population and stressing the ‘four identifications’ seem to benefit the country as Chinese migrants would then be expected to ‘give back’ to continental China.

Furthermore, Xi’s government considers the highly skilled, and to be skilled, overseas Chinese, named ‘sea turtles’ (hai-guei), as an incredibly valuable asset. In the context of scientific research, these individuals serve as a nexus for scientific collaboration between their host countries and China. The Nature Index (2015) regards the “links formed by mainland China’s large scientific diaspora and its increasing high-quality research [as] an emerging centre of international collaboration” (p. 568). Therefore, there is a continuous attempt to ‘bring back’ Chinese youth back to China as they represent emerging skilled individuals through programs such as the ‘Thousand Talents Program’ or the ‘China’s Office of Overseas Chinese Affairs’ two-week trips for youth’ by encouraging a sense of belonging (Goodkind, 2019).

3.1.2. Contextualizing Chinese diaspora

In order to explore the implications of bilingualism and biculturalism in the context of the Chinese diaspora, we must first understand what is meant when writing about this particular group. Diaspora is often broadly defined as those ethnic groups who have migrated to a host country but still maintain a strong connection to their homeland (Huang et al., 2016). Interestingly, the term first appeared as a way to refer to the exiled Jewish population who then had to settle outside of their homeland but may now refer to any type of population movements, such as political refugees, ethnic and racial minorities, or foreign workers (Shuval, 2000). Hence, Chinese diaspora may be portrayed as, firstly, those who were born in China but now live in a host country, or, secondly, those who were born outside of China but still identify as Chinese due to a close connection towards their spoken language, ancestry or both (Goodkind, 2019). Still, this proposed definition may only include, as Goodkind (2019) suggests, first generations of Chinese migrants, and as a result ignore the second generation and onwards of descendants who also identify as Chinese albeit being born in the host country.

Second generation immigrants must not be excluded if diaspora itself is defined by sentimental links towards culture and language of origin. To delve into this, we must first understand what is known by transnationalism, a phenomenon which talks about how immigrants maintain “connections to their country of origin and [use] a dual frame of reference to evaluate their experiences and outcomes in the country in which they have settled in” (Louie, 2006, p. 363). The premise of this definition is that immigrants “forge and sustain multi-stranded relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (Schiller et al., 1992, p. 7), instead of experiencing a division or rupture within their cultural attachments. This premise holds itself true to both the contexts of first- and second-generation immigrants as both consider their host countries as their home but are still influenced, to a greater or lesser degree, by their old country (Louie, 2006, p. 364). Due to this, if second-generation immigrants, alike their preceding generation, forge and sustain cultural attachments between their parental culture of origin and their host country culture, then they must be considered as being part of the diaspora as such term is defined, once again, by sentimental links related to language, culture and ancestry.

Furthermore, following the definition of ethnicity as “a large group of people with a shared culture, language, history, set of traditions, etc., or the fact of belonging to one of these groups” (Cambridge Dictionary, 2022), it could be argued that second-generation immigrants develop “ethnic identities that would have little meaning in the parental country of origin, and indeed, to their parents” (Louie, 2006, p. 364). On one hand, this may imply that second-generation

children are born into two different ethnic groups. On the other hand, this in no way devaluates the level of cultural implication with the host culture by first-generation immigrants, but rather enhances the fact that both generations may be considered as being part of the diaspora, albeit different groups.

3.2. A cultural turn

3.2.1. Integration and mediation

3.2.1.1. Immigrant communities and second language and culture acquisition

It is of great interest to focus on the way in which second-generation immigrants juggle two different ethnic identities and how transnationalism manifests itself in their context. With this, Louie (2006) argues that “bilingual language fluency assumes a critical role in understanding transnational behaviours among the second generation, because fluency is not a given in the way it is for the first generation” (p, 366). The point here is that bilingualism is the result of second-generation children wishing to become part of and to identify themselves with their parental country of origin, and in order to participate in this culture, they must need a certain level of fluency in the spoken language (Jones-Correra, 2002). As a result, linguistic proficiency may, under certain circumstances, benefit from individuals wanting to become part of certain ethnic groups due to social identity.

The social aspect of language is explored by Portes & Hao (1998) as they describe a three-generation linguistic shift as:

The immigrant generation learns as much English as it can but speaks the mother tongue at home; the second generation may speak the mother tongue at home but shifts to unaccented English at school and in the workplace; by the third generation, English becomes the home language, and effective knowledge of the parental tongue disappears. (p. 269)

Portes & Hao (1998) then state four key situations resulting from this linguistic shift:

1. There is a general preference for the host country language among children of immigrants.
2. There is a general loss of fluency in parental languages.
3. The degree of bilingual fluency varies greatly depending on the parental nationality of the second-generation.
4. The context in which the acculturation process takes place, such as school, plays a key role in whether second-generation children are able to maintain bilingual fluency.

The common theme between Portes & Hao's (1998) loss of mother tongues in children of immigrants and Louie's (2006) link between bilingual fluency and transnationalism is the way in which the acquisition of linguistic proficiency depends on the social distance between an individual with the host country or their parental country of origin. This being said, Schumann (1995) defines social distance as the degree of proximity between an immigrant population with their host communities. On one hand, as explained by Angulo (2013), this distance between immigrant and host communities, also known as group distance, implies that the further apart the communities, the harder it will be for immigrants to acquire the host country's language. On the other hand, Schumann (1995) indicates that there are cases in which individuals from immigrant communities show characteristics that determine their capacity to learn the host country's language which cannot be explained by social distance and how this concept is incapable of explaining how second language acquisition still occur in immigrant communities which find themselves far away from the host community. Angulo (2013) suggests that, under these individualistic contexts, it is the psychological distance, rather than social distance, which comes in play to explain the acquisition or not of a second language by immigrant communities. Moreover, Angulo (2013) calls this distance individual distance.

Delving into both types of distance, they are determined by a variety of factors.

Firstly, in the case of group distance, Angulo (2013) mentions six main factors:

1. The economic, political, technical status of the immigrant community and whether they are cultural dominant or submissive in relation to host country community.
2. The way in which immigrant communities integrate into the host country, would it be through assimilation, preservation or acculturation.
3. The size of the immigrant community, their degree of isolation, and the amount of cohesion between its members.
4. The perceived similarity between host culture and immigrant culture.
5. Attitudes between host community and immigrant community.
6. The duration of stay in the host country.

Secondly, with individual distance, Angulo (2013) highlights how this phenomenon is determined by linguistic shock, cultural shock and motivation:

1. Linguistic shock has to do with the negative feelings an immigrant may experience when having to use or understand the second language.

2. Cultural shock has to do with how an immigrant may feel fear, confusion and even anxiety when realising that problem solving and coping mechanisms do not work in this new cultural context.
3. Motivation refers to a series of goals an individual sets for themselves when facing a possible acquisition of a new language. These goals can be either integrating or instrumental and suggests that the level of proficiency varies depending on the intended use for the newly acquired language. In the case of it being integrating, there is a genuine interest in learning, allowing the individual to naturally deepen their knowledge and proficiency out of interest. In the case of it being instrumental, then proficiency will be limited to the user being able to understand or make themselves understood.

As a result, aforementioned factors condition the acquisition of the host language by immigrant communities. Still, referring back to Portes & Hao's (1998) effects which result from their linguistic shift, it could be suggested that the way these factors affect first generation immigrants is different to the way in which they affect their children. The proposed idea is that these two different generations view and adapt to the 'same' cultural context in different manners. As a result, the way in which they acquire the second language and develop their ethnic identities is different.

The way in which Portes & Hao (1998) described the three-generation linguistic shift can be explored through Angulo's (2013) group distance factors. Portes & Hao (1998) talk about a linguistic shift from a mixture of use of language of origin with host language in the first generation to the to the full use of host language in the third generation. Moreover, the second generation are born into the host country's culture, which enables them to have an "unaccented English at school and in the workplace" (Portes & Hao, 1998, p. 269), but at the same time speaking their mother tongue at home due to their parents being the first generation. Notwithstanding, and referring to Angulo's (2013) group distance, this process which Portes & Hao (1998) describe the process of assimilation, a form of cultural integration.

3.2.1.2. Cultural assimilation, preservation and acculturation

It is important to establish that not all diasporic communities, particularly the Chinese diaspora in Spain, go through a process of assimilation, in which the original lifestyle and values are substituted by those of the host country (Angulo, 2013). The reason why this is important is due to the fact that the way communities integrate into cultures has great weight within

language acquisition, as explored in Angulo's (2013) group distance. Furthermore, some authors argue that this particular community is undergoing a yet incomplete form of acculturation, a process explained as a way in which an individual adapts to the host country's lifestyle and values without losing their original or parental lifestyles and values. To develop this, Benet-Martínez (2018) describes it as a theory which immigrants and their children going through the acculturating process are accountable to at least two cultural groups when managing their cultural values, behaviours, and identities. These groups in question refer to "the new culture (often the mainstream, dominant culture) and their heritage culture" (Benet-Martínez, 2018, p. 11-12). The management which Benet-Martínez (2018) talks about has to do with how these acculturating individuals balance the possibility of identification and participation with the new culture while retaining identification and involvement with the culture of origin.

In Zhou's (2020) study on the acculturation process of the Chinese second generation in Spain, the author highlights three possible affirmations:

1. The Chinese second generation have a strong ethnic identity, enabling them to preserve their culture of origin facing assimilation.
2. Discrimination towards Chinese individuals in Spain results in a shared feeling of being socially excluded, which in exchange deters their integration.
3. Chinese second-generation individuals have a largely common preference to maintain friendships and other social relationships within their own community (group distance). However, they do feel comfortable in pursuing their professional goals and personal growth in Spain (individual distance).

Following this, it could be argued that the reason why this particular group see their process of acculturation trumped could be due to the way in which they experience transnationalism, as it was previously mentioned, in a way in which it can be seen as 'overseas nationalism'. To illustrate this, Schiller et al. (1992) define transnationalism as a way in which immigrants "forge and sustain multi-stranded relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement" (p. 7). As mentioned before, this leads to a synthesis between cultures, rather than a rupture. In light of second-generation Chinese individuals in Spain, Zhou (2020) suggests that their context of transnational migration means that despite migrating and adapting to the Spanish context, they still maintain connections with their place of origin. Although this idea may lead to Schiller et al. (1992) ideas on cultural synthesis, Zhou (2020) argues that in this

case, transnationalism in the form of ‘overseas nationalism’ may lead to a bias towards preservation rather than acculturation during the integration process due to the aforementioned Chinese government’s history of wanting to bring back their overseas talent back to China.

3.2.1.3. Cultural mediation

Archibald & Garzone (2014) indicate that linguistic and cultural “can be interpreted more broadly, to refer also to situations of cultural contact involving a process of culture learning and synthesis” (p. 7), therefore suggesting that cultural mediation may take place both professionally or spontaneously in contexts apart from interpreting, such as tourism where linguistic and cultural mediation would also take place.

In the case of interpreting, it might seem to go hand in hand with cultural mediation as interpreters must, in order to convey meaning beyond verbal language itself, recognise paralinguistic elements to then be able to portray them through the interpretation. Still, organisations such as the European Commission, UNICEF and Women’s Refugee Commission have considered clear differences between the roles of interpreters and cultural mediators.

Firstly, the European Commission (2022) clearly highlights that:

A cultural mediator should not be confused with the term interpreter, as intercultural mediation is a much wider and a more enriched means of communicating messages from sender to receiver than interpreting.

Hence, an interpreter may culturally mediate during an interpretation, but not necessarily be a cultural mediator. They also suggest that intercultural mediation, though not registered as a profession, could be considered as such (European Commission, 2022).

Furthermore, the European Commission define the roles of the cultural mediator and interpreter as the following:

1. Cultural mediator: In the migration context, a professional who facilitates the communication (including interpretation) between people speaking different languages and with different backgrounds (European Commission, 2022a).
2. Interpreter: In the migration context, a professional who is expected to convert oral communication from a source language to a target language and vice versa to ensure appropriate communication between migrants and staff of public authorities in particular who do not speak the same language (European Commission, 2022b).

Secondly, UNICEF and the Women’s Refugee Commission describe these two roles in the following manner:

1. Linguistic cultural mediator (LCM): Facilitates communication between peoples, service providers and institutions taking into account cultural elements. They also aid in the understanding of cultural attitudes, behaviours and beliefs (UNICEF & Women’s Refugee Commission, 2021).
2. Interpreter: Verbally translates from the source language to a target language by means of simultaneous, consecutive and bilateral interpreting (UNICEF & Women’s Refugee Commission, 2021).

Interestingly, alike the European Commission, UNICEF and the Women’s Refugee Commission indicate that cultural mediators are not considered as a professional figure in many countries. On the other hand, they both state that an interpreter is indeed a “professional figure whose training and internship has been formulated on the basis of standard criteria” (UNICEF & Women’s Refugee Commission, 2021, p. 3).

The following is a table (Annex 1) created by UNICEF and the Women’s Refugee Commission (2021) which clearly portrays the differences between an interpreter and a cultural mediator, or LCM:

	Interpreter	LCM
Convey information as accurately as possible, while being faithful to the source	X	X
Act as a bridge between cultures	X	X
Provide cultural context		X
Liaise with communities, collect information and feed it back to relevant parties		X
Facilitate communication between two parties	X	X
Provide additional cultural support, as well as conveying information		X
Remain impartial and neutral in any situation	X	X
Adapt language to target audience	X	X
Be sensitive to, and aware of, the situation of the target group	X	X

Table 1 Source: UNICEF & Women’s Refugee Commission, 2021

We can see that the main difference found between interpreters and LCMs is the fact that interpreters do not provide either cultural context or cultural support. Moreover, it should also be duly noted that there is an emphasis on the verbal and non-verbal aspects of each role:

Interpreters verbally translate from one language to another language [and] LCMs facilitate communication between one person or a group of people and a service provider or an institution, including cultural elements (both verbal and non-verbal) (UNICEF & Women's Refugee Commission, 2021, p. 8).

Linking this to the European Commission's view on the matter, they indicate, as mentioned above, that interpreters convert oral communication from a source language to a target language and vice versa (European Commission, 2022b) while cultural mediators facilitate communication as a whole (European Commission, 2022a).

As a result, it could be suggested that, in contrast to translating, we may find a rupture between culture mediation and interpreting as there is a train of thought which implies that cultural aspects during a communicative process are not considered within the interpreting process. Instead, interpreters only take on the conversion of oral communication, while it falls to LCMs to fill in the cultural gap. However, there has been an ongoing debate regarding this issue.

Mikkelson (1999), in the light of common myths about interpreting, stated that the idea on how "only community interpreters deal with cultural differences" (p. 2) could be indeed considered as one of such myths. Furthermore, the author affirms that though it was commonly known that interpreters working in medical and social contexts had to be aware of cultural differences, it was important to realize that court interpreters were also expected to take culture into account (Mikkelson, 1999), suggesting that the presence of a cultural aspect within interpreting was widespread in more contexts than it was commonly thought to be. Even more so, Mikkelson (1999) states that "what many of these interpreters may not recognize is that conference interpreters, too, consider themselves not just linguistic but also cultural intermediaries" (p. 8). Then, if interpreters may also be considered cultural intermediaries, then under which circumstances could an interpreter be differentiated from a cultural mediator.

Therefore, we must establish what it is meant by 'mediator'. Bochner (1981) suggest that the "essence of the mediating function is to shape exchanges between the participating societies so that the contact will benefit those cultures" (p. 3). Archibald & Garzone (2014) comment on this definition by indicating its general nature, as in addition to the roles of translation and interpreting, the definition "embraces mediating roles that are inherent in a wide range of situations of cultural contact: dissemination of technical innovations, migration, international trade relations, multi-cultural education, cross-cultural counselling, academic, business and

military ‘sojourn’, tourism, etc.” (p. 9). With this, Archibald & Garzone (2014) comment on two types of mediating functions:

The mediator-as-translator whose purpose is to represent one culture to another faithfully and thereby contribute to mutual understanding and accurate cross-cultural reference [and] the mediator-synthesizer, whose purpose is to reconcile disparate culture practices (p. 9).

Regarding the mediator-as-translator, Archibald & Garzone (2014) suggest that this type of mediating function within the context of interpreting calls upon the role of the oral linguistic and cultural mediator. They note that it is of common occurrence that the dialogue interpreter, when working in social non-conference interpreting assignments, is considered as the mediator-person. As a result, giving place to various denominations for those professionals who work under these contexts:

‘Language mediator, ‘language and culture mediator (or: linguistic and cultural mediator)’, ‘culture (or: cultural) mediator’, and a whole range of variations, such as ‘intercultural translator’ and ‘intercultural mediator’ [...] ‘intercultural mediator (health care sector), ‘social interpreter’ and ‘social translator’ (for the social sector) in Belgium, etc. (Archibald & Garzone, 2014, p. 11).

Still, despite the weight of the cultural component found within these different roles, the translational component cannot be ignored. Similarly, due to the social aspect of these interpreting roles, interpreting and its translational component cannot be seen as a “literal transposition of a text but entails – to differing degrees depending on specific cases – a cultural transfer” (Archibald & Garzone, 2014, p. 11-12). As a result, social interpreters work in contexts where there is a substantial cultural component cannot ignore either the linguistic or cultural factor of the exchange.

On one hand, regarding the interpreting component of these exchanges, Archibald & Garzone (2014) argue that it cannot be ignored the fact that the “first and main task of a linguistic/cultural mediator is to facilitate linguistic exchanges as far as possible” (p. 12). Therefore, the value and importance of well-trained professionals should not be overlooked, as not anyone with the necessary cultural sensibilities should undertake the interpreting task. On the other hand, these exchanges require the understanding of and assistance for foreigners in coping with problems during the initial cultural contact, different norms and values and

socioculturally different modes of behaviour which vary from culture to culture (Archibald & Garzone, 2014).

If the cultural component within an interpretation cannot be overlooked and has equal value facing the linguistic component, then which differences could we consider as differentiating factors between the role of interpreters and LCMs? Referring back to the table (Table 1) (UNICEF and the Women's Refugee Commission, 2021), the proposed differences in that case was that interpreters did not offer either cultural support or context. Notwithstanding, many authors do consider the cultural component inseparable from the linguistic component.

In the case of Pöchhacker (2008), the author suggests the existence of three dimensions when viewing interpreting as a form of mediation: linguistic and cultural mediation, cognitive mediation and contractual mediation.

Firstly, linguistic and cultural mediation could be seen as a synonym for interpreting as, in many cases, language and culture cannot be separated (Pöchhacker, 2008) due to how interpreters must be able to understand cultural contexts in order for the interpretation to be intelligible in said context. Hence, suggesting that both components, linguistic and cultural, cannot be separated.

Secondly, cognitive mediation refers to the interpreter's own capability to judge and identify the need to mediate or not in certain situations. As such, this type of mediation prevents the interpretation from restricting itself to faithfully transmit the meaning of the message and rejects the image of the interpreter as a translation machine (Wang, 2017).

Thirdly, contractual mediation means to represent UNESCO and the Women's Refugee Commission's (2021) idea of an LCM. Interestingly, the way in which they portray LCMs as those who offer cultural context and support, unlike interpreters, directly clash with Pöchhacker's (2008) idea of linguistic and cultural mediation as a synonym for interpreting.

So, when portraying LCMs following Pöchhacker's (2008) ideas, the LCM is indeed an interpreter who, unlike UNESCO and the Women's Refugee Commission's (2021) portrayal of them, do manage and offer cultural components during their interpreting. As a result, UNESCO and the Women's Refugee Commission's (2021) view for LCMs, following Pöchhacker's (2008) ideas, refer not to linguistic and cultural mediation, but rather contractual mediation. Therefore, the process of contractual mediation, as further highlighted by Wang

(2018), is “intended to resolve conflicts, so as to facilitate intercultural understanding and communication beyond language demarcation” (p. 98).

Moreover, Wang (2018) suggests that there are two ways in which interpreters may utilize their cultural knowledge: for linguistic and cultural mediation or for contractual mediation. On one hand, linguistic and cultural mediation, in this case, refers to the traditional idea of interpreting, in which cultural knowledge is employed by the interpreter to mediate speech, in the mediator-as-translator sense (Archibald & Garzone, 2014). On the other hand, contractual mediation refers to the way in which the responsible party has “to do more than just rendering spoken words into a different language; they are also required to resolve (potential) conflicts and facilitate communication” (Wang, 2018, p. 99).

Regarding the mediator-as-synthesizer, this mediating role proposed by Archibald & Garzone (2014) is intended to “embody the conciliation of different cultures” (p. 13). Furthermore, they describe the individuals who partake in this role as those who find themselves between different cultural systems who are able to “reconcile and synthesize disparate cultural practices” (Archibald & Garzone, 2014, p. 13). Therefore, someone who acts as a mediator-as-synthesizer is someone who does not restrict themselves to any of the two cultures, but still managing to understand the intricate signals used in the expression of each culture (Archibald & Garzone, 2014). It must also be noted that although transcending above these two cultures in question, the mediator-as-synthesizer does not alienize themselves from neither culture.

Also, the mediator-as-synthesizer model strongly corresponds to Pöchhacker’s (2008) mediation type of contractual mediation. The reason for this is due to how the mediator-as-synthesizer can “include mediating activities in general, rather than specific professional profiles, seeing such activities as sites of mediation between cultures” (Archibald & Garzone, 2014, p. 14). As a result, the mediator-as-synthesizer does not limit itself to interpreters, but instead is open to a wide range of situations which require careful heed of culture:

Soujourns (e.g. overseas students, technical aid experts), settling (immigrants, captives), subcultural mobility (entrants into a profession), segregation (hospital patients, prisoners), changes in society (modernization, military occupation) [...] also expatriation, tourism, sojourn for business purposes, etc. (Archibald & Garzone, 2014, p.13).

3.2.2. Dimension of culture

In the following points, we will establish two ideas proposed by authors Hofstede and Hall which may serve as basis for reviewing and comparing cultures.

3.2.2.1. Hofstede's culture dimensions

Starting with Hofstede's culture dimensions, they are comprised of the following dimensions and parameters: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism, masculinity, long-term vs short-term orientation, and indulgence vs restraint (Hofstede, 2011).

Power distance

Delving into each one, power distance refers to the measurement of inequality between more and less powerful members within an organization, institution or family defined from below. This means that it is measured as the extent to which these less powerful members accept and expect that power is distributed unequally (Hofstede, 2011).

Small power distance	Large power distance
Parents treat children as equals	Parents teach children obedience
Student-centered education	Teacher-centered education
Subordinates expect to be consulted	Subordinates expect to be told what to do
Religions stressing equality of believers	Religions with a hierarchy of priests

Table 2 Source: Hofstede, 2011

Uncertainty avoidance

Uncertainty avoidance refers to society's tolerance for ambiguity, indicating to what extent the members of said culture feel either comfortable or uncomfortable when facing unstructured situations (Hofstede, 2011).

Weak uncertainty avoidance	Strong uncertainty avoidance
The uncertainty inherent in life is accepted and each day is taken as it comes	The uncertainty inherent in life is felt as a continuous threat that must be fought
Ease, lower stress, self-control, low anxiety	Higher stress, emotionality, anxiety, neuroticism
Comfortable with ambiguity and chaos	Need for clarity and structure
Changing jobs poses no problems	Staying in jobs even if disliked

Table 3 Source: Hofstede, 2011

Individualism

The dimension for individualism is contrasted with collectivism, and it refers to societal individualism and collectivism, not individual. It refers to how members of a particular society

integrates into groups, the degree to which they are cohesive, the loyalty of group members, opposition to other groups, etc. (Hofstede, 2011).

Individualism	Collectivism
'I' consciousness	'We' consciousness
Right of privacy	Stress on belonging
Speaking one's mind is healthy	Harmony should always be maintained
Others classified as individuals	Others classified as in-group or out-group

Table 4 Source: Hofstede, 2011

Masculinity

Regarding masculinity, it is contrasted with femininity and refers to values distribution between genders within a society. Feminine cultures tend to have fewer differing values among societies, whilst masculine cultures tend to have larger differences between societies on the grounds of assertiveness and competitiveness (Hofstede, 2011).

Femininity	Masculinity
Sympathy for the weak	Admiration for the strong
Both fathers and mothers deal with facts and feelings	Fathers deal with facts, mothers with feelings
Both boys and girls cry but neither should fight	Girls cry and should not fight, while boys do not cry and should fight back
Sex is a way of relating	Sex is a way of performing

Table 5 Source: Hofstede, 2011

Long-term orientation

Long-term orientated cultures are characterized by being persistent, are able to adapt their traditions to new circumstances, and think that most important events in life will occur in the future, while short-term orientated cultures focus on the past, and they expect traditions to be unchanged (Everdingen & Waarts, 2003).

Short-term orientation	Long-term orientation
Traditions are sacrosanct	Traditions are adaptable to changed circumstances
Social spending and consumption	Large savings quote, funds available for investment

Universal guidelines about what is good and evil	Good and evil depends upon the circumstances
Most important events in life occur either in the past or the immediate present	Most important events in life will occur in the future

Table 6 Source: Hofstede, 2011

Indulgence

The dimension on indulgence versus restraint refers to how a society manages gratification, whether it is relatively free or needs to be regulated by means of strict social norms (Hofstede, 2011).

Indulgence	Restrained
Freedom of speech seen as important	Freedom of speech is not a primary concern
Higher importance of leisure	Lower importance of leisure
A perception of personal life control	A perception of helplessness: what happens to me is not my own doing
More likely to remember positive emotions	Less likely to remember positive emotions

Table 7 Source: Hofstede, 2011

3.2.2.2. Hall's dimensions of communication

Hall (1976) established that dimensions of communication could be classified depending on whether the culture could be considered of low-context or high-context. It is said that contextual cues are especially relevant for the interpretation of the message when communicating in high-context cultures, while information is mainly contained within words in the case of low-context cultures (Everdingen & Waarts, 2003). As a result, it is possible to create a distinction between the communication within both types of cultures: 'direct' and 'indirect' (Klagge, 2012). This means that in high-context cultures, there is an inclination towards 'indirect' communication where messages are decoded from non-verbal and environmental cues. Low-context cultures, on the other hand, prefer 'direct' communication where, as said before, messages may be interpreted directly from words.

The main differences between low-context and high-context cultures, and direct and indirect types of communication are shown in the following tables.

Low-context cultures	High-context cultures
Personal achievements celebrated	Group achievements celebrated

Fact-based	Value-based
Results-oriented	Relationship-oriented
Larger personal space	Closer personal space
Quick-paced	Slow-paced

Table 8 Source: Klagge, 2012

Aspect of communication	Direct communication	Indirect communication
Style	Explicit	Implicit
Speed	Quick	Slow
Information base	Data validity	Opinion reliability
Decisions	Bottom line rules	Consensus rules
Conflicts	Acceptable	Non-acceptable
Emotions	Acceptable	Non-acceptable
Terminal value	Goal achievement	Group cohesiveness

Table 9 Source: Klagge, 2012

Regarding how Spain and China figure within these dimensions and types of communication, Everdingen & Waarts (2003) score Spain with 14 points and China with 15 points (out of 16). As a result, both of them belong the higher positions of high-context cultures and both utilise indirect communication. However, it is interesting that some authors argue that misunderstandings between Spanish and Chinese cultures are often due to indirect communication itself.

Fisac (2008) argues that Spanish speech is direct by referencing a saying: ‘al pan, pan y al vino, vino’, which could be translated as to ‘call a spade a spade’, implying that Spaniards get right to the point. The author contrasts this to the way in which Chinese people communicate, indicating that this directness in speech is considered as a lack of education, as being able to communicate indirectly denotes sophistication, greater culture and finesse. Furthermore, this does not only apply to spoken speech, as the author also highlights this difference when conducting business. Fisac (2008) argues that the Spanish have an obsession in getting straight to the point during business, while the Chinese will first invite the other party to dinner in order to build confidence first and then conduct business second. This idea then clashes with the previous classification, where both Spanish and Chinese cultures are high-context and opt for indirect communication. Moreover, World Population Review (2022) also classify China and Spain as high-context:

- China: high-context due to its culture influenced by Confucian elements. Also, direct communication is avoided due to how it is socially awkward and uncomfortable, and it goes against the well-established idea of 'saving face', where one intends to retain honour.
- Spain: high-context due to how verbal interaction occurs through the lens of those who said it, where they come from, the way in which it is said, and the emotions and motives behind the words. Furthermore, Spaniards extrapolate meaning through non-verbal communication because they value well-developed relationships, leading to them always being aware of the context and environment when conversing with others.

As a result, it may seem strange that albeit both cultures having such similarities under Hall's dimensions of communication, some authors still suggest a prevalence of cultural misunderstanding between them.

We suggest that both Spanish and Chinese cultures contain intrinsic cultural elements which favour understanding and a good relation between them. Still, due to external factors, this process is hindered. As a result, we also suggest that it is not a question on whether both cultures are not able to understand each other, but rather that there is a necessity for effort in bridging knowledge between both cultures. This is where the role of interpreters and cultural mediation may be introduced.

3.3. Biculturalism and bilingualism

3.3.1. Biculturalism

Authors like Benet-Martínez (2018) describe biculturalism as "one of the four possible outcomes of the acculturation process" (p. 11), in which the acculturating individual manages to engage with both cultures, in contrast to separation, marginalization and assimilation, which respectively refer to only engaging with the culture of origin, lack of engagement with either culture, and engaging solely with the host culture. Furthermore, Benet-Martínez (2018) considers that biculturalism is synonymic to integration, suggesting that an individual who has managed to balance involvement and participation with both cultures are indeed bicultural and as a result integrated. However, this view in particular may partially clash with how Angulo (2014) considers integration, as in this case, the author considers acculturation as a type of integrating process beside preservation and assimilation. Moreover, under Angulo's (2014) point of view, an individual who follows the integrating process of acculturation is indeed someone who balances the lifestyle and values of their culture of origin and of the host culture.

In this case, although Angulo (2014) bears no mention to biculturalism, the definition for the accultured individual falls in line with Benet-Martinez's (2018) idea on the integrated, or bicultural, individual. Therefore, despite certain differences, the idea on biculturalism remains similar, that is an individual who, following their clashing of original and host cultures, manage to balance each one out without focusing on or alienating themselves from either of them. Other authors such as Grosjean (2014) add to this notion by stating how bicultural individuals:

Firstly, they take part, to varying degrees, in the life of two or more cultures. Secondly, they adapt, at least in part, their attitudes, behaviours, values, languages, etc., to these cultures. Thirdly they combine and blend aspects of the cultures involved (p. 4).

As such, it could be suggested that previously mentioned authors regard biculturalism as a cultural context within an individual when they have internalized and blend both cultures, in a sense that they are intertwined within the bicultural person.

On the other hand, authors like Luna et al. (2008) consider that “biculturals may have distinct cognitive frameworks associated with each of their cultures and languages” (p. 279) in the sense that bicultural individuals have culture specific cognitive structures dedicated to each cultural context, something which in practice is known as ‘frame switching’ (Luna et al., 2008). This train of thought regarding biculturalism differentiates itself from the former by not focusing on how an individual internalises two cultures, but rather on how they manage to perform in them. In the light of this, Grosjean (2014) describes this way of viewing biculturalism as the “emphasis on the equivalence of fluency” (p. 4).

Despite treating biculturalism from two different angles, the common factor among them is the fact that the bicultural individual indeed participates within both cultures. As a result, Luna et al. (2008) tackling of biculturalism through the individual's performance within both cultures still fall in line with Grosjean (2014), Benet-Martinez (2018) and Angulo's (2014) idea of how it differentiates itself from other cultural contexts by focusing on the parallel management of two cultures, rather than preserving the original culture whilst rejecting host culture or assimilating host culture and abandoning the original culture. As a result, a bicultural in all cases refer to, following Angulo's (2014) processes of integration, an accultured individual.

3.3.2. Bilingualism

As Butler (2013) suggests, the term bilingual, just like multilingual, has been widely used to refer to those who “have obtained the ability to use more than one language” (p. 111). However,

the author indicates that despite this widespread usage, it is still a “highly complex social, psychological, and linguistic phenomena” (Butler, 2013, p. 111) bilingualism may be subject to various definitions due to said complexity. Authors such as (Bloomfield, 1933) refer to bilingual individuals as those who have a “native-like control of two languages” (p. 53). This train of thought implies the existence of the “‘real’, the ‘pure’, the ‘balanced’, the ‘perfect’ bilinguals” (Grosjean, 2014, p. 2). Still, this perfect control of both languages which may suggest that these bilingual individuals in question are able to resemble monolinguals in each of their languages is rare. Furthermore, if ‘true bilinguals’ were classified as bilinguals, then “one would be left with no label for the vast majority of people who use two or more languages regularly but who do not have native-like fluency in each language” (Grosjean, 2014, p. 2). Moreover, even trying to generate a classification for bilinguals through language proficiency is complicated as “some bilinguals are highly proficient in both languages they speak, while other bilinguals clearly have a dominant or preferred language” (Grant & Gottardo, 2008, p. 1). As a result, some authors suggest pulling away from the ‘native-like control’ emphasis on bilingualism proposed by Bloomfield (1933) and instead define bilinguals as those who ‘know’ two languages (Valdez & Figueroa, 1944) or those who “use two or more languages (or dialects) in their everyday lives” (Grosjean, 2014, p. 5).

This latter train of thought then suggests that there are varying degrees of bilingualism as it gives place to ‘language dominance’ (Grant & Gottardo, 2008) and usage ‘domains’ (Grosjean, 2014), which suggest that bilingual individuals have varying skills depending on their dominant language, and that this dominant language does not necessarily need to be their first language (L1) as it depends on the domain in which the language is used (Grant & Gottardo, 2008) be it at school, home or work. Furthermore, this idea entails Grosjean’s (2014) Complementarity Principle in which it states that “bilinguals usually acquire and use their languages for different purposes, in different domains of life, with different people” (p. 3) as different domains require different languages.

Still, there are authors which, on the lines of language acquisition, suggest that the age in which the second language (L2) is acquired is of great importance. Some suggest that L2 acquisition before five years of age enables native-like organization of language due to the stage of the brain’s development (De Houwer, 2005). Furthermore, this perspective suggests that the time between when L1 and L2 are acquired also carries importance. Following this, there are two possible cases: first, simultaneous bilingualism which occurs when L1 and L2 are acquired at the same time prior to one year of age (De Houwer, 2005), and second, sequential bilingualism

which occurs when L1 or L2 is acquired before or after the other (Flege, 1995). Moreover, it is then suggested that a late acquisition of L2, even in childhood, would stop these children from being considered native speakers within their L2 despite their high proficiency with the language (Flege, 1995). Also, the suggested emphasis on whether these users are to be considered native does not necessarily fall in line with the aforementioned ‘native-like control’ view on bilinguals as despite recognising these users as non-native speakers, they are still valued as sequential bilinguals.

Furthermore, authors such as Grosjean (2014) suggest that simultaneous bilingualism is far rarer than sequential bilingualism by indicating how “the majority of child bilinguals start monolingually [as] they first acquire a home language and then, usually when they start going to school, they learn a second language, most often the majority language” (p. 6). As a result, despite the idea on how sequential bilingualism disables a user from being considered as a native speaker, it does not impede them from becoming bilingual as there is no age limit for acquiring a new language nor there is a limit for the fluency a user can attain under these circumstances (Grosjean, 2014).

However, some authors suggest that this broader way of viewing bilingualism, in the sense that anyone can become bilingual at any point of their lives, albeit its advantages, may imply that “bilinguals include any individuals who are not monolinguals” (Butler, 2013, p. 111). Therefore, suggesting that any non-monolingual (multilanguage user) may be considered bilingual. In the light of this, some authors propose a distinction between bilingual, multilingual and multilanguage users:

The term bilingual is used to refer to one type of multilanguage user who uses two languages, whereas multilingual refers to [multilanguage] users of more than two languages such as trilinguals, quadrilinguals, and so forth (Butler, 2013, p. 112).

Through this differentiation, we may view the multilanguage user as the, and bilingual and multilingual users as its co-meronyms. Within multilingual users we may then find trilinguals, quadrilinguals, and so forth. This relation, moreover, supports itself on the way the multilanguage user is described as those who are communicatively competent in more than one language, with varying degrees of proficiency, and both in oral or written forms (Butler, 2013). However, why a bilingual user exempts themselves from being too considered as multilingual along with trilinguals highlights the unclear boundaries between these two groups. This lack

of clearness is further accentuated when comparing the boundaries between bilingualism and multilingualism with those between multilingualism and monolingualism (Butler, 2013).

Still, despite these differentiations between the bilingual, multilingual and multilanguage user may still suggest that the classification of an individual as a bilingual is through the impossibility of being classified as any other type of linguistic user (monolingual or multilingual). Furthermore, bilingualism being the “highly complex social, psychological, and linguistic phenomena” (Butler, 2013, p. 111) it is, cannot be studied in the same manner as a trilingual would be studied despite both falling under the category of the multilanguage user. Hence, the exact way to identify and measure bilingualism remains hard put in its depiction.

Regarding the exact method in which bilingualism could be measured authors such as Grosjean (2014) tried to measure it through the Complementarity Principle which focuses on language use, fluency and the domain of use by highlighting three main factors:

1. The degree to which fluency of a language is developed depends on the number of domains it can be spoken in and the amount of people it can be spoken with.
2. How language dominance is rarely “balanced” in the sense that someone bilingual may be globally dominant within a language but then only dominant in some aspects within another. Also, dominance is a mixture of language fluency, usage, as well as how language itself is distributed across all different domains of life.
3. A bilingual may not have a specific domain covered by two languages and as such resorting to translation in order to search for equivalents and bridge the gaps between their languages.

Although we will not be using these factors as the exact method to measure bilingualism, it still adds to Butler’s (2013) view on how treating bilingualism is a complicated multidimensional matter. Moreover, when speaking of this multidimensional aspect, Butler (2013) specifies the following:

- Balanced and dominant bilinguals: the relationship between the proficiency of both languages.
- Receptive and productive bilinguals: the functional ability.
- Simultaneous, sequential and late bilinguals: the age of acquisition of the language.
- Elite/elective and folk/circumstantial bilinguals: language status and learning environment.
- Additive and subtractive bilinguals: learning and retention of L2 and L1, respectively.

- L1 monocultural, L2 accultural, and deculturated bilinguals: regarding cultural identity. All in all, both authors suggestions on how bilinguals can be classified serve as scope to visualize the complexity in talking about bilingualism. Still, we support the idea that bilingualism can be attained at any age, that there will be varying degrees of proficiency (language dominance) depending on the context of use and the point of life in which the individual find themselves in, that bilinguals should not be viewed as being native-like in both their languages, and that culture should indeed have a larger presence within the study of bilingualism.

4. METHODOLOGY

For the next section of analysis and discussion, our intention is to synthesise what has been discussed up till now and link them all together in order to more visibly portray our suggestions on the matter. To do so, we first searched data on Chinese immigration in Spain in order to have a base idea on the past and current state of this particular community within the country. This data can be seen in point 5.1., were we compared the size of the Chinese diaspora in Spain with that in Italy, United Kingdom and France. The choice of these countries for comparison is due to how various sources indicate that there is a particularly strong presence of the Chinese community. The comparison itself was made with the intention to check that despite the suspected large and rapid growth of the Chinese community in Spain, it is still small compared to other destinations. If this is indeed true, then we may suggest that the presence of Chinese people and culture within the country is still relatively young, possibly leading to both a lacking acculturation process and intercultural understanding. Regarding the data itself, we searched for statistics on migration in Spain in the webpages of the Instituto Nacional de Estadística and epdata, where comprehensive data on Chinese migratory flows into Spain can be found. This data was then transformed into graphs for visual representation through an online graph-making website called Visme.

Then further on, in point 5.2., we compared Chinese and Spanish cultures through Hofstede's 6 culture dimensions. This was done with the goal to establish a base idea on the main differences and disparities between both cultures. The idea was that if both cultures are indeed greatly different in many aspects, then this difference could very well hinder the acculturation process of the Chinese community in Spain. To explore this, we followed what was discussed on Hofstede's 6 culture dimensions and analysed the individual scores and characteristics of each culture under each culture dimension. Furthermore, we also searched each countries'

respective scores on Hofstede Insights, where scores for each individual country are listed for their comparison.

Then, in point 5.3., we explore, bearing in mind previous points, if the linguistic and cultural context of diaspora could favour them in taking on the task of intercultural mediation. For this, we refer back to the ideas on biculturalism and linguistic and cultural mediation explored during points 3.2.1.3 and 3.3.1. Furthermore, we thought that it would also be of interest to check the current state of Chinese interpreters in Europe and also Spain, specifically, as we had the preconception of this group being small in numbers.

Finally, for point 5.4., we thought it would be of great interest to realise survey on what is understood as bilingualism. The survey itself was conducted through Google Forms¹ and participants were university students ranging from 18-23 years of age. The final sample had a size of 47 participants, which is indeed too small for us to extrapolate results. Despite this, we considered that it still would be a good way to visualize the ideas on bilingualism proposed by the authors throughout point 3.3.2. The idea prior receiving any results from the survey was that, when thinking of bilingualism and its acquisition, there is not much thought on the cultural aspect of the process, in the sense that the multidimensional aspect of bilingualism is commonly ignored. Moreover, we thought that participants would closely relate the measurement of bilingualism with language fluency, and how such fluency may be globally applied to all domains in which the language is used. Also, when asking about ‘official certifications for languages’, we were referring to tests such as the Cambridge English Language Assessment² and the TOEFL³. On the other hand, due to the lack of individuals belonging to the Chinese community, it was not possible to ascertain any type of ideas on how these people view bilingualism. Nevertheless, we thought that, in any case, if results of the survey showed that bilingualism can be achieved in later stages of life, rather than having to be born into it, then, following what was discussed in point 3.3.2., Chinese immigrants may indeed be considered bilinguals at some points of their lives. As for the relationship between bilingualism and interpreting, we considered that it would not be in our interest to dive into this particular matter as our focus is the cultural aspect of interpreting, as we propose the interpreting role as a synonym for the interpreter as a linguistic and cultural mediator.

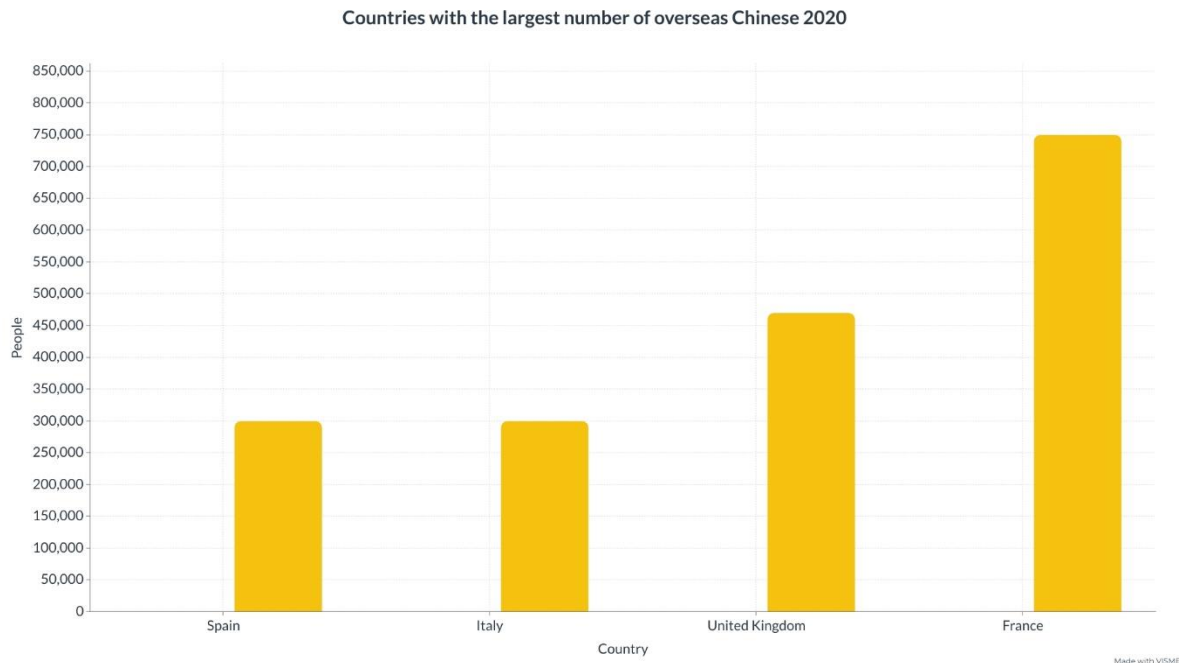
¹ <https://www.google.com/forms/about/>

² Full details on the way language proficiency is qualified through this test can be found on <https://www.cambridgeenglish.org/exams-and-tests/>

³ Full details on the way language proficiency is qualified through this test can be found on <https://www.ets.org/toefl>

5. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

5.1. Data on Chinese diaspora



Graph 1 Source: Statista, the Overseas Community Affairs Council of Taiwan

The following data provided by the Overseas Community Affairs Council of Taiwan (2020) includes data of both first- and second-generation Chinese immigrants living in host countries who still identify as Chinese. Therefore, the portrayed data may have higher values than other figures published by other organizations such as the United Nations or the OECD (Statista, 2022). Nevertheless, the data shown is still capable of providing insight into the European countries which host the largest communities of Chinese immigrants.

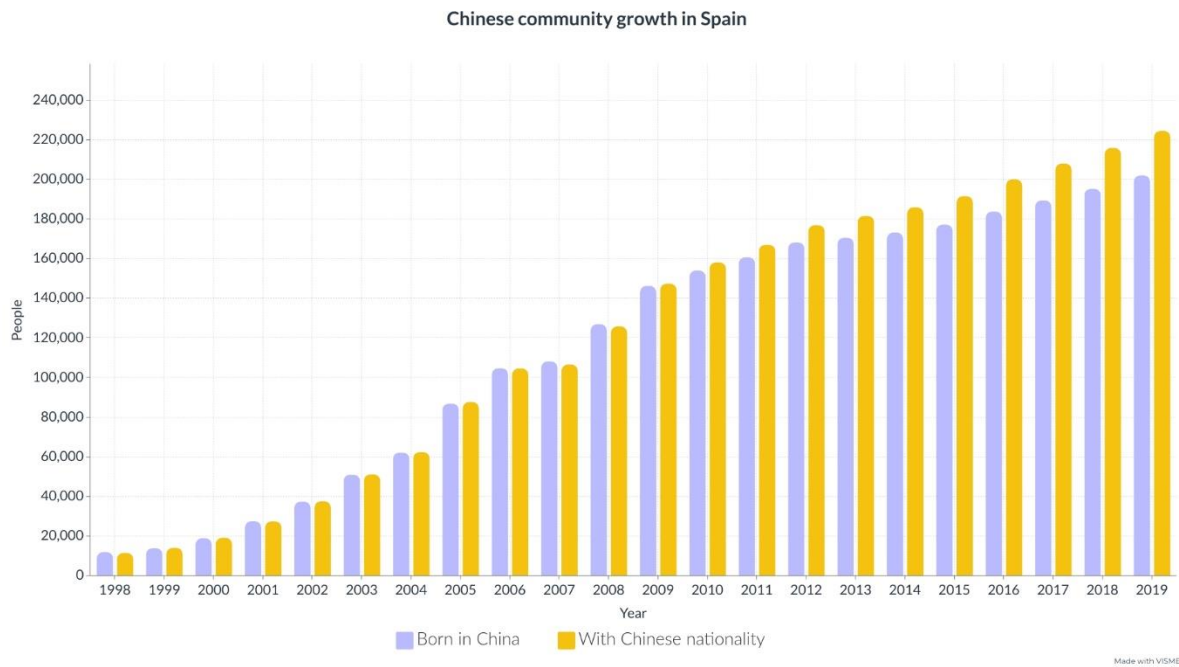
Firstly, France finds itself as the host country with the largest community of Chinese immigrants with an estimate population of 750,000. Half of said community finds itself located in Paris, particularly its three Chinatown districts: the 13th Arrondissement, the Temple and Arts-et-Meriers area, and the Belleville area (Academy for Cultural Diplomacy, 2022, par 9).

In second place, as portrayed through the data, comes the United Kingdom with a Chinese immigrant population of 470,000. This community finds itself focalised in London, the Chinese Quarter of Birmingham, Manchester's Chinatown and Liverpool's Chinatown (Academy for Cultural Diplomacy, 2022, párr. 8).

Lastly, the data indicates that Italy and Spain find themselves tied in third place, both with population estimates of 300,000 Chinese immigrants. In the case of Italy, Chinese communities

are largely found in Milan’s Chinatown, Rome and Prato (Academy for Cultural Diplomacy, 2022, párr. 10). Regarding Spain, Chinese communities can be found concentrated within the cities of Madrid, particularly the district of Usera, and in the metropolitan area of Barcelona, notably in Santa Coloma de Gramenet (Aragó, 2020, párr. 12-13).

Further delving into data of Chinese immigrants in Spain, we may observe a substantial growth from this community during the last two decades.



Graph 2 Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, epdata

In order to contextualize growth, we will now indicate the specific number of Chinese immigrants (with Chinese nationality, not born in China) pertaining to each year, every five years, starting from the year 1998:

- 1998: 11,611 Chinese immigrants
- 2003: 51,228 Chinese immigrants
- 2008: 125,914 Chinese immigrants
- 2013: 181,701 Chinese immigrants
- 2018: 215,970 Chinese immigrants

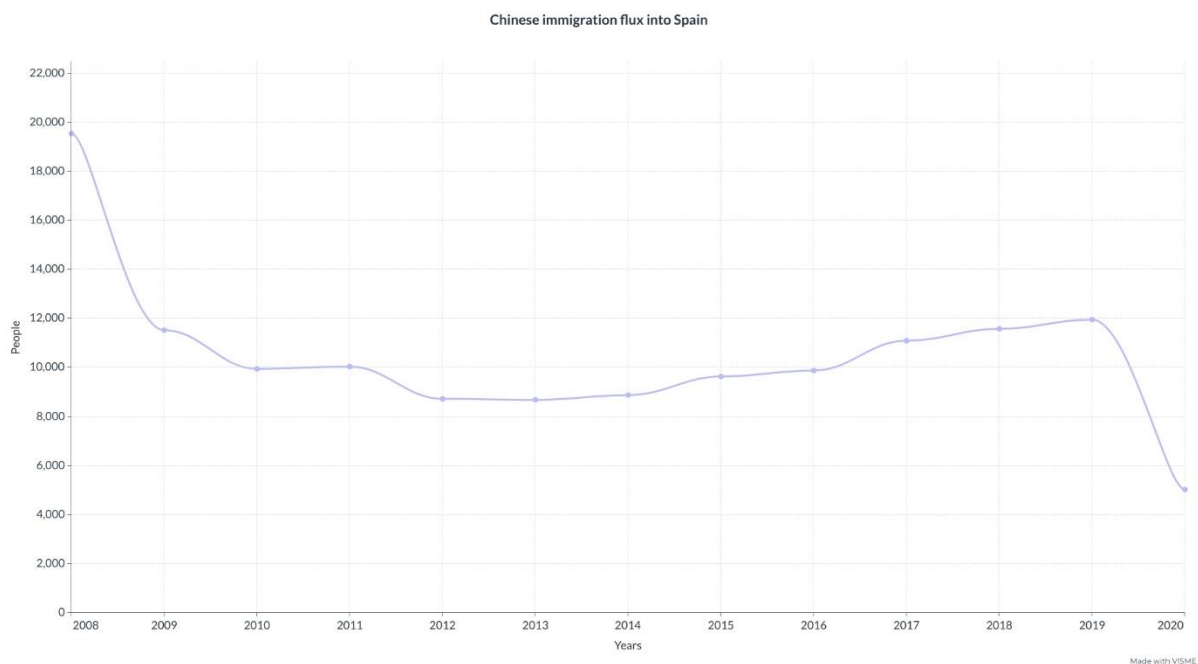
With the following data, we may highlight two phenomena:

1. The existence of steep increase in Chinese immigrant population from the year 2003 to the year 2008. The possible reason behind this could indeed be the aforementioned

‘Going Global’ (zhou chu qu) strategy, in which since the year 2001, China would further open itself to the world in economic, diplomatic, and cultural aspects.

2. The way in which the number of Chinese immigrants born in China and those with Chinese nationality started to pull apart in 2010, reaching a 22,466 people difference by 2019. The possible reason for this could be a larger number of births in Spain compared to the number of Chinese who migrate into Spain during the same year. Furthermore, this may support the idea that there has been a continuous increase in the second-generation throughout the years.

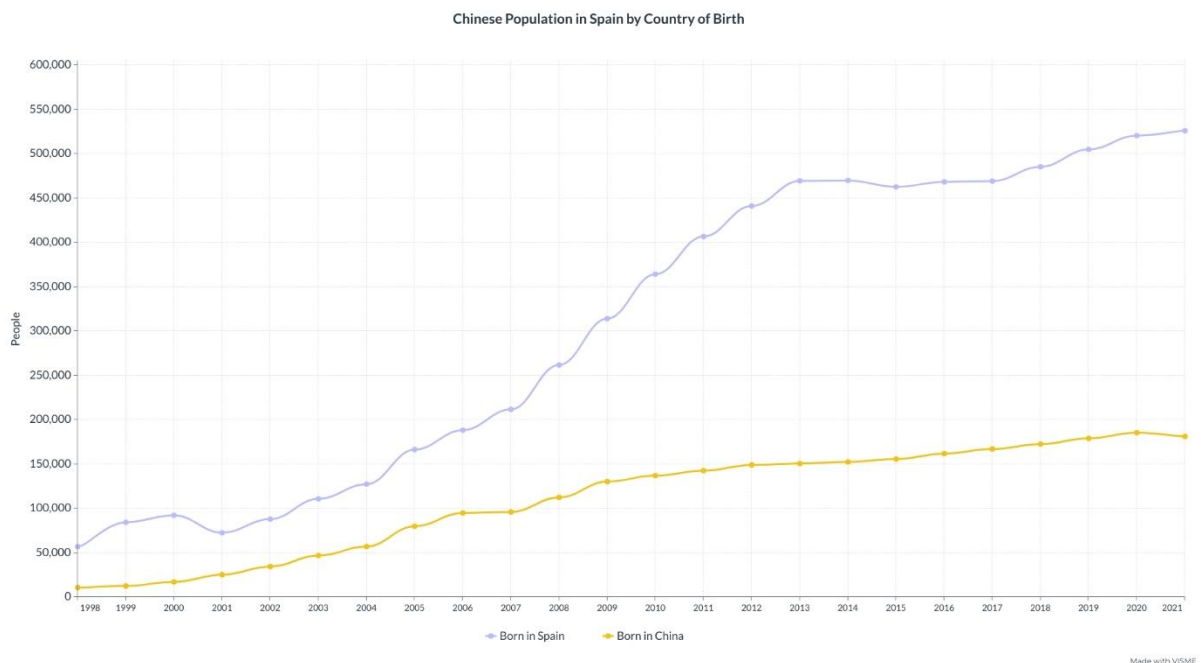
In order to delve into these two phenomena, we will now contrast the data from Graph 2 with Graph 3 and Graph 4, which respectively portray the statistics on immigration from China into Spain (year 2008 - 2020), and the statistics on those born with Chinese nationality in Spain or China (year 1998 – 2021).



Graph 3 Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística

The portrayed data in Graph 3 may further support the first phenomenon identified highlighted through Graph 2 as we may observe a peak in 2008 with an immigration flux of 19,547 Chinese migrants entering Spain from China. The observed 2008 peak then begins to tone down. The curve then normalises itself by the year 2012. Interestingly, we may also observe a sudden decrease in 2020, very possibly due to the Covid-19 pandemic. It would have been of great interest to observe the annual immigration flux prior to 2008, however this is not possible due to limitations set by the Instituto Nacional de Estadística itself. Nevertheless, the portrayed data

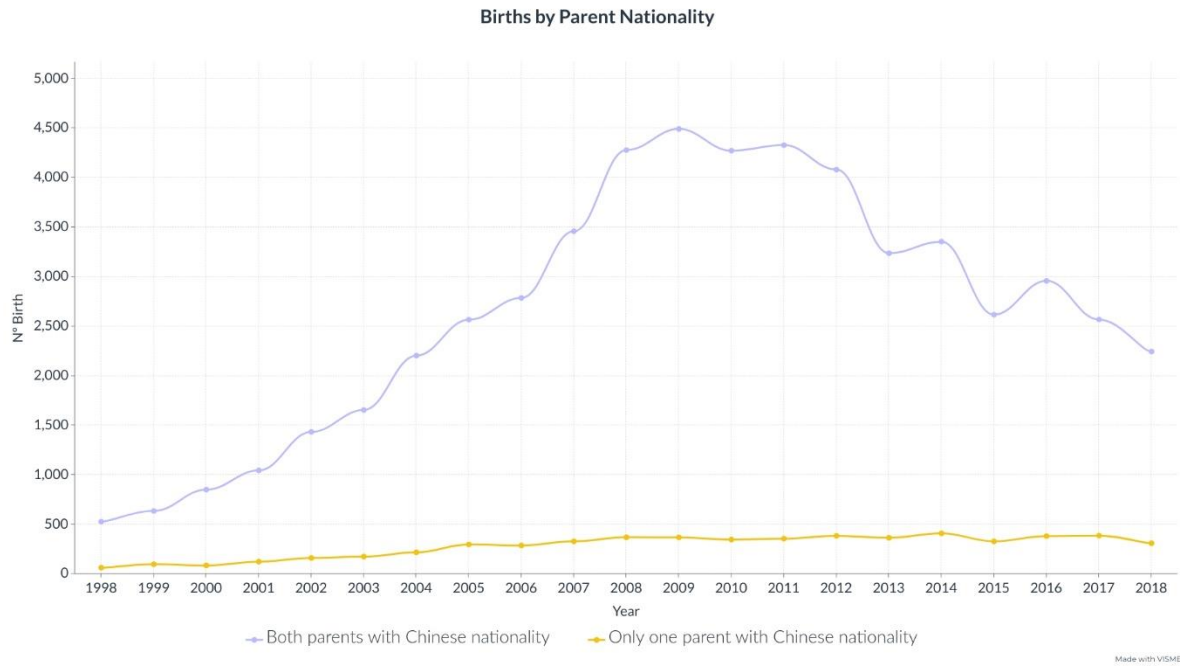
in Graph 3 correlates with that seen in Graph 2, in which growth remains steady albeit rocketing increase between years 2003-2008 and the sudden fall in 2020.



Graph 4 Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística

Regarding the second highlighted phenomenon, we may observe through Graph 4 how the number of those with Chinese nationality born in Spain started to rocket between the years 2008 and 2009. This data correlates with that shown in Graph 2. Another interesting aspect shown by Graph 4 is how the line starts to move in opposite directions starting by the year 2020. This shows that immigration flux referring to Chinese immigrants entering Spain from China becomes negative due to the Covid-19 pandemic, as shown through Graph 3. However, there is still a continued number of Chinese nationality births in Spain due to the existing community, leading to the growth of said community. Furthermore, despite immigration flux not increasing not increasing currently in large numbers like previous years (2008), as seen in Graph 3, the Chinese community in Spain continues to grow due to a large increase through its second generation.

Regarding the second generation, a highly interesting aspect of this particular group within the Chinese community is the increase in births by which one of the parents does not have a Chinese nationality. This could imply that one of these parents are either ethnically Chinese but have opted for the Spanish nationality, or that there is an increase in interracial births. This is shown through the following Graph 5.

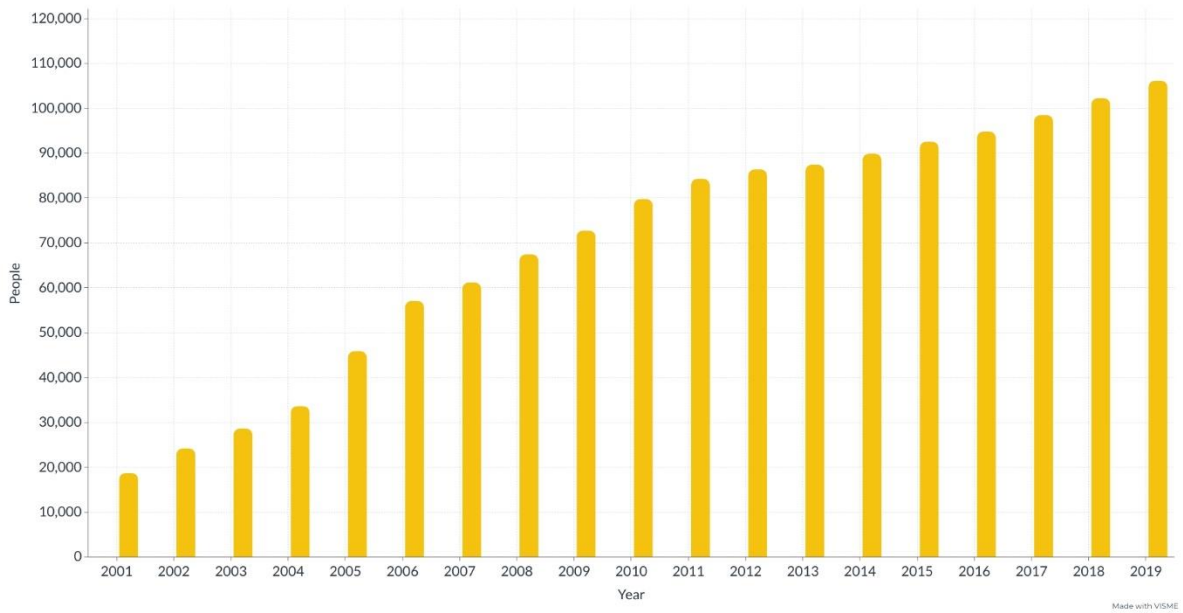


Graph 5 Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística

As seen in Graph 5, number of births in which both parents had Chinese nationality peaked in 2009, with 4,493 births. It then started to decrease, despite some fluctuations. On the other hand, the number of births in which only one of the parents had Chinese nationality did gradually increase, despite a slight downturn starting 2014. This data may suggest that, although births by parents who both have Chinese nationality are still more common than those by parents in which only one of them have Chinese nationality, there has been a suggested increase throughout the years in the latter case. However, the still huge difference between the two may indicate that the Chinese community still prefers to keep their relationships to themselves. As a result, this may suggest that shown data may add to Zhou’s (2020) findings on how the Chinese second generation in Spain have a strong ethnic identity, allowing them to never fully assimilate with host culture, and how they have a largely common preference to maintain their friendships and other types of relationships within their own community. Still, Zhou’s (2020) findings on how the second-generation Chinese do feel comfortable in pursuing their professional goals in Spain also remain true.

This is shown through Graph 6, in which the number of workers with Chinese nationality registered in the Spanish Seguridad Social, the Spanish social security system, has gradually increased since the year 2001 with a sudden upward shift ranging from the year 2004 till 2011, a change which correlates with the data portrayed by previous graphs.

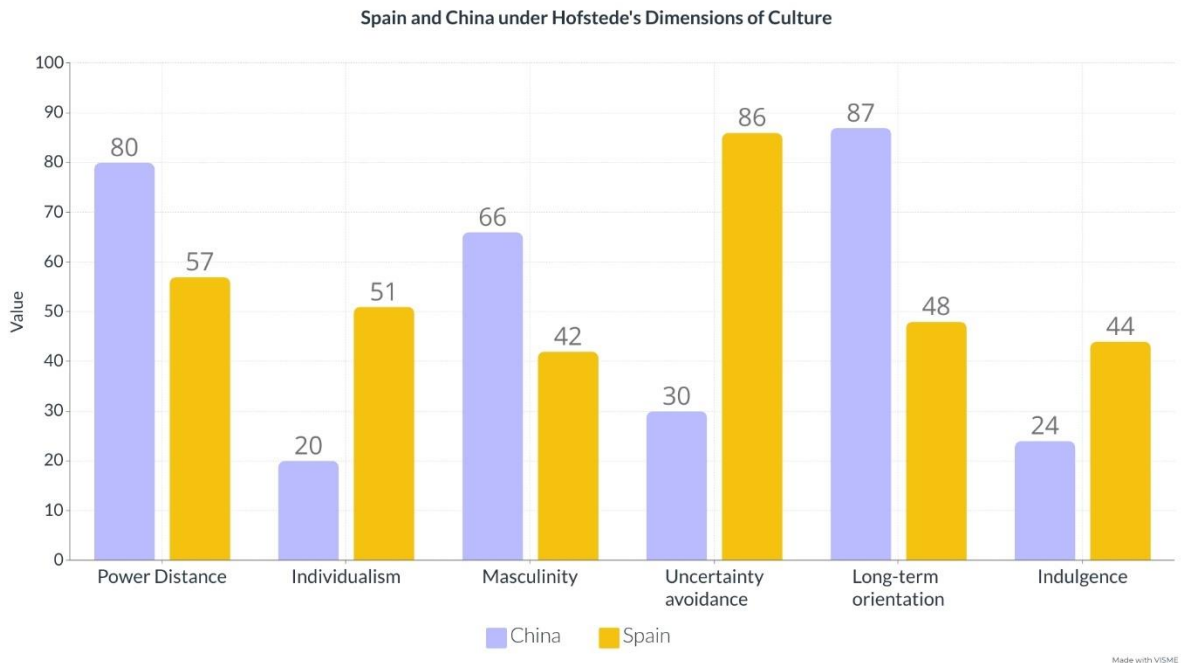
Chinese nationality workers registered in Spanish Seguridad Social



Graph 6 Source: Ministerio de Trabajo, epdata

5.2. Spanish and Chinese culture score comparison

The following are the scores of both Spanish and Chinese culture as reviewed through these six dimensions of culture.



Graph 7 Source: Hofstede Insights

The following table (Table 8) details and compared the characteristics which each score entails.

	Chinese culture	Spanish culture
Power distance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Really high power distance with a score of 80 · Polarized subordinate-superior relationship · No defence against power abuse by superiors · Individuals are influenced by formal authority and sanctions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · High power distance with a score of 57 · Acceptance of a hierarchical order · Centralisation is popular · Subordinates expect to be told what to do · Ideal boss is a benevolent autocrat
Individualism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Low individualism with a score of 20 · Highly collectivist culture where people act in the interests of the group · Tendency for nepotism · Cooperative for in-groups and hostile to out-groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Score of 51, which makes it collectivist when compared to other European cultures, but individualist when compared to other cultures throughout the world · Ease in relating with certain non-European cultures whereas other (hosting) cultures could be perceived as aggressive and blunt · Teamwork is seen as something natural
Masculinity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Masculine society with a score of 66 · Success oriented and driven · Will to sacrifice family and leisure priorities to work · Students see exam scores and ranking as the main criteria for success 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Intermediate score of 42 (feminine tendency) · Polarization is not well considered, or excessive competitiveness appreciated · Managers like to consult their subordinates for decision-making · Opposite to ‘winner takes it all’
Uncertainty avoidance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Low uncertainty avoidance with a score of 30 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Uncertainty avoidant with a score of 86

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Adherence to laws and rules may be flexible to suit the actual situation · Comfortable with ambiguity within language · Adaptable and entrepreneurial 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Confrontation is avoided due to stress and how it can scale up to the personal level very quickly · Great concern for changing, ambiguous and undefined situations
Long-term orientation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · High long-term orientation with a score of 87 · Truth depends very much on situation, context and time · Adapts traditions easily to changed conditions · Strong propensity to save and invest, thriftiness, and perseverance in achieving results 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Intermediate score of 48 (short-term tendency with long-term influence) · Living the moment · No great concern about the future · Quick results without delays · Need for clear structures and well-defined rules prevailing against more pragmatic and relaxed approaches to life
Indulgence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Highly restrained society with a score of 24 · Tendency to cynicism and pessimism · Not much emphasis on leisure time · Control of the gratification of their desires · Restrained by social norms and common vision of self-indulgence being somewhat wrong 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Low indulgence with a score of 44 · Tendency to cynicism and pessimism

Table 10 Source: Hofstede Insights

Overall, the score results suggest that Spanish culture, as a host culture, fares well with Chinese culture. In the case of individualism and collectivism, it is stated that relative to other European countries, Spain can be considered collectivist, which may facilitate integration of Chinese immigrants who pertain to a highly collectivist culture. This is of particular interest as, following Angulo's (2013) group distance, one of the factors which compose this distance is

the perceived similarity between host culture and immigrant culture. As a result, closeness within the parameters of in-group out-group relationships may indeed help integration. Furthermore, lesser disparities between cultural dimensions may possibly steer the integration process towards acculturation, as similarities between host and immigrant cultures may favour a balance between the lifestyle and values of host and origin culture and enable the possibility of identification and participation with the new culture while retaining identification and involvement with the culture of origin (Benet-Martínez, 2018).

However, it has been suggested the existence of external factors which may hinder acculturation, such as discrimination (Zhou, 2020). Bearing this in mind, these elements could very well add a layer to the analysis of the acculturation process of an immigrant community within a host community, as comparing culture dimensions does not seem to be enough by its own, but rather heeds other aspects of how both cultures see each other. Therefore, we suggest that certain factors pertaining to both host and origin cultures hinder Chinese diaspora's acculturation in Spain.

In the context of China, it has been shown that despite an increase in the Chinese community within Spain, there has still been a suggested lack of intercultural relations between their cultures. One of the reasons for this could be the Chinese community's vision of immigration. As mentioned in point 3.1.1., there is a desire for national talent retainment by the Chinese government. This leads to continuous efforts by the said government to establish a sense of 'overseas nationalism' among Chinese migrants in hopes of instilling a sense of 'giving back' to China sometime in the future. As a result, we may suggest that there is already a predisposition for Chinese migrant communities to be reticent in fully acculturating with their host countries. Furthermore, it could be also argued that Chinese migration is characterised mainly by its economic and labour nature. This may first be supported by the aforementioned four classifications of Chinese migrants (Goodkind, 2019), in which three of them are based on labour, and then may also be supported by how the International Labour Organization sees Chinese migrant workers becoming "an important part of the European workforce if they can bring the types of skills the European employers demand and that nationals or other migrant workers cannot provide as effectively" (Plewa & Stermšek, 2017, p. 2). Coincidentally, this last idea is related to how Chinese migrants are progressively comprised by the highly skilled, or soon to be, individuals. Furthermore, the way in which the Chinese diaspora community undertakes this economic and labour migration in the host country itself is also important. In the case of Spain, Tébar (2011) argues that the way in which the Chinese community is

scattered throughout Madrid corresponds to a socioeconomic strategy in which Chinese entrepreneurs and workers intend to offer their goods and services to both the Spanish community and their own. As a result, Usera, where the Chinese community is particularly present, is called an ‘ethnic enclave’ (Tébar, 2011). This ‘enclave’ is seen as a cradle for the community, where trade is marked by specialised goods and services dedicated to themselves. Moreover, this ‘ethnic enclave’, as Tébar (2011) recalls, simply refers to the presence of a high demographic density of Chinese in which businesses are owned and dedicated to their own community, and by no means does it imply Usera being a marginal area exclusive to this community.

On the other hand, social exclusion of the Chinese community due to discrimination may be worsened by ignorance. Fisac (2008) highlights the importance of culture for trade between China and Spain as the author considers culture being one of the greatest dynamizing elements for the exchange between both countries. Despite China being considered the ‘gigante asiático’ (Asian giant), referencing its huge and rocketing economic growth, Spain has little knowledge of the country. It could be suggested that there is much more knowledge of Spain from China than the other way around (Fisac, 2008). This is exemplified by issues as commonplace as not being able to distinguish a Chinese person’s first name from their surname. Fisac (2008) mentions how many journalists would use first names when naming Chinese elite sportspeople and diplomats when this practice is usually limited to family members. Furthermore, on many occasions both Chinese students and workers pick up western names in order to facilitate naming. This practice may suggest a general lack of effort in understanding or adapting to Chinese culture.

All in all, the presence of limiting factors within both cultures could seem to hinder an acculturation process which otherwise could be deemed as being of relative ease due to certain similarities between culture dimensions.

5.3. Diaspora, interpreting and cultural mediation

We suggest that interpreters from Chinese migrant communities are great candidates for the role proposed of the interpreter as linguistic and cultural mediator (mediator-as-synthesiser). This is due particularly to their possible situation as bicultural individuals. We mention ‘possible’ situation due to how it was suggested that the bicultural individual is that who is indeed acculturated within the host country, and it has been said that many Chinese migrants do see their acculturating process hindered due to various factors. Nevertheless, the bicultural is

that who participates within both cultures, without turning their backs to either of them, or marginalising themselves from both. As a result, the bicultural (accultured) person, in this case pertaining to the Chinese diaspora, may provide the necessary cultural sensibilities to aid in the bridging among both cultures as they may fill in gaps regarding cultural knowledge with their own life experience.

On the other hand, whether their linguistic capabilities are enough to undertake the interpreting task is another different question. The acquisition of bilingualism has been explored up to some extent during this paper and the idea has been that it can be attained at any moment during a person's life, and that there is no 'perfect' or 'true' bilingual. Therefore, bilingualism is not seen as a determining criteria for the role of the interpreter as linguistic and cultural mediator, but rather cultural knowledge. With this, we suggest a greater cultural approach in the study of interpreting. Moreover, this may carry even greater importance bearing in mind the previously mentioned issues and misunderstandings which are commonplace.

Even more so, one of the greater influxes of Chinese culture into Spain is not merely economy, but immigration. As seen in point 5.1., the Chinese community has steadily grown over the years. This greater demographic presence calls for larger amounts of professionals to deal with situations where cultural knowledge is greatly appreciated. Vargas-Urpi (2018) recalls that Catalonia's Citizenship and Immigration Plan 2005-2008 acknowledged the need for professionals who were able to 'facilitate communication' in contexts where human rights are at risk (health, education, justice, etc.). These professionals were indeed intercultural mediators who undertook tasks such as remote interpreting and translating. In the light of interpreting, according to the 2011, 2012 and 2013 reports by the Catalanian Justice Department, Chinese was the sixth most interpreted language in all those years (Vargas-Urpi, 2018). The data may indeed seem shocking as despite the need for Chinese interpreters and the large number of interpretations, the numbers for this particular group are lacking. We may observe this through some interpreter listings.

First, starting with AIIC's interpreter listing, two searches following two different methods were done. First, by language pairs, and second, by A, B and C languages.

Starting with the language pair method, the parameters used for the search were Freelance Chinese interpreters who would interpret from Chinese into Spanish, Chinese into English, Chinese into French and Chinese into Italian. The results were the following (AIIC, 2022): no

interpreters were found for ZH > ES, 102 interpreters were found for ZH > EN, 22 interpreters were found for ZH > FR, and 1 interpreter was found for ZH > IT.

Furthering into the results, of the 102 interpreters found for ZH > EN language combination, only 13 are based in Europe. 4 of these 13 interpreters can be found in Paris, another 4 in Switzerland, 3 of them in the United Kingdom, and 2 of them in Belgium. Of the 22 interpreters found for ZH > FR, 13 of them are based in Europe. 8 of them can be found in France, and the resulting 4 in Switzerland. The only interpreter found for ZH > IT is based in Italy, although it is worth mentioning that this interpreter in question does not belong to the Chinese diaspora.

Moving on to the A, B and C languages method, the conducted search was to check the existence of Chinese interpreters with Chinese as a B language in Europe. The main idea behind this particular search was that some second-generation immigrants may have Chinese as a B language, despite it being their mother tongue. This will be explored later in more detail within section 1.4. As for the search, the results indicated 6 interpreters having Chinese as a B language. However, 5 of them are located in China with the remaining interpreter based in Germany. Yet, this interpreter in particular, just like the only ZH > IT interpreter found in the previous search, does not belong to the Chinese diaspora.

Second, we used the legal interpreter and translator 2022 listing by the Spanish Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores y de Cooperación. The listing shows that there are currently 10 active legal interpreters for Chinese. Among these 10, one of them does not belong to the Chinese diaspora.

5.4. Survey on bilingualism

The following survey was conducted in order to portray, up to some extent, the common conceptions of bilingualism among university students in Spain. As mentioned in the Methodology section, the sample is comprised of university students ranging between 18-23 years of age, all with Spanish nationality. There are two participants who despite having Spanish nationality, are ethnically Chinese. Also, another of the participants has a double nationality (Irish and Spanish). Genders of participants included male, female and others. However, we did not ask the participants to specify their gender for the survey as we did not consider this to be of particular interest.

Furthermore, and in relation to diaspora and interpreting, we considered the survey as an opportunity to review and portray common perceptions on the acquisition and measurement of bilingualism. This may then be linked with diaspora in the sense of whether bilingualism can or cannot be achieved in later stages of life (following common opinion). Due to small sample

size (47 participants) and it being a non-specialised group, we are not able to extrapolate results. As a result, this survey serves as mere insight to how people perceive bilingualism, its acquisition, whether it corresponds to what was previously mentioned throughout the paper and draw results towards late acquisition of the second language by diaspora.

On the other hand, regarding interpreting, it would have been of great interest to conduct the same survey but in a specialised sample of interpreters as we would have been able to compare their perceptions with the previous non-specialised sample. Yet, this was not done as we considered that if we were to balance between focusing on the cultural or linguistic aspects of interpreting, we would see more weight in the former as we are focusing on the interpreting role as a cultural mediator.

The form is comprised of the following questions:

1. Do you speak more than one language? Which ones?
2. Do you have any official certificates for your languages? Which level?
3. Would you consider yourself to be bilingual?
4. Can you be bilingual without starting language learning as a child?
5. What is required for one to be bilingual? (Personal opinion)
6. Have you ever heard of 'biculturalism'?

The questions were originally written in Spanish. However, they are translated for the sake of linguistic coherence.

1. Do you speak more than one language? Which ones? (Appendix Survey Q1)

46 participants (97.9%) responded 'yes', while only 1 person (2.1%) responded 'no'. Out of the 46 who did say yes; 19 answered that they spoke Spanish and English; 11 answered Spanish, English and French; 4 answered Spanish, English and German; 2 answered Spanish English and Valencian; 9 answered with language combinations which tended to be Spanish, English and another language which made the linguistic combination unique; and 1 answered Spanish and Chinese (Mandarin).

2. Do you have any official certificates for your languages? Which level? (Appendix Survey Q2)

38 participants (80.9%) answered 'yes', while 9 (19,1%) answered 'no'. Through this question, we may highlight the fact that the large majority of people who answered 'yes' indicated that

they had a B2 (or more) level in English. Some also indicated that they had too official certifications for their third or fourth languages, such as German and French. Regarding other less frequent language combinations (such as Italian, Korean, Japanese or Chinese), there was a tendency for no official certifications for those languages.

It is worth mentioning that some, despite speaking more than one language and answering 'no', indicated that they were 'native' when asked 'which level?'.

It is also worth mentioning that within the less frequent language combinations, one of the Mandarin Chinese speakers did say that they had an official HSK3 level in Chinese.

Furthermore, some of the participants who answered 'no' still qualified some of their languages through the 'official method'. This could probably be due to universities or language schools acknowledging their language proficiency as said level, but that they themselves do not consider it as 'official'.

3. Would you consider yourself to be bilingual? (Appendix Survey Q3)

35 participants (74,5%) answered 'yes', while 12 (25,5%) answered 'no'. Interestingly, there were many 'yes' and 'no' answers from people with the same language combinations and levels. 4 of the 'no' answers indicated that they had a C1 level in English, but still denied being bilingual, while 2 did believe themselves to be so with a B1 or B2 level in English.

4. Can you be bilingual without starting language learning as a child? (Appendix Survey Q4)

Data from this question was indeed surprising as 45 participants (95,7%) considered that one may become bilingual even when not learning the language since their childhood. On the other hand, 9 of these positive answers were from people who did not consider themselves as bilinguals in the previous question. Moreover, 3 of these answers mentioned having a C1 level in English, which may suggest that C2 (Cambridge Proficiency level) may be seen as the goal to acquire the 'bilingual status'. However, 2 participants answered 'no' despite having both a C1 and a C2 in English.

5. What is required for one to be bilingual? (Personal opinion) (Appendix Survey Q5)

The results for this question were highly interesting due to how many participants reflected some of the ideas on bilingualism mentioned throughout point 3.3.2.

8 participants indicated that they thought that to be bilingual one must be able to use both of their languages in ‘native contexts’, with a ‘native level’ or with a similar level of use as their ‘mother tongue’. This coincides with that which was proposed in point 3.3.2. when we mentioned how some authors consider bilingualism as a native-like control of both of the languages in question (Bloomfield, 1933). It is curious that although many more recent trains of thought which talk about a multidimensional aspect of bilingualism (Butler, 2013; Grant & Gottardo, 2008; Grosjean, 2014), the common conception of bilingualism may still view this linguistic phenomenon as the use of two equally proficient languages with the same ease and effort. Notwithstanding, 7 of these participants indicated that they did think that a late acquisition (post-childhood) of bilingualism is indeed possible. In this case, it may be suggested that a native-like proficiency can be achieved through study. Yet, native-like control of a language, or the lack of it, does not necessarily indicate that an individual can be considered bilingual or not (Flege, 1995). On the other hand, one of these 8 participants responded the previous question with a ‘no’, which may suggest that late acquisition of native-like fluency is not possible.

4 participants answered that to be bilingual one only had to be able to use another language besides their mother tongue (to be able to be understood, made understood and being able to have a conversation). This more lenient way of viewing bilingualism reflects the idea on how bilinguals are those who know or use two languages or more languages (Valdez & Figueroa, 1944; Grosjean, 2014).

Other 4 participants mentioned similar ideas to the previous 4, among which they specified being bilingual as having good written and oral understanding and expression. This falls under the ideas on language dominance and the consideration of being bilingual as being equally dominant in both languages. However, this way of viewing bilingualism may not take into consideration how some bilinguals may have a preferred language in which they are more dominant in (Grant & Gottardo, 2008) or their specialization of certain domains with certain languages (Grosjean, 2014).

8 participants emphasized the idea of ‘fluency’. What can be noted through these answers is what do people tend to think when talking about this ‘language fluency’. Some consider it as the capacity to transmit what one wants to say. Others regard fluency as being able to naturally communicate within a language without the need to translate. Still, this idea on ‘fluency’

remains uncertain as there is no real way in determining and measuring linguistic performance (De Rioja, 2018).

Overall, the aforementioned participants and their answers view bilingualism through a performative scope. They link being bilingual with being equally dominant with both languages in native-like linguistic contexts. Furthermore, there is no performative distinction between the native language and mother tongue from the second language, hinting that to be bilingual one must be equally proficient in both. This disregards the ideas on usage domains, in which individuals may be varyingly proficient in both their languages depending on the context of use. None of these participants mentioned the possibility of this variability, suggesting that bilingualism comes when the second language can be employed with no effort, similar to the way they used their mother or native tongue.

On the other hand, 3 participants did not only talk about domains of use, but also cultural knowledge. These answers may be seen as quite different to those from previous groups as it did not focus on the performative aspect of bilingualism, but rather contextual comprehension and adaptation. They shed light on the need for cultural understanding of the second language and being able to see the world through the perspectives of different cultures.

The remaining participants focused on the methods through which one could attain bilingualism. They mentioned linguistic immersion, the importance of interest and motivation, and the realization of the importance of the ability to communicate in different contexts.

Lastly, a brief but rather interesting note is that none of the overall participants made any mention of having an accent as being necessary to be bilingual.

6. Have you ever heard of 'biculturalism'? (Appendix Survey Q6)

21 participants (44.7%) answered 'yes', while 26 (55.3%) answered 'no'. It should be highlighted that all 3 participants who talked about domain and cultural knowledge in the previous question indicated that they knew biculturalism. However, the possibility of whether this knowledge influenced their previous answers remains unclear, as many other participants who also answered 'yes' to this question made no mention of usage domains and culture during the previous question.

Still, it is interesting that despite bilingualism and biculturalism being increasingly studied together, it is still not a widely known concept as of yet.

6. CONCLUSION

The cultural aspect of translating and interpreting has always been of particular interest, especially when perceiving these two acts of communication as a way of cultural construction. This has evolved throughout the years, bearing in mind how Nida, in translation studies, highlighted the importance of leaving behind word for word transformation and instead focus on the reason and meaning behind the message. It is true that in certain contexts, the cultural component of both translating and interpreting is not as important, as is the case with cultures which have had long-standing relations and cultural differences are already well known and internalized. However, when talking about Chinese and Spanish culture, a void in cultural knowledge is still largely present. We must understand that this is due to not only the recent history of China, but also how immigrant communities settle in Spain. We mentioned that someone who is bicultural is essentially an acculturated individual. Still, following what has been explored throughout the paper, this group of acculturated immigrants can be perceived as being incredibly small. Whether it is due to factors found within the host culture which hinder acculturation, or factors pertaining the culture of origin which disables immigrants from fully acculturating with host culture, the reality is that the Chinese community in Spain finds itself ethnically segregated, though demographically scattered.

We realised that throughout the paper, we faced a long-standing problem of what we could consider as a diasporic population. We talked about soon-to-be skilled immigrants who migrate from China temporarily in order to train their skills, yet we cannot consider their cultural context to be the same as that of a second-generation Chinese person who grew up in Spain. Also, what about the rare types of students who then decided to stay in Spain? Despite being able to be considered as a first-generation, their cultural context is largely different than that of the second-generation's parents. As a result, these questions motivates us to conduct further research in the future, to dive even deeper into the contexts of Chinese immigrants in Spain.

Still, with relation to interpreting, we continue to suggest that bicultural individuals make great linguistic and cultural mediators. This was made apparent to us when researching about integration processes. If we are talking about a necessity of further emphasis on the cultural component of interpreting, as interpreting is seen as a way to bridge cultural gaps, then an acculturated individual who equally balances two cultures without marginalising themselves from neither should be able to catalyse intercultural understanding. With this, we realised throughout the paper that for future research we would focus on particular interpreting contexts where this intercultural understanding and mediation has special relevance.

All in all, despite the revisory tone of the paper, we thought that it could serve as a starting point for our future research on acculturation and interpreting, how culture should be further emphasised in interpreting studies, and how the current situation of Chinese interpreters corresponds to the way in which their community is integrated.

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8. APPENDIX

8.1 Tables

Table 1.

	Interpreter	LCM
Convey information as accurately as possible, while being faithful to the source	X	X
Act as a bridge between cultures	X	X
Provide cultural context		X
Liaise with communities, collect information and feed it back to relevant parties		X
Facilitate communication between two parties	X	X
Provide additional cultural support, as well as conveying information		X
Remain impartial and neutral in any situation	X	X
Adapt language to target audience	X	X
Be sensitive to, and aware of, the situation of the target group	X	X

Source: UNICEF & Women’s Refugee Commission, 2021

Table 2.

Small power distance	Large power distance
Parents treat children as equals	Parents teach children obedience
Student-centered education	Teacher-centered education
Subordinates expect to be consulted	Subordinates expect to be told what to do
Religions stressing equality of believers	Religions with a hierarchy of priests

Table 11 Source: Hofstede, 2011

Table 3.

Weak uncertainty avoidance	Strong uncertainty avoidance
The uncertainty inherent in life is accepted and each day is taken as it comes	The uncertainty inherent in life is felt as a continuous threat that must be fought
Ease, lower stress, self-control, low anxiety	Higher stress, emotionality, anxiety, neuroticism
Comfortable with ambiguity and chaos	Need for clarity and structure
Changing jobs poses no problems	Staying in jobs even if disliked

Table 12 Source: Hofstede, 2011

Table 4.

Individualism	Collectivism
'I' consciousness	'We' consciousness
Right of privacy	Stress on belonging
Speaking one's mind is healthy	Harmony should always be maintained
Others classified as individuals	Others classified as in-group or out-group

Table 13 Source: Hofstede, 2011

Table 5.

Femininity	Masculinity
Sympathy for the weak	Admiration for the strong
Both fathers and mothers deal with facts and feelings	Fathers deal with facts, mothers with feelings
Both boys and girls cry but neither should fight	Girls cry and should not fight, while boys do not cry and should fight back
Sex is a way of relating	Sex is a way of performing

Table 14 Source: Hofstede, 2011

Table 6.

Short-term orientation	Long-term orientation
Traditions are sacrosanct	Traditions are adaptable to changed circumstances
Social spending and consumption	Large savings quote, funds available for investment
Universal guidelines about what is good and evil	Good and evil depends upon the circumstances
Most important events in life occur either in the past or the immediate present	Most important events in life will occur in the future

Table 15 Source: Hofstede, 2011

Table 7.

Indulgence	Restrained
Freedom of speech seen as important	Freedom of speech is not a primary concern
Higher importance of leisure	Lower importance of leisure
A perception of personal life control	A perception of helplessness: what happens to me is not my own doing
More likely to remember positive emotions	Less likely to remember positive emotions

Table 16 Source: Hofstede, 2011

Table 8.

Low-context cultures	High-context cultures
Personal achievements celebrated	Group achievements celebrated
Fact-based	Value-based
Results-oriented	Relationship-oriented
Larger personal space	Closer personal space
Quick-paced	Slow-paced

Table 8 Source: Klagge, 2012

Table 9.

Aspect of communication	Direct communication	Indirect communication
Style	Explicit	Implicit
Speed	Quick	Slow
Information base	Data validity	Opinion reliability
Decisions	Bottom line rules	Consensus rules
Conflicts	Acceptable	Non-acceptable

Emotions
Terminal value

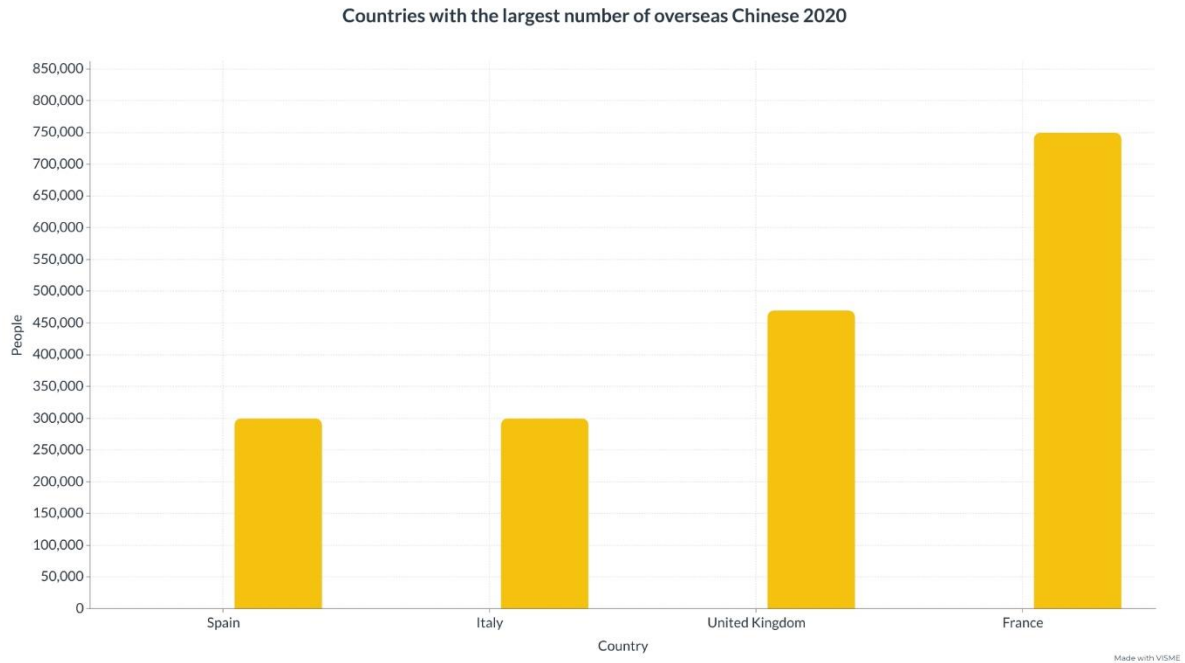
Acceptable
 Goal achievement

Non-acceptable
 Group cohesiveness

Table 9 Source: Klagge, 2012

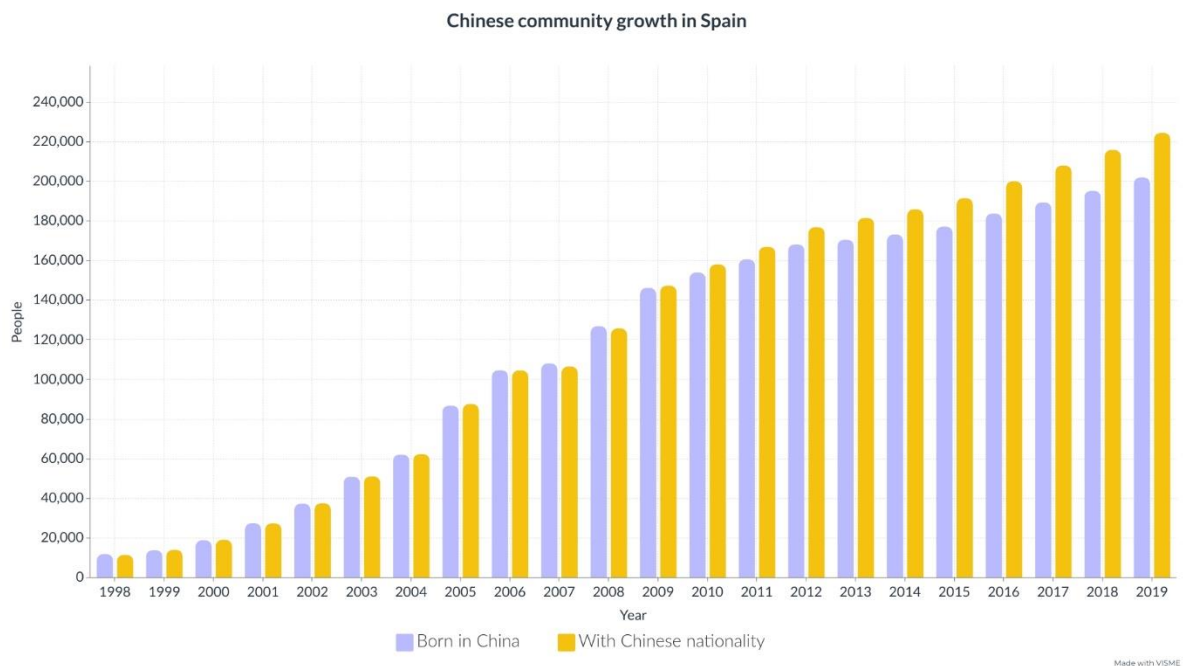
8.2 Graphs

Graph 1.



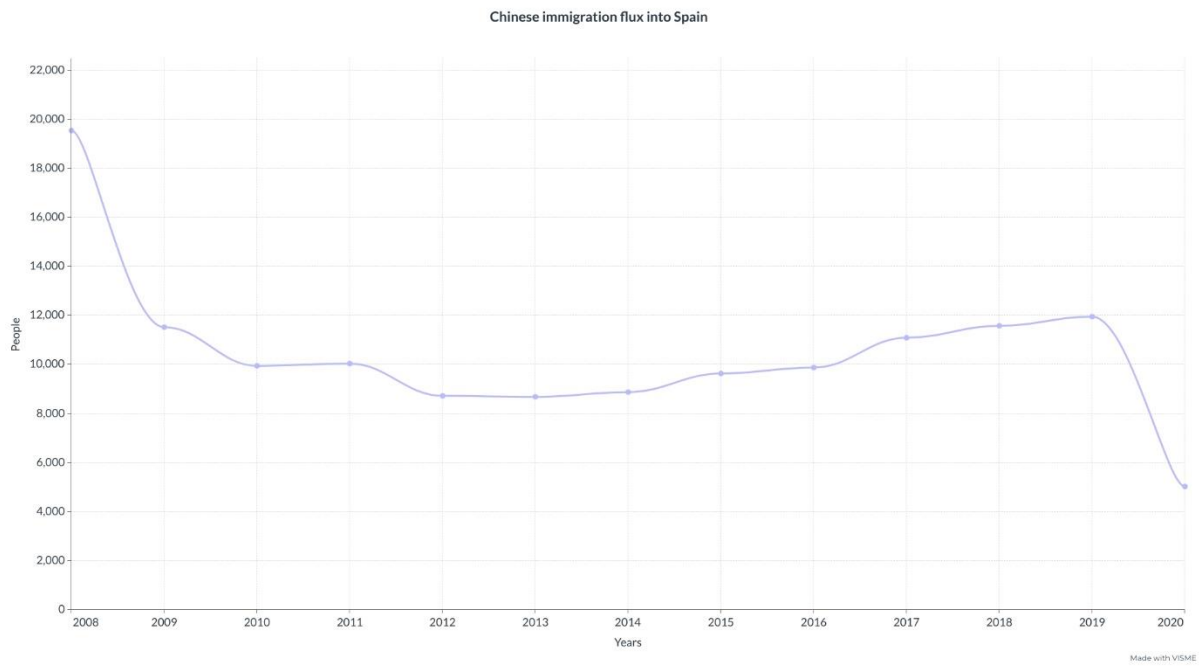
Graph 8 Source: Statista, the Overseas Community Affairs Council of Taiwan

Graph 2.



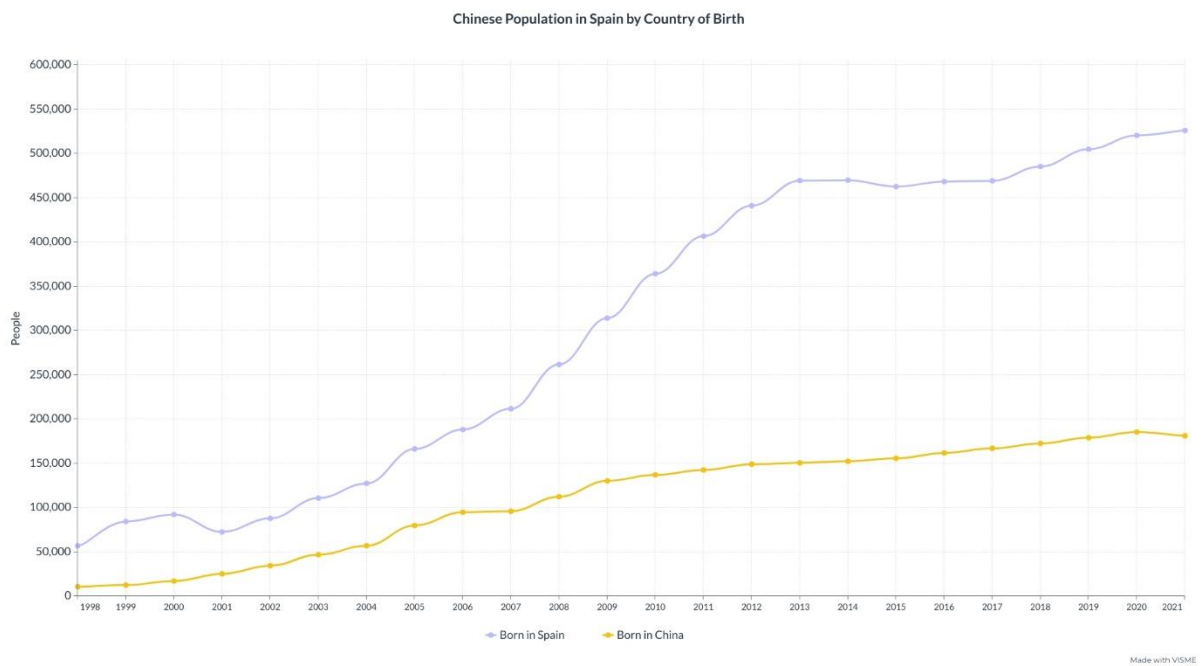
Graph 9 Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, epdata

Graph 3.



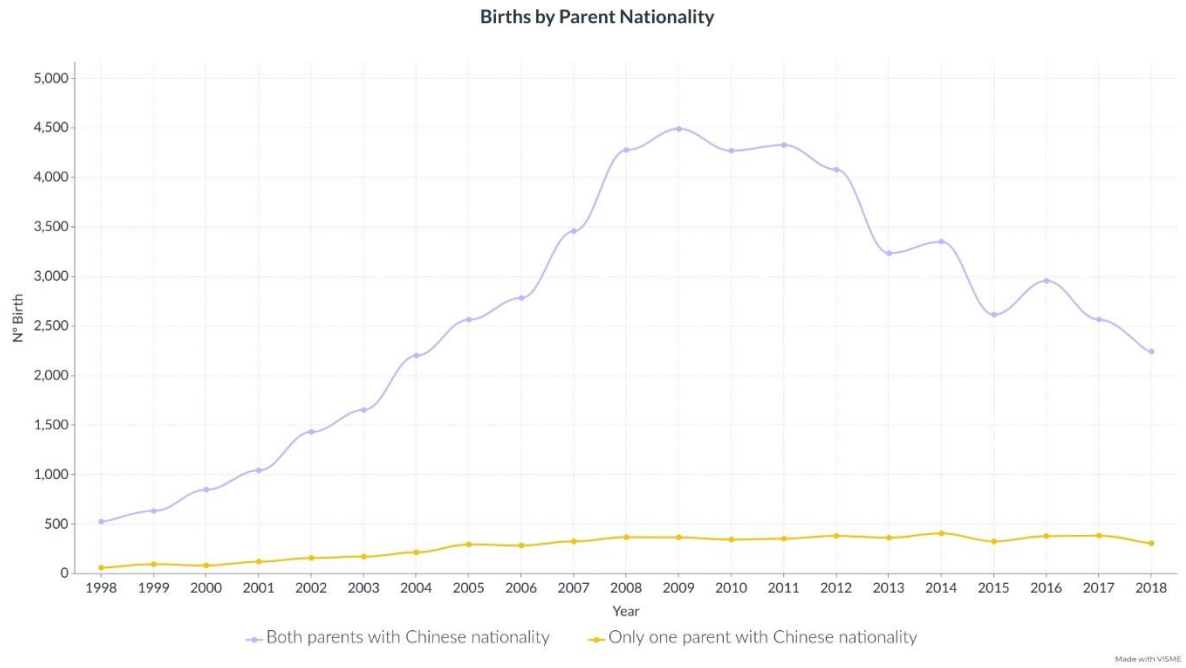
Graph 10 Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística

Graph 4.



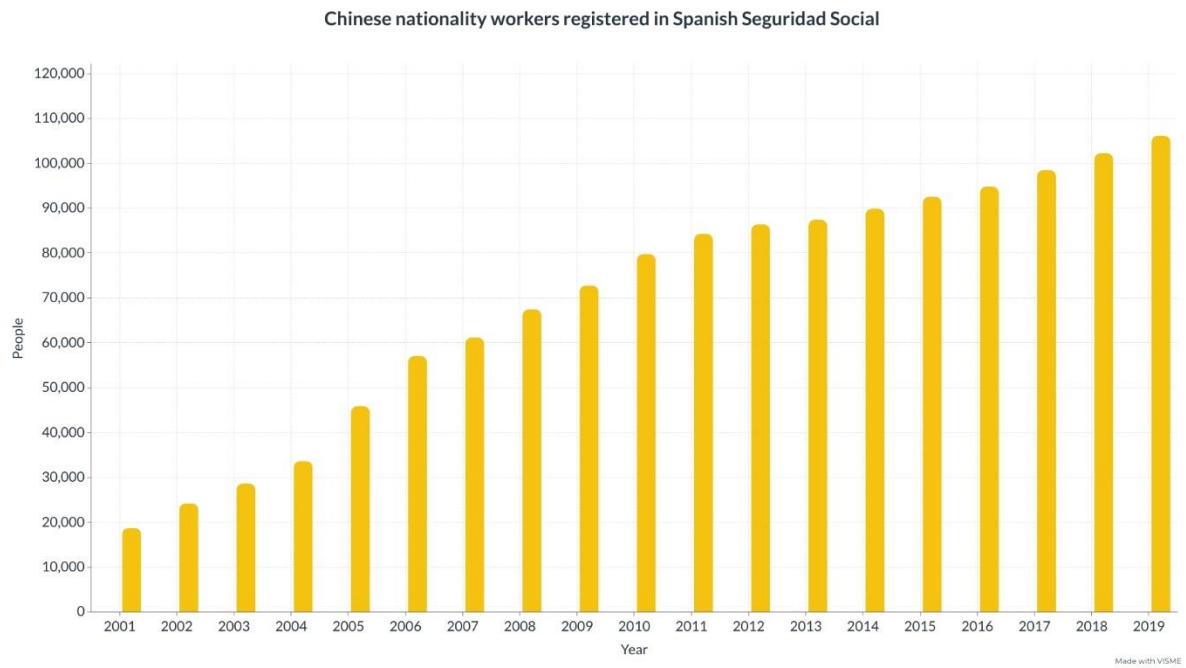
Graph 11 Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística

Graph 5.



Graph 12 Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística

Graph 6.



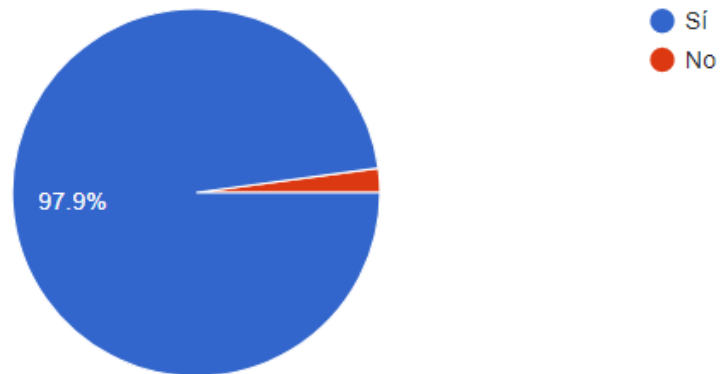
Graph 13 Source: Ministerio de Trabajo, epdata

8.3. Survey Questions

Survey Q1. Do you speak more than one language? Which ones?

¿Hablas más de una lengua?

47 responses

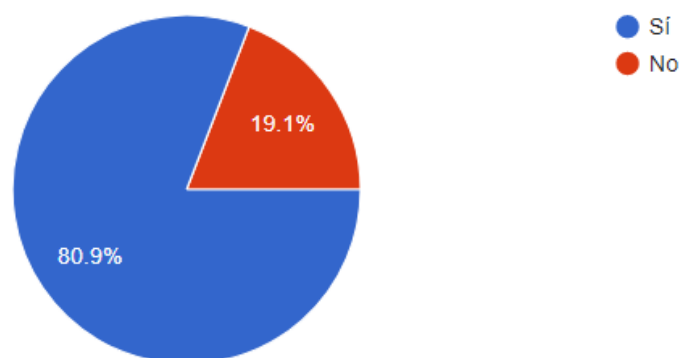


Survey Q 1 Source: Own

Survey Q2. Do you have any official certificates for your languages? Which level?

¿Tienes alguna certificación oficial para alguna de tus lenguas?

47 responses

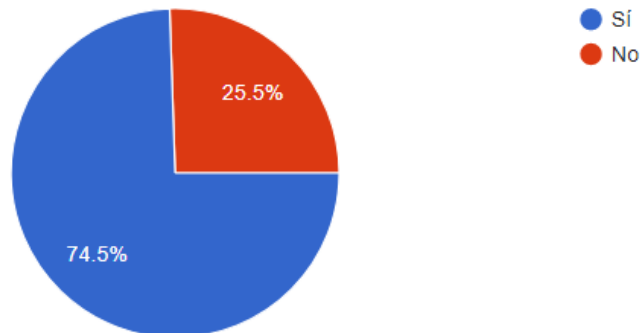


Survey Q 2 Source: Own

Survey Q3. Would you consider yourself to be bilingual?

¿Te consideras bilingüe?

47 responses

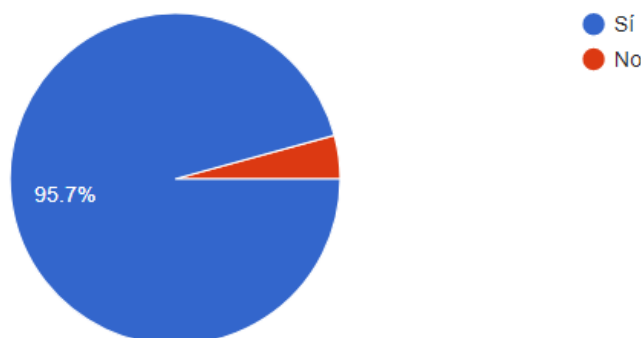


Survey Q 3 Source: Own

Survey Q4. Can you be bilingual without starting language learning as a child?

¿Se puede ser bilingüe sin aprender una lengua desde pequeño?

47 responses



Survey Q 4 Source: Own

Survey Q5. What is required for one to be bilingual? (Personal opinion)

1. Hablar casi a la perfección 2 idiomas, y preferiblemente haber vivido en un país en el que se hable x idioma para obtener experiencia real y poder usar el idioma en todos los ámbitos de la vida
2. Tener un conocimiento realmente amplio de una lengua en los diferentes ámbitos de uso y la capacidad de adaptación con una lengua ante diferentes situaciones.
3. Poder hablar un idioma con la misma fluidez que tu lengua materna. Es decir, tener la capacidad de responder, escribir y actuar sin ninguna dificultad.

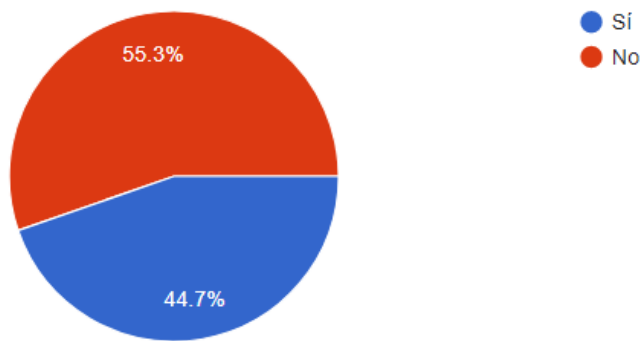
4. Hablar ambos (o más) idiomas de una manera fluida y controlarlo con seguridad, pudiendo desenvolverte en un entorno nativo.
5. Interés en aprender el idioma, darte cuenta de lo útil e importante que es saber comunicarte en diferentes entornos.
6. No sé brócoli jajajja. Nah, supongo que el dominio suficiente de otra lengua que te haga sentir como con tu materna
7. Hablar con fluidez más de una lengua. No traducir, sino comunicarse directamente en esa lengua de forma natural.
8. La manera más fácil de interiorizar un idioma es consumir cantidades ingentes de contenido en ese idioma.
9. Consumir contenido en una lengua es lo mejor, ya sea música, series, películas, etc...
Y ponerle interés
10. ¿Dominio de la lengua? Comprensión y expresión oral y escrita y poder mantener una conversación estable?
11. aparte de clases ver películas series música leer etc en el otro idioma tener el máximo estímulo posible
12. Hablar con cierta fluidez el idioma, ser capaz de transmitir lo que quieras decir.
13. Capacidad y comodidad a la hora de emplear los idiomas en un entorno de nivel nativo.
14. Conocer tanto la lengua que se aprende en profundidad como la cultura de ese idioma.
15. Ser constante con la lengua, trabajar a diario y forzarte a utilizar el idioma
16. Ser capaz de comunicarte, es decir, entender y ser entendido, en ambas lenguas
17. entender y defenderte en el idioma, sin necesidad de que sea a la perfección
18. Tener fe en ti mismo, saber que aunque sea difícil puedes con eso.
19. Poder hablar, escribir y leer de forma fluida más de un idioma
20. Tener oportunidades de desarrollar y utilizar ambas lenguas
21. Manejar el otro idioma al mismo nivel que tu idioma nativo
22. Fluidez oral en conversación con nativos de forma habitual
23. Poder entender y comunicarse fluidamente en dos idiomas.
24. Ser capaz de tener una conversación en más de un idioma
25. Interés y que haya motivantes para aprender el idioma
26. Dominar el idioma como si fuera tu lengua materna
27. Entender el mundo en dos idiomas/culturas
28. Tener un nivel medio en un segundo idioma
29. sobre todo buena comprensión oral/escrita

- 30. hablar con fluidez en más de una lengua
- 31. Determinación, práctica y motivación.
- 32. Constancia y espacio para practicarlo
- 33. Tener un manejo muy alto en el idioma
- 34. Hablar más de un idioma con fluidez
- 35. Saber hablar más de un idioma
- 36. Inmersión lingüística
- 37. Tener nivel de nativo
- 38. Dedicación y tiempo
- 39. "fluency" o casi

Survey Q6. Have you ever heard of 'biculturalism'?

¿Has oído alguna vez el concepto "biculturalismo"?

47 responses



Survey Q 5 Source: Own