

PRESERVING HARMONY FIRST, THEN CONVEYING INFORMATION: ASIAN WAYS OF INTERPRETING AS MAINTAINING RAPPORT AT A KOREAN TRANS-NATIONAL CORPORATION IN THAILAND¹

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Abstract

The significance of interpreter-mediated intercultural business interactions between Koreans and Thais has increased dramatically with the advent of globalization and the emergence of Translation Studies, yet there have been very few attempts to carry out research on acts of interpreting in that context. This study aims to investigate how two Asian professional interpreters deal with conflict situations in interpreter-mediated intercultural business communication contexts. It also analyzes motivations underlying the ways in which they managed conflict. The data was collected by ethnographic observation and interviews, and recorded in field-notes. By using a pragmatic approach to

interpretation, the findings show that the two Asian professional interpreters used three rapport-oriented strategies for managing conflicts: replacing original utterances with mitigating expressions, avoiding interpreting rapport-sensitive utterances, and adding positive remarks. Their main motivation for choosing these strategies was to maintain harmonious relationships between the primary interlocutors, in some cases also including non-participant third parties. These findings clearly show that the professional Asian interpreters went beyond the task of conveying what one primary interlocutor wanted to say to another. Through active and deliberate revisions, omissions or additions to interpretations, they firstly upheld harmonious interpersonal relationships, then transferred information from one speaker to another. The empirical results are discussed with regards to Buddhism in Thailand and Confucianism in South Korea.

Introduction

Translation and Communication

In general, translation requires two different languages. The basic activity of translation, according to Bielsa & Bassnett (2009: 7), involves “taking a text, either written or oral, and changing it into another language”. Bassnett (2014: 14) explains the recent acceptance and understanding of the term Translation Studies as “the process of foreign language learning and teaching” that involves “the rendering of a source language (SL) text into target language (TL) so as to ensure (1) the surface

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meaning of the two will be approximately similar and (2) the structures of the SL will be preserved as closely as possible but not so closely that the TL structures will be seriously distorted". In this view, judgements of the effectiveness of an act of translation assess the "equivalence of meaning" (Davies, 2012: 374). Moreover, "reliance on the competence of a translator involves trust" (Biela & Bassnett, 2009: 5).

In human communication, translation is an essential part of the communicative process needed to carry a message across a language boundary. This notion of translation is relevant to what Reddy (1972 cited in Davies, 2012: 373) terms the conduit metaphor, which "portrays human language as being like a conduit enabling the transfer of repertoire members from one individual to another", because "language is seen as a container within which meanings are transported between individuals". Davies (2012: 373) further points out that "this image of neutral conduit transferring material from one culture to another culture is deeply entrenched in Western debate on what constitutes a valid translation". Furthermore, until recently, this notion of translation has often uncritically applied to Asian contexts of translation (Hung & Wakabayashi, 2005: 1). Traditions of translation in Asia offer a different perspective on human communication, founded on religious and philosophical ideologies common in East and Southeast Asia.

Ra & Napier's (2013) investigation of forty-five Asian interpreters' perceptions

of their role as an interpreter show that about 40 per cent of Asian interpreters believed that interpreting in Asian language community settings was different from interpreting between two Western or Indo-European languages with respect to the syntax of languages, the beliefs of community members, and the ways of speaking. Only 18.9 per cent of Asian interpreters commented that there was no difference. Even though the number of respondents was small, the findings imply that a study of translation in an Asian setting should rely on the local religious and philosophical principles influencing beliefs and ways of speaking. Doing this allows us to have a better understanding and deeper appreciation of Asian ways of translation and interpreting.

Globalization and Business in Translation Studies

Translation Studies have become a distinct field of study. Bielsa & Bassnett (2009: 4) assert that "discussion of translation has grown steadily in importance since...the late 1970s and has become significant in a wide variety of fields" such as post-colonial studies, discourse theory, and international business studies.

This emergence of Translation Studies has been influenced by the recent scholarly attention to globalization. As Bielsa & Bassnett (2009: 18) note, this is because one of the fundamental features of globalization is "the substantial overcoming of spatial barriers, resulting in increased mobility of people and objects and a heightened contact between different linguistic communities". Translation, as a

bridge between peoples or cultures and a means of crossing borders or of breaking barriers, has also contributed to “the articulation of the global and the local” and “the development of global connectedness” (Biela, 2005: 131).

Because of increased global connectivity, multilingual and multicultural workplaces are becoming more commonplace in Asian business organizations. Thus, linguistic and cultural barriers are a growing challenge in the workplace, inhibiting not only the achievement of business goals, but also threatening the smooth relationships between people of different cultural backgrounds. In this context, an interpreter also serves as a mediator, enhancing understanding between members by negotiating language and cultural differences in business settings.

However, as far as Translation Studies in Thailand are concerned, there have been very few attempts to conduct research based on interpreter-mediated intercultural business interactions between Thais and Koreans in Thailand.

Current Issues & the Relevant Literature

South Korea has enjoyed diplomatic relations with Thailand since October 1958, more than 50 years ago. In the business sector, especially, investments in Thailand by Korean business organizations have grown steadily over the past three decades. For example, LG Electronics Co., Inc., and Samsung Electronics Co., Ltd., two of South Korea’s largest electronics manufacturers,

entered the local market in Thailand in 1997 and 1998 respectively, and have produced electrical appliances in the country ever since.

According to a survey conducted by the Korea Trade-Investment Promotion Agency in 2015, the number of Korean companies registered in Thailand is roughly 300. More than half of these were involved in the manufacturing and steel industries. More importantly, the average total number of employees at ten of Korea’s largest corporations in Thailand was 692, more than 90 per cent of whom were Thai and less 10 per cent Korean. In every major corporation, a small numbers of employees serve as interpreters to facilitate intercultural communication between Thai employees and Korean employees in the workplace. Some of these interpreters are Thai employees who can speak Korean; others are Korean employees who can speak Thai.

Although the significance of the business relationship between Thai and Korean employees in the workplace is obvious, research on intercultural communication between them is almost non-existent. One exception is Wongwittayakamjorn’s (2011) master’s thesis regarding the organizational communication and job satisfaction among Thai employees in Korean multi-national companies in Bangkok. It focuses on the types and uses of channels of communication and their effects on the satisfaction among Thai employees in Korean companies. However, to the best of my knowledge, no study has been carried out on interpreter-mediated business communication

between Thai and Korean workers in Thailand.

Despite this discouraging lack of scholarly attention, my own experiences as a translator and interpreter, together with personal conversations with Thai and Korean friends who are working at Korean business organizations in Thailand, have led me to believe that problems of intercultural communication occur frequently. Unfortunately, some Thai and Korean employees even hold negative stereotypes against the other. It seems to me that there are two main causes of these intercultural communication problems. The first cause is the small number of interpreters who act as cultural mediators in the workplace. In addition, interpreters may lack sufficient intercultural experience and practical skills.

The present study examines the second cause. It aims to investigate professional Asian interpreter-mediated conflict situations at a Korean transnational corporation in Bangkok. To put it more specifically, this study examines how one professional Korean (that is, the researcher himself) and one professional Thai interpreter have dealt with conflict situations, and the motivations underlying the ways in which they managed conflict in problematic situations. These empirical findings reveal certain patterns, which can be viewed as the interpreters' effort to adapt certain Asian ways of interpreting. Finally, I examine these patterns and discuss how the empirical findings in relation to the interpreters' adaptations of certain Asian ways of interpreting reflect

Thai Buddhist and the South Korean Confucian values.

Research Questions

This study was designed to examine the following research questions:

1. How did the professional Korean and Thai interpreters deal with conflict situations? and what motivations underlay the ways they managed the conflict?
2. How can we situate these strategies and their motivations in relation to the interpreters' choice of certain Asian ways of interpreting?

Methodology

Ethnographic field site

The Korean transnational corporation, I will analyze two professional interpreter-mediated conflict situations at a Korean transnational corporation which deals with digital content such as games and online comics. The headquarters is in South Korea, and there are subsidiaries in Japan, the United States, Taiwan, Singapore, Vietnam, as well as Thailand. In the case of Thailand, the office is located in Bangkok and its business was registered as a corporation about three years ago. Currently, the total number of employees is sixty. Within this number, seven people are Korean, one person is Japanese, and the rest are Thai. One of the business areas of this corporation is directly related to translating and interpreting. That is, there are about 10 employees working as translators, and some of them are working

as interpreters too. Including the Thai editorial team, the Thai Contents Manager and the Korean CEO, translators take part in internal discussions to decide which comics from Korea, Taiwan and Japanese will be preferred by Thai consumers. Thereafter, they coordinate with foreign office staff to ask the original writers for permission to translate the works into Thai. Finally, they translate the selected foreign comics into the Thai language for Thai comic readers.

My decision to investigate interpreter-mediated intercultural interactions in this Korean corporation is based on the following rationale: (1) Due to the risks of corporate competition, it is very difficult to be permitted to observe intercultural interactions without being an employee. (2) I have been working as a professional Thai interpreter in this company for more than a year, so I have experienced and observed a number of conflict situations. (3) These experiences have given me a broad and deep understanding of both corporate culture and the essential characteristics of the business itself.

Data Collection and Analysis

As mentioned above, two professional Asian interpreters were chosen to collect data. One is the researcher, a Korean nationality interpreter with a Master's Degree in Thai language from a university in Thailand. The other interpreter is a Thai nationality interpreter who received a Master's Degree in Teaching Korean as a Second Language from a university in South Korea. The Korean nationality interpreter is a 34-year-old male, and the

Thai nationality interpreter is a 26-year-old female. Both have had various translating and interpreting experiences during their studies abroad, and have been working in this corporation for about one year.

Over a period of three months, data on interpreter-mediated interactions was gathered by ethnographic methods of observation and interviews, and recorded in field-notes. Among all the interpreter-mediated intercultural interactions, the researcher selected only situations involving conflict. Speech events of these situations were relatively formal, including those which occurred at various problem-solving meetings, brainstorming sessions, and regular team meetings. After that, the analysis focused on interpreting strategies for managing conflict, and identifying the motivations underlying the selected interpreting strategies.

Regarding data analysis, the present study used pragmatics as an analytical tool for investigation of interpreter-mediated conflict situations between Korean primary interlocutors and Thai primary interlocutors. My choice of using pragmatics was based on the following reasons: (1) Pragmatics as the study of "the use of language in social contexts and the way in which people produce and comprehend meanings through language" (Kecskes, 2014: 6) is adequate for interpreter-mediated communication. As Robinson (2003: 16) asserts, interpreting is not just "saying in target language more or less precisely what the source author said in the source language, but is doing something to the target reader". In other

words, interpreting is a form of social action in communication, and pragmatics is the study of language use as a social action. (2) Due to the fact that the interpreter is always in the foreground in communicative situations and social interactions are becoming more complex and diverse, there is a “clear sign of the increasing dominance of evidence-based studies in the field of interpreting studies” (Liu, 2011: 87). Thus, pragmatics is methodologically suitable for analysis of evidence-based interactional data. (3) As Kong (2009: 241) proposes, “pragmatics is a very useful tool in business discourse research”. It is because business discourse “is a site of communication where language plays a subtle role in negotiating human relationships, and hence, the outcomes of transactions”.

Conceptual Framework

Business Discourse

According to Bargiela-Chiappini, Nickerson and Planken (2013: 3), business discourse is “all about how people communicate using talk or writing in commercial organizations in order to get their work done, most often in corporate settings”. Also, Bargiela-Chiappini *et al.* (2013: 7) propose that “business discourse is founded on twin notions of discourse as situated action and of language at work”

The first notion, discourse as situated action, can be explained by what Mey (2001) identifies as a pragmatic act. This concept suggests that language use is inseparable from the situational context in which it occurs. In other words, language

use or speech acts are social actions that both rely on, and actively create, the situation in which they are realized. Accordingly, the focus is on the entire situation which is brought to bear on what can be said in the situation, as well as on what is actually said.

Kasper (2008: 282-283) describes workplace speech as a type of institutional discourse because it “is structured through institution-specific tasks and goals which make certain roles, topics and actions available and impose constraints on others”. This institutional background knowledge shared by all members includes not only know-how about specific tasks and goals, but also preferred ways of doing and saying things. In this vein, Yate (2010: 110-111) proposes that “language at work is institutional, in that it occurs in a setting where organizational roles and values are likely to play an important role, and is interpersonal in that it is the means through which individuals enact their professional identities, [...] every time we speak (or write) we signal something about ourselves and our attitude through the way we approach an act or the words we choose”.

Conflict, Politeness and Translation

Conflicts are characterized by opposing interests or disagreements among people. According to Putnam and Poole (1987: 552), a conflict can be defined as “the interaction of interdependent people who perceive opposition of goals, aims, and values, and who see the other party as potentially interfering with the realization of these goals”. In this vein, conflicts are

inevitable and pervasive in social interaction, and their consequences tend to be regarded as threats that could have an impact on interpersonal relationships. Thus, to ensure smooth interpersonal interactions, it is important to manage conflict situations appropriately.

One of the main motivations underlying the choice of a conflict management strategy is politeness. Lakoff (1990: 34) defines this as “a system of interpersonal relations designed to facilitate interaction by minimizing the potential for conflict and confrontation inherent in all human interchange”. Because politeness is a socio-cultural phenomenon, politeness norms vary across cultures. What is polite or impolite is closely related to socio-cultural norms and values. In other words, people who have different socio-cultural backgrounds adhere to the concept of politeness differently. This is a reason why politeness is important for intercultural communication in general, and why different understandings of what is polite often lead to intercultural conflict.

Since translation is defined as “a cross-linguistic socio-cultural practice” (House, 1998: 63) and “a vehicle for communicating across cultures” (Davies, 2013: 367), politeness must be considered a major constituent part, and it must be taken into account in interpreter-mediated intercultural interactions in order not only to transmit a text in one language to a functionally equivalent text in another language but also to minimize interpersonal conflict and confrontation. In this regard, House (1998: 67) suggests that the translator’s task is to act as a “cultural

filter in order to accommodate in a patterned way the target group’s different presuppositions about communicative norms and politeness”.

Asian Ways of Communication

According to Scollon, Scollon and Jones (2012: 137-139), Western communicative styles highly value the communication of information, while Asian communicative styles put much more emphasis on the communication of relationships. This is because Asia has different religious and philosophical roots from the West. Chen & Starostar (2003: 5) maintain that “Asian cultures tend to assume a holistic view of the universe, especially in those areas influenced by Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism and Shintoism. In other words, Asians tend to believe that the universe is a great whole in which all is but a transitional process, with no fixed substance of its substratum. Human communication is then a holistically interconnected network and even in a state of change and transformation.” In this view, the process in which the maintenance of the harmonious interrelatedness of the whole is the end goal.

A scholar of Asian communications, Miike (2002: 5-8), proposes three philosophical assumptions on which traditions of Asian communication are founded: (1) the ontological assumption is that everyone and everything are interrelated across space and time, (2) the epistemological assumption is that everyone is meaningful in relation to others, and (3) the axiological assumption

is that harmony is vital to the survival of everyone and everything. In light of these philosophical assumptions, Miike (2002: 8-12) proposes three core assumptions of human communication in Asian traditions as follows: (1) Communication takes place in contexts of multiple relationships across space and time. (2) The communicator is perceptually and behaviorally both active and passive in a variety of contexts. (3) Mutual adaptation is of central importance in harmonious communication processes.

Findings³

The results of the present study found that the professional Asian interpreters used various rapport-oriented linguistic strategies for managing conflict at a Korean transnational corporation in Thailand. These strategies include (1) replacing original utterances with mitigating expressions, (2) avoiding interpreting rapport-sensitive utterances, and (3) adding positive remarks. The three strategies are discussed in turn, below.

Replacing Original Utterances with Mitigating Expressions

One strategy to maintain a harmonious workplace is when the interpreter intentionally replaces one primary party's rapport-threatening utterances with mitigating expressions. Thereby, the illocutionary force of the original utterance is softened for the target primary

interlocutor. By doing this, the interpreter can protect the harmonious relationship between the two primary parties. The following excerpt (1) is an example of replacing original words with mitigating expressions.

Excerpt (1)

The CEO of the company (C, aged 40, male) and the Thai interpreter (I) had a meeting with marketing agency personnel (A, five people) regarding television commercial advertisements. After the agency gave a short presentation proposing an approach for the advertising, the Korean CEO expressed his dissatisfaction to them.

C: 잘 봤습니다. 그러나 생각보다
임팩트가 없네요. A 에서 이번 광고에
성과를 거두지 못한다면 더 이상
우리와의 일할 필요 없습니다.

(I've watched carefully, but I think that there is less impact than I expected. If you, A, cannot make a success out of this advertisement, **you don't need to work with us anymore**)

I: คุณ C บอกว่า ดูแล้ว แต่คิดว่าไม่มี
อิมแพคกว่าที่คิดไว้ ถ้าทาง A ไม่ประสบ
สำเร็จครั้งนี้ เราก็คงทำงานร่วมกันได้ยาก

(Mr. C said that watching, he thinks that there is less impact than he expected. If A cannot make a success at this time, **it will probably be difficult for us to work together**).

³ In case of Romanization of Korean and Thai, I referred to the National Institute of Korean Language (2009) and the Royal Institute of Thai (1999).

It can be easily observed from the bolded font that the Korean CEO's original utterance “**더 이상 우리와 일할 필요 없습니/다**” /deo isang uliwa ilhal pilyo eobseubnida/ or ‘don’t need to work with us anymore’ was interpreted as “**เราก็คงทำงานร่วมกันได้ยาก**” /rao ko khong tham ngan ruam kan dai yak/ meaning that ‘it will probably be difficult for us to work together.’ The CEO's original utterance was replaced with more indirect, mitigated expressions. Namely, the Thai interpreter substituted a strong, definitive expression with one that is less aggressive. The interpreter also added a modal verb indicating possibility in order to soften the intention.

A post-meeting interview revealed that the Thai interpreter was concerned with the marketing agency's collective identity face, so she replaced face-sensitive utterances with mitigated expressions to maintain their collective face. She said that:

I: เข้าใจว่าเราเป็นลูกค้าสำคัญที่ต้องจ่าย
เงินให้ทางนั้นมหาศาลและต้องได้ผลที่ดี
ที่สุด แต่รู้สึกว่าเขาพูดแรงเกินไป อาจจะ
ทำให้คนฟังทั้งบริษัทเสียหน้าได้ เลยคิดว่า
แปลแบบอ่อนกึ่งน่าจะเข้าใจได้

(I understand that we are their important customers who have to pay for the ads, so we should use this to maximize our benefits. **But I felt that his words were too strong, and might make the listeners lose face as a company. So I thought that**

interpreting indirectly would probably be sufficient to get the point across).

The Thai interpreter felt that the CEO's utterance was too strong and threatened the other party's collective face. She said, “**รู้สึกว่าเขาพูดแรงเกินไป อาจจะทำให้คนฟังทั้งบริษัทเสียหน้าได้**” /rusuek wa khao phut raeng koen pai at cha tham hai khon fang thang borisat sia na dai/ ‘I felt that his words were too strong, and might make the listeners lose face as a company’. This is why she chose to interpret the original face-sensitive utterances by replacing original words with mitigating utterances in order to maintain the Thai primary interlocutors' face.

Excerpt (2), below, is another example of replacing original utterances with mitigating expressions.

Excerpt (2)

The Content Manager (M, Thai, aged 30, female), who was in charge of content production, got a call from a partner company (B) that had not yet been paid for content they provided according to their contract. This matter was the responsibility of the Content Sourcing Executive (CSE, Thai, aged 30, female). So, M asked the interpreter (I) to communicate this problem to the Korean CEO (C, aged 40, male). The Thai interpreter has close relations with both M and SCE.

M: ตอนนี้มีปัญหาเรื่องสัญญากับบริษัท B
เรื่องค่าใช้จ่ายของคอนเทนต์ค่ะ ตามสัญญาควร
ดำเนินการให้แล้ว แต่คุณ CSE ไม่ทำให้และเอา
เรื่องที่ไม่เกี่ยวมาอ้างโดยพลการค่ะ

(Now, we have a problem with our
partner company B about payment for
content. According to the contract, we
should have paid it. but **Khun CSE
didn't do it, and made irrelevant
excuses to justify her conduct**)

I: 지금 고객사 B 와 문제가 있는데,
계약대로라면 콘텐츠 비용을
지불했어야 했다고 합니다. 아마 쿤
CSE 이 고객사에게 명확하게 설명을
하지 않았다고 합니다.

(She said that now, there is a problem
with our partner company B. It is about
content payment that we should have
paid according to the contract. **It may
be because Khun CSE didn't explain
it clearly to the partner company.**)

As shown in excerpt (2), the Thai
interpreter replaced the Content Manager's
(M) direct complaint about the
incompetence of the Content Sourcing
Executive (CSE) with a vague and
ambiguous utterance. M said that “คุณ CSE
ไม่ทำให้และเอาเรื่องที่ไม่เกี่ยวมาอ้างโดยพลการ
ค่ะ” /khun CSE mai tham hai lae ao rueang
thi mai kiao ma ang doi ponakan kha/
which means ‘Ms. CSE did not pay it, and
made irrelevant excuses to justify her
conduct.’ However, the Thai interpreter
revised M's direct complaint in a more

mitigating way. She interpreted it as “아마
쿤 CSE 이 고객사에게 명확하게 설명을
하지 않았다고 합니다” /ama khun CSE-i
gogaegsaeye myeonghwagage seol-
myeongeul haji anhasdago habnida/
which means, ‘It may be because CSE
didn't explain it clearly to the partner
company.’ In her interpretation, M's
factual information statement was replaced
with a statement of possibility. Also, she
substituted CSE's clear behavioral
problems into a problem of verbal
communication. In doing the, the Korean
CEO cannot infer where the actual
problem came from or what CSE did in
the situation. Nevertheless, the Thai
interpreter successfully conveyed the
information that there was a payment
problem with the partner company.

In the post-incident interview, the Thai
interpreter revealed that her close
relationship with both M and CSE was a
major factor in her choice to replace M's
original utterance with a mitigating
expression. She said that:

I: ฉันสนิทกับทั้งสองคน จึงไม่อยากให้เจ้านาย
มองว่าสองคนนั้นมีความสัมพันธ์ไม่ดีต่อกันและ
ที่ CSE ทำงานไม่ดี

(I'm close to both. So, I did not want to
let the CEO see that they have a bad
relationship and that CSE is
incompetent)

It can be observed that the Thai
interpreter's motivation to replace M's
original communication with mitigating
expressions arose from her intimacy with
both. This is because she wanted to hinder

the CEO's knowledge that M and CSE may have had a negative relationship and that CSE was working incompetently.

Excerpt (3), below, is an example of the Korean professional interpreter replacing original utterances with mitigating expressions.

Excerpt (3)

The Korean CEO of the company (C, aged 40, male) and the Content Manager (M, aged 30, female) had a conversation over the content production plan. The Korean interpreter helped communicate between them. The CEO was not satisfied with the current speed of content production, so he gave a deadline for the target number of content items that he wished to have.

C: **어떻게 하든지 난 모르겠고요.**

큰 M 에게 팀원들하고 다음달

말까지 무조건 30 작품 채우라고

얘기하세요

(No matter how you do it, I don't care. Tell Khun M that she and her team members must make 30 titles by the end of next month, no questions asked)

I: คุณ C บอกว่า ให้คุณ M ลองคุยกับทีมว่า
จะทำอย่างไรสามารถเตรียมความพร้อมอย่างน้อย 30 เรื่องได้ คุณ C อยากให้ทำอันนี้ภายใน
สิ้นเดือนหน้าจะครับ

(Mr. C said that you should try to converse with your team members about how to make at least 30 titles,

and he would like this done by the end of next month).

In the above excerpt (3), the Korean CEO ordered the Content Manager forcefully and straightforwardly to find a way to achieve a concrete goal. That is, he said, “무조건 30 작품 채우라고” /mujogeon 30 jagpum chaewulago/ which means ‘must make 30 titles, and no questions asked’, thereby performing the speech act of ordering, and that “어떻게 하든지 난 모르겠고요” /eotteohge hadeunji nan moleukkessgo/ which means ‘no matter how you do it, I don't care’, thereby assigning responsibility to the Thai Contents Manager to figure out a solution. However, the Korean interpreter did not transfer the CEO's meanings into their equivalent meanings in Thai. He softened the instructions of the CEO by replacing his sharp statements with gentler ones. He said, “อยากให้อ่านนี้ภายในสิ้นเดือนหน้าจะครับ” /yak hai tham anni phainai sin duean na nakrap/ ‘he would like this done by the end of next month.’ The next comment by the CEO was also adjusted to take the form of a suggestion: “ลองคุยกับทีมว่า จะทำอย่างไรเตรียมความพร้อมอย่างน้อย 30 เรื่องได้” /long khui kap tim wa cha tham yangrai triam khwamphrom yangnoi 30 rueang dai/ ‘try to converse with your team members about how to make up for at least 30 titles.’ Consequently, the revised meanings of the original utterances appeased the Thai primary interlocutor. Hence, the Korean CEO's message was delivered to the Thai Contents Manager

successfully, and the rapport between them was maintained.

The motivational factor that underlies the replacement of problematic utterances with mitigating phrasing was a concern for the other primary interlocutor's feelings. The interpreter decided that the original communicative style was not appropriate in accordance with the target language's cultural norms. He said that:

I: 한국 업무스타일 방식으로 강하게
의도를 표출하여 말씀하셨다. 부드럽
게 돌려말하는 태국 커뮤니케이션 방
식과 맞지 않아 자칫 상대방의
기분을 상하게 할 수 있었다

(He expressed his intention so
forcefully in a Korean working style.
It was incompatible with the Thai
communicative style which prefers
indirect and soft expressions, His
expression would have hurt the
interlocutor's feelings).

This suggests that the Korean interpreter had some preconceptions about Thai cultural norms. This is expressed in his statement, “부드럽게 돌려말하는 태국 커뮤니케이션 방식” /budeuleubge dolye-malhaneun taegug keomunike-isyeon bangsig/ ‘The Thai communicative style which prefers indirect and soft expressions.’ This preconception led the Korean interpreter to replace the original utterance with a more acceptable expression in order to protect the feelings of the Thai primary interlocutor. He recognized that the Korean communicative style was too face-threatening to interpret,

recognizing that “한국 업무 스타일
방식으로 강하게 의도를 표출” /hangug
eobmu seutail bangsig-eulo ganghage
uidoleul pochul/ ‘the Korean working style
expresses intentions forcefully.’

Avoiding Interpreting Rapport-Sensitive Utterances

In addition to the previous strategy for avoiding conflict situations, the study also identified a second rapport-oriented strategy to manage conflict, namely avoiding interpreting rapport-sensitive utterances. This strategy is that the interpreter intentionally and deliberately withholds and ignores some utterances that s/he feels too rapport-threatening to interpret into the target language. Excerpt (4), below, is an example of the Thai interpreter's strategy for avoiding interpreting a rapport-sensitive utterance.

Excerpt (4)

The Content Manager (M, aged 30, female), in charge of content production, got a direct complaint call from A, the CEO of a partner company regarding their communication with the Content Sourcing Executive (CSE, aged 30, female). So, M asked the Thai interpreter (I) to interpret this problem to the Korean CEO (C, aged 40, male). The Thai interpreter had close relations with both M and SCE.

M: เจ้าของบริษัท A โทรศัพท์มาหา M และ
แจ้งว่า เขาไม่พอใจมากที่ คุณ CSE พูดจาไม่รู้

เรื่อง และอยากให้ M มาช่วยเคลียร์เรื่องนี้ด้วย
เลยมาปรึกษากับคุณ C เกี่ยวกับเรื่องนี้ค่ะ

(The CEO of our partner company, A, called me. He told me that he was very upset and that CSE's way of communicating is incomprehensible, and asked me to handle this matter. So, I came to you to discuss this matter)

I: 고객사 A 에서 M 에게 연락이 왔는

데요, คุณ CSE 과 커뮤니케이션할 때

문제가 좀 있다고 합니다. 그래서

상 의드리고 싶다고 합니다.

(The partner company contacted me, And told me that they had some problem communicating with Ms. CSE. So I want to discuss this matter with you).

As can be seen from this excerpt, the Content Manager (M) directly quoted an expression of disappointment from the CEO of the partner company (A) in order to inform C of the problem and its seriousness, saying that “เจ้าของบริษัท A โทรศัพท์มาและแจ้งว่าไม่พอใจมาก” /chaokong beorisat A thorasap ma lae cheang wa mai phocai mak/ ‘The CEO of our partner company, A, called me. and, he told me that he was very upset’. However, the Thai interpreter did not translate the fact that the person who called was the CEO of the partner company and that he was very upset. She only translated that M had got a call from the partner company reporting that they had some communication problems with CSE.

From the interview data, the Thai interpreter commented that there were two reasons why she didn't translate some of the original utterances. The first was out of concern that she did not want to start talking about a serious problem that would contribute to a stressful atmosphere. The second was out of concern that the original utterance might mislead the Korean CEO to form a negative judgement about the personal characteristics of M. She said that:

I: ไม่อยากเริ่มต้นด้วยเรื่องใหญ่ อาจทำให้
บรรยากาศเครียดเกินไป และไม่อยากให้ CEO
รู้สึกว่า M เป็นคนที่ชอบเอาความผิดของคนอื่น
มาพูด

(I did not want to begin the conversation with a serious problem that would make the atmosphere too stressful. Also, I did not want the CEO to see M as a tattletale).

Therefore, from the Thai interpreter's point of view, the fact that the CEO of the partner company made contact and expressed his negative attitude was a serious matter. Moreover, the Thai interpreter felt that M's direct complaint might lead the Korean CEO to consider M to have a selfish personality, which would affect interpersonal relations between the two of them. Thus, the Thai interpreter chose to avoid interpreting several utterances to maintain a positive atmosphere and a smooth interpersonal relationship between the primary parties.

The following excerpt, (5), is another illustration of this strategy of avoiding interpreting rapport-sensitive utterances.

Excerpt (5)

The Korean CEO of the company (C, aged 40, male) was dissatisfied with the speed of content production. So, he called the Content Manager (M, aged 30, female) to ask her about it. The Korean interpreter helped communicate between them.

C: 지금 000 건은 왜 그렇게 속도가
안 나오는거야? 담당자가 잘 하지 못
하면 나가라고 하고 빨리 다음 사람
들어오라고 해

(Now, why is the case of 000 so slow? **If any staff member does not work well, just tell him/her to go, and hire a new staff member**)

I: คุณ C ถามว่า ตอนนี้ เรื่อง 000 เขารู้สึก
ดำเนินการช้ามาก มีเหตุผลอะไรครับ

(Mr. C asks about the progress of 000, which he feels is so slow at the moment. Is there any reason?)

It can be seen from this excerpt that the Korean CEO of the company reprimanded M for the slow speed of content production in the form of a speech act of questioning, adding that “**담당자가 잘하지 못하면 나가라고 하고 빨리 다음 사람 들어오라고 해**” /damdangjaga jalhaji moshamyoon nagalago hago ppalli daeum saram deul-eo-olago hae/ ‘if any staff member is not working well, just tell him/her to go and call for a new staff

member.’ Presumably, this additional utterance of the Korean CEO was intended to function as an intensifier to increase the force of the preceding speech act of reprimanding. However, the Korean interpreter did not interpret the Korean CEO’s intensifier, which might offend the Thai Content Manager, and affect the interpersonal relationship between them.

The Korean interpreter noted that his decision to not communicate the intensifier was motivated by a concern for M’s face, as the Contents Manager was in charge of content production, and out of concern that M would consider the Korean CEO as a person who have no sympathy or concern for his staff. He said that:

I: **너무 공격적으로 말씀하셨다.** 목표를 이루는 것도 중요하지만 사람 간의 관계에 신경쓰는 것도 중요하다. M 이 볼 때, 대표님이 본인 직원들을 감정 없이 기계로 여길 것 같았다

(He was so aggressive. It is important to achieve the goal. But consideration for the relationships between people is also important. I was thinking that **from M’s point of view, she might see the CEO as a person who treats his staff as just a machine with no feelings.**)

This comment shows that the Korean interpreter was more concerned about the harmonious interpersonal relationship between the two primary interlocutors than the CEO’s interactional goal. This is reflected in the utterance “**너무 공격적으로**

말씀하셨다' /neomu gonggyeogjeog-eolo
malsseumhasseossda/ 'He was so
aggressive' and “대표님이 본인 직원들을
감정 없이 기계로 여길 것 같았다”
/daeponim-i bon-in jigwondeulleul
gamjeong eobs-i gigyelo yeogil geos ggat-
aassda/ 'the CEO can be seen as a person
who treats his staff as just a machine with
no feelings.' Therefore, he did not
interpret the Korean CEO's intensifier,
which was rapport-threatening, but only
interpreted his question about the reason
for the slow content production, in order to
avoid hurting the Thai Content Manager's
feelings. Hence, the harmonious
relationship was appropriately maintained.

Adding Positive Remarks

The third strategy for managing conflict in an interpreter-mediated interaction at the Korean transnational corporation in Thailand is by adding positive remarks. Positive remarks are a kind of mitigation strategy to reduce the undesirable illocutionary force of the subsequent utterance on the interlocutor. The study finds that the Korean interpreter frequently added positive remarks to preface such rapport-sensitive statements.

The following excerpt, (6), is an example of a positive remark added by the Korean interpreter before interpreting some rapport-threatening utterances.

Excerpt (6)

The Korean CEO of the company (C, aged 40, male) called the Content Manager (M, aged 30, female) to order M to ask

external content providers to increase their current content production quantity by two or three times. The Korean interpreter helped facilitate the conversation between them.

C: 유저들의 피드백을 보면서 나온 결
론이 뭐냐면요, 콘텐츠 생산자들에게
지금 매출이 안 나와서 기존에
보내던 수량을 2 ~ 3 배로 늘려야
한다고 말해주세요

(Considering the user's feedback, sales
of content are low. So, tell the content
providers that we need to increase the
quantity of content production by two
or three times.)

I: เขาบอกว่า เขาก็เข้าใจนะครับว่าการ control
ผู้ผลิตคอนเทนต์มัน ไม่ใช่เรื่องง่าย แต่ดูจาก
ฟีดแบ็คของยูเซอร์แล้ว ข้อสรุปที่ได้ก็คือว่า
ต้องบอกพวกเขาให้ผลิตปริมาณมากกว่า 2 - 3
เท่าเพราะยอดขายต่ำ

(He said that he totally understands
that controlling content providers is
not an easy matter. But after looking
at the user's feedback, you have to tell
the content providers to increase the
quantity of production by two or three
times because sales are low.)

As can be seen from the bolded words in this excerpt, the Korean interpreter added a statement of showing sympathy for an aspect of the Thai Content Manager's work as a positive remark, saying that “เขา
ก็เข้าใจนะครับว่าการ control ผู้ผลิตคอนเทนต์มัน

‘ไม่ใช่เรื่องง่าย’ /kha ko khaocai na krap wa kan control phuphalit content man mai chai rueang ngai/ ‘he totally understands that controlling content providers is not an easy matter.’ Thereafter he interpreted the Korean CEO’s speech act of ordering.

Looking at perception data, the motivational concern for adding the positive remark was to reduce the illocutionary force of the Korean CEO’s speech act of ordering. He noted that:

I: 콘텐츠 생산량을 2 ~ 3 배로
늘리는 건 정말 힘든 일이라는 것을
대표님도 잘 아시고 계실 것이기
때문에 M 이 지시 받은 일에
부담감을 줄여주려고 했다.

(Because **the CEO also knew well that** increasing the content production by two or three times is very difficult. **so, I wanted to reduce M’s psychological burden about the directed job.**)

It can be seen from this excerpt that the Korean interpreter was concerned with the feelings of the Content Manager, who he expected might feel some psychological pressure. He stated that he added his comment in order “지시 받은 일에 부담감을 줄여주려고” /jisi badeun ileo budamgameul chulyeaju-lyeogo/ ‘to reduce feelings of pressure about the directed job.’ Furthermore, the Korean interpreter anticipated that the Korean CEO also understood the difficulty of the job he ordered, so he added a statement of showing sympathy about the work the

CEO was going to order as a positive remark. This is reflected in his statement “힘든 일이라는 것을 대표님도 잘 알고 계실 것” /himdeun il-i-laneun geosul daeponimdo jal algo gyesil-gos/ ‘he also knew well that the job would be difficult.’ This aspect of anticipatory orientation to accommodate another person’s feelings is different from white lying.

Excerpt (7), below, is another example of a strategy for adding positive remarks to manage conflict through the speech act of giving a compliment.

Excerpt (7)

The Korean CEO of the company (C, aged 40, male) called the Thai Content Manager (M, aged 30, female) because he wanted to warn her about her working style. The Korean interpreter helped facilitate the conversation between them.

C: 이제 상황이 바뀌어서 지금까지/
하던 방식 방식을 고수하면 안
됩니다. 유저 입장에서 말고 좀 더
회사 입장에서 생각하라고
말해주세요

(Now, the situation has changed. So, do not stick to the previous working style. Tell her that she should not think of the user’s perspective, but think more of the company’s perspective.)

I: เขาบอกว่า ที่ผ่านมามันคุณ M ทำได้ดีมาก
เพราะทำให้คุณภาพของคอนเทนต์เราดีขึ้น เห็น
ได้อย่างชัดเจนจากตัวเลขต่าง ๆ แต่ตอนนี้

สถานการณ์เปลี่ยนไปแล้วครับ อย่างคุณภาพของ
ยูเซอร์ ของคุณภาพของบริษัทให้มากกว่านี้

(He said that **so far, you've done very well because you have improved the quality of our content. This is indicated from various indexes.** But now the situation has changed, do not think of the user's perspective, think more in terms of the company's perspective.)

It can be seen from the bolded text in this excerpt that the Korean interpreter intervened by inserting a speech act of giving a compliment, “ที่ผ่านมามีคุณ M ทำได้ดีมาก เพราะทำให้คุณภาพของคอนเทนต์เราดีขึ้น เห็นได้อย่างชัดเจนจากตัวเลขต่าง ๆ” /thiphanma khun M tham dai di mak phro tham hai khunaphap kong content rao di khuen hen dai yang chatchen chak tualek tangtang/ ‘so far, you’ve done very well because you have improved the quality of our content. This is indicated from various indexes.’ After this additional speech act of complimenting, the Korean interpreter translated the Korean CEO’s speech act of warning to the Thai Content Manager. The interpreter’s insertion of a speech act of complimenting served to minimize the illocutionary force of the subsequent interpretation of the speech act of warning.

The Korean interpreter’s intervention with a speech act of complimenting in his interpretation was motivated by concern for the Thai primary interlocutor’s face. He noted that:

I: 예전에 M 씨가 없는 곳에서

대표님이 그렇게 칭찬한 것을 말한
게 기억이 났고, 대표님의 말이
상대방에게 막 뭐라고 하듯이
말하여 체면을 손상시킬 것 같이
느꼈기 때문이다

(I remembered the CEO’s compliment of M’s performance. And, **it is because I felt that the CEO’s warning was likely to threaten the other’s face**)

We can see that the Korean interpreter found the Korean CEO’s warning too much of a face-threatening act, reflected from his utterance, “상대방에게 막 뭐라고 하듯이 말하여 체면을 손상시킬 것 같이 느꼈기 때문이다” /sangdaebang-ege mak mwerago hadeusi malhayeo chemyeoneul sonsangsikilgeos gati neukkyessgi taemuni-da/ ‘It is because I felt that the act of warning was likely to threaten the other’s face.’ Hence, he decided to add a compliment to enhance the face of the Thai Content Manager before interpreting the CEO’s speech act of warning. This is similar to excerpt (6) in that the Korean interpreter did not lie yet added utterances that tied to his prior experience of interaction with the CEO and related to the Thai Content Manager.

Discussion

One question remains. How can we situate the two professional interpreters’ linguistic strategies for managing conflicts and their motivations with regards to their own agency and Asian ways of translation? To answer this question, I will discuss

Buddhism in Thailand and Confucianism in South Korea⁴.

Buddhism in Thailand

As Sriussadaporn-Charoenngam & Jablin (1999: 382-383) point out, "Thailand is a center of traditional Buddhist religion, [...] and more than 90% of Thais believe in Buddhism". Therefore, "Buddhist values and beliefs are ingrained in the Thais and are taught both in the culture nationwide and in the schools" (Gannon & Pillai, 2013: 37). Punturaumporn (2001) argues that Buddhism is one of the main concepts that has shaped and significantly influenced the Thai way of life. Buddhist values and beliefs have especially affected the harmonious nature of many Thai people, their control of emotions, preference for sharing, as well as self-reliance.

Based on *Nagarjuna's* Buddhist philosophy, Hongladarom (2009: 56) notes that "the basic tenet in Buddhism states that the true condition of things is change, which occurs at every moment in time, no matter how tiny the changed entity or whether it is perceptible or not." This is

the fundamental Buddhist principle of "the middle way or *Madhyamaka*".

Bilmes (2001) proposes that the Buddhist principle, the middle way, urges restraint from emotional extremes, commitment, and confrontation. According to Chuang & Chen (2003), human emotions, feelings, senses, perceptions and myriad other phenomena are mere illusions and that nothing stays forever. Thus, emotional control and avoidance of aggressive behaviors are considered socially appropriate behavior in the process of interaction in order to promote social compassion and harmony. It is for this reason that many Thais prefer to avoid the expression of negative emotions and sensitive or embarrassing topics. Komin (1990) points to the corresponding Thai concept of "*jai yen*" (literally meaning 'cool heart'), which means the ability to calm oneself as well as to calmly control the situation by taking slow, calm and careful steps. This concept is very important when one encounters conflicts. By controlling one's emotions and managing conflicts calmly, confrontations are avoided and smooth interpersonal relations are achieved.

Emptiness or *sunyata* is another fundamental Buddhist principle. According to Hongladarom (2009: 56), this means that "things are empty of an inherent nature. That is, the identity of a thing depends on its relationship with other things". In other words, emptiness is associated "Inter-being", which, as Nhat Hanh (1988) explains, is concerned with the mutual interconnectedness of all living things in the world. In line with this

⁴ Since the primary interlocutors' tasks were directly related to the achievement of business goals, they may have been more focused on interactional goals than on Buddhist and the Confucian values. However, the interpreters' tasks were not directly relevant to the business goals. Rather, their tasks were associated with communication, hence they were upholding interpersonal goals. Therefore, this paper only investigates the interpreters' side, as the mediators of business communication.

perception of worldview, the meaningful existence of human beings is embedded in mutual interdependence and interrelations with each other.

As for the effects of the Buddhist principle of emptiness or inter-being, the importance of harmonious relations is highly valued in social interactions in Thai culture. It is consistent with Intachakra's (2012) argument that a concern for interpersonal connection and relationship maintenance is the basis of linguistic politeness in Thai. Language use assigns a high value to consideration for others' feelings and peace of mind. In doing so, conflicts are avoided and harmonious relationships are maintained. As a result, speaker-to-hearer transmission of intentions is given secondary priority.

With reference to these Buddhist principles, we can better understand the rapport-oriented linguistic strategies followed by the Thai interpreter and the factors that motivated them. More specifically, in excerpt (1), the Thai interpreter replaced the Korean CEO's original utterances, which might have threatened rapport, with mitigating expressions to avoid conveying embarrassing comments on the Thai interlocutor's performance. As for excerpt (2), the Thai primary interlocutor's act of complaining about another Thai employee's performance was substituted with vague and ambiguous utterances to the Korean primary interlocutor due to a dyadic relationship not only with the Thai primary interlocutor but also with the non-participant third person. Moreover, in excerpt (4), the Thai interpreter

intentionally avoided interpreting the act of complaining about a non-participant's performance. This is because the Thai interpreter wanted to maintain a smooth conversational atmosphere and prevent the communication of a negative interpersonal judgment on the Thai primary interlocutor's personality. These excerpts suggest that maintaining harmonious relations among the members of the community is partially an interpreter-mediated outcome, and interpretation is not limited to the communicative event *per se* because the meaning of the original utterance is expanded for the other participant. In conclusion, maintaining harmony is sometimes prioritized over conveying information.

Confucianism in South Korea

Mills & Kadar (2011: 9) claim that Confucianism is a socio-political philosophy that was founded by Confucius or *Kongzi* (551-479 BC) and became the dominant ideology of China during the Han Dynasty (206 BC-220 AD). Initially, Korea adopted Chinese Classics including Confucian ideals as key principles of proper behavior since the Three Kingdoms period (57 BC-668 AD) under the influence of the Chinese educational system. In later times, Yum (1988: 376) explains that Confucianism was institutionalized and propagated during the *Chosun* Dynasty (1392-1910 AD) for 500 years both through the formal curricula of the educational system and through the selection process of government officials. Despite recent rapid socio-cultural changes brought on by globalization, Gannon & Pillai (2013) maintain that

“Korea is still recognized as the most Confucian nation in the world” (p. 126), even “more firmly holding on to Confucian ideals than China and Japan” (Stowell, 2003: 108). Chen & Chung (1994) assert that Confucianism as a cultural factor on organizational management and communication has contributed to the economic success of East Asia, including that of South Korea.

In their speculation about the impact of Confucianism on interpersonal relationships in East Asia, Chen & Chung (1994) describe three cardinal principles of Confucianism: (1) The first cardinal principle is *jen* as a collective concept which comprises various virtues. *Jen* calls for self-restraint and self-discipline; benevolence towards others; filial piety towards parents; brotherly love for elders; loyalty in one’s personal duty; and trustworthiness in one’s interpersonal behaviors. *Jen* is interwoven with two other cardinal concepts of Confucianism. (2) The second cardinal principle is *yi* or righteousness which provides basic rules for social interaction. *Yi* functions as a guide to appropriate behaviors, and is the internal criterion of appropriateness of *jen*. (3) The third cardinal principle is *li* or propriety, and is the external form of *jen*. As an objective criterion of social norms, *li* is perceived as the fundamental regulatory etiquette of human behavior.

According to Yum (1988: 376), these three principles of Confucianism directly regulate five basic human social relationships: (1) loyalty between ruler and subject, (2) filial piety between father and son, (3) distinction in duty between

husband and wife, (4) obedience to orders between elders and juniors, and (5) mutual faith between friends. The practice of the three cardinal principles and observance of five basic human social relationships are embodied by the principles of social reciprocity, which provides mutual expectations of social responsibility among people. Hence it realizes social stability and harmony.

In this regard, Yum (1988) argues that “the main function of communication under Confucianism is to initiate, develop, and maintain social relationships” (p. 381). More specifically, the principle *yi* as the rule of social interaction, is a strong factor influencing language use in accordance with social variables such as status, age, gender, and level of formality. Therefore, meaning is context-dependent. In addition, the principle *li* as propriety emphasizes consideration for others and reservations for oneself. Thus, an indirect communicative style is preferred because it helps to prevent harm or to avoid threatening one another’s face or feelings. By avoiding confrontation and preserving others’ self, social harmony is maintained.

It is clear that Confucian principles have a major impact on the Korean interpreter’s choice of rapport-oriented strategies for managing conflicts and his motivations underlying these strategies. As seen in excerpt (3), the Korean interpreter translated the original blunt utterances into target utterances with a mitigating effect out of consideration for the addressee’s feelings. Similarly, in excerpt (5), the Korean interpreter ignored an utterance that he found too threatening to the Thai

primary's professional identity face. Relying on anticipation of the speaker's thinking and the addressee's feelings, the Korean interpreter inserted an extra statement of sympathy in order to reduce the illocutionary force of the act of ordering in excerpt (6). As for excerpt (7), the Korean interpreter inserted the speech act of complimenting that derived from his former experience of interaction with the speaker in order to strengthen the addressee's face before interpreting the straightforward original act of warning. These excerpts are consistent with Park's (1996 cited in Stowell, 2003) claim that Koreans attend to relationships before subject matter in order to uphold harmony in communication. They are also examples of interpreter-mediated intercultural encounters in the workplace where the interpreter takes into account the primary interlocutors' face and feelings in order to avoid hurting anyone and to maintain proper relations between all parties.

Conclusion

The study analyzes interpreter-mediated intercultural business communication at a Korean transnational corporation located in Bangkok. Special attention was paid to conflict situations that had been collected by ethnographic observation and interviews and recorded in field-notes. The analysis illustrates the ways in which two Asian professional interpreters, one Thai and one Korean, deal with conflict situations, and what underlying motivations shaped their strategies for managing conflict. The results show that they used various linguistic strategies for managing conflicts: replacing original

utterances with mitigating expressions, avoiding interpreting rapport-threatening utterances, and adding positive remarks. Through ethnographic interview and field-note data, it was found that the maintenance of harmonious interpersonal relationships between participants, including a non-participant in some cases, was the main motivational concern underlying the management of conflict. The findings of the present study indicate that the two Asian professional interpreters actively and deliberately intervened in the form of revisions and omissions of elements of the original texts and additions or adaptations of the text in order first to preserve harmonious interpersonal relationships between the primary interlocutors, thereafter transporting what one primary interlocutor wanted to say to another in conflict situations.

The study also raises questions about other aspects of the mediation of intercultural interaction by Asian interpreters. Even though Thailand and South Korea may share some Asian traditions, in fact there are many differences in their socio-cultural values, beliefs, features of economic and political development, and organizational practices. It is hoped that more practical and pedagogical research will be conducted on pragmatics of interpreters and their management of cultural factors in their work in various fields of discourse such as medical consulting, immigration bureau service, and business negotiations and so on. These other aspects of interpretation studies should be carried out to enhance understanding of the role of agency and tradition in interpretation work in Asia.

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