

NEGOTIATING CULTURAL CONCEPTUALIZATIONS IN FILMS THROUGH A CULTURAL LINGUISTICS APPROACH: IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERCULTURAL ELF COMMUNICATION EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

English as a lingua franca (ELF), a shared contact language of communication for speakers from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, has become a common phenomenon in a globalized world. Central to ELF interactions is the ability to negotiate meanings drawing on a broad range of cultural repertoires and linguistic resources. Helping ELF learners and users develop this ability is essential in English language teaching. This paper describes how to adopt a Cultural Linguistics approach to explore the cultural conceptualizations in the contextualized languages of two English-subtitled Taiwanese films. The results reveal that the structural concepts suggested by Cultural Linguistics could become useful strategies to negotiate and explain some cultural schemas, categories and metaphors entrenched in films. Accordingly, pedagogical implications from the film-based research for intercultural ELF communication education in English language teaching are discussed.

Key Words: Cultural Linguistics, cultural conceptualizations, films, intercultural ELF communication education

INTRODUCTION

Films have been considered as useful resources for language and culture teaching (Björk & Eschenbach, 2014; Chao, 2013, 2020; Kaiser, 2018; Truong & Tran, 2014). Thus far, English-language films (e.g., American or British films) have been widely used as a medium to motivate English learners (Hennessey, 1995; King, 2002; Ryan & Francais, 1998) and help them improve their target language proficiency or communication skills (Bahrani & Tam, 2012; Cho,

2006; Katchen, 2003; Khan, 2015).

Moreover, some studies have investigated the impact of English videos (e.g., films) with or without subtitles on the vocabulary acquisition or listening comprehension of English learners (Metruk, 2018; Napikul et al., 2018; Sirmandi & Sardareh, 2016). However, few research studies have been conducted to recognize the value of non-English-language films with English subtitles for intercultural ELF learning, such as Taiwanese films.

Because ELF (English as a lingua franca) has become common in intercultural communication (Murata & Jenkins, 2009; Sharifian, 2016; Tsou, 2015), diverse people have adopted English to encode and express their languages and cultures for intercultural comprehension or international communication. To enable people of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds to understand the content of local or foreign films, English subtitles are provided by filmmakers. For example, some Taiwanese films are encoded with English subtitles, through which speakers of different communities worldwide can better understand the messages that Taiwanese films intend to deliver. However, this type of message comprehension could be limited. Although there are many cultural conceptualizations being embedded in the contextualized languages of local films, a foreign audience may not entirely recognize them only through viewing English subtitles. Most of the time, they only roughly know the story of the target film without generating further reflection and comprehension. Consequently, it is important to have a theoretical framework that can stimulate intercultural explication and negotiation of the messages presented through English subtitles in local films. The researcher finds that the structural concepts suggested by Cultural Linguistics could be used as a potential guide during intercultural learning since they have been applied to several areas, such as intercultural communication (Yu, 2007), teaching English as an international language (Sharifian, 2013), World Englishes (Sharifian, 2016) and discourse analysis (Lu, 2017). The aims of this study are:

1. Employ a Cultural Linguistics approach to explore and discover how cultural conceptualizations are presented in English subtitles of selected contextualized languages (e.g., conversations and sayings) of *Long Time No Sea* (Tsui, 2018) and of *Zone Pro Site: The Moveable Feast* (Chen, 2013).
2. Generate pedagogical implications from the research for intercultural ELF communication education in English language teaching.

This paper firstly provides a brief review of Cultural Linguistics (Sharifian, 2017a & b). After that, several expressions and language of the target films that could represent particular themes and associations or may make foreign others feel unclear about relevant meanings when viewing films are chosen as examples for further elucidation. Then, the cultural conceptualizations entrenched in the English subtitles of those selected contextualized languages in film excerpts are explored through the perspectives of Cultural Linguistics. Finally, relevant implications from this study for intercultural ELF communication education in English language teaching are discussed.

CULTURAL LINGUISTICS: AN OVERVIEW

Farzad Sharifian's Cultural Linguistics views culture as a cognitive system and aims to offer a multidisciplinary understanding of cognition, culture, and language. Sharifian (2017 a & b) claims that cultural cognition is a result of social and linguistic interactions and experiences between individuals across time and space. Cultural cognition (e.g., thoughts and behaviors) is dynamic because it is continuously negotiated and renegotiated across generations and through contact with people of other speech communities. The elements of cultural cognition are not equally shared by speakers from a speech community. In fact, speakers across a speech community exhibit variations and differences in their cultural cognition, and an individual's cognition does not represent the entirety of his or her cultural group's cognition. Cultural cognition is like a complex system that is affected by sociocultural interactions and experiences. Language serves as a memory bank for storing information and a fluid vehicle for communicating cultural cognition. Cultural conceptualizations, the components of cultural cognition, are embodied in various aspects of people's lives, such as literature, cultural events, nonverbal behaviors, emotions, and rituals. Cultural linguistics provides a basis for understanding cultural conceptualizations and their realization in languages.

In general, Cultural Linguistics provides three tools for analyzing the relationship between language and cultural conceptualizations and also for examining the features of human languages that represent cultural conceptualizations. These tools are Cultural Schemas, Cultural Categories, and Cultural Metaphors.

Cultural Schemas are beliefs, norms, and expectations of behaviors, and values about various aspects of events. These conceptual structures are pools of knowledge shared by the members

of a cultural group. When people are communicating with others, they often inescapably draw upon such culturally mediated knowledge or experience. For example, weddings are common in many cultures, but differences exist in their content across cultures, such as the types of ceremonies.

Categorization is one of the most basic human cognitive activities. Cultural Categories, referring to the categorization of many objects, events, and experiences, are normally acquired through exposure to people and cultures around us. For instance, when we think of the word ‘breakfast’ (category), a certain type of food comes to mind instead of others. People of different communities may have diverse or similar categorization rules when facing the same object or event.

Cultural Metaphors are cognitive conceptualizations of one domain in terms of another. A typical conceptual metaphor is ‘Time is money’ (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 11-12), which is reflected in expressions such as ‘You’re wasting my time’ and ‘Do you have much time left?’ Generally, conceptual metaphors are cross-domain conceptualizations rooted in their cultural systems, such as religion, social customs, cultural events, and medical traditions. For example, the notion of ‘being fired’ is metaphorically stated as ‘getting the sack’ in British English and ‘frying a squid’ in Chinese.

METHODOLOGY

This study performed a qualitative and explorative investigation into the cultural conceptualizations in contextualized languages of the target films from the perspectives of Sharifian’s Cultural Linguistics (Sharifian, 2017a, 2017b). These contextualized languages were the selected expressions and conversations, presented in English subtitles, of two local films. Based on the perspectives of Cultural Linguistics, it is believed that the various features of languages, such as pragmatic and semantic meanings, are embedded in cultural conceptualizations in the form of Cultural Schema, Cultural Categories, and Cultural Metaphors.

The local films in the study were two popular Taiwanese films: *Long Time No Sea* (Tsui, 2018) and *Zone Pro Site: The Moveable Feast* (Chen, 2013). *Long Time No Sea* focuses on issues concerning indigenous people, and *Zone Pro Site: The Moveable Feast* focuses on local cuisine. Because the two films are well-known in local areas, and the two topics they engage with seem to imply complexities and varieties in languages and culture, many local people recommend them to foreign friends to understand Taiwan better.

The two films were played for twelve international students (three from Vietnam, three from Japan, two from South Korea, one from Indonesia, two from the Philippines and one from Russia) and two native-speaking English teachers before the study. They were invited to see the target films and then told the research group members which part of the target film (e.g., languages or expressions) was not clear or needed further explanation. Thus, the data for analysis in this study were the English subtitles of target film excerpts, which had been chosen for elucidation by international students or native-speaking English teachers after film viewing. For example, one international student asked, “The names of dishes in *Zone Pro Site* are interesting. They seem to tell us many stories or metaphors. I hope to know more about those yummy dishes”. After viewing films, several questions they asked concerning cultural issues in the films were noted, and then related film excerpts were chosen for further exploration and analysis.

Data analysis of the selected English subtitles in this study was conducted by a five-person research group, including the researcher, two English teachers, and two English-major juniors. All of them were Taiwanese and understood the cultures or languages in the target films. Before data analysis, they had formed a Cultural Linguistics study group and accepted training courses offered by the researcher. Final explications of the chosen expressions or concepts in film excerpts were made after continuous discussion and negotiation among group members. However, due to the complexity of culture, all explanations presented in this paper are not standard answers. Alternative interpretations of the selected contextualized language are possible.

CULTURAL CONCEPTUALIZATIONS IN TWO TAIWANESE FILMS

In this section, cultural conceptualizations in the English subtitles of selected expressions or conversations from two Taiwanese films, *Long Time No Sea* (Tsui, 2018) and *Zone Pro Site: The Moveable Feast* (Chen, 2013), are explored. First, a brief introduction of each film is provided. Then, the framework of cultural conceptualizations, namely Cultural Schema, Cultural Categories, and Cultural Metaphors, are applied to analyse the selected English extracts. These contextualized extracts include conversations, song lyrics, and sayings.

Table 1 is an overview of cultural conceptualizations and relevant themes in the selected contextualized languages of two English-

subtitled Taiwanese films. Further discussions go as follows.

Table 1

Cultural Conceptualizations and Relevant Themes in the Selected Contextualized Languages of Two Taiwanese Films

Films	Cultural Conceptualizations and Relevant Themes		
<i>Long Time No Sea</i> (Tsui, 2018)	Cultural schemas 1. Helping others (Table 2) 2. Being punctual (Table 3) 3. Jumping into a river (Table 4)	Cultural categories 1. Having a meal (Table 5) 2. Finding a good job (Table 6) 3. Wearing a thong (Table 7)	Cultural metaphors The sea-related metaphors in the lyrics of <i>Tears of the Ocean</i> (Table 8)
<i>Zone Pro Site: The Moveable Feast</i> (Chen, 2013)	Cultural schemas 1. What does ban-doh mean? (Table 9) 2. How to be a real and good ban-doh master chef? (Table 10)	Cultural categories The value of leftovers (Table 11)	Cultural metaphors 1. Expressing feelings through the names of dishes (Table 12 & Table 13) 2. Presenting the life experiences and wisdom of ancestors through food-related sayings (Table 14)

Long Time No Sea: Synopsis

This film tells a true story set on Orchid Island, located to the southeast of Taitung County, Taiwan. A young boy named Manawei

from the Tao tribe on the island yearns to reunite with his father who is working on the main island of Taiwan. Manawei joins a local children's troupe that is training to participate in the annual Aboriginal Dance Competition held in Taiwan, where he would have the opportunity to see his father again. The film reflects on several issues: (1) The clash between traditional cultures and modern society; (2) the harsh reality of families forced to live apart because of financial constraints; (3) grandparenting; (4) the uncertainty of cultural identity; and (5) education in rural areas. Released in 2018, this film has won many awards both locally and internationally.

Cultural Conceptualizations in Long Time No Sea

Cultural Schemas

The following extracts (Tables 2–4) from the English subtitles of *Long Time No Sea* are explained through the concept of Cultural Schemas. They present the belief, value or expectations of the Tao people in three themes: helping others, being punctual, and jumping into a river.

1. Helping others: Is remuneration necessary when helping others?

The conversation in Table 2 shows the Taiwanese teacher using money to express his thankfulness for others' help, which the young Tao boy initially seems surprised about. For Tao people, helping others is always their honour and free of charge. However, due to poverty or to save money to buy modern goods, such as Nike running shoes, the boy finally decides to accept money and even increases the remuneration when offering 'foreign others' help. The director possibly wants to present how the new generation of Tao have been affected by the values or behaviors of outsiders, such as people from Taiwan.

Table 2

Helping Others: Is Remuneration Necessary when Helping Others?

Context (Orchid Island): While a Taiwanese schoolteacher (T) is vomiting by the sea, his sunglasses fall into the water. A young Tao boy, Manawei (M), is passing by.
M: OOPS! You dropped them. They are quite pricy, eh?
T: Get them back for me and I'll give you \$100.
M: I get paid? (A surprised face)\$200, then! (An uncertain voice)
T: Fine.
M: Yeah, \$200! (The young boy shouts excitedly. Then, he directly jumps into the sea and looks for the sunglasses).
M: I've got them.

2. *Being punctual: Why are you not punctual?*

In the second extract presented in Table 3, Manawei is punished because he is late for a school course. Manawei's Taiwanese teacher, similar to many metropolitan people, uses a clock to remind himself to be on time for many things; however, Tao people prefer using their intuition and observation to feel the time instead of using a clock. In fact, the idea of how late is late varies depending on people of different areas or cultures. Some believe that 5–10 minutes early is on time, and being on time is late and unacceptable. It is also possible that a person from a flexible-time culture may consider a few minutes late to still be on time. The film director perhaps wishes to pinpoint cross-cultural conflicts or misunderstandings that often result from different attitudes to certain beliefs or behaviors, such as punctuality in this case.

Table 3

Being Punctual: Why are You Not Punctual?

Context (Orchid Island): Teacher (T) is angry because Manawei (M) is late for school.
T: Is your clock broken?
M: We don't have a clock at home.
T: What do you mean? So you can be late because you don't own a clock? Do a lap of frog jumps around the field.
M: I... (Manawei seems to have something to say)

3. *Jumping into a river: Why do you jump into a river?*

As presented in Table 4, when people in Kaohsiung, a large city in Taiwan, see someone jumping into a river, they would likely consider it suicidal behavior and call the police as soon as possible. However, this is not true for the Tao people on Orchid Island. They enjoy jumping into rivers at any time to relax and cure their sadness. The extract in Table 3 explains the behavior of the Tao boy Manawei. In his mind, the Love River in Kaohsiung, similar to the sea or ocean around Orchid Island, is a place to shed his tears. Jumping into a river for Manawei is like a ritual to rid himself of unhappiness and make him feel strong again.

Table 4

Jumping into a River: Why do You Jump into a River?

Context (Kaohsiung, Taiwan): When Manawei (M) attends a dance contest held in Kaohsiung, his father does not go to see his performance because he is busy at work. Manawei sits by the Love River and feels upset.
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M: (He recalls swimming together with his father when they were on Orchid Island. He remembers a talk between them about the Love River in Kaohsiung. Suddenly, Manawei jumps into the Love River. He swims and dives freely underwater. An ambulance and police cars come because someone called to say a boy jumped into the Love River).

Teacher (T): Manawei...Excuse me (Manawei's teacher rushes onto the site around the Love River).

Emergency officer (EO): Come, come up, slowly. Come here, carefully, here, here.

M: Teacher.

EO: Let's sit down here, come. What happened to you, little boy? Let me take your blood pressure.

M: I wanted to swim.

T: You wanted to swim?

EO: I see. Are you feeling ok? He seems fine, but it's better that he gets checked out at the hospital. Just to make sure everything's OK.

T: Thank you.

T: Why did you jump into the river?

M: I JUST wanted to swim.

T: Manawei (a worried face).

M: Yeah (in a soft voice).

T: If you want to cry, you can cry. Don't hold back your tears.

M: Sir, I have no more tears to shed. All my tears have fallen into the Love River.

Cultural Categories

Three extracts related to the cognitive experiences or activities of Tao people in this film are discussed through the concept of Cultural Categories. Three themes are explored as follows (Tables 5–7): having a meal, finding a good job, and wearing a thong.

1. *Having a meal: What are the main foods that Tao eat for each meal?*

Under the influence of the climate and natural features, agriculture and fishing have been the main approaches for Tao people to make their living. They plant tuber crops, such as wetland taro and sweet potatoes, on the narrow coastal plains. In addition, fishing is an important activity for men. For a long time, the Tao have relied heavily on fishing for survival, which may explain why the *Flying Fish Festival* is important on their island. Because of a new variety of modernisation, the eating habits of the new generation of Tao may have changed or be changing. An example of this is depicted by Manawei expecting to have noodles, fried chicken, and hot dogs instead of taro and fish. The conversation in Table 5 proves that the food in the main meals on Orchid Island differ from that on Taiwan. People of different cultures, such as the traditional Tao ethnic group, have developed their own cognitive association with which foods belong to main meals.

Table 5

Having a meal: What are the main foods that Tao eat for each meal?

Context (Orchid Island): Manawei (M) and his grandmother (G) are talking about food.
G: It's OK. There's no need to wait for him [Manawei's father]. Let's eat first. Come on, let's eat!
M: This again? Granny, I don't want this.
G: No? Then what do you want? I cooked so many taros and sweet potatoes for you and there's fresh fish.
M: I want to eat noodles.
G: Are those noodles better than the fresh fish from home?
M: I just want noodles. I have earned my own money. I just want noodles with pork chops right now!
G: What do you want? We've got plenty of food at home. Your uncle brought us a big and fresh fish. Come on, sit down.
M: No, why can others have fried chicken and hot dogs...but you always ask me to eat fish?
G: What? What's wrong with eating fish? My parents brought me up with the same food. Not eating fried chicken and hot dogs every day.

2. *Finding a good job: What does a good job mean?*

For modern people, a good salary and pension have been described as the main components of a good job. However, the inhabitants of Orchid Island, the Tao tribe, may have different perspectives. Because the lives of Tao people have been closely intertwined with the sea, jobs related to the sea, such as fishing and boat building, have been considered good and valuable ones, particularly for elders. They believe fish are gifts from the gods, which is why they hold the *Flying Fish Festival* annually to celebrate the harvest and express their gratitude to nature. The *Flying Fish Festival* usually runs for approximately four months, and participation is restricted to men by tradition. The conversation in Table 6 reveals the conflicts between traditional cultures and modern society. These conflicts may have influenced the current thoughts of the new generation regarding the definition of a good job. Traditional jobs for Manawei's father seemed to imply poverty because he worked in Taiwan. He was eager to have a modern life and earn more money for his family in a short period of time. However, his friend Dakaan might have different ideas. Dakaan's silence implies the struggles or conflicts existing in the minds of Tao people today.

Table 6

Finding a Good Job: What Does a Good Job Mean?

Context (Orchid Island): Two Tao men talk about jobs. One is Manawei's father (MF), a taxi driver in Taiwan, and the other is Dakaan (D), a local Tatala boat builder on Orchid Island.

D: Brother, why didn't you tell me when you were coming back? At least, I would've gotten more lobsters.

MF: This is good enough... Why are you working so hard every day?

D: I have to build the Tatala boats and go fishing every day... What else can I do?

MF: You still go to the sea or up to the mountains every day? Aren't you tired?

D: I need to look after mother, and feed pigs... So many things need to be done every day that I can never finish them.

MF: I really miss the old times when we went fishing together. We got so drunk once. It's nice to be home.

D: Why don't you come back? It's nice to work at sea. Bottoms up!

MF: Cheers! Dakaan... Have you got money?

D: What money? You need money?

MF: I've got a friend. He wants me to set up a drink stall in the night market with him. You can earn tens of thousands a day.

D: How much do you need?

MF: Just this (making a V shape, in which the index and middle fingers are raised and parted while the other fingers are clenched).

D: What? You need two million? How would I have that money?

MF: Not two million... just two hundred thousand...

D: I don't have that much, either. Are you joking? Aren't you driving a cab? What happened to you?

MF: Are you happy to stay here forever? It's a really good and easy business. Why would I lie to you?

D: (Keep silent)

MF: I never lie to you, right? You can't lead a life like this... When will you make big money?

D: (Keep silent)

MF: What's wrong with you? Why are you quiet?

3. *Wearing a thong: What does a thong mean?*

Today, thongs are worn as underwear or a swimsuit. People wear them for various reasons. Some wear them to avoid panty lines while wearing tight-fitting jeans or skirts, others like to wear them in hot weather because they feel cooler and more comfortable, and others

still want to wear them to look sexy. However, wearing a thong has a different meaning for the men of the Tao tribe on Orchid Island. Traditionally, they wear just a loincloth during their daily lives, which looks like a thong. Currently, they wear thongs at important events, such as launching a new boat, moving into a new house, and getting married. Thongs are formal dress on important occasions instead of underpants. Most of the time, thongs or loincloths are handmade by family members. Therefore, the conversation between teachers and students in Table 7 reveals that Tao thongs are a tradition of the Tao tribe. Men wearing Tao thongs can represent respect and appreciation for their own culture.

Table 7

Wearing a Thong: What Does a Thong Mean?

Context: Teachers (T1 & T2) are telling students (S1, S2, S3, & SS) they need to wear a thong to perform the traditional dance of the Tao people. Manawei (M) is in this class.

T1: You know what they are?
 SS: Thongs
 T1: Yes.
 S1: Sir, why are you giving these to us?
 T1: It's because...open it...It's what you're going to wear in the dance.
 S2: Why this?
 S3: People will laugh at us showing our butts.
 T1: Well, what do you want to wear, then?
 SS: Underpants.
 T1: Underpants?
 SS: Yes!
 T1: Haven't you seen the elderly wear thongs?
 SS: YES.
 M: These are for old people. We kids don't wear them. Our butts are more covered with underpants.
 SS: Yeah...
 T1: So you really think it's better to wear underpants.
 SS: Yes.
 T1: But we're going to a competition! We represent the Tao on Orchid Island. Kids from other tribes, like the Payuan and the Puyuma, all wear their traditional clothes.
 SS: But they are long-sleeved!
 T1: So we the Tao....wear underpants?
 SS: Yes...
 T1: Yes?
 T2: (Wearing a thong) What's this?
 SS: A TAO thong.
 T2: Why don't you want to wear it? Are you not the one of the Tao? We've worn it since the ancient times.
 T1: You heard that? Go and get changed now! All of you! Hurry up!

Cultural Metaphors

The geographical location of Orchid Island has made the sea or ocean an indispensable part of daily life for the Tao. Almost

everything they experience is associated with the sea or ocean, which has always been believed to be the source of life and blessings. The title of this film, *Long Time No Sea*, is a metaphor for missing and longing. Manawei was missing the joyful life swimming under the sea with his father and longing for his father's care and attention again. In particular, the theme song *Tears of the Ocean* symbolises the metaphorical concepts rooted in the cognitive systems of Tao people.

1. *What are the sea-related metaphors in the lyrics of Tears of the Ocean?*

The lyrics of the theme song *Tears of the Ocean* in the film *Long Time No Sea* show not only a sense of familiarity with Orchid Island but also special feelings for the place. The lyrics were written by the film director, Heather Tsui. Her real experience with Tao people on Orchid Island enabled her to understand their inner feelings (Tsui, 2019) and then to express the beauty and sadness of Orchid Island in their eyes. This song is sung mainly in Mandarin Chinese accompanied by Tao language in the chorus. The English subtitles for this song are provided in Table 8 for further interpretation. In this song, many sea-related words are used as metaphors in different lines. For example, 'I saw the *sea* in your eyes' (line 1), 'How I miss that *blue*' (line 2), 'Is there still a *harbour* in your heart where I can take shelter?' (line 4), and '*Drink down a glass of tears*' (line 5). Here, *sea* (line 1) implies 'hope', *blue* (line 2) refers to 'freedom and happiness', *harbour* (line 4) indicates 'an important place for them to take a rest', and *drink down a glass of tears* (line 5) means 'getting courage and power from the sea'. Moreover, the fishing life makes them strong enough to face difficulties. In lines 6 and 8, the *salty wind* (sea wind) can disperse *the mist* (trouble), and *the oars* (fishing boat) can break *the night* (fear). Finally, the expectations of Tao people are cheerily reflected in the chorus: They are very proud of their fathers, who are hard-working fishermen.

Table 8

Lyrics of the Theme Song: Tears of the Ocean

Tears of the Ocean
1. How long has it been since I saw the <u>sea</u> in your eyes?
2. How I miss that <u>blue</u> , my voyage has gone beyond the map.
3. The sky wakes up above the sea, the stars twinkle as reminders.
4. Is there still a <u>harbour</u> in your heart where I can take shelter?
5. <u>Drink down a glass of tears</u> as the waves sob onto the rocks.
6. The <u>salty wind disperses the mist</u> at night.
7. Dreams wander within the song, memories extend like hair.
8. The moon rises, <u>the oars break the night</u> .
(Chorus: Song of the <i>Flying Fish</i> in Tao language)
tay yaro libangbang (Such a big catch of flying fish)
nani tawaz ni yama (All caught by my father)
ko tey masarey (How excited I feel)
inawey no mangdey doa raraw (Wishing every day is as beautiful as today)

Zone Pro Site: The Moveable Feast: Synopsis

This film introduces a local gourmet culture of Taiwan, *ban-doh*, a unique form of outdoor banquet pronounced in the local language (Minnan). Since restaurants were few in the earlier agricultural age of Taiwan, wedding receptions, various festival feasts, and major social gatherings were usually held in outdoor spaces or tents. The person in charge of the menu and procedures of *ban-doh* was called the *zone pro site*, a catering chef in the local language (Minnan). During *ban-doh*, the *zone pro site* had to show his originality by creating different menus based on the theme of each feast. With simple stoves and long tables as kitchen countertops, the *zone pro site* had to serve dishes that satisfied the tastes of host and guests. If people enjoyed his food, the *zone pro site* would earn respect and become a legendary master chef. However, the *ban-doh* business has declined since the take-off of Taiwan's economy. Passing family recipes and culinary skills to a new generation is a great challenge for *ban-doh* master chefs. This film introduces this topic through the story of Wan, a girl eager to become a fashion model and run away from her family *ban-doh* business. Finally, destiny makes Wan face the challenge and accept

the mission she once disliked—becoming a real *zone pro site*. This film has won many awards locally and internationally since its release in 2013. It is quite popular with local people in Taiwan, with many agreeing it is a touching movie with local features and passions.

Cultural Conceptualizations in Zone Pro Site: The Moveable Feast

Cultural Schema

The following examples in Tables 9 and 10 are extracts from the English subtitles of *Zone Pro Site: The Moveable Feast*. They are used to explain the schema of *ban-doh* culture.

1. Ban-doh: What does ban-doh mean?

Ban-doh literally means ‘table setting’. It is a type of Taiwanese outdoor banquet and could be held on roadsides, on private property, or in some public spaces. For local people, *ban-doh* is not just about eating; it is a unique cultural experience offered to host and guests. Moreover, it is an important occasion for people to socialize and become familiar with one another. It is considered a good opportunity for people to experience human warmth and friendliness in Taiwan.

On the day of the banquet, the catering chefs prepare all ingredients with the assistance of their team members in the early morning, and then serve massive *ban-doh* dishes on time. To show hospitality to guests, each *ban-doh* banquet serves 10 or 12 dishes, usually in even numbers, to indicate fortune.

Traditional *ban-doh* culture emphasizes the use of fresh ingredients and the mastery of cooking techniques. In general, each *ban-doh* chef has his or her own family recipes as well as special cooking skills. In Table 8, Wan’s mother points out that that no MSG, ice sculpture molds, preprocessed flavoring, or fast food should be used in traditional *ban-doh* culture. In other words, fresh ingredients and natural flavors with delicate cooking skills, such as cutting, braising, stewing, and frying, are what local people expect. They believe fast food (e.g., fries) and frozen food cannot reflect the spirit of *ban-doh* culture or represent the professionalism of catering chefs.

Table 9

Ban-doh: What Does Ban-doh Mean?

Context: Wan's father had been a famous *zone pro site* called Master Fly Spirit. He passed away and left his *ban-doh* business to his wife (Ai Fang) and daughter (Wan). Wan wanted to be a model and escaped the catering business. One day, she returned home from Taipei with both a failed modelling career and a huge amount of debt. Disappointed, she discovered that the family business had been reduced to a noodle stand after her mother Ai Fong lost a bid for a large outdoor banquet. The following is a talk between Wan (W) and her mother Ai Fong.

Ai Fong: Remember Tsai?

W: Of course, he was Dad's apprentice.

Ai Fong: He's taken all your dad's old business, and even stole some of our best cooks. He left me with no business and no way to make a living. I heard he's in the frozen food business now.

W: Why don't you just retire?

Ai Fong: No way. This mama can't stand to see what they are doing. Instead of simmering stock, they use MSG. They make ice sculptures with molds. They use preprocessed flavoring, and worst of all, they serve fries at banquets.

W: I could eat some fries.

Ai Fong: Yeah, fries are pretty good but for a banquet? That may kiss our catering tradition goodbye. If your dad knew that, it would piss him off so bad. He'd rise from his grave to kick some ass.

Ai Fong: No matter what, he can't ruin your dad's reputation as Master Fly Spirit. Otherwise, people in future generations will think that catering is nothing special.

2. *Ban-doh: How to be a real and good ban-doh master chef?*

Since catering masters are the soul of successful *ban-doh* feasts, how to be a real and good *ban-doh* master chef is crucial. The answer can be found in Table 10. In addition to stunning cooking skills, they should have 'a traditional heart'. That is, when catering chefs maintain a happy mind when cooking every dish (i.e., cooking from the heart), the food they prepare is always delicious. The passion and effort hidden in the food can be felt by the guests, which is the spirit of *ban-doh* culture.

Table 10

How to Be a Real and Good Ban-doh Master Chef

Context: To attend a national *ban-doh* competition and perform excellently, Wan (W) wants to cook dishes with traditional flavors. She asks one of the famous *ban-doh* chefs, Master of Silly (MS), for help. Master of Silly dwells in the underground labyrinth of interconnected subway stations and is used to cooking for outcasts and vagabonds. The following is a talk between Wan and Master of Silly. (They are looking at the wall painting about *ban-doh* that Master of Silly drew).

W: You drew all these?

MS: No big deal, they're just for fun.

MS: Look, here, if a pig was sacrificed, the catering master would divide up the meat perfectly. He had to get it right. Both he and his apprentice would then start cooking together. Country folk back then only had a few good meals a year. Everyone came out and was so happy. And a stooge like you, you did a lot today. Helping me out. Everybody helped out and looked happy. Then the banquet started. What was the banquet for? A wedding. And the newlyweds really loved it. Then the desserts and fireworks as the ending notes. The guests all enjoyed the food. The host was very honored in the end. He would give an entire chicken or a piece of pork to the catering master.

W: Then what else would the catering master get?

MS: He would get... affection and appreciation. More importantly he was happy and satisfied in his heart.

W: Is that the traditional heart?

MS: That's the traditional catering master. But that time... has long gone. Come on, Let's go... Daughter of Master Fly Spirit, I can't teach you how to cook his dishes, I can only give you this...

W: What is it?

MS: It is a dried turnip aged for forty years.

W: How do I use it?

MS: We have our hands, and they have their mouths. No matter how good your cooking is, you can't satisfy everyone. But if your heart is full of joy, the food will taste good.

W: Thank you.

MS: No thank you.

Cultural Categories

People of different linguistic or cultural backgrounds could have developed different systems of categorization. Thus, what types of food can be considered a great delicacy depends on the people of diverse backgrounds or communities. The value of leftover stew is revealed in the extract of Table 11.

1. Could leftovers be served at a banquet?

In this film, *chài wěi tang*, a mixed stew soup of leftovers, is included on the menu of delicious and famous dishes in Taiwanese *ban-doh* culture. Always served at the end of every *ban-doh* banquet, the essence remains of all dishes, representing a traditional flavor. Most of the time, guests like to pack up this dish after the *ban-doh* banquet and then share it with neighbors and relatives, an act of building cordial and friendly ties with people, called *dūn qīn mù lín*. The value of leftover stew is also emphasized in this film, and the extracted English subtitles in Table 10 are an example.

Table 11

The Value of Leftover Stew

Context: At the end of the First National Catering Contest, Wan (W) prepares a final dish called *Leftover Stew*. One of the three food connoisseurs (FC) in the contest expresses his feelings toward the dish after eating it.

FC: Out of all the courses today, this is the only one I want to take home with me. I want to heat it up and eat it over rice every day. Bravo!

However, in some countries, eating leftovers is considered unhealthy behavior because people believe the food is spoiled. Moreover, rising income and agricultural productivity could have made many people dislike leftovers (Dewey, 2017). Specifically, social, cultural, and contextual factors are potential reasons that influence people's tastes, behaviors, and cognitive categorizations.

Cultural Metaphors

Social customs, cultural practices, and religious beliefs affect the development of cognitive conceptualization. Therefore, people of diverse communities may use different conceptual metaphors to

symbolize similar things, behaviors, or perspectives. In the local film *Zone Pro Site*, the director employs food-related metaphors to represent the inner feelings of local people and the wisdom of their ancestors.

1. *Expressing feelings through the names of dishes*

The names of two dishes in *Zone Pro Site* are used to express affection between people. One is *ǒu xiāng yào ní*, fried lotus root with cilantro and Chinese yam mash, and the other is *fān qié chǎo dàn*, scrambled tomatoes and eggs. The former dish, *ǒu xiāng yào ní*, features a homophonic pun because it sounds like *wǒ xiǎng yào nǐ* (I want you) and it is used to indirectly express increasing love between two young cooks. The latter dish, *fān qié chǎo dàn* (scrambled tomatoes and eggs) is a common home dish that almost every mother cooks in Taiwan, and it is a symbol of a mother's love toward her children.

First, Wan and her mother feel helpless when preparing a table of *ban-doh* dishes for old customers, but a self-proclaimed *Doctor Gourmet* named Hai comes to rescue them. During the process of recreating traditional *ban-doh* dishes, the love between Wan and Hai increases. Table 12 presents the English subtitles of this conversation, which shows how Wan and Hai use the dish *ǒu xiāng yào ní* to express their budding love for each other.

Table 12

Expressing Budding Love Through the Name of a Dish

Context: Wan (W) and her mother Ai Fong are trying the new dish just cooked by Hai (H).

Wan: So flavorful and flaky.

Ai Fang: It's like a scorching desert drenched in spring rain.

W: Nice description...

Ai Fang: Really? I've never had this. What's it called?

H: I don't have a name for it yet.

W: Lotus root (*lian ǒu*), Cilantro (*xiāng cai*), Chinese Yam mash (*shan yào ní*)..

Ai Fang: ...ǒu ... xiāng....yào... ní....

W: Yes (Wan is looking at Hai excitedly), wǒ (I)... xiǎng yào (want)... nǐ (you)...

H: (Hai is looking at Wan with a surprised and shy expression on his face).

W: (Wan stops talking and her face turns red).

Furthermore, people of different cultures or countries may use various approaches to remember the love of their mother. Wearing a white or pink carnation is a well-known way, particularly on Mother's Day, to express love and appreciation for one's mother. In this film, the director uses the local homemade dish *fān qié chǎo dàn* to indicate how local people reveal their affection, remembrance, and gratitude for their mothers. When people say I want to eat *fān qié chǎo dàn* in Taiwan, they could be implying they really miss their mothers.

The following extracts in Table 13 from the English subtitles of *Zone Pro Site* describe the power of this common home style dish. A food connoisseur in a wheelchair can almost stand up after tasting the dish cooked by Hai. Perhaps this scene represents an exaggeration, but the director wishes to emphasize that a dish cooked from the heart can always touch people and cheer them up.

Table 13

A Local Home Style Dish to Remember the Love of Your Mother

Context: Hai (H) decides to serve a common home style dish as the final course in the First National Catering Contest. The contest moderator (CM) introduces his dish, which three food connoisseurs are waiting for.

CM: Even I know what that is...It's *scrambled eggs and tomatoes* (three food connoisseurs are tasting the dish). Did you make this?

Hai: Yes...Many mothers can make it, too. (He hesitates and then continues...). Maybe you are watching me live on TV—Although you left me when I was 6, the day that you left me, you made *scrambled eggs and tomatoes*. I still remember even now... Now, I just want to tell you... I don't resent you anymore... I am doing fine, please don't worry (an endless round of applause can be heard from the audience). Please enjoy.

(When the three food connoisseurs are tasting the dish, some loving pictures of mothers and kids appear, accompanied by the song *Mothers are Great*).

Mothers are like the moon, shining through the window;
With dedication and kindness, sending out rays of love.

(One food connoisseur in a wheelchair is so touched by this dish that he cannot help but call 'mama'. He is almost standing up from his wheelchair).

CM: He is standing up on his own (with an astonished voice)...
Awesome...

2. *Presenting the life experiences and wisdom of ancestors through food-related sayings*

Local proverbs and idioms are popular folk sayings that have gained credibility through long-term usage by people in particular areas, cultures, countries, or communities. Three food-related folk sayings mentioned in this film are listed in Table 14. They are normally spoken in the Minnan, a common language used by Taiwanese people.

The first one, ‘Eat rump roast (pork hocks), keep your pants on, and you will be rich!’ is directly translated from Minnan to English. The speaker (Wan’s mother) wants to promote the dish *rump roast*, and so she uses the homophonic pun *ku* (*tuǐ kù*/rump, *tuō kù*/pants, *cái kù*/cash box) to impress people as well as offer some good words *jīn yín cái bǎo* (gold, silver, and precious things) to bless those who love the dish. In traditional Taiwanese society, *tuǐ kù* (rump) stands for great wealth and good luck. This is why eating *rump roast* can increase income and make someone rich, and furthermore, *rump roast* is always served in important *ban-doh* banquets.

Table 14

Three Popular Food-Related Folk Sayings in Taiwan

1.	Eat rump roast, keep your pants on, and you will be rich! Chī <u>tuǐ kù</u> , miǎn <u>tuō kù</u> , jīn yín cái bǎo mǎn <u>cái kù</u> (吃腿庫，免脫褲，金銀財寶滿財庫)
2.	Kill two birds with one stone (Wash your trousers while clamming.) It kiam jī kòo, bong lâ-á kiam sé khòo. (一兼二顧，摸蜆仔兼洗褲)
3.	Don’t judge a book by its cover (Black soy sauce in the black bottle, nothing can be seen.) o· kan-á té tǎu -îu -bû tè khòo n. (黑斫仔裝豆油，無地看)

The second Taiwanese saying is ‘Wash your trousers while clamming’. In order to make foreign others understand this saying easily, the English subtitle shows the Western idiom with a similar meaning ‘killing two birds with one stone’. What does ‘Wash your trousers while clamming’ mean? In the past, local Taiwanese went to streams to collect clams. Their trousers were usually soaked after hours of clamming. Because they could bring home fresh clams and a clean pair of trousers, they had achieved two things at once with a

single action.

The third Taiwanese saying is related to black soy sauce, one of the traditional sauces consumed by local people daily. When black soy sauce is put into a black bottle, it is difficult to determine whether the bottle contains any soy sauce. However, taking a closer look may help a person to determine this. Since this folk saying seems to correspond to the English idiom of ‘Don’t judge a book by its cover’, this idiom is used as the English subtitle to present this saying in this local film to suggest that before judging others, we should take a deeper look at them.

The second and third Taiwanese folk sayings are similar in meaning to two Western idioms. Obviously, people from different speech communities could use different conceptual metaphors to symbolize similar life experiences and the wisdom of ancestors.

PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Globalisation has made intercultural ELF communication become common. Even though opportunities for people to engage in intercultural interactions are increasing, the question remains of whether ELF users are well-prepared for the development of intercultural interaction abilities. When ELF users, including native and non-native English speakers, communicate interculturally using varieties of English, they not only convey sounds and meanings in English but also negotiate and explain different cultural conceptualisations and worldviews among them (Sharifian, 2013; Xu & Sharifian, 2017). Thus, intercultural ELF communication education is very important in English language teaching (ELT) in the 21st century. Particularly, the movement of ELT towards EMI (English as a Medium of Instruction) in higher education is an increasing trend along with globalization. EMI has become popular in many non-English speaking countries with different interpretations and approaches (Aizawa & Rose, 2019; Hu & Lei, 2014). However, many challenges, such as the choice of teaching materials, need to be overcome in the future (Galloway, Numajiri, and Rees, 2020). This study reveals that English-subtitled local films could offer rich information (e.g., contextualised dialogues) for EMI, through which language awareness and intercultural learning could be promoted. In fact, this viewpoint that teaching materials could be drawn from various English-using communities, such as local ones, instead of only English-speaking communities, has been proposed by many ELF or World Englishes educators (Baxter, 1991; Kirkpatrick, 2007;

Modiano, 2001).

Furthermore, bringing the three analytical tools suggested by Cultural Linguistics into film-based EMI courses could be a potential pedagogical technique for effective intercultural ELF communication education. Local ELF users or learners could be guided to explore the underlying cultural conceptualizations of contextualized languages in English-subtitled local films and reflect on the appropriateness of Chinese-English translation in these films. Their English abilities and their content learning could be improved at the same time. The content consists of learning to introduce Taiwanese culture in English fluently and expressively. The process of negotiation and reflection not only helps local students understand their own cultures but also to know how to properly interpret and explain their cultures to foreign others through English. As for foreign others (e.g., international students), they could acquire cultural messages from viewing English-subtitled foreign films (e.g., Taiwanese films). In addition, they are encouraged to compare and contrast target cultures with their personal ones and can have more intercultural dialogues with local students. As a result, they could generate intercultural awareness of appreciating diverse cultures and cultivate positive attitudes to accepting English varieties.

In the classroom context, language teachers should first have knowledge of the theory of Cultural Linguistics. Then, they can provide students with training in analytical tools (i.e., cultural schema, categories, and metaphors) along with relevant applications to assigned tasks, such as analysing film excerpts (clips). Language teachers could collect suggestions from foreign people (e.g., international students) or local people (e.g., school colleagues or local students) about the choice of contextualized languages in target films before using film excerpts as a potential pedagogical resource for intercultural education. Of course, course instructors could make their own decisions based on their experiences or the needs of their students. A sample lesson plan is included in the Appendix for reference.

When implementing a film-based intercultural ELF course through a Cultural Linguistics approach, language teachers should know how to select proper English-subtitled films as learning materials. At this point, non-English-language films are the focus, which could be local (developed by their own countries) or foreign films (developed by other non-English-speaking countries). The English subtitles of local or foreign films may characterize the global use of English by different speech communities, and generate thought-provoking cultural or linguistic issues, particularly on

conceptual reflection, comparison, negotiation, clarification, and awareness.

Moreover, using local films instead of foreign ones as learning materials in the beginning will be more effective for local ELF learners because of their familiarity with the target content. They can easily understand how English is used by speakers of similar communities and then appropriately interpret the culturally constructed conceptualizations and world views presented through English subtitles of local films. Once they are familiar with the application of structural concepts suggested by Cultural Linguistics to films, other non-English-language films could be introduced as learning materials for further exploration as well. Some principles of selecting English-subtitled non-English-language films (i.e., local and foreign films) for intercultural ELF education are suggested herein. First, they represent actual stories of people or countries, such as the biographical film of Italian singer Rocco Granata, *Marina* (2013). Second, they illustrate key historical events. The South Korean historical action drama film *A Taxi Driver* (2017) is an example for helping understand the events of the Gwangju Uprising in 1980. Third, they signify the issues of intercultural adaptation or cultural identity construction. *American Dreams in China* (2013), which describes how three young Chinese men from poor backgrounds achieve success by establishing a reputable English teaching school, provides many cultural and linguistic issues for reflection. In addition, films that include the food of different cultures could be selected by teachers because they always stimulate intercultural exploration and dialogue. Examples are the German film *Mostly Martha* (2001), the Indian film *Lunch Box* (2013), and the Japanese film *Kamome Diner* (2006).

To authenticate the content analysis results of selected English subtitles in movie excerpts (clips), language teachers and learners should be cautious about the type of information source before making a final interpretation. In addition to reading relevant literature and holding group discussions and negotiation, interviewing people (e.g., experts, connoisseurs, and native speakers of a target foreign film's language) of connected fields is necessary to collect useful information for verifying the emerging topics or patterns. This could help ELF learners or users genuinely understand the cultural conceptualizations and relevant realization in English languages of target films. The process of exploration and negotiation also provide them opportunities to develop intercultural awareness.

CONCLUSION

This paper elucidates how to use three analytical tools, namely cultural schema, cultural categories, and cultural metaphors, to explore and discover the relationships between selected contextualized languages and their cultural conceptualizations in two English-subtitled Taiwanese films. The potential of applying non-English-language films, such as English-subtitled local films, to intercultural ELF learning seems to be possible and interesting. Similarly, other non-English-language films with English subtitles (e.g., foreign films) are also recommended as learning materials to expose ELF learners or users to the linguistic and cultural variation that characterizes the English language in today's globalised world, as well as to give learners opportunities to understand and negotiate those variations or diversities. However, there are some limitations in future study. First, classroom teachers must be familiar with Cultural Linguistics theory and its application. It's better to have at least one month or a longer period of time to run the classroom intervention. Moreover, the English proficiency level of participant students cannot be beginners because they need to use English to implement analytical tasks. Suggestions are senior high school teens, university students and adults, all with at least English B1 level and interested in foreign cultures.

Future studies in real classroom contexts of various speech communities could be conducted to investigate the impact of integrating film-based ELF courses with the perspectives of Sharifian's Cultural Linguistics on English learners' abilities of negotiating and interpreting meanings drawing on a broad range of cultural repertoires and linguistic resources during intercultural communication. It is believed relevant findings can provide important insights on intercultural ELF communication education in English language teaching.

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APPENDIX

Appendix A. A Sample Lesson Plan

Goals-setting:

1. Help students know how to observe and interpret the various features (e.g., pragmatic and semantic meaning) of human languages (e.g., conversation, lyrics and sayings) and their relationships with cultural conceptualizations (i.e., cultural schema, cultural category and cultural metaphor).
2. Help students develop intercultural awareness and comprehension of cultural conceptual variations hidden in Englishes used by diverse speech communities in today's globalized world.
3. Help students reduce cultural misunderstanding during intercultural ELF communication.

Warm-up:

1. Have you seen the two target movies (i.e., *Long Time No Sea & Zone Pro Site: The Moveable Feast*)? And what do you think? Do you know the meaning of *Ban-doh*? Have you ever been to Orchid Island? (it could be any question that may activate participants' background knowledge).
2. What does culture mean? (e.g., cultural practices, cultural resources, small cultures)
3. Do you know Cultural Conceptualizations? What are they? (e.g., beliefs, values, norms and experiences). Where can we find them? (e.g., daily conversations, literature, cultural events, non-verbal behaviors and rituals). How are they represented in human languages and what do they imply in different linguistic and cultural contexts? (e.g., cultural metaphor: a foxy lady).

Instruction:

Cultural Conceptualizations	Definition & Examples
<p>1. Cultural schemas They are beliefs, norms and expectations of values or behaviors about various aspects of events. <i>Examples:</i> Weddings are common to many cultures, but there are differences in the content of weddings across cultures, such as wedding traditions. These traditions could be performing a tea ceremony, releasing doves or putting mehndi on hands.</p>	
<p>2. Cultural categories People of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds have developed different systems of categorization. Cultural categories refer to the categorization of many objects, events, and experiences, which are normally acquired through exposure to people and cultures around them. <i>Examples:</i> When we think of the word ‘breakfast’ (category), a certain kind of food comes to our mind instead of others. Breakfast could be bread, cheese and coffee, or soybean milk, rice, and grilled fish.</p>	
<p>3. Cultural metaphors Cultural metaphors are a form of cross-domain conceptualization, characterized by conceptual variations that are rooted in people’s cultural systems, such as religion, social customs, cultural events and discourse traditions. People of diverse communities may use different conceptual metaphors to symbolize similar things, behaviors or perspectives. <i>Examples:</i> “ Being fired” can be presented in different ways, such as “stir frying a squid”, “getting walking papers”, “getting the sack” or “getting the boot”.</p>	

Assigned tasks

1. Group work: What are the cultural conceptualizations in the following film excerpts (clips) with English subtitles? (e.g., internet surfing, related literature reading and discussion)
 - a. Analyze the talk between Manawei and his grandmother about food (*Long Time No Sea/ 9:05~10:29*).
 - b. Analyze the conversation among students and teachers about wearing a thong to perform the traditional dance of the Tao people (*Long Time No Sea/ 40:37~42:11*).
 - c. Analyze the talk between Master of Silly and Wan when looking at the wall painting about ban-doh (*Zone Pro Site: The Moveable Feast/ 1:43:43~1:45:34*).
 - d. Analyze the conversation among Wan, Ai Fong (Wan's mother) and Hai when trying the new dish just cooked by Hai (*Zone Pro Site: The Moveable Feast/ 33:11-33:39*).

Extended Questions for reflection

1. What do you think of the Chinese-English film translation in the target film excerpts? Please give examples of proper or inappropriate translation and provide reasons or suggestions.
2. Do you think English subtitles of local films can help you use English easily or confidently to introduce local culture to foreign others? Why or why not?
3. Please indicate which part of the two Taiwanese films that you think need further explanation to foreign others and your reasons.