

THE PARADOX OF CULTURE

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WHAT IS CULTURE

It is not: ballet, art, music, drama, drumming and dancing. *It is not:* "Our culture is this. . . or that. . . etc." (wrong!)

It is as "an ordered system of meaning and of symbols in terms of which social interaction takes place"; it is "the fabric of meaning in terms of which human beings interpret their experience and guide their action" (Geertz).

CULTURE IS UNITARY

It is a *total framework*: including gestures, postures, words, voice, facial expressions, concepts, use of time, space, materials, ways of working, playing, hating, attacking defending--all making up the whole. For example: "German or Spanish temperament". Because all aspects of a culture are interlinked, to change one aspect in a culture means to change everything. Cultures must be learned as a whole.

CULTURE IS LEARNED; NOT INNATE

Once learned, it becomes habitual.
Then we forget it is there.

CULTURE IS A STANDARD FOR JUDGMENTS

It becomes the source and standard for all judgments. All cultures are judged by our standards. All actions are sensible or make no sense according to our own. Everyone outside the system is judged inferior.
"Everyone values money."
"If you help a woman you help a family."
"Everyone wants to get ahead." (Not New Mexico Spanish!)
"Everyone wants a democratic government."

CULTURE GIVES US OUR IDENTITY

The core of our identity is defined by the culture.
Japan: sense of belonging, to hotel, factory, state.
USA: success, get ahead, wealth, "what do you do"
Ghana: family, clan, ancestors, "where from you?"

CULTURES ARE IRRATIONAL

The 'logic' of a culture is only 'logical' within it. Logic is innate, unreflected upon, yet it is the criteria for making judgments.

N. Americans will not accept moving into a smaller office. "Spirits don't exist because you can't see them or measure them!"

"Logic" itself is LC. Why is Socratic 'logic' logical? Navaho and Japanese have wider and more inclusive culture frames.

How do Africans think? How do SAEs think?

We need to understand our own cultures first.

SELF-KNOWLEDGE IS LIMITED BY CULTURE

- We are controlled by a "cultural unconscious" (Hall BC: 43)
- Our ability to be critical is limited by the categories valued by our society.
- The mind is internalized culture: "squaresville and roundsville."
- We remake the world in its image.
- How smart you are is not a matter of IQ. These tests measure aspects of knowledge valued by Western society (visual memory and linear-analytic reasoning).
- Others may stress verbal memory, taste & smell (olfactory) color, muscular memory. Einstein 'walked out' tough theories.
- Ability to imagine creatively is culturally conditioned (e.g. Hopi vs. American; Ghanaian children vs Ghanaian adults).

CULTURE GIVES STABILITY

It is systematized and organized to give stability and predictability to relationships.

THE PARADOX OF CULTURE

Culture *cannot be described in its own language*. It is a total communication framework but it cannot communicate the rules of the system back to us. This is because Language is not a system for *transferring* thoughts but a system to *organize* them.

CULTURE IS HIDDEN FROM ITS OWNERS

CULTURE IS HIDDEN

Culture owns us; (we don't own our culture)!

SUMMARY OF CULTURE

- It is a unitary system for communicating: by words, actions, gestures, postures, voice, facial expressions, concepts, use of time, space, materials; way of working, playing, loving, hating, attacking, defending.
- It is learned: through socialization,
- It becomes habitual,
- Is forgotten.
- Controls our judgments: all other cultures are judged by our standards. All actions are 'sensible' or 'foolish' judged by our standards. All values are presumed to be universal: 'everyone values money (trees, success, democracy).
- The controls are unconscious (social and cultural)
- Gives us our identity: "German temperament," "Spanish fire," "Ghanaian laissez faire."
- Breeds ethnocentrism. Everyone outside the system "is inferior".
- Is irrational, illogical, relative.
- Is inherently a limit to our self-knowledge.
- Makes us project a stereotyped self image having no basis in reality.
- For stability and predictability.
- It is hidden from its owners and cannot be described in its own language.
- It is best discovered by Negative Feedback.

THE PRINCIPLE OF NEGATIVE FEEDBACK

The enormous task of slowly unraveling another culture is thoroughly interconnected with the task of overcoming one's own control system. We can do this by "bumping in the dark." By clashes that can make us aware of our unfulfilled expectations.

- First we need to become aware of innate principles of our own culture.
- We all assume we know our own culture.
- But it is mostly hidden from us.
- Our shared presuppositions are not questioned.
- They are not challenged by outsiders' criticism because "All outsiders are inferior."
- We need to reflect on our biases.
- Our mental maps are presumed to be in others; therefore not reflected on.
- NF helps us to move beyond our cultural wraps.
- By becoming aware of the wraps--the innate presuppositions of our culture.

CONCEPTS OF TIME, SPACE AND MATTER:

- The three dimensions of time (past, present, future) are used in the West to contextualize communication.
- In Africa no future.

- The Hopi only have continuous present time.
- Time structures cultural and communicative events.
- Being kept waiting shows rank, shows who is an 'insider' and who is a 'non-human being'.
- American Time: monochronic: scheduling consecutively (MT)
- Arab time/African time: Polychronic Time (PT), several meeting at once.
- PT = no order, late, confusion, informal offices, who you know, last minute changes.
- MT= time dominates all, but denies context, sets priorities (In America space and time set priorities, makes for monolithic, non-human structures).
- SAE cultures objectify time; sequential, history
- SAE cultures objectify space: form & substance
- "cup of coffee" container plus contents.

THE IMPORTANCE OF ANOMALIES

- Miscommunication results in clashes and hurt feelings, frustrations, anger, violence.
- Action chains begin but are interrupted by the clash, resulting in frustration, violence.
- ACs become apparent when cues don't work.
- Hall's example of two blindfolded men in a room.
- Things that don't fit draw attention to our innate rules and principles.
- Anomalies are valuable because they can lead one to insight about one's own presuppositions.

CLUES TO OUR HIDDEN CULTURE

Different cultures have different expectations, timing, ACs (e.g. in greetings one values touching another not). All cultures provide initial cues to their action chains.

EXAMPLE OF ACs IN ACTION

Two blind men are in a room (Hall BC: 51): One initiates greeting AC by touching but the other is more subdued. Thus a clash: one touches and the other withdraws. The clash enables each to become aware of an apparent anomaly, a disruption of their cultural pathways and ACs. Unfulfilled expectations evoke the question: "What was I expecting to happen anyway?" This then leads to deeper understanding of the other culture beginning with the question: "What seems to be the expectations of the other?"

THOUGHT AFFECTS BEHAVIOR

Lighted match thrown into a 'flammable pool.'
Carelessness around 'empty' petrol drums.

CONTEXTING

THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTEXTS¹

To understand well a foreign culture, it is not sufficient merely to master language and know the meanings of other key cultural symbols. It is also essential to know the context in which these symbols arise.² Interpreters need to know not only what something means to them--after they have restructured it according to their own way of seeing things--but also what it means to others in their social context. Understanding the social context helps to make sense of what often seems bizarre to someone outside the culture. For example, one cannot adequately explain the role and function of a local healer³ by dismissing his or her curative powers as magic and superstition, by relegating them to the psychosomatic power of suggestion, or by using other categories of our own. These typical Western responses to traditional medicine do not at all adequately comprehend the actual role of the local healer in that society itself.

We always have to inquire what speech, behavior, or events meant to the people themselves because meaning of words and of other signs, symbols, and behavior vary widely from culture to culture.⁴ Signs and symbols are often polysemic, and their meanings can only be determined accurately from their context, so we have to ask what is the social context of any meanings we are trying to understand. Knowledge of the context in which meanings are communicated is essential to genuine understanding.⁵ Indeed, anthropology can be

described as the study of the context in which human communication, on whatever level, takes place.⁶

Actions and reactions are mostly automatic. Contexting is to insure social automation and to avoid information overload.

High Context	Low Context
Field education	Classroom education
Roleplays	Discussions
Demonstration	Lecture
Art	Science
Fine art	Poster
English law	French law
Tamale law	Accra law
Village law	City law
"lampo"	N. American taxes
IRS in Ghana	IRS in N. America
Litelalia	All other languages
African languages	European languages
English language	German language
Ghanaian English	English English
Watchman English	Ghanaian English
Activism = good	Action = bad
Emotion = good	Emotion = bad
Dyonesian	Apollonian
Right brain	Left brain
Einstein integration	Library science
Little info	Much information
Language learning	Language teaching
Communication fast	Communication slow
Communication imp.	Facts are important
Focus on particularity	Focus on universality
Folk taxonomies	Scientific taxonomies
Messy	Orderly
Creativity	Sameness
High stability	Low stability
Slow to change	Quick to change

CONTEXTING IS BY:

- Subjects or activities: e.g. teaching, law, politics, art, theology, ministry, development, direction giving, shopping.
- Past experiences: the contexting of one's first culture,
- Situations: paying your taxes, behavior which depends on the situation, personal situational needs,

¹ Much of the following material is adapted from John M. Huels OSM "Interpreting Canon Law in Diverse Cultures," *The Jurist* 47 (1987) 249-293.

² See Ernest Gellner, "Concepts and Society," in *Rationality*, ed. Bryan R. Wilson (Worcester, Great Britain: Basil Blackwell, 1970), pp. 18-49.

³ Anthropological literature widely uses the term "witch doctor" for what I call here "local healer." I prefer not to use "witch doctor" because of its negative and superstitious connotation for many Westerners.

⁴ John Beattie, *Other Cultures: Aims, Methods, and Achievements in Social Anthropology* (New York: The Free Press, 1964). p. 234.

⁵ As Wittgenstein noted, to grasp the point of human speech we must site it amidst the rest of human activities. Anthropological understanding is concerned not only with speech but with what Wittgenstein called "forms of life," that is complexes of thought, language, and action in a shared cultural context. See *Philosophical Investigations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1953), pars. 23, 229. See also discussion in Crick, p. 80.

⁶ Culture "is not a power which causes social events but a context in which they can be thickly described." See Geertz, p. 14.

hospital equipment proxemics, fire station proxemics, classroom proxemics.

- Statuses:
- All cultural systems: law, sex, politics, religion, military, family, marriage etc. are HC or LC.
- USA is too LC, information overload, everything is intensely screened, leads to instability, obsolescence, constant change. How do we screen?
- Brings about irrational action--situational, contextual, neurotic, bureaucratic and cultural non-sequiturs.
- Ghana is too HC. Needs to increase LC.

HIGH-CONTEXT VS. LOW-CONTEXT CULTURES

- HC cultures = where meaning is conveyed more by the context than by the words and gestures, etc.
- HC and LC people have different priorities, objectives, rates or working, and technical skills on the same job. (We think that by upgrading the African's technical skills the job product will be the same as in Europe. Wrong!).
- HC people are polychronic (do many activities simultaneously) NOT serial/consecutive
- HC people value personal relationships NOT timetables
- HC people value interaction NOT contract-completion
- HC people value being nice NOT being pushy
- HC people value many contacts NOT competed ACs

EXTENSION TRANSFERENCE

Low Context cultures become more and more removed from real life people and situations mainly by means of technical extensions of perception and communication:

- Conscience is an ET for internal control
- ET makes us confuse the extension for the process, the signifier or symbol for the thing signified, the media for the message.
- Sapir/Whorf: Language is not vocabs, grammar rules. Language is Thought!
- ET and Language: makes language seem like the extensions.
- ET and Technology: Makes food and shelter for the world's masses seem like a technological problem not a cultural one.
- ET and Education: a "drive" for understanding, has been distorted by schools.
- Extensions and All aspects of Life: fragment life, dissociate man from acts and realities. Must get back to realities. Realize it is an extension, not reality. Distinguish between the reality and our perceptive models.

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE ARE BIOLOGICAL

Brain scans show different parts of the brain light up with different language/cultures are assumed.

LANGUAGE/CULTURE CONTROLS OUR THINKING:

What can we do to understand people who have different perceptions of reality, who see such fundamental concepts as *time* and *matter* in quite different ways than we do? The way we view our world is shaped by our culture, and by our language which is a major component of culture. If we are to understand people in other societies we have to learn how they think, how they perceive their world, and what influences their culture and language have on their views of reality.

Benjamin Lee Whorf (1897-1941), a disciple of Edward Sapir (1884-1939), has had a significant impact on anthropology by demonstrating the importance of language in shaping thought and culture. A cardinal thesis of Whorf is that the structure of a people's language influences the manner in which they understand their environment. According to Whorf, the picture people have of the universe shifts from tongue to tongue. Their very perception of the world is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group, and their language and perception of the world in turn affect their behavior.⁷

Whorf's theories are based principally on his study of the Hopi, a tribe of native American people. Through his comparative study of the Hopi language with the Standard Average European (SAE) languages, he discovered that even such basic ideas as time and matter can be significantly different as a result of the structures and capacities of a language. SAE languages conceive of time in a spatial sense--a length of time, segments of time, spaces of time that can be filled up with events and activities. The Hopi instead express time as a relation between two events in lateness. Whereas our language promotes "an objectification of that datum of consciousness called time," the Hopi language retains the actual subjective experience of time as "becoming later."⁸

⁷ See *Language, Thought and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf* (Cambridge, MA: The M.I.T. Press, 1956), esp. pp. 137-138. This is the so-called "Whorfian hypothesis," but in fact Whorf never formulated a fully developed theory attributing the perception of reality to language. Whorf's views have nevertheless been quite influential although some maintain the opposite thesis is also demonstrable, namely, that a people's perception of reality is the chief influence on their language. See Michael Cole and Sylvia Scribner, "Culture and Language," in *Issues in Cultural Anthropology: Selected Readings*, ed. David W. McCurdy and James P. Spradley (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1979), pp. 78-92.

⁸ See Benjamin Lee Whorf, "The Relation of Habitual Thought and Behavior to Language," in *Language, Thought, and Reality*, pp. 139-140. This essay was originally published in 1941 in *Language, Culture, and Personality, Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir*, ed. Leslie Spier (Menasha, WI: Sapir Memorial Publication Fund, 1941), pp. 75-93.

SAE objectifies time in terms like winter, October, evening, sunrise--all nouns like other nouns. This is not the case in Hopi which looks on time as a subjective duration-feeling. Nothing is suggested about time except the perpetual "getting later" of it. There is no formless item comparable to our "time" in Hopi language. Objectification of time in SAE allows us to imagine time as units in a row with three tenses--past, present, and future. In Hopi, and many other languages, there are two tenses, an earlier and a later.⁹ This corresponds better to the feeling of duration as experienced. Consciousness has no past, present or future, but "a unity of embracing complexity."¹⁰

Our objectified view of time is favorable to historicity and to keeping of records, but these are not interests of the Hopi. The Hopi have little incentive to study the past because they implicitly believe that everything that ever happened still is, but it is in a necessarily different form from what memory or records report. As for the present, the Hopi are not interested in keeping a record of it, as SAE people do, but they treat it as "preparing." The two language groups also regard the future differently. We set down our estimates of the future in the same shape as our records of the past, producing schedules, programs, budgets. For the Hopi, future is preparation in the present, not some objective entity that can be imagined.¹¹

The Hopi conception of time is obviously much different from that of SAE which objectifies the past, present, and future. Just as language profoundly influences how people view time, so also does it affect the way that matter is perceived. For SAE people, according to Whorf, the philosophic conceptions of substance and matter are instantly acceptable, "common sense." It is so through linguistic habit, because our language patterns often require us to name a physical thing by a binomial that splits the reference into a

formless item plus a form, for example, a cup of coffee, a pane of glass, a piece of cloth. As a result of our language, we see matter as consisting of the "contents" given form by the "container." Without the container, the contents are viewed in abstraction, for example, the substance "water" instead of an actual quantity of water. This is not the case in Hopi. All nouns have an individual sense and both singular and plural forms, with no mass nouns. They would say: "give me a water," not "a glass of water."¹² The Hopi language deals with formlessness through other symbols than nouns: generality of statement, such as in our expression, "the substance water," is conveyed through the verb or predicator, not the noun. As a result a philosophy that divides matter into substance and accidents, or shapes that contain matter, is alien to the Hopi world view because their language does not "see" reality in that way.

The SAE "thought world" sees reality as consisting of things; it objectifies; it sees an existent as a spatial form plus a formless continuum related to the form, as contents are related to the outlines of their containers. Nonspatial existents are imaginatively spatialized and charged with similar implication of form and continuum. For the Hopi, in contrast, reality is analyzed largely in terms of events, or as Whorf puts it, "eventing."¹³ Reality is a processual, on-going continuum of events, not a number of individual objects and moments in time.¹⁴

⁹ The Western lineal concept of time with its indefinite past, a present, and infinite future is also foreign to the traditional way of thinking of the peoples in sub-Saharan Africa. "For the African, time has two dimensions. It has a past and a present but virtually no future. Actual time moves backward rather than forward, and people focus on what has taken place rather than on the future." See David J. Hesselgrave, *Communicating Christ Cross-Culturally* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1978), p. 151.

¹⁰ Whorf, pp. 142-143. Dorothy Lee supports Whorf's ideas in her study of the language of the people of the Trobriand Islands (off New Guinea). There is a lack of lineality in the Trobriand languages in contrast to European languages which emphasize lineal order. There are no tenses, nor are there comparisons or step-by-step orderings of words. Even Trobriand descriptions of events do not follow what we would consider "natural" historical progression. See "Lineal and Nonlineal Codifications of Reality," in *Issues in Cultural Anthropology*, pp. 67-77.

¹¹ Whorf, p. 153.

¹² Whorf, p. 141.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

¹⁴ This thought world, conditioned by language, in turn has effects on behavior. Both our behavior and that of the Hopi can be seen to be coordinated in many ways to the linguistically conditioned thought world of each. People act in situations the way they talk about them. Whorf uses many examples from his experience in settling fire insurance claims to show that language influences behavior, such as the case where a man threw a lighted match in a flammable pond because "pond" is associated with water and wetness, not flammability; or the case where "empty" gasoline barrels that contained flammable fumes were carelessly stored because "empty" connoted "harmless" and "safe from fire."

CULTURE FRAMES AND ACTION CHAINS

CULTURE FRAMES

CULTURE FRAMES (CFs) ARE STANDARDIZED "situational behavior." They are the smallest viable units of a culture, which are still complete units of meaningful action--the building blocks of culture, e.g., greeting, working, eating, bargaining, mourning, fighting, serving, hanging out, courting, playing, dancing, praying. Two types:

- Basic/Archetypal: Having to do with archetypal experiences: birth, sex, death, hierarchical, territorial, socializing/teaching, learning/perceiving.
- Culturally derived: greeting, working, eating, bargaining, mourning, working, fighting, making peace, serving, hanging out.

CFs HAVE MULTIPLE PERCEPTUAL DIMENSIONS: linguistic, oral, audio, kinetic, proxemic, temporal, spatial, thermal, symbolic, tactile, material, personality dimensions. We learn to speak using the natural frames in a culture: by gestalt, situationally (e.g., situational talk: baby talk, stranger talk, situational dialect, classroom talk, child talk, barroom talk, church talk, animal talk, date talk, husband/wife talk, lover talk, menus, insider/outsider talk.

CFs ARE WHOLE UNITS OF CULTURE

Natural learning occurs in gestalts: Whole units are learned at once, i.e. as whole contexted or situational frames.

People learn in gestalts. Speaking is determined by the situation/context. Thus learning cultures is best done by learning the natural frames of a culture situationally. Situational needs and behavior are structured differently.

CFs ARE STRUCTURED GUIDES TO ACTION

- All societies structure their frames to fulfill the needs of the culture and establish patterns of behavior.
- Individuals must abide by the structures.
- Frames are learned, become automatic; no reflection.
- They guide how to be "loving, cooperative, peaceful, warlike, aggressive, hardworking, playful, hierarchical, competitive, materialistic, communicative."

Are you aware of your culture's patterns?
How do your people satisfy their situational needs?
How do those of your adopted culture conflict with yours?

CFs MANIFEST THEMSELVES AS 'CULTURAL ETHOS':

- Cultures are more than the sum of their parts: "Integrational approach" (Ruth Benedict);
- Each part of a culture can only fully be understood as part of the interlinking whole (material culture, economics, politics, kinship, religion, teaching, art, social organization).

- Cultural Anth's focus = general attitudes of a specific culture as a whole. This is the "genius" of a culture.
- Cultures manifest some traits more strongly than others.
- "Apollonian vs. Dionysian."
- No culture is perfectly balanced. Severe imbalance leads to "cultural neurosis."
- Cultural neurosis is an imbalance in structured situational needs and behavior. It is the gap between the way a culture images itself and the way it actually is.

CFs ARE THE BEST WAY WE KNOW TO LEARN about cultures. Studies of needs and values fall short of understanding the foci of a culture because situational needs vary greatly from context to context and are often too extensive to measure completely. It is better to focus on the elements of a frame--Action Chains.

ACTION CHAINS

ACTION CHAINS ARE:

- A sequence of events, with two or more individuals participating, within a contextual frame.
- They involve transactions; sometimes a series of little contracts (Dewey).
- They take place in contextual frames of culture (CFs) (e.g. eating, sports, courtship, studying).
- They vary from culture to culture: with animate things and populations, with inanimate things, with oneself. e.g., Hopi talk to plants and fish.

ACs TAKE PLACE IN A TIME/SPACE CONTINUUM

- They have sequencing patterns (beginning, middle, end):
- Pecking order of chickens
- Sequencing of rats in a maze--unlearning is more difficult than learning
- Crowding interrupts sequencing (deer on east coast island)

ACs MUST BE COMPLETED.

Failure to complete ACs in LC leads to anomie (Spitz and Rollo May). Withdrawal, apathy, despair, destruction and aggression.

HC people are polychronic (PT) (many activities at once)
HC/PT people stress relations not completion or timetables. Better nice than precise!

HC vs. LC have different priorities, different rates of completion, different objectives on the same job.

ACs ARE HIDDEN FROM US

E.g. Thursday night at the library:

- Boys stake out tables.
- Girls join the boys.
- Stretch break.
- Coffee in hall.

- Date on weekend.

Other examples:

Job interviews, ethnographic interviews

a durbar,

learning vs. studying

use of the telephone or short wave radio etc.

Use of the telephone: In the USA, the one receiving the call always speaks first saying, "Hello." Then the one receiving identifies himself, the number or the place and waits for the other to be identified. Then conversation begins.

Use of the telephone in Ghana: Caller speaks first "Hello", receiver responds "hello", then caller initiates second round with "Good morning," then asks for the one he would like to speak to or simply begins the conversation.

Use of the Catholic short wave radio network in Ghana is an extremely LC ET used by HC people, e.g. spelling out unfamiliar English words incorrectly over and over again.

Welcoming ACs in New England: the established one must call on the new neighbour first.

Greeting ACs in Ghana: The passerby must greet the one sitting first.

WE PROJECT OUR OWN AC PATTERNS

We project implicit understanding and in-tune-ness with ACs of our own culture, even though they can't be described in language.

ACs tell us what people actually do. "Folklore" tells what they think they do or what they wish to be thought of as doing (Redford).

Try to look closely at what people in other cultures really do (their ACs), not just what they say they do (folklore).

ACs can be known by ethnographic investigation.

It is easier for outsiders to get to know them, provided they are trained, than for untrained insiders.

IN THE GRIP OF OUR ACTION CHAINS

WE ARE CHAINED TO ACs

- By Extension Transference (ETs)
- By the grip of culture
- By resistance to changing one's thinking.
- By resistance to self-examination (ethnocentrism).
- Because our cultural pathways cannot be described.

CULTURE CONTROLS US THROUGH ACs:

Because of ET (extension transference phones, faxes, TVs, videos, computers, cars, tools all lessen contact with others and things).

Because of the grip of culture itself. It is a system for mediating reality; not reality.

Because of natural resistance to rearranging one's thinking (conservatism, unlearning).

Because of resistance to self-examination (ethnocentrism)

Because cultural pathways cannot be described by speech.

"The more general ideas and basic assumptions of a people are less accessible to verbal formulation because the social consensus in a community protects them from challenge and shifts the focus of discourse to more specific points that are at issue in normal social life" (Geertz).

ACTION CHAINS MUST BE LEARNED

- For planning and prediction within a culture.
- Especially for prediction of conflict.
- Normal safeguards within a culture don't work with inter-cultural conflict.
- HC cultures can't shorten or cut short ACs or violent reaction will result (e.g. greetings).
- LC cultures have stages. Contracts must be negotiated at each stage (the library).
- Important to be able to predict when conflicts arise so as to avoid them.

ACs CAN BE LEARNED

- They are governed by predictable rules.
- Rules apply to formative and active aspects of communication, discourse, perceptions, transactions.
- They are aimed at achieving culturally determined goals.

HOW CAN THEY BE LEARNED?

- Know your own culture first. How do Ghanaians think? Is it impossible to know? No, but not easy. Must know first a little of our own culture and its control over us (enough to lessen hold of ethnocentrism).
- Our knowledge of ourselves is biased;
- First step in knowing others is knowing our own biases.
- We can build knowledge of our own culture by contrasting it with other cultures.

ACs HELP LANGUAGE & CULTURE-LEARNING

L & C learning is essentially learning action chains as gestalts and learning to recognize our own biases.