Multilingual Communication and Creative Language Use in Diplomatic Interpreting

التواصل متعدد اللغات واستخدام اللغة الإبداعية في الترجمة الدبلوماسية

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Abstract:

   Negotiating difficulty often arises from adversarial positions between two countries or from distances between them in the global geopolitical arena that make it hard to bridge the communication gap. In these situations the interpreter is serving to some degree as a mediator, since rendering a statement into another language itself inevitably puts the statement in a somewhat different light, which the interpreter should strive to ensure is consistent with the speaker's intent and conducive to resolution. La difficulté de négociation découle souvent de positions contradictoires entre deux pays ou de distances entre eux dans l'arène géopolitique mondiale qui rendent difficile de combler le fossé de communication. Dans ces situations, l'interprète sert dans une certaine mesure de médiateur, car l'acte de rendre une déclaration dans une autre langue lui-même met inévitablement la déclaration sous un jour quelque peu différent, ce que l'interprète doit s'efforcer de faire en sorte qu'il soit conforme à l'intention de l'orateur et propice à la résolution.

Keywords: diplomacy ; negotiation ; communication ; geopolitical ; interpreter ; mediator ; statement ; speaker ; creative language use.

ملخص:

غالبًا ما تكون صعوبة التفاوض ناتجة عن الخلافات بين بلدين أو من المسافات بينهما في الساحة الجيوسياسية العالمية التي تجعل من الصعب سد فجوة الاتصال. في هذه المواقف ، يعمل المترجم كوسيط إلى حد ما ، حيث أن

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تحويل العبارة إلى لغة أخرى نفسها يضع حتماً البيان في ضوء مختلف إلى حد ما ، والذي يجب أن يسعى المترجم إلى ضمان اتساقه مع نية المتحدث ويفضي إلى الحل. غالبًا ما تنبع صعوبة التفاوض من المواقف المتناقضة بين دولتين أو المسافات بينهما في الساحة الجيوسياسية العالمية التي تجعل من الصعب سد فجوة الاتصال. في هذه المواقف ، يعمل المترجم كوسيط إلى حد ما ، حيث أن فعل تقديم بيان بلغة أخرى نفسها يضع التصريح في ضوء مختلف إلى حد ما ، وهو ما يجب على المترجم أن يسعى لتحقيقه. نية المتحدث ويفضي إلى القرار.

كلمات مفتاحية : الدبلوماسية ؛ مساومة؛ تواصل ؛ جيوسياسية. يفسر ؛ وسيط إفادة؛ مذيع؛ استخدام اللغة الإبداعية

Diplomacy: (1) the art and practice of establishing and continuing relations between nations; (2) skill at dealing with people and getting them to agree.
--Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English.

Conference interpreting, also known as diplomatic interpreting, has become the main modality of multilateral debate in large multilingual diplomatic gatherings. Despite its importance, some perceive it as an extravagant luxury or do not understand its purpose, sometimes confusing or comparing it with translation. This is understandable, given the fact that some of what a translator does involves interpreting the text, and some of what an interpreter does involves translating the speech. Recently, however, there has been speculation that Machine Translation (MT) combined with voice-recognition software could someday lead to a form of automated interpretation, an ill-advised futuristic view. While digital technology can be used to conveniently control home appliances or applications on a cell-phone, or to give voice-activation instructions to a Google speaker or a GPS, it cannot be used in the UN Security Council to defuse a crisis or resolve a nonproliferation dispute or in the Human Rights Council to address human rights violations, because diplomacy is not a game and is governed by international law, not by local law or custom, or by the profit motive. If international relations were allowed to deteriorate in order to cater to entities with a vested interest in promoting technology per se, the international community would be abdicating its responsibility and betraying the trust that the interpreting profession has earned through many years of faithful service.

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The word diplomacy, a term we conventionally use to refer concisely to international relations and the intergovernmental contacts, exchanges, agreements and institutions they engender, has the secondary meaning of "dealing with people and getting them to agree". This is no coincidence: the former cannot exist without the latter, and failure to communicate and interact can lead to isolationism and plunge nations into conflict and war. The need to use persuasive language or advocacy in multiple languages to clarify positions, advance agreements and secure peace between peoples is recognized even in sacred texts such as the scriptures of the Christian faith, in which languages are intimately linked to national identities: "Then the herald loudly proclaimed: 'To you the command is given, you peoples, nations, and populations of all languages,…'"

Diplomatic And Automatic Uses Of Language

The diplomatic use of language has today developed to the point where it is serving as an instrument not of spiritual salvation but of physical survival. The large-scale application of multilingual communication at global conferences to address existential challenges, as has just occurred at the 26th United Nations Climate Change Conference of the Parties (COP26) in Glasgow , attended by some 40,000 people from some 200 countries, serves to highlight that there are historical junctures at which only the totality of human intellectual resources, creatively unified by all cultures being duly represented, will prove equal to the task of ensuring our survival. The evolution of this style of multilateral relations has been over three centuries in the making and is now firmly established as the norm,   requiring practices that enable diplomats and spokespersons to express themselves in different languages. A noteworthy Scientific American report drawing on recent research findings reminds us that "The human capacity for language has played a critical role in the development of civilizations, the transmission of knowledge and our ability to collectively shape our environments" and that enhanced intelligence does indeed exist but is multilingual rather than artificial: "Because the same neural machinery can be used for both linguistic and nonlinguistic tasks, multilingual experience can even affect performance in contexts that involve no language at all." Human thought and human language grow over time in capacity to perceive and process reality, although the accelerating pace of historical change sometimes gives us the impression that we have fallen behind.

At the same time, the emergence of synthetic computer coding languages in parallel with the varied forms that communication takes in intercourse among the world's peoples prompt us to look for common features and to ask the question: What is human language? Noam Chomsky describes language as "audible thought" and observes that it is a "species property". Does this mean that speech exists only when humans are using words? That would be an oversimplification concealing a larger reality. When I overhear the vocalization of a lone songbird near my window, I am reminded that many living beings in our world articulate sound or song even when there are no other members of their species within earshot. Among members of our species, there are many mental or emotional states which do not lend themselves to formulation in communicable words, e.g. fear, confusion, wonder, surprise, anger, shock, dismay, sorrow, lust, passion, pity, warning, admonition, reserve, resignation, awe, supplication, as well as certain human collective moods and customs, such as ritual solemnity. In those situations when words fail us the utterances that we produce or silences we observe are as essential an aspect of language as the communicative functions we exercise when voicing a greeting, engaging in conversation, ordering dinner, giving a lecture, making a deal or delivering a speech. In such circumstances, whether because we are dumbfounded by an overpowering emotion or because we have nothing cogent to say, it is not the message's lack of importance that may make it less intelligible; rather the communicative function is giving way to the expressive, in such a way that the deep structure is partly occluding or obscuring aspects of surface structure. Further complicating this picture is the fact that the mindset or tone we call "irony" can give utterances meaning and intent different from and even opposite to what the words denote, depending on context, the fact that a nuance unspoken or placed "between the lines" can be very important, and the fact that a silence can be heavily laden with meaning. Speech stemming from situations or moods articulable by surface structure can to some extent be mimicked or replicated but those residing in deep structure cannot because they are unpredictable and therefore unprogrammable, although they are not always entirely unforeseeable to an experienced human interpreter trained to sense motivations and anticipate speech patterns as they unfold.

Diplomacy: Truth or Consequences

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This dual nature of communication, in which the emotive/motivational dimension modulates the cognitive/conceptual dimension as we externalize language thought through sensory-motor means , is especially relevant when language is used for the purpose of creating and maintaining relations between diverse human groups. This was observed to be so among several ancient cultures of which we have historical records, for example as articulated in ancient China at the beginning of the 3rd century BCE by Taoist philosopher Zhuang Zhou: "if relations between states are close, they may establish mutual trust through daily interaction; but if relations are distant, mutual confidence can only be established by exchanges of messages. Messages must be conveyed by messengers [diplomats]. Their contents may be either pleasing to both sides or likely to engender anger between them. Faithfully conveying such messages is the most difficult task under the heavens, for if the words are such as to evoke a positive response on both sides, there will be the temptation to exaggerate them with flattery and, if they are unpleasant, there will be a tendency to make them even more biting. In either case, the truth will be lost. If truth is lost, mutual trust will also be lost. If mutual trust is lost, the messenger himself may be imperiled. Therefore, I say to you that it is a wise rule: 'always to speak the truth and never to embellish it. In this way, you will avoid much harm to yourselves.'   But speaking truth to power is not always easy. A delicate balance of emotions, tones expressed by inflection, sometimes accompanied by emphasis conveyed through gesture, is needed to correctly pitch and edit content in order to make successful use of diplomatic language. This reflects the principle formulated by Noam Chomsky that creative language use cannot be programmed into a computer, which is a non-sentient entity. Human communication is shaped by context, and context is strongly determinative of truth and accuracy. Moreover, in addition to perception of context, human discernment is needed to make the right judgment calls regarding register and completeness in interpreting. Even if computer-aided devices were available to help process spoken contents faster, we could not allow textual volume or density, word choice, terminological distinctions or phrase length to prevent us from fulfilling the central purpose of interpretation, which is to convey a particular message in a defined context from one person or group to another. Moreover, quality diplomatic interpreting strives to find the nearest natural equivalent not only semantically but also stylistically, in the same manner as quality literary translation: the interpreter must shun "being so immersed in the source text,

adhering so closely to the source language, that the resulting prose is affected and awkward—or worse, unreadable."

Over the centuries, empires have declined and the imperial power paradigm, characterized by a central dominant power surrounded by smaller powers, a model conducive to monolingualism, has given way in both East and West to a more inclusive paradigm of globalization conducive to and dependent on multilingualism: "Had the Holy Roman Emperor ever succeeded in establishing central control over all the territories technically under his jurisdiction, the relations of the Western European states to it might have been similar to those of China's neighbors to the Middle Kingdom, with France comparable to Vietnam or Korea and Great Britain to Japan." Under this form of globalization, political dominance and economic hegemony remain present in the world but a higher degree of harmony is being pursued that goes hand in hand with fuller support for the right to speak one's own language even in diplomatic meetings between nations, enabling speakers to achieve greater clarity and eloquence with fuller confidence of success in pursuit of their goals.

Looking westward from the ancient Chinese form of diplomatic discourse mentioned above, it appears that as the distinctive roles of messengers developed through history, the first professional diplomats were those of Byzantium, with "…use of diplomats as licensed spies and … employment of the information they gathered to devise skillful and subtle policies to compensate for a lack of real power…" Here we already see in its incipient historical form what is today sometimes referred to as "warfare and lawfare", an uneven world order in which less powerful nations of necessity rely more on persuasion, skill, subtlety and eloquence because they lack the resources or military power to impose their will. And while the strongest power of the day may often prevail on matters of policy, it has long been the case even before the emergence of today's forms of conference diplomacy that in contacts among sovereigns all voices must be heard: "In one 25-year period of the 4th century BCE, for example, there were eight Greco-Persian congresses, where even the smallest states had the right to be heard."

In the Ottoman era the functions of diplomat and interpreter were integrally combined in the position of Dragoman, which made inter-lingual communication

an official function entrusted to specialists possessing both language skills and a knowledge of public affairs. British historian Patrick Balfour, Baron Kinross, has vividly described this period: "Above all, foreign diplomats had to contend with the problem of language. For none knew Turkish, and few Turks … knew a European language. The foreign envoy thus depended upon his own dragoman – his interpreter and intelligence agent—who was usually a Greek or a Levantine of Latin origin. Acting as his intermediary with the officials of the Porte, the dragoman was in a position, by selective or slanted interpretation, to influence talks as he chose; to further his own interests through calculated leakages to his fellow dragomen and other confederates. But in 1669 this system was rationalized and improved by the creation, for Christian subjects alone whether Greeks or Armenians, of the high office of Dragoman of the Porte. Drawn as a rule from the Greek mercantile community, the Phanariots, his rank amounted in fact to that of a minister of foreign affairs. Around him other responsible official posts were allotted henceforward to Christians, mostly of the Greek Orthodox faith. For Greeks, through their trade, were familiar with the languages of the West, of which the Moslem Turkish elite were in general ignorant, and would send their sons to such Western universities as Padua. In particular, they were to serve often as ambassadors or as governors of autonomous Christian provinces. Thus, with the lapsing of the Sultan's Slave Household, did the Ottomans continue, without either conscription or enforced conversion, to draw on the abilities of their Christian subjects. The work of the Dragoman of the Porte as relations with Europe developed became increasingly arduous. It took the form of regular contacts with foreign envoys, for discussions of their business, his services as interpreter at audiences with the Sultan and interviews with the Grand Vezir; correspondence with foreign governments, which he and his staff had to translate from the Turkish; a perusal of foreign news sheets and similar sources to familiarize his government with European affairs."

Truth, Error And Automaticity

In our era of digital revolution, what impact will digitalization have on the activity of diplomatic interpreters? Machine translation has been gradually improving, but the human brain, the most powerful of all computers, does the job much better and has been doing so for some 74 years, at least since simultaneous interpreting was introduced at the Nuremberg trials.

Because translators and interpreters often work in the midst of controversy, whether in the courtroom or in the conference room, there is a natural inclination to critique their work largely in terms of accuracy, critiques which may lend credence to the idea that automating linguists' tasks might mean reducing error or eliminating bias and that mechanized communication is more reliably truthful because it is devoid of feelings. The opposite is true. Feelings are one of the things that can render an interpretation more genuine, more complete and more worthy of attention than the flat, monotonous output of a computer program. Moreover, an interpreter skilled in using his voice can be more accurate because when he is grasping for "le mot juste" he can impart a greater range of emotional tonalities to the words of the target-language rendition in order to make it more closely match the tone and intent of the source-language words.

As one of their strategies for coping with speed of delivery, interpreters learn to memorize and automatically use certain standard formulations, collocations or figures of speech in their renditions in order to conserve mental energy. But this is done to save time and to focus attention on substance, not to cut corners. The automaticity is self-imposed, acquired through training and experience, and can be departed from at any time if the speed of delivery slackens or the nuance being used by the speaker calls for creative language use, i.e. a variation, a different word or a more original rendition in the target language, e.g. through use of metaphor to extend the literal meaning of a word.   This differs from the automaticity of a computer, which functions like a bilingual glossary and may have been programmed with only one way of translating a given lexical item. Interpreting, like translating, is a kind of writing, and writing always implies revision.

Languages: The More The Better

When diplomatic agents conveying messages to each other hail from countries that adhere to different customs and speak different languages, it is nevertheless expected that they will have the skill to make the messages they convey not only truthful but also comprehensible, faithful and complete. Out of a desire to ensure this integrity of the messages, the temptation may arise, in the interests of economy or simplicity, to resort instead to monolingual communication, but this may result in inequity and in an impoverishment of thought because it "does not

take advantage of the cognitive assets of plurilingualism hidden in mixed and multilingual teams". Similarly, the temptation may arise to make use of such contrived solutions as an invented language like Esperanto or a uniform cipher like Morse Code, a reductive approach recently reincarnated in the notion that computers, being mathematically infallible , are also more unbiased and efficient in that they could spare humans the pain of having to learn grammatical rules and vocabulary lists , a fallacy which I described on International Translation Day in 2005 as the "cybernetic siren-song". With Communications Technology (CT) now spanning vast distances and providing means for people safely to interact and work even in the midst of a pandemic , it is tempting to think that comparable technical means could also be used to break language barriers, but there is no beneficent MT genie in the CT magic lantern. Technology is one means by which we externalize thought but it cannot itself generate or reformulate the message; nor can it be held accountable when "the cloud" is used for surreptitiously advancing an objectionable idea while its author is screened from public view through censorship or by cloaking it in electronic gadgetry while the person actually harboring the motive for the act remains sheltered in a cloud of electronic anonymity or plausible deniability, which is yet another recent twist in the game of "let the computer do it".

Interpreters, being only human, are subject to various kinds of errors such as lapsus linguae (slip of the tongue) or lapsus calami (error of composition), with different degrees of seriousness depending on the circumstances and context . But the errors committed by automated machines are neither errors of form nor errors of substance; they are in effect mechanical breakdowns, like a flat tire or a short-circuited lamp. Whether such malfunctions turn out to be harmless, embarrassing or merely absurd will again depend on circumstances and context. A machine translation (MT) error may be as inoffensive as a third-grade schoolchild's mis-spelling or it may constitute an affront to personal dignity such as might justify suing for defamation. A salient example is the recent MT-inspired denigration of a head of government by comparing him to a mob boss: "It was with great pleasure today that I welcomed my friend Prime Minister of the Underworld Mark Rutte in Athens". Here, the talking machine is going haywire in three ways: by un-contextually translating an isolated word, a clumsy mishandling of language structure that professional linguists learn to avoid in their first-year translation class; by failing to recognize the name of a country, an error that any educated

person would not commit if he reads the newspaper; and by mis-presenting a formal title, a mistake that a translator would not make if he has taken the trouble to consult the official glossary. Such an error, if committed by a simultaneous interpreter struggling with a fast speech

at a conference, would be a stain on his reputation and might lead to a reprimand. If committed by a machine, it merely triggers further cybernetic research and the launch of yet another version of the error-prone software in the hope of reaching that elusive degree of soulless clockwork perfection at which added complexity and redundancy no longer cause confusion or reveal ignorance.

Language, which Chomsky describes as a living, evolving process that makes infinite use of finite means to generate an intelligible universe from an infinite store of thoughts, cannot be replicated by a machine. MT embodies the misconception that a machine with no human operator at the controls can perform a task that is normally performed by a person. This fond idea has been around in fiction at least as long as the tale of Aladdin's magic lamp and is even present in the etymology of some common words, such as the Russian word samovar, which literally means "self-heating" and designates a type of teapot popular in Russia that keeps the tea warm almost as reliably as if there were always someone there lighting the burner. But while the idea behind the word samovar may be fanciful, other analogous concepts, such as that of "autonomous vehicles", i.e. allowing vehicles to drive themselves, are potentially far more dangerous . Automation can increase convenience, but caution is called for, not least because the time may come when humans will need appropriate applications of electronic data processing to secure their survival and it is therefore critical for us to learn how to draw the line between what machines can and cannot do for us and use discretion to set rational limits on the legal authority we delegate to non-human instrumentalities. A parking meter can enforce parking regulations on a public thoroughfare, and an airport public address system can direct recorded instructions to travelers in a public airport lobby, but a computer cannot proffer a policy compromise to a foreign diplomat without risking a violation of the latter's sovereignty or immunity. It is wishful thinking to suppose that advanced machines can economically displace human judgment, that AI will act as a common denominator bringing the most difficult tasks within the reach of the least intelligent users (also incidentally making such machines more widely marketable

and profitable), or that removing human intervention from an activity somehow guarantees objectivity. This problem will not be resolved through refinements in hardware design or software development because the phenomena being modeled only grow larger (e.g. the quantifiable factors involved in climatic and demographic trends) while increasing the capacity of computer programs makes them harder to control. Consequently, depending on the order of magnitude of the factors being quantified and modelled, there comes a point at which computerized data processing proves unable to supply solutions. Human thought and language, by contrast, is not subject to such limitations: "Every language, dialect, patois, or lingo is a structurally complete framework into which can be poured any subtlety of emotion or thought that its users are capable of experiencing. Whatever it lacks at any given time or place in the way of vocabulary and syntax can be supplied in very short order by borrowing and imitation from other languages". Thus, creative language use by humans, especially if it is multilingual, makes it possible to achieve more than what computerized data processing can achieve. It is also less prone to critical error, as illustrated by the case of the NASA spacecraft, Mars Orbiter: "The Mars Climate Orbiter … was a 638-kilogram robotic space probe launched … on December 11, 1998 to study the Martian climate, Martian atmosphere, and surface changes…The spacecraft encountered Mars on a trajectory that brought it too close to the planet, and it was either destroyed in the atmosphere or escaped the planet's vicinity and entered an orbit around the Sun. An investigation attributed the failure to a measurement mismatch between two software systems…". The measurement mismatch in question pertained to conversion of metric and imperial units, a problem that translators routinely encounter and are trained to identify and resolve correctly.

Commonalities And Groups

Negotiating difficulty often arises from adversarial positions between two countries or from distances between them in the global geopolitical arena that make it hard to bridge the communication gap. In these situations the interpreter is serving to some degree as a mediator, since rendering a statement into another language itself inevitably puts the statement in a somewhat different light, which the interpreter should strive to ensure is consistent with the speaker's intent and conducive to resolution.

Although bilateral treaties still serve their purpose, diplomatic relations have become largely multilateral, channeled in multiple languages through contacts in diverse forums, encompassing far-reaching global issues and broad areas of common ground. In conferences dealing with many areas of knowledge, trade, science, industry or culture, diverse nations often adopt similar public positions and countries align themselves in categories according to geographical and economic realities, regional affinities or shared negotiating postures.

Countries may form coalitions based on similar interests, shared cultural and linguistic origins, similar circumstances, shared perspectives on common problems, or strategic alliances. Even on vital national security interests and problems as daunting as global climate change or pandemics, consensus positions are often possible and compromise solutions often temper sovereignty. The contents of public statements made in debate at global conferences cut across cultural, political, geographic and linguistic lines, and deliberations focused on the existential threat of climate change have revealed a vast area of common ground which, by its urgency, eclipses many individual differences in national negotiating postures, since failure to address existential threats could imply futility for other issues and efforts.

The interpreter's role differs significantly when interpreting in a bilingual setting, be it in a bilateral encounter or legal dispute, or when interpreting into two target languages. In a one-on-one conversation the parties may be sharing the same stage but pursuing divergent aims that shape the public postures they adopt and their expectations of how interpreters should perform. The interpreter is occupationally vulnerable to counter-pressures from his two clients. No matter what he does, one party is apt to be displeased. Accordingly, in many bilateral encounters each party provides its own interpreter, placing each interpreter in a less ambivalent position and reducing role strain.

Identifying With The Principal: Look Who's Talking

When making a speech or argument to an international audience, speakers customarily address the chairperson or presiding officer of the conference, invoking general principles that set the scene and strengthen the argument, and the speech generally embodies a point of view that is in some measure regional or global. For the interpreter, giving a convincing rendition of this type of speech

means adopting an impartial attitude while also knowing how to identify with the principal enough to echo his sentiments and make the interpretation performance effective in terms of advocacy.

Interpretation Misinterpreted

According to an anecdote that once made the rounds among United Nations interpreters, a young delegate attending his first UN General Assembly, upon hearing simultaneous interpreting in six languages for the first time, approached a conference officer and asked, 'This translation system is wonderful, where can I buy one?' While the anecdote may be apocryphal, it pointedly raises a persistent paradox: simultaneous interpreting is as widely misunderstood as it is widely used. The world relies upon simultaneous interpreting for international communication and decision-making. Without it, multilateral debates and negotiations, already hampered by many political and procedural hurdles, would slow to a crawl due to the need for everything to be repeated sequentially in all of the speakers' various languages, as in the days of the League of Nations. Since most listeners would understand only one of the several versions they would have to listen to, the stultifying effect on communication and dialogue is hard to overstate and the staffing of diplomatic delegations would be made more difficult (besides communication, interpreting sup-ports specialization by enabling experts and representatives to be chosen or assigned based on their ability and subject-matter expertise rather than their knowledge of a particular language). For an organization like the European Union, with 24 official languages, informed multilingual debate in real time among qualified officials or spokespersons would be impossible.

Stylstic Standards

While taking care to faithfully reflect the speaker's intended meaning, a diplomatic interpreter must also strive to faithfully mirror the register. The style and level of language used by speakers at major public events or ceremonies and at high-level diplomatic gatherings is generally reserved, always civil, customarily refined, usually polished, often embodies sophisticated scholarly references or allusions, and may even possess historical relevance and literary merit such as to enshrine it in the canon of rhetorical eloquence, e.g. the famous I Have a Dream

speech delivered by Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. on 28 August 1963 or the famous Peace Rally Speech delivered by the late Prime Minister Yitzakh Rabin in Tel Aviv on 4 November 1995.

When rendering an address of this kind into another language, the interpreter must marshal all the literary skill and background knowledge at his disposal, and must treat the occasion as an authorial challenge, taking into consideration that nowadays many important public speeches are taken directly from the interpretation, taken down in the verbatim record of the conference, reproduced in print and/or recorded in audio and video format to be broadcast to the world at large over the internet. This means that a diplomatic interpreter must approach the translation of a speech as an author would, delving into the corpus of rhetorical parallels available in the TL to find the nearest equivalent style that will comport with the character of the audience. This creative process has been aptly described by Susan Sontag: "In an era when it is proposed that computers – "translating machines" – will soon be able to perform most translating tasks, what we call literary translation perpetuates the traditional sense of what translation entails. The new view is that translation is the finding of equivalents; or to vary the metaphor, that a translation is a problem, for which solutions can be devised. In contrast, the old understanding is that translation is the making of choices, conscious choices, choices not simply between the stark dichotomies of good and bad, correct and incorrect, but among a more complex dispersion of alternatives, …"