

# 神戸市外国語大学 学術情報リポジトリ

## Conceptual processing in English-Japanese simultaneous interpreting

メタデータ	言語: eng 出版者: 公開日: 2013-03-06 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: Ishizuka, Hiroyuki メールアドレス: 所属:
URL	<a href="https://kobe-cufs.repo.nii.ac.jp/records/1479">https://kobe-cufs.repo.nii.ac.jp/records/1479</a>

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 3.0 International License.



# **Conceptual Processing in English-Japanese Simultaneous Interpreting**

**Hiroyuki Ishizuka**

Submitted to the Department of British and American Studies  
in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
at  
Kobe City University of Foreign Studies  
2012

# Contents

Contents .....	<b>i</b>
Copyright.....	<b>iv</b>
Acknowledgements .....	<b>v</b>
Abbreviations .....	<b>vii</b>
 <b>Part I    Theoretical background.....</b>	 <b>1</b>
 <b>1. Introduction .....</b>	 <b>2</b>
1.1 Purpose .....	2
1.2 Goal .....	4
1.3 Scope .....	5
1.4 Interpreter’s comprehension.....	7
1.5 Clues .....	9
1.6 Sample data.....	12
1.7 Outline .....	14
<b>2. On deverbalization .....</b>	<b>16</b>
2.1 Conceptual representations .....	16
2.2 Origin of the paradigm .....	16
2.3 Criticisms against deverbalization.....	20
2.4 Non-linguistic information and its representation .....	24
2.5 Epr and discourse models.....	29
2.6 Conceptual complexes .....	32
2.7 Summary .....	34
<b>3. Overview of the CC model .....</b>	<b>35</b>
3.1 Concept-oriented approach .....	35
3.2 Conceptual Complexes (CCs) .....	37
3.3 Cognitive elements and the fluidity of a CC.....	45
3.4 Grouping and the nested structure of CCs.....	48
3.5 Resources of a CC .....	56
3.6 Construction of CCs and discourse processing .....	60
3.7 Summary .....	63

## **Part II Case studies ..... 65**

### **4. Conceptual retention ..... 66**

4.1 Introduction .....	66
4.2 Repetitive translation .....	66
4.3 Textual motivation of the retention .....	68
4.4 Non-linguistic nature of a CC .....	71
4.5 Resources of CCs.....	75
4.6 Processing costs .....	80
4.7 Parallel operations .....	83
4.8 Summary .....	87

### **5. Construction of a causal event ..... 88**

5.1 Introduction .....	88
5.2 Representing a causal event.....	89
5.3 Information from the background .....	101
5.4 Information from the history of CCs .....	106
5.5 Nature of an event CC.....	112
5.6 Summary .....	113

## **Part III Online analysis ..... 115**

### **6. Profile of the sample ..... 116**

6.1 Background information .....	116
6.2 World knowledge.....	119
6.3 Knowledge about the subject.....	120
6.4 Communication setting.....	122
6.5 Introduction of the utterances .....	123
6.6 Summary .....	125

### **7. Overview of differences..... 127**

7.1 Types and sources of differences .....	127
7.2 Repetition .....	131
7.3 Exhibition of background information .....	133
7.4 Exhibition of a meta-representation with a demonstrative .....	138
7.5 Construal of implicit logic .....	141
7.6 Exhibition of an event CC .....	145



7.7 Others .....	153
7.8 Summary .....	154
<b>8. Development of CCs .....</b>	<b>158</b>
8.1 Construction and retention of CC1.....	158
8.2 Origin of CC1 .....	160
8.3 Construction of a discursive CC.....	169
8.4 Construction of Event 2.....	178
8.5 Processing examples.....	192
8.6 Coexistence of three events.....	198
8.7 Persistent role of Event 1 .....	202
8.8 Summary .....	211
 <b>Part IV Conclusion .....</b>	 <b>215</b>
 <b>9. CC and SI .....</b>	 <b>216</b>
9.1 Two major contributions .....	216
9.2 Elaboration and instantiation .....	216
9.3 Description of conceptual process of SI .....	218
9.4 Contributions to relevant fields .....	220
9.5 Further issues .....	221
9.6 Summary .....	222
 Bibliography .....	 224
Appendix A.....	230
Appendix B.....	237

# Copyright

Attention has been drawn to the fact that copyright of this thesis rests with its author. This copy of the thesis has been supplied on the condition that anyone who consults it is understood to recognise that its copyright rests with its author and that no quotation from the thesis and no information derived from it may be published without the prior consent of the author.

## Acknowledgements

In a study of this kind, thanks are due to many, but first and foremost among those is my thesis supervisor, Chuta Funayama, to whom I will never be able to fully express my gratitude. In the year 2008, Professor Funayama kindly accepted me as one of his PhD students and gave me the opportunity to commence an academic life as a researcher. I would like to thank him for his continuous advice and the intensive supervision he has given me before, during and after this study. His original idea and creative perspective to explore the cognitive aspect of human utterance comprehension have completely changed my views of linguistic communication and interpreting activities.

In order to concentrate on this research, I decided to quit a stable job at a listed company when I was 38 years old. Five years have passed since then and my 43<sup>rd</sup> year will come to an end this month. During this period, it is possible that I have missed opportunities that some might consider indispensable for their lives. For some researchers - at least those of a certain persuasion - however, exploring truth and enhancing human wisdom are of greater value than personal happiness. I am convinced that the achievement of this study is a small but necessary step in the advancement of the field of interpreting studies and that this is something that I should pursue for the rest of my life. I should also say that I still believe it is possible for a dedicated researcher to pursue personal happiness and that my commitment to this study has set the course of my life on the good and right path.

I would also like to express my gratitude to the faculty members of the Department of British and American Studies of Kobe City University of Foreign Studies, Haruhiko Yamaguchi, Atsushi Mishima, Akira Honda, Hideki Zamma, Norio Nasu, and Noriko Hoshino; all of whom gave me constructive comments on my study during the Kobe Gaidai Colloquium on English Language and Linguistics and many other occasions. Graduate students who participated in the colloquium also kindly shared with me their intriguing views on my study.

I would like to thank the members of the Japan Association for Interpreting and Translation Studies who gave me opportunities to present my research and to receive precious feedback. Among them, special thanks should go to Akira Mizuno who has provided me with helpful advice and informative resources on interpreting studies.

I am also very grateful to Stuart Adams, who, despite an avowed abhorrence of proofreading, took time out of a busy schedule, and a long-awaited foreign holiday to carefully proofread this thesis, correcting errors and making necessary stylistic amendments, while always maintaining my own voice, and providing me with a number of informative comments.

Last, but not least, I would like to express my most heartfelt appreciation and gratitude to my parents, Osamu Ishizuka and Tomoko Ishizuka, who have supported me throughout this research. Quite simple, without their help, I would not have been able to complete this thesis.

## Abbreviations

CC	conceptual complex
CI	consecutive interpreting
SI	simultaneous interpreting
SL	source language
ST	source text
TL	target language
TT	target text

### Abbreviations used in Japanese transcription

TP for *wa* = topic particle marking the preceding noun phrase as a theme or a topic

SP for *ga* = subject particle marking the preceding noun phrase as a subject

OP for *ni*, *wo* = object particle marking the preceding noun phrase as an object

PP for *no* = possessive particle marking the preceding noun phrase as an agent of possession

NML = nominalizer

# **Part I**

## **Theoretical background**

The three chapters that make up Part I lay the foundations for the analysis of the cognitive aspects of the interpreting process found in this study. Chapter 1 addresses the purpose, scope, and method of the study as well as other relevant issues. Chapter 2 reviews previous research into the cognitive aspects of the interpreting process. The traditional controversy which surrounds the cognitive process of interpreting will be reviewed so as to clarify the motivation behind this study. Chapter 3 presents a brief but essential overview of the CC model, which is the basic theoretical framework underpinning this study.

# 1. Introduction

This introductory chapter establishes the purpose, goal, scope and method of this study. Also, since it is pertinent to this study, I present my basic view on interpreting studies and address the types of analytical clues that I have employed in my research.

## 1.1 Purpose

The purpose of this study is to explore the cognitive aspect of meaning construction that occurs during simultaneous interpreting (referred to as SI hereafter). This study focuses on the mental work of interpreters during SI performance. Factors such as the social role of the interpreter, professionalism, norms, history and the structure of the industry do not fall within its scope. It focuses on how interpreters comprehend utterances during the online processing of discourse when they are engaged in an SI performance. While phenomena in the actual SI performances are analysed evaluation of the quality of the end product is not of interest in this study.

What is it that makes it possible to take what has been said in one language and express it in another? That is the underlying question for this study. The interpreter's mission is to establish indirect linguistic communication between people who use different languages. This mission is achieved by listening to the source text (referred to as ST hereafter) in the source language (referred to as SL hereafter) and by production of the target text (referred to as TT hereafter) in the target language (referred to as the TL hereafter). Between carrying out these two actions, however, it is essential that the interpreter understands the ST. Regardless of the setting of the interpreting (conference, broadcasting, public service, business meeting), or the mode of interpreting they are engaged in (simultaneous or consecutive), or the types of interpreters they are, this is the basic and universal principle of any kind of interpreting.

Each language has its own syntax, lexicon and phonetics. It also has its own semantics, its own linguistic coding-system, which reflects a unique mode of segmentation of the world. Moreover, the people who use a language have their own culture, which exists within its own social system. If we emphasize the specificity of each language, however, the uniqueness that we attach to the cognitive system of each language system might lead us to a stance where we feel that the translatability of one language into another is limited (e.g. Givon, 1978; Katz, 1978; Keenan, 1978). And yet, translation and interpreting have a long history and have played an indispensable part

in cross cultural communications down the years. This study highlights the concrete actuality of translation and interpreting rather than any theoretical limitations. This is done for the purpose of exploring the cognitive mechanisms which are involved when something which has been said in one language is expressed in another.

How can we overcome the obvious differences which exist between languages in order to convey the message contained therein? While, of course, there are many and various differences, there are also universally shared aspects such as the double articulation structure, the distinction between nominal and verbal expressions, and the subject-predicate structure. If we focus on the shared features of language such as these, it is only natural to conclude that the universality - or at least the commensurability that exists between languages - enables conversion between languages through the media of interpreting and translation. This may be the source of the tacit intuition concerning interpreting and translating activities that is widely shared by common people, and is, perhaps, an important factor for this issue. However, examination of actual ST and the TT reveals cases which cannot be explained away as an example code conversion from the SL into the TL, even in reliable performances. It follows, therefore, that not everything that takes place during interpreting can be explained by the universality of language. Which is to say, the universality of language, of and by itself, does not provide a sufficient basis for the conversion of every expression from one language into another.

It is often said that interpreting is not code switching but an activity which conveys the source speaker's message to the audience. This statement is based on a precondition that the differences exist between the message intended by the source speaker and expressions that they employ in the ST. Although this view chimes with interpreters' professional experiences, it has not been considered reliable on scientific grounds. Developments in pragmatics, however, have revealed that expressions in utterances do not explicitly cover the meaning intended by the speaker. It is in the nature of linguistic information that a hearer fills the gap between linguistic expressions and the message intended by the speaker. Moreover, cognitive linguistics has paid attention to the relation between the linguistic system and cognitive abilities, exploring the relation between basic human cognition and language from various aspects of linguistic phenomena such as grammar, lexicon and the comprehension of rhetorical expressions. It would seem, therefore that empirical tools are available for inquiry into the basic mechanisms of the interpreting activity and the nature of discourse processing. No linguistic communication, regardless of its form is based purely on linguistic knowledge, but involves a wide range of human cognition. Conceptual operations are a basis for



inference in utterance comprehension in general. This must be equally true for interpreting.

This study will attempt to shed light on the interpreter's conceptual processing during SI. It is in the nature of linguistic communication that, although linguistic expressions do not necessarily include sufficient information, the hearer can nevertheless understand what is intended by the speaker. Interpreters, aiming to reproduce a message in the TT are similarly required to understand what is intended by the speaker even when some of the necessary information is only implicit in the ST. It is not just the universality of language, but the universality of human cognition in its entirety, that makes interpreting from one language into another possible. This study explores meaning construction during discourse processing as an essential part of the interpreting activity.

## **1.2 Goal**

The aim of this study is to provide an explicit description of the conceptual processing involved in discourse processing during SI. Through observation and comparison of the ST and the TT taken from actual SI performances, I will describe how the meaning construction which occurs during processing of the ST progresses through the online development of conceptual representations in the interpreter's cognitive environment.

When we have understood an utterance, we can normally recall the meaning of that utterance. Looking at this phenomenon from a cognitive point of view, it would seem that, when we understand an utterance we construct a semantic representation in our mind. The meaning of an utterance consists not only of the linguistically coded meaning of the utterance, but also various forms of non-linguistic information which have been recovered by the hearer. It follows, therefore, that the semantic representation of an utterance comprises both linguistic and non-linguistic information.

Although analytical devices developed in linguistics are employed, the target of this study is not language itself, but the relations between language and concept which are constructed during verbal communication. For that purpose, this study is concept-oriented rather than language-oriented. The theoretical framework which underpins this study is the CC model advocated by Funayama (e.g. 2005, 2007, 2008), (See Chapter 3).

In this study, when the term 'concept' is used it refers to the mental representations constructed as a result of utterance comprehension. The role of linguistic and non-linguistic information in formulating concepts is explored by analysing the content, source and timing of the various forms of information introduced.

Concepts in discourse processing are not formulated all in one go. Rather they develop into fuller concepts step by step in line with the online processing of utterances as they occur during a discourse. Whereas the nature of human cognition is multi-modal and a concept does not have a concrete shape in a human mind, discourse consists of linguistic information which are a series of signs. Therefore, since the hearer of an utterances is obliged to process them linearly, following the temporal flow of the discourse, mental representations also progress in a temporal sequence during the course of discourse comprehension.

### **1.3 Scope**

This study analyses records of actual SI performances. When comparing the work of interpreters and translators, we see that the nature of the tasks that they undertake are significantly different. The two tasks must share the same basic principles, as long as the goal is to express in TL what has already been expressed in the SL. It would seem therefore that the basic mechanisms of discourse processing are shared between the otherwise distinct activities of interpreting and translation. The reason for including only interpreting within the scope of this study is partially because of academic tradition, i.e., the topic originated in and has been handled in the field of interpreting studies for decades. The more essential reason, however, is the externally-paced and improvisational nature of interpreting. The main feature which distinguishes interpreting from translation is that an interpreter is forced to produce the TT on the spot and the pace of the production cannot be controlled by the interpreter. A translator on the other hand, can control the timing of their production and has considerably more leeway for strategic coordination of the TT. Due to this difference, it is considered that the TT in interpreting more directly reflects the cognitive reality of the interpreter than does that of a translator.

For similar reasons, this study deals solely with SI. When an interpreter is engaged in consecutive interpreting (referred to as CI hereafter), the interpreter often needs to store what is told by the source speaker for a considerable period of time before producing the TT. This duration can sometimes reaches five minutes or more. While a simultaneous interpreter also needs to store information before production, the constraints of the format mean that the interpreter produces the TT as soon as possible, sometimes even before the end of the ST sentence. Often, the time lag between the SL and the TL is no more than ten seconds. Due to this difference, each mode of interpreting requires distinct skills. This study focuses on SI because it requires near-instantaneous responses from the interpreter. During a CI performance, in order

to handle the considerable effort required to store all the information given in the ST, interpreters often resort to editing the information in their memory. The conditions of CI may, therefore allow interpreters the time to employ strategies of syntactic planning or to select TL expressions. Even when significant differences are detected between the ST and the TT, it is very difficult to abstract purely cognitive operations by determining a causal relation between a certain expression in the TT and the interpreter's comprehension. On the other hand, due to the constraints imposed during SI, interpreters' cognitive operations can be more safely observed when examining SI performances. This does not, however, mean that I believe that a different mechanism of discourse processing is at work during CI. My fundamental stance discourse processing is universal, but my aim here is to explore it by focusing on SI performances. Implications drawn from this study should, therefore, be applicable to the exploration of cognitive mechanisms which occur during online utterance comprehension in general.

As already mentioned, the nature of SI means that interpreters are forced to perform in accordance with the pace of the source speaker, and often, in order to secure simultaneity of the performance, interpreters are required to start producing the TT while they are still listening to the middle of a ST sentence. As a result of these requirements, interpreters have to improvise with the TT as soon as sufficient information from the ST becomes available. Due to this, the TT of SI can be regarded as a reflection of interpreters' understanding of the corresponding part of the ST. Since SI is not code conversion between two languages, examination of the ST and the TT reveals various types of differences between the ST and the TT. These differences can provide a window which permits analysis of the cognitive reality of interpreter's discourse processing. What can be glimpsed through the window is not the entire world, of course, but it still provides us with valuable clues with which to analyse the incrementally changing content of the concepts constructed by an interpreter during an SI performance.

For the purpose of analysing the online nature of discourse processing, the corpus used includes a temporal factor: the approximate timing of the utterance in the ST and the TT. Thanks to this, it is possible to ascertain what information the interpreter had received from the ST before he/she produced a certain expression in the TT. It enables observation of the development of the interpreter's concept construction at specific points during discourse processing. This discussion will be mainly based on transcriptions from the ST and the TT. However, it is the sound of the SL and the TL that is the actual source of our analysis and this must be taken into consideration when and where necessary.

## 1.4 Interpreter's comprehension

Figure 1.1 shows the perspective of communication via an interpreter and the position of participants' concepts and the texts involved therein. Communication via an interpreter involves three parties: speaker, audience and interpreter. These three parties are shown in the bottom row of Figure 1 and categorized as Participants. The ST and the TT are positioned along the top row. The concept of each participant is shown in the middle row. This communicative activity starts from the source speaker's Concept S.

Text	ST		TT
Concept	Concept <b>S</b>	Concept <b>I</b>	Concept <b>A</b>
Participants	Speaker	Interpreter	Audience

Figure 1.1

Before the source speaker makes the utterances which constitute the ST, he/she holds the concepts of his/her messages in his/her mind. When the speaker is delivering a long but improvised speech, however, he/she might not hold concepts for the whole message to be conveyed in advance. These may, instead, be created and developed during the course of the speech. In either case, an interpreter is unable to see the message directly. With linguistic information, it is only the linguistic sound uttered by the speaker that can be sensed directly by the interpreter. The interpreter perceives the ST as physical sounds and processes them mentally as linguistic stimuli, and then constructs Concept I to represent the speaker's message. The interpreter produces the TT based on Concept I. The audience receives the TT as physical sounds and construct Concept A. The interpreter's mission is to establish equivalence between S and A, or if this is to overstate the case, at least to achieve close resemblance between the two. All interpreters are expected to be working towards the goals of this mission. Concept I is an essential part of this mission and this study will focus on the nature of Concept I. It follows, therefore, that the object of this study is concept, not language, although linguistic clues are of importance as they provide empirical clues upon which to base the analysis.

As the starting point of this communication, Concept S includes various modes of

cognitive and perceptual information as well as linguistic information. Generally, not all information in the concept is expressed in the ST. Even when a mathematical formula, which is coded by a highly formal system of signs, is presented, communicative intention to be conveyed by that formula is not coded. On the contrary, it is plausible that Concept S sometimes includes no linguistic information when it originates in the speaker's mind. A baby may form concepts and desire to communicate them long before it acquires a language. In such an event, it will likely try to communicate its intention through crying, shouting, moving its arms and legs or some other means.

A speaker produces an utterance for the purpose of communicating Concept S. In an instance of monolingual communication without an interpreter, this utterance will be directly delivered to the hearer. Using the utterance as a clue, the hearer will construct concepts aimed at recovering Concept S. In an instance of bilingual communication via an interpreter, however, the interpreter will be the direct hearer of the utterance, and, based on the utterance he/she will construct Concept I in order to recover Concept S. An interpreter receives the ST and produces the TT with the aim of establishing an approximate equation of  $S=A$ . As long as Concept I is sourced from the ST, it includes linguistic information. However, it cannot be constructed from the linguistic information of the ST alone and therefore involves non-linguistic information as well.

The interpreter expresses Concept I in the TT. Based on the TT, the audience constructs Concept A. The interpreters' mission is to establish the agreement (or resemblance) between Concept S and Concept A. Below are the conditions required to reach this goal.

- (1) a. The ST appropriately reflects Concept S.
- b. Concept I is appropriately supported by the ST.
- c. The TT appropriately reflects Concept I.
- d. Concept A is appropriately supported by the TT.

(1a) and (1d), fall outside the scope of this study, so , unless there are particular reasons that merit consideration, they are taken for granted. In order to satisfy the conditions in (1b) and (1c), only authentic interpreting sessions performed by reliable interpreters have been selected for analysis in this study. Also, in order to see the ST as a reflection of the interpreter's understanding, instances where an interpreter may possibly have been in possession of a manuscript of the original speech or had an opportunity to listen to the original speech before the interpreting session, have not been deemed appropriate for analysis and are not included in this study. Only genuine

SI performances without rehearsal or reliance on manuscripts are sampled in this study. After all the conditions above have been satisfied, it is supposed that Concept I has been constructed as a result of the interpreter's sufficient comprehension of the ST, and that the TT has been produced based upon Concept I. This supposition enables us to then explore Concept I by observing the differences which occur between the ST and the TT.

### **1.5 Clues**

Concept I, which is the object of this study, is not perceptible. Researchers of interpreting studies exist outside of the communicative activity and are thus unable to directly observe the cognitive processes of the participants involved the communicative activity. There is, however, direct access to the ST and the TT.

Throughout this study, I will refer to the differences between the ST and the TT as clues to aid my analysis. In order to recover the information contained in Concept S, an interpreter must construct Concept I with some supplementary information. The interpreter then produces the TT to express the content of Concept I. During this process, differences are generated between the ST and the TT. When the interpreter produces the TT, sometimes information which is implicit in the ST is included in the TT. Of course, not all of the information in Concept I is encoded in the TT. However, these differences provide us with empirical clues which permit analysis of the actuality of complementary resources used by the interpreter. Strictly speaking, observation of the ST and the TT is based on researchers' comprehension of the ST and the TT. It is necessary, therefore to take care to ensure the objectivity of the analysis. In order to trace the online development of concept construction, it is necessary to handle the various types of phenomena which present themselves as differences between the ST and the TT. Given that the range of phenomena is so wide it would appear impossible to prepare a general guideline for analysis in this study. The validity of the analysis of each example, therefore, requires individual examination. Having said that, in order to secure the objectivity of the observation, the three aspects below, although an unexhaustive list, are born in mind throughout the analysis.

#### ***Additional information***

Basically, any analysis of the interpreter's understanding must be based on the TT, not the ST. The ST, which is an information source for the interpreter, is based on Concept S and tells nothing about Concept I. On the other hand, the TT is produced based on Concept I, which is a result of interpreter's comprehension of the ST.

Observation of the ST and the TT reveals various differences. By paying attention

to the content of information expressed in the ST and the TT, the differences can be classified into two types.

- (2) a. Deletion of information from the ST to the TT
- b. Addition of information from the ST to the TT

Basically, this study examines only (2b) because deletion of information does not necessarily indicate that the information is not included in Concept I. Although each researcher divides the interpreting process into different numbers of steps according to the purpose of their study, there are at least several steps between reception of the ST and delivery of the TT. However, the approach used in this study cannot detect the step at which the information in question was deleted. The interpreter might have been conscious of the information, but he/she may not have used that information for some strategic reason. Exceptions to this are cases when a superordinate is used to specify a member of a category. Performances of this kind are better regarded such operation as transformation of information rather than deletion, and so would fall within the scope of this study. Additional information, on the other hand, demonstrates that the interpreter has grasped the information provided by the ST at the time of delivery, and, by taking the timing and the content of additional information into consideration, it is possible to analyse the online nature of discourse processing.

### ***Repetitive translation***

One of the more easily observable examples of additional information in the TT is repetitive translation. When the ST and the TT are compared, it is often found that a single instance of an expression in the ST is translated in the TT in two or more places in the TT. There is no homogeneous motivation linking repetitive translation so the phenomenon requires case-by-case examination. Sometimes repetition results from corrective action taken when the interpreter has come up with a more appropriate expression in the TL. Sometimes it is the result of efforts to overcome syntactic differences between the SL and the TL. At other times repetition is used to enhance comprehensibility of the TT.

Occasionally, interpreters use the same expression to produce a repetitive translation. In others they translate the same element into several variants. Differences between these variants also serve as valuable clues in the analysis of an interpreter's conceptual processing. Even when an interpreter uses the same expressions in the TT, it can be judged that the source information was retained by the interpreter at least until



the last occurrence of the repetitive translation.

In spite of the simplicity of the phenomena, this type of difference can provide us with significant insight into the reality of the interpreter's cognitive environment.

### ***Grammaticized concept***

The selection of TT expressions by an interpreter involves various factors. For example, collocation in the TL may conventionally determine a certain combination of lexical items. Alternatively, comprehensibility for the audience may lead to complementary expressions or the use of more familiar expressions in the TT. If the session is for an opening or closing speech for a ceremony, for example, the interpreter may use common formal expressions without examining whether there is in fact any semantic correspondence between the ST and the TT. When analysing an interpreter's cognitive operation, it is important to consider the influence of other factors as widely as possible before determining the point of discussion. To include as wide a range of phenomena into the study as possible, each case should be examined individually. While it is difficult to prepare guidelines necessary for ensuring the objectivity of the analysis, the notion of grammaticized concept is one of several reliable tools.

Lakoff (1987) cites Whorf (1956) when discussing this issue. The Hopi language uses verbal prefixes to make a distinction between types of motion. (waving vs. swaying vs. flapping vs. "a racking shake" vs. helical motion vs. turning vs. a quick spin etc.) Native speakers of Hopi select the necessary prefix for a motion verb instantaneously, and without conscious effort. Lakoff (1987) prepared the following list to make distinction between grammaticized and ungrammaticized concepts. The first property in the list is the grammaticized concept and the latter is the ungrammaticized concept.

- (3) used vs. pondered
- automatic vs. controlled
- unconscious vs. conscious
- effortless vs. effortful
- fixed vs. novel
- conventional vs. personal

(Lakoff, 1987, p.320)

The use of the term 'concept' as employed in *grammaticized concept* by Lakoff (1987) is different from that used in this study. Lakoff's concept is not a product of utterance comprehension, but rather stable and static knowledge which is stored in long-term



memory. Concept as employed in this study is a fluid and volatile mental representation constructed in working memory. Notwithstanding, grammaticized concept as knowledge in long-term memory can serve as an important resource in concept construction in the approach employed in this study as well. Moreover, once the trace of such a concept is detected, it gives valuable clues to the purpose of this study. Examples of linguistic expressions in which a grammaticized concept is coded which are worthy of attention include the selection of morphemes such as articles in English, case particles in Japanese and morphemes used to express past tense in both English and Japanese. If those morphemes are expressed in the TT, the underlying concepts for those morphemes are grammaticized. Since those concepts are not the object of pondering or conscious control, it is conceivable that those morphemes more directly reflect interpreter's comprehension of the ST. If information corresponding to the morpheme in the TT is implicit in the ST, it can be judged that such information was recovered by the interpreter as non-linguistic information. Those morphemes can provide reliable clues for exploring interpreter's utterance comprehension.

All of the interpreters in the sampled SI performances used in this study are native Japanese speakers, and all of the interpreting sessions are from English into Japanese. Japanese is therefore the only TL which appears in this study. The reliability of the study is secured because all of the TT expressions analysed reflect a native speakers' delicate sense of their own language.

## **1.6 Sample data**

The transcripts of the ST and the TT analysed in this study, N-1 and R-6, are included in two volumes of reports from JSPS Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research. (Funayama et al., 2005; Funayama et al., 2008)

The first transcript, N-1 is from Funayama et al. (2005). This is transcribed from an actual SI performance which was broadcast on 24<sup>th</sup> April 2003 as part of an NHK programme titled "Tettei kensyou Iraq sensou" (A Complete Examination of the Iraq War). In the programme, the programme host interviewed two guests from Washington D. C. and London via a video conference system. One of the guests from the USA was Frank Gaffney, the founder and president of the conservative think tank, The Center for Security Policy, who held the position of Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defence for Nuclear Forces and Arms Control Policy in the Reagan Administration. At the time of the broadcast, Gaffney worked for the Bush Administration assisting with US security policy making. He was talking about US policy during the Iraq war, answering questions posed by the programme host. Rear Admiral Richard Cobbold was the other

guest, from London and he was asked about British strategy during the Iraq war, how it compared to that of the US as well as other issues on the war. He was at that time Director of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies (RUSI) in London (since 1994). The Rear Admiral had also served as a Specialist Adviser to the House of Commons Defense Committee from 1997 and, in the same capacity, to the Foreign Affairs Committee from 2002.

The second transcript, R-6 is included in Funayama et al. (2008). The SI performance was broadcast as part of an NHK programme “Kyou-no sekai” or “Today’s World” on 8th July 2005. The speaker was Tony Blair, the then British prime minister. The speech used in this programme was originally delivered at a media conference which was held just after the G8 Gleneagles Summit in the UK, in which African aid and climate change were on the agenda.

Both SI performances were for live broadcasts and the speakers were answering questions on the spot. The interpreters were working for them without preparation. Because the interpreters were working for a live broadcast, it is assumed that they possessed preliminary information on the relevant issues. The interpreters’ names are not given here, but they have been confirmed as experienced and competent interpreters. In order to ensure that the recorded SI performances are authentic data valid for the purpose of this study, four criteria were set for these reports (Funayama et al., 2005; Funayama et al., 2008):

- (4) a. Only genuine SI performed without rehearsal or script would be used;
- b. Only the performances of competent interpreters would be used;
- c. Ordinary SI performance would be used;
- d. Performances would be fairly examined.

The criteria (4a), (4b) and (4c) refer to the quality and credibility of the data for use in research on online utterance processing and the criterion (4d) is to secure the quality of the data analysis. All of the data analysed in this study is included in the series of these reports and are considered to meet all of the criteria in terms of every aspect of the form of SI, competence of the interpreters, and the quality of production.

In the transcripts, line codes starting with E refer to the ST delivered in English and a code starting with J is for the TT in Japanese. For example, E003 means the third line in the ST and J003 means the same part in the TT. The transcript includes temporal factors. The approximate timing of the delivery is shown by the vertical alignment of the position of linguistic expressions between ST and TT lines. This

feature provides us with clues to explore interpreter's online processing of the discourse.

## **1.7 Outline**

Part I of this study is an introductory part. The present chapter has clarified the purpose, goal, and scope of the study and addressed relevant factors. This study will attempt to shed light on the conceptual processing which occurs during discourse comprehension and which is an essential stage of the interpreting activity. Chapter 2 reviews previous research about the role of conceptualisation in the interpreting process. Through the controversial notion of deverbalization, I will address how meaning construction has been discussed in previous research in the field of interpreting studies. Chapter 3 presents an overview of the CC model. The CC model is advocated by Funayama (e.g. 2005, 2007, 2008) as a device to describe the online development of concepts during utterance comprehension. This study adopts this model as its theoretical framework. A notation system for the analysis is also provided.

Part II comprises two chapters of case studies which are used to verify the basic assertions made in this study. Chapter 4 explores the actuality of conceptual processing during SI. Although concept is not perceptible, it is not merely a theoretical construct. This chapter provides an example of actual SI performance which demonstrates the non-linguistic nature of the mental representations formed by an interpreter and shows how an SI performance is supported by the interpreter's conceptual processing. Chapter 5 examines the construction of a structured concept as an aspect of mental models through use of the Japanese morpheme *sase*, which reveals the interpreter's construal of a causal event. It is suggested that the CC model is compatible with the theory of mental models (Johnson-Laird, 1983) which are mental representations formed during utterance comprehension. Instances which exhibit the function of mental models in SI performance are also analysed in this chapter.

Part III provides a description of the online development of concepts which occurs during SI. Chapter 6 presents a profile of the sample to be analysed in this study. This chapter clarifies the notion of background information in this study by examining the role of background information in one of the sampled SI performances. The incremental nature of concept construction is one of the important themes in this study. For this reason, the corpus, which is transcribed from the actual ST and TT, includes timing of delivery. Chapter 7 provides a list of the differences between the ST and the TT observed in the sampled SI performances. In order to prepare for the subsequent description of online development of concepts, in chapter 7 I analyse the types of operation which have caused the differences, and examine the content and the sources

of the information understood by the interpreter. In Chapter 8, the online development of concepts during SI performance is traced. The aim of this is to demonstrate the worth of the CC model as a descriptive device of discourse processing. Conceptual processing is also described based on differences between the ST and the TT as seen from the perspective of meaning construction carried out by the interpreter.

Part IV consists of one conclusive chapter. Chapter 9 summarises the putative achievements and contributions of this study to interpreting studies and other relevant fields. It also addresses the direction of further research.

## **2. On deverbalization**

### **2.1 Conceptual representations**

Interpreting is not simply a case of transcoding between two languages. This is by no means a new view; not just for researchers of interpreting studies but for interpreters too. Some might say that the systematic differences which exist between two languages require interpreters to use strategies to overcome them. Some might say that interpreting as an impromptu oral activity is not as accurate as authentic written translation. Some others might say that there are so many expressions which cannot be translated into another language, whether it be for cultural or linguistic reasons. Still others might say that, as long as interpreters convey the same message as the original speaker, expression does not matter.

The purpose of this chapter is to review previous discussions on conceptual representations in interpreting studies. In 1968, Seleskovitch introduced the notion of deverbalization as an essential process in interpreting (This study refers to its English translation published in 1978/1998). Since then, this has become one of the most controversial topics in interpreting studies and has provided numerous and various issues to be discussed in the field. In this chapter, starting from the original theory which originated at the Paris School led by Seleskovitch, I will examine previous studies on intermediate representations formed for SI performance so as to introduce the approach to be taken in this study.

### **2.2 Origin of the paradigm**

During the task of interpreting, an interpreter receives information in the SL, comprehends the message of the source speaker, and therefrom produces information in the TL. Due to the complexity of the parallel processing involved when coping with two languages, the process of interpreting has attracted a number of researchers' attention. Seleskovitch, a professional interpreter and trainer, proposed a three-stage model of interpreting which became influential during 1970s, especially in the field of interpreting training. Seleskovitch was one of the co-founders of AIIC (Association Internationale d'Interprètes de Conférence) and a leading figure at the interpreting institution, ESIT (École Supérieure d'Interprètes et de Traducteurs), which is part of the University of the New Sorbonne (Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, also known as

Paris III). She published a book on the theory and practice of interpreting in 1968. Seleskovitch and her followers form the so-called Paris School of interpreting studies, and their interpretive theory (IT), or *théorie du sens*, insisted on this deverbalization and reformulation as the key process in interpreting.

In order to describe the mental process of interpreting (both simultaneous and consecutive), Seleskovitch (1978/1998) posited the three stages shown below.

- (1) 1. Auditory perception of a linguistic utterance which carries meaning. Apprehension of the language and comprehension of the message through a process of analysis and exegesis;
2. Immediate and deliberate discarding of the wording and retention of the mental representation of the message (concept, ideas, etc.);
3. Production of a new utterance in the target language which must meet a dual requirement: it must express the original message in it entirely, and it must be geared to the recipient.

(Seleskovitch, 1978/1998, p.8)

She insisted that “words are actually a hindrance and not a help when one attempts to make sense out of a string of hundreds, if not thousands, of words.” (Seleskovitch, 1978/1998, p.17) and “an accurate interpreter preserves meaning, not words” (ibid.) It follows, therefore, that the sense of a message can be mentally separated from its linguistic form, that the process of separation comes after comprehension of an utterance, and that sense can be independently retained in spite of this separation. Generally, people are not conscious of the status of meaning intended by an utterance and its linguistic expression. However, Seleskovitch maintained that what should be retained is a non-linguistic sense of the message intended by the source speaker, which is independent from its linguistic expression. Many experienced interpreters agreed that this processing seemed rather natural and the model consequently played an important role in didactic context.

Later, Seleskovitch & Lederer (1989/1995) revised the three stages of interpreting as follows.

- (2) 1. merging elements of linguistic meaning with extra-linguistic knowledge to obtain sense;
2. deverbalizing that sense as it emerges; and
3. spontaneously expressing this sense linguistically.

Although, this three-stage model might look similar to the previous version presented by Seleskovitch (1978/1998), this new model emphasizes the mental process of interpreting. Whilst auditory perception is omitted from the first stage, in this model, the role of extra-linguistic knowledge in utterance comprehension is stipulated. From this perspective, sense of the ST is considered to be a cognitive amalgam, which consists of linguistic and extra-linguistic information. At the second stage, they say that sense should be “deverbalized”. This means that a non-linguistic concept exists as a mental representation which is separable from a linguistic representation.

In terms of the reality of the mental representation of a discourse, Seleskovitch & Lederer (1989/1995) pointed out an important but mostly overlooked fact. Even when listening to a minute-long speech, it is almost impossible to produce identical linguistic expressions to those in the speech. However, it is possible to express the gist of the speech, and in sufficient detail. This is the same for interpreters. In CI, it is highly improbable that an interpreter retains all of the expressions contained in the ST, but that does not mean that the interpreter’s performance is inaccurate. In such cases, it is naturally assumed that the interpreter retained the meaning of the speech as a non-verbal mental representation. General listeners of speech do not have to be conscious about the status of mental representations in their utterance comprehension, because they do not have to tell which parts of the contents in their mind are linguistic information and which parts are non-linguistic information. Even if they are interpreters, not all of them think that such non-linguistic representations are at work in their utterance comprehension.

On the other hand, some interpreters report that the influence of ST expressions can sometimes impede their performance. From their experience as interpreting trainers, Seleskovitch & Lederer (1989/1995) observed in their class that their students were easily affected by ST expressions. This would seem to explain why they felt the need to emphasize the necessity of deverbalization.

This non-linguistic aspect of meaning must have been emphasized because interpreting is a form of communication via language and students tend to be trapped by linguistic expressions. If interpreting did not involve linguistic aspects, there would be no need to insist on non-verbal aspects within it. Since the origin of this theory had its roots in experienced interpreters’ intuitions and was geared to educational purposes, to both linguists and cognitive scientists of that time the theory looked appeared odd and even dissident. Even though it was motivated by some undeniable observations, IT

was considered to be intuitive because it lacked appropriate procedures, such as experimental data or a corpus of empirical research. The basic approach of IT and the key notion of deverbalization therefore became a source of controversy in interpreting/translation studies.

Although Seleskovitch (1978/1998) did not provide sufficient grounds for the notion of deverbalized sense, Seleskovitch & Lederer (1989/1995) define what *sense* actually is, and provide some examples.

- (3) ... *sense* emerges as these units of linguistic meaning are merged with prior knowledge, and merging process always unfolds in actual communication (Seleskovitch & Lederer, 1989/1995, p.23)

Seleskovitch & Lederer (1989/1995) did not say that sense is devoid of any trace of language, but did stipulate that sense is an amalgam of linguistic meaning and prior knowledge. What they intended by this notion of deverbalized sense was that utterance comprehension is not simply composition of coded information in the form of linguistic expressions, but rather the construction of concepts which consist of linguistic information and “cognitive complements.” They insisted that the integration of linguistic information and cognitive complements generate a semantic representation at a different level from linguistic representations.

It should be noted that Seleskovitch & Lederer’s (1989/1995) motivation for their insistence was rather pedagogical. Although their theory is based on their personal experiences as professional interpreters, their intuition included valuable suggestions worthy of examination.

- (4) ... the principle of cognitive complementarity helps the students understand the difference between the sense of a passage of discourse and the meaning of the linguistic elements with which it is formulated. (Seleskovitch & Lederer, 1989/1995, p.24)

Since Seleskovitch & Lederer (1989/1995) defined *sense* as an amalgam of linguistic meaning and prior knowledge, when they say interpreters should deverbalize *sense* from the SL, their intention is not to eliminate any sort of information taken from the ST. In deverbalization, even though linguistic form is discarded, linguistic meaning still remains as a part of *sense*, which consists of both linguistic and non-linguistic information. Deverbalization, as an expression, is a sort of instructive slogan which



emphasizes the difference between the literal meaning of a text and the speaker's meaning.

- (5) Instead of associating and comparing the source and target languages, the teacher should strive to dissociate them as much as possible. The emphasis should be on the student's proposed interpretations without any reference back to expressions used in the original. (Seleskovitch & Lederer, 1989/1995, p.24)

Seleskovitch & Lederer (1989/1995) explained that deverbalization is not a unique skill exclusively limited to interpreting, but a common cognitive phenomenon of utterance comprehension.

- (6) We naturally and unconsciously deverbalize what we hear when we communicate in a common language. But dealing with two languages at the same time has a way of impeding the process, making the students feel they still have to "translate." Without deverbalization, however, the students fall back into transcoding and stop interpreting. (Seleskovitch & Lederer, 1989/1995, p.25)

Skilled interpreters can deverbalize the *sense* from the ST in the same way they normally listen to speech, whether they are conscious of their mental activity or not. For student-level interpreters, however, the task is not so easy. This is why trainers need to emphasize this process in their class, and, for this reason, they incorporated this process as a hallmark of their theory.

In the next section, I will review some of typical criticisms levelled at deverbalization.

## **2.3 Criticisms against deverbalization**

When one considers that interpreting is a form of linguistic communication and that a pair of languages are indispensable communicative tools in that process, it is little wonder that the naming of deverbalization might have proven too sensational for people who think of verbal competence as being at the very core of the interpreting activity.

Newmark (1981, p.98) stated that "the basis of Seleskovitch's theory is unsound." Newmark's (1981) tenet was that the primary activity, application and purpose of language are thinking and, therefore, thought cannot be separable from language. He believed that translation and interpreting should have its base in linguistic expressions and meaning apart from the interpreter's paralinguistic and body language. He

admitted that meaning arises from a variety of perceptual sources such as sights, sounds, smells, tastes and so on. However, he asserted that perceptual information can only be mediated by words. Accordingly, he emphasized the importance of the source text in translation.

Jensen (1985) insisted that the formal aspect of language is crucial to interpreting. Based on the Chomskyan notion of Universal Grammar, Jensen tried to explain simultaneous interpreting (SI) as an activity enabled by the syntactic universality which exists between languages. Although Generative Grammar does not aim to theorize the actual use of a language, Jensen explained that the formal nature of the TL can be determined by that of the SL. Jensen (1985) expressed his doubt against the notion of deverbalization in the four points below.

(7)

- Language is independent of thought.
- Language has a mode of existence independent of what it expresses.
- What is meant can be separable from what is said.
- TL expressions are not determined by SL expressions.

While the fourth point touches on the process of SI on the basis of deverbalization and the three-stage model advocated by the Paris School, the other three points refer to the notion of deverbalization itself. When Jensen treated the second point and the third point separately, he might have been aware of the distinction between two levels of meaning: the semantic level and the pragmatic level. However, this distinction was not taken into consideration for his theory. Jensen's view completely lacked any pragmatic aspects of linguistic communication, though the objective of his research was exploration of a mode of actual communication, and language is only a part thereof. He simply regarded linguistically coded meaning in the ST as a message conveyed by the ST speaker. Even though human languages have a universal base and share some syntactic features, it does not follow that the interpreting operation is based thereon.

Pöschhacker (2004) recognised that the international symposium on conference interpreter training held in 1986 at the University of Trieste was a turning point for interpreting studies. Researchers of a scientific bent attended the meeting and expressed their doubts about "some of the hallowed positions championed by the Paris School" and resolved to study issues in interpreting within a more rigorous and empirical framework. Their aims and approaches are exhibited in two volumes of publications. (Gran & Dodds, 1989; Gran & Taylor, 1990)

Gile (1990), one of the leading figures in this movement, regarded Seleskovitch's theory as "personal theorizing," rather than scientific research. According to Gile (1990), most interpreting research in the sixties was scientific, but the trend changed due to one very forceful personality from the mid-seventies onwards. It was not Gile's (1990) intention to insist that personal theorizing was inferior to scientific research and he admits that both have a part to play in interpreting research. He states that interpreting theory really got off to the ground as a result of personal theorizing (e.g. Herbert, 1952) but suggested, on the other hand, that experimental research also had so many problems that it could not be regarded as sufficiently scientific. In terms of Seleskovitch's deverbalization, he pointed out that, while unproven, the idea was extremely influential.

Anderson (1994) conducted experiments for her empirical research in order to examine two diametrically opposed views of the interpreter's task. The first, which is attributed to "experimental literature on simultaneous interpretation", attempts to establish semantic hook-ups between the two dictionaries that are thought to be located in the interpreter's brain. The other is that "the interpreter's task is to give lexical expression to formless thought or "meaning". She assumed that, if the latter is the case for SI, the interpreter's attention is devoted primarily to analysing and structuring the input message and that no extra effort was necessary for the interpreter to produce the message in a different language. Based on this assumption, she conducted experiments and compared the performance of monolingual (English-English) interpreting and normal (French-English) interpreting and measured ear-voice span (EVS) and information congruency. (She also compared the results with two controlled groups of shadowing in English and in French.) The results showed no significant difference in the EVS between the two interpreting conditions, but, in terms of information congruence, the interpreter produced a less intangible message during the French-English interpreting than during the English-English. Based on these results, she concluded that the assumption that interpreters automatically produce a message in the TL is not warranted. Anderson (1994) does not include scripts of the ST and the TT and we cannot therefore qualitatively examine these experiments. Even if her conclusion is valid, her claim is not against the existence of non-verbal sense, but the automatic rendering of meaning into the TL. (Also, she does not explain why there is no significant difference between EVS of English -English interpreting and French-English.)

Isham (1994) took a different psychological approach. He conducted experiments based on the hypothesis that, if an interpreter deverbalizes the sense of the original

message and the linguistic form of the ST disappears, his/her verbatim recall of the ST expressions might be poorer than that of those who are simply passively listening. As a result, he found that there are two types of interpreters: word-based and meaning-based. And he concluded deverbalization is “not a mandatory stage through which all interpreters must pass.” This conclusion might be treated as an instance of criticism against IT, as he found that interpreters do not necessarily deverbalize sense in the SL. On the other hand, however, his conclusion accepted that the process of deverbalization does indeed exist.

Criticisms against IT by this period were summarized by Mizuno (1997, 1997/2004), supplemented by his own views. Mizuno (1997) wrote that IT contains many conjectures and the interpreting process might be reduced to nothing more than an understanding of the SL. He concluded that IT had become a sort of dogmatism.

Mizuno (1997/2004) developed a more systematized criticism of IT. In terms of the criticism levelled at deverbalization, one of the points he raised was against the existence of deverbalized meaning as a mental reality, and he insisted that the meaning of an utterance cannot be separable from its linguistic expression. He shared this view with Newmark (1981) and Jensen (1985).

- (8) First, the assumption of deverbalization advocated by Seleskovitch and others is a stance that the meaning of a language exists independently from that language. It follows, therefore, that their stance was that transcendental meaning exists. (...) Our stance is that meaning cannot exist independently of a language. (Mizuno, 2004, p.111)
- (9) In producing a translation after the lapse of considerable length of time, such as in the case of consecutive interpreting, the comprehended ST inevitably transforms due to constraints of memory. However, we cannot regard this transformation as “deverbalization”. It should also be noted that the transformed contents can be expressed by nothing but language (...). (Mizuno, 2004, p.115)

Mizuno (1997/2004) also expresses questions on the internal structure of the deverbalized meaning and the mechanisms used to secure the fidelity of the TT to the ST.

- (10) Since *sense* is a non-verbal entity, we do not know the internal structure of the *sense* or how re-verbalization is carried out from the internal structure at all.

Moreover, there is no means to assure that *sense* accurately reflects information contained in the SL. Even if accurate reflection was achieved in the process from the SL to *sense*, it does not mean that *sense* would necessarily be accurately expressed in the TL. There is nothing in her theory to assure the accuracy in the processes. (Mizuno, 2004, p.116)

It seems that Seleskovitch herself did not explain the nature of deverbilized meaning in detail. The concept of deverbilization is based on her experience as a conference interpreter and she might have noticed that this assertion lacked scientific grounding. However, to point out the unscientific aspects of the theory does not confirm the falseness of the phenomenon. Generally, science-minded research at this stage did not negate the existence of deverbilization with their empirical methods, but they changed approaches and aspects of interpreting research and showed empirical data which led to a partial revision of the process proposed by Paris School, avoiding directly treating the reality of the mental representation itself.

The criticisms levelled at IT during this period can be summarised into three points below.

(11)

- Groundless assumption of deverbilized sense
- Unspecified nature of the deverbilized sense
- The doubtful role of deverbilization as a mandatory stage of SI process

These criticisms reflected a growing interest in interpreting as a field of academic research and can be appreciated as an attempt to examine the existing basis of previously dominant studies. In the next section, I will examine the notion of deverbilization and address the implicit but essential similarity between the Paris School and those who aim at scientific approaches.

## **2.4 Non-linguistic information and its representation**

Progress in study of the pragmatic aspect of linguistic communication has shed new light on the cognitive process of interpreting. This perspective has enabled us to discuss deverbilization in more specific detail. In terms of the semantic representation of a discourse, Seleskovitch & Lederer (1989/1995) pointed out two important facts. One is the insufficiency of linguistic meaning and the other is the nature of the hearer's memory. Both will be examined below.

First, the insufficiency of linguistic meaning is one of the main claims of relevance theory (Sperber & Wilson, 1986/1995) as well as other schools of pragmatics. As the basis of their theory, Sperber & Wilson (1986/1995) proposed the inference model of communication, instead of the classic view of the code-model, although the two models are not mutually exclusive but rather compatible. Linguistic information is not sufficient to convey a speaker's meaning of an utterance, so a hearer is required to infer implicit information in the utterance. This has been highlighted by many researchers of pragmatic linguistics. While a sentence is a unit of grammatical type representing an abstract object of linguistic research, an utterance is a situated token in actual communication and used by a specific speaker to tell a specific hearer about something at a certain place at a certain time with a certain purpose. However, not all of the information used to recover what the speaker intended to convey is coded as linguistic information in an utterance. In other words, there is a gap between sentence meaning and utterance meaning. The hearer must infer the implicit meaning which is not coded in linguistic expressions in an utterance. In relevance theory, recovery of the meaning of an utterance intended by a speaker comprises two stages: recovery of explicature and recovery of implicature.

Given that Seleskovitch & Lederer (1989/1995) defined deverbilized *sense* as an amalgam of linguistic meaning and cognitive complement, if we can think of the cognitive complement as contextual information, it can be said that the status of deverbilized sense is similar to that of explicature in relevance theory.

The meaning of *context* is rather ambiguous and each author uses this term according to their own definition to suit the purpose of their discussion. As a theoretical model of verbal communication with its direct basis on cognitive psychology, relevance theory (Sperber & Wilson, 1986/1995) defines context in the following way.

- (12) A context is a psychological construct, a subset of the hearer's assumptions about the world. It is these assumptions, of course, rather than the actual state of the world, that affect the interpretation of an utterance. A context in this sense is not limited to information about the immediate physical environment or the immediately preceding utterances: expectations about the future, scientific hypotheses or religious beliefs, anecdotal memories, general cultural assumptions, belief about the mental state of the speaker, may all play a role in interpretation. (Sperber & Wilson, 1986/1995, p.15)

In this definition, context is a set of assumptions in the hearer's mind. Non-linguistic

resources required for utterance comprehension are not limited to propositional assumptions. Also, the hearer's mental status such as their emotional mood is sure to play a part, although it should be eliminated from the interpreters' discourse processing. It follows that what Seleskovitch & Lederer (1989/1995) called cognitive complement comprises background information and other such cognitive resources.

In the field of interpreting studies, even researchers who are against deverbalization admit the necessity of non-linguistic information in the comprehension of the ST. Gile (1995), who criticized Seleskovitch's theory as no more than personal theorizing, formulated the basic comprehension equation as follows.

$$(13) C=KL+ELK+A$$

(Gile, 1995, p.80)

In this equation, C, KL, ELK and A stand for comprehension, knowledge of the language, extra-linguistic knowledge and deliberate analysis respectively. And he explained that the equal sign does not mean equality, but refers to the result of the interaction and the plus signs means "addition by interaction" rather than arithmetic addition. This formula cannot be considered very scientific. Considering KL and ELK are forms of information and A is a mental activity, the function of the first plus sign and the second might not be the same. However, it is not my aim to criticize or update this formulation. The point is that Gile (1995) shared a similar notion with Seleskovitch & Lederer (1989/1995) in terms of the resources used in discourse comprehension; both insisting on the necessity of non-linguistic information. As for KL, Gile (1995) asserted the importance of knowledge of the interpreter's first language, and not only that of the second language. And for ELK, he classified it into two subcategories: pre-existing ELK and contextual knowledge. While the former is encyclopaedic knowledge or world knowledge, the latter is knowledge acquired from the text. But, he did not provide a detailed explanation of the relation between KL and ELK and when and how are they used.

It seems that Gile (1995) also had some interest in semantic representations. He attempted to describe semantic representations, but what he tried to do appears to be no better than demonstrate the correspondence between linguistic forms and semantic elements. That is, in his notation, nouns correspond to Nominal Entities, adjectives to Attributes and (some) verbs to Links. Because semantic representation in his model is a simple projection of linguistic information, there seems no room for the handling of non-linguistic concepts. Even though he insists on the importance of extra-linguistic



knowledge, he does not specifically analyse the function of such knowledge in actual discourse comprehension.

Mizuno (1997/2004) also addressed the role of existing knowledge in the interpreter's meaning construction, accepting that the interpreting process involves information which is not from the source text. However, he insists that the semantic representation of the SL should be linked with the ST, transformed into that of the TT and re-expressed into the TL. It would seem that the role of implicit information or pragmatic issues in discourse comprehension were completely outside of his concern.

Another important claim posited by Seleskovitch & Lederer (1989/1995) is the nature of the hearer's memory. Even when a consecutive interpreter grasps the meaning of a source discourse in detail, it is almost impossible or at least highly stressful to retain all of the linguistic expressions as they are even if it is only a minute or so in length. A student may remember what a teacher told them in a class, but may not remember what he actually said. From our daily experience of this sort, it is assumed that the meaning of a discourse is not mentally represented as a set of lexical meanings. In order to theorise a more realistic system of semantic representations of a discourse, we need to obtain a model which accommodates the reality of discourse comprehension. This phenomenon also seems quite natural when viewed from the perspective of our daily experiences, but it has not attracted the attention of many researchers. Mizuno (1997/2004) wrote that, in the case of consecutive interpreting, it is not because of deverbalization but simply because the hearer does not remember the linguistic expressions after the task. However, in many cases, whereas verbal expressions are forgotten, the content of a message remains in sufficient detail. This means that the content of the message is not necessarily linked to linguistic expressions. In other words, the semantic representations of discourse can be separable from linguistic expressions, though linguistic meaning is an indispensable source for their construction.

If the content of a discourse is linguistically retained, remembrance of it will be similar to a replay of a vocal recording. If the nature of human memory leads to differences from a mechanical replay of a vocal recording, then human remembrance shows only the deterioration of information which results from a depletion of memory. On the other hand, it must take greater effort to summarise the content of linguistically retained information than to simply reproduce the information in the original expressions. In reality, however, what is recalled naturally becomes similar to a summary of the original rather than an exact reproduction thereof. This probably means that the automatic or unconscious process of summarization is in operation when



the content of discourse is stored in memory. There is a tendency to assume that this process is a product of non-linguistic conceptual operations rather than linguistic operations.

Language is defined as a paired set which combines form and meaning. As long as a mental representation is referred to as a linguistic representation, it should consist of a paired set, combining form and meaning. If a hearer remembers the content of a discourse but forgets the expressions used therein, it means that the information in the discourse has been conceptualised. Even if the source of meaning is linguistic expressions, once those linguistic forms are lost, the representation can no longer be called a linguistic representation. Mental information without its form is not linguistic meaning, but exists as concept. After listening to a discourse, information such as topical phrases might be retained in the form of linguistic expressions, but, it is unlikely that the entire information contained in the discourse will be retained as complete expressions.

Johnson-Laird (1983) asserted that when we comprehend a discourse, mental models are constructed as a sort of non-linguistic representation as well as a propositional representation, an assertion which was supported by ample empirical studies carried out in the field of cognitive psychology. Mental models of this kind are considered to be instances of deverbilized concepts. Even Mizuno (2005) admits that the interaction between the verbal information and the knowledge generates non-linguistic representations such as mental models or situational representations in SI, although such models represent only part of the meaning given in a discourse and are not necessarily constructed every time. He asserts that non-linguistic representations are included with linguistic representations in working memory.

(14) Working memory contains multi-modal representations, which include phonological (verbatim) representations of the source language, lexical semantic representation, propositional representation, products of inferences, situational representation or mental model, and surface form of the target language. (Mizuno, 2005, p.745)

Given the pragmatic aspects of linguistic communication, the role of extra-linguistic information cannot be neglected, and, if the psychological reality of discourse processing is of interest, then the status of non-linguistic representations must be examined. For an interpreter, what are the structure and the roles of non-linguistic representations in comprehension of utterances? The treatment of mental representations is determined by the objectives and approach of the research.

To summarise the claims proposed by Seleskovitch & Lederer (1989/1995), their assertion concerning deverbilized sense should be considered from two aspects: that of resources and that of nature. First, in terms of resources, utterance comprehension involves both linguistic and non-linguistic information. Second, the nature of deverbilized semantic representations is different from that of linguistic representations.

By close observation of the superficial linguistic differences which arise between the ST and the TT, this study will explore the nature of conceptual representations constructed during discourse processing. Similar attempts have been made by Setton (1999) and Funayama (e.g. 2002, 2005, 2007, 2008), but the former lacks a sufficient theoretical framework and the latter is yet to be completed as a systematic and detailed description. In the following sections, I will review Setton's (1999) approach as an exploration of mental representations in SI followed by a brief comment on Funayama's (e.g. 2002, 2005, 2007, 2008) approach as an introduction to his his model of conceptual complexes, which provides the main theoretical framework for this study.

## **2.5 Epr and discourse models**

Setton (1999) covered the broad range of topics of the cognitive aspects of SI in a conference setting. While the nature of intermediate representation comes first in the list of the scope of his research, he pointed out that the Paris School's researchers do not specify the nature of deverbilized sense and do not explain how relevant information is collected in meaning construction.

Setton's analysis is both observational and experimental. He analysed corpora transcribed from both real and simulated SI sessions, Chinese to English and German to English interpreting. His approach is not quantitative but qualitative. He did not parameterise his observation, but provided reliable examples for his analysis from his corpora. In order to support his assumption of intermediate representation in SI, he examined the syntactic shifts from the ST to the TT and observed that interpreters do not render a phrase-for-phrase or clause-for-clause version of the ST and that syntactic shifts occur even when they are not forced into them by the systematic differences between the SL and the TL. He concluded that the interpreter's formulation of the TT cannot be explained solely by the syntactic and semantic features of the ST and insisted upon the necessity of 'cognitive-pragmatic approach' so as to explore the reality of SI performance.

The main theoretical frameworks of Setton's study are relevance theory (Sperber & Wilson, 1986/1995), speech act theory (e.g. Austin, 1955/1962; Searle, 1983), frame

semantics (e.g. Fillmore, 1982/2006; Schank & Abelson, 1977) and mental model theory (Johnson-Laird, 1983). Based on the observation of the independency of interpreters' formulations of the TT from the superficial structure of the ST, Setton drew on cognitive psychology and pragmatics in an effort to analyse the cognitive processing of SI. He presented evidence which reveals the use of extra-linguistic information such as frame, situation and scripts. To this end, he examined the differences between the ST and the TT from actual and simulated SI performances and provided examples of the insertion of additional information and choice of a superordinate. Setton claimed that interpreters' inferences during their SI performance involves information from non-linguistic resources to supplement underdetermined information (e.g. anaphora, deixis, tense, aspect, realis/irrealis, propositional attitude, illocution etc.). On the other hand, in order to cast light on the non-linguistic nature of conceptual representations, he also provided some instantiations from his SI corpora. In those examples, he provided evidence of retention of discourse topicality, semantic role, and subject-predicate relations in spite of the shift in lexical items or syntactic features in the TT.

Setton's analysis does not confine itself to the nature of mental representations, but extends to the allocation of processing costs of mental resources during each stage of the task of SI, drawing on the effort model (Gile, 1995). Even for pragmatic aspects, he dealt with the development of a logical form into an explicature as well as comprehension of illocutional force, propositional attitude and implicatures. He aimed at a comprehensive modelling of SI from a cognitive-pragmatic perspective rather than focusing on a specific aspect. He asserts that entities with certain relations in certain properties (epr) are the "basic vocabulary" of a discourse model, and that the information is highly accessible to the process of construction of propositional forms when necessary. Based on this notion, he proposed the universal utterance format below.

(15) S[Dir[IF[PA\*[ $\varphi$ \*( $\theta$ {epr})]]]

(Setton, 1999, p.199)

In this format, the speaker (S) expresses (a) predication(s)  $\varphi$  of some {epr} in some thematic arrangement ( $\theta$ ), under a propositional attitude(s) (PA), and some illocution (IF), with some direction to processing (Dir). Before discussing issues of attitude and intentionality, Setton focused on epr and drew tentative sample sketches of discourse models (Setton, 1999, p.194). It seems that the purpose of this modelling is to illustrate some aspects of the cognitive processing in SI as shown below.

(16)

- Introduction of elements to compose epr
- Shift in the status of activation of each element
- Roles of frame knowledge

Setton defined epr as a sub-propositional unit of conceptual representation and sketched tentative diagrams based on his corpora. He divided his rectangle diagrams into two fields. The first field is for “percept/affect” which represents the most immediate perceptual experience and the other is for “concept” which represents “core proposition” material. He allocated linguistic and extralinguistic information in two fields and some of them are highlighted to show their activated status.

Considering that the objective of his research is to explore the cognitive aspect of the interpreter’s activity, these diagrams must be considered to demonstrate the cognitive status of an interpreter. However, it is not clear how Setton determined the specific content in the diagram. When he analysed the introduction of extra-linguistic knowledge or the non-linguistic nature of conceptual representations, he provided examples to support his assertion. However, when his analysis touches upon discourse models, the link between the evidence of conceptualisation and the description of the models is not explicated. For example, he had three versions of interpreting for a single ST in German, but he presented only one diagram for this performance and did not clarify which diagram was based on which interpreter’s performance. It seems that Setton did not draw these diagrams based on observations of versions of the TT available to him, but rather on the ST, although the cognitive reality of the interpreters is reflected in the TT and not in the ST. Moreover, if these diagrams are a putative description of the mental status of interpreters, it seems that these diagrams are drawn on the precondition that all interpreters construct the same conceptual representations from the ST, which does not explain the variation which exists between interpreters’ performances.

Apart from the discourse diagrams, Setton (1999, p.214) compiled detailed tabular presentations of his corpora, which consist of input from the ST, ‘assembly’, and each interpreter’s output. While input from the ST includes syntactic features and English gloss, information in the column for assembly is composed of a set of symbols, which denote epr, procedural and logical information, illocution and propositional attitude. In addition, sources and types of non-linguistic knowledge are also designated in the column. He considers epr to be the basic vocabulary of the “language of thought” or LOT

(Fodor, 1975) and one of his purposes is to “abstract out a universal LOT” (Setton, 1999, p.204) based on his SI corpora. It is not clear whether he regards LOT as a conceptual representation, but, due to its symbolic nature, his LOT seems closer to a linguistic system than a conceptual one. Universal LOT is not a specific language, but seems rather to be a system which comprises a set of symbols, which must be a combination of form and meaning. For this reason, a discourse model described by LOT is not meaning itself and another theory of semantics is required to explore the meaning of it. Setton’s attempt seems to aim at establishing a model of conceptual representation as a system of symbols and coded meaning, whether it is coded by LOT or any other language. If LOT is similar to language, his model might just postulate additional translation processes between the ST and the TT; from the ST to LOT and LOT to the TT, and the issue of how to handle the semantics of LOT is mostly left untouched. Certainly, Setton pointed out the indeterminate nature of utterances and asserted that implicit information must be recovered through interpreters’ inferences. But the difference between linguistic and conceptual systems exists not only at the level of the explicitness of their representation forms. I do not deny the existence of such a system of mental symbols whether it is universal or not. There may well be some mental symbols in our mind, similar to perceptual symbols (Barsalou, 1999), but this is not the aim of this study.

It is necessary to point out a critical issue in this approach. In his analysis, it is not clear whether the descriptions in his discourse models and assembly are derived from the TT or ST. Of the two, it seems more likely that they are based on ST. If it is not associated with TT, a putative description of this kind cannot be the interpreter’s comprehension, but the researcher’s. Even though he provided an ample number of examples to show empirical evidence of conceptual operation in SI, they are not linked with the construction of discourse models. However deeply he examined ST, if it is not based on TT, on which interpreters’ mental reality is reflected, it cannot be considered an empirical interpreting study.

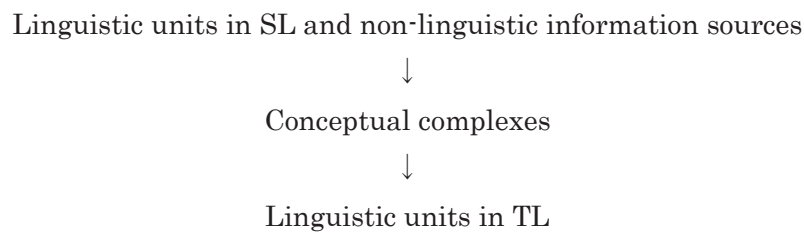
## **2.6 Conceptual complexes**

Funayama (e.g. 1994, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008) has developed a device called conceptual complexes (referred to as CC hereafter) in order to describe the online development of utterance comprehension. He pays attention to the content of the mental representations constructed as a product of utterance comprehension. The linguistic information contained in an utterance is not sufficient to recover the speaker’s message intended by the utterance. Therefore, a hearer has to complement necessary

information through inference. A CC is assumed to be a mental representation made up of linguistic information and various forms of non-linguistic information. Due of this feature, a CC is considered to be equivalent to the deverbilized concept of the Paris School.

In order to introduce the CC model to research on the process of interpreting, Funayama (2007) reorganised Seleskovitch & Lederer's three stages (1989/1995) as shown in (17) below.

(17)



In this model, *sens*, or the meaning of the message in IT theory, is associated with linguistic dimension as this is similar to the “explicature” found in relevance theory (Sperber & Wilson, 1986/1995). Since this implicature of utterance is not explicitly expressed and can be considered a product of inference, implicature is associated with the conceptual stage.

When Seleskovitch & Lederer (1989/1995) proposed their three stage model, there was no clear distinction between the linguistic stage and non-linguistic stage.

- (2) 1. merging elements of linguistic meaning with extra-linguistic knowledge to obtain sense;  
 2. deverbilizing that sense as it emerges; and  
 3. spontaneously expressing this sense linguistically.

(Seleskovitch & Lederer, 1989/1995, p.22)

Seleskovitch & Lederer's model is designed to describe the processing stages required during the interpreting activity. The first stage in (2) is a process of merging linguistic and non-linguistic information. On the other hand, the stages in Funayama's model are divided by the types of representations in order to focus on the nature of concepts and their development separately from linguistic representations.

Another important aspect of the CC model is its online nature. This model is an attempt to describe meaning construction in discourse understanding as an online

development of concepts. According to this approach, expressions in the TT can be analysed as a reflection of the interpreter's understanding of the ST. If carefully examined, expressions in the TT can provide a window on the cognitive reality of SI. This study will explore the reality of the online development of concepts based on this model. The next chapter will provide an overview of the CC model in order to introduce the main theoretical framework of this study.

## **2.7 Summary**

Since Seleskovitch (1978/1998) proposed the notion of deverbalization as an indispensable part of her three-staged model of the interpreting process, it has become one of the most controversial topics in interpreting studies. In particular, from the mid-eighties to early nineties, some 'scientific-minded' researchers denounced the notion and criticised her approach as nothing more than a personal theorization. However, progress in pragmatics and cognitive psychology provided opportunities to re-examine the theory.

Taking the pragmatic aspects of meaning construction into consideration, it is undeniable that the meaning of an utterance does not consist of just linguistically coded meaning and non-linguistic resources contribute to utterance comprehension in general. Setton (1999) attempted to analyse the pragmatic aspects of the interpreting process, aiming at elucidating the nature of mental representations constructed for SI performance. Although his analysis covers a wide range of topics in interpreting studies, he did not pay sufficient attention to the fluid and flexible nature of concepts in the online development of discourse processing, because his basic construal is that mental representations should be described in universal LOT, which is closer to a language than it is to concepts.

Reflecting recent developments in cognitive science, including cognitive approaches to linguistic communication, the role of non-linguistic semantic representations has become widely admitted in these days. At one time, Mizuno (1997/2004) criticized the notion of deverbalization, saying that meaning cannot exist separate from linguistic form. But even Mizuno (2005) admits the construction of non-linguistic representations such as mental models or situational representations in SI.

Funayama (e.g. 1994, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007 and 2008) contrived a device to explore the mental reality of SI performance and this study will try to elicit the potential of this model based on actual SI performances. This will be an attempt to examine the actuality of deverbalization as an essential process within interpreting as well as general discourse processing.



### 3. Overview of the CC model

#### 3.1 Concept-oriented approach

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the theoretical framework which underpins this study. At the same time, I will provide a notation system for use therewith. This study aims to trace the meaning construction utilised by interpreters during SI performance through observation of actual SI performances. Since meaning construction is a mental task, which cannot be directly observed, how can we describe what happens in an interpreter's mind? The basic theoretical device used here is the model of conceptual complexes (referred to as the CC model hereafter), which was introduced and developed by Funayama (e.g. 1994, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007 and 2008). This model was contrived in order to describe the online nature of the development of concepts as they occur during the comprehension of utterances when involved in discourse processing. Because language can be defined as a combination of a form and its meaning, in conventional approaches to linguistics adopted in semantics, or pragmatics, meaning is examined through its linguistic form. Due to this, the basic assumption of conventional approaches is this: because the meaning of an utterance is constructed based on the meaning encoded in the linguistic unit, it should be explored through the linguistic unit in which the meaning is encoded. According to this assumption, the starting point of their analysis is the meaning encoded in the lexical items and the syntactic (and pragmatic) rules. The CC model, however, turns this language-oriented perspective of the relation between the meaning and linguistic expressions around. The object of this approach is not language, but the concepts constructed during the processing of linguistic expressions. The CC model aims at a concept-oriented description of online utterance comprehension. While the analytical devices developed in linguistics are still of importance as clues in the analysis of concept construction, the model explores how the examination of linguistic meaning and other resources contribute to the online process of utterance comprehension.

- (1) We propose in this study to put concepts at the center of the description of the mental development of utterance comprehension. A representation framework where concepts play a central role contrasts with conventional approaches, where linguistic forms are the basic units of representation. (Funayama, 2008, p.1)



- (2) In the proposed model we try to reverse the conventional direction of research and put concepts rather than lexical items in the central place. (Funayama, 2008, p.2)

Concept is not perceptible. If the nature of concept is non-linguistic, it may sound contradictory to describe it with language, and when verbally described, there is a risk of contamination by the language used. However, the fact that the nature of concepts is non-linguistic is one thing, and the task of verbally describing them is quite another. We habitually talk about non-linguistic experiences such as the taste of food, the sound of music, the touch of a picture and so on. Language can, and is used to refer to non-linguistic objects. It is not, therefore so very unusual to explore the nature of non-linguistic objects through language. On the other hand, the experience of a literary work, which is a purely linguistic construct, involves something beyond language. It is no great surprise, therefore, to posit that linguistic communication entails non-linguistic aspects.

The message of an utterance intended by a speaker is not just a set of linguistically-coded information. Also, the meaning of the utterance as understood by a hearer comprises both linguistic and non-linguistic information. The CC, therefore, is derived from non-linguistic information as well as linguistic information. As a concept-oriented model, of which the purpose is to describe conceptual processing, the CC model provides a device which represents the various forms of information intended by a speaker and describes the online development of concepts in discourse processing.

The CC model is a theory of utterance comprehension which aims to target the cognitive aspects of verbal communications in general, and is not, therefore, limited to interpreting. However, SI research has the potential to contribute to the progress of the CC model.

- (3) If what cannot be directly examined in usual instances of utterance comprehension can be observed through SI performances, the mechanism of utterance comprehension examined through SI records will shed light on that of general utterance comprehension. (Funayama, 2005, p.11)

Empirical measures used to explore the nature of imperceptible concepts are severely limited. Interpreters are supposed to produce the TT so that he/she can deliver the same message as that intended by the source speaker of the ST. Nonetheless, by close examination of the ST and the TT, a variety of differences of between the ST and the TT

can be found, even when SI performance is considered appropriate. Differences of this kind provide us with data which are of great value in explaining the reality of human cognitive activities.

Since no systematic and comprehensive description of this model has been attempted, in order to obtain an overview of the model, it is necessary to recover the missing links between the various individual arguments and customise the model according to the purpose of the study, and to do this based on existing publications in order to employ the model as a sufficient theoretical construct. Although a comprehensive description of the CC model is not the aim of this study, clarification of at least the necessary and essential parts of the model are required. In this chapter, before examining actual SI performance, I will provide a brief outline of the CC model which is used as the theoretical framework of this study.

In this study, I will use italic font to indicate linguistic expressions, and a pair of single quotation marks to indicate the content of those expressions. The content of expressions used in this study includes the conceptual representations which are constructed by a hearer of those expressions as well as the linguistic meaning of the expression. For example, *raw* signifies a lexical item in English and ‘raw’ represents a concept that has been constructed for ‘raw’, including the linguistically encoded meaning of *raw*. In order to specify expressions from an example sentence or the actual SI performance, I will use double quotation marks: “RAW” or “raw”. The expression might be given in upper or lower case. This difference will vary according to the description found in the sample sources. Since I will use samples from two sets of SI records, each set has its own style of description.

After this first introductory section, the second section introduces the basic notion and notation of the CC model used in this study. The third section considers the fluid and non-linguistic nature of CCs. The fourth section discusses how CCs can form a nested structure and thereby construct an event CC or a property CC. In the same section I will also address how event frame is construed in this study. The fifth section presents the basic categorisation of the resources used to construct a CC. The sixth section demonstrates a sample description of the construction of CCs during discourse processing. The seventh section presents a summary to conclude the chapter.

### **3.2 Conceptual Complexes (CCs)**

In this section, I will present the basic notion of a CC. When a person communicates to others with language, his/her concept provides the starting point of a verbal communication. In order to examine the nature of verbal communication, discussion

proceeds from a presentation of the views held on concept construction by this study.

The human cognitive environment is altered by the reception of external stimuli. When a person perceives a stimulus, it is recognised as information. Comprehension of this information can be regarded as a change in the cognitive status brought about by the reception of this information. Concept in the terminology used here is a mental representation which is the product of comprehension. It is not, therefore, simply existing knowledge or the accumulation of external stimuli. And, more strictly, simple perception is not a concept, although it does involve some cognitive processing. Generally, the construction of concepts involves the integration of existing knowledge and external stimuli. Imagine that the ground is covered with snow and dents with the same size and shape are repeated there in a certain pattern. If they are to be judged to be the foot prints of a fox, knowledge of an animal called a fox - specifically, the size and shape of its foot prints - is a precondition of associating the reception of the visual stimuli with a fox. Moreover, if animals which leave similar foot prints are not limited to foxes, the validity of the judgement depends on knowledge or assumptions about the ecosystem around the place, the possibility of fox's visit in the season and other relevant issues. In this case, if it is judged that a fox has recently passed by, the basis of this judgement is, not only newly acquired perceptual information from the site, but a mental construct as an integrated product; the resources for which are the new information and existing knowledge or assumptions relevant to it. When a person receives stimuli from their external environment and recognise a situation, concepts are constructed through the integration of newly acquired information from the external environment and their existing knowledge.

This is a basic view about how we construct concepts derived from external stimuli to which we are subjected. However, concepts are not necessarily constructed on the basis of specific perceptual stimuli. In some cases, we may recall some images stored in our memory to construct a concept without any particular perception. Or subtle external stimuli such as the taste of a madeleine may trigger a rush of memory on the whole history of a family and the town where a person was born and grew up in. In any case, concepts include a wide range of information. Some content is perceptual and some is not. Some is linguistic in nature and some is not. It seems impossible to completely cover the totality of a concept at a specific moment, and it surely is.

A speaker expresses such concepts through language. Language is a set of symbols which are the combination of form and coded meaning. It is one of the most efficient systems available to communicate concepts. That said, language is not so powerful that all of the information within a given concept can be perfectly encoded as a linguistic

expression. For a hearer, a speaker's utterance is stimuli received from the external environment. Thus, a hearer must recover the content of the speaker's concept through a process of inference.

Since the comprehension of a message in verbal communication is also a form of recognition of a situation triggered by linguistic expressions which are stimuli received from the external environment, it is presumed that comprehension of utterances shares a common cognitive mechanism with the recognition of general situations. It is therefore natural to conceive that concepts constructed for discourse processing comprise both non-linguistic perceptual information and existing knowledge as well as linguistic information. Funayama (2005) put focus on concepts of this nature which are represented in the hearer's cognitive environment and named it conceptual complex (referred to as CC hereafter).

- (4) It is conceivable that concepts, which constitute utterance comprehension, are formed by capturing contextual information and knowledge and that they are not stably coded as linguistic expressions. Here, we shall call representations that a hearer of utterances mentally constructs a "conceptual complex" and we shall attempt to trace utterance comprehension based on conceptual complexes which transform according to the development of utterances which correspond to linguistic expressions. (Funayama, 2005, p.4)

In this quotation, Funayama referred to two basic features of a CC.

- (5) a. A CC is constructed from both linguistic and non-linguistic sources.  
b. A CC develops in accordance with discourse processing.

The two features of a CC will be addressed separately. Firstly, in terms of resources of a CC, I shall draw on the basic discussion of relevance theory (Sperber & Wilson, 1986/1995). In relevance theory, it is argued that a hearer of an utterance recovers informational intention and communicational intention of the speaker through inference. The meaning of an utterance is not understood just as a simple accumulation of information coded in linguistic expressions, but includes various types of information in each context. Linguistic information plays an important role in the construction of concepts in discourse processing. However, it is not the only resource for them. In relevance theory, assumptions communicated by utterances are classified into explicature and implicature. Explicature is a form of assumption recovered as a

development of the logical form which is encoded by linguistic expressions into an utterance. On the other hand, implicature is different form of assumption which is implicitly communicated by the utterance and recovered through examination of explicature. Needless to say, a message implicitly communicated by an utterance is not composed of linguistically coded information. This level of a message is not the scope of this study, because to express the implication of a message is not a usual mission for an interpreter. However, even explicature, which is more explicit assumption, includes information other than purely linguistically coded information.

(6) a. There's nothing on telly tonight. (Carston, 2002, p.26)

b. The steak is raw. (Carston, 2002, p.27)

These examples show that the comprehension of utterances entails inferences which reduce or expand linguistically coded meaning. The use of such inferences is known as pragmatic adjustment. For example, understanding from (6a) that none of the broadcast stations in a country are operating is highly unlikely unless all the broadcast stations in the area were known to be going on strike at the same time, or some other extraordinary circumstance. If the proposition expressed in (6a) was understood as literal meaning, it would be determined as false. In order for a hearer to understand (6a) as the speaker intended, the pragmatic process involves the “adding of conceptual constituents” (Carston, 2002, p.27). In this case, the topic of the utterance is TV programmes, but this notion includes a precondition that those of interest to the speaker are worth watching. The hearer understands this precondition as well as the literal meaning of the expression and narrows down the scope of ‘nothing’ in accordance with the information.

On the other hand, the pragmatic process to understand (6b) involves “adjustments to linguistically encoded concepts” (Carston, 2002, p.27). If (6b) is an utterance used by a guest in a restaurant, because the meat in question must be heated to some extent, it is not completely raw meat. These utterances are not understood as their literal meaning in our actual communication. The hearer of (6b) construes the notion of treating meat as ‘change in the status of meat from ‘raw’ to ‘cooked’ for eating purpose’ and construes the status of the meat to the extent just before completely ‘cooked’ as ‘raw’. In this case, the meaning of *raw* is expanded in contrast with ‘cooked’ as the end point of heating meat. In this example, “the lexically encoded concept in the logical form of the utterance is replaced by an *ad hoc* concept, pragmatically derived from the lexical one, and this new non-lexicalized concept is a constituent of the proposition expressed by the

speaker of the utterance” (Carston, 2002, p.28).

As demonstrated in these cases, the meaning of words in utterance comprehension is constructed with supplementary non-linguistic information as well as linguistically coded-information. Seen from the perspective of conceptual construction, concepts are constructed as a package of information derived from linguistic information and other non-linguistic information. Figure 3.1 provides a notation to describe the CCs constructed for each case in (6).

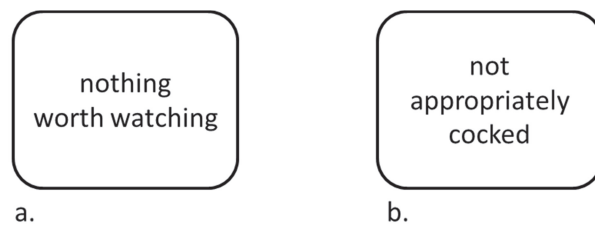


Figure 3.1

As shown in Figure 3.1, a CC is depicted as a balloon shape, which is a rectangle with round corners with its contents written in it. In this figure, (a) is a CC constructed for “nothing” in (6a). Likewise, (b) is for “raw” in (6b). We normally use linguistic expressions to specify content in a CC, but it does not necessarily mean that the content is linguistically represented. Linguistic expression is used only to describe the approximate information in a CC. I am using linguistic expressions in the figure for the sake of the convenience of description. If possible, and where necessary, it can be described with a picture, signs or other descriptive devices. In (a) in Figure 3.1, ‘worth watching’ stands for additional conceptual constituents, which narrows down the linguistically coded meaning of nothing. On the other hand, (b) represents a CC for “raw”, but its linguistic meaning is replaced by ad hoc information. In this way, conceptual information is described which is not necessarily encoded in a lexical item. However, it should be noted that description in these CCs does not represent the entire information in them. Content in a CC is supposed to be a set of various forms of conceptual information and it is impossible to provide a comprehensive description of it. Description in a CC is no more than a specification of the content used for the purpose of discussion. Therefore, the same CC can be described differently according to the purpose of the discussion. For example, if we were to pay more attention to the linguistic source of each CC, we could use another notation for the same CCs in (6) as shown in Figure 3.2.

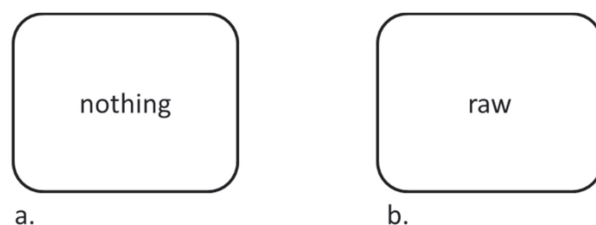


Figure 3.2

In Figure 3.2, apparently, (a) represents “nothing” in (6a) and (b) represents “raw” in (6b). While Figure 3.1 emphasizes the non-linguistic nature of the content of a CC, Figure 3.2 is a description which concentrates on the source expression of a CC. Since the CCs in Figure 3.2 are identical to those in Figure 3.1, the content of the CCs in Figure 3.2 is also conceptual. However, it is conceivable that these CCs still have a tie to their source expressions. When a CC is constructed for a linguistic expression, a conceptual tag or a c-tag (Funayama 2002, 2004, 2005, 2008) for the CC is attached in association with the lexical form.

Next, I shall address the other feature of a CC, which is about the development of a CC in discourse processing. The CC model aims at providing a concept-oriented descriptive device for online discourse processing as an approach for utterance comprehension. A speaker’s CC includes both linguistic and non-linguistic information and discourse comprehension progresses in accordance with the development of the CCs as reconstructed by a hearer. From the perspective of online meaning construction based on an inference model of communication, the CC model provides explanations for a broad range of linguistic phenomena.

I shall now examine an example of mini-discourse which is related to the other CC feature in (7). Funayama (2006) demonstrates the potential of the CC model for explaining the mechanism of comprehending co-reference by finite noun phrases and bridging reference. I will examine an example of a bridging reference which entails a brief development of a CC.

- (7) a. John went walking at noon. The park was beautiful. (Matsui, 2000, p.2)  
 b. John went walking at noon. Mary was hungry.

(7a) is an example of a bridging reference. A finite noun phrase of “the park” in the second sentence does not have its antecedent. And this is not a case of deixis. But, it is understood that ‘the park’ is where John went walking in the first sentence.

According to Matsui (2000) a bridging reference is characterised by the



“introduction of a new entity” (Matsui 2000, p.17). She defined the cognitive aspect of a bridging reference the following manner.

- (8) A bridging implicature is a contextual assumption, warranted by the explicit content of previous discourse, needed to introduce an intended referent which has not itself been explicitly mentioned. (Matsui, 2000, p.198)

Matsui (2000) explained the mechanism of a bridging reference by drawing on relevance theory (Sperber & Wilson, 1986/1995). Seen from the perspective of the construction of CCs, this process of inference can be described as the development of a single CC. When a concept is constructed based on the linguistic information in the first sentence in (7a) as stimuli, a concept of ‘John’s walking activity in the daytime’ which is constructed by the linguistic information in the first clause in (7a) enables access to world knowledge on ‘appropriate places for daytime walking’, reasonably sanctioning additional information on a park as being one such place. Since this cognitive operation enables us to understand ‘walk’ and ‘park’ based on the same CC, (7a) is understood as a coherent discourse. Figure 3.3 demonstrates this process.



Figure 3.3

The CC on the left hand demonstrates the initial status of the CC constructed for the first sentence of (7a). This CC includes ‘John’ as an entity and it is assigned as the agent of an event designated as ‘walk’. Also, this CC includes ‘noon’ as the time factor for the event and the aspect of the event is marked as the past tense through the use of *walked*. Moreover, this illocutionary and propositional attitude of the speaker must be included, because a CC represents the whole concept of a hearer at a certain moment in utterance comprehension. But, for the purpose of this discussion this simplified notation includes only ‘John’ and ‘walk’. I will specify the content of a CC according to the requirements of the discussion. When the hearer processed the second sentence in (7a), this CC developed into that on the right hand. The new status of the CC includes another element of ‘park’. As a result of this CC, the coherence of discourse can be secured. In the CC model, a bridging reference is understood in association with the cohesion and coherence of a discourse brought by a reasonable sequence of two events.



- (9) Seen from the perspective of the conceptualization of inputted expressions, these inferences should be construed not as the relation between entities, but as the relation between events. (Funayama, 2006, p.11)
- (10) The phenomenon of a bridging reference appears on the surface by chance through a combination of noun phrases and it can be said that this is essentially related to the cohesion and coherence of a discourse. (Funayama, 2006, p.13)

For example, when a hearer processes (7b), though the similar CC is constructed for the first sentence in (7b), information from the second sentence is not included in the CC. Instead, a new CC will be constructed for the second sentence. This process is demonstrated in Figure 3.4.



Figure 3.4

Whether new information is included in the CC or not depends on the appropriateness of an element in the second sentence as a component of the CC which is constructed for the information in the first clause. In (7a), walking activity requires a place for the event, but information about the place is not provided in the first sentence. Therefore, information on the place for walking can be a candidate for subsequent information. And a park is a normal place in which to walk in general. For this reason, the cognitive element of ‘park’ can be introduced into the CC for ‘walking’. In these cases, the lexical meaning of two words is bridged by a single CC to secure the coherence of the discourse. On the other hand, in (7b), the situation of ‘Mary was hungry’ cannot be an element to compose ‘John’s walking’ event. A new CC is therefore constructed in order to process the discourse. If an element is judged as appropriate, the relevant CC will develop to include it. As such, these cases can be described as the development of CCs in discourse processing. These examples involve the construction of CCs as well as their development. I will address this issue in 3.4 of this chapter and Chapter 5. The online development of CCs is the main topic of this study. This will be closely analysed in section 3.6 in this chapter and again in Chapter 8. Before that, more needs to be said about the fluid nature of a CC in the next section.

### 3.3 Cognitive elements and the fluidity of a CC

This section provides consideration on an aspect of the fluid nature of content in a CC. Unlike the linguistically coded meaning, the content of a CC is not stable, but constantly changing. This section will present a basic view on the content of a CC.

A CC contains at least one cognitive element. A cognitive element is information (in working memory) in the cognitive environment which is activated by corresponding or relevant information input. It helps a CC to secure its identity as a constituent of the CC, which takes various types of information in accordance with development during discourse processing. Grasping cognitive elements is not a phenomenon which is unique to utterance comprehension. They are also grasped in general recognition which does not involve any linguistic activity. The prototype of a cognitive element is a record of a series of perceptual information acquired in any form from a variety of senses. A specific experience, for example, 'eating an apple', contains a multitude of information acquired through different senses.

(11) Vision: colour (hue, saturation, lightness), shape, distance

Olfaction: smell

Gustation: acidity, sweetness, texture, hardness, temperature

Tactile sense: hardness, weight, texture, temperature

Visceral sense: senses derived from the internal organs

This is not a complete list of the perceptual sensations received during the experience of 'eating an apple'. The purpose of this listing is merely to show a wide variety of modes of perceptual information and the listed items are selected for the convenience of their categorization. In reality, other than information itemised above, we also feel muscle movements when we carry the apple to our mouth, visual changes in seeing it, or the crunching sound of it in our mouth. Moreover, the recognition of an experience is not just the sum total of immediate perceptual information. We may recall related experiences in our memory such as 'going on a picnic'. Or we may associate that experience with our knowledge such as 'Adam and Eve eat it'. The concept of 'eating an apple' can be constructed as a total of such information. From this perspective, concept of 'apple' is an integrated mental construct made up from various forms of information. When we think of this experience, it is considered that we operate the concept by paying attention only to the more salient aspects of it.

Considering the above, even though it is limited to the immediate perceptual information, no language has a single word which expresses the totality of the concept

of ‘eating an apple’. Although both English and Japanese have corresponding words for the fruit, the apple and activity eating, neither of them has a single word to contain both elements. However, this does not mean that the concept of ‘eating an apple’ must be divided into sub-components all of the time when it is expressed in any language. Examining another example, in the case of ‘it rains’, in a Japanese expression, *ame ga furu* contains two elements of *ame* for ‘rain’ and *furu* for its falling-down movement from the sky to the ground. On the other hand, in English, a single word *rain* includes both information and the dummy *it* is required only as a grammatical subject to compose a complete sentence form. However, native English speakers can recognise ‘rain’ as drops of water from the sky and its falling-down movement separately as, “rain drops keep falling on my head”. The linguistic segmentation, which is demonstrated in the lexical items, does not necessarily correspond to the conceptual segmentation which is implemented in the recognition of a specific situation. Even if the lexical items in a language can represent the componential elements of an experience; when it does not have to be verbally expressed, that experience may be perceived as a non-componential whole to construct a concept with no internal structure. These examples suggest that the conceptual system is independent of the linguistic system.

Even if a language has lexical items corresponding to ‘apple’ and ‘eat’, knowledge on these lexical item is not inherited. When a person acquires these lexical items, perceptual symbols (Barsalou, 1999) corresponding to them are formed. Since both ‘apple’ and ‘eat’ do not require abstraction or expertise knowledge to learn the notion, the notions belong to a basic level (Lakoff, 1987) of a cognitive category. Such symbols are usually acquired through everyday experiences related to ‘apple’ or ‘eat’. In some cases, ‘apple’ may be recognised without the activity of ‘eat’ and, in other cases, the object of ‘eat’ may be something other than ‘apple’. When commonality is abstracted from individual experiences, it will form the basis of understanding the universality of a cognitive element, providing opportunities to constructing perceptual symbols for ‘apple’ or ‘eat’. Perceptual symbols are abstract symbols stored in our long-term memory to operate concepts as componential constructs in association with specific cognitive elements. On the other hand, cognitive elements are components of concepts which are constructed in our working memory. If perceptual symbols for ‘apple’ and ‘eat’ are established prior to the experience of ‘eating an apple’, introspection of this experience will smoothly activate cognitive elements corresponding to these perceptual symbols and associated knowledge. Barsalou (1999) called this activation “simulation”. However, perceptual symbols are not necessary conditions for the construction of concepts or cognitive elements which compose a concept because cognitive elements do not

necessarily correspond to perceptual symbols. Seen from the perspective of utterance comprehension, in many cases, lexical items, perceptual symbols and cognitive elements are correspondent, but such correspondence is not essential and they are members of independent systems.

Seen from both the view of ontogeny and phylogeny, the origin of perceptual symbols is considered to be direct perceptual memory. It is presumable that, based on this archetype, mental symbols can be established for non-perceptual abstract notions, enabled by basic human cognitive abilities such as categorization, metaphor and metonymy. In a network of knowledge, each perceptual symbol has a specific pattern to be combined with other symbols, which is a constituent of a frame of a certain topic. Frame knowledge is combined with other knowledge to constitute network knowledge on the world. When a perceptual symbol is activated, other perceptual symbols and non-symbolised cognitive elements close to the symbol in the network are activated in order to be a constituent of the concept. Since the activation status of an element can gradually change, it is impossible to determine the border between active and inactive status. Also, the focus of activation in a concept is not constant. This nature leads to the fluidity of a concept.

When necessary, a part of a conceptualised experience can be the focus of attention. From the experience of 'eating an apple', the cognitive elements of 'apple' and 'eat' can be selectively focused. Each element can be divided into even smaller elements. For example, 'apple' can be divided into 'peel', 'flesh' and 'seed'. However, even if 'apple' and 'eat' form two CCs, this does not mean that the integrity of the two elements is lost. To put it another way, if 'eating an apple' is construed as a part of a more general experience, it can be a part of a superordinate notion such as 'eating a fruit', 'eating a meal' or 'going on a picnic'. A conceptual system is composed as a hierarchical part-whole structure. This means that a group of CCs can form a nested structure. This will be addressed in the next section.

The CC model is a descriptive device for construction of concepts in utterance comprehension. The origin of a CC in verbal communication is the conceptual processing of a speaker. Before production of an utterance, a speaker constructs a concept as an organised package of information and plans to express it in a language. However, not all the information contained in a CC can be expressed in an utterance. In this event, a hearer has to recover implicit information from the utterance.

From a speaker's standpoint, it is not always easy to find appropriate linguistic expressions to describe the content of a CC. For example, when a speaker tries to describe the taste of food which he/she has never eaten before, the speaker may analyse

the feeling or the taste to find a solution to put it into an existing category by employing readily available lexical items. Or, if the speaker cannot be satisfied with these available lexical items, metaphorical cognitive mechanisms may facilitate the speaker to use lexical items for other foods or something not to eat. In such a case, lexical items employed by the speaker may provide saliency for a certain factor of the taste. At this point it may become a new cognitive element.

From the hearer's standpoint, the linguistic information included in an utterance is a direct starting point for grasping cognitive elements in many cases. But, in the case of deixis, the source of a cognitive element is given through interaction between linguistic expressions and the referent. Or, in other cases, the source of cognitive elements may be given as non-linguistic information in the setting of an utterance prepared before the beginning of the discourse.

In this section, an aspect of fluidity and the non-linguistic nature of the content of a CC have been discussed. However, this does not mean a CC is completely amorphous. In the next section, grouping and the nested structure of CCs will be addressed and the structured nature of CCs will be discussed.

### 3.4 Grouping and the nested structure of CCs

The main topic of this section is construal of an event as a form of a structured CC and the framing information within it. When CCs are related to each other in the cognitive environment, they may be integrated into a larger CC. Usually, when an event or a situation is recognised, two or more CCs, which represent entities, their properties or relations between them, are included in the larger CC. Each sub-CC contains cognitive elements associated with each other to form a structured concept. In the CC model, an event or a situation can be construed as a set of information. Funayama (2006) assumes three types of CCs as event, property and unspecified CC. These are shown in Figure 3.5.



Figure 3.5

In this study, a pair of brackets will be used to specify CC type so as to make a distinction between the content of the CC and information on the type of CC in question. Uppercase letters will be used to specify a type and lowercase letters will be used for the conceptual content of a CC. These CCs are construed at a different level from that of entity CCs or relational CCs. Each type of CC is considered to comprise a set of sub-CCs. This implies that a CC can form a nested structure. For example, whereas ‘eating an apple’ can be a holistic concept, we can also recognise ‘apple’ or ‘eat’ as a component of the concept. (12) below is an example of a case of utterance comprehension.

(12) We discussed the issue.

When a hearer hears the utterance (12), CCs are constructed for ‘we’, ‘discuss’ and ‘issue’ and they are grouped to compose an event CC. Figure 3.6 shows a simplified notation to describe an event-type CC which is constructed when a hearer understands the utterance in (12).

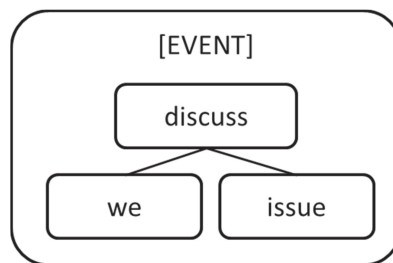


Figure 3.6

Integrated in a nested structure, a CC can comprise two or more componential CCs, which are associated with each other. Two straight lines connecting each componential CC demonstrate CCs are to be associated with each other within the event. An event CC is not simply a group of CCs but contains framing information. Generally, an event CC consists of one relational CC, which specifies an event, and at least one entity CC for its participant. In this figure, two componential CCs serve as participants. In an event CC, each participant CC bears its own semantic role. Since the semantic role of a participant CC is conceptually determined at the non-linguistic level, it is also independent of the trajector/landmark alignment. Langacker (2008) addresses the distinction

- (13) At issue is the interplay between two basic aspects of conceptual organization: semantic role (pertaining to conceptual content) and focal prominence (a matter of construal). (Langacker, 2008, p.365)

Examining the choice of trajector in a clause, Langacker (2008) identifies two major strategies: agent orientation and theme orientation. While the prototype of an agent is “an individual who wilfully initiates and carries out an action” (Langacker, 2008, p.356), the basic thematic roles are “zero, mover, patient, and experiencer” (Langacker, 2008, p.370). These terms will be used to distinguish participants in an event or a situation (Note 1), although clausal structure itself is not the object of this study.

If the purpose of an illustration is to show the combination of members packaged in an event CC then, basically, Figure 3.6 is a sufficient notation of the status of the event. In the case above, ‘we’ bears the semantic role of the agent and ‘issue’ bears the role of the theme in the event CC. And ‘discuss’ is the relational CC, which determines the relation between the participants in the event.

From the conventional perspective of linguistics, a frame is usually given with a predicative expression. Under the CC model, however, framing information can be constructed without any explicit information to express an event (Funayama, 2005, p.11). Information on semantic roles is not included in the content of entity CCs, because this is framing information of the situation which changes along with changes to the situation in the same discourse. In the CC model, the framing information of an event can be handled independently of lexical items. For example, when ‘NP1 wa NP2 wo’ is given in Japanese, a frame CC may be constructed for an intransitive event in general (Funayama, 2005, p.11). Figure 3.7 demonstrates the status of the CC.

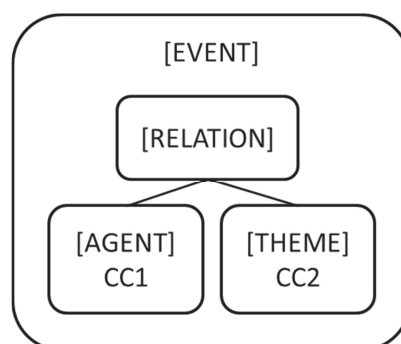


Figure 3.7

This event CC comprises three componential CCs. One of them is the relational CC and the others are participants. In Figure 3.7, while CC1 is constructed for NP1 and bears the semantic role of the agent, CC2 is constructed for NP2 as the theme. A relational CC is constructed without further detailed information. Since a frame is the structure of an event, framing information can be represented as an aspect of an event CC. The nature of CC means that the conceptual frame also develops during the course of online discourse processing. The number of participants and their semantic roles are the principal information of a frame, but the content of a frame CC is not limited to this. On the contrary, framing information can be elaborated in accordance with more complicated situations such as the setting of a criminal court, which consists of a plaintiff, defendant, barrister, judge, citizen judge, allegation, arraignment etc. Each participant has its role and is supposed to play a part in a scenario. Since an event CC is a set of information about a certain situation, its level of abstraction may vary depending on the amount of given information in the discourse.

Since a frame is constructed for a specific event, it is unusual for a hearer to construct only a frame as a complete abstraction of an event. However, for the purpose of discussion, we can abstract framing information from the event understood from (4). Figure 3.8 is an illustration of a conceptual frame for the event above.

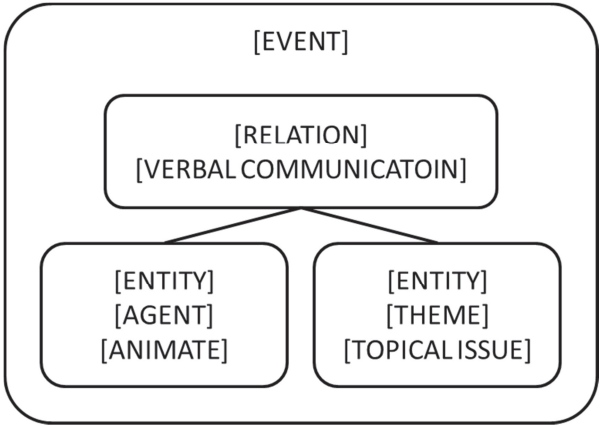


Figure 3.8

This abstract event CC has three componential CCs. Each componential CC contains schematic information on its type. The event CC in Figure 3.8 comprises one relational CC and two participants. The relational CC is specified as [VERBAL COMMUNICATION]. Among two participants, one is specified as [ANIMATE] [ENTITY] as the [AGENT] in the event. The other is [ENTITY] as [THEME], and, more specifically, [TOPICAL ISSUE]. As long as the same conceptual frame is shared in a



discourse, this may be adopted for events similar to ‘discuss’ such as ‘talk about’, ‘debate’, ‘negotiate’ or ‘reach an agreement’. The sharing of a conceptual frame does not depend, however, only on the similarity of lexical meaning, but requires coherence between the concepts in the discourse: the participants should be understood as the constant entities. A conceptual frame is not just linguistic knowledge of a certain lexical item.

In this study, when I draw an illustration of an event CC, I may not describe detailed information of the frame, but simply specify only information necessary for it. In particular, semantic roles might be omitted for the purpose of discussion in many cases. But, if necessary, a more detailed illustration of the status of CCs is possible. Detailed illustration for the processing of an utterance in (4) can be demonstrated as in Figure 3.9.

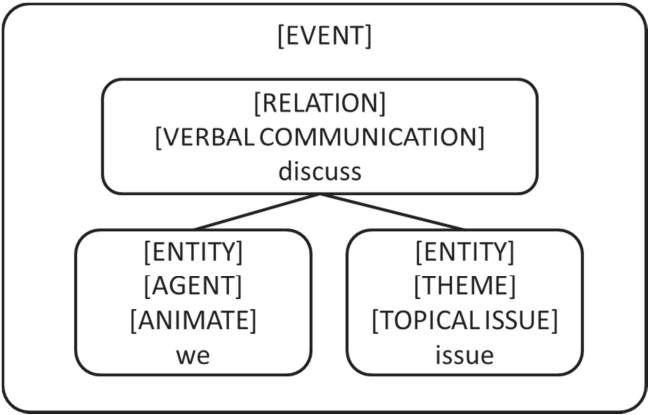


Figure 3.9

The conceptual content of each component CC is represented by the lexical items which are used to construct the CC. As I mentioned, however, it does not mean that their content is limited to their linguistically coded meaning. The semantic role is stipulated for each CC. While the component CC for ‘discuss’ is on the top of the event CC, the component CC for ‘we’ and ‘issue’ are on the bottom. But the positioning of components does not have any significance. In Figure 3.9, *we* and *issue* do not specify any specific content due to the nature of these lexical items. In the actual utterance, *we* signifies a specific group of people and *issue* signifies a specific topic. And such information is taken as the content of CCs. Admittedly, this is a sample CC constructed for an abstract sentence rather than an actual utterance. Even in actual communication, it is possible for a hearer to construct such an abstract CC without any specific information for such

expressions. If this is the case, this event CC may develop to enrich the content for ‘we’ and ‘issue’ in the subsequent part of the discourse.

Since the semantic role is information about participants in an event or a situation, it is determined by a specific event or situation. For this reason, it is not the content of an entity CC. A different semantic role can be assigned to the same entity CC depending on the setting.

(14) I saw a dog. The dog barked at me.

In (14), each of two clauses include *dog* which refers to the same entity. A hearer of this discourse will construct a CC for ‘dog’ from the first sentence and take information from the second sentence into the CC. When the first sentence is processed, the CC for ‘dog’ is introduced as the theme in an event. Then, when the second sentence is processed, the same CC is employed as the agent in another event. Figure 3.10 illustrates the situation.

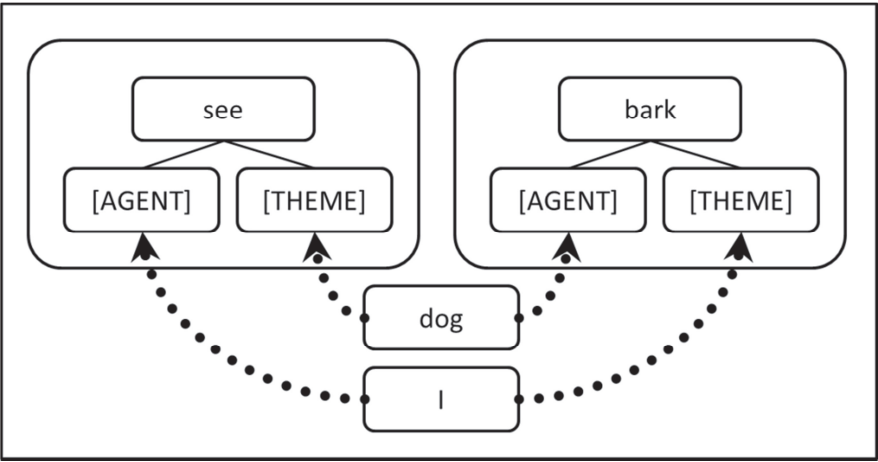


Figure 3.10

The outline box in Figure 10 depicts the entire cognitive environment of the hearer of (14). The hearer subsequently constructs two event CCs for ‘see’ and ‘bark’. On the other hand, the entity CCs for ‘I’ and ‘dog’ are constructed by the hearer. Dotted arrows in the figure demonstrate the flow of information. The semantic role of the entity CCs is determined by their association with other CCs such as the frame CC or other participants. Semantic roles are a part of an event frame and, seen from a CC, frequently changeable according to the online processing of the discourse. In the case above, the frame CC is mainly determined by syntactic information in the utterances.

But, a frame CC is not necessarily determined by linguistic information.

Another aspect of the changeable nature of a CC is the distinction between entity and relation. Whether a CC is an entity or relation is not the content of a CC. An entity CC can be developed into a relational CC and vice versa. (15) is an example which examines this issue.

(15) We discussed the issue for a long time. The discussion made us tired.

From the first sentence in (15), the hearer constructs an event CC about ‘discuss’. In the CC, ‘we’ and ‘issue’ are respectively arranged as the agent and the theme in the event. This is shown as Phase 1 in Figure 3.11. When the hearer processes the second sentence in (15), this CC will develop as illustrated in Phase 2.

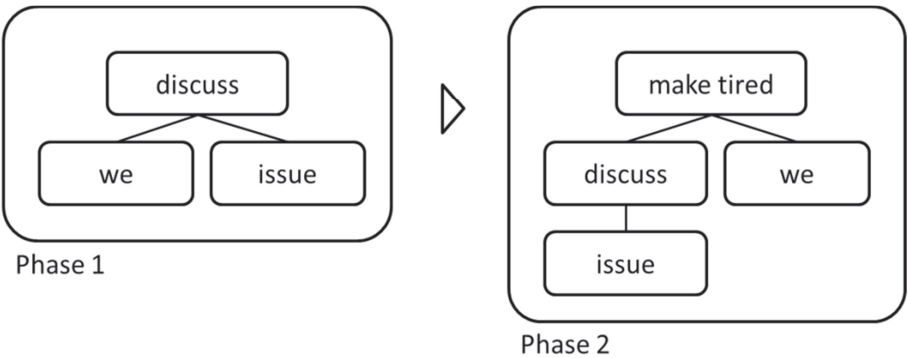


Figure 3.11

In Phase 1 of this figure, a CC for ‘discuss’ plays a role to determine the relation between ‘we’ and ‘issue’, but the same CC functions as the agent in Phase 2. In this process, types of CC for ‘discuss’ shifts from relation to entity. In some cases a CC can be construed as a relation type, and in other cases the same CC can be an entity. This signifies that the distinction between relation and entity is not essential information for a CC, but relative information, which is determined when the CC is associated with other CCs in a certain event or a situation. When a word is inputted as part of an utterance, the meaning of the word can be understood as an entity or relation according to the lexical information of the word. However, in the course of discourse processing, when the CC is associated with other CCs, the initial feature of entity or relation will not necessarily be preserved. Considering the conceptual operation involved in the production of utterances in (15) from a speaker’s standpoint, it can be said that the speaker constructs a CC for ‘discuss’ and introduces it as a relational CC for the first

time and then reuses it as an entity CC when convenient. From the hearer's stand point, similar operations will be examined in this study based on observations of actual SI performances.

Regarding the type conversion of CCs, Funayama (2006) assumes that an event CC can also be converted into a property type, and vice versa. This constitutes another instance of the fluid nature of CCs.

Furthermore, due to the nested structure of CCs, an event CC or a property CC can be embedded to a superordinate CC as a participant in it. Considering the relation between linguistic and conceptual systems from the speaker's standpoint, this structural nature of concepts might provide a cognitive basis for some linguistic operations: embedding a clause as a grammatical subject or object of a sentence at a higher level or referring the content of a clause by demonstratives such as *it*, *that* or *so*.

Before concluding this section, I will address the distinction between an event CC and a proposition. Since relation and participant CCs are to an event CC what a predicate and its arguments are to a proposition, an event CC shares commonality with a proposition. The two representations, however, require different amounts of minimum information. While an event CC can be constructed from one relation CC and one participant CC, a proposition requires further information such as aspect, modality and distinction of affirmation and negation. In (12), for example, an event CC can be constructed even when the content of 'we' and 'issue' is abstract. On the other hand, in order to construct a proposition from (12), 'we' and 'issue' need to be enriched with conceptual content, otherwise its truth value cannot be determined. An event CC can be highly schematic as shown in Figure 3.7. Due to the incremental nature of CCs, at the initial stage of its development, an event CC can be schematic. When the CC develops in the course of discourse processing, it will acquire all of the information necessary to be understood as a proposition. In other words, a CC can contain propositional information. When the CC is further enriched, other information such as a viewpoint which determines the voice can be included and the viewpoint is liable to appear when the content of the CC is expressed in a linguistic expression. The content of a CC is not limited to information which can be encoded in a linguistic expression. A CC can contain any kind of multi modal information, including visual images, episodic memory and personal emotions which are evoked by the utterance processing.

CCs examined in this section are seemingly capable of construction based purely upon linguistic information. However, in the next section, I will examine the contribution of non-linguistic information to the construction of CCs.

### 3.5 Resources of a CC

In this study, I discuss the CC as a mental construct which is formed during discourse processing. As such, linguistic expression is an important resource for CCs, but it is not the only resource. As well as the immediate linguistic expressions in the discourse, a hearer perceives other non-linguistic information from the external environment, which includes information on the setting (climate of the place, events around the hearer), information on the speaker (facial expressions, gestures, personality, profile, role in the conversation), and, if any, information on other participants. In terms of information from the external environment, it follows that linguistic expressions and non-linguistic information are available for a hearer. On the other hand, however, non-linguistic information which contributes to the construction of CCs is not limited to that from the external environment of the hearer. There are further two types of non-linguistic resources to construct CCs from the hearer's cognitive environment. These are the various forms of background information and the history of CCs, which is constructed from the previous part of the discourse. Therefore, there are four types of resources for the online construction of CCs: immediate linguistic information from the discourse, non-linguistic information from the external environment, the history of CCs and background information.

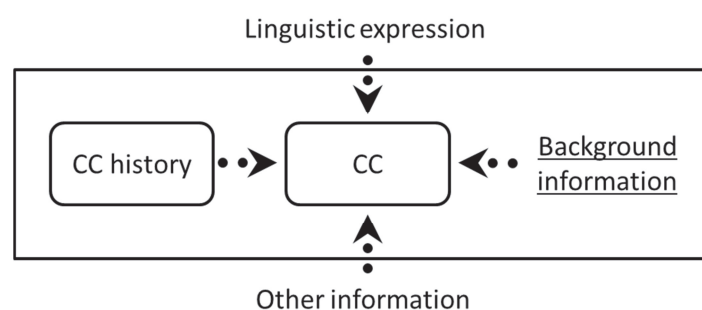


Figure 3.12

Figure 3.12 is an illustration of four types of resources used in the construction of CCs. The outline box in this figure signifies the entire cognitive environment of the interpreter. Dotted arrows in the figure signify information flow, which describe the relation of the source to the products of the information. Of four types of information, two of them are derived from the external environment. The other two are from the hearer's cognitive environment. For a written translator, not only the upper-stream of a discourse but also the down-stream can be a source of contextual information. However, for a simultaneous interpreter, due to the online nature of the task, the only the

upper-stream of a discourse can be part of the context. The content of the information and the online development of the CCs will be closely explored in this case study. The resources used to construct the CCs are listed in (16).

- (16) a. Linguistic expressions
- b. Linguistic knowledge
- c. World knowledge
- d. Knowledge about the subject
- e. Communication setting
- f. Introduction of the utterances
- g. History of CCs

In (16), linguistic information is classified into linguistic expressions and linguistic knowledge. Linguistic knowledge is hearer's knowledge of the grammar of the language in use and it includes phonetic, syntactic and semantic knowledge. While, linguistic knowledge comes from the internal resources held by the hearer, linguistic expressions are actual physical linguistic sounds from the external environment of the hearer. When necessary, they are separately examined. On the other hand, items from (16c) to (16g) are non-linguistic information, called contextual information. These are classified into background information and conceptual information. Background information can be classified into two in accordance with the source of information: existing knowledge and situational information. Existing knowledge consists of world knowledge and knowledge about the topic. Situational knowledge is from the external environment and includes the setting of communication and the introduction of the utterances. Therefore, if resources of information are classified into the external and internal environment, information from the external environment consists of linguistic expressions, the setting of the communication, and introduction of the utterances and others derived from the internal environment. Another important factor of contextual information is history of CCs. It is conceptual information, which consists of contextual information with background information. As showed by its name, the history of CCs is the accumulation of CCs constructed from previous part of discourse. Thus, all the aforementioned items are involved in determination of this factor. Also, once constructed, a CC will be included in the history of CCs. Thus, construction of a CC for the immediate part of the discourse will interact with the history of CCs, causing dynamic development of CCs throughout the course of discourse processing.

The classification of information is summarised in Table 3.1. The nature of each item of information will be addressed in Part II and Part III of this study.

a	Linguistic expressions	Linguistic		
b	Linguistic knowledge			
c	World knowledge	Contextual	Background	Existing
d	Knowledge about the subject			Situational
e	Communication setting		Constructed	
f	Introduction of the utterances			
g	History of CCs			

Table 3.1

In the example in the last section, the semantic roles of the participants are syntactically designated as linguistic information. However, the source of information used to determine semantic roles as well as other types of information is not necessarily given as linguistic information related to a verb phrase.

- (17) a. Mrs Dalloway's story  
b. Virginia Woolf's story

While Mrs Dalloway can be understood as the theme of the story in (17a), Virginia Woolf is the author of the story in (17b). However, the semantic roles of the participants are not expressed in these phrases. On the contrary, there is no event expressed in them. In order to understand 'Mrs Dalloway' in (17a) as the main character of a novel, the hearer must at least be aware of the existence of the novel *Mrs Dalloway*, even if he/she does not know the author. In order to understand 'Virginia Woolf' in (17b) as the author of the story, the hearer must at least be aware of the existence of the novelist whose name is Virginia Woolf. The source of such knowledge is background knowledge about the topic. Figure 3.13 is a demonstration of comprehension of (17a).

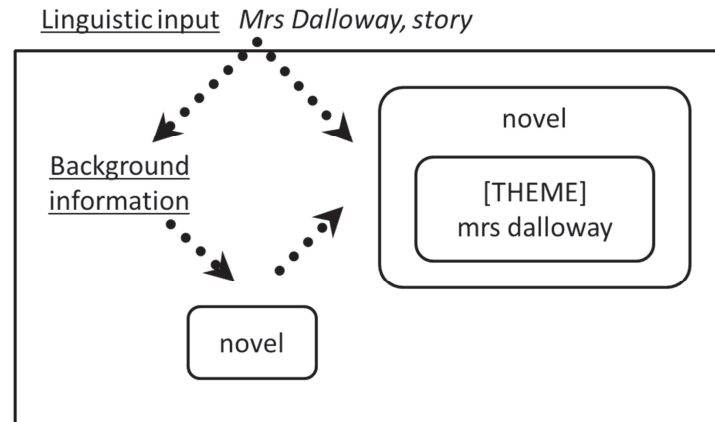


Figure 3.13

When (17a) is inputted as linguistic information, this will evoke cognitive elements of 'Mrs Dalloway' and 'story'. At the same time, background knowledge is activated in the hearer's cognitive environment to produce a CC for 'novel' as a product of a writing event. Then these components are merged to compose a CC. In this figure, a CC for 'novel' might be retained as 'story', because *story* is the lexical input for the CC. Another CC for 'Mrs Dalloway' is incorporated in the 'novel' CC as the theme of the novel since the content of CC is constructed from background knowledge of the novel. However, this is only one of several possible scenarios to understand (17a). Another hearer may understand 'Mrs Dalloway' as no more than the title of a novel, not as the name of the main character. Or, if the hearer does not know the novel, he/she might think Mrs Dalloway is the name of an author. Likewise, if a hearer does not have sufficient knowledge on English modernist literature, he/she might believe Virginia Woolf to be the name of characters in the story. Since the construction of CCs is not simply an operation of linguistic information, the status of background knowledge may affect how a hearer understands a discourse. From this perspective, the CC model will provide an explanation for individual differences among hearers or differences of understanding by the same hearer on different occasions.

I will not address the role of non-linguistic information from the external environment and the history of CCs from these examples. These will be closely examined based on actual SI performance in Part III, when I examine the online development of CCs. The next section will provide a preliminary discussion on the online development of CCs.



### 3.6 Construction of CCs and discourse processing

In this section I will provide a sample description of the construction of CCs during discourse processing through a brief example. When an expression is inputted from the ST, relevant information is searched for and activated within the interpreter's cognitive environment. Then CCs are constructed so that the organisation of the CCs (content, grouping, combination, assignment) is coherent and plausible. Johnson-Laird (1983, p.370) examined the coherence and plausibility of a discourse in relation to mental models. I will arrange his discussion for this study. Each entity CC evoked by expressions from the ST and their relation or property CC must be consistently supported by co-referential factors in a discourse. At the same time, CCs should represent plausible content. The plausibility of CCs depends on a temporal, spatial, causal and intentional framework. When coherent CCs are constructed, it is possible to construct a single mental model.

In order to demonstrate the contribution of non-linguistic background information and mental models to the online development of CCs, I will simulate comprehension of a mini discourse in (18).

(18) Betty went to a supermarket for eggs. She dropped her basket on her way home.  
Eggs might have been broken.

Three clauses in (18) can be understood as a plot composed by a series of events. For this understanding, a hearer is supposed to construct CCs for 'Betty' or 'eggs' from the linguistic information in (18). But explicit linguistic information in (18) is not sufficient in itself to make the assumptions necessary to construct a coherent and plausible CC. In order to understand that the third clause in (18) is the consequence of the second, assumptions in (19) must be made.

- (19) a. Betty went to a supermarket to buy eggs.  
b. Eggs are fragile.  
c. Eggs were in Betty's basket.  
d. Eggs fell down with Betty's basket.  
e. Eggs have been bought.

Among these assumptions, (19a) is required to understand the first sentence in (18). Information on buying activity is not explicit in the sentence, but it is likely for a hearer to understand this sentence with this assumption. From (19b) to (19e) are assumptions

necessary to understand the link between the second sentence and the third. To make these assumptions, the background information listed in (20) is required in addition to linguistic information from (18).

- (20) a. General purpose of a visit to a supermarket
- b. The nature of eggs
- c. Usage of a basket
- d. Construal of inclusion relation
- e. General scenario of shopping

The items listed in (20) are information stored in the hearer’s long-term memory and activated in order to process the discourse in (18). Considering each item’s contribution to the online construction of CCs, (20a) is recalled when the hearer listened to *went to a supermarket* to construct a CC on ‘shopping’. In this case, ‘shopping’ is a default value as a purpose of visiting a supermarket, supplementing linguistic information of the first sentence in (18). (20c) is taken into a CC for ‘basket’ and (20b) is taken into a CC for ‘eggs’. Two CCs for ‘eggs’ and ‘basket’ are integrated due to (20c) and (20d). What is the operational mechanism of this integration? Figure 3.14 shows the online development of the CCs involved in this case.

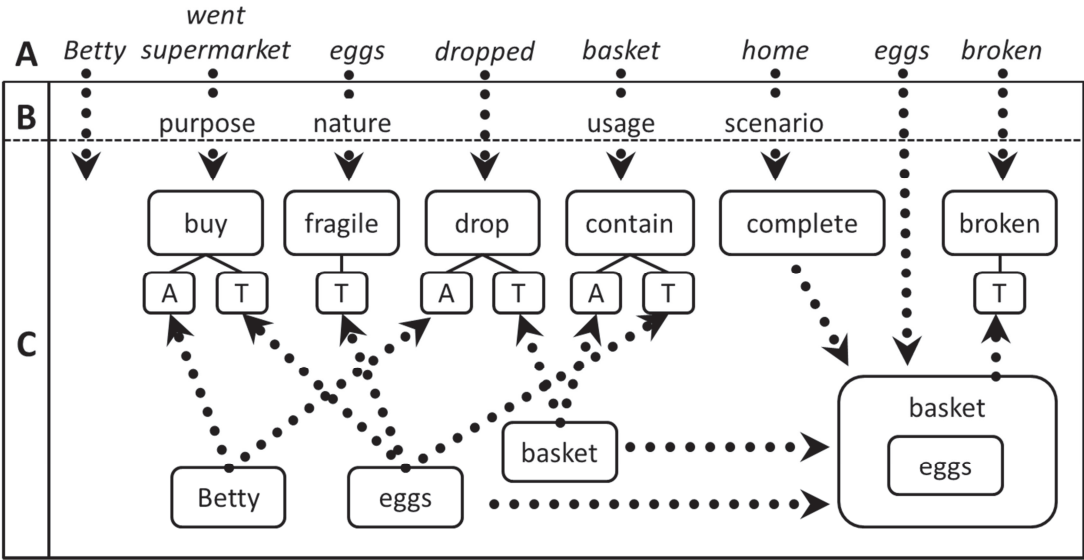


Figure 3.14

The outline box in this figure shows the cognitive environment of the hearer, which consists of three layers. Layer A shows principle linguistic expressions inputted from

(18). Layer B shows the type of activated background information of the hearer. Layer C demonstrates the online development of construction of CCs. This figure focuses on entity CCs and event (or property) CCs. Each event (or property) CC accommodates at least two componential CCs for the event as well as its participant. “A” and “T” stands for agent and theme respectively. Dotted arrows represent information flow. The temporal progress of this development is to be understood in horizontal direction from the left to the right in the figure.

As a possible explanation, when the hearer listened to *Betty*, a CC for ‘Betty’ is constructed. (Note 2) Next, input of *went supermarket* evokes background information on ‘shopping’ (20a) to construct a CC on buying activity. As the agent of the buying activity, ‘Betty’ is associated with ‘buy’ (19a). When *eggs* is inputted, a CC is constructed and associated with ‘buy’ as the theme of the event. It is conceivable that the input of *eggs* can activate the nature of eggs as ‘fragile’ (20b), (19b), but the relevancy of this information is yet to be examined. When *dropped her basket* is inputted, ‘Betty’ is associated with a CC for ‘drop’ as the agent and ‘basket’ is associated with the patient. The input of *basket* may activate information on the use of basket (20c) and a CC for ‘contain’ may be constructed, associating ‘basket’ and ‘eggs’ in relation of inclusion. But, at this juncture, this inclusion (20d), (19c) is just a hypothesis. Due to the input of *home*, based on a general scenario of shopping (20e), the hearer’s assumption on completion of shopping (19e) can be strengthened. After the confirmation of ‘shopping is completed’, ‘eggs’ and ‘basket’ are integrated. This integration of two CCs enables a bridging inference. Finally, when *broken* was inputted, suspended assumptions of (19b), (19c) are confirmed, and the hearer understands that the eggs fell down with the basket (19d).

In this explanation, the resources of the CCs for ‘buy’, ‘fragile’, ‘contain’, ‘completion’ are not explicit linguistic information, but originated from background information. This shows the indispensable role of non-linguistic resources in discourse processing. Among them, the assumption of ‘shopping is completed’ contributes to the whole concept made from the first and the second sentences in this discourse rather than to the conceptualisation of a specific linguistic expression in it. The assumption of ‘shopping is completed’ is based on a general shopping scenario. This assumption strengthens the assumption of inclusion relation between ‘basket’ and ‘eggs’. Construal of this inclusion is supported by background information on the uses of a basket. Both the shopping scenario and uses of a basket are not given as linguistic information. If they are integrated to understand the discourse, it is conceivable that a mental model (Johnson-Laird, 1983) is constructed for the situation of ‘fall of a basket with eggs’. Because of this model, the fragile nature of eggs can help the hearer understand why

the eggs are broken, though this recognition may be implicit.

As well as linguistic information, the construction of mental models involves various forms of cognitive resources such as prototype (Lakoff, 1987) and schema (Langacker, 1987). Both mental models and prototype/schema are non-linguistic representations supported by world knowledge. However, whereas mental models are concepts constructed in working memory for utterance comprehension, image schema is knowledge stored in long-term memory. Cognitive resources such as prototype or schema play an important role in the construction of mental models. Prototype and schema give default values for variables of mental models (Johnson-Laird, 1983, p.446). The same can be said for the relation between mental models and other similar cognitive resources such as script (Schank & Abelson, 1977), frame (Minsky, 1985; Fillmore, 1982), simulator (Barsalou, 1999) or cognitive models (Evans, 2009).

The case above is a sample discourse and the comprehension process involved in it can be described with nothing more than general knowledge. Actual discourse comprehension is more complicated because it involves the history of CCs and a wider range of background information. Funayama (2007, p.112) suggests that “the concepts concerning the general topic of discourse, the position of the source speaker, and other general environment of discourse as well as those which have emerged in the preceding context are operated on at the same conceptual level in this model”. In addition, it should be noted that the construction of CCs shown in this sample is one of numerous possible scenarios by an assumed standard hearer of this mini-discourse. Due to the variety of background knowledge or contextual factors, other possibilities of CCs are also conceivable. Concerning the actual development of CCs, in this study, I will analyse how CCs are constructed through an interaction between linguistic and non-linguistic information, based on observations of SI performances (Part II and III).

### **3.7 Summary**

The CC model provides the theoretical framework of this study. This model is contrived to describe the online development of concepts constructed during utterance comprehension. As a concept-oriented model of a semantic representation, a CC, of which the content is basically non-linguistic, is derived from both linguistic and non-linguistic information so as to represent conceptualised content.

In the first section, I introduced the basic notion of the model. In the second section, the basic nature of a CC was presented. Then, the potential of this descriptive device was demonstrated through description of some examples, which included a case of a bridging reference. In the third section, the fluid and non-linguistic nature of a CC was

argued. In the fourth section, the grouping of CCs was examined. A group of CCs can form an event CC or a property CC, which means that CCs can form a nested structure. Also, a conceptual frame can be constructed as an aspect of an event CC. A conceptual frame is considered to be an aspect of a mental model (Johnson-Laird, 1983). The possibility of type conversion (from entity to relation/from event to property) was also suggested as part of the fluid nature of a CC. In the fifth section, the role of non-linguistic information was examined. A CC consists of linguistic information, background information and the history of CCs. Further classification of information type in this model was attempted. In the sixth section, based on a sample of mini-discourse, the construction of CCs and contribution of cognitive resources were demonstrated. This was just one possible scenario of many by an assumed standard hearer. At this point, the actual development of CCs should be examined through observations of SI performances. This seventh section has presented a summary of the chapter.

The notation system for the model was also introduced in this chapter. I will adopt this notation as a descriptive device for the rest of this study.

Note 1: There is little agreement as to the number or the terms of participants' roles. But as the classification of participants' roles is not part of this study, agent-like participants (e.g. an instrument) and others (e.g. a goal) are also referred to as themes.

Note 2: A dotted arrow from an expression of *Betty* to a CC for 'Betty' is omitted for the purpose of simplification. The same omission is adopted for 'eggs' and 'basket'.

## Part II

### Case studies

With the introductory part of this study complete it is time to move on to the application of the approach in specific cases. By close observation of actual SI performances, some perceptible differences can be found between the ST and the TT without, however, any substantial deterioration in the sense of the message as intended by the speaker. Generating gaps between the ST and the TT of this kind is not the interpreter's intention. However, it is often the case with experienced and skilled interpreters' performances that these gaps are not just accidental errors or failures, but a reflection of the essential cognitive processes involved in discourse comprehension and the SI based upon it. This study takes examples of SI performance which contain instances of the aforementioned differences in order to explore the mental processes of an interpreter at work.

Perceptible differences between the ST and the TT can be generated at each stage of the SI from the input of the ST through the output of the TT. At various stages of linguistic processing starting from the perception of physical sounds, the formulation of phonetic, syntactic and semantic representations can cause such differences. Some of these are accidental and not essential for SI. While these linguistic differences are defined as superficial, some conceptual operations are involved in SI performance. In this study, it is the differences which reflect such conceptual operations which are targeted.

This part consists of two chapters. First of all, the status of mental representations which are retained for a considerably long time will be examined through repetitive translations of an element in the ST (Chapter 4). This analysis corroborates the CC model which assumes the existence of non-linguistic representations and the conceptual nature of discourse processing. In Chapter 5, a more structured aspect of CCs will be explored. The Japanese morpheme *sase*, which signifies the causative relation between participants in an event, will be focused on in order to explore the construction of CCs involved in causative events. Through these observations, I will trace how causative event CCs are structured from a variety of sources.

## **4. Conceptual retention**

### **4.1 Introduction**

The basic assumption with CC models is that a hearer of an utterance constructs semantic representations as a form of non-linguistic conceptual representation using linguistic and non-linguistic resources. The basic stance taken in this study is that meaning construction by an interpreter during SI performance can be traced drawing on the CC model and that description of an interpreter's cognitive operation will be an instance which justifies the deverbalization advocated by Seleskovitch (1978/1998). However, within the history of interpreting studies, this notion has proven to be one of the most controversial topics, as mentioned in Chapter 2. In order to examine the cognitive status of an interpreter during SI, therefore, the first task should be examination of the existence of conceptual operation based on empirical data analysis. Since all of the analysis found in this study is based on actual SI performances, this study as a whole supports the notion of deverbalization. This chapter, however, will focus upon the existence of a non-linguistic representation in itself as the first step for examination.

In the sample to be analysed in this case study, a case of conceptual retention will be observed through an interpreter's repetitive translation. In SI performance, interpreters sometimes repeatedly translate a single instance of a ST expression into the TT. If an interpreter's performance is just a case of code-switching from the ST to the TT, this phenomenon would not appear in the data. In order for an interpreter to attempt such an operation, he/she has to retain the corresponding information until the last attempt of the repeated translation. Do interpreters retain this information as a linguistic representation? My answer is no. Interpreters' retention must be conceptual, which therefore means non-linguistic. The objective of this chapter is exploration of the non-linguistic nature of a conceptual representation on the basis of a sample from an actual SI performance.

### **4.2 Repetitive translation**

The sample analysed in this chapter is a part of R-6, which is a speech delivered by the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair on 8th July 2005 at a media conference immediately following the G8 Gleneagles Summit in the UK. To conclude the summit, Blair talked

about his expectations for the summit as prime minister of the host country.

(1)

- E 074 succeeding in resolving this issue. What I wanted to do therefore at this summit was establish the following,  
J 074 ば、私たち、この問題を解決することなどとうてい出来ません。ですから私たち、このサミットで目指し
- E 075 and I believe we have done this. I wanted an agreement  
J 075 たことは、次のようなことであります。私たちはこの成果をあげることが出来たと思います。
- E 076 that this was indeed a problem, that climate change is a problem,  
J 076 まず私としては、 え、これが本当に問題であるということを認識したいと思いました。
- E 077 that human activity is contributing to it, and that we have to tackle it;  
J 077 気候変動が問題であると、え、そして人間の活動がその原因であると、え、そして我々これに対応しなく
- E 078 secondly, that we have to tackle it with urgency; thirdly,  
J 078 てはいけないという合意を達成しようと思いました。そしてまたこれは急務であるということの認識も
- E 079 that in order to do that we have to slow down, stop and then in time reverse the rising  
J 079 必要でした。3番目。それをするためには私たちは、この、排出量の増加を抑え、そして最終的には
- E 080 greenhouse gas emissions; and finally, we have to  
J 080 それを削減しなくてはいけないということ、これを合意したいと思いました。そして
- E 081 put in place a pathway to a new dialogue when Kyoto expires in 2012.  
J 081 最後になりますけれども私たちはこの新たな対話のために道筋を え、特に2012年
- E 082 And what we have agreed is a dialogue between the G8 countries and others, but most particularly the five that came to  
J 082 京都議定書が期限を迎える後のための 対話の道筋を築かなくてはなりません。それは、G8諸国と
- E 083 Gleneagles yesterday, and that dialogue will be on  
J 083 そして 今回グリーンイーグルスへきてくださった5ヶ国との間の対話がまずは必要であります。
- E 084 how we confront and tackle this problem. It is combined in addition, with a specific plan  
J 084 の対話は、いかに我々がこの問題に対応することができるかに関する対話であります。

I will pay attention to the repeated translation of “agreement” (E075). This “agreement” (E075) is the grammatical object of a sentence, followed on six occasions by *that*, which refers to the content of the “agreement” (E075). The expression of “agreement” (E075) appeared only once in the ST, whereas in the corresponding translations it appeared



four times in the TT; as “*ninshiki*” (recognition) at J076 and J078, and “*goui*” (agreement) at J078 and J080. The interpreter used two different lexical items in the TT to translate a single instance of a ST expression. The other two instances of *that* from the six which had the same function were processed without a corresponding expression of “agreement” (E075). This variation of interpreting performance is not a result of the polysemy of the word *agreement*, but reflects the interpreter’s mental status during construal of the information. Table 4.1 shows the various ways in which the interpreter translated “I wanted an agreement” (E075) in the same discourse.

Position	Expressions (ST/TT)	Back translation
E075	I wanted an agreement	
J076	<i>ninshiki-shi-tai-to omoi-mashi-ta</i>	thought that I wanted to recognize
J078	<i>goui-wo tassei-shi-you-to omoi-mashi-ta</i>	thought I will reach an agreement
J078	<i>ninshiki-mo hitsuyou-deshi-ta</i>	recognition was also necessary
J080	<i>goui-shi-tai-to omoi-mashi-ta</i>	thought that I wanted to agree

Table 4.1

Input of the ST expression “I wanted an agreement” is found at E075. And the last attempt of repeated translation of this part is “*goui-shi-tai-to omoi-mashi-ta*” (thought that I wanted to agree: J080). This performance demonstrates that the interpreter retained this information at least until the last attempt. The nature of semantic representation retained by the interpreter for this SI performance will be examined in the following sections.

### 4.3 Textual motivation of the retention

In this part of the SI performance, a single instance of “I want an agreement” (E075) was translated four times in the TT. This performance reveals that the interpreter retained that information at least until the last attempt of the repeated translations. In this section, the motivation behind the retention will be examined through the linguistic structure of ST. *That*-clauses are used on six occasions to describe the content of the “agreement” (E075). “*Ninshiki*” (recognition: J076, J078) and “*goui*” (agreement: J078, J080) were used to fill slots specified by the *that*-clauses. If the interpreter had implemented a policy of saturating those slots with corresponding expressions of “agreement” (E075), then those expressions should have appeared six times in the TT as well. Temporal correspondence between the ST and the TT shows that the interpreter

was listening to the second “that” (E076) while processing the first *that*-clause (E076) as “*ninshiki-shi-tai-to omoi-mashi-ta*” (thought that I wanted to recognise: J076). The interpreter was also processing the second “that” (E076), when she was listening to the third “that” (E077). At this moment, it is observed that the interpreter recognised the sentence structure as having a plurality of *that*-clauses in parallel and discarded her policy of saturating all the slots specified by the *that*-clauses. As a result of this, the second *that*-clause (E076) was translated as “*kikou-hendou-ga mondai-de-aruto*” (that climate change is a problem: J077) and the third *that*-clause (E077) was translated as “*soshite ningen-no katsudou-ga sono gennin-de-aruto*” (and that human activity is its cause: J077). In both cases, “that” was processed without saturating slots. The fourth *that*-clause was translated as “*goui-wo tassei-shi-you-to omoi-mashi-ta*” (thought I will reach an agreement: J078) and “*goui*” (agreement: J078) corresponded to “agreement” (E075) here. Then, the fifth (E078) and sixth “that” (E079) were translated using “*ninshiki*” (recognition: J078) and “*goui*” (agreement: J080) to respectively fill the slots. Treatments of each *that* is summarised in Table 4.2.

	ST position	TT position	Translation
agreement	E075		
that 1	E076	J076	<i>ninshiki</i>
that 2	E076	J077	φ
that 3	E077	J077	φ
that 4	E077	J078	<i>goui</i>
that 5	E078	J078	<i>ninshiki</i>
that 6	E079	J080	<i>goui</i>

Table 4.2

The interpreter’s treatments of the six *that*-clauses are classified into three types based on the lexical items used to correspond to “agreement” (E075).

- (1) a. Use of *ninshiki* (recognition)
- b. Use of *goui* (agreement)
- c. No use of a corresponding expression (specified as φ in Table 4.2)

In treating the six *that*-clauses, the interpreter produced the TT while retaining information of “agreement” (E075). This retention continued to at least J080. In this section, the motivation of this retention will be addressed on the basis of the textual

feature of the ST.

Halliday & Hasan (1976) introduced the notion of cohesion, a linguistic feature which rendered a set of sentences as an integrated text. Cohesion is defined as the semantic relations between items in a text, and is sub-categorized into reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical cohesion. Among these, reference, substitution and ellipsis are forms of grammatically expressed cohesion and different from lexical cohesion. Conjunction is on the border of grammatical and lexical cohesion and displays properties of both, although principally grammatical ones.

The first *that*-clause (E076) translated with “*ninshiki*” (J076) was placed just after “agreement” (E075). Thanks to this structure, it is easy to recognise this “that” (E076) as a conjunction which represents an appositive relation, showing the content of the “agreement” (E076). As for the second *that*-clause (E076), the head noun which specifies an appositive relation to “agreement” (E075) is omitted. This omission operates as the source of inference of a parallel relation with the first “that” (E076), thereby generating cohesion in the text.

Halliday & Hasan (1976) argue that substitution and ellipsis both share the same function and regard ellipsis as “substitution by zero” (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p.142). The interpreter’s leaving a slot blank can be considered appropriate from the point of view of the reproduction of the ST structure as well as that of cohesion. The second and the third *that*-clauses were dealt with by leaving slots blank, but, in these cases, the interpreter placed traces of ellipsis at the end of the TT expressions by using the Japanese morpheme “*to*” (J077, J077). These treatments suggest the interpreter’s recognition of the ties between the *that*-clauses and “agreement” (E075).

By examining other features of the ST, further elements which may contribute to the generation of cohesion can be found in this text: the source speaker of the ST uses “secondly” (E078) before the fifth *that*-clause (E078), “thirdly” (E078) before the sixth (E079). And in E081, the speaker uses “finally” (E081), but does not use a *that*-clause here. He does not use “first” or “firstly” in this speech, but it seems that he was counting the number of contents corresponding to “agreement” (E075). It cannot be clearly ascertained whether this “finally” (E081) was used to specify the last item of the contents. The source speaker might have used this expression to conclude the speech. But the source speaker’s intention is not the topic here. The fact is the interpreter did not deliver expressions which connote the recognition of cohesion when she was dealing with the expression after “finally” (E081). Therefore, it can be said that the interpreter was recognising the ties only when the *that*-clauses showed them, and that she released her retention when parallel use of the *that*-clauses finished.

A single utterance of “agreement” (E075) in the ST was dealt with six times in the TT which shows that the six parallel instances of *that* contributed to the cohesion of the text. While this phenomenon can be explained by saying that the cohesion of the ST required the interpreter to retain the corresponding concept of “agreement” (E075), cohesion is not sufficient in itself to explain why three variations are used to deal with the identical “thats” - all of which have the same referent and the same grammatical function. Some other mechanism must be introduced, therefore, to explain this.

#### 4.4 Non-linguistic nature of a CC

In the last section, the motivation for the interpreter to retain information of “I wanted an agreement” (E075) was examined. In this section, it is the non-linguistic nature of the retained mental representation which will be explored.

The “agreement” (E075) in the ST is a noun and its function is to serve as a grammatical object in a sentence. The interpreter dealt with four of the *that*-clauses by using corresponding lexical items; *ninshiki* (recognition) and *goui* (agreement) were used twice. I will now examine how these expressions were used in the TT.

The first “that” (E076) was processed into “*ninshiki-shi-tai-to omoi-mashi-ta*” (thought that I wanted to recognise: J076) and “*ninshiki*” (recognition: J076) in this Japanese phrase is part of a *suru*-verb. The predicate of this sentence in the TT is “*omoi-mashi-ta*” (thought: J076), but, in the subordinate clause to specify the content of “*omoi-mashi-ta*” (thought: J076), the part of speech and grammatical relation of “*ninshiki*” (recognition: J076) are different from “agreement” (E075) in the ST. The fourth “that” (E077) was processed into “*goui-wo tassei-shi-you-to omoi-mashi-ta*” (thought I will reach an agreement: J078) and this “*goui*” (agreement: J078) is a grammatical object of “*tassei-shi*” (reach: J078). (Note 1) The fifth “that” (E078) was processed into “*ninshiki-mo hitsuyou-deshi-ta*” (recognition was also necessary: J078) and “*ninshiki*” (recognition: J078) is the grammatical subject to the predicate, “*hitsuyou-deshi-ta*” (was necessary: J079), presenting the topic of this sentence. The last “that” (E079) was processed into “*goui-shi-tai-to omoi-mashi-ta*” (thought that I wanted to agree: J080). This “*goui*” (agree: J080) is part of a *suru*-verb again and this treatment is similar to that of the first one. Treatment of each instance of *that* in this part of SI performance is summarised in Table 4.3.

	Lexical item	Part of speech	Grammatical relation
agreement		Noun	Object
that 1	<i>ninshiki</i>	Part of <i>suru</i> -verb	Predicate
that 2	φ		
that 3	φ		
that 4	<i>goui</i>	Noun	Object
that 5	<i>ninshiki</i>	Noun	Subject
that 6	<i>goui</i>	Part of <i>suru</i> -verb	Predicate

Table 4.3

When the interpreter was producing the TT, in order to fill the slots specified by six *that*-clauses, the original “agreement” (E075) was used as a common item, but the part of speech and grammatical relation found in the ST were not preserved. In terms of the choice of lexical item, three variants were observed in the TT, but, when the part of speech and grammatical relation are taken into account, still greater diversity is revealed in the interpreter’s performance than that suggested by the three variants. Although six *that*-clauses are present in the same discourse which relate to the same object and have the same function, the interpreter dealt with them using a different lexical item, part of speech and grammatical relation each time. So far, the lexical items corresponding to “agreement” (E075) have been focused, but, when “I wanted an agreement” (E075) is analysed as a whole, the diversity of the interpreter’s performance becomes still more obvious.

Since the second and subsequent *that*-clauses did not have an antecedent noun, in order to faithfully translate the ST structure into the TT, the interpreter had to leave all of the corresponding slots blank. The second and the third *that*-clauses were treated according to this principle, but further cases did not follow this line, which causes differences between the ST and the TT. It is possible that the interpreter sought to avoid monotonous performance and to some extent consciously added some variety to the TT. Furthermore, it is not rare in actual SI performance for the part of speech and grammatical relations to be changed. Does an interpreter retain the linguistic representations of the ST and change their grammatical structure and select various lexical items when he/she has to deal with the same expression many times? It does not seem a reasonable explanation.

More likely, this performance suggests that linguistic information such as lexical items, parts of speech and grammatical relations were not included in the information retained by the interpreter, though some form of information on “I wanted an

agreement” (E075) was consistently retained in the cognitive environment of the interpreter, motivated by the cohesion generated by the six *that*-clauses. These linguistic features seemed to be assigned to the TT expression on the spot, each time the cognitive element was required. In other words, the semantic representation for “agreement” (E075) was retained without a specific linguistic form. If we follow the definition of language as a combination of a form and the coded meaning within it, this semantic representation is not a linguistic representation. And meaning without form is a concept. Therefore, it can now be said, within the bounds of the terminology in use, that the interpreter constructed a CC for “agreement” (E075) for this part of the SI performance. As Funayama (2007, 2008) suggests, CCs are constructed based on linguistic units, when an interpreter comprehends a discourse, but the CCs are separate from linguistic representations of both the ST and the TT.

In this case, what is it that generated such a variety of TT expressions? While *goui* (agreement) is a normal dictionary meaning corresponding to *agreement*, *ninshiki* (recognition) is not a common translation of *agreement*. Since *ninshiki* (recognition) is not a normal polysemic alternative of *agreement* found in an ordinary dictionary, this performance was not the result of an attempt at disambiguation of the ST. Nevertheless, *ninshiki* (recognition) in J076 and J078 fit naturally into the TT discourse, and it can be said that this performance successfully conveys the message intended in the ST. As necessary conditions for this interpreting performance, the agent for the event of *ninshiki* (recognition) must be understood as ‘all the participants of the summit’ and the substantial content of *ninshiki-suru* (recognise) must be ‘to share common recognition’ as an ad-hoc meaning. Furthermore, as the basis of these conditions, it is conceivable that the interpreter constructed the CC for ‘summit’ as ‘a meeting for leaders from major countries gathering at the same place to share common recognition on specific issues.’ This CC is based on world knowledge and background information of a summit, and an ordinary Japanese speaker can duly understand the meaning of the expression.

The ST expression, “What I wanted to do therefore at this summit was establish the following” at E074, enabled the interpreter to understand that the source speaker would subsequently be talking about achievements of the summit. The source of the ad-hoc meaning mentioned above was comprehension of the previous part of the ST, which is, in other words, the history of CCs. It follows that the selection of “*ninshiki*” (recognition: J076) for this part of the TT was based on construction of CCs for the previous part of the ST. When the interpreter produced “*ninshiki*” (recognition: J076), she had conceptualised information on ‘agreement’ (E075) and constructed a CC for that.

On the other hand, *goui* (agreement), another lexical item in the TT which corresponds to “agreement” (E075), is a common lexical item which can be found in any dictionary. Only the most superficial of operations would have been sufficient in the selection of this lexical item, but the interpreter might well have comprehended the discourse through just as deep a process as that used in the case of *ninshiki* (recognition).

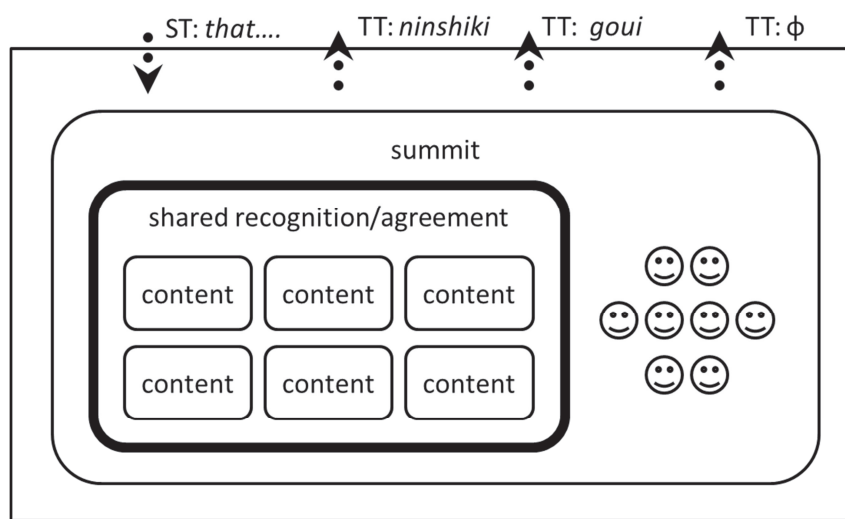


Figure 4.1

Figure 4.1 illustrates the status of the CCs constructed by the interpreter which enables various treatments of *that*-clauses in her SI performance. The outline box in Figure 4.1 is the interpreter’s cognitive environment. The interpreter constructed a CC for ‘summit’ to deal with this discourse and retained a CC for ‘agreement’ as a part of the superordinate CC of the summit. In this way, CCs can form a nested structure. When the six *that*-clauses were input from the ST, the interpreter recognised the tie between each “that” and “agreement” (E075) and equally recognised each *that*-clause as the content of recognition shared by participants of the summit. The outline of the CC for ‘shared recognition’ is highlighted because it is the target of retention motivated by coherence of the ST. It should be noted that the content of the CC is not limited to these elements. It is supposed that various types of conceptual information must be contained within it. In this illustration, the participants of the summit are described by face marks so as to symbolize the non-linguistic nature of the information in the CC.

In order to treat these *that*-clauses, the interpreter chose “*ninshiki*” (recognition: J076) as a corresponding lexical item to “agreement” (E075) the first time, and after that, she chose another expression “*goui*” (agreement: J078). She then subsequently



used both “*ninshiki*” (recognition: J078) and “*goui*” (agreement: J080) again. If the interpreter had judged that “*ninshiki*” (recognition: J076) was not an appropriate lexical item for “agreement” (E075) and had therefore switched to “*goui*” (agreement: J078) when dealing with the fourth *that*-clause, she would have had no reason to return to “*ninshiki*” (recognition: J078) later, as she did for the fifth *that*-clause. “*Ninshiki*” (recognition: J076, J078) cannot be retrieved without resorting to a deeper mental process than that required for “*goui*” (agreement: J078, J080). After examining the usage of both lexical items in the TT, no significant motivation for the interpreter can be identified for making a distinction between them: both lexical items were judged as appropriate by the interpreter.

Considering the online nature of the construction of CCs, the aforementioned CCs for ‘summit’ and ‘agreement’ must have developed in accordance with discourse processing for this part. However, at least in terms of the cognitive element of ‘agreement’, there seems to have been no difference for the interpreter when making a distinction between *ninshiki* (recognition) and *goui* (agreement). Thus, one can say that the selection of the TT expression between “*ninshiki*” (recognition) and “*goui*” (agreement) for this part does not reflect the content of the CC. Because of its non-linguistic nature, the content of a CC is fluid. While this fluidity enables a CC to develop flexibly in the course of discourse processing, it makes a CC elusive and volatile. In order to keep track of the identity of a CC, some salient elements in the CC serve as a cognitive tag or c-tag (Funayama 2002, 2005), which is considered to be commonly associated with a linguistic form in either the SL or the TL. In this case, it is conceivable that the CC had two c-tags for ‘*ninshiki*’ (recognition) and ‘*goui*’ (agreement) with no significant distinction between the two, and the interpreter employed one of them for the convenience of formulation of TT expressions.

Now that the non-linguistic nature of the content of a CC has been instantiated, another aspect of the non-linguistic nature of a CC – besides the content – must be examined. In order to construct these CCs, it was not only the linguistic information provided by the ST that is required, but also a variety of other information available to the interpreter. In the next section, types and sources of information required for this part of SI performance will be analysed.

#### 4.5 Resources of CCs

In this section, the information required for the construction of the CC for ‘agreement’ in this part of the SI performance will be explored. The types of information under study is summarised in Table 4.4.



a	Linguistic expressions	Linguistic		
b	Linguistic knowledge			
c	World knowledge	Contextual	Background	Existing
d	Knowledge about the subject			Situational
e	Communication setting		Constructed	
f	Introduction of the utterances			
g	History of CCs			

Table 4.4

It is impossible to detect the entire information in the cognitive environment of a hearer. However, that is not the aim of this study. This study aims at an explicit description of the construction of CCs during an SI performance. For this purpose, only the information necessary to carry out this performance will be specified. In other words, in order to comprehend and translate this part of the discourse, the interpreter had, at the very least, to retain the information specified in this section. For this case study, each type of information will be addressed in accordance with the categorization of the linguistic information (a, b), the background information (c, d, e, f) and the conceptual information (g).

### ***Linguistic information***

In terms of the construction of CCs in discourse processing, it goes without saying that linguistic information is important. Linguistic information is made up of two components: linguistic expressions from the ST and linguistic knowledge of the SL. The former is received from the external environment and the latter is a part of the existing knowledge in the cognitive environment of the hearer. Basically, this is the necessary information required for the construction of CCs.

If the process of SI is looked at from a more comprehensive perspective, an interpreter has to exercise his/her linguistic knowledge of the TL to formulate the content of CCs into TT expressions. In all likelihood, the interpreter retains some of the TT expressions used for the previous part of the TT and discursive features in the TT in monitoring his/her own performance. It is surmised that an interpreter retains linguistic representations both in the SL and the TL as well as cognitive representations. Although the CC model is a concept-oriented approach to exploring the cognitive mechanism of discourse processing, it does not exclude the existence of linguistic representations as a necessary aspect of SI performance. That said, linguistic

representations of the TT and knowledge of the TL are required for monitoring and production of the TT. Therefore, they have basically nothing to do with the construction of CCs, though they may affect production of the TT at the expression level.

### ***Background information***

Since “I wanted an agreement” (E075) does not provide sufficient information to construct a CC for ‘agreement’ in association with ‘summit’, linguistic information must be processed in this context. Contextual information under this study comprises background information and conceptual information.

First, background information, which can be a profile of the ST, will be addressed. When linguistic expressions are perceived by an interpreter, they are understood through the linguistic knowledge in his/her cognitive environment. This linguistic information then enables the interpreter to access relevant background information.

The first type of background information in Table 4.4 is world knowledge. This is common knowledge of the world as it currently is, which provides a basis to construct CCs for discourse processing. For this part of SI performance, general knowledge regarding politicians’ speeches which includes common statements, delivery, and expressions commonly used by politicians is highly relevant to understanding of the discourse. The interpreter derived information to produce expressions suitable for the situation. Also, knowledge of summit conferences in general, including significance and purposes of summit conferences must be involved. The interpreter would be expected to have possessed such information irrespective of this interpreting session.

It is assumed that knowledge in the cognitive environment is conceptual, as long as it is employed as resources during conceptual construction. For example, interpreters may remember the names of people, countries, organisations, places, treaties and so forth as part of their world knowledge. Since information of this kind is typically expressed in proper nouns, each item of information seems closely tied to the linguistic form which denotes it. Even in such cases, the nature of the knowledge is considered to be conceptual. Every item of information is incorporated in the network of knowledge, which is stored in the long-term memory of the interpreter. Information may formulate schematic structures, which may be called script (Schank & Abelson, 1977), frame (Minsky, 1985; Fillmore, 1982), schema (Langcker, 1987), idealised cognitive models (Lakoff, 1987), simulator (Barsalou, 1999) and cognitive models (Evans, 2009). Resources of the schematic knowledge not only includes information from the external environment, but also derives from somatic sensations which provide the basis of various types of human cognitive ability.

The second type of background information is knowledge about the topic. This is a type of existing information in the same vein as world knowledge. Indeed there may not be a definite demarcation between world knowledge and knowledge of the topic. But, whereas world knowledge is assumed to be an accumulation of everyday experiences of the hearer and has no specific focus, knowledge about the topic can be prepared for in advance for this specific purpose. Therefore, for practical purposes, there is significant difference between the two. It is rather difficult for an interpreter to reinforce world knowledge in the short term, but he/she can compensate, to some extent, for this shortage by learning information on the topic before his/her assignment, if necessary. For this performance, background knowledge of the summit might include knowledge of current topics such as a list of the participants and the expectations of each participant. It might also include the agenda of the summit, its social background and the global situation. In terms of the agenda of this summit, climate change and issues on Africa were two important topics. Apart from knowledge of the summit, information on the source speaker is extremely important, because the first person in the discourse must be understood as the source speaker or as the group which includes the speaker. In this SI performance, the source speaker is the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair and he was the host of the G8 summit. This is a set of information which is prepared or activated by the interpreter for the purposes of the interpreting session.

World knowledge and knowledge about the topic are information that the interpreter possessed before the session started and the source of the information is independent of the site of this SI performance. On the other hand, there are other types of background information derived from the site of SI session. They are the setting of the communication and the introduction of utterances. Since this SI session is performed as part of a live broadcasting programme, the Japanese interpreter in Tokyo was working for the source speaker who was in Gleneagles, UK. As she was working as an interpreter for this programme, she must have known the situation of the source speaker and the general purpose of the speech. This speech was delivered by the host of the G8 summit just after the closing of the summit as a remark for a media conference, which attracted global attention. This is the basic setting of the source speech.

The other aspect of situational information is the introduction of the utterances. If the utterances are produced as a response to a participant in the verbal communication, it is important to understand the flow of the conversation. For this SI performance, the ST is not a part of dialogue, but an official speech delivered by a political figure as a monologue. Therefore, the interpreter did not have to consider the intercourse between participants. For the purpose of discussion in this case study, the flow of discourse

before “I wanted an agreement” (E075) should be examined. Since this is how the interpreter understood the previous part of the discourse, this will be examined in relation with the history of CCs.

### ***History of CCs***

The content of previous parts of a discourse forms part of the contextual information in a similar manner to background information. This is here referred to as the history of CCs. The history of CCs derives from both linguistic and non-linguistic information. Since a CC is constructed, it will be incorporated into part of the history of CCs. In this way, CCs develop in the course of the online processing of a discourse.

As argued in the previous part of this case study, it is conceivable that a CC for ‘agreement’ is constructed as part of a CC for ‘summit’. Therefore, if the interpreter constructed a CC for ‘agreement’ when she listened to “I wanted an agreement” (E075), the CC for ‘summit’ must have already existed at this point. In this ST, the source speaker was talking about the achievements of the summit conference. From E063, the source speaker was talking about the issue of climate change. He started to talk about this topic by addressing the situation of global politics. After describing the difficulties and limitations faced by the G8 summit, he mentioned “What I wanted to do therefore at this summit was establish the following and I believe we have done this” (E074). This part was rendered into “*desu-kara watashi-tachi kono summit-de mezashi-ta-koto-wa tsugi-no-youna-koto-de-ari-masu*” (Therefore, we, what is aimed at by this summit was the following: J074). It is conceivable that the interpreter expected the source speaker to talk about the achievements of the summit in the following part of the ST. Then, once she constructed the CC for ‘agreement’, it became a part of the history of CCs, when she processed the six instances of *that*-clauses. Therefore, she must have processed the content of each *that*-clause based on the CC for ‘agreement’. Figure 4.2 is an illustration of the CCs and their resources for this sampled SI performance.

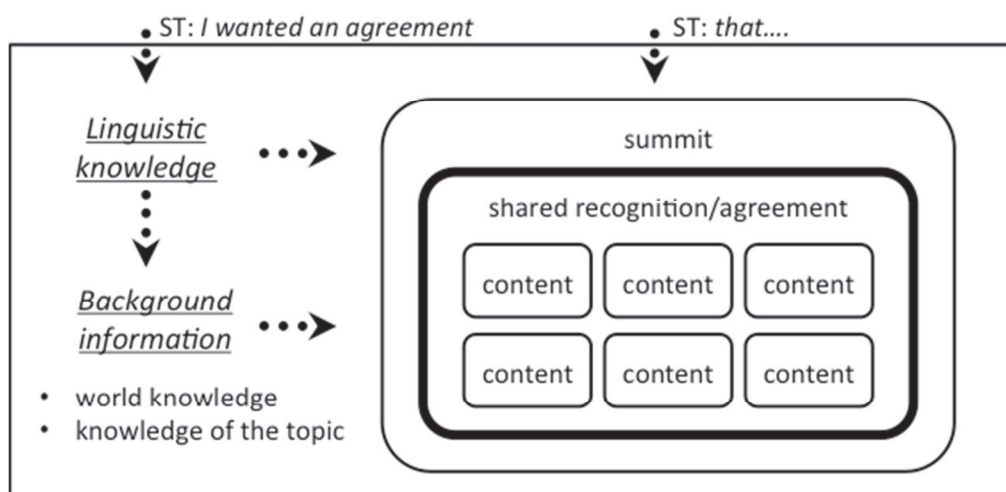


Figure 4.2

In this section, the types of resources to construct CCs fall into three categories: linguistic information, background information and history of CCs. This figure illustrates how linguistic expressions are understood through linguistic knowledge. The contribution of linguistic information has two facets. One is the direct contribution to the construction of CCs, and the other is the enabling of access to background information in the cognitive environment. In Figure 4.2, recognition of linguistic information is divided into two steps: perception of linguistic expression and comprehension of the expression through linguistic knowledge. However, in the following discussion, explicit description of the second step of linguistic processing is omitted in order to concentrate on the construction of CCs. The contribution of the history of CCs is not specified in this figure, because the history of CCs and newly constructed CCs are integrated. For the CC of 'agreement', the CC for 'summit' serves as the historical CC. Likewise, for the CCs of 'contents', the CC for 'agreement' serves as the historical CC.

It follows that the interpreter received the information from the ST and formed linguistic representations in her mind. She then changed them into conceptual representations before expressing the content as linguistic representations in the TL. Why, then, did the interpreter bother to change the linguistic representations into conceptual ones?

## 4.6 Processing costs

In this section, the advantages of conceptual retention will be discussed from the perspective of processing costs for the SI.

Figure 4.3 shows that the interpreter is retaining the word form of *agreement* and employing it to treat the *that*-clauses. The CCs in this figure are similar to those in Figure 4.1, but, if a lexically coded meaning of *agreement* exists only with the word form, then these CCs are not identical to those in Figure 4.1. In this case, when the interpreter employs *goui* (agreement), she can retrieve the lexical item without accessing the CCs. On the other hand, to retrieve *ninshiki* (recognition), the interpreter has to access the CCs via the word form of *agreement* in order to acquire an ad-hoc meaning of *agreement*.

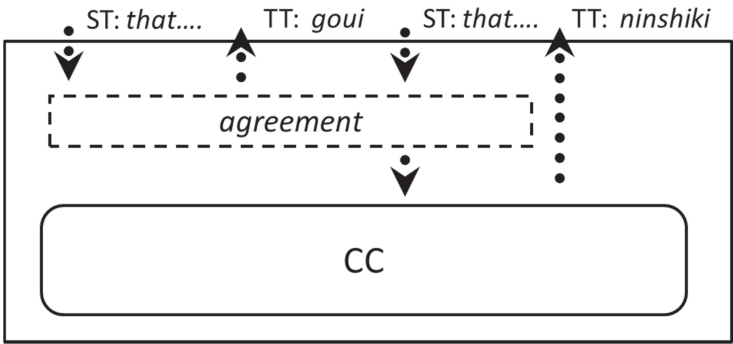


Figure 4.3

Figure 4.4 shows the interpreting process without use of the word form of *agreement*. The interpreter can access the CCs to acquire the meaning of *agreement* and thereby treat the *that*-clauses in the discourse. In this case, the CCs in this figure are identical to those in Figure 4.1.

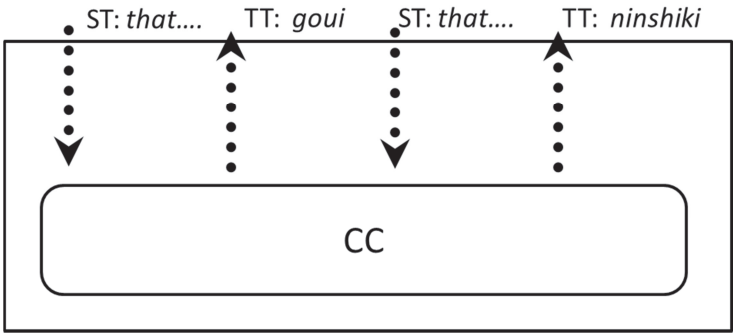


Figure 4.4

These CCs include not only the lexically coded meaning of *agreement*, but also an ad-hoc meaning based on the construal of the word in its context. The word form of

*agreement* does not disappear. The interpreter retains this somewhere in her mind and can retrieve it when necessary, but she does not have to use it in her performance. The corresponding CC of “agreement” is already constructed and can be employed directly.

I will now examine the economy of the processing costs involved in the retrieval of *ninshiki* (recognition) as a lexical item which corresponds to “agreement” (E075) by comparing Figure 4.3 and 4.4. In the case of Figure 4.4, the interpreter can access the CCs directly, but, in the case of Figure 4.3, she has to access the word form of *agreement* before the CCs. This is a cognitive detour and demands higher processing costs than direct access to the CCs. When the interpreter uses *goui* (agreement), she can obtain this lexical item without accessing the CCs. But, in this performance, the interpreter employed *ninshiki* (recognition) at J076 before *goui* (agreement) at J078. At this moment, the interpreter constructed and accessed the CCs. Once the first access has been made, the second demands less in terms of processing costs. Figure 4.4, therefore, is not necessarily disadvantageous. Moreover, in Figure 4.3, the interpreter has to retain the word form as it is and relate it to discourse processing, incurring extra costs. As a whole, Figure 4.3, where the interpreter must detour “agreement” every time, demands higher costs than Figure 4.4, where the interpreter can access the CCs directly.

Following the basic principle of the human cognitive mechanism, which is to elicit the greatest effect at the lowest cost, it is reasonable to maintain that the interpreter retained and accessed the CCs about the summit directly so as to process the discourse and to produce the TT expressions based on them rather than conclude that she held the word form of *agreement* in the ST and used it in her performance. At least in this case, the interpreter was not just transcoding linguistic representations from the ST to the TT, but describing CCs constructed in her mental context into the TT. In order to minimise the total cost of the interpreting process, the interpreter is justified in not keeping the same lexical item or part of speech and grammatical relations.

The discussion on processing costs for this performance above is focused on a comparison between operations via linguistic form and direct access to the CC. A further aspect to think about with regards to processing costs required for this performance is the cost of retaining mental representations. As a non-linguistic representation constructed for discourse processing, the CC model is capable of describing an aspect of mental models (Johnson-Laird 1983). Johnson-Laird (1983: 162) asserts that the retention of mental models takes less effort than that of propositions, though the construction of mental models involves higher costs. It follows then, if one considers the lengthy retention of “I wanted an agreement” (E075) required for this part of SI



performance, that the retention of conceptual representations is more advantageous than of the retention of linguistic forms, once they have been constructed.

In this case, the nature of deverbilized concepts has been examined. This is not an exceptional case in which the interpreter had to conceptualise information from the ST. It is predictable that a similar type of conceptualisation process will be observed which contributes to the disambiguation of polysemous expressions. But, in this case, because a lexically coded meaning not commonly found in a dictionary was employed by the interpreter, the reality of conceptualisation can be clearly examined.

#### 4.7 Parallel operations

The construction of CCs for “I wanted agreement” (E075) and their retention has been analysed through repeated translations of this part, focusing on treatment of “agreement” (E075). Although the content of each *that*-clause was not addressed at all, in this SI performance, the interpreter was processing them in parallel. In terms of a cognitive element corresponding to “*ninshiki*” (recognition) and “*goui*” (agreement), no significant development of “agreement” (E075) has been identified in this performance. However, the CC for “agreement” (E075) was developing in accordance with the content of the *that*-clauses. Before concluding this chapter, one phenomenon in this part of the sample should be pointed out in order to explore the development of CCs which were progressing in parallel during the SI performance.

In order to deal with the sixth *that*-clause, the interpreter produced “*haisyutsu-ryou-no zouka*” (increase of emissions: J079) just after “slow down, stop” (E079) before hearing “the rising greenhouse gas emissions” (E080). No expression corresponding to “*haisyutsu-ryou*” (emission) can be found in the ST before this. Also, in the TT, this is the first use of this expression and not a recycling of the same item. This part of the ST is the source of a “content” related to the CC of ‘agreement’, which is part of the CCs which represent ‘summit’. For this reason, conceptual development of the CCs can be examined in detail here.

During the discourse processing of an SI performance, the information received from the ST is combined with the history of CCs to form new CCs so that the interpreter can draw inferences. It can be asserted that this process is carried out so that the interpreter can elicit the maximum contextual effects for the minimum processing cost (Sperber & Wilson, 1986/1995). If the interpreter recognizes a lack of information in the ST, he/she compensates for it by using various sources of available information to form a new context. When incomplete information is found in a preceding part of text, this is considered to be a simple compensation of information. On the other hand, if the



incomplete part is detected in a later part of interpreter’s performance, this is considered to be anticipation by the interpreter. As both cases can be considered to be the result of discourse comprehension and conceptualization, these cases share an essentially identical mental process and the only difference is the temporal direction of compensation in the discourse.

The interpreter produced “*Kyouto-giteisyo*” (Kyoto protocol: J065) before “Kyoto protocol” (E066), which shows that the interpreter recognized this “Kyoto” (E065) not as simply the place name, but as the eponymous protocol on climate change. From the perspective of the CC model, this process can be explained as the interpreter constructed a CC for ‘Kyoto protocol’ when she received “Kyoto” (E065), which included various aspects of relevant information. As the CC of ‘Kyoto protocol’ developed, relevant information possessed by the interpreter became accessible and cognitive elements corresponding to ‘greenhouse gas’ and its ‘emission’ were considered to be incorporated into the CC. Figure 4.5 illustrates how the interpreter achieved construction of a CC for ‘Kyoto protocol’.

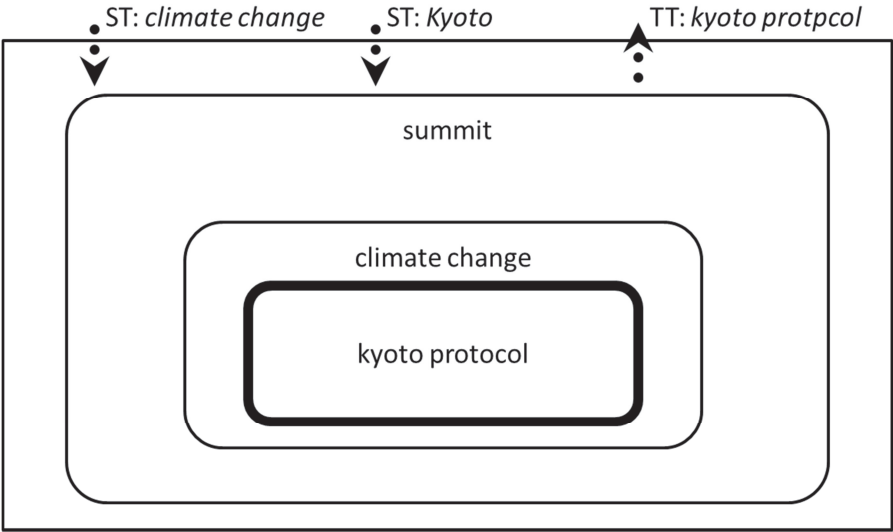


Figure 4.5

As a general topic of this ST, the interpreter constructed a CC for ‘summit’. Based on the CC, the interpreter was able to construct a CC for ‘climate change’ when “climate change” (E063) was given in the ST. When the interpreter received “Kyoto” (E065), these CCs on ‘summit’ and ‘climate change’ served as the historical CCs, providing access to relevant knowledge about the topic. By virtue of this cognitive environment, the interpreter constructed a CC on ‘kyoto protocol’ before she received “Kyoto protocol”

(E066). This performance provides an explanation about how the interpreter constructed CCs as well as how a hearer narrows down the topic of discourse.

At this stage, a CC for ‘greenhouse gas emission’ was not constructed in interpreter’s mind, but as a content of the CC, access to background information on it would have been easy, had it been necessary. After that, the speaker started to talk about climate change at E076 again and used the related expressions, “human activity” (E077), “with urgency” (E078) and “slow down, stop and then in time reverse” (E079), enriching the content of the CC of “Kyoto protocol”. In this CC, ‘greenhouse gas emission’ serves as the common theme for three events designated by “slow down” (E079), “stop” (E079) and “reverse” (E079). This performance suggests that the interpreter constructed event CCs for three elements and constructed a component CC of ‘greenhouse emission’ as the theme of the events based on background information on the topic. Figure 4.5 illustrates the process. (Note 2)

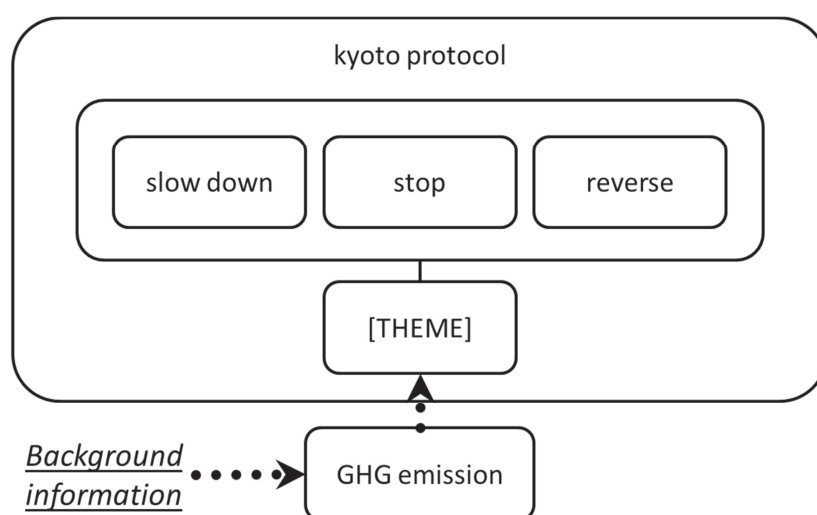


Figure 4.5

After the interpreter produced “*haisyutsu-ryou-no zouka*” (increase of emission: J079), the corresponding information for that was produced in the ST as the grammatical object of three verbs, “the rising greenhouse gas emissions” (E079). This operation can be considered to be a type of anticipation. From the perspective of the CC model, however, this type of inference in SI is explained as a product of the construction of CCs in discourse processing. Therefore, conceptualisation plays a significant role here. When, at a given moment, information from the ST is not complete, the interpreter enhances the contextual information based on the CCs and describes the result to produce the TT. As a result, an unstated expression may appear in some cases. If the expression appears

after the interpreter's production, it is called anticipation. If the expression appears before the interpreter's production, few people pay attention to the phenomenon. If the expression does not appear in the ST, some may regard this as failed anticipation. However, seen from the point of view of discourse comprehension, the temporal order of corresponding expressions in the ST and the TT or the existence or not of a corresponding expression does not matter. In other words, an interpreter's anticipation in the SI which is not based on linguistic structure is a by-product of discourse comprehension, and not an independent technique.

Figure 4.6 is an illustration of how the interpreter narrowed down the topic to construct a CC for 'GHG emission'.

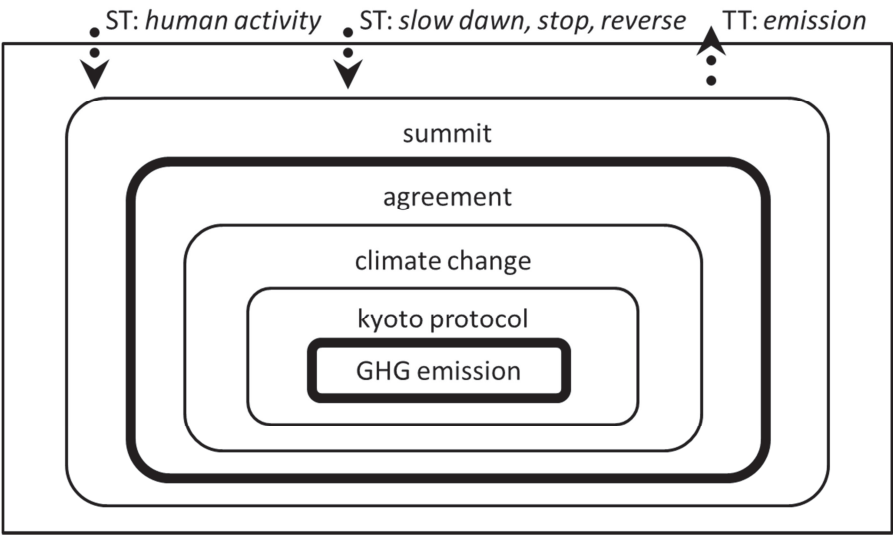


Figure 4.6

In this figure, the two CCs of 'agreement' and 'GHG emission' are highlighted. This is to show how construction of the CC of 'GHG emission' was in parallel with retention of the CC of 'agreement'. The CC for 'climate change' was one of the components of the CC for 'agreement'. This development of the CCs for 'climate change' was in parallel with retention of the CC for 'agreement' and its repeated translation. Although discourse is a series of linguistic signs and perception of the ST by an interpreter must be a lineal operation, this part of the SI performance, which involves repeated use of retained information and a form of anticipation in parallel, suggests that the processing of discourse is not a lineal operation.

## 4.8 Summary

In this chapter, the retention and the status of CCs have been analysed through repetitive translations of a single ST expression. A CC is a mental representation constructed through discourse processing. The non-linguistic nature of a CC has been examined and resources to construct the CC identified. The non-linguistic nature of the CC examined in this sample supports the notion of deverbalization advocated by Seleskovitch (1978/1998). CCs are derived from both linguistic and non-linguistic information. Information used in this SI performance derived from three types of resources: linguistic information, background information and history of CCs. CCs are constructed through the integration of various types of information. As a result, the nature of a CC is non-linguistic. Due to this nature, the retention of CCs and performance drawing on them are more cost-effective than linguistic representations.

Also, a case of anticipation found in the same example was analysed in order to explore the parallel processing at work in conceptual operations. Anticipation in this SI performance is considered to be a product of discourse comprehension based on the formulation of CCs. This part of the SI performance demonstrates that the interpreter was retaining a CC on ‘agreement’ while simultaneously developing its content.

Note 1: Apart from being a corresponding expression of “agreement” (E075), when seen from the scope of the content included in “agreement” (E075), it is possible to regard “*goui-wo tassei-shi*” (reach an agreement: J078) as the content as a whole. However, the argument here is compatible with both cases.

Note 2: Construction of events will be closely discussed in Chapter 5 and Chapter 8.

## 5. Construction of a causal event

### 5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the structural aspect of a CC. A CC can form a nested structure and a group of CCs can compose an event or property CC (See Chapter 3). Since the construction of CCs is derived from linguistic and non-linguistic information, the resources necessary to construct an event CC for an interpreter are not limited to linguistic expressions from the ST. In some cases, implicit participants may be recovered to construct an event CC. Alternatively, the semantic role of participants may be rearranged, because the structure of a CC is not just a reflection of the linguistically encoded meaning in the ST.

This case study focuses on the construction of a causal event. I analyse how an interpreter comprehends the causal relations which exist between participants through the use of *sase*, a Japanese morpheme which designates causal relations between participants. Some cases in the SI reveal that interpreters employ *sase* in the TT even though there is no expression to designate a causal relation in the ST. I pay attention to such cases.

In the first section, I provide the introduction of this chapter. In the second section, I analyse how an interpreter constructs a causal event through examination of a case where use of *sase* in the TT is provoked by *make sure* in the ST. I propose a description of a causal event, following the CC model and drawing upon discussions in cognitive linguistics (Talmy, 2000a, 2000b; Croft, 1990, 1991). Further, through observation of *sase* in other examples, in the third section, I analyse cases where information necessary to produce *sase* is not found in the corresponding part of the ST but in a previous part. Analysis in this section clarifies how an interpreter utilises information from a previous part of the ST. In the fourth section I examine cases information necessary to produce *sase* is not found in the ST. These cases reveal that the interpreter uses world knowledge or other cognitive resources when processing the ST. The fifth section is for consideration of the nature of event CCs. The sixth section provides a conclusive remark for the chapter.

## 5.2 Representing a causal event

This section examines an example of an actual SI performance in order to indicate that the construction of a causal event is not simply a case of processing linguistic information. Also, it proposes how to represent a causal event using the CC model based on previous discussions in cognitive linguistics.

### 5.2.1 Arrangement of participants

I continue here with my analysis of the recording of the SI performance found in Chapter 4 (R-6), which is a SI of a speech delivered by the then British Prime Minister Tony Blair. The first case to be analysed in this chapter is shown in (1). The topic of this part of the speech is how to support Africa. In this example, I pay attention to “*mi-ni tsuke-sase*” (make  $\phi$  gain ability: J050). This “*sase*” (J050) suggests that the interpreter comprehends the causal relation between participants.

(1)

- E 048 it is not enough for us simply to open up our markets, we also have to make sure that  
J 048 貿易をする能力を高めるということ (が) あります。私たちは市場を開放するだけでは不十分です。
- E 049 those developing countries have the capacity to make use of those more open markets.  
J 049 私たちは途上国において、これらの市場をうまく活用する能力を
- E 050 And there was also from the African side likewise a firm and strong  
J 050 身に付けさせなくてはなりません。で、また、アフリカ側からも発言がありました。アフリカ側

It seems that “*sase*” (J050) corresponds to “make sure” (E048). This “*sase*” (J056) explicitly designates the causal relations which exist between the participants in an event. However, these relations are not linguistically encoded in *make sure*. A further point worthy of examination is that, “those developing countries” (E049) is translated as “*tojoukoku-ni-oite*” (regarding those developing countries: J049). Since this “those developing countries” (E049) is the grammatical subject of this clause, this element would not normally be expected to be translated as “*ni-oite*” (regarding: J049). I pay attention to these two linguistic differences between expressions in the ST and the TT. I describe the construction of the CCs which causes differences of this kind to appear in this part of the SI performance. My first task in order to achieve this purpose is to consider the cognitive status of the interpreter when she produced “*tojoukoku-ni-oite*” (regarding developing countries: J049) through examination of the timing of the delivery of the corresponding expressions in the ST and the TT.

In terms of the timing of the delivery of the corresponding expressions, “*watashi-tachi-wa tojoukoku-ni-oite*” (We, regarding those developing countries: J049) was produced just after “those developing countries” (E049). Since “we” (E048) serves as a grammatical subject in the ST, “*watashi-tachi*” (J049) is marked as topic with thematic use of “*wa*” (J049). At this juncture of the SI performance, no explicit information was given from the ST to comprehend the semantic role of “we” (E048), this judgement to use the thematic-*wa* seems to have been implemented simply as a reaction to the formal correspondence between the ST and the TT. On the other hand, “those developing countries” (E049) can be judged to be the grammatical subject because it is located at the top position in the *that*-clause which starts at E048. However, translation of this part as “*tojoukoku-ni-oite*” (regarding developing countries: J049) does not exhibit formal correspondence. I examine this translation using the alternatives set out in (2) below.

- (2) a. *Watashi-tachi-wa tojoukoku-ga*  
       We-TP                                developing country-SP  
     b. *Watashi-tachi-wa tojoukoku-ni-oite*  
       We-TP                                developing country-TP  
     c. *Watashi-tachi-wa tojouoku-ni*  
       We-TP                                developing country-OP

Among the possible translations above, (2b) is the actual expression in the TT and (2a) and (2c) are alternatives. If formal correspondence is a criterion, as shown in (2a), both *watashi-tachi* (we) and *tojoukoku* (developing countries) can be translated as corresponding expressions of the grammatical subjects found in the ST. On the other hand, the combination with “*mi-ni tsuke-sase*” (make  $\phi$  have an ability: J050), (2c) sounds more natural as a Japanese expression. As a precondition to produce (2c), however, the interpreter has to comprehend the causal relations between ‘*watashi-tachi*’ (we) and ‘*tojoukoku*’ (developing countries) when she produces this translation. Regarding (2b), because “*tojoukoku*” (developing countries) is just indicated as a topic, the relation between ‘*watashi-tachi*’ (we) and ‘*tojoukoku*’ (developing countries) is not constrained.

This formal non-correspondence in (2b) is explained as a demonstration of the interpreter’s effort to comprehend the semantic role of ‘*tojoukoku*’ (developing countries) rather than simply follow the syntactic information given in the ST. If the functional difference between each case examined in (2) reflects the interpreter’s attitude in the SI,

it is surmised that the interpreter was trying to avoid determining the relation between “*watashi-tachi*” (we: J049) and “*tojoukoku*” (developing countries: J049). If the interpreter had understood the relation between “*watashi-tachi*” (we: J049) and “*tojoukoku*” (developing countries: J049) at this juncture, she would have explicitly translated this relation. On the other hand, if the interpreter had planned to use *mi-ni tsuke-sase* (make  $\phi$  gain ability) at this juncture, she would not have selected *tojoukoku-ni-oite* (regarding developing countries), which gives rise to an unnatural combination with *sase*. Considering the above, it is surmised that even though the interpreter grasped the two entities of ‘*watashi-tachi*’ (we) and ‘*tojoukoku*’ (developing countries), she did not comprehend the relation between them yet and was trying to grasp it from the subsequent part of the ST. If this is the case, this performance exhibits the initial stage of the construction of an event. In the online processing of discourse, an event is not formed at one time, but gradually constructed in the course of the development of the discourse. In this case, the construal of the participants came first and their relation was yet to be determined.

The ST of this SI performance is delivered by British Prime Minister Tony Blair just after G8 Gleneagles Summit and this “we” (E048) therefore refers to ‘G8 leaders’ or ‘G8 countries’. At the beginning of this SI performance, “My G8 colleagues” (E001) is surely translated as “*G8 no douryou-tachi*” (colleagues of G8: J001). The interpreter’s cognitive operation of this part is explained in the following manner: the interpreter constructed a CC for ‘G8’ as ‘G8 leaders on the speaker’s side’ or ‘G8 countries including the UK led by the speaker and his colleagues’. And “*tojoukoku*” (developing countries: J049) was understood as ‘African developing countries’ as the topic of this part of the ST. Since the interpreter possesses knowledge of the G8 and developing countries in Africa as part of her background information, she must have been able to assume a variety of relations between them. But, it was still impossible for her to recognise how the source speaker would talk about these relations at this juncture. Even though the interpreter grasped that the two participants were the ‘G8’ and ‘developing countries’, an event for them and any semantic role was yet to be understood. Because of this, whereas the interpreter adopted the TT expression in order not to strongly constrain the relation between the participants, she was waiting for necessary information from the ST before determining the event and the participants’ roles. Therefore, it can be said that this performance reveals a situation where the interpreter was in the middle of constructing an event while suspending judgement based on syntactic information from the ST.

The motivation behind the production of the “*sase*” (J050) in question is examined through a comparison of the alternative translations given in (3) below.



- (3) a. Watashi-tachi-wa tojoukoku-ni-oite korera-no sijou-wo umaku katsuyou-suru  
nouryoku-wo mi-ni tsuke-sase-naku-te-wa nari-mase-n  
We-TP developing country-TP these-PP market-OP well use ability-OP gain  
SASE need
- b. Watashi-tachi-wa tojoukoku-ni-oite korera-no sijou-wo umaku katsuyou-suru  
nouryoku-wo mi-ni tsuke-naku-te-wa nari-mase-n  
We-TP developing country-TP these-PP market-OP well use ability-OP gain  
need
- c. Watashi-tachi-wa tojoukoku-ni-oite korera-no sijou-wo umaku katsuyou-suru  
nouryoku-wo mi-ni tsukeru-koto-wo kakujitsu-ni se-neba-nari-mase-n  
We-TP developing country-TP these-PP market-OP well use ability-OP gain  
NML-OP sureness-OP make need

Among possible translations above, (3a) is the actual translation and others are alternatives. If the interpreter employed “*nouryoku-wo mi-ni tsukeru*” (gain ability) without *sase* as shown in (3b), the agent of the event indicated by this predicate should be understood as ‘*watashi-tachi*’ (we) or ‘G8’. In the ST, however, the agent of the event indicated by “have the capacity” (E049) is specified as “those developing countries” (E049), not “we” (E048). If the interpreter produced (3c), it might be possible to assert that ‘*tojoukoku*’ (developing country) is the agent of ‘*nouryoku-wo mi-ni tsukeru*’ (gain ability), but it is impossible to eliminate possibility to understand that the agent is ‘*watashi-tachi*’ (we) or ‘G8’. Therefore, (3b) and (3c) cannot communicate the event in the TT as properly as intended in the ST. On the other hand, in the case of (3a), though an expression of “*tojoukoku-ni-oite ... mi-ni-tsuke-sase*” (regarding developing countries ... gain ability) is not a very grammatically correct expression in the Japanese language, at least there is no risk of misunderstanding when it comes to the point that the agent of ‘*nouryoku-wo mi-ni tsukeru*’ (gain ability) is ‘*tojoukoku*’ (developing countries). Therefore, (3a) can properly communicate the relation of the event and its agent as intended in the ST.

This is, however, just part of motivation for the interpreter to employ *sase* (J050) in this part of the TT and not a sufficient explanation. In this performance, correspondence between an event and its agent is secured by assignment of ‘*tojoukoku*’ (developing countries) as the agent of ‘*mi-ni-tsukeru*’ (gain ability). If this functional adjustment is

the only purpose, the interpreter can employ *mi-ni-tsuke-te-morau* (gain ability for us) instead of *sase*. If this is the case, this event can be expressed as more of a voluntary event undertaken by the agent than a causal one, though it may still implicitly express causation. For further comprehensive explanation of use of this *sase*, the interpreter's conceptual operations must be explored in details. In the next section, drawing on causal chain (Croft, 1990, p.1991) and force dynamics (Talmy, 2000a) from cognitive linguistics, I will propose a representation of a causal event under the CC model so as to explore construction of causal events in discourse processing. After that, I will analyse construction of a causal event by the source speaker and the interpreter based on the ST and the TT and compare them to examine this SI performance.

### 5.2.2. Representation of a causal event

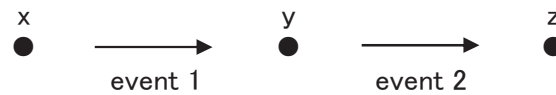
In this section I provide a notation of a causal event by drawing upon the CC model. For this purpose, I start by providing a brief review of notations of causal events as found in previous studies of cognitive semantics.

Generally a linguistically expressed causal event can be regarded as an integrated event which is composed of a series of two sequential events. Croft (1990, p.49) summarised previous discussions on causation and classified them into three types: events cause events, individuals bring about events, and individuals act on individuals. Since only the third model can explicitly represent the relation between participants, Croft (1990) asserts the advantage of that model. Croft (1990, p.50) asserts the advantage of a graphical notation, rather than a logical calculus, to express the relation between participants as below.

There is nothing in the logical calculus representations to exclude causally related events which do not share any individuals in common. This goes against our commonsense model of causation, underlying which is a model of the transmission of force through individuals to other individuals, whether through contact or 'action at a distance'. (Croft 1990: 50)

Croft (1990) provides a graphical notation for an example sentence. However, I have presented here another notation from Croft (1991) because it gives us the most generalised notation of the causal chain as shown in (4).

(4)



(Croft, 1991, p.163)

In this notation, events are represented by the arrows and participants are represented by the nodes at either end of the arrows. This causation starts from x. It is the agent of event 1 and causes force dynamics (Talmy, 2000a) to y, which are the theme of event 1 and the agent of event 2. This force is the cause of event 2. Since force dynamics constitute general influence from one entity to another, these arrows can represent not only physical force, but also mental and social force.

Croft (1991) points out two advantages of the graphical notation of (4) in representing causation. The first is below.

It requires that causally related events share individuals because the individual at the endpoint of one event is the initiator of the next, causally connected, event. (Croft 1991: 162)

Then, the second is below.

It imposes a (possibly partial) ordering of participants in the causal chain of events. (ibid. 163)

Because this representation can exclude a series of causal events which do not share a common participant, events to be included in the causation are constrained.

Croft's (1990, 1991) discussions aim at analysing the meaning of a verb through the decomposition of an event from the perspective of the causality of the event. Therefore, starting from (4) as a basis, each event in the causal chain tends to be segmented into smaller sub-events, requiring more arrows and more nodes in the representation.

Croft (1990, 1991) targets verbs which encode causal meaning in general and the individual x in (4) does not have to be an agentive entity. Since this study focuses on meaning construction examined through only *sase*, a specific aspect of causation must be considered for the purpose of this study. Ohori (2002) presents examples of the Japanese language to demonstrate expansion and contraction of an action chain. After

contrasting the relation between *aku* (open: vi) and *akeru* (open: vt), he refers to function of *saseru*.

Contrasts of this kind observed through *aku* (open: vi) and *akeru* (open: vt) is not in productive derivative relation (in the modern Japanese language). On the other hand, the causative construction with *saseru* is employed in a broad range in order to add an influential agent at the starting point of a causal chain. (Ohori, 2002, p.108)

This study examines the construal of causation through *sase* as a clue. However, this focus does not damage the significance of the observations therein.

One seemingly universal instantiation of event integration pertains to agentive causation. Conceived more analytically, such causation consists of a causal chain in which an agent's action initiates a succession of events that lead to the final event under consideration. The Agent has volitionally performed the initiating action and has a scope of intention that extends over the whole sequence. (Talmy, 2000b, p.216)

It should be noted again that the causal chain, as well as force dynamics (Talmy, 2000a), are contrived in order to analyse the composition of the linguistically encoded meaning of a verb. Compared to conceptual representations, the semantic representations encoded in a linguistic expression are schematic (See Evans, 2009). Linguistically coded semantic representations, however, are considered to have originated as an abstraction of conceptual representations in the course of the historical development of human cognitive ability and, as a personal experience, a conceptual representation in utterance comprehension can be derived from linguistically coded semantic representations. With this in mind, although the analysis of linguistically coded meaning does not fall within this study's remit, its adoption (4) in order to lay the foundations for the representation of a causal event using the CC model is justified. Figure 5.1 is an illustration of a causal event frame using the CC model.

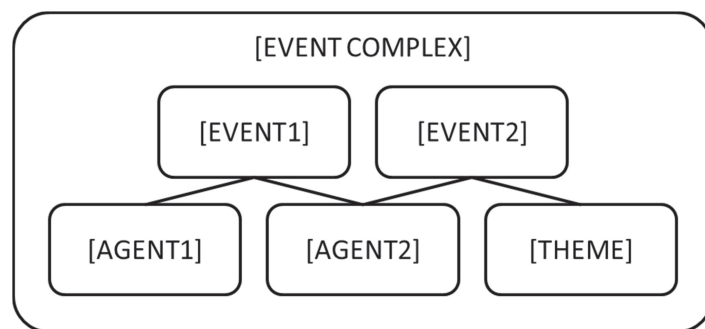


Figure 5.1

This notation of a causal event using the CC model does not employ arrows and nodes to denote the events and participants in order to secure the nature of the CCs. In the CC model, relational and entity CCs are given equal treatment. The relational meaning represented by the arrow in (4) is a type of componential CC in a causal event complex as well as a participant. Since the direction of force dynamics is considered to be part of the content of a relational CC, an arrow can be drawn in a relational CC if and when necessary. Also, in the CC model, the type of the componential CC is not fixed, but changeable throughout the discourse processing. The arrangement of componential CCs is transient. Whenever the arrangement changes in an event complex, the type and role of the component CC will be re-assigned.

In this figure, AGENT 2 is an agent in EVENT 2, but concurrently a patient in EVENT 1. This naming is purely for the purpose of distinction of each participant and is not of any great importance. However, it can be said that this denotation is seen from the result of the whole event. Moreover, the figure pertains only when EVENT 2 is transitive. If it is intransitive, there is no need for THEME.

Talmy (2000b) introduced the term, macro-event to denote an integrated event of causation.

A crosslinguistic comparison strongly suggests that there is a fundamental and recurrent category of complex event that is prone to conceptual integration and representation by a single clause, a type here termed a macro-event. (Talmy, 2000b, p.216)

I am not adopting this term use within this study, because the term is valid only for a semantic representation encoded within a single clause. This study aims to explore the conceptual construction of a causal event, which does not necessarily correspond to a

single lexical item. For this reason, I call the integrated event “event complex” in this study.

In the following parts of this section I will analyse some event CCs constructed by the source speaker and the interpreter of the SI performance in (1).

**5.2.3 Examination of causal event from the ST**

While a hearer tries to construct an event CC based on the linguistic expressions in an utterance as a clue, the speaker holds the event CC to be communicated by the utterance before he/she verbalises it. This section will examine the ST in (1) to analyse an example of an event CC held by the source speaker of the SI performance. Below is the part of the ST under discussion.

(5) We also have to make sure that those developing countries have the capacity to make use of those more open markets.

In this part of the ST, two events are linguistically denoted by “have” (E049) and “make sure” (E049). Do they represent causation? This ST is a part of the speech delivered by British Prime Minister, Tony Blair in closing the G8 summit held in the UK, and the topic of this part is achievements on issues concerning Africa. Since the previous part of the ST, the source speaker has been talking about support given by the G8 to Africa, which generates force dynamics from ‘G8’ to ‘Africa’ at the discourse level, and the topic continues to be dealt with here. Therefore, it can be judged that the source speaker construed the force dynamics at this juncture. Considering the above, the event CC constructed by the source speaker can be described based on the causal event frame shown below in Figure 5.2.

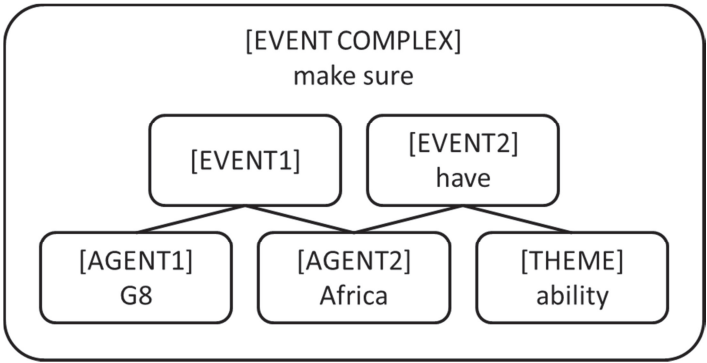


Figure 5.2

In this figure, the CCs for “we” (E048) and “those developing countries” (E049) are represented as ‘G8’ and ‘Africa’. ‘G8’ is construed as the initiating agent in the event complex denoted as “make sure” (E048). EVENT 2 is lexicalised as “have” (E049). This “have” (E049) is employed to instantiate the content of EVENT 2. While EVENT 1 is not explicit in the ST, the force dynamics from ‘G8’ to ‘Africa’ is included in this componential CC.

Next, I will examine the event CC constructed by the interpreter.

### 5.2.4 Examination of causal event from the TT

In this section I will examine the event CC constructed by the interpreter during this part of the SI performance.

The interpreter expresses the relation between ‘G8’ and ‘Africa’ after receiving “those more open market” at (E049). By virtue of this, the interpreter was able to obtain sufficient information from the ST to comprehend the relation. Use of “*sase*” (J050) for this part of the TT suggests that the interpreter understood the force dynamics from ‘G8’ to ‘Africa’ as well as the role of ‘Africa’ as the agent of “*nouryoku-wo mi-ni tsukeru*” (gain ability: J049). In other words, the interpreter constructed a CC which includes these force dynamics and the causal relation when she processed this discourse. The CC constructed by the interpreter here can be described as below.

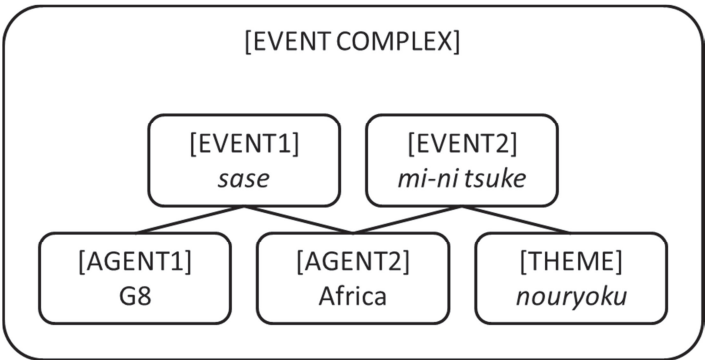


Figure 5.3

In this event complex, “*sase*” (J050) has two functions: lexicalisation of EVENT 1 and positioning ‘G8’ as AGENT 1. For EVENT 2, ‘*Africa*’ is the agent and ‘*nouryoku*’ (ability) is the theme. (Note 1)

While, through examination of the ST, the source speaker’s CC can be described in the way shown in Figure 5.2, the interpreter’ CC would be described from the TT as shown in Figure 5.3. Comparing Figure 5.2 and 5.3, it is judged that the source speaker

and the interpreter constructed similar event CCs which share identical causal structures. Due to this, and supported by the CC constructed for this part of the TT, the interpreter was able to successfully communicate the event as intended by the source speaker in spite of the differences between the ST and the TT.

I now examine another case to show that the use of *make sure* in the ST is not a sufficient condition to produce *sase* in the TT. (6) includes an example of *make sure* where the use of *sase* is not sanctioned. An instance of “made sure” (E029), which cannot generate a concept of causation, can be found here. As a matter of fact, the interpreter did not produce *sase* for this part.

(6)

- |       |                                                    |                                                         |
|-------|----------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| E 029 | bringing finance ministers together on that issue. | We also made sure                                       |
| J 029 | ブラウン蔵務相が、蔵務相会議の会議で、G8の蔵務相会議でそのような合意をたたき出す、そのリーダー   |                                                         |
| E 030 | that we developed specific commitments             | in relation to the other problems that                  |
| J 030 | シップをとってくれたことに感謝をいたします。また具体的なコミットメントを作っておくことも必要     |                                                         |
| E 031 | Africa has, in respect of                          | HIV-Aids for example, as close as possible to universal |
| J 031 | です。その他アフリカにはいろいろな問題があります。例えば、HIV エイズの問題があります。      |                                                         |

In this case, “we” (E029) serves as the grammatical subject of “made sure” (E029) and, following that, “we” (E030) serves as the grammatical subject in the *that*-clause (E030). Since “we” (E029) and “we” (E030) share ‘G8’ as the same referent, AGENT 1 and AGENT 2 are the same entity in the event complex. Therefore, the CC constructed for this part does not have the causal event frame. Figure 5.4 illustrates the CCs constructed by the source speaker and the interpreter.



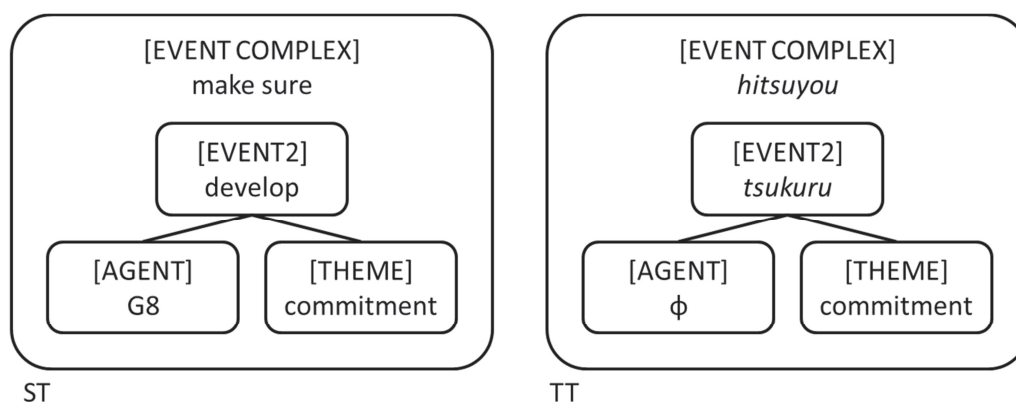


Figure 5.4

In this figure, the CC on the left hand is based on the ST and describes the source speaker's conceptual operations, while the CC on the right describes the interpreter's conceptual operations. As is shown in these figures, there is only one agent in both CCs. In the TT, that entity is not lexicalised, but because of the nature of the Japanese language it should be recognised in some form by the interpreter. (Note 2)

To enable use of *sase* in the TT, AGENT 1 and AGENT 2 must be grasped as different entities and the force dynamics which exists between them must be recognised. With this in mind (7) shows the conditions necessary to construct a causal event.

- (7)
  - a. AGENT 1 and AGENT 2 are recognised as different entities.
  - b. AGENT 1 is positioned as the agent for EVENT 1.
  - c. AGENT 2 is positioned as the theme for EVENT 1 and the agent for EVENT 2.

As the instance in (6) suggests, the use of *make sure* in the ST does not always sanction the use of *sase* in the TT. Only when the conditions in (7) are satisfied, is an interpreter able to comprehend the arrangement of participants in a causal event frame. The example in (1) shows a case where the interpreter is able to explicitly produce a causal expression in the TT based on the construction of a causal event where all of the necessary conditions are satisfied. Through the description of the online development of CCs, it is noted that the translation of “those developing countries” (E049) into “*tojoukoku-ni-oite*” (regarding developing countries: J049) reveals a processing stage where an event is constructed following the recognition of the component entities. As I will examine later, even though the interpreter has constructed a causal event, it does not necessarily mean that the interpreter produces *sase* for each case. It is, however, impossible to produce *sase* without the construction of a causal event.

The construction of a causal event has here been analysed through (1), and I proposed how a causal event can be represented using the CC model and further clarified the conditions necessary for the production of *sase*. In the following section, further examples will be analysed in order to examine issues relevant to the construction of a causal event as part of online discourse processing.

### 5.3 Information from the background

In the previous section I analysed a situation where the interpreter constructed a causal event even though the relations between the participants was implicit in the ST. Information on EVENT 1, which is the relation between AGENT 1 and 2, was implicit in the ST of (1), but information about the participants was explicit. I analysed a situation where the interpreter was trying to comprehend the role of the participants in an event through a TT expression of “*tojoukoku-ni-oite*” (regarding developing countries: J049). In some cases, however, an interpreter may construct a causal event on the basis of less complete information. If the conditions in (7) are satisfied, even when information on causality is implicit in the ST, the interpreter is still able to construct a causal event. In the following sections of this case study, other cases will be examined where *sase* provides a clue which elicits the potential of this approach.

In this section I will analyse instances where construction of a causal event complex is derived from background information held by the interpreter as well as other relevant issues. For this purpose, I will continue to pay attention to use of *sase* in the TT.

(8)

- |       |                                                                                                                     |                                               |                         |
|-------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| E 056 | but it is never                                                                                                     | sufficient.                                   | In the end it is only   |
| J 056 | いったことはありません。もちろん資金は必要です。しかし、それだけでもって十分で（は）ありません。                                                                    |                                               |                         |
| E 057 | vibrant African leadership, capable of giving good governance to its people, that can make the ultimate difference, |                                               |                         |
| J 057 | 最終的には                                                                                                               | アフリカの 指導力、活力ある                                | 指導力によってのみよき、統治を         |
| E 058 | that will root out corruption,                                                                                      | that will entrench democracy and human rights |                         |
| J 058 | 実現し、大きな変化をもたらすことが出来ます。汚職をやめさせ、そして民主主義、                                                                              |                                               |                         |
| E 059 | and will make sure that people respect the rule of law so                                                           |                                               |                         |
| J 059 | 人権擁護を浸透させ、                                                                                                          | そして、                                          | 人々が法による統治を尊重することを確実にするに |
| E 060 | I am very pleased at what we have been able to achieve and I hope, as I said to                                     |                                               |                         |
| J 060 | はアフリカの人々の指導力が必要です。大変今回のこの成果についてうれしく思っております。                                                                         |                                               |                         |

In the ST observed in (8), several events are described in parallel as modifiers for “leadership” (E057) and the interpreter produced them successively. Among them, *sase* was employed twice in “*osyoku-wo yame-sase*” (make  $\phi$  stop corruption: J058) and “*minsyu-syugi jinken-yougo-wo shintou-sase*” (make democracy and protection of human rights penetrated: J058). On the other hand, although “make sure” (E059) appears in the ST, the interpreter did not produce *sase* in the TT. Table 5.1 summarises these performances.

	ST		TT		Back translation
a	E058	that will root out corruption	J058	<i>osyoku-wo yame-sase</i>	make $\phi$ stop corruption
b	E058	that will entrench democracy and human rights	J058	<i>minsyu-syugi jinken-yougo-wo shintou-sase</i>	make democracy and protection of human rights penetrated
c	E059	will make sure that people respect the rule of law	J059	<i>hitobito-ga hou-ni-yoru touchi-wo sontyou-suru-koto-wo kakujitsu-ni-suru</i>	make sure that people respect the rule of law

Table 5.1

This part of the ST is a cleft sentence which highlights “vibrant African leadership” (E057) and (a), (b) and (c) are each the content of parallel *that*-clauses.

Before the examination of the causal events, I would like to pay attention to the differences found in the segmentation in this part of the ST and the TT. Although “capable of good governance to its people” (E057) is not the content of a *that*-clause, but an adjectival phrase which modifies “leadership” (E057), the interpreter included this phrase in the same sentence with the first *that*-clause which leads to “that can make the ultimate difference” (E057). On the other hand, the second and the third *that*-clauses were translated in another sentence together in the TT. All the elements in the adjectival phrase and *that*-clauses are components in a single sentence in the ST, the interpreter processed them regardless of their syntactic feature. In other words, the interpreter does not make a distinction between information in this adjectival phrase

and that in the *that*-clauses. This fact corroborates the belief that the interpreter's conceptual operations are independent of the superficial structure of the ST.

So, if this is the case, in what way can the interpreter's CCs be described? The “capable of good governance to its people” (E057) is translated into “*touchi-wo jitsugen-shi*” (establish governance: J057) and “that can make the ultimate difference” (E057), which is the first *that*-clause, is translated as “*ookina henka-wo motarasu-koto-ga dekimasu*” (φ can bring a great change: J058). This performance suggests that the interpreter constructs event CCs for each piece of information, positioning ‘leadership’ as the agent. These translations reflect the syntactic structure of the ST. Also, because (a), (b) and (c) are the content of *that*-clauses in the cleft sentence, all the events denoted here have ‘leadership’ as their agent. Considering that the literal meaning of *leadership* is a property of a person or a group of people, the content of ‘leadership’ should be ‘person or people with leadership powers’.

In (a), “that will root out corruption” (E058) is translated as “*osyoku-wo yame-sase*” (make φ stop corruption: J058) with an instance of *sase*. This reveals the interpreter's construction of a causal event complex. In this event complex, AGENT 2 should refer to people involved in corruption such as politicians or people who ask politicians for concessions or some other form of preference. Figure 5.5 is an illustration of the causal event complex constructed for this part.

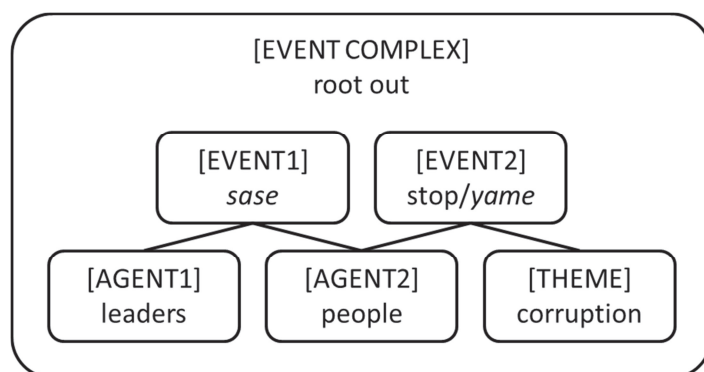


Figure 5.5

In the ST, “root out” (E058) can denote the event complex. Nevertheless, information on AGENT 2 is not explicit in the ST. In fact, this participant is implicit not only in the ST, but also in the TT. But, this interpreter's production of *sase* cannot be explained without understanding this entity to be the agent of corrupt activities. (Note 3) It seems hard to assert that this entity was included as part of the lexically encoded meaning of *corruption*. Moreover, it is impossible to embed this entity into the causal event frame

through code-switching operations. More naturally, the interpreter employed her background knowledge on corruption which includes information on the entity and integrated this information with the meaning of *stop*. Evans (2009) explains such operations as access to a cognitive model through lexical concepts. To construct the causal event complex shown in Figure 5.11, access to such cognitive resources is necessary.

Next, “that will entrench democracy and human rights” (E058) is translated as “*minsyu-syugi jinken-yougo-wo shintou-sase*” (make democracy and protection of human rights penetrated: J058) in (b). Considering that what is ‘established’ here is ‘democracy’ and ‘human rights’, and that it is ‘leaders’ who bring about these outcomes, this event can be constructed as ‘leaders’ exercise force dynamics towards ‘democracy’ and ‘human rights’ as abstract entities and they are thereby established. Figure 5.6 shows an event complex constructed for this performance.

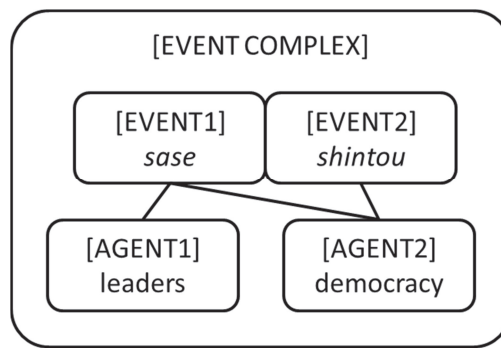


Figure 5.6

Considering that there is no THEME for EVENT 2, EVENT 2 is essentially intransitive. In this case, EVENT 1 and 2 might be construed as a form of transitive event in a set. In this TT expression, “*shintou-sase*” (make... penetrated: J059) does not adhere to the meaning of *entrench* as commonly found in a dictionary. If the interpreter were to employ a lexical item found in a dictionary, she might use *kakuritsu-shi* (establish) without *sase*, instead of *shintou-sase* (make...penetrated). I do not intend to analyse why the interpreter came up with *shintou* (penetration) at this juncture, but, when she produced *shintou* (penetration) for some reason, she needed to express transitivity for this event. Therefore, the “*sase*” (J059) used here may well have been employed to present “*shintou*” (penetration: J059) as a transitive event. If this is the case, then this “*sase*” (J059) might represent an exhibition of transitivity as part of a lexically encoded meaning of *entrench* as a macro-event (Talmy, 2000b, p.216) or more specifically, a

transitive meaning of the morpheme *en*. It follows, therefore, that this is not an instance of difference between ST and TT.

The last item in Table 5.1 is (c). In this case, “will make sure that people respect the rule of law” (E059) is translated as “*hitobito-ga hou-ni-yoru touchi-wo sontyou-suru-koto-wo kakujitsu-ni-suru*” (make sure that people respect the rule of law: J059). No significant difference can be identified between ST and TT in this part of the SI performance. The event CC constructed for this part can be drawn as shown in Figure 5.7.

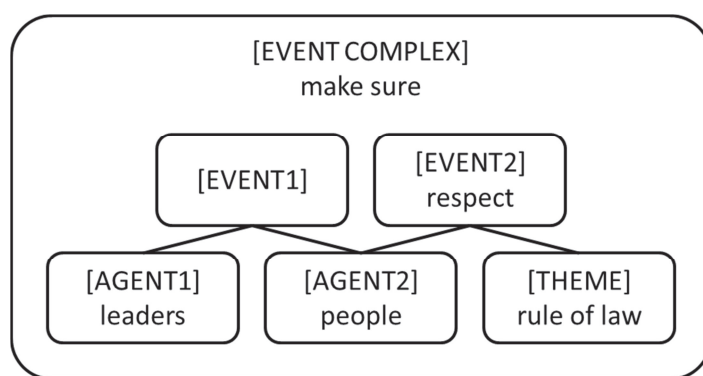


Figure 5.7

This formulates a causal event complex. This event complex for “make sure” (E059) shares the same structure as that of “make sure” (E049), which was examined in (1) in this chapter. Here all of the conditions necessary to use *sase* are satisfied. Notwithstanding, the interpreter did not employ *sase* for this part. I present here two hypothetical reasons for why that might be. Firstly, with respect to the formal aspect, when the interpreter translated “people” (E059) as “*hitobito-ga*” (J059), *sase* was excluded due to co-occurrence restriction. In this performance, causal meaning is implicit in the TT as well as in the ST. Secondly, with regard to the semantic aspect, if the interpreter produced *sontyou-sase* (make φ respect), this may be understood as ‘the rule of law is not at all respected’. In this way, because production of TT expressions involves various factors, even if an interpreter constructs the CCs which have the same basic structure as a causal event complex, there is still leeway for the interpreter to produce variants of a TT expression. On the other hand, interpreters can produce a TT without serious deviation from the ST because their performance is supported by the structured CCs.

After producing the TT expressions in (a), (b) and (c), the interpreter produced “*Africa-no hitobito-no shidou-ryoku-ga hitsuyou-desu*” (African people’s leadership is

required: J059) as a repetitive translation of “vibrant African leadership” (E057). (The first translation is “*Africa-no shidou-ryoku, katsuryoku-aru sidou-ryouk*” (African leadership, vibrant leadership: J057).) This performance reveals that the interpreter retains the information on ‘African leadership’ with processing (a), (b) and (c) until the repetitive translation. This retention corroborates the interpreter’s construal of ‘leadership’ as a participant of the series of events here.

To summarise analysis in this section, the use of “*sase*” (J058) in (a) suggests that the interpreter drew implicit participants from the background information that she held and positioned it in such a way as to construct a causal event complex. On the other hand, the “*sase*” (J059) in (b) was used to express linguistically encoded transitivity in the morpheme *en* in “entrench” (E058). In (c), *sase* was not employed although “make sure” (E059) occurred, which would have enabled construction of a causal event complex. In this case, I pointed out circumstantial reasons for the restraint shown with regards to the use of *sase* for this performance, as one of a variety of factors determining TT expressions employed in the SI performance.

In this section, through examination of the use of “*sase*” (J058) in (a), I have observed how the interpreter employed background information to construct a causal event complex. On the other hand, in this case, the retention of ‘leadership’ as the agent of serial events also played an important role. In the interpreter’s cognitive environment, a CC for this element is stored as part of the history of CCs constructed during the previous part of the discourse. The next section will focus on the role of the history of CCs in the construction of a causal event complex.

## 5.4 Information from the history of CCs

In the previous section, the use of background information was observed in the construction of a causal event complex. In this section, I will analyse an instance where the information necessary for the construction of a causal event is gained from the history of CCs which were constructed from the previous part of the discourse – even though this information is implicit in the corresponding part of the ST.

In (9), “motivated by a determination to see a stop to it” (E018) is translated as “*sore-wa yame-sase-tai toiu sou-riu douki-kara-desu*” (want to make  $\phi$  stop it, from such motivation: J019). In this part of the ST, there are two expressions to denote events, but no participants are explicitly given for neither of them. It follows that there is no information on AGENT 1 or 2 in the ST to enable production of “*sase*” (J019).



(9)

- E 012 As I said to you earlier today, we do not simply by this communiqué make poverty history,  
J 012 前進を遂げることが出来たと思います。今日もうすでに申し上げたとおり、私たちはこのコミュニケに
- E 013 But we do show how it can be done, and we do signify the political  
J 013 より貧困を過去のものとすることは出来ません。しかしどのようにすればそれが出来るかということ、
- E 014 will to do it. The passion that we have brought to  
J 014 それは、私たち、共通認識をもっていますし、そのための政治意志も私たちは今日みせました。大きな情
- E 015 this has been echoed by a quite remarkable campaign in all parts of our country, but in all  
J 015 熱を以ってこの問題にあたろうとしています。そのためにはまた大きなキャンペーンも行われました。
- E 016 parts of the world also. It has been led with a great deal of dignity  
J 016 私たちの国だけではなく世界中であのような大々的なキャンペーンが行われました。それは、大きな
- E 017 and with an enormous compassion and decency for the scandal of the thousands of people  
J 017 尊厳をもって行われ、そしてまた、すばらしい、その、思いやりの心と
- E 018 who die every day preventably in Africa, motivated by a determination to see a  
J 018 それから、人間的な気持ちを持って行われました。アフリカでは、たくさんの人が日々なくなってい
- E 019 stop to it. About a year ago we established  
J 019 くそれはやめさせたいという、そういう動機からです。 およそ一年ほど前、

It is conceivable that the interpreter perceived the ‘G8’ as AGENT 1 and ‘African people’ as AGENT 2 for the event denoted by the nominal expression of “a stop” (E018). In order to trace the interpreter’s discourse processing, it is necessary to examine information that stems from a wider body of the previously given ST. Where did information corresponding to ‘G8’ and ‘African people’ come from? The interpreter translated “stop to it” (E019) into “*sore-wa yame-sase-tai*” (want to make  $\phi$  stop it: J019). In the TT, the referent of “*sore*” (it: J019) is “*Africa-dewa takusan-no hito-ga hibi nakunatte-iku*” (in Africa, a number of people die every day: J018), corresponding to “the thousands of people who die every day preventably in Africa” (E017). The interpreter seems to obtain the information about ‘African people’ from this part of the ST. ‘G8’ is, however, still implicit even in this part. In the ST, ‘G8’ is referred to on several occasions as “we” in E013 (two instances) and E014. But, even though the interpreter recognised that there were two participants: ‘African people’ and ‘G8’, how can it be that she assigned them to



the event of ‘stop’? Since “a stop” (E018) is a nominal expression, there is no syntactic information to which they can be assigned. Even though the two participants are recognised, the semantic role of each participant in the event is not uniquely determined. For example, G8 can stop African people or African people can stop G8. It seems that the formulation of a causal event is rather complex. Figure 5.8 shows a causal event complex such as analysed through the interpreter’s performance for this part.

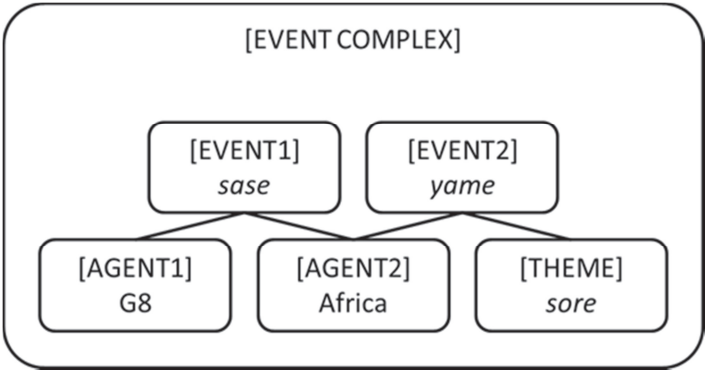


Figure 5.8

Considering that the source speaker was talking about how the G8 can support Africa, it is no wonder that the interpreter placed ‘G8’ as AGENT 1 when processing this discourse. However, I trace how the interpreter achieved this comprehension through examination of the differences between the ST and the TT.

As I mentioned earlier, the ‘we’ from the ST is understood as ‘G8 leaders including the speaker’ or ‘G8 countries led by the speaker and his colleagues’. The fundamental topic of this discourse is the G8 summit and it is conceivable that the interpreter recognises that the topic of this part as Africa when the interpreter translated “In respect of Africa” (E008) into “*Africa-ni kanshi-te-wa*” (in respect of Africa: J009). Subsequently, “we have made very substantial progress” (E011) was translated as “*watashi-tachi-wa ookina zenshin-wo togeru-koto-ga dekita*” (we were able to make great progress: J012). This part of the discourse is an instance where the ‘G8’ play the role of agent.

This construal is clearly observed in the translation of “the passion that we have brought to this” (E014) as “*ookina jounetsu-wo-motte kono mondai-ni atarou-to shi-te-i-masu*” (with great passion, φ is going to tackle this problem: J014). Significant differences can be observed in this part of SI performance. First, although the ST expression is a noun phrase modified by a that-clause, the corresponding TT expression

is a clause. The interpreter's output of "*ookina jounetsu-wo-motte*" (with great passion: J014) suggests that the relation between the 'G8' and 'passion' is understood as one of entity and its property. In other words, the interpreter's comprehension for this part is the 'G8 is passionate'. More importantly for this discussion, the interpreter's delivery of "*kono mondai*" (this problem: J015) corroborates her construal of this topic, because the corresponding information for "*mondai*" (problem: J015) is implicit in this part of the ST. In the TT, "*kono mondai*" (this problem: J015) refers to "*hinkon-wo kako-no-mono-to-suru-koto*" (making poverty things in the past: J013). Considering the topic, this "*hinkon*" (poverty: J013) was combined with the interpreter's background information and understood as one of the problems that Africa faces. "*Atarou-to shi-te-i-masu*" (φ is going to tackle: J015) suggests that the interpreter constructed an event CC in processing "*kono mondai*" (this problem: J015). As long as "*kono mondai*" (this problem: J015) is understood as one of issues that the G8 summit believed Africa to face, the agent must be the 'G8' even though this is implicit in the TT. It can be said that the background knowledge of African issues introduced for this part includes the relation between Africa and the G8. In other words, the interpreter drew an event frame which includes the 'G8 is tackling problems' through use of background information that she held on the topic and thereby integrated CCs for 'G8', 'Africa' and 'passion' when processing this part. Figure 5.9 demonstrates this operation.

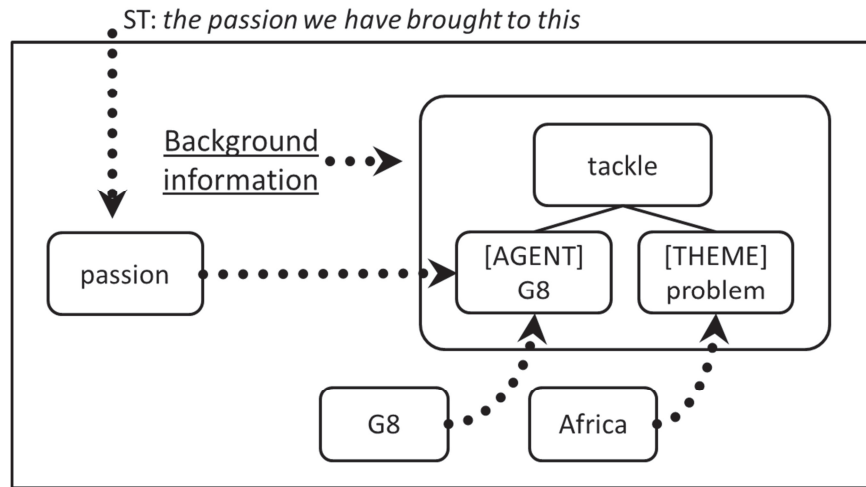


Figure 5.9

After that, the interpreter produced "*sono-tame-ni-wa mata ookina campaign-mo okonawa-re-mashi-ta*" (for that purpose, a great campaign was also carried out: J015). The source of "*sono-tame-ni-wa*" (for that purpose: J015) is not found in the ST. This

performance suggests that the interpreter construed ‘campaign’ as measures to ‘tackle the problem’. Also, in this performance ‘*campaign*’ is construed as a theme of an event. “*okonawa-re-mashi-ta*” (was carried out: J015) was produced with no explicit agent in the TT. However, ‘G8’ serves as the common agent for this part of the discourse. This information was repeatedly translated into “*ano-youna daidaitekina campaign-ga okonawa-re-mashi-ta*” (a wide scale campaign like that was carried out: J016), which reveals retention of this information. This part was translated after “It has been led” (E016), which means ‘the campaign has been carried out’. The “led” here (E016) was also translated as “*okonawa-re*” (was carried out: J016). This selection of the same lexical items was enabled by comprehension of “it” (E016) as ‘campaign’. It can therefore be said that this demonstrates retention of the event. This retention is anchored to “*okonawa-remashi-ta*” (was carried out: J018), which is another repetitive translation of “it has been led” (E016). Figure 5.10 is an illustration of this operation.

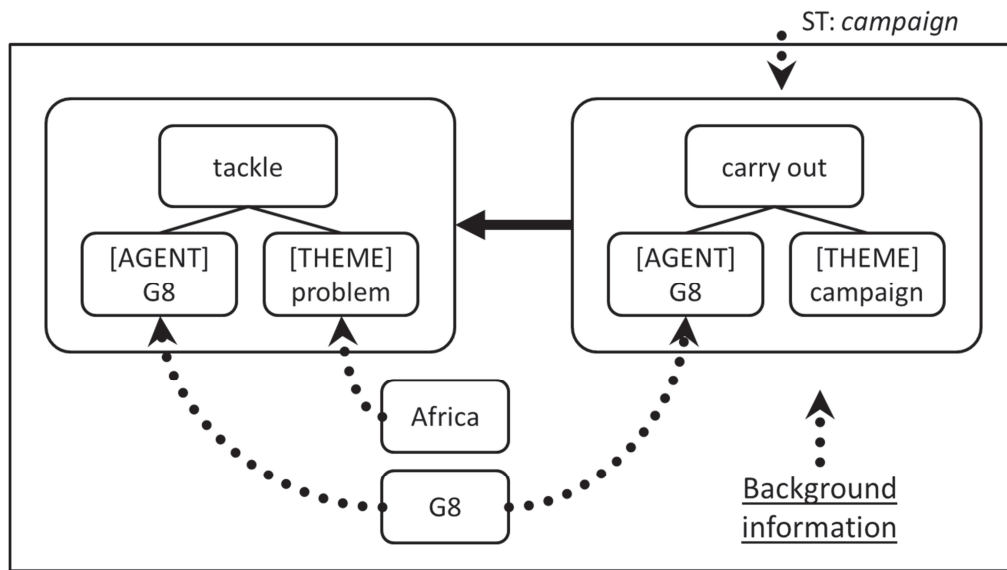


Figure 5.10

This figure depicts the cognitive environment of the interpreter for this part of the SI performance. The black arrow between the two events signifies the logical relations recovered by the interpreter. CCs for ‘Africa’ and ‘G8’ were retained and employed to construct each event. On the other hand, in parallel with this event construction, a CC for ‘problem’ was developed as shown in Figure 5.11.

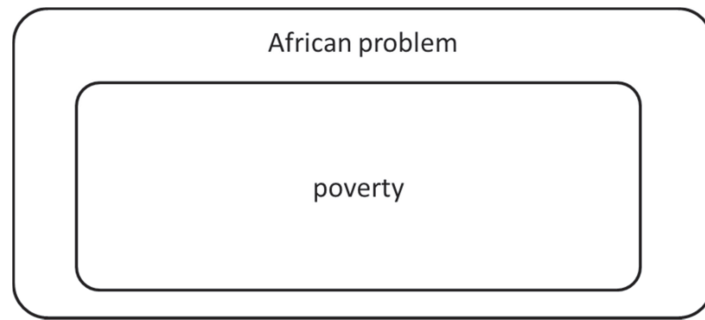


Figure 5.11

Based on this cognitive environment, the interpreter processed “the thousands of people who die every day preventably in Africa” (E017), which makes the CC for ‘problem’ develop into a new status as shown in Figure 5.12.

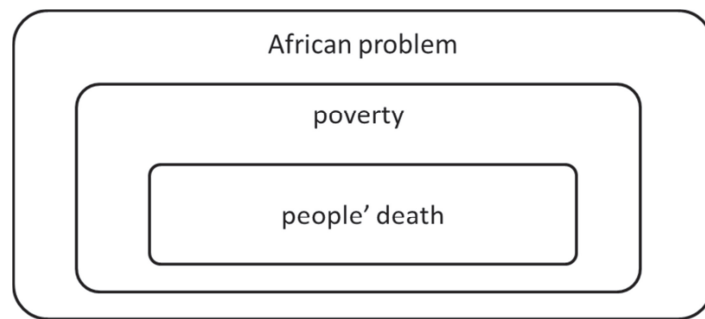


Figure 5.12

When the interpreter constructed the CC for ‘problem’ as illustrated in Figure 5.12, ‘people’ and ‘death’ is included in the CC. To this extent, at least, the CC for ‘problem’ is considered to have been enriched. (Note 4) When the interpreter received “a stop to it” (E018), she understood this “stop” (E019) as a solution to the ‘problem’ and the referent of “it” (E019) as ‘people’s death’. She was then able to construct an event complex based on the CC for ‘tackling problems’. This operations is shown in Figure 5.13

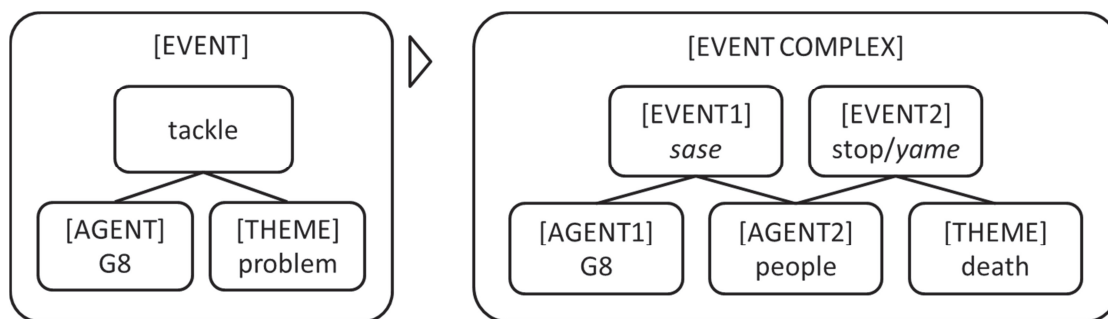


Figure 5.13

Since the CC for ‘problem’ included ‘people’ and ‘death’, the entities can be employed as the agent and the theme, respectively for the event denoted by “a stop” (E018). ‘G8’ is added as the source of force dynamics included in ‘tackle’. As a result, a causal event complex was constructed.

In this operation, in order to process “a stop” (E018), the interpreter employed an event CC for ‘tackling problems’ which comprise an enriched componential CC for ‘problem’ and entity CCs for ‘G8’ and ‘Africa’. These CCs are positioned as the history of CC to process “a stop” (E018). Among the elements of information required to construct a causal event complex, lexically given information from “a stop” (E018) is only EVENT 2. All the other information was derived from the history of CCs.

In this section I have examined a case where a causal event complex is constructed based the history of CCs as well as information from the corresponding part of the ST. The next section will consider the nature of the construction of events based on an observation of the cases given in this chapter.

## 5.5 Nature of an event CC

The previous sections examined the construction of causal event complexes as a type of event CC by looking at the linguistic differences between expressions in the ST and the TT in a record of an SI performance. This section presents my views concerning an event CC based on observations in this case study.

Causal event complexes are a type of event CC which are semantic representations constructed during the online process of discourse comprehension. Such conceptual representations are distinguished from stable and abstract linguistic knowledge. Linguistically encoded meaning is assumed to be stored in our long term memory as a schematic representation which can be represented as a causal chain (Croft, 1990, 1991). The interpreter uses such knowledge as a cognitive resource with which to comprehend utterances in discourse processing. Nevertheless, as the observation in this case study

elucidated, an event CC is not constructed as a composition of linguistically encoded meanings from the ST. More generally, events are constructed through the conceptual operation of recognising participants from both linguistic and contextual information and embedding them in schematic knowledge of an event. Because this representation on events includes extra-textual information, this conceptual structure does not necessarily reflect the syntactic structure of the corresponding part of the ST.

I have proposed the conditions which are necessary in order to construct a causal event complex which enables the production of *sase*. My contention is that the examination of such conditions and the construction of event complexes are not conscious operations. However, for example when an interpreter tests the appropriateness of TT expressions, he/she can draw on the CC. Analysis of (3) in this case study serves as an instantiation of such an operation. Johnson-Laird (1983) asserts that the comprehension of discourse involves both mental modelling itself and operations involving them: construction, expansion and evaluation of mental models. Causal event complexes or event CCs in general are considered to be a form of mental model.

## 5.6 Summary

This chapter focused on the structural aspect of CCs through an analysis of the construction of a type of event CC. The construction of structured CCs contributes to the comprehension of the framework of a discourse.

Construction of a causal event complex as a type of event CC has been examined. Since the interpreter, as a hearer of the ST, cannot directly access the source speaker's mind, he/she cannot grasp the message intended to be communicated by the source speaker at any given moment. The interpreter constructs CCs step by step in the course of discourse processing. An instance which reveals the online construction of CCs of this was observed through the TT expression "*tojoukoku-ni-oite*" (regarding developing countries: J049) in (1). Through the description of CCs, this operation demonstrates how, in the course of an SI performance, interpreters are sometimes forced to produce TT expressions without sufficient information even when he/she is still in the process of constructing a CC. We do not normally have to express what we have understood from a discourse before we comprehend the content of it. Therefore an operation of this kind can be considered as something unique to SI. Having said that, the cognitive mechanisms involved in discourse processing analysed here are not the exclusive preserve of SI. It is quite conceivable that the hearer of a discourse generally constructs event CCs in the same manner when involved in the online processing of discourse.

Through reference to examples from an actual SI record, this chapter analysed the contribution of structured event CCs to SI performance. In constructing CCs, interpreters employ contextual information such as background information of a topic and the history of CCs constructed from a previous part of the discourse as well as explicit information in a previous part of the ST. The analysis contained in this chapter is a demonstration of just such an operation. The specific role of contextual information during the construction of a causal event complex was clarified in each example.

- Note 1. Considering that “have the capacity to make use of” (E049) can be paraphrased into *can use*, it may seem that THEME in the event complex should be analysed as “those more open markets” (E049). The approach of the study, however, holds that exploration of an interpreter’s cognitive processing should be based on TT expressions, not ST ones. In this performance, the interpreter produced “*nouryoku-wo mi-mi-tsuke*” (gain ability: J049) in which “*nouryoku*” (ability: J049) is a nominal expression representing construal of an entity by the interpreter. Therefore, I judged that ‘*nouryoku*’ is positioned as THEME in the event complex. Likewise, with respect to examining the source speaker’s event construction, considering the syntactic features of this part of the ST, considering ‘capacity’ as the THEME in the event complex is justified.
- Note 2. In this figure, this entity is signified as  $\phi$ , but this does not mean this entity is recognised as void.)
- Note 3. The interpreter translated “corruption” (E058) as “*osyoku*” (corruption: J058). This Japanese lexical item is used only in a political context. The lexical meaning of *corruption* in English, however, is not limited to politics. This interpreter eliminated the ambiguity of *corruption* by drawing on her background information of the topic.
- Note 4. Seen from a wider perspective of the discourse, this CC is constructed as a component of ‘issues for G8’. However, I have omitted this conceptual shell from the figure in order to focus on the point of our discussion and to avoid unnecessary complexity.

## Part III

### Online analysis

In this part of the study, I will attempt a description of the online construction of CCs by an interpreter during an actual SI performance. The conceptual operations at work in the SI will be analysed through examination of a sample SI performance, focusing on the role of contextual information in online discourse processing. The production of a TT expression in the actual SI performance involves a wide range of factors, and in many cases, it seems quite unnatural to attribute the cause of an expression in the TT to only one or a small number of factors. Further, there is gradation to be found in the degree of contribution to the TT expression by the various factors involved in the production of the TT. The analysis in this study is mainly based on the observable linguistic features which can be transcribed from the auditory ST and TT, but it does not exclude the possibility of the involvement of other factors.

This part of the study comprises three chapters. Since the role of background information is one of the keys to analysing the sample SI performance in this study, Chapter 6 outlines the profile of the sampled SI performance from the perspective of the background information available to the interpreter. Before describing the online development of CCs, Chapter 7 provides an overview of the differences observed in the sample SI performance in order to prepare clues to the analysis of the conceptual operations at work. All the differences are classified into six categories (five types and one for miscellaneous examples) based on the type of operations. Also, the information sources employed for each TT expression are classified into four categories. Both typical and peripheral cases for each operation type will be addressed. On the basis of analysis in Chapter 7, the online development of CCs during the sampled performance will be described in Chapter 8. The differences outlined in Chapter 7 will be employed to describe the online development of CCs in order to explore the actuality of conceptual operations during the SI performance.



# 6. Profile of the sample

## 6.1 Background information

In this chapter and in the following chapters, I illustrate my arguments from the perspective of the CC model with an analysis of the conceptual operations involved in the specific SI performance. This case study will examine the online development of discourse processing through the SI sample given in (1). I have chosen this part of the SI performance because it exhibits evidence of a wide range of the conceptual operations commonly involved in an authentic SI performance by an experienced interpreter.

The source speech for the sample (1) is an answer to a question asked by the host of a Japanese television programme about media strategy employed by the US government. It is conceivable that, when the source speaker started to deliver the ST, the interpreter was assumed that the host was going to start talking about ‘media strategy in the USA’ and that this information formed part of the background information on the topic of the ST. This information comprises compound cognitive elements. The question asked by the host explicitly included *Media*, *strategy* and *USA*. In this chapter, in order to prepare for the analysis of this SI performance about “US government media strategy”, the ST is profiled in terms of background information accessible to the interpreter.

Table 6.1 is a review of the categorization of information which is available to the interpreter and the classification of the information in this study.

a	Linguistic expressions	Linguistic		
b	Linguistic knowledge			
c	World knowledge	Contextual	Background	Existing
d	Knowledge about the subject			Situational
e	Communication setting		Constructed	
f	Introduction of the utterances			
g	History of CCs			

Table 6.1

Contextual information can be classified as: the history of CCs and background information. Of the two, background information serves as the profile of the ST for the

interpreter. This background information comprises existing information, which is obtained independently from the interpreting site, as well as situational information, which is directly derived from the interpreting site. Existing information for the interpreter can be addressed from two angles. The first is world knowledge which is constantly held by the interpreter without any relation to the interpreting session in question. The other is knowledge about the topic which is acquired and held specifically for the purposes of the interpreting session. The demarcation between the two is not clear, but in practice, when an interpreter prepares for his/her assignment, he/she is supposed to supplement his/her knowledge concerning the topic. Situational knowledge can be classified as the setting of interpreting performance and introduction leading to the source speech. For the sampled performance in (1), the setting of the interpreting performance is made up of information on the programme; the profiles of the guests and hosts, the title and composition, technical settings, etc. Facial expressions, the voices and attitudes of the people in the programme, the atmosphere in the studio and the condition of the communication devices employed are also included. Since two of the English-speaking guest speakers need an interpreter in this programme, interpreters have to identify which guest is the source speaker when they are engaged in the SI session. Another type of situational information is the introduction leading to the source speech. This is the content of the programme until the commencement of the ST, specifically that which triggers the ST. This includes both linguistic and non-linguistic information obtained from the flow of the programme.

The following section will examine each item of background information for this particular interpreting session, thereby profiling the ST of (1).

(1)

- E 076 [G]: WELL, I THINK YOU'VE INDICATED BEFORE THERE WAS SORT OF AN OVERALL  
J 076 [G]: おっしゃったとおり、先に、最初示唆されましたけれども、
- E 077 EFFORT TO EXPLOIT INFORMATION TO MAXIMUM EFFECT. IT WAS USED BOTH TO DOMINATE  
J 077 全体的な 努力が なされて、 情報をできるだけ駆使しようと、それをもって、成果を最大化し
- E 078 THE BATTLE FIELD. IT WAS USED TO INFLUENCE OUR ENEMIES. AND CLEARLY, IT WAS USED  
J 078 ようとしたんです。これは戦場を支配するためです。 そして わたしたちの敵に対して、 影響力
- E 079 TO CONVEY TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, AND FOR THAT MATTER, THE INTERNATIONAL  
J 079 持つためです。 そして、実際に、 アメリカの人たちにも、 そ し て
- E 080 POPULATION WHAT THIS WAR WAS ACTUALLY ABOUT AFTER SO MANY AH  
J 080 また、 国際社会にも、 実際にこの戦争は、 何のためなのかということを伝えました。
- E 081 STORIES AND ALLEGATIONS, AND INSINUATIONS THAT WHAT WE WERE DOING WAS  
J 081 たくさんのいろいろな話や、 主張や、 申し立てや、 あるいは暗に秘めて 批判され
- E 082 GOING FOR EMPIRE AND WE WERE GOING TO KILL IMMENSE NUMBERS OF CIVILIANS  
J 082 たりいろんなことがありました。 たとえばアメリカは帝国をつくろうとしている、 あるいは
- E 083 AND WE WOULD BE USING WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION OURSELVES AND SO ON  
J 083 本当にたくさんの市民を殺そうとしている、 そして大量破壊兵器を使うで
- E 084 AND LOTS OF THINGS LIKE THIS NEEDED TO BE REBUTTED AND I THINK THE  
J 084 あろうと、 いろんなことが言われましたけども、 そうじゃないということを
- E 085 ADMINISTRATION UNDERSTOOD PROPERLY THAT THERE WAS NO BETTER, NO MORE  
J 085 示す必要があったのです。 そしてブッシュ政権はそれをちゃんと理解しました。
- E 086 CREDIBLE WAY TO DO THAT THAN TO HAVE PEOPLE WHO DID NOT WORK FOR THE  
J 086 実際に人々に 伝えるために、 そして信憑性を 持つ
- E 087 US GOVERNMENT EMBEDDED WITH THE TROOPS ACTUALLY WITNESSING WHAT WAS  
J 087 ためには、 アメリカ政府の人間ではない人たちが、
- E 088 GOING ON DAY TO DAY. IT WORKED, I THINK, SENSATIONALLY. IN PART THOUGH IT SHOULD  
J 088 実際に従軍記者としてそれを報道するというのが、 一番いいであろう
- E 089 BE CLEAR IT WORKED BECAUSE THE WAR WENT VERY WELL. IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN  
J 089 と考えたのです。 本当にでもそれはうまくいきました。 でも、 うまくいったのは戦争が

## 6.2 World knowledge

Interpreters possess general knowledge about the current world situation. General knowledge relevant to this SI performance means knowledge that is naturally possessed by educated Japanese native speakers which is not particularly associated with the Iraq War. This knowledge includes information on Iraq, warfare in general, mass-media, international politics and on the like. It is impossible, of course, to describe the complete range of such knowledge. Since the topic of this ST is US media strategy during the Iraq War, a sample list of world knowledge on the USA is prepared below.

(2) Geography (global position, climate, topography, natural resources, major cities)

History (origins, foundation, development, historic figures)

Culture (thought, social system, science and technology, life style, fine arts)

Politics (domestic affairs, diplomatic relations, political system, political groups)

Economics (position in the global economy, macroeconomic figures, private businesses)

Since the end of the Cold War, and throughout the early 21<sup>st</sup> Century, the United States of America has been accepted as the world's sole super power. Knowledge of it therefore spans a fairly broad spectrum. On the other hand, the amount of knowledge held depends on each interpreter and the accuracy of their knowledge includes individual factors. Also, no item of knowledge is held independently of the others, each is related and overlaps with other items. This knowledge would exist in the long term memory of the interpreter even if the interpreter were not assigned to this SI performance. The reason for separating this knowledge from other forms or items of knowledge is to identify the information upon which construction of the CCs is based, and which exists in the interpreter's mind with no particular relation to the SI performance. In the process of discourse processing, the interpreter relates some of this foundational information to other information so that the content of CCs are either broadened or narrowed as required. That said, this is not the only information available to the interpreter. The interpreter will surely have prepared for the SI performance in advance. Also, the interpreter is able to obtain further relevant information from the setting of the interpreting site, which, in this instance, is the situation in the studio where the programme is being recorded. It is conceivable that the interpreter has prepared information which focuses aspects specific to the upcoming SI, which are based on her world knowledge and which therefore constitute the most general background information on the topic.

As I have already pointed out in Chapter 4, the basic nature of knowledge in the cognitive environment is conceptual. For example, most of information which is expressed in a proper name (e.g. names of person, place, organisation, event, etc.) is associated with a linguistic form. This does not mean, however, that such information is stored just as linguistic entries. On the contrary, every item of the information is assumed to be incorporated in the network of knowledge. A hearer of utterance may be able to elicit propositional information from the network. However, the body of such knowledge is not just a set of encyclopaedic or episodic entries about the world. Information acquired from the external environment must be substantiated with other types of internal resources which are derived from somatic sensations or basic human cognitive mechanisms. Through our day-to-day experiences, entries in the cognitive environment are liable to be abstracted and integrated with each other to formulate a schematic structure, which is called script (Schank & Abelson, 1977), frame (Minsky, 1985; Fillmore, 1982), schema (Langcker, 1987), idealised cognitive models (Lakoff, 1987), simulator (Barsalou, 1999) and cognitive models (Evans, 2009). If a set of structured knowledge is associated with a specific lexical item, this information is liable to form a lexical conceptual structure (Jackendoff, 1990). All of the knowledge which is acquired through a hearer's experience in both the external and internal worlds consists of world knowledge. It is assumed that such cognitive resources are combined with the relevant information to construct the rich content found in a CC.

### **6.3 Knowledge about the subject**

While world knowledge is possessed by the interpreter independently of this SI performance, knowledge of the topic is prepared, organised or, at least, related to the topic of this SI assignment for the purposes of the programme. This SI performance was carried out for a programme about the Iraq War and was thus closely related to the much-debated topics in international affairs of those days. Information about such topics would be available in the mass-media or over the Internet and accumulated to some extent through going about one's everyday life as a normal member of society. Since the interpreter in question commonly works in broadcasting settings for a television station, he/she would be expected to be more conscious of international affairs than most. Therefore, this interpreter's world knowledge would likely have included a considerable amount of information about international affairs at that time. Also, the interpreter may well have supplemented her knowledge through preparation of this assignment. However, the point here is not how the interpreter acquired the background information, but that some information is prepared for the topic of this

assignment. The interpreter will have surely, before the start of this source speech, prepared for the performance and therefore some relevant information would have been highly accessible to the interpreter. (3) is a list of such information.

- (3) America: Bush administration, anti-terrorism (diplomacy after 911), media strategy
- Iraq: dictatorship under Hussein regime, weapons of mass destruction, alliance with international terrorist groups
- Cause of the war: global threat, democratization in Iraq, economic effect, oil concessions, religious issues
- Religious conflict: Christianity and Judaism versus Islamism, middle-east issues, fundamentalism
- US media strategy: embedded journalists, information control
- Reaction from international society: United Nations, UK, France, Japan, anti-war rallies

In order to examine knowledge held about the topic, it is necessary to consider the date of this SI performance. Looking back at the history of contemporary international affairs, 24<sup>th</sup> April 2003, on which this live programme was broadcasted, falls between the commencement of the ground invasion of Iraq by a combined force of the United States and the United Kingdom on 20<sup>th</sup> March and the “Mission Accomplished” speech delivered by President Bush on 1<sup>st</sup> May. Prior to these events, on 5<sup>th</sup> February, the then United States Secretary of State Colin Powell presented a body of evidence on the Iraqi weapons of mass destruction programme to the United Nations Security Council as one of the critical issues justifying the Iraq War. On 14<sup>th</sup> February, the French Foreign Minister Dominique de Villepin delivered a speech to the United Nations Security Council outlining an intention to block the use of force against Saddam Hussein’s regime. Following that, protesters against the Iraq War rallied in many cities worldwide. Even after the war, weapons of mass destruction were not found in Iraq, which prompted criticism of the US from various sections of the international community. Responding to pressure from the media outlets, the US government permitted the embedding of journalists in combat units and this media strategy proved to be quite successful for the US government. At that time, the Bush administration enjoyed a remarkably high approval rate of 80 per cent.

With the above in mind, the concept of ‘America’, for example, must have narrowed and its application to, say, a certain geographical landmass or a national team involved

in international sports, would have seem incongruous. On the other hand, the interpreter would likely have been exceptionally aware of the saliency of the nation or the government as a military actor which was set against world terrorists and the regime of Saddam Hussein in particular. Furthermore, given the situation at the time of broadcasting, the interpreter might well have assumed that control of information by the US government as part of their efforts to justify Iraq War would be one of topics touched upon by the programme. It is more plausible, however, that the topic of the source speech was specified by the setting of this interpreting performance, which includes prior information on people appearing in the programme, as well as the scenario thereof.

#### **6.4 Communication setting**

When the interpreter accepted the assignment, she must have been provided with some basic information about the programme such as the title, profile of the guests and hosts, the outline of the scenario, the required mode of interpreting and so on. It is not possible to assess the amount of the information provided to the interpreter, but it is plausible that the basic information mentioned above was made available. However, since the two interpreters were expected to work for four people in the programme: one Japanese host, one Japanese guest and two English speaking guests, the source speaker of each specific session could only be specified from the actual settings of the programme as confirmed on the day. Therefore, information on the source speaker will be activated only by identification of the speaker at the moment that they are speaking and, of course, any advance information gathered about them.

(4) is the list of basic information on the programme.

(4) Title: *Tettei kensyou Iraq sensou* 1 (Exhaustive examination on Iraq War 1)

Air date: 24<sup>th</sup> April, 2003

Station: NHK-BS1

Host: Yasuhiro Nagasaki

Guest: Kiichi Fujiwara (Professor of Tokyo University)

Frank Gaffney (President The Center for Security Policy)

Richard Cobbold (Director of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies)

In the programme, the host interviewed two guests, one from Washington D. C. and one from London via a video conferencing system. In the programme, SI is required for the

two guests with the interpreters translating their speech from English to Japanese. In all likelihood, the interpreters also translated any Japanese spoken into English for the guests. However, the interpreters' delivery in English was not broadcast and is not within the scope of this study.

The source speaker for the sampled performance about "US media strategy" in (1) is Frank Gaffney, speaking from Washington D.C. Gaffney is the founder and president of the conservative think tank, The Center for Security Policy, and he previously held the post of Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defence for Nuclear Forces and Arms Control Policy during the Reagan Administration. At the time of the broadcast, Gaffney worked for the Bush Administration assisting with US security policy making. He was talking about US policy during the Iraq war, answering questions from the programme host. The interpreter recognized him as the source speaker, accessed background information on him and processed the ST on that basis.

## 6.5 Introduction of the utterances

The topic of the ST in (1) is US media strategy in Iraq War. This is elicited by a question from the host of the programme. The question, however, stemmed from an earlier part of the programme. This section examines how the topic of the programme was narrowed down to introduce the ST as the answer to the question posed by the host.

The question asked by the host concerns "the position of the US government media strategy during the Iraq War". Before the question, video footage summarising the media strategy employed by the US government during the Iraq War was shown. This video explained the role of embedded journalists in Iraq War by editing actual reports sent in from the front, and addressed the control of information carried out by the Bush administration, which targeted local media as well as more major players in the industry. It includes an interview of people employed at a local media company. The video footage concluded with the Japanese reporter's comment transcribed in (5) below.

- (5) "The picture of the Iraq War shown by the US media to US citizens is the one which Bush administration wants to show its people. The Bush administration has exploited the mass media as an efficient device in the implementation of the war and this strategy is considered to have made a huge impact on the situation in Iraq, of which focus is now shifting to post-war reconstruction."

「アメリカのメディアを通して、アメリカ国民が見たイラク戦争はブッシュ政権が伝えたかった戦争の姿でした。メディアも戦争を遂行する道具のひとつとして有効に利



用してきたブッシュ政権の戦略は、戦後復興に焦点を移そうとしている今後のイラク情勢にも大きな影響を及ぼすものとみられます」

After this concluding remark, the camera captured the scene in the studio in Tokyo. At this point, the programme host asked the following question.

- (6) “Now, we have a question to ask our guests again. Mr Gaffney, it looks as if the strategy towards the media of involving local media outlets has proven successful. Given that it was carried out as part of the new security strategy, what is your view on the position of this media strategy in the war in Iraq?”

「ふたたび、またゲストのみなさんに聞きます。ワシントンのガフニーさん、アメリカではですね、地方紙を取り込むなど、メディアに対する戦略が、功を奏しているように見えるんですね。で、これは新しい安全保障戦略のもとで行われた、今回のイラク戦争の中で、このメディア対策というのはどのように位置づけられるのでしょうか」

The flow of this programme narrowed the topic of conversation when the ST of the sample in (1) was introduced. (7) is a list of preconditions which were prepared in the programme before the source speech about “US media strategy” in (1).

- (7) a. US government controlled the US mass media in Iraq War.  
b. US government utilised embedded journalists as a tool to control the media.  
c. Coverage on the Iraq War in the US was biased.  
d. US media strategy was successful.

It is not clear how the content of the video footage was presented to the guests before the question was asked by the programme host. However, because there do not appear to be any serious communication errors between the host and the guest, it seems that the question asked by the host was successfully communicated to the guest.

Among the listed information given in (7), the host only explicitly touches upon (7d). (7a) can be implied by the expression of *chihoushi-wo torikomu* (involving local media). (7b) is considered to be an assumption about US government media strategy which is mutually shared by the host and the guest. On the other hand, it does not appear that the host intended to communicate (7c). Due to the scenario of the programme, although the role of the US government is not explicitly mentioned here, the audience might well expect that a representative of the US government present a view of the US government

with regard to (7c). Needless to say, as a guest representing the US side, Frank Gaffney himself must have been aware of (7c) as a common impression widely shared by international society. Also, the interpreter for this performance is considered to be aware of (7c) as a commonly held impression.

## 6.6 Summary

This chapter has examined the outline of background information held by the interpreter before the commencement of the ST from four aspects: world knowledge, knowledge about the topic, the setting of the interpreting performance and introduction leading up to the source speech. In the course of discourse processing, the construction of the CCs is derived from linguistic information and non-linguistic information, including background information and other cognitive resources. Hence, background information constitutes a resource for the construction of CCs which are constructed during processing the ST.

World knowledge comprises the extremely wide range of information available on the topic of the ST, including various forms of cognitive resources such as schema, frames or scripts. It has no particular focus in itself, but will provide a basis for comprehension of the ST.

Knowledge about the subject includes information on events leading up to and during the Iraq War right up to the day of the live broadcast. Information prepared by the interpreter for the SI performance is included in this category.

The setting of the interpreting performance includes information on participants in the programme. Once the source speaker was identified in the setting, this information was associated with the profile of the speaker and his position in the programme. As a result, Frank Gaffney was construed as a spokesman who represents the US government in the programme.

Introduction of the source speech consists of a prepared topic and direction of the ST of the sample SI performance in (1).

Needless to say, while plausible this constitutes only a fraction of the information related to the ST. As part of background information of the ST, information itemised above is considered to be highly accessible in the interpreter's cognitive environment. Since information of this kind can be processed with the expense of less effort, it can be more easily used for the construction of CCs at a higher priority. Also, because this information has a strong relevance to the topic of the ST, it is predictable that this information may direct the processing of other information in the ST. On the other hand, the actual direction of the ST may differ from that which is guided by the background

information. In such a case, discourse processing cannot be completed with reference to this background information alone. Therefore, other aspects of world knowledge or less relevant information will be retrieved involving greater processing effort.

In addition, individual differences are inevitable given that each interpreter's background information will differ, and the degree of attention given to each element during discourse processing depends on the interpreter's cognitive status at each given moment. These variables provide an explanation for the fact that each interpreter may comprehend the ST differently, and that even the same interpreter may produce different TTs for the same ST expressions on different occasions.

Chapter 7 will provide a list of differences observed in the sample SI performance about "US media strategy" in (1) and analyse the types of operation and resources used for the operation in order to prepare for a description of the online process of a SI performance given in Chapter 8.

## 7. Overview of differences

### 7.1 Types and sources of differences

This chapter will examine the superficial differences between the ST and the TT through observation of the sample SI performance about “US government media strategy” (numbered as (1) in Chapter 6) in order to prepare clues which describe the online processing of the ST by the interpreter for the performance. Table 7.1 provides a list of the differences which exist between the ST and the TT observed in the sample. These differences were detected in order to explore the conceptual operations at work in the SI performance mainly from the viewpoint of additional information to the TT. The results of the observation are liable to change in accordance with the purpose of the study. For example, if one pays attention to the order or delay of information delivery, one can find that “CONVEY” (E079) is translated as “*tsutae-mashi-ta*”(conveyed: J080) after a significantly long period of retention, although this is not included in Table 7.1.

My expectations are that the observations listed in this table will present a view on what interpreters are doing during discourse processing. To this end, I classify the types of cognitive operations which cause each difference, identify the information sources employed for each of the operations and analyse the role of the operations in discourse processing during the performance.

The first column of the table specifies the serial codes used for each difference identified in the sample. In this table, 38 differences are listed and each of them is respectively coded from δ1 to δ38. The second and third columns specify the position of the expressions in the ST and the TT. A back translation of each TT expression is given in the fourth column. The fifth column contains a brief note on each difference. The aim of the notes in this column is to specifically describe the difference for each code. Given the purpose of the study, it is mainly additional information to the TT required for the performance that given as a note. In some cases additional information is not completely expressed in the TT. But, if the examination of peripheral phenomena suggests that the interpreter’s performance required implicit information, then such information is taken into consideration, because the purpose of this study is the exploration of mental operations in SI. For some items, types of operation such as “reconstruction” (δ23) or “long retention” (δ37) are noted.

Code	ST	TT	Back translation	Note	Process	Source
δ1	E076	YOU'VE INDICATED	J076 <i>ossyatta-touri</i>	as you mentioned	Procedural meaning	IL L
δ2	E076	BEFORE	J076 <i>saki-ni saisyo</i>	before, at first	Revisional repetition	R TL
δ3	E076	YOU'VE INDICATED	J076 <i>shisa-sare-mashi-ta</i>	you have indicated	Revisional repetition	R TL
δ4	-	-	J076 <i>keredomo</i>	but	Procedural meaning	IL L
δ5	E076	AN OVERALL EFFORT	J077 <i>zentai-teki-na doryoku-ga nasa-re-te</i>	an overall effort was made	Passive voice	ECC TL
δ6	E077	TO EXPLOIT INFORMATION	J077 <i>juohou-wo dekiru-dake kushi-shi-you-to</i>	intended to use information as much as possible	Morpheme of intention	ECC TL
δ7	E077	TO	J077 <i>sore-wo-motte</i>	by means of this	Procedural meaning	IL L
δ8	E077	TO	J077 <i>sore</i>	this	Meta-representation	MR HCC
δ9	E077	TO MAXIMUM EFFIECT	J077 <i>seika-wo saidai-ka-shi-you-to shi-ta</i>	intended to maximise the effect	Morpheme of intention	ECC TL
δ10	E077	IT WAS USED - TO	J078 <i>kore-wa --- tame-desu</i>	this is to	Meta-representation	MR HCC
δ11	-	-	J078 <i>soshite</i>	and	Procedural meaning (habitual?)	IL L
δ12	-	-	J079 <i>soshite</i>	and	Procedural meaning (habitual?)	IL L
δ13	E078	CLEARLY	J079 <i>jissai-ni</i>	actually	Propositional attitude (habitual?)	O BI
δ14	-	-	J079 <i>mo</i>	also	Parallel relation	IL L
δ15	E080	ACTUALLY	J080 <i>jissai-ni</i>	actually	Predictive performance? (habitual?)	O BI
δ16	E080	AFTER	J082 <i>ari-mashi-ta</i>	happened	Causal relation (Implicit in the TT)	IL L
δ17	E081	SO MANY	J081 <i>takusan-no iroiro-na</i>	many various	Non- corresponding word (habitual?)	R BI
δ18	E081	ALLEGATIONS	J081 <i>syutyuu-ya moushitate-ya</i>	assertions, allegations	Revisional repetition	R BI
δ19	E081	INSINUATIONS	J081 <i>an-ni hime-te hihan-sare-tari</i>	being implicitly criticized	Passive voice	ECC BI
δ20	-	-	J082 <i>ironna-koto-ga ari-mashi-ta</i>	various things happened	Meta-representation	MR HCC
δ21	E081	THAT	J082 <i>tatoeba</i>	for example	Procedural meaning	IL L
δ22	E081	WE	J082 <i>America</i>	America	Extra-textual reference assignment	BI BI
δ23	E081	WHAT WE ARE DOING WAS GOING FOR EMPIRE	J082 <i>America-wa teikoku-wo tsukuro-u-to shi-te-iru</i>	America is going to build an empire	Reconstruction	ECC BI
δ24	E084	LOTS OF THINGS LIKE THIS	J084 <i>ironna-koto-ga iwa-re-mashi-ta</i>	various things were told	Predicate/Passive voice	ECC HCC
δ25	-	-	J084 <i>kedomo</i>	but	Procedural meaning	IL L
δ26	-	-	J084 <i>sou</i>	such	Meta-representation	MR HCC
δ27	E084	TO BE REBUTTED	J084 <i>sou-ja-nai-to-iu-koto-wo shimesu</i>	to show such things are not true	Active voice	ECC HCC
δ28	-	-	J085 <i>soshite</i>	and	Procedural meaning (habitual?)	IL L
δ29	E084	THE ADMINISTRATON	J085 <i>Bush seiken</i>	Bush administration	Background knowledge	BI BI
δ30	-	-	J085 <i>sore</i>	that	Meta-representation	MR HCC
δ31	E086	DO THAT	J086 <i>jissai-ni hitobito-ni tsutaeru</i>	actually convey to people	Mental model	ECC HCC
δ32	-	-	J086 <i>soshite</i>	and	Procedural meaning	IL L
δ33	E086	CREDIBLE	J086 <i>shinpyou-sei-wo motsu-tame</i>	to have credibility	Procedural meaning	IL L
δ34	E086-E087	PEOPLE - EMBEDDED WITH THE TROOPS	J088 <i>juugun-kisya</i>	embedded journalists	Knowledge on the topic	BI BI
δ35	E078	WITNESSING	J088 <i>houdou-suru</i>	report	Script/mental model	ECC HCC
δ36	E087	WHAT WAS GOING ON DAY TO DAY	J088 <i>sore</i>	that	Meta-representation	MR HCC
δ37	E085	NO BETTER, NO MORE	J088 <i>ichi-ban</i>	best	Long retention	O TL
δ38	E085	UNDERSTOOD	J089 <i>kangaeta</i>	thought	Repetition	R HCC

Table 7.1

The sixth column specifies the type of processing which caused the difference between the ST and TT. Types of process are classified into six categories (in fact, five types and a catchall for miscellaneous examples) throughout the observation. Abbreviations for each of six categories are shown below.

- Repetition (R)
- Exhibition of background information (BI)
- Exhibition of a meta-representation with a demonstrative (MR)
- Construal of implicit logic (IL)
- Exhibition of an event CC (ECC)
- Others (O)

The number of types is determined not by drawing on a certain theory or a previous study, but as a result of analysing the sample SI performance about “US media strategy”. This classification is sufficient for the purposes of this study, because I do not aim to prepare a comprehensive list of the processing types which cause differences between the ST and TT. The main purpose of this observation is to obtain clues which permit exploration of the online development of CCs in the sample. A detailed explanation of each processing type will be provided in the following sections.

The seventh and final column of Table 7.1 specifies the source of information used to produce the TT expression for each item. Information sources are classified into the four shown below. Each source type also has an abbreviated code.

- Knowledge on the target language (TL)
- Logic (L)
- Background information (BI)
- The history of CCs (HCC)

The number of types is also based on observation of the sample SI performance about “US government media strategy”, but demarcation of sources is based on our model. The classification of information is reviewed in Table 7.2.

Since the purpose of this study is the detection of the information source which causes the differences between ST and TT, I do not include linguistic expressions in the ST as a source of difference. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that (a) is a basic source of information for the SI performance. This is a part of linguistic information. Within

the bounds of linguistic information, knowledge of the target language (TL) can cause such differences. This is a part of (b). Even if I do not specify this factor as a source of SI performance, needless to say, any expressions in the TT require knowledge of the TL. Contextual information comprises background information and constructed concepts. Background information includes world knowledge (c), knowledge of the topic (d), the setting of the communication (e) and introduction of the utterances (f). As to the other types of contextual information, constructed concepts compose the history of CCs for the hearer. Although background information extends across a wide range, as examined in Chapter 6, all types of background information are classified into a single category in Table 7.1 so that that type of information can be recognised quickly and easily. In Chapter 8, however, I will closely re-examine the detailed content of background information used in each example. Logic (L) is not listed in Table 7.2, because this is not genuine information, but rather a function of intrinsic human ability. Logic may be included in the list as a type of cognitive resource. However, no logic can function in a vacuum and logic needs its materials and to be grounded in substantial information. The condition which enables logical operation requires individual examination, so, for that reason it is not listed in Table 7.2. In any case, since the construal of implicit logic entails a conceptual operation, it needs to be examined for the purpose of this study.

a	Linguistic expressions	Linguistic		
b	Linguistic knowledge			
c	World knowledge	Contextual	Background	Existing
d	Knowledge about the subject			
e	Communication setting		Background	Situational
f	Introduction of the utterances			
g	History of CCs		Constructed	

Table 7.2

In the next section, I will examine the six types of process which cause the differences in the sample SI performance about “US media strategy” individually, examining the types of information types in accordance with the classification above. As is often the case with the classification of actual linguistic phenomena of this kind, some cases are typical for the category and some are not. Both typical and peripheral cases for each type will be addressed.

## 7.2 Repetition

The first type of processing which causes differences between the ST and the TT is repetition (R). When an interpreter translates the same part of an ST twice or more often, that operation is recognised as repetition. Five instances of repetition were recognised in the sample. They are shown in Table 7.3.

Code	ST		TT		Back translation
δ2	E076	BEFORE	J076	<i>saki-ni saisyo</i>	before, at first
δ3	E076	YOU'VE INDICATED	J076	<i>shisa-sare-mashi-ta</i>	you have indicated
δ17	E081	SO MANY	J081	<i>takusan-no iroiro-na</i>	many various
δ18	E081	ALLEGATIONS	J081	<i>syutyuu-ya moushitate-ya</i>	assertions, allegations
δ38	E085	UNDERSTOOD	J089	<i>kangaeta</i>	thought

Table 7.3

Although definition of the type is simple, there are several sub-types of repetitive translation. In δ2, “BEFORE” (E076) was translated as “*saki-ni*” (before: J076) and “*saisyo-ni*” (at first: J076). And “*shisa-sare-mashi-ta*” (you have indicated: J076) in δ3 is the second translation of “YOU’VE INDICATED” (E076). (The first was “*ossya-tta*” (mentioned: J076).) Due to the nature of SI, once an interpreter has produced a TT expression, it cannot be deleted or undone. Sometimes, however, interpreters produce a second translation of a certain ST expression. In terms of δ2 and δ3, because this part is the beginning of the ST, the interpreter needed to wait for a while to grasp the content and direction of the original speech. With this in mind, it is possible that this repetitive performance is an example of strategic procrastination or stalling.

On the other hand, the repetitive translation found in δ18 is considered rather to be a revision of the first attempt. When the interpreter translated “ALLEGATIONS” (E081) into “*syutyuu*” (assertion: J081), she might not have been satisfied with this TT expression and chose to retranslate it as “*moushi-tate*” (allegation: J081). The first translation is not, however, a mistake. Another interpreter might well feel no problem and be comfortable with the first translation. However, the interpreter on this occasion retranslated the same ST expression into a new TT expression. She was not content with her first word selection and luckily came up with better option before moving



forward, If not, she would not have produced the second translation. Both *syutyō* (assertion) and *moushi-tate* (allegation) are single nouns in Japanese and there are no significant grammatical differences apparent. It could be pointed out that *syutyō* (assertion) is originally a noun, but *moushi-tate* (allegation) is a noun form of a verb *moushi-tateru* (allege) in Japanese. ‘*Moushi-tate*’ (allegation), therefore, is slightly closer to an event. This does not, however, seem a very strong argument, because, in the CC model, a part of speech in an utterance is basically a form of expression at no more than a superficial level. When I pay attention to the likely context in use for each lexical item, it may be possible to point out the difference between the two. In Japanese, *syutyō* (assertion) is used in a more general context than *moushi-tate* (allegation). Although *moushi-tate* (allegation) is not a highly technical term, it tends to be used in a more legal context. Even in a general context, *moushi-tate* (allegation) implies the existence of an agent of the event who is not satisfied with a certain situation and officially demands something from someone. The same can be said for *allegation* in English. However, *syutyō* (assertion) is also a possible translation for *allegation*. In order for the interpreter to re-examine the translation, there must be some other motivation to do so beyond the lexical information of *allegation* in the SL. To explore this motivation, it is necessary to examine the online processing of this performance. Following her translation of “ALLEGATION” (E081) as “*syutyō*” (assertion: J081), it is possible that, by the time she produces, “*moushi-tate*” (allegation: J081), the interpreter has started to better understand the situation. If this is the case, contextual information must be included as one of the sources of this performance, which suggests that the interpreter was exploring the direction of the discourse while employing such information during the performance.

838 is another instance of repetition. This TT is produced as the second translation of “UNDERSTOOD” (E085). The first is “*rikai-shi-mashi-ta*” (understood: J085). The cause of this repetition is clear. Because the grammatical object of “UNDERSTOOD” (E085) in the TT is a rather long *that* clause, the interpreter segmented information before the content of ‘understood’. Only then did she translate the content of the *that* clause. When she came to the end of the content, she added “*kangae-ta*” (thought: J089) to show that it was the end of the content. This repetitive expression is therefore considered to have been produced in order to overcome the syntactic differences between the ST and TT. In this sense, the operation is strategic rather than conceptual. However, given the selection of the lexical item in the second translation, retention of ‘understood’ seems to be conceptual rather than linguistic. When the interpreter translated this part for the first time, the TT expression was very literal. At the time of

the second translation, which occurs after a significantly long retention of the CC for that information, she used a more general term to express the content.

§17 is also included in this type, as “*takusan*”(many: J081) and “*iroirona*”(various: J081) are also examples of repetition. The ST expression “SO MANY” (E081) is just about the number of “STORIES” (E081), “ALLEGATIONS” (E081) and “INSINUATIONS” (E081). Three different expressions are used as the object of “SO MANY” (E081), but, given the timing of the production, this cannot account for the interpreter’s use of “*iroirona*”(various: J081). Certainly, ‘so many stories’ can signify ‘various stories’ and the interpreter may have actually recalled various stories relevant to the topic from the background information that she held. The source of this performance is specified as BI in Table 7.1. This may also be included as an instance which demonstrates the interpreter’s attitude to understanding the implicit meaning of the ST through resort to her background information. *Iroirona* (various) could equally be a habitual expression used by the interpreter. I have no clues for further examination of this performance.

Although repetition is an easily detected phenomenon, close examination of each performance reveals cognitive aspects of the SI performance. Some examples of repetitive performance actually suggest that the interpreter was exploring the direction of the ST during her performance.

### **7.3 Exhibition of background information**

If an interpreter delivers information in the TT which is not given in the corresponding part of the ST, it follows that he/she has obtained such information from the contextual resources. Contextual information in this study comprises of two categories: background information and the history of CCs. Since, by their definition, CCs are made up of linguistic information given in the ST and contextual information, if an expression in the TT does not have its source expression in both the previous and corresponding part of the ST, and if the nature of that additional information to the TT is not conceptual rather than procedural, it means that the interpreter has drawn on some conceptual resource found in his/her background information. Background information for the purposes of this study consists of existing information and situational information. The former can be broken down into world knowledge and knowledge about the topic. The latter can be divided into the setting of the interpreting performance and the introduction of the source speech. The content of background information depends on various factors, which include individual differences as well as occasional factors. It is impossible to assess the totality of the background information available to an

individual at any given moment. However, I have already described the outline of the content of background information for this sample SI performance as a profile of the ST in Chapter 6. The contribution of background information can be identified even in other types of performance which are not categorised as the exhibition of background information. When the content of background information is simply expressed in the TT despite a lack of source expressions in the ST, this performance is classified as exhibition of background information. Three instances are observed in the sample as shown in Table 7.4.

Code	ST		TT		Back translation
822	E081	WE	J082	<i>America</i>	America
829	E084	THE ADMINISTRATION	J085	<i>Bush seiken</i>	Bush administration
834	E086- E087	PEOPLE - EMBEDDED WITH THE TROOPS	J088	<i>juugun-kisya</i>	embedded journalists

Table 7.4

The source speech is the answer to a question about ‘the media strategy by the US government’ posed by the host of the programme. The source speaker is a military expert working for the US government during the Iraq war. In spite of this, or because of this, the explicit use of expressions to signify ‘America’ is limited in the TT. All the expressions to signify ‘America’ in the TT are shown in (1).

- (1) a. *America-no hito-tachi* (the American people: J079)  
       b. *America* (America: J0082)  
       c. *America-seifu* (the American government: J087)

Of the three instances above, (1a) is a corresponding translation of “THE AMERICAN PEOPLE” (E079) and (1c) corresponds to “THE US GOVERNMENT” (E086). No differences are observed between the two. But, the corresponding expression for (1b) is “WE” (E081) as shown as 822 in Table 7.4. “WE” (E081) is part of “WHAT WE ARE DOING WAS GOING FOR AN EMPIRE” (E081). This “WE” (E081) signifies an actor in the war in Iraq or international politics. Before this part, the only explicit use of

‘America’ in the ST is in “AMERICAN PEOPLE” (E079), but this does not signify a military or political player. In order for the interpreter to translate “WE” (E081) as “*America*”(America: J082), at least two steps, shown in (2) below are required.

- (2) a. Construction of a CC for ‘America’
- b. Identification of WE (E081) as ‘America’

In terms of (2a), it is judged that the interpreter held the CC for ‘America’ at the latest when she produced “*America*”(America: J082). But when the CC is constructed and how it developed will be examined in the next chapter, when the online development of CCs is described. In terms of (2b), in order to identify the referent of “WE” (E081) as ‘America’, two elements must be mediated by the source speaker. This step is broken down into the two further steps shown in (3) below.

- (3) a. Reference assignment of “WE” (E081) to the source speaker
- b. Construal of the source speaker as a representative of ‘America’

Of the two steps above, (3a) is a natural assumption, for the source speaker represents the first person in this discourse. In terms of (3b), this construal is based on assumptions shown in (4) below.

- (4) a. The source speaker is Frank Gaffney.
- b. Frank Gaffney works for the US government as a military expert.
- c. The US government utilised the mass media for military purposes during the Iraq War.
- d. The topic of the ST is the media strategy of the US government during the Iraq War.

(4a) is easily obtained by the interpreter from the setting of the interpreting session. Compared to this, (4b) is less apparent and requires deeper knowledge. However, since the interpreter can be expected to have prepared for this assignment, knowledge of Frank Gaffney, as a guest on the programme, would be expected as a minimum. (4c) can also be considered to be part of the interpreter’s background knowledge of the topic. Due to its nature, it could equally be classified as world knowledge. In any case, this is included as part of the interpreter’s background information. (4d) can also form part of the interpreter’s knowledge of the topic. More directly, however, it is determined by the

question asked by the host of the programme. In this case it can be said to have been gained as part of the introduction of the source speech. Based on these assumptions, the interpreter can be expected to understand that the source speaker of the discourse is in a position to represent the US government on the TV programme. The inference process that enables this reference assignment would be completed almost automatically, and without any conscious effort, and yet the process entails background information found in each and every category used in this study.

This performance reveals that the interpreter identified the source speaker as a representative of ‘America’ by constructing a CC for ‘America’. However, this does not mean that the CC for ‘America’ was constructed for the delivery of this TT expression. On the contrary, as I will argue later, other evidence reveals that this CC was constructed earlier on in the performance. The introduction and development of this CC will be analysed in the next chapter.

§29 is another instance of BI, in which “THE ADMINISTRATION” (E084) is translated as the “*Bush-seiken*” (Bush administration: J085). In this performance, the interpreter successfully recovered the president’s name, although it was only implicit in the ST. The necessary steps to produce the name of the US president are shown below.

- (5) a. Disambiguation of the meaning of *administration* as ‘the government of a country’.
- b. Identification of the nation state in question as the USA
- c. Identification of the name of the president as Bush.

The word *administration* does not necessarily signify ‘the government of a country’, but can signify, for example, the ‘organising activity for a business, school or other types of institution’. The interpreter has to disambiguate the meaning of *administration* in this instance as government. She then has to understand which nation’s government is being referred to in this part of the ST. The linguistic fact that the word *administration* can be used for the US government in a certain context might also help the interpreter to comprehend the expression. However, such existing knowledge, whether it is linguistic or non-linguistic, does not function in an appropriate way without understanding of the flow of discourse. Only when she understands that *administration* signifies ‘the current US government’, can she apply her knowledge of the current US president’s name. The way the interpreter recognised the referent of “THE ADMINISTRATION” (E084) will be examined in Chapter 8.

§34 can also be considered an example of the use of BI. The interpreter comprehensively reconstructs the formulation found in the ST when translating the TT

as “PEOPLE WHO DID NOT WORK FOR THE US GOVERNMENT EMBEDDED WITH THE TROOPS” (E086). This syntactic difference is not, however, reported in Table 7.1.

(6) ST: PEOPLE WHO DID NOT WORK FOR THE US GOVERNMENT EMBEDDED WITH THE TROOPS

a. *America-seifu-no ningen-dewa-nai hito-tachi-ga jissai-ni juugun-kisya-toshite*

b. *America-seifu-ni tsutome-te iru-no-dewa-naku butai-ni umekoma-re-ta hitobito*

(6a) is taken from the actual performance for this part. (6b) is an example of a literal translation, which is prepared so as to include the least amount of difference between the ST and the TT. Since the source expression of “*jissai-ni*” (actually: J088) comes just after this part as “ACTUALLY” (E087), this is not reported in Table 7.1. Also, “*America-seifu-no ningen-dewa-nai hito-tachi*” (those who are not people of the US government: J087) is not a literal translation. However, as long as “*America-seifu-no ningen*” (people of the US government) can signify ‘people who work for the US government’, there does not appear to be any significant addition of information in the TT. (Note2) In terms of this performance, I would like to pay attention to the expression “*juugun-kisya*” (embedded journalists: J088). In this expression, “*kisya*” (journalist: J088) can be pointed out as additional information in the TT. It is not likely that the interpreter grasped the element of ‘journalists’ independently from her background information or somewhere else, because “*juugun-kisya*” (embedded journalists) was one of the most common buzzwords related to the topic of the Iraq War.

Examining the approximate timing of production as they occur in the ST and the TT, the interpreter produced “*America-seifu-no ningen-dewa-nai hito-tachi*” (those who are not people of the US government: J087) while listening to “EMBEDDED WITH THE TROOPS” (E087). And, the interpreter had already heard “ACTUALLY WITNESSING WHAT WAS GOING ON DAY TO DAY” (E087) by the time she started to produce “*jissai-ni juugun-kisya-toshite*” (actually as embedded journalists: J088). It is plausible that “EMBEDDED WITH THE TROOPS ACTUALLY WITNESSING WHAT WAS GOING ON DAY TO DAY” (E087) was understood as a segment and translated as “*jissai-ni juugun-kisya-toshite sore-wo houdou-suru*” (actually report that as embedded journalists: J088) as a whole. The position of “*jissai-ni*” (actually: J088) also supports this assumption. While this information is in the middle of the ST expressions, the corresponding expression is at the beginning of the TT. Also, differences observed in “*houdou-suru*” (report: J088) and “*sore*” (that: J088), which are listed as 635 and 636,

suggest that the interpreter employed other types of mental representations than a CC derived from background information. I will analyse these differences in the following sections. The performance for this part of the SI is far from a literal translation and shows great complexity, as it is evident that various types of conceptual operations are at work.

I shall focus on the use of “*juugun-kisya*” (embedded journalists: J088) in this part. Given that this expression was what a buzzword, often used when talking about media strategy during the Iraq War, a CC for ‘embedded journalists’ was constructed on the basis of knowledge about the topic, when the interpreter conceptualised information from “EMBEDDED WITH THE TROOPS ACTUALLY WITNESSING WHAT WAS GOING ON DAY TO DAY” (E087) as a whole. Needless to say, information from the previous part (“PEOPLE WHO DID NOT WORK FOR THE US GOVERNMENT”: E086) also helped the interpreter construct the CC for ‘embedded journalists’, because she is bound to have known that embedded journalists were not people working for the US government.

When it comes to identification of which information source of the four types given in this study, BI type processing reveals itself to be a simple enough process. The type of source for all BI processing is BI. This type of operation clearly demonstrates that the interpreter was drawing on non-linguistic background knowledge for the purpose of discourse processing. How a specific piece of information was employed at a specific juncture of the discourse processing will be examined in the next chapter, when the online process of this SI performance is described.

## **7.4 Exhibition of a meta-representation with a demonstrative**

The next type of differences observed in the sample SI performance is categorised as the exhibition of a meta-representation (MR). Close observation of the SI performance reveals that the use of demonstratives in the TT does not necessarily correspond to that in the ST. Similar cases are reported by Funayama (2000) and Minamitsu (2002). They analysed these type of references as newly established referential expressions in the TT. Funayama (2000) suggests the role of conceptual operations in this type of performance, while Minamitsu (2002) argued that this type of performance represents use of a meta-representation in the framework of relevance theory (Sperber & Wilson, 1986/1995). In this section of this study, I will analyse the exhibition of meta-representation from the perspective of the CC model as a preparation towards the description of these operations in the online development of CCs.

Six instances of the exhibition of meta-representation are observed in the sample as



summarised in Table 7.5 below, but I will address only two instances of this type: one of which is the most typical case while the other is the most controversial.

Code	ST		TT		Back translation
88	E077	TO	J077	<i>sore</i>	this
810	E077	IT WAS USED – TO	J078	<i>kore-wa ... tame-desu</i>	this is to
820	-	-	J082	<i>ironna-koto-ga ari-mashi-ta</i>	various things happened
826	-	-	J084	<i>sou</i>	such
830	-	-	J085	<i>sore</i>	that
836	E087	WHAT WAS GOING ON DAY TO DAY	J088	<i>sore</i>	that

Table 7.5

First, I will examine 810 with (7). (7a) is the actual TT expression produced in this performance and (7b) is a more literal translation given as a possible alternative.

(7) ST: IT WAS USED BOTH TO DOMINATE THE BATTLE FIELD

a. *kore-wa senjou-wo shihai-suru-tame-desu*

b. *kore-wa senjou-wo shihai-suru-tame-ni tsukawa-re-mashi-ta*

Syntactically, “*kore*” (this: J078) does not correspond to “IT” (E077). If *kore* (this) should be used as a corresponding expression of “IT” (E077), (7b) seems to be a more appropriate translation of this part. If “*kore*” (this) in (7a) corresponds to “IT WAS USED” (E077), it can be said that (7a) contains sufficient information of this part of the ST. However, (7a) does not accurately reflect the syntactic structure of the ST: whereas *kore* (this) is the grammatical subject in (7a), “IT WAS USED” is not in the ST. Considering this correspondence between the ST and the TT, it seems possible that the interpreter summarised ‘it was used’ as ‘*kore*’ (this) without understanding the referent of *it*. When the referent of “IT” (E077) in the ST and “*kore*” (J078) in the TT are examined, it is observed that these demonstratives do not correspond to each other.

In the ST, the same form of “IT WAS USED” (E077) is repeated three times in “IT WAS USED TO INFLUENCE” (E078) and “IT WAS USED TO CONVEY” (E078). Examining the use of these cases, the referent of IT might be ‘information’ or ‘US



government media strategy'. On the other hand, in the TT, "*kore*"(this: J078) refers to the situation described in the previous part of the TT. In the ST, the event signified by "IT WAS USED" (E077) is mostly the same as that by "EXPLOIT INFORMATION" (E077). But "*kore*"(this: J078) does not refer to only "*jouhou-wo dekiru-dake kushi*"(use information as much as possible: J077), though this signifies the most salient element. The referent of "*kore*"(this: J078) is not just a single word or phrase, but it may cover a wider range of the TT from "*zentai-teki-na doryoku*" (an overall effort: J077) to "*seika-wo saidai-ka-shi-you-to shi-tan-desu*" (intended to maximise the effect: J077). According to the CC model, this performance signifies that the interpreter constructed a CC for a situation covered by that part of the ST and referred to that CC by using a demonstrative "*kore*"(this: J078) in the TT. As I will examine in the next chapter, this CC developed before the interpreter produced "*kore*" (this: J078). It follows that the source of the TT expression had become the history of CCs by that time.

In general, when a difference is observed as an exhibition of a meta-representation with a demonstrative in the TT, the expression is derived from the history of CCs. In some cases, however, it pays to be careful about jumping to conclusions. 826 is listed as an instance of MR in Table 7.1. This TT is a part of "*sou-ja-nai-to-iu-koto-wo shimesu*" (to show that such things are not true: J084), which is a translation of "TO BE REBUTTED" (E084). Given the connotation of *rebut*, the interpreter may have construed the lexical meaning of *rebut* as 'to show that such things are not true'. When only the correspondence between the ST and the TT at this part is considered, this interpretation needs to be included as one of several plausible explanations. However, when the conceptual operations around this part are taken into consideration, it seems more natural to explain this "*sou*"(this: J084) as an instance of MR. Examination of the structure of the TT, reveals that "*sou*"(such: J084) directly refers to "*ironna-koto-wo iwa-re-mashi-ta*" (various things were told: J084) and "*ironna-koto*" (various things: J084) refers to "*America-wa teikoku-wo tsukuro-u-to shi-te-iru*" (America is going to build an empire: J082), "*hontou-ni takusan-no shimin-wo koroso-u-to-shi-te-iru*" (is going to kill a really huge number of citizens: J083) and "*tairyou-hakai-heiki-wo tsukau-de-aro-u*" (is going to use weapons of mass destruction: J083). These are examples of "*hanashi*" (stories: J081), "*syutyou*" (insistences: J081), "*moushi-tate*" (allegations: J081) and "*hihan*"(criticisms: J081). Therefore, if this "*sou*"(such: J084) is an instance of MR, the history of CCs at this juncture includes all of the information above; that is, in a word, the content of the criticisms. It follows therefore, that one of the points worthy of discussion with this issue is how the interpreter construed the 'criticisms' at this juncture. Let us pay attention to 825, which is a case of exhibition of

implicit logic. This adversative conjunction indicates that the interpreter understood the implicit contrast between “*ironna-koto-ga iwa-re-mashi-ta*” (various things were told: J084) and “*sou-ja-nai-to-iu-koto-wo shimesu*” (to show that such things are not true: J084). (This is listed as  $\delta 25$  in Table 7.1.) This construal of the contrast between the two events also serves to demonstrate the contrast between the passive and active voice in these two phrases. As will be discussed in the sixth section of this chapter, this shift of voice, which does not correspond to expressions in the ST, reflects the interpreter’s construction of event CCs. (See Chapter 8) These are listed as  $\delta 24$  and  $\delta 27$  in Table 7.1.  $\delta 24$  suggests that the interpreter understood that the criticism event as one of people criticising the US and  $\delta 27$  suggests that the interpreter understood the media strategy as an instance of information transfer from the US government to people, which will be discussed in the sixth section in this chapter. There is no direct evidence, but, considering the circumstantial evidence, it is less likely that “*sou*” (such: J084) was produced simply as part of the lexical meaning of *rebut*. The meaning of this ST expression must have been taken into a CC to represent the content of the ‘US government media strategy’.

Only two instances of MR have been addressed, but the other instances are less controversial. All instances of MR reported in the Table 7.1 are derived from the history of CCs, which reveals the constant retention of CCs and tacit conceptual operations at work during the SI. It should be noted that the exhibition of a meta-representation with a demonstrative entails a packaging function of the preceding part of the ST. This type of operation suggests, therefore, that the interpreter is constantly packaging the preceding part of the discourse as part of her comprehension of utterances during the SI performance.

## 7.5 Construal of implicit logic

The next type of difference observed in the sample SI performance is the construal of implicit logic (IL). 12 instances are observed for this type and they are summarised in Table 7.6 below. I have already briefly discussed  $\delta 25$  as an instance of this type of difference.

Code	ST		TT		Back translation
81	E076	YOU'VE INDICATED	J076	<i>ossyat-ta-touri</i>	as you mentioned
84	-	-	J076	<i>keredomo</i>	but
87	E077	TO	J077	<i>sore-wo-motte</i>	by means of this
811	-	-	J078	<i>soshite</i>	and
812	-	-	J079	<i>soshite</i>	and
814	-	-	J079	<i>mo</i>	also
816	E080	AFTER	J082	<i>ari-mashi-ta</i>	happened
821	E081	THAT	J082	<i>tatoeba</i>	for example
825	-	-	J084	<i>kedomo</i>	but
828	-	-	J085	<i>soshite</i>	and
832	-	-	J086	<i>soshite</i>	and
833	E086	CREDIBLE	J086	<i>shinpyou-sei-wo motsu-tame</i>	to have credibility

Table 7.6

First, the “*sore-wo-motte*” (by means of this: J077) listed as 87 is an additional expression in the TT. Its source expression cannot be identified in the ST. This shows that the interpreter inferred a relation between the two events expressed by “EXPLOIT INFORMATION” (E077) and “MAXIMUM EFFECT” (E077). The nature of this additional information is procedural rather than conceptual (Blakemore, 1992). Seen from the perspective of the CC model, procedural information is used to understand the logical relation between two CCs and does not exist without conceptual information. In other words, the recovery of the procedural information is possible only after examination of the two CCs that stand for events, situations or property. In this performance, the interpreter examined two events which enabled her to recover the implicit procedural meaning between ‘using information’ and ‘maximising the effect’ as ‘means and purpose’. In general, the exhibition of implicit logic reveals that the interpreter is handling, or at least trying to handle, two CCs to understand the direction of the discourse.

814 is an instance where the interpreter recovered an implicit parallel relation which is indicated by the use of “*mo*” (also: J079). This morpheme is used as part of

*“America-no hito-tachi-ni-mo”* (also to the American people: J079). The performance here indicates that the interpreter understood that *‘America-no hito-tachi’* (the American people: J079) is parallel to the previous information in the discourse, specifically, to *‘senjou’* (the battle field: J078) and *‘watashi-tachi-no teki’* (our enemies: J078), though such relations are implicit in the ST. Some might point out that *mo* (also) is used as part of *“kokusai-syakai-ni-mo”* (also to the international society: J080) and assert that these instances of *mo* (also) indicate that *“America-no hito-tachi”* (the American people: J079) was coupled with *“kokusai-syakai”* (the international society: J080). However, given the timing of the production of *“America-no hito-tachi-ni-mo”* (also to the American people: J079), this information was not available to the interpreter at that juncture, because she had yet to hear “THE INTERNATIONAL POPULATION” (E079) when she produced the first *“mo”* (also: J079) in the TT. It is impossible, therefore, that this *“mo”* (also: J079) was used to designate the parallel relation between *‘America-no hito-tachi’* (the American people: J079) and *‘kokusai-syakai’* (international society: J080). Needless to say, the *mo* (also) in *“kokusai-syakai-ni-mo”* (also to the international society: J080) was used to designate the parallel relation of *‘kokusai-syakai’* (the international society: J080) to previous items such as *‘America-no hito-tachi’* (the American people: J079). But *“kokusai-syakai”* (the international society: J080) was added to the parallel structure after *“America-no hito-tachi”* (the American people: J079) was included.

This performance indicates that all four items of *“senjou”* (the battle field: J078), *“watashi-tachi-no teki”* (our enemies: J078), *“America-no hito-tachi”* (the American people: J079) and *“kokusai-syakai”* (the international society: J080) are understood to be included as members in the same category. As I have examined in 2.4, *“kore”* (this: J078) refers to the media strategy of the US government conceptualised in the previous part of the TT and *“kore-wa senjou-wo shihai-suru-tame-desu”* (this is to dominate the battle field: J078) designates that *“senjou”* (the battle field: J078) is the object of the US government’s media strategy. It follows, therefore, that all four factors above are construed as the object of the US government’s media strategy. Repetition of IT WAS USED TO three times (once in E077 and twice in E078) might have helped the interpreter’s judgement. However, more importantly, I would point out that the interpreter was trying to identify participants in the situation and determine their roles at this juncture, and this conceptual operation enabled the recovery of the implicit procedural meaning in this performance.

In 821, *“tatoeba”* (for example: J082) suggests that the interpreter understood the subsequent part of the TT as examples of *“hanashi”* (stories: J081), *“syutyuu”*

(insistences: J081), “*moushi-tate*” (allegations: J081) and “*hihan*” (criticisms: J081). Three examples are given in the ST and the interpreter translated all of them. The interpreter produced “*tatoeba*” (for example: J082) upon hearing the first example of the three, though there is no expression in the ST equivalent “*tatoeba*” (for example: J082). In the ST, three examples are introduced by “THAT” (E081) after “INSINUATIONS” (E081). Just before “*tatoeba*” (for example: J082), the interpreter produced “*ironna-koto-ga ari-mashi-ta*” (various things happened: J082). This delivery indicates that the interpreter recognised the various events as examples of ‘criticisms levelled at the US’ at this juncture. The interpreter’s recognition of ‘various events’ might not have been highly specific. Nevertheless, this recognition may have led the interpreter to understand that the subsequent part of the discourse refers to specific examples of ‘criticisms’. “*Ironna-koto-ga ari-mashi-ta*” (various things happened: J082) is listed as an instance of MR in Table 7.1 because this “*ironna-koto*” (various things: J082) is considered a summary of the content of “*hanashi*” (stories: J081), “*syutyuu*” (insistences: J081), “*moushi-tate*” (allegations: J081) and “*hihan*” (criticisms: J081). At the same time, “*ironna*” (various: J082) can be traced back to “*iroirona*” (various: J081), which is part of §17. As I have examined in 2.2, when the interpreter produced “*iroirona*” (various: J081), she might have recalled a variety of actual criticisms against the US. This then, enabled her to produce the “*America*” (America: J082) listed as §22.

As is often the case with the use of conjunctions in utterances, not all of the instances are genuinely procedural. In an SI performance, some of them may well be produced as a form of filler rather than as expressions with which to determine the direction of the discourse. In Table 7.1, it is dubious whether the insertions for §1, §4, §11, §12 and §28 have procedural meaning or not. In §4, the “*keredomo*” (but: J076) does not clearly designate adversative meaning. In the other cases, *touri* (as) and *soshite* (and) might have been employed simply as safe expressions which do not change the course of the discourse.

Nevertheless, some instances more clearly show the interpreter’s recovery of procedural meaning. The source of logic is itself a function of inherent human ability. However, what enables interpreters to understand implicit logic is the conceptualisation of the situation in the discourse. Procedural information can be understood as a by-product of the conceptualisation of the situation in the discourse. The exhibition of implicit logic indicates the interpreter’s attitude with regards to exploring the direction of discourse throughout the entire SI performance.

## 7.6 Exhibition of an event CC

This section addresses the type of performance which exhibit the interpreter's construction of an event CC. Every instance of event CC construction is believed to entail conceptual processing. Due to the approach used in this study, however, not all TT expressions which signify an event can be analysed as a demonstration of the construction of an event CC. In order to construct an event during discourse processing, a hearer must recognise the event, participants and their semantic roles. When the sufficient information which is required to construct an event (i.e. at least one predicate and a set of arguments) is explicit in a clause in the ST, all the expression in the utterance may be literally translated in the TT as a product of simple code switching operation, something which is possible with existing machine translation technology. In this case, no differences can be observed between the ST and the TT. Even in such a case, if the interpreter duly recognises the event, he/she constructs an event CC for the event expressed in the TT. However, as the clues to analyse interpreter's conceptual processing in this study's approach is the differences which exist between the ST and the TT, if no differences are observed, then there are consequently no clues with which to analyse the interpreter's conceptual processing. For this reason, this study categorises the interpreter's performance as a type of exhibition of an event CC, only when the event is implicit in the ST and some traces of the construction or retention of the event CC can be observed in the TT.

The evidence in Table 7.1 indicates that the interpreter constructed and retained a structured representation of the situation. This representation includes participants and their roles in the situation, although the level of abstraction varies in each case. Instances to be examined in this section are cases which indicate the interpreter's conceptual operations when constructing or retaining an event CC. Table 7.7 below summarises nine instances of the exhibition of an event CC (ECC).

Code	ST		TT		Back translation
85	E076	AN OVERALL EFFORT	J077	<i>zentai-teki-na doryoku-ga nasa-re-te</i>	an overall effort was made
86	E077	TO EXPLOIT INFORMATION	J077	<i>juohou-wo dekiru-dake kushi-shi-you-to</i>	intended to use information as much as possible
89	E077	TO MAXIMUM EFFIECT	J077	<i>seika-wo saidai-ka-shi-you-to shi-ta</i>	intended to maximise the effect
819	E081	INSINUATIONS	J081	<i>an-ni hime-te hihan-sare-tari</i>	being implicitly criticized
823	E081	WHAT WE ARE DOING WAS GOING FOR EMPIRE	J082	<i>America-wa teikoku-wo tsukuro-u-to shi-te-iru</i>	America is going to build an empire
824	E084	LOTS OF THINGS LIKE THIS	J084	<i>ironna-koto-ga iwa-re-mashi-ta</i>	various things were told
827	E084	TO BE REBUTTED	J084	<i>sou-ja-nai-to-iu-koto-wo shimesu</i>	to show such things are not true
831	E086	DO THAT	J086	<i>jissai-ni hitobito-ni tsutaeru</i>	actually convey to people
835	E078	WITNESSING	J088	<i>houdou-suru</i>	report

Table 7.7

First of all, in 823, “WHAT WE ARE DOING WAS GOING FOR EMPIRE” (E081) was translated as “*America-wa teikoku-wo tsukuro-u-to shi-te-iru*” (America is going to build an empire: J082). Some significant shifts can be identified in this performance. In



terms of sentential construction, whereas the grammatical subject in the ST is “WHAT WE ARE DOING” (E081) in a noun clause, in the TT it is “*America*” (America: J082) in a noun phrase. As for the lexical item used to specify the event, whereas the source speaker chose “GOING FOR” (E082), the interpreter chose “*tsukuru*” (build: J082). I have already addressed the reference assignment of “*America*” (America: J082) as §22. In spite of these differences, ‘America’ is the agent and ‘empire’ is the theme in both the ST and the TT. Moreover, the equivalence of the messages in the ST and the TT is secured by the fact that both texts can be understood as ‘America will become an imperialistic nation’. To understand this situation as such, the interpreter needs to construe the participants and the event as shown below.

(8) Agent: a political entity called America that has its own sovereignty which the source speaker is representing

Theme: an imperialistic nation state which exercises its strong military power to control other nations

Event: the agent has an intention to become the theme in the near future

However, the information in (8) is implicit in this part of the ST. When the interpreter listened to “WHAT WE ARE DOING WAS GOING FOR EMPIRE” (E081), she seemed to have accessed background information necessary to understand the utterance in the ST and constructed a CC which included the information in (8). Since the items in (8) cannot be separated to understand the situation, it is conceivable that the information in (8) was used to compose an event CC. Once the interpreter recognised the information listed in (8), she no longer had to draw on the linguistic information in the ST. As long as it conveys the information in (8), the interpreter can produce the TT expression in any formulation. This instance is understood as a typical result of deverbilization. The explanation of this performance is that the interpreter translated this TT expression by drawing on the event CC.

The conceptual status of an event CC is not always as easily observed as it is in this case. Since deverbilization is not always easily observed in an SI performance, the interpreter’s construction of an event CC is sometimes more implicit. Next, I would like to examine §19 and §24 as subtle but cogent evidence of the implicit existence and role of an event CC in an SI performance. In §19, “INSINUATION” (E081) was translated as “*an-ni hime-te hihan-sare-tari*” (being implicitly criticized: J081) in the passive voice. The passive voice cannot be detected in the ST, however, so it is impossible to explain this use of passive voice as a simple conversion of the part of speech from a noun in the



ST to a verb in the TT. Similarly, in 824 “LOTS OF THINGS LIKE THIS” (E084) was translated as “*ironna-koto-ga iwa-re-mashi-ta*” (various things were told: J084) in the passive voice. This “*ironna-koto*” (various things: J084) might have been sourced not only from this part but also from the “AND SO ON” (E083). However, no expression in the ST corresponds to “*iwa-re-mashi-ta*” (were told: J084). The precondition for using the passive voice is recognition of the agent and the theme in an event. It follows that these expressions in the passive voice suggest that the interpreter grasped the two participants of the event and assigned them their semantic roles, although these participants are only implicit in the ST. If only 819 is looked at, the passive voice may be considered to derive from the lexically coded meaning of *insinuate*, because the frame evoked by this lexical item can accommodate two participants. Moreover, ‘insinuation’ is usually recognised and reported from the theme’s viewpoint. However, in the TT, the passive voice is used not only for “*hihan-sare*” (J081) in 819, but also “*iwa-re*” (J084) in 824. In this case, “*ironna-koto-ga iwa-re-mashi-ta*” (various things were told: J084) is only derived from “LOTS OF THINGS LIKE THIS” (E084) or “AND SO ON” (E083). There is no explicit information about the participants or even the event itself. As I have already examined in 2.4, the “*ironna-koto*” here (various things: J084) refers to “*America-wa teikoku-wo tsukuro-u-to shi-te-iru*” (America is going to build an empire: J082), “*hontou-ni takusan-no shimin-wo koroso-u-to-shi-te-iru*” (is going to kill a really huge number of citizens: J083) and “*tairyou-hakai-heiki-wo tsukau-de-aru*” (is going to use weapons of mass destruction: J083), which are examples of the content of “*hanashi*” (stories: J081), “*syutyuu*” (insistences: J081), “*moushi-tate*” (allegations: J081) and “*hihan*” (criticisms: J081). In the ST, the source speaker did not use verbs to express the event to communicate these criticisms and participants. All the expressions of “STORIES” (E081), “ALLEGATIONS” (E081) and “INSINUATIONS” (E081) are nominal. However, when the interpreter translated “INSINUATIONS” (E081) as “*an-ni hime-te hihan-sare-tari*” (being implicitly criticized: J081), she employed an event CC and produced the TT as a verb phrase. It seems that the interpreter used the same event CC for “*ironna-koto-ga iwa-re-mashi-ta*” (various things were told: J084), but she used a general expression for the verb instead of “*hihan*” (criticize). This performance reveals that what the interpreter retained was not the expression in the ST nor the TT, but a more general concept of verbal communication and the roles of the participants’ therein. The use of the passive voice in these expressions was enabled by the interpreter’s construal of America as the agent and of people as the theme. In other words, the interpreter conceptualised the event as ‘America was told something by people’. (Note 2) In terms of the source of those TT expressions, when the interpreter

produced “*an-ni hime-te hihan-sare-tari*” (being implicitly criticized: J081) by drawing on the event CC, she accessed background information about typical criticisms against the US at that time. When she produced “*ironna-koto-ga iwa-re-mashi-ta*” (various things were told: J084), she retained the event CC as part of the history of CCs and employed it for the performance.

In the above cases, the construction of an event CC has been examined mainly through the construal of participants in a situation. However, the content of an event CC is not limited to this. The level of abstraction of an event CC may change during discourse processing. As a non-linguistic representation constructed for discourse processing, an event CC can represent an aspect of a mental model (Johnson-Laird, 1983) or a situation model (Kintsch, 1998).

I would now like to examine §31. In this case, the highly abstract expression TO DO THAT (E086) was translated as “*jissai-ni hitobito-ni tsutaeru*” (actually convey to people: J086), which expresses a concrete event. Although information about the event and its participants are implicit in the ST, the interpreter expressed the “*tsutaeru*” (convey: J086) as the event and “*hitobito*” (people: J086) as the theme in the TT. The performance here indicates that the interpreter retained an event CC of the event. Examination of the upstream of the TT shows that the interpreter produced “*tsutae-mashi-ta*” (conveyed: J080) as a translation of “CONVEY” (E079). Since the agent of the event is implicit in both the ST and the TT, the content of the CC for the agent is yet to be examined. This is something which will be closely analysed in the next chapter. However, generally speaking, the agent here must be understood as ‘America’ or the ‘US government’. It is conceivable, then, that the interpreter had constructed an event CC for ‘transferring information from the US to people’.

If the event CC for ‘transferring information from the US government to people’ was used for “*sou-ja-nai-to-iu-koto-wo shimesu*” (to show such things are not true: J084), the conversion of voice from “TO BE REBUTTED” (E084) to “*shimesu*” (show: J085) (§27) can be explained as the event CC included the viewpoint of the agent rather than that of the theme when the interpreter produced the TT expression in the active voice. As examined above, §24 suggests that another event CC for ‘America was told something by people’ was used to produce “*ironna-koto-ga iwa-re-mashi-ta*” (various things were told: J084). It follows, therefore, that the interpreter was handling two event CCs when she was processing this part. In order to distinguish between these two, I name ‘transferring information from the US to people’ Event 1 and ‘America was told something by people’ Event 2. Moreover, I pointed out in 7.5 that the exhibition of implicit logic entails the handling of two CCs to determine the direction of the discourse.

This part of the SI performance reveals that the interpreter recovered the adversative relation designated by “*kedomo*” (§25). This conceptual processing is considered to be based on the examination of Events 1 and 2.

The minimum information required to construct Event 1 is shown below.

(9) a. An event of ‘transferring information’

b. The agent for the event

c. The themes of the event

Of these, (9a) is expressed as “*tsutae-mashi-ta*” (conveyed: J080). Since this is the content of the US government’s media strategy, “*shihai-suru*” (dominate: J078) and “*eikyou-ryoku-wo motsu*” (influence: J078) can be also included as sources used to construct a CC for ‘transferring information’. Their corresponding expressions can be detected as “CONVEY” (E079), “DOMINATE” (E077) and “INFLUENCE” (E078) respectively. (9c) is expressed as “*America-no hito-tachi*” (the American people: J079) and “*kokusai-syakai*” (the international society: J080). As the objects of US government media strategy, “*senjou*” (the battle field: J078) and “*watashi-tachi-no teki*” (our enemies: J078) can be also be considered to be sources. The corresponding expressions in the ST are “THE AMERICAN PEOPLE” (E079), “THE INTERNATIONAL POPULATION” (E079), “THE BATTLE FIELD” (E078) and “OUR ENEMIES” (E078). There is no information in either the ST or the TT on the agent for the event in (9b). However, as long as the interpreter was drawing on Event 1, she must have grasped the relevant entity.

I will now argue that §5, §6 and §9 are examples of the interpreter’s attempt to construct Event 1. When “THERE WAS SORT OF AN OVERALL EFFORT” (E076) was translated as “*zentai-teki-na doryoku-ga nasa-re-te*” (an overall effort was made: J077), the interpreter produced the TT in the passive voice, whereas no information about the voice was explicit in the ST (§5). On the other hand, when the interpreter produced “*jouhou-wo dekiru-dake kushi-shi-you*” (intended to use information as much as possible: J077) to translate “TO EXPLOIT INFORMATION” (E077), she did not choose the passive voice, but added “*you*” (intend to: J077), a Japanese morpheme to express intention, for which no source expression can be found in the ST (§6). Similarly, the interpreter used the same morpheme when she translated “TO MAXIMUM EFFECT” (E077) as “*seika-wo saidai-ka-shi-you*” (intended to maximise the effect: J077) (§9). Some variations of possible translations for “THERE WAS SORT OF AN OVERALL EFFORT TO EXPLOIT INFORMATION TO MAXIMUM EFFECT” (E076) are shown in

(10). These differences will be examined alongside a comparison with other possible translations.

(10) ST: THERE WAS SORT OF AN OVERALL EFFORT TO EXPLOIT INFORMATION TO MAXIMUM EFFECT

- a. *zentai-teki-na doryoku-ga nasa-re-te jouhou-wo dekiru-dake*  
*kushi-shi-you-to sore-wo-motte seika-wo saidai-ka-shi-you-to*
- b. *saidaigen-no kouka-de jouhou-wo kushi-suru zentai-teki-na doryoku-ga ari*
- c. *zentai-teki-na doryoku-ga ari jouhou-no kushi-ga saidaigen-ni ari-mashi-ta*
- d. *zentai-teki-na doryoku-wo nashi jouhou-wo dekiru-dake kushi-shi saika-wo saidai-ka-shi-mashi-ta*

The benefits of (10a) as the actual translation of this part of the ST can be explained from two aspects: the processing effort required by the interpreter and comprehensibility for the audience. Firstly, in terms of processing effort, (10b) is the least feasible option of the three variations, although it is the most literal translation. Secondly, the comprehensibility of the TT is examined through a comparison of (10a) and (10c). Since this part of the ST is constructed as an existence sentence starting with *there*, the agent of the events expressed in this part is implicit. Possibly, the source speaker was aiming at an objective expression in this part. However, if this part is translated as a series of existence expressions, the TT will become too abstract as a Japanese expression. (10c) is a case in point. Due to the goal oriented nature of SI performance, experienced interpreters are usually expected to produce comprehensible expressions in the TT whenever possible. This may result in differences between the ST and the TT. It is conceivable that the interpreter used verb phrases for this part of the TT as a strategic operation in order to enhance the comprehensibility of the information for the audience. Compared to the series of existence expressions in (10c), (10a) becomes less abstract because the implicit existence of the agent signifies the involvement of a human factor in the events.

If the interpreter had used nominal expressions for this part, there would have been no clues with which to explore the mental reality of the SI performance. However, the employment of verb phrases by the interpreter gave her opportunities to select which voice to use, as well as the option to use an additional morpheme. The differences which arise from her performance can serve as clues to the mental operations at work in this performance. Since the comprehensibility of TT expressions is judged by knowledge of the TL, the type of information source for δ5, δ6 and δ9 is specified as TL in Table 7.1.

That said, comprehensibility is secured by the implicit existence of the agent. The conclusion to be drawn from the analysis is, therefore, that the effort involved in the pursuit of comprehensible expressions in the TT makes the interpreter start constructing Event 1 by drawing on her cognitive resources.

It does not necessarily mean, however, that the use of passive voice in “*zentai-teki-na doryoku-ga nasa-re*” (an overall effort was made: J077) is evidence of the interpreter’s construal of the event CC as a transitive event frame. This passive voice might be used simply to eliminate the transitivity of the expression, because the interpreter construed the event as intransitive. That is, “*zentai-teki-na doryoku-ga nasa-re*” (an overall effort was made: J077) might be almost equal to “THERE WAS SORT OF AN OVER ALL EFFORT” (E076). If this is the case, then the passive voice can be produced without construction of a transitive frame.

Nevertheless, it can be said that the interpreter was able to produce this expression without determining the agent of ‘effort’. Interpreters are always expected to produce information as accurately and clearly as possible as long as they understand the message intended by the source speaker. If the interpreter had understood the agent of ‘effort’ at this juncture, she would not have hesitated to explicitly state the information in the TT. Moreover, this part of the performance is situated at the beginning of the speech where the interpreter would still be at the stage of constructing the CCs necessary to understanding the discourse. Taking these things into consideration, from the use of passive voice in this performance, it can be surmised that the interpreter was not very sure of the agent of ‘effort’ at this juncture. Due to the use of passive voice, the interpreter was able to produce a safe expression without constraints on the interpretation of the agent for ‘effort’.

However, when the interpreter produced “*jouhou-wo dekiru-dake kushi-shi-you*” (intended to use information as much as possible: J077), she stopped using the passive voice. The corresponding expression for this part is “TO EXPLOIT INFORMATION” (E077) and this *to*-infinitive phrase is in active voice. Therefore, if this part is translated as the “*jouhou-wo dekiru-dake kushi-shi*” (use information as much as possible) shown in (10d), this TT expression without the additional morpheme can be considered as an instance of literal translation. However, the additional morpheme in (10a) is used to designate the agent’s intention. This performance suggests that the interpreter grasped the agent of the event when she produced the expression in the TT. Otherwise there would be no entity to apply the intention to. It follows, therefore, that the interpreter started constructing Event 1 when she produced “*jouhou-wo dekiru-dake kushi-shi-you*” (intended to use information as much as possible: J077), although there was as yet no

information about the agent in the ST at this point. The interpreter's attitude can be corroborated through another use of the active voice and the morpheme to express intention in “*seika-wo saidai-ka-shi-you*” (intended to maximise the effect: J077). For this part, the corresponding expression in the ST is “TO MAXIMUM EFFECT” (E077), which is an adverbial phrase with no expression to designate an event. However, it seems that the interpreter was trying to construct Event 1 from the ST.

In this section, I have examined the differences between the ST and the TT which reveal the interpreter's construal and retention of an event CC. An event CC can be constructed without all of information in the ST being explicit. An event CC can be constructed as a product of discourse processing, which reflects the interpreter's attitude when trying to grasp the structure of the ST. These instances reveal that the SI performance was supported by event CCs. Even though it is implicit in the TT, an event CC is retained in the background of SI performance. In other words, interpreters do not construct a new event CC each time they are required, but retains them constantly as part of the history of CCs once it is constructed in the background of his/her performance. It is generally in the nature of a CC that an event CC is considered to develop throughout the course of discourse processing rather than be constructed all at once.

## 7.7 Others

I have classified most of differences between the ST and the TT reported in Table 7.1 into five categories above. However, three instances are left to be addressed. These are shown in Table 7.8.

Code	ST		TT		Back translation
δ13	E078	CLEARLY	J079	<i>jissai-ni</i>	actually
δ15	E080	ACTUALLY	J080	<i>jissai-ni</i>	actually
δ37	E085	NO BETTER, NO MORE	J088	<i>ichi-ban</i>	best

Table 7.8

In δ13, “CLEARLY” (E078) was translated as “*jissai-ni*” (actually: J079); a not entirely unnatural translation. If something is clear, then it follows that it is actually there. That said, this is not usual meaning, the one which can commonly be found in a



dictionary. In another case, at 815, “*jissai-ni*” (actually: J080) was predictively produced before the interpreter heard “ACTUALLY” (E080) in the ST. “*Jissai-ni*” (actually) can sometimes signify a speaker’s belief in an utterance. The instances of “*jissai-ni*” (actually) here might be considered an exhibition of the implicit propositional attitude recovered by the interpreter. Also, “*jissai-ni*” (actually: J086) was used at 831 as part of “*jissai-ni hitobito-ni tsutaeru*” (actually convey to people: J086) despite the lack of any corresponding expression in the ST. It can be said, therefore, that on this occasion instance the information was retained as part of Event 1. On the other hand, this expression might simply be a kind of habitual filler used by the interpreter. For this reason, I have classified these instances in the separate category of ‘other types of differences’ for the sake of discussion in this chapter. I will re-examine these instances in Chapter 8.

The operation at work at 837 seems to be part of an attempt to overcome the syntactic differences which exist between the SL and the TL. And it seems that the interpreter constructed the concept of “*ichiban*” (best: J088) from “NO BETTER, NO MORE” (E085). This operation can be said to be a translation of logic, which is also an interesting phenomenon. It might equally, however, be no more than a kind of patterned operation that this interpreter uses. It is for this reason that I have this instance as other types of differences, which will avoid further discussion of this case during this study.

## 7.8 Summary

In this Chapter, I have examined five specific types of differences (R, BI, MR, IL, ECC) and other instances which exist between the ST and the TT. Using this examination, I have analysed the conceptual operations behind the SI performance and the types and roles of information sources which enable it.

- Repetition (R)

During the SI performance, it is not uncommon for interpreters to translate the same information given in the ST twice or even more often in the TT. The motivation behind repetitive translation varies from case to case. The interpreter might be strategically treading water, so to speak, as he/she struggles to understand the direction of the discourse. He/she might not be satisfied with the first expression and produces the second translation as a means of revising it. Alternatively, he/she might need to segment information and so produces the repetitive translation as a means of securing simultaneity in spite of the differences

between the linguistic structures of the SL and the TL. Still, some instances of repetitive translation actually indicate the interpreter's effort to explore the implicit direction of the ST by resorting to use of the background information that he/she holds.

- Exhibition of background information (BI)

Sometimes the background information possessed by the interpreter appears in the TT when it is only implicit in the ST. If there is no source information for a TT expression, and if the information is conceptual, not procedural, it follows that the interpreter has employed her background information as a resource in the construction of CCs during the discourse processing of that part of SI performance. In this study, background information has four sub-categories: world knowledge, knowledge of the topic, setting of the communication and introduction of the utterances. The type, timing and the role of specific background information will be closely analysed in Chapter 8.

- Exhibition of meta-representations with a demonstrative (MR)

Some evidence in the TT can demonstrate that the interpreter has established a new referential relation in the TT, which is not found in the ST. This phenomenon happens when the interpreter refers to information in a previous part of the TT. This type of performance suggests that the interpreter conceptualised the previous part of the TT and retained the CC when subsequently formulating the TT. This means that interpreters can operate the history of CCs at the meta-level and that they are used as material for comprehension of the ST and production of the TT. When demonstratives are used to exhibit a meta-representation, summary of a previous part of the ST is particularly evident in the operation. In other words, the exhibition of meta-representation by a demonstrative is a reflection of the interpreters' constant effort to organise the ST throughout the SI performance.

- Construal of implicit logic (IL)

Interpreters recover the logic implicit in the ST as part of the process of comprehension of the discourse and occasionally reproduce it in the TT. The recovery of implicit logic is enabled by operating on two CCs in order to establish a plausible relation between them. The meaning of the recovered logic is procedural rather than conceptual. This is considered to be a by-product of conceptualisation of the situation in the discourse. Exhibition of the implicit logic reveals that



interpreters are exploring the direction of the discourse throughout the entire SI performance.

- Exhibition of an event CC (ECC)

When an interpreter understands a situation, he/she is believed to have constructed an event CC. Some evidence exists to suggest that an event CC is retained in the background throughout the SI performance and explicitly or implicitly employed for the purpose of formulating TT expressions. An event CC includes a conceptual frame as a structured representation of an event and consists of participants and relations which exist between them. An event CC can be understood as a form of mental models (Johnson-Laird, 1983). In other words, the CC model can describe an aspect of mental models. The level of abstraction for an event CC might vary at each stage of discourse processing. It is in the nature of a CC that an event CC will develop during the online processing of discourse, and sources drawn upon in order to construct an event CC can be both linguistic and non-linguistic.

The construction of an event CC through use of non-linguistic resources is understood as the interpreter's effort to organise the information given in the ST. Since an event CC can be derived from non-linguistic contextual information, it is assumed that an event CC will contain individual factors. How an event CC is constructed at any given moment during discourse processing depends on individual interpreters and the conditions under which they are operating.

- Others (O)

Three instances were addressed as other types of differences. They are interesting enough to merit passing analysis, but I do not discuss them in any great detail because there are only a limited number of instances in the sampled SI performance, which are not sufficient to allow further analysis.

When I review the columns for processing types for each instance in Table 7.1, it seems to me that the interpreter has tried to construct an event CC from the very beginning of the TT. On the other hand, when it comes to information sources, the use of background information is not observed at the beginning of the performance. It is only from a certain point in the discourse that the interpreter started to employ background information and gradually produce TT expressions where she draws on the history of CCs. It might be the case that only once she is sure of the direction of the discourse that

the interpreter falls back on background information in order to understand utterances that appear in the discourse. This is still, however, only a rough impression of the online processing of SI performance. In the next chapter I will carry out a closer analysis of the interpreter's performance based on the observations in this chapter, but supplemented by a description of the development of CCs.

Note1: On the contrary, the information given in *work* is explicit in the ST, but implicit in the TT. (Since the deletion of information from the ST to the TT is not within the scope of this analysis, this observation is not included in Table 7.1.)

Note 2: The content of the CC for 'America' should be understood as the US government. At this juncture, however, the content of the CC had yet to be determined. Therefore, it is simply and tentatively specified as 'America'. A detailed analysis of the development of this CC will be provided in Chapter 8.

## 8. Development of CCs

### 8.1 Construction and retention of CC1

The objective of this chapter is to trace the online development of CCs through observation of the differences which appear between the ST and TT in the sample SI performance “US government media strategy” (numbered as (1) in Chapter 6). The differences identified in the sample are summarised in Table 7.1 as was examined in Chapter 7. In this chapter, based on the examination, I will trace the development of CCs throughout the discourse processing in this SI performance.

In the previous chapter, I explained some of the differences which arose between the ST and TT through the implicit introduction of ‘America’ into Events 1 and 2. Through my analysis I found that the interpreter constructed two event CCs for ‘transferring information’ and ‘criticisms’ respectively. My contention here is that the interpreter’s initial attempt to construct Event 1 started when she translated “TO EXPLOIT INFORMATION” (E077) as “*jouhou-wo dekiru-dake kushi-shi-you-to*” (intended to use information as much as possible: J077) by implicitly introducing the agent for the event of ‘transferring information’. In the downstream of the discourse, when the interpreter translated “INSINUATIONS” (E081) as “*an-ni hime-te hihan-sare-tari*” (being implicitly criticized: J081), she delivered the TT based on Event 2, which is understood from her use of the passive voice. In §24 in Table 7.1, the “*kedomo*” (but: J084) can be understood as a demonstration of the parallel retention of Event 1 and 2 by the interpreter. In those events, the same participant is shared by two events, bearing different semantic roles: ‘America’ serves as the agent in Event 1 and the theme in Event 2. So far, I have tentatively called this componential CC America. However, it is only once the interpreter explicitly produced the expressions which correspond to the element, that the analysis in this study suggests that she employed the CC as the participants in Event 1 and 2. Given this, I cannot properly maintain that the interpreter actually judged the content of this CC to be ‘America’ specifically, because this information is not explicit in the TT. For this reason, I would like to name this conceptual complex CC1 in order to commence analysis in this chapter.

Needless to say, in order to produce the ST seen here, the source speaker has background knowledge about America which exists as essential information in his original CCs. Also, as an observer of this SI performance, I can understand that

‘America’ is the agent of the events denoted by “EFFORT” (E077), “EXPLOIT” (E077), “USED” (E077), “DOMINATE” (E077), “USED” (E078), “INFLUENCE” (E078), “USED” (E078), and “CONVEY” (E079). The initial question here is when and how the interpreter recovered ‘America’ in her CC with which she then produced the TT.

In order to focus on the development of Event 1, 2 and CC1, I will skip “*ossya-tta-touri saki-ni shisa-sare-mashi-ta keredomo*” (as you mentioned before, at first, as you have indicated: J076), because this is nothing more than an opening remark and has almost nothing to do with CC1. Hence, I do not address instances from 81 to 84 in Table 7.1 in this chapter. I will start to analyse the mental state of the interpreter from the time just before introduction of CC1. Consequently, this online analysis starts from “*zentai-teki-na doryoku-ga nasa-re-te*” (an overall effort was made: J077) and continues to *ichiban-ii-de-arou-to kangae-ta-no-desu* (φ thought it would be the best way: J088).

I will describe the online development of the CCs during this performance throughout the course of this chapter, but, in order to clarify the progress of the interpreter’s conceptual operations, I will divide this part of the SI performance into six stages and describe each of them from 8.2 to 8.7. First, in 8.2, I will analyse how the interpreter implicitly introduced CC1 into her cognitive environment in this performance. The introduction of CC1 can be explained as part of the interpreter’s effort to construct Event 1. Secondly, in 8.3, I will examine the discursive nature of CCs. As CCs are non-linguistic conceptual representations, an event CC can be constructed at different levels, such as the clause or sentence levels. Retention of CC1 continues throughout this operation. Thirdly, in 8.4, the construction of Event 2 is examined through observation of the semantic role of CC1. The status of CCs which are retained at the same time is also examined. Fourthly, in 8.5, I examine how relevant events in the discourse are handled. In this operation, CC1 still has a significant role in the interpreter’s conceptual operations, although at this point she was no longer handling Event 1 or 2, but new events. In this part, CC1 is explicitly delivered as “*America*” (America: J082) for the first time. Fifthly, in 8.6, I will focus on how the interpreter’s conceptual operations are based on the coexistence of Events 1 and 2. And finally, in 8.7, I will argue how the interpreter has utilised the history of CCs in this part of the performance. As the interpreter has already completed Event 1 and 2 as a framework for this discourse, her performance becomes more flexible, generating considerable gaps between the ST and TT. To conclude the chapter, I will sum up the findings of this online analysis in 8.8.

## 8.2 Origin of CC1

I will now start to trace the online development of the CCs during the sampled SI performance. First of all, I will examine how the interpreter introduced CC1 into her cognitive environment.

### ***Preliminary attempts***

In (1) below, the actual TT and some other possible translations for “THERE WAS SORT OF AN OVERALL EFFORT TO EXPLOIT INFORMATION TO MAXIMUM EFFECT” (E076) are provided. These include the differences between the ST and TT that are listed from §5 to §9 in Table 7.1.

(1) ST: THERE WAS SORT OF AN OVERALL EFFORT TO EXPLOIT INFORMATION TO MAXIMUM EFFECT

- a. *zentai-teki-na doryoku-ga nasa-re-te jouhou-wo dekiru-dake kushi-shi-you-to sore-wo-motte seika-wo saidai-ka-shi-you-to*
- b. *saidaigen-no kouka-de jouhou-wo kushi-suru zentai-teki-na doryoku-ga ari*
- c. *zentai-teki-na doryoku-ga ari jouhou-no kushi-ga saidaigen-ni ari-mashi-ta*
- d. *zentai-teki-na doryoku-wo nashi jouhou-wo dekiru-dake kushi-shi seika-wo saidai-ka-shi-mashi-ta*

(1a) is the actual performance by the interpreter. When the interpreter translated “THERE WAS SORT OF AN OVERALL EFFORT” (E076) into “*zentai-teki-na doryoku-ga nasa-re-te*” (an overall effort was made: J077), the interpreter produced the TT in the passive voice (§5). On the other hand, when the interpreter produced “*jouhou-wo dekiru-dake kushi-shi-you*” (intended to use information as much as possible: J077) to translate “TO EXPLOIT INFORMATION” (E077), she did not choose the passive voice, but added *you* (intend to), a morpheme which expresses intention (§6). Considering the consistency of the TT expressions, this shift of voice is not very natural, although neither is it inappropriate.

The possible translations for this part have already been addressed in the previous chapter, the purpose of which was to explore the interpreter’s construction of an event. In this chapter, the actual translations and alternatives will be examined from the perspective of online processing of SI performance. (1b) is an example of a more literal translation with no significant additional information. Compared to the other options, however, this translation is not recommendable as an actual SI solution. This translation is only possible once the interpreter has heard “INFORMATION” (E077)

and the interpreter would be required to wait, or stall and retain all the information from the ST leading up to that. Since the onus is on the interpreter to start producing the TT even while still listening to the middle of a sentence, the interpreter has to divide expressions in the ST into small segments. As a basic or imposed strategy, whether conscious or not, segmentation in SI performance has two benefits: one is securing simultaneity and the other is reducing processing effort. Even when an interpreter produces a TT expression for some part of the ST, it is assumed that he/she retains information necessary for the processing of a subsequent part of the discourse. However, once the interpreter has produced a segment of information, he/she does no longer have to verbalise that part of information and can move onto the next part. Segmentation helps interpreters control the inventory of undone information in their working memory during an SI performance. For this reason, it makes sense for the interpreter to translate “THERE WAS SORT OF AN OVERALL EFFORT” (E076) before listening to right to the end of this part of the SI. Given the above, (1c) represents a better option, because the interpreter can commence production of the expression after “EFFORT” (E077), without having to wait so long due to tighter segmentation. (1c) is also a more feasible formulation. In (1c), information from the ST is segmented and can be translated into the TT one piece at a time. This is one possible solution for dealing with the ST and there seems little problem with the TT, although the repetition of existence sentences impinges on the comprehensibility of the Japanese. The interpreter is still able to choose (1a) or (1d). In (1c), “*doryoku*” (effort) and “*kushi*” (exploitation) are nominal and the interpreter does not have to select voice for the expression and does not have to use a morpheme to express intention. On the other hand, the use of verbs in (1a) and (1d) require selection of voice. In (1d), “*zentai-teki-na doryoku-wo nashi*” (made an overall effort) is expressed in the active voice without the grammatical subject. The question here is what made the interpreter add the extra information mentioned above: the passive voice in “*zentai-teki-na doryoku-ga nasa-re-te*” (an overall effort was made: J077).

As argued in the previous chapter, the use of passive voice in “*zentai-teki-na doryoku-ga nasa-re-te*” (an overall effort was made: J077) can be understood as the interpreter not being entirely sure of the agent of ‘effort’. The ST in the sample performance is an answer to a question posed by the host of a television programme on the Iraq War and the question was about the media strategy employed by the US government during the war. Given the situation, when trying to identify the agent of the ‘effort’, the US government would be one possible candidate, but there does not appear to have been sufficient information for the interpreter to come to that conclusion. Even

if the cognitive element of ‘America’ existed in the interpreter’s mind, it was yet to be introduced when she understood this ‘effort’. Because this is only the beginning of discourse, there is no history of CCs which is associated with the information in question. Notwithstanding, some elements relevant to the topic of discourse, such as ‘America’, the ‘press’ and ‘Iraq’ might have been accessible to the interpreter, and therefore associated with ‘effort’. These were all present as existing information which form background knowledge of the topic, and while these elements possibly existed in the interpreter’s cognitive environment, they were not associated with ‘effort’.

In Japanese, the grammatical subject is not a requisite for a clause and so the translation given is natural enough. If (1d) were used as the TT for this part, however, the audience of the TT would have to infer that the source speaker or people related to the speaker were the agent/s of the event when they listened to “*zentai-teki-na doryoku-wo nashi*” (made an overall effort) even though such information is not explicit in the TT. On the other hand, if the interpreter uses “*zentai-teki-na doryoku-ga nasa-re-te*” (an overall effort was made), the agent of the ‘effort’ does not necessarily have to be determined. In other words, by producing (1a), the interpreter is able to avoid the need to specify the agent of ‘effort’ in the TT.

It is in the nature of SI, that an interpreter is routinely forced to produce the TT even though he/she is still in the middle of the construction of his/her CCs. In these circumstances, the interpreter is often required to produce the TT based only on abstract understanding of the ST. The performance here seems to be just such a case. It can be said that the CC on ‘effort’ at this juncture is a naked CC without any association to other CCs. If this is the case, at this stage, the interpreter was still unaware who did what, and for what reason in the discourse. Once she has access to more information, she will be able to infer a great deal more.

### ***Introduction of CC1***

Following this, the interpreter translated “TO EXPLOIT INFORMATION” (E077) as “*jouhou-wo dekiru-dake kushi-shi-you*” (intended to use information as much as possible: J077) in the active voice using an extra morpheme to express the agent’s intention. This conversion of voice was not necessary. If the interpreter produces (1d), she can produce two verb phrases in the active voice. Conversely, it is also possible for her to produce both of them in the passive voice. Also, there is this additional morpheme which expresses the agent’s intention. When the interpreter processed “TO EXPLOIT INFORMATION” (E077), this *to*-infinitive phrase was produced in the active voice, but there is no corresponding information in the ST to express the agent’s intention. If this



choice of the active voice is simply a means to secure the formal fidelity between expressions in the ST and TT, then “*jouhou-wo dekiru-dake kushi-shi*” (use information as much as possible) is an acceptable alternative translation for this part. Formal fidelity cannot therefore explain the use of “*you*” (intend to: J077), because, as shown, it is entirely possible to produce an alternative translation without resorting to the use of this additional information.

When the interpreter produced “*zentai-teki-na doryoku-ga nasa-re-te*” (an overall effort was made) in the passive voice, she was able to avoid specifying the agent of ‘effort’, either consciously or otherwise. However, once she grasped the agent of the event, no matter how abstract, she was no longer obliged to continue producing the ambiguous translation that the use of the passive voice had engendered. The shift of voice observed in the actual TT in (1a) can be explained as a demonstration of the interpreter’s implicit introduction of the agent of ‘effort’. If this is the case, then this can be identified as the origin of CC1.

The additional morpheme “*you*” (intend to: J077) to express the agent’s intention can be regarded as a conceptual by-product of the introduction of CC1 as the agent of the event. To turn it around, as I have argued in the previous chapter, this additional morpheme can provide evidence of the interpreter’s attempt to construct Event 1 for this part. If the interpreter had not used this morpheme, as demonstrated in (1d), this translation could be judged as superficial code switching. Since the interpreter did employ the additional morpheme, however, this option cannot be explained away as a simple instance of code switching. From the perspective of the CC model, this shift of voice and use of additional morpheme can be understood as the interpreter’s implicit introduction of the agent in Event 1.

At first, CC1 is constructed without any corresponding input from the ST. The nature of CC1 is purely conceptual as it has no tie with any linguistically coded information. CC1 is derived from background information evoked by input from the ST. In this case, frame knowledge on ‘use of information’ is considered to have been activated. In association with this knowledge, CC1 is constructed as an animate entity and the agent of ‘exploit information’. Reflecting its origin, the content of this CC can be described as ‘information user’, although this may seem tautological. At this stage, since resources sufficient for the construction CC1 were absent, the content of CC1 is considered to remain highly abstract. (2) provides a description of the initial status of CC1.

## (2) CC1 [INFORMATION USER]



Once constructed, CC1 [INFORMATION USER] becomes one of the components of the event ‘exploit information’. Figure 8.1 demonstrates the mechanism of the construction and introduction of CC1.

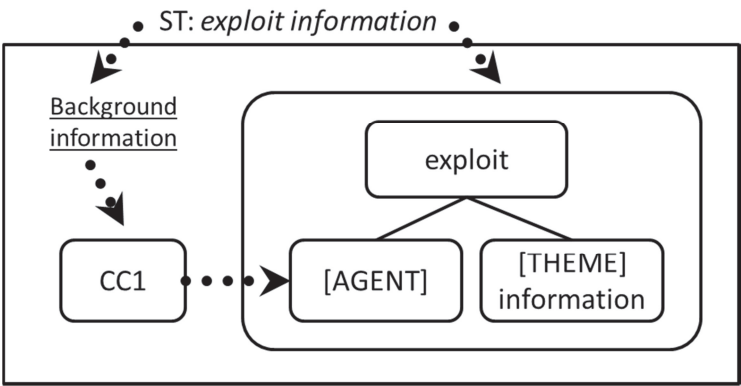


Figure 8.1

This figure illustrates the moment when ‘exploit information’ was given in the ST. The outline box in this figure illustrates the cognitive environment of the interpreter. Dotted arrows demonstrate the flow of information used to process expressions given in the ST. When “EXPLOIT INFORMATION” (E077) was inputted from the ST, this stimulus was used in two ways. One use is to construct a CC which consists of sub-CCs for ‘exploit’ and ‘information’ and a conceptual frame. Mainly linguistic knowledge is involved in this process. The other use is to access background information in the cognitive environment. Motivated by the strategic attitude of the interpreter, CC1 is constructed as ‘information user’. At this stage, the content of the ‘information’ in question is not specified, but the interpreter can introduce an abstract agent by drawing on her background knowledge of the general situation of information use. Figure 8.2 illustrates the event CC which is constructed when the interpreter introduced CC1 into her cognitive environment.

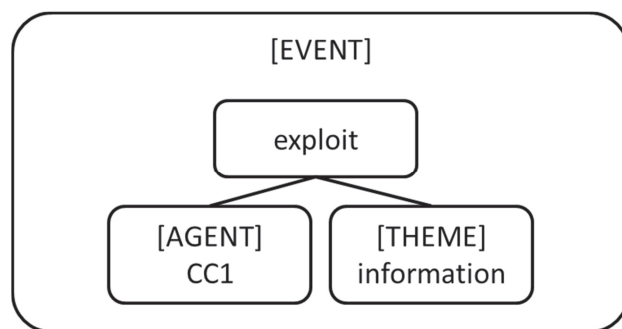


Figure 8.2

This event consists of ‘exploit information’, which derives from linguistic expressions in the ST, and CC1, which is a cognitive complement and does not have a corresponding linguistic source. Since the CCs for ‘exploit information’ include the lexical frame of *exploit*, the semantic role of ‘information’ is syntactically determined in the frame. Once CC1 is introduced into the event, it becomes a substantial component in the online development of CCs. The morpheme “*you*” (intend to: J077) in this part of the TT indicated that she recognised the agent’s intention. In this figure an event CC is shown composed of three componential CCs. However, since the focus of the current discussion is CC1, I have used a simplified notation for the event shown below in Figure 8.3.

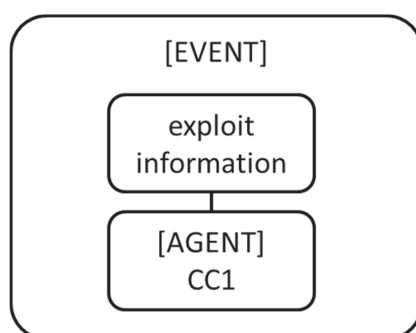


Figure 8.3

The difference between Figure 8.2 and 8.3 is the grouping of the CCs. While ‘exploit’ and ‘information’ are treated as separate CCs in Figure 8.2, they are grouped into a single CC in Figure 8.3. Since a CC can be constructed as a nested structure, however, even in figure 8.3, the CC signified as ‘exploit information’ consists of two or more sub-CCs. Therefore, the simplified notation in Figure 8.3 is sufficient for the purposes of discussion, unless the relational CC and its theme are to be discussed as discrete CCs.

Also the same part of the TT suggests that the interpreter understood the relation between the two events of ‘effort’ and ‘exploit information’. The use of “*you*” (intend to:

J077) for this part signifies that the interpreter construed ‘exploit information’ as an intentional activity which constitutes part of ‘effort’. Since an effort connotes intentional activities in general, it is reasonable for the interpreter to encapsulate ‘exploit information’ as the content of ‘overall effort’. Taking this point into consideration, Figure 8.3 can be revised as Figure 8.4.

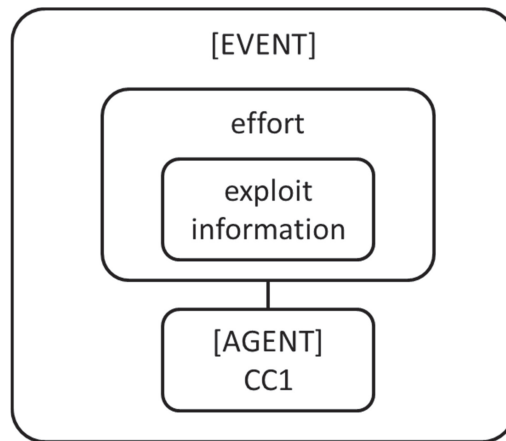


Figure 8.4

In this Figure, ‘exploit information’ is incorporated as a component of ‘effort’. Since CC1 is construed as the agent of ‘exploit information’, this CC is shared with ‘effort’.

#### ***Development of the CC for ‘effort’***

When the interpreter produced “*seika-wo saidai-ka-shi-you-to shi-tan-desu*” (intended to maximise the effect: J077), she expressed this part in the active voice and employed the additional morpheme to again signify the agent’s intention, whereas the corresponding expression in the ST, “THE MAXIMUM EFFECT” (E077) is nominal and there is no information on voice or the agent’s intention (89). As I have argued, this can also be explained as the interpreter trying to construct Event 1. CC1 serves as the agent of the event. This event is also understood as part of ‘effort’. From this same pattern of translation, it would seem intuitively plausible that the interpreter understood the parallel relation which exists between ‘exploit information’ and ‘maximise the effect’. This intuitive assumption is corroborated by “*sore-wo-motte*” (by means of this: J077) (87) which is an instance of exhibition of the procedural meaning. At the same time, this expression includes the demonstrative “*sore*” (this: J077) which refers to the content of “*jouhou-wo dekiru-dake kushi-shi-you*” (intended to use information as much as possible: J077) in the TT (88). No referential expression of this kind can be identified in

the ST. This use of the demonstrative was enabled by a meta-representation of the event of ‘exploit information’. Given the above, the development of the event CC of ‘effort’ can be illustrated as shown in Figure 8.5 below.

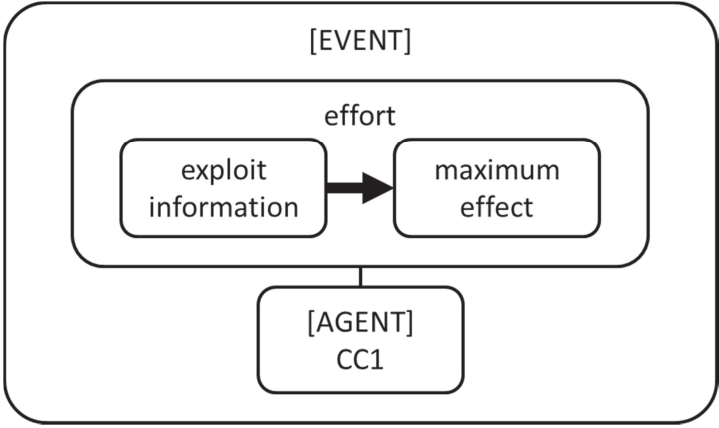


Figure 8.5

In this figure, both ‘exploit information’ and ‘maximum effect’ are included in as the content of ‘effort’. The arrow between ‘exploit information’ and ‘maximum effect’ signifies the logical relation of ‘means and purpose’ which exists between them. In keeping with the nature of procedural information, it does not possess conceptual content and is appropriately described as an arrow. CC1 is shared as the common agent in these events, although this information is implicit in both the ST and the TT. This progression of the CCs causes the development of the content of CC1. (3) describes the new status of CC1.

### (3) CC1 [EFFECT MAXIMIZER]

With the progression of the CCs, CC1 [INFORMATION USER] developed into CC1 [EFFECT MAXIMIZER]. In this way, the status of a CC changes in accordance with the progression of other CCs.

### ***Alternative construction of CCs***

So far, I have analysed the construction of CCs throughout the actual SI performance, but this is only one of many possible performances. Another interpreter might produce a different TT based on CCs constructed in different ways. To conclude the analysis in this section, I would like to examine another possible construction of CCs as might occur in alternative performances. Below is a review of alternative translations.

(1) ST: THERE WAS SORT OF AN OVERALL EFFORT TO EXPLOIT INFORMATION TO MAXIMUM EFFECT

- a. *zentai-teki-na doryoku-ga nasa-re-te jouhou-wo dekiru-dake kushi-shi-you-to sore-wo-motte seika-wo saidai-ka-shi-you-to*
- b. *saidaigen-no kouka-de jouhou-wo kushi-suru zentai-teki-na doryoku-ga ari*
- c. *zentai-teki-na doryoku-ga ari jouhou-no kushi-ga saidaigen-ni ari-mashi-ta*
- d. *zentai-teki-na doryoku-wo nashi jouhou-wo dekiru-dake kushi-shi seika-wo saidai-ka-shi-mashi-ta*

As I have already explained, (1a) is not the only possible TT expression for this part, there are other possibilities. In terms of processing effort and fidelity to the ST expressions, (1c) seems a more appropriate option than the others. Even if the interpreter had constructed the CCs shown in Figure 8.5, she can still produce (1c) in the TT. If (1c) is the TT, however, because there are no significant differences between the ST and the TT, we have no clues with which to analyse the cognitive process at work in this SI performance. In order to produce (2c), however, the interpreter is not obliged to construct the CCs shown in Figure 8.5. And if (1c) is produced as an example of a code-switching performance for this part of the ST, the CCs constructed in this performance can be illustrated as shown in Figure 8.6.

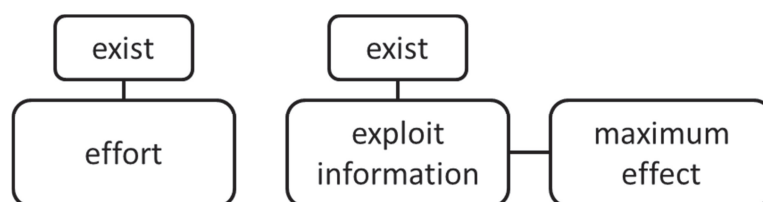


Figure 8.6

If (1c) is the TT, a CC for ‘effort’ might not have been appropriately associated with other CCs. The interpreter recognises the existence of ‘effort’ and ‘exploit information’ as things rather than events. Although ‘exploit information’ is probably linked with ‘maximum effect’ because of syntactic rules, the interpreter might not have understood the agent of the events. There is no room for CC1 in this figure. If this TT was produced mostly as a simply trans-coding between the two languages, almost no cognitive complements would be introduced during comprehension of the discourse. Although this is an acceptable translation of the same part of the ST, the formulation of the CCs is

significantly different. The formulation of CCs reflects the interpreter's attitude towards comprehension of the discourse.

In this section, I have analysed how the interpreter introduced CC1 in her cognitive environment. At first, when she produced “*zentai-teki-na doryoku-ga nasa-re-te*” (an overall effort was made: J077) in the passive voice, it seemed that she was not very sure of the agent of the event. However, when she elected to produce this TT expression in a verb phrase, it was necessary to activate a frame for the event expressed by the verb. The selection of TT expression here may reflect her initial attempts to construct CCs, then, when she produced “*jouhou-wo dekiru-dake kushi-shi-you*” (intended to use information as much as possible: J077), she introduced CC1 as the agent of the event. Subsequently, the CC for ‘effort’ developed with CC1 as one of its essential participants. While the content of CC1 seemingly remained unspecified, the interpreter's initial attempt at a conceptual operation can be observed through this part of SI performance.

### 8.3 Construction of a discursive CC

In the last section, I examined the introduction of CC1 and its contribution to the development of the event CC for ‘exploit information’. In this section, I will continue to analyse the development of this event CC through examination of the TT expressions from “*senjou-wo shihai-suru*” (dominate the battle field: J078) to “*tsutae-mashi-ta*” (conveyed: J080).

#### ***History of CCs***

In the analysis above, CC1 is shared by three events related to ‘exploit information’. This may come as no surprise given that all three events occur within the same sentence in the ST. In this subsection, however, I will argue that CC1 is also shared even with other events in the following utterances, which reveals the interpreter's understanding of the relation between the serial events of ‘exploit information’ and the events which follow in the discourse.

The interpreter held the history of CCs which were constructed for the preceding part of the ST. As mentioned in Chapter 7, “*kore*” (this: J078) was employed to refer to the entire event CC including ‘exploit information’ shown in Figure 8.5. (810). This operation was enabled by a meta-representation of those events as a history of CCs in the interpreter's cognitive environment. In order to enable this operation, the interpreter is required to handle two event CCs at the same time. The first is constructed to process the immediate ST expressions and the second is retained as the

history of CCs in order to understand the coherence and the plausibility of the discourse. Figure 8.7 illustrates the interpreter's construal of the history of CCs and newly constructed CCs.

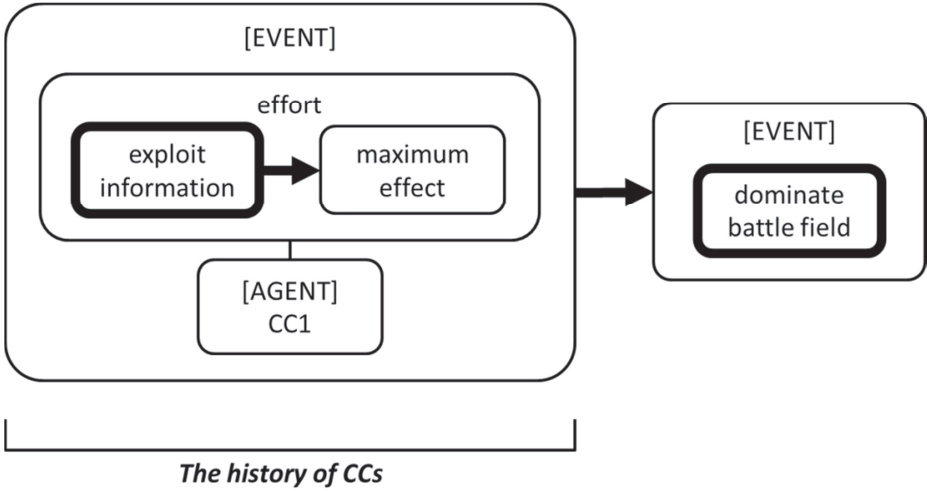


Figure 8.7

In this figure, the CC designated as 'exploit information' is highlighted to show how the CC is salient in the interpreter's mind. When the source speaker produced "IT WAS USED" (E077), he was talking about 'use of information'. Moreover, since the ST is answering a question about the US government's media strategy the CC for 'exploit information' is considered to be salient in this event. Another CC, that of 'dominate battle field' is also salient, because this part of the TT is produced based on this CC. In this part of the TT, "*tame*" (to: J078, J079) indicates that the purpose of '*kore*' (this: J078) is '*senjou-wo shihai-suru*' (dominate the battle field: E078). Considering that this "*tame*" (to: J078) might have been the result of a literal translation of "TO" (E077) in "IT WAS USED BOTH TO" (E077), which grammatically indicates that the phrase led by the *to*-infinitive clauses specifies the purpose of "USE" (E077), it goes without saying that this performance entails the interpreter's linguistic knowledge of the ST. In Figure 8.7, the arrow connecting the two event CCs signifies that the interpreter understands the logical relation between the history of CCs and a newly established CC for '*senjou-wo shihai-suru*' (dominate the battle field: E078).

As designated in this figure, the event CC on the left is the history of CCs at this juncture. At this stage, 'dominate battle field' is the most salient focus of attention when the corresponding part of the discourse is processed. This operation must be conducted in reference to the history of CCs and background information. Once a part of discourse

is processed, the CCs that are constructed for that part will become part of the history of CCs. Once the information contained in a CC is produced in the TT, however, it is plausible that that content is summarised so that it can be efficiently stored as the history of CCs. It is conceivable that summarization of this kind progresses in parallel with the construction or elaboration of mental models (Johnson-Laird, 1983). Given the above, it is possible that, when the interpreter used “*kore*” (this: J078), the history of CCs was summarised as the referent of the meta-representation. This being the case, Figure 8.7 can be simplified as Figure 8.8.

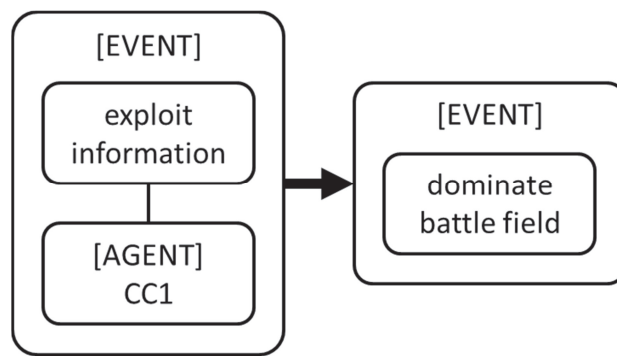


Figure 8.8

This update of Figure 8.7 to 8.8, however, is not necessarily to describe the change in the interpreter’s CC at this juncture, but rather to clarify the point of discussion in this analysis. Nevertheless, some instances observed in the actual SI performance can be explained as conceptual summarization of this kind.

### ***CC at the discourse level***

While “*tame*” (to: J078) indicates that she recognised the implicit logic between ‘exploit information’ and ‘dominate battle field’, the interpreter produced “*senjou-wo shihai-suru*” (dominate the battle field: E078) without specifying the agent for the event. From the flow of the TT discourse, the agent of ‘dominate battle field’ is naturally understood as CC1, but there is no sign of the interpreter’s recognition of the agent. Nonetheless, it is unlikely that the interpreter was unaware of the agent of ‘dominate battle field’. Remember that the shift of voice from the passive in “*doryoku-ga nasa-re*” (an effort was made: J077) to the active in “*kushi-shi-you*” (intended to use: J077) suggested that the interpreter constructed CC1 [INFORMATION USER] as the agent of the event. To specify another entity as the entity of ‘dominate battle field’, the agent must be explicit in the TT, otherwise, the audience would recognise the agent of



‘dominate battle field’ as the same entity as the previous event. As long as the interpreter produces a coherent discourse based on her CCs, the fact that she did not express the agent of ‘dominate battle field’ should be understood as recognition of CC1 being retained until the delivery of “*senjou-wo shihai-suru*” (dominate the battle field: E078). With this in mind, I have revised Figure 8.8 and produced 8.9.

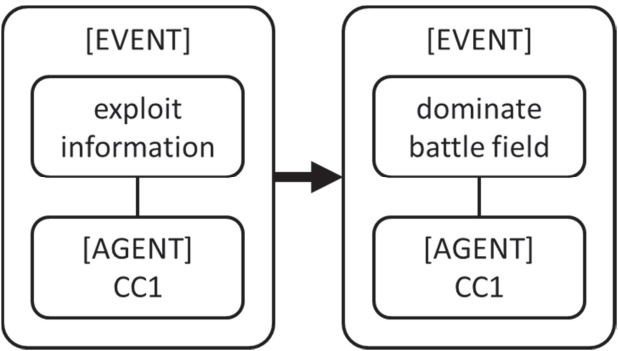


Figure 8.9

In Figure 8.9, CC1 is attached to ‘dominate battle field’. In this figure, CC1 appears in two places. But, are two CCs enough? Remember that ‘exploit information’ in Figure 8.8 is a summary of several events. If each event CC requires an independent agent, ‘exploit information’, ‘maximum effect’ and ‘effort’ may also each require an independent agent. How then can the cognitive element in CC1 be divided in the mind? Is the CC1 duplicated every time it is required? It would seem more natural to explain that a CC which contains the same cognitive element is the only CC in existence. For this reason, I propose Figure 8.10 to describe the status of the CCs at this juncture.

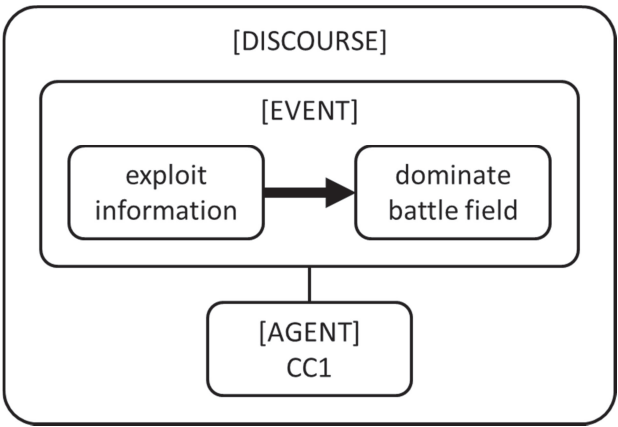


Figure 8.10

Figure 8.10 shows how ‘exploit information’ and ‘dominate battle field’ are grouped as a series of events and that only one CC1 is attached as agent for both of them. Although CC1 is still implicit in the TT, it is possible that the interpreter identified the existence of CC1. Since it is the agent of ‘dominate battle field’, the content of CC1 is considered to later develop into [MILITARY ACTOR] as shown in (4) below.

#### (4) CC1 [MILITARY ACTOR]

Since ‘exploit information’ and ‘dominate battle field’ are construed as components of a series of events, the integration of the CCs which have been constructed for those events may contribute to the generation of coherence and plausibility in the discourse. This conceptual integration is considered here to form a large discourse level CC. It might be said that a discourse CC consists of one or more event CCs, but, in the CC model, no essential distinction between a discourse and an event is required. In other words, the CC model can explain the construction and the nature of a discursive CC without resorting to any additional devices beyond those of an event CC. No matter whether an event CC is constructed for a clause or discourse, it is a package of CCs which includes one relational CC and at least one associated participant. Of course, a group of CCs does not always comprise an event. If it lacks the elements necessary for an event, it may be a property CC or no more than an unspecified set of CCs. In this sense, the discourse CC in Figure 8.10 is, by its nature, also a large CC. Phrase, clause and discourse are grammatical units at the linguistic level but conceptualised information is not necessarily constructed in accordance with a linguistic system of this kind. For the sake of further discussion, therefore, I may make no distinction between a sentential event and a discursive one. Actually, a similar operation has been already observed at work in this case study, when ‘exploit information’ and ‘maximum effect’ were understood as the content of ‘effort’, and CC1 was shared between the events. In that case, the group of event CCs which include ‘exploit information’ and ‘maximum effect’ are considered to be the ones which serve as the theme of the CC for ‘effort’.

It would seem that the interpreter has included the subsequent events as part of this discursive CC, which is corroborated by the timing of production of *mo* (also) in “*America-no hito-tachi-ni-mo*” (also to American people: J079) (814). In the ST, the same form of “IT WAS USED TO” is employed three times: “IT WAS USED BOTH TO DOMINATE” (E077), “IT WAS USED TO INFLUENCE” (E078) and “IT WAS USED TO CONVEY” (E078). “*Kore-wa senjou-wo shihai-suru-tame-desu*” (this is to dominate the battle field: J078) is a translation for the first of the three. The second was translated as

“*watashi-tachi-no teki-ni taishi-te eikyou-ryoku-wo motsu-tame-desu*” (to influence against our enemies: J078). For the third one, *tame* (to) is not used and “CONVEY” (E079) is translated as “*tsutae-mashi-ta*” (conveyed: J080) in the past tense. Although *to*-infinitive phrases are used three times to designate purpose, *tame* (to) is employed only twice. This may be because of the existence of “BOTH” (E077), which is usually used to specify a pair of things. Or it may be because of the long suspension of the translation of “CONVEY” (E079) since long retention may result in the conceptualisation of information. Nevertheless, as mentioned in the previous chapter, this “*mo*” (also: J079) indicates that the interpreter construed ‘*America-no hito-tachi*’ (American people: J079) as one of the members in the parallel structure which includes ‘*senjou*’ (the battle field: J078) and ‘*watashi-tachi-no teki*’ (our enemies: J078). Apart from the repetition of the same form in the ST, three expressions of “DOMINATE” (E077), “INFLUENCE” (E078) and “CONVEY” (E079) are used to describe the media strategy of the US government. The interpreter’s construal of ‘*America-no hito-tachi*’ (American people: J079) is explained as she understood this element by applying it to the structure of the ‘media strategy’. Figure 8.11 is an illustration of the CC constructed to understand this part.

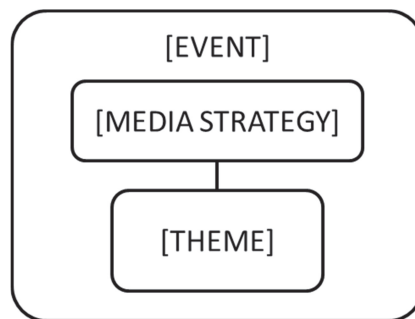


Figure 8.11

Drawing on this CC, the interpreter understands the semantic role of ‘*senjou*’ (the battle field: J078), ‘*watashi-tachi-no teki*’ (our enemies: J078) and ‘*America-no hito-tachi*’ (American people: J079) in the event CC. Figure 8.12 demonstrates this comprehension.

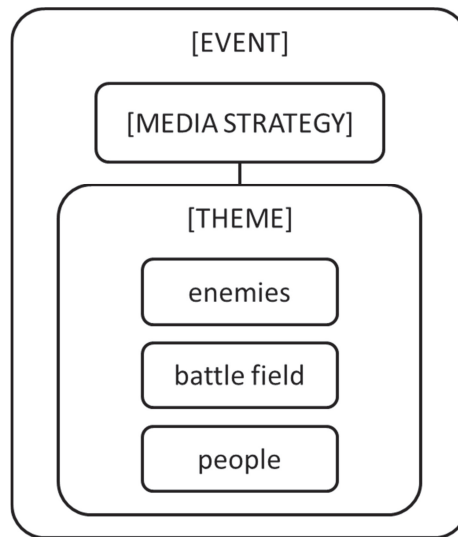


Figure 8.12

This figure illustrates that the interpreter constructed a CC when she understood ‘media strategy’ on the basis of Event 1 as shown in Figure 8.12. From the perspective of the online processing of discourse, this event CC should reside in Figure 8.10. As a result, the formulation of CCs at this juncture is depicted as shown in Figure 8.13.

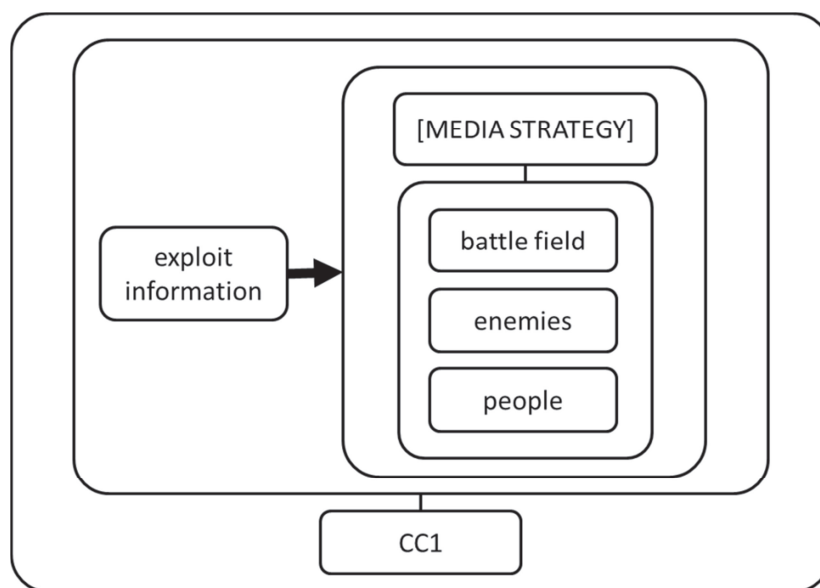


Figure 8.13

Because ‘exploit’ and ‘media strategy’ are recognized as a series of events, they can be packaged as a group of CCs. When the event frame, i.e. participants and their role

rather than the contents of component CCs, is focused, by simplifying the package of CCs in its description, the status of the CC at this juncture can be illustrated as Figure 8.14.

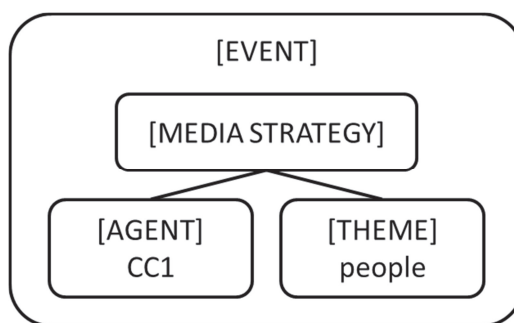


Figure 8.14

In this figure, the series of events can be summarised as ‘media strategy’. Although this component might actually be represented as a combination of ‘information’ and ‘convey’, because the ‘transfer of information’ is a theme in the event. It is in the nature of a CC that the level of abstraction of an event can change in accordance with various factors such as the nature of working memory, the focus of attention in the discourse, and the hearer’s attitude. By definition, however, at least one participant must be included in an event CC. In this figure, the event CC for ‘media strategy’ accommodates two participants: the agent and the theme. In the CC, ‘theme’ refers to the ‘receiver of information’. Depending on the purpose of the discussion, however, this thematic CC could be separately depicted as ‘receiver’ and ‘information’ when necessary.

### ***Transformation of CC1***

In order to examine the state of CC1, I will pay attention to the translation of “INFLUENCE OUR ENEMIES” (E078). (5) compares actual and alternative performances for this part of the SI. (5a) is the actual TT and (5b) is an alternative translation.

#### **(5) ST: INFLUENCE OUR ENEMIES**

- a. *watashi-tachi-no teki-ni-taishi-te eikyou-ryoku-wo motsu*
- b. *teki-ni eikyou-ryoku-wo ataeru*

Both of the translations given in (5) can be regarded as literal translations. But I would like to examine differences between the two. While “*watashi-tachi-no*” (our) and

“*taishi-te*” (against) are explicitly produced in (5a), these elements are only implicit in (5b). Both versions are natural Japanese expressions. Although more information is explicit in (5a), “*watashi-tachi-no*” (our) is simply a literal translation of “OUR” and “*taishi-te*” (against) expresses force dynamics (Talmy 2000a) as part of the meaning lexically encoded in *influence*. Because of the explicitness of these elements, however, it is possible to say that the interpreter definitely understood them in (5a), and that the elements are more strongly activated than in (5b).

At the same time, this element is associated with existing elements in CC1 and the ‘people including the speaker’ is construed as ‘military actor’, which is an entity pitted against enemies on the field of battle. This construal is demonstrated by the explicit force dynamics expressed by “*taishi-te*” (against: J078). The elements in CC1 must be organised so as to construct a coherent structure as a concept: although the speaker himself is not a military actor and not on the field of battle, people related to the speaker are there as soldiers. At this stage, CC1 [MILITARY ACTOR] developed into CC1 [MILITARY ACTOR on the SPEAKER’S SIDE].

#### (6) CC1 [MILITARY ACTOR on the SPEAKER’S SIDE]

Analysis at this stage is somewhat idiosyncratic because it does not follow the basic approach of this study, which is based on differences between the ST and TT. For this reason, if this part is looked at in isolation, the argument contained herein might not appear to be supported by very strong evidence. Seen from wider perspective of the discourse, however, the argument is more justified. In the following part of the SI performance, the interpreter produced “*America*” (America: J082) as a corresponding expression of “WE” (E081) (§22). In order to enable this performance, the status of CC1 is required as a link between a rather abstract entity and a fully-fledged participant provided with richer content.

When the interpreter produced “*tsutae-mashi-ta*” (conveyed: J080), she must have completed the construction of the CC as illustrated in Figure 8.14. Subsequently, the status of CC1 is considered to have evolved into CC1 [INFORMATION TRANSMITTER].

#### (7) CC1 [INFORMATION TRANSMITTER]

It is conceivable that, while the retention of CC1 continued at least until the interpreter produced “*tsutae-mashi-ta*” (conveyed: J080), the content of CC1 transformed from an

abstract entity to the more specific participants found in Event 1. Throughout this operation, CC1 is not explicit in either the ST or the TT. This imperceptible operation is conducted at the conceptual level, which is separate from the superficial linguistic expression level.

In this section, I have described the interpreter's comprehension of the ST at the discourse level rather than the clause level, as the continuous development of Event 1. The interpreter's use of "*tame*" (to: J078) indicates that she recognised the means-purpose relation between 'exploit information' and 'dominate battle field' based on linguistic knowledge of the SL. On the other hand, "*mo*" (also: J079) reveals that the interpreter construed '*America-no hito-tachi*' (American people) as a theme in Event 1, which includes '*senjou*' (the battle field) and '*watashi-tachi-no teki*' (our enemies). Since this "*mo*" (also: J079) does not have its source expression in the ST, as I have argued in Chapter 7, this operation can be identified as a case of exhibition of implicit logic. Throughout this operation, CC1 continued to serve as the agent of Event 1. This part of SI performance can be summarised as the consistency in the role and the transformation of the content of CC1 during the development of Event 1 at the discourse level. In the following part, however, I need to reconsider the role of CC1 and handling of two distinct events by the interpreter.

## 8.4 Construction of Event 2

In the next part of the interpreter's operation, CC1 plays a different semantic role in another event, although it is still retained as an important component. In this section, I will analyse the construction of Event 2 in this SI performance.

### ***Identification of Event 2 and double role of CC1***

In this section of the study, I will analyse the translation process of "STORIES AND ALLEGATIONS, AND INSINUATIONS" (E081). (8a) shows the actual TT expressions produced by the interpreter and (8b) and (8c) are alternative translations. This part includes §17, §18 and §19. Also, "*ironna-koto-ga ari-mashi-ta*" (various things happened: J082) is related to this part. This includes §16 and §20.

(8) ST: SO MANY STORIES AND ALLEGATIONS, AND INSINUATIONS

- a. *takusan-no iroirona hanashi-ya syutyou-ya moushi-tate-ya aruiwa an-ni hime-te hihan-sare-tari*
- b. *takusan-no hanashi-ya syutyou-ya atetsuke-nado*

Two factors are of importance in relation to the differences between the ST and the TT. One is the repetitive translations of “ALLEGATIONS” (E081) (§18), and the other is the use of the passive voice in “*hihan-sare*” (be criticized: J081) (§19).

As mentioned in Chapter 7, the interpreter repeatedly translated “ALLEGATIONS” (E081) as “*syutyou*” (assertion: J081) and “*moushi-tate*” (allegation: J081). While *syutyou* (assertion) can be used in general context, *moushi-tate* (allegation) is used in more specific contexts. This performance may reveal that the interpreter started to understand the event through reference to the background knowledge that she held. If so, this can be understood as a trace of the interpreter’s effort to construct Event 2, which is the CC for ‘criticisms’. Use of the passive voice in (8a) (§19) more clearly demonstrates the interpreter’s comprehension of the two participants in the event, which are: CC1 as the theme and ‘American people’ and ‘international population’ as the agents. In (8a), which is the actual performance for this part, a nominal expression of “INSINUATIONS” (E081) is translated into the verb phrase “*an-ni hime-te hihan-sare-tari*” (be implicitly criticised: J081) in the passive voice. In this discourse, “INSINUATION” (E081) cannot be translated in the active voice. If this is translated as “*an-ni hime-te hihan-shi-tari*” (implicitly criticise), the agent of the event should be understood as ‘we’ or ‘people including the speaker’. This performance demonstrates correct understanding on the part of the interpreter. This view can be corroborated by another instance of passive voice in “*ironna-koto-ga iwa-re*” (lots of things were told: J084) for “LOTS OF THINGS” (E084) (§24). The status of CCs used to produce (8a) is illustrated in Figure 8.15.



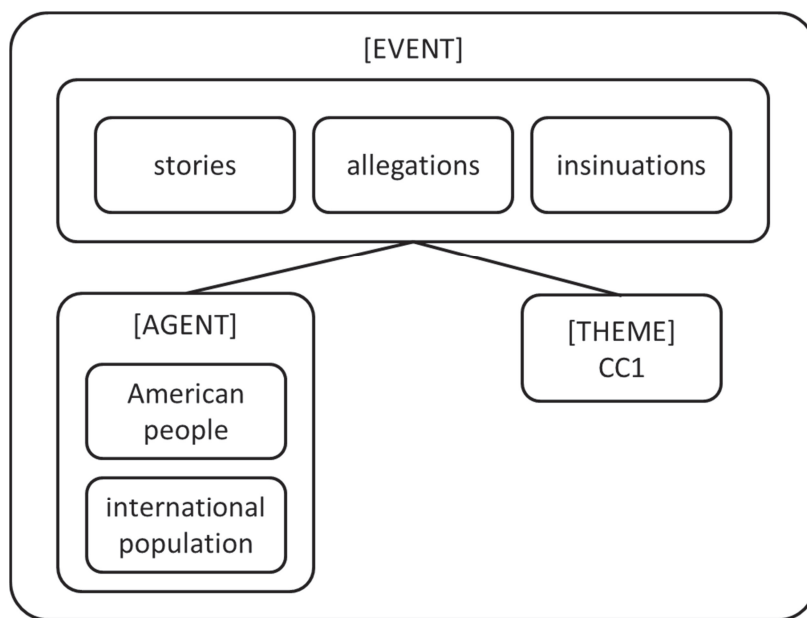


Figure 8.15

When the interpreter translated “STORIES (E081)” as “*hanashi*” (story: J081), she might have constructed a CC corresponding to this element as an entity, but not as an event, due to the linguistic form of the ST. However, when she translated “ALLEGATIONS” (E081) as “*moushi-tate*” (allegation/statement: J081), she might have started to construct the CC as an event. Then, when she processed “INSINUATIONS” (E081), she employed Event 2 and produced “*hihan-sare*” (be criticized: J081) in the passive voice. Due to the commonality of the frame accessed by the lexical meaning of these words, the content denoted by “STORIES” (E081), “ALLEGATIONS” (E081) and “INSINUATIONS” (E081) can be packaged as a series of similar events in Event 2. Figure 8.16 below is a simplified illustration of Event 2.

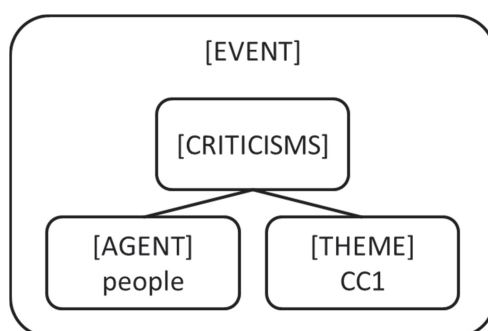


Figure 8.16

When the interpreter was processing events on ‘media strategy’, CC1 was the agent and ‘people’ were the theme. CC1 and ‘people’ had already been available before the interpreter processed the ‘criticisms’ events. In the ‘criticisms’ event, on the other hand, CC1 becomes the theme and ‘people’ become the agent. Even though ‘media strategy’ and ‘criticisms’ share participants in the same cognitive environment, the semantic role of the participants must be differently assigned. Figure 8.17 is an illustration which explains the grouping of componential CCs for ‘media strategy’ and ‘criticisms’ construed in accordance with each series of events.

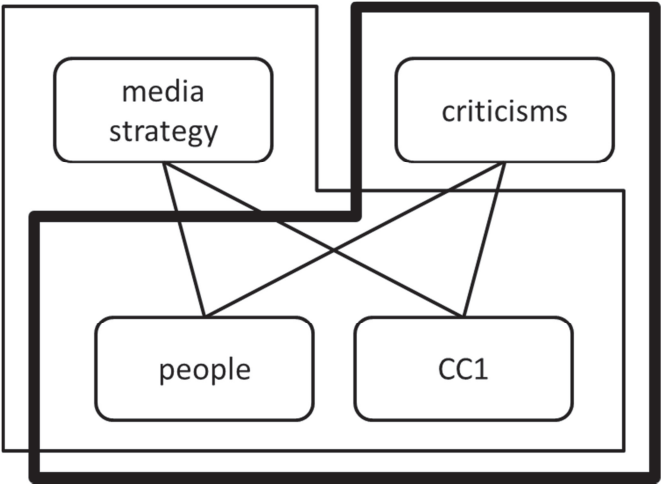


Figure 8.17

When the interpreter constructed Event 1 about media strategy, ‘media strategy’, ‘people’ and CC1 are in a group. In Event 1, CC1 was assigned as the agent and ‘people’ was the theme. This is the prepared status in the cognitive environment of the interpreter and a discourse CC is constructed as illustrated in the L-shaped area in the figure. In this environment, when ST expressions, such as “STORIES” (E081) or “ALLEGATIONS” (E081) are inputted, CCs are constructed to accommodate the corresponding cognitive elements. Upon construction of those CCs, they start to be associated with other CCs in the cognitive environment. Although they are nominal expressions in the ST, they are understood as events. Then, when “INSINUATIONS” (E081) was inputted, the CC for ‘insinuation’ found its status as an event with ‘people’ as the agent and CC1 as the theme. The highlighted area demonstrates another discursive CC constructed in order to understand the ‘criticism’ events. Since the semantic role of participants is information which is registered in an event frame, it is not the content of an entity CC and determined in association with other CCs. In this

case, when entity CCs are associated with ‘media strategy’, CC1 is the agent and ‘people’ the theme. On the other hand, when associated with ‘criticism’, ‘people’ becomes the agent and CC1 is understood as the theme. It would seem, therefore, that their semantic role is determined in accordance with the grouping of the CCs. However, the grouping of CCs does not represent information sufficient for determining the semantic roles of participants, because CC1 can be the agent of ‘criticisms’ against ‘people’ on another occasion. Given that the lexical information from this part of the ST does not contain any information on the participants, the necessary information to recover Event 2 is derived from contextual information. Contextual information in this study consists of the history of CCs and background information. For this reason, I will examine each type of information in the next subsection.

### ***Resources of Event 2***

Before examining the contextual information required to construct Event 2, I will examine the linguistic information given in the ST first. The lexical meaning which is encoded in *story*, *allegation*, *insinuation* gives access to a similar lexical frame. *Allegation* and *insinuation* are noun forms of *allege* and *insinuate*. *Story* does not have a verb form in English, but a story is something that is told and, in Japanese, *hanasu* (tell) is a verb form of *hanashi* (story). Therefore, all three lexical items can be analysed as a source of the same conceptual frame. (9) is a list of information which can be the source of the conceptual frame.

(9)

- a. participants
  - agent [animate, individual/organisation]
  - theme1 [verbal information/discourse]
  - theme2 [animate, individual/organisation]
- b. event
  - transfer of verbal information with communicative intention
- c. connotation
  - story: neutral
  - allegation: public, no proof, accusation, legal
  - insinuation: criticism, implicit

(9a) is a list of the participants in the event. The agent and theme2, are not sufficient to construct the event, theme1 is also required. All three lexical items require theme1 in

their lexical frame. The content of the event in (9b) is shared by the three lexical items. All three items signify the ‘transfer of verbal information with communicative intention’. (9c) shows the connotations of the three lexical items. Since each lexical item has its own connotation, the meanings listed here are not shared by the lexical items. The lexical meaning does, however, contribute to the construction of the conceptual content of this series of events. Due to this, events in the discursive CC are specified as ‘public accusation’ or ‘implicit criticism’.

As I have mentioned in the previous section, the linguistic information in (9) is not sufficient to construct Event 2, because the participants for the events are not specified therein. While a lexical frame is part of the interpreter’s existing knowledge, which is a type of material used to construct an event CC, an event CC is a conceptual structure constructed in the course of discourse processing for a SI performance. Therefore, whereas a lexical frame is constant, static and general, a conceptual frame of an event CC is ad-hoc, dynamic and specific. In order for the interpreter to construct Event 2, linguistic information in the ST must be associated with the contextual information. For this purpose, construal of CC1 [MILITARY ACTOR on the SPEAKER’S SIDE] or CC1 [INFORMATION TRANSMITTER] is not enough. ‘Criticisms’ must be understood as actual events which are relevant to the topic of the Iraq War and CC1 must be understood as a more specific entity in association with the US government or US officials, otherwise it cannot be the theme in the event of ‘criticisms’. (10) shows a list of items of contextual information in this study.

(10)

- a. World knowledge
- b. Knowledge about the subject
- c. Communication setting
- d. Introduction of the utterances
- e. History of CCs

Among the items listed above, whereas (10e) is conceptualised as the history of CCs, (10a), (10b), (10c) and (10d) are classified as background information. Below is review of the content of each item.

- a. World knowledge

In contemporary international politics, it is generally held that that military power should only be employed in defence or as a deterrent.

b. Knowledge about the subject

The US government insists that Saddam Hussein possesses weapons of mass destruction and that they should overthrow the Hussein regime in Iraq as part of war on terror. However, weapons of this kind have yet to be found in Iraq. Many people including some American citizens do not agree with the cause of Iraq War and the then French foreign minister, Dominique de Villepin had recently delivered a speech against the Iraq War. People are rallying against the Iraq War both in and out of the US.

c. Communication setting

In the programme, a Japanese guest speaker, a university professor of international politics, commented on Iraq War. He mentioned that the US has used its military power not as a deterrent, but in order to overthrow the Iraqi government. He mentions that it is questionable whether other countries believe that the war was being fought for justice, but, does not openly refer to negative reactions against the US.

d. Introduction of the utterances

The ST is delivered in answer to a question about the media strategy employed by the US government. Before the question is asked, another Japanese female journalist gave a neutral analysis of the US government's media strategy as a means of summarising the video footage used in the programme.

e. History of CCs

Figure 8.15 illustrates the history of CCs at this juncture. The agent of 'media strategy' is construed as CC1 [MILITARY ACTOR on the SPEAKER'S SIDE]. 'American people' and 'international population' are explicit in the TT. They are the theme of 'media strategy'.

Upon examination of the details of all items above, it is found that information on criticism against the US is not included in (10c), (10d) and (10e). Further, as I have pointed out, this information cannot be found in the immediate part of the ST. It follows, therefore, that (10a) and (10b), which are background information possessed by the interpreter before the programme, contributed to the determination of the semantic role of the participants in question.

In this subsection, I have identified possible resources used in the construction of Event 2. I will now try to provide an explanation of the online processing involved in the construction Event 2 as part of an exploration of the conceptual operations at work during SI.

### ***Processing for the construction of Event 2***

The resources for Event 2 were identified in the previous subsection. The next task is to examine why and how Event 2 was constructed at this juncture. Even though the same series of expressions of *stories*, *allegations* and *insinuations* were inputted from the ST, if conditions sufficient to do so do not exist, the interpreter will not be able to construct this kind of event on another occasion. There must be a trigger for the interpreter to construct Event 2 at the specific moment of the discourse processing that she did. In order to explore this issue, I will pay attention to the processing of “AFTER” (E080) in this performance. In §20, the exhibition of a meta-representation is identified in “*ironna-koto-ga ari-mashi-ta*” (various things happened: J082), for “*ironna-koto*” (various things: J082) referred to ‘*hanashi*’ (story: J081), ‘*syutyō*’ (assertion: J081), ‘*moushi-tate*’ (allegation: J081) and ‘*an-ni hime-te hihan-sare-tari*’ (be implicitly criticised: J081). Moreover, there is another important feature in this part of the TT. That is, the corresponding expression of “*ari-mashi-ta*” (happened: J082) cannot be found in the ST, because “STORIES” (E081), “ALLEGATIONS” (E081) and “INSINUATIONS” (E081) are all nominal expressions. In this phrase, the interpreter delivered this information as an event which happened in the past, although “*tsukuro-u-to-shi-teiru*” (is going to build: J082), “*koroso-u-to shi-te-iru*” (is going to kill: J083) and “*tsukau-de-aro-u*” (will use: J083) are employed to describe events which will occur in the future. Upon examination of the ST, it appears conceivable that “*ari-mashi-ta*” (happened: J082) is produced to express the recognition of “AFTER” (E080) (§16). In the ST, “AFTER” (E080) functions to specify the temporal order of events of ‘media strategy’ and ‘criticisms’: the ‘criticisms’ events occurred first and ‘media strategy’ events followed. In the ST, the events of ‘media strategy’ are expressed in the past tense (e.g. “IT WAS USED” (E077)). Accordingly, the interpreter expressed them as a past event (e.g. “*tsutae-mashi-ta*” (conveyed: J080)). If Japanese had a past perfect tense, the interpreter would have produced ‘criticisms’ events in that tense. Apart from the tense, by the time she reached “AFTER” (E080), it seems that the interpreter was able to obtain the presupposition to expect what is said in the subsequent part of the ST. In the preceding part of the ST, the source speaker was talking about US government media strategy and mentioned that they conveyed “WHAT THIS WAR WAS ACTUALLY ABOUT” (E080). “AFTER” (E080) can be construed as having the function of providing a contrast with this information, specifically with “ACTUALLY” (E080). In other words, this “AFTER” (E080) signifies the preconditions for the US government to convey the *actual* information. Due to this

function of “AFTER” (E080), the presupposition for the subsequent part of the ST can be formulated as: ‘people did not properly understand what this war was actually about’, whether or not it is represented in linguistic form. Because of this, it seems possible that the interpreter constructed a CC for ‘misunderstanding’ about the war and expected that the source speaker would talk about this next. When “STORIES” (E081), “ALLEGATIONS” (E081) and “INSINUATIONS” (E081) were inputted from the ST, this expectation enabled the interpreter to access background information contained in (10a) and (10b). Following from this, Event 2 was constructed with the lexical frame for ‘criticisms’ and background information. Figure 8.18 demonstrates this process.

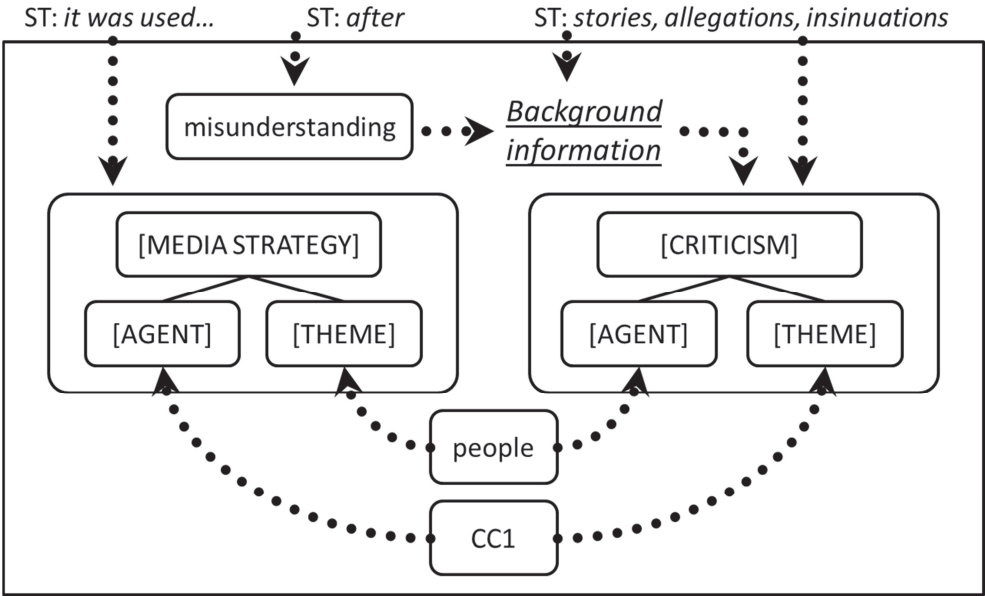


Figure 8.18

Once Event 2 was constructed, the interpreter was able process the ST accordingly. I cannot be sure as to whether the interpreter had constructed Event 2 or not when she translated “STORIES” (E081) into “*hanashi*” (story: J081), for there is no evidence for this judgement in the TT. When the interpreter revised her translation of “ALLEGATIONS” (E081) from “*syutyō*” (assertion: J081) to “*moushi-tate*” (allegation: J081), she might have constructed Event 2, given the connotation of *moushi-tate* (allegation). However, there is as yet no clear evidence with to make such a conclusion. The translation of “INSINUATIONS” (E081) as “*an-ni hime-te hihan-sare-tari*” (be implicitly criticised: J081), on the other hand, can be understood as clear evidence of the interpreter’s construction of Event 2.

In this subsection, I have examined why and how the interpreter constructed Event 2 as part of the online analysis of discourse processing during this SI performance. Next, I will consider the content of Event 2 and the status of CC1 at this juncture.

**Content of Event 2 and CC1**

In this subsection, I will address the content of Event 2 and the status of CC1 at this juncture based on the discussion above.

When each type of contextual information is incorporated to understand this part of the ST, it is not only the participants of the events and their semantic roles which are determined, the content of CC1 and Event 2 is also enriched. Although it is impossible to depict all of the content of those CCs, which includes various types and a wide range of cognitive resources and does not have the definite border, Figure 8.19 attempts to illustrate the content of Event 2 at this juncture.

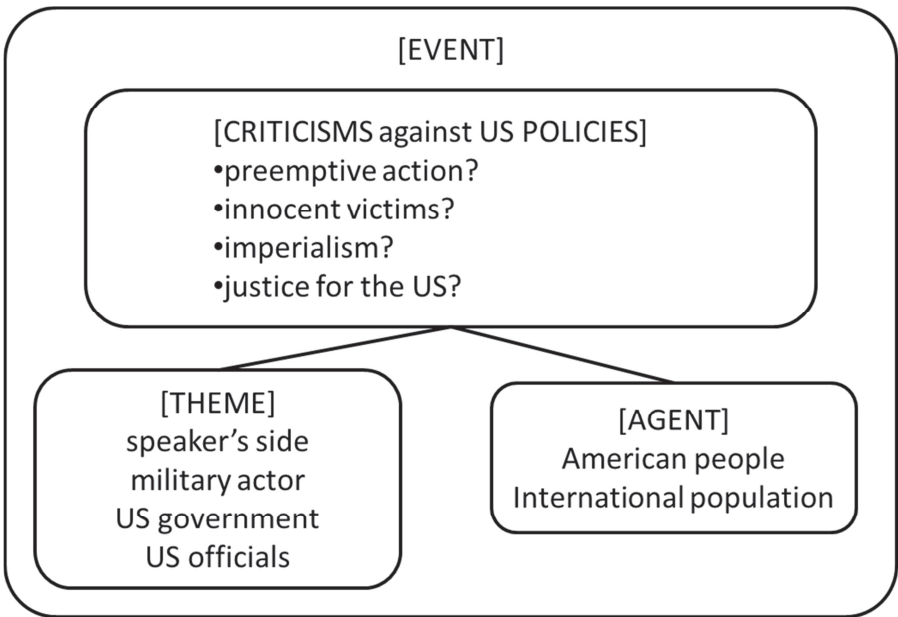


Figure 8.19

By introducing contextual information in order to process expressions in the ST, the content of criticisms is considered to be specified, thereby enriching information in the CC. This process enhances development of CC1. The content of CC1 includes ‘US government’ and ‘US officials’, when it can then be recognised as ‘America’. Without this information, CC1 cannot be a participant of ‘criticisms’.

(11) CC1 [US GOVERNMENT]



(11) shows the status of CC1. When CC1 is introduced as the agent of ‘exploit information’, it was tautologically recognised as ‘information user’ in the event CC. It was then developed into ‘military actor’ who are people including the speaker, and information transmitter. The content of CC1 must comprise ‘US officials’ and ‘US government’ at this point or else it cannot be the theme of ‘criticisms’ in this discourse. ‘Military actor’ on the side of the ‘speaker’ or ‘information transmitter’ is not a sufficient condition to be the theme in the events. The element of ‘people including the speaker’ must be associated with ‘US officials’ or ‘US government’ in order for CC1 to be ‘America’ at this juncture. Given that the source speaker did not talk about the specific content of the criticisms at this juncture, although such information is activated in the interpreter’s background knowledge, this is only a candidate of the content which will be mentioned or implied in the discourse. It is not, however, beyond the bounds of belief that this information will have been of help to the interpreter. This CC will be incorporated into the history of CCs as part of the contextual information and thereby facilitate the processing of the subsequent part of the discourse.

I have here examined the content of Event 2 and CC1 at this stage. The analysis in this part suggests that a wide range of cognitive information as well as linguistically given information contributed to the construction of the CCs. It also suggests that the interpreter’s performance is supported by her conceptual processing at the non-linguistic level. However, that said, another interpreter might well deliver another version of the TT based on differently constructed CCs. In the next section I will demonstrate another possible version of the SI performance.

### ***Alternative operations***

Thus far, I have only examined the actual interpreting for this part. Of course, this is not, however, the only performance imaginable for these ST expressions. Another interpreter might process the same ST quite differently and so, below I have provided a review of possible alternative translations for this part.

#### **(8) ST: SO MANY STORIES AND ALLEGATIONS, AND INSINUATIONS**

- a. *takusan-no iroirona hanashi-ya syutyuu-ya moushi-tate-ya aruiwa an-ni hime-te hihan-sare-tari*
- b. *takusan-no hanashi-ya syutyuu-ya atetsuke-nado*
- c. *takusan-no hanashi-ya syutyuu-ya aruiwa an-ni hime-ta hihan-nado*

Should another interpreter have produced (8b), it would represent an extremely literal translation, a case of code-switching from the ST to the TT. It should be noted, however, that even if an interpreter produced (8b), it does not necessarily follow that what the interpreter was merely engaged in code-switching. Even though he/she constructed CCs as shown in Figure 19, it is impossible to judge from (8b) whether the operation was simply an example of code-switching from ST to TT (8b), because there are no significant differences between the ST and the TT. It might as easily have been produced as a result of conceptualisation, as be a case of code-switching. On the other hand, if an interpreter produced (8a), there are grounds to assert that the interpreter constructed CCs as I have argued above because of the differences which exist between the ST and the TT. If an interpreter were to construct in the manner CCs shown above, he/she would be able to produce any of the TT expressions given from (8a) to (8c). However, if he/she did not construct such CCs, all he/she would be able to do is code-switch and (8b) or (8c) would be the only possible performances for this part. I am now going to examine the case of code-switching. If this were a case of code-switching, the interpreter would have employed only TL expressions listed in a dictionary which correspond to the SL expressions. Figure 8.20 shows the status of CCs constructed in the code-switching performance alluded to above.

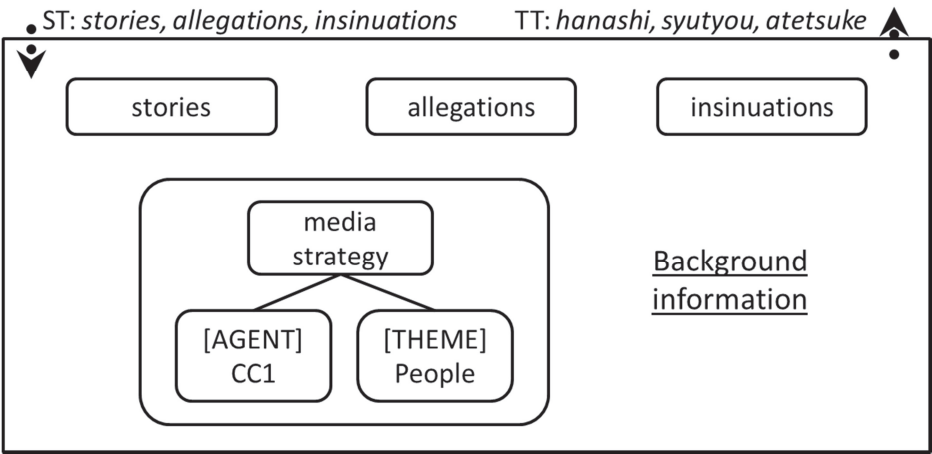


Figure 8.20

Even if (8b) is produced as a result of code-switching, expressions in the ST may be used to construct CCs. However, these are simple CCs which accommodate only the lexical meaning of each word, for each CC is constructed to produce the corresponding expressions into the TT without any interaction with contextual information. As to the contextual information, CC1 has yet to be associated with 'America' because of the lack

of interaction with the background information held by the interpreter. In this environment, Event 2 is not constructed.

To examine the development of CCs which enable production of this part of the TT as (8c), I can sketch a slightly different scenario. In order to produce “*an-ni hime-ta hihan*” (implicit criticism), the interpreter has to explore the connotation of *insinuation* and then search for appropriate TT expressions. This process necessarily involves some cognitive operations, and is not a case of simply code switching. If the interpreter understood the meaning of the ST expressions from the lexical information at the cognitive level, he/she might have accessed the lexical frame and other information listed in (9) below.

(9)

- a. participants
  - agent [animate, individual/organisation]
  - theme1 [verbal information/discourse]
  - theme2 (goal) [animate, individual/organisation]
- b. event
  - transfer with communicative intention
- c. connotation
  - story: neutral
  - allegation: public, no proof, accusation, legal
  - insinuation: criticism, implicit

Information in (9) is just lexical knowledge available in the interpreter’s cognitive environment. The event frame of ‘criticisms’ can be activated by the interpreter’s linguistic knowledge of the SL, though this is not yet sufficient to determine the agent and the goal of the events. For example, a CC constructed for ‘insinuation’ is illustrated below.

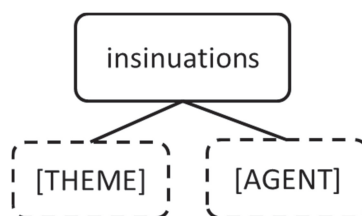


Figure 8.21

The CC for ‘insinuation’ may include the lexical connotation as its content. Also the frame coded as part of the lexical meaning is activated with vacant slots for the theme and agent. These slots are ready to be filled, but left blank with no interaction with the contextual information. Even if lexical knowledge is activated in the interpreter’s mind, if it is not integrated with the contextual information, performances possible for this case would be no better than code-switching. If an interpreter produced (8c), he/she must, at the very least have constructed the CCs shown in Figure 8.21. However, unless he/she associates it with contextual information, the participants in the event cannot be determined. Also, it goes without saying that the interpreter cannot assume plausible examples of criticisms in this discourse without there being some interaction with his/her background information of the topic. No matter how deeply the interpreter understands the lexical meaning of the ST expressions, without association with contextual information, all he/she can achieve is code-switching at the best.

One of the premises of the discussion above is that the interpreter retained the history of CCs for the previous part of the discourse as shown in Figure 8.20. If novice interpreters or students in interpreting classes do not have sufficient skill, they may not be able to conceptualise the previous part of the discourse. Without sufficient contextual information, it is impossible for them to construct new CCs based thereon. The performance shown in (8a) is possible only when the interpreter comprehends the participants of Event 1 based on the history of CCs for the previous part of the discourse. What I maintain here is not how an interpreter should express the TT, but how he/she should understand the ST. If these participants were not constructed and retained in the interpreter’s cognitive environment, it might be impossible or, at the very least require tremendous cognitive resources, to retrieve necessary information on the spot in order to fill in the slots of the event frame when the interpreter process the subsequent part of the discourse. In other words, conceptualisation in discourse processing should be constant, not sporadic. Once a new input is processed, the CCs constructed in the process will be incorporated into part of the history of CCs and become a basis upon which to process the following part of the discourse. Necessary elements, such as the semantic roles of an entity CC, are determined in accordance with coherence with the entire context, whereas the entire context consists of each element. Interpreting involves an accumulative process of this kind, and, if an interpreter does not develop CCs step by step, he/she may fail to grasp important clues required in to process information at some later part of the discourse.

In this section, I have examined the mechanisms at work during the construction of Event 2 and other relevant issues. It can be said that construction of Event 2 and production of the TT expressions which draw on it is a turning point for the interpreter in this SI performance. It would seem, also, that understanding of the contrast between Event 1 and Event 2 was of importance for this SI performance. After this, it is observed that background information was released and a number of conceptual operations are exercised in the interpreter's performance.

## 8.5 Processing examples

In the previous section, the construction of Event 2 was traced as part of the development of CCs. In the following part of the SI performance, the interpreter delivered the TT expression as examples of 'criticisms' against the US government. These examples need to be discussed separately from Events 1 and 2, and so, in this section I will examine how the interpreter processed these examples.

### *Recovery of the implicit logic*

Firstly, I will examine the recovery of the implicit logic in this part of the SI performance. The interpreter translated "WHAT WE ARE DOING WAS GOING FOR EMPIRE" (E082) as "*tatoeba America-wa teikoku-wo tsukuro-u-to shi-te-iru*" (For example, America is going to build an empire: J082). This performance includes §21, §22 and §23. (12) below includes several possible translations, where (12a) is the actual TT and (12b) is literal translation as an alternative. (12c) is a further option with a different style of sentence ending.

(12) ST: WHAT WE ARE DOING WAS GOING FOR EMPIRE

- a. *tatoeba America-wa teikoku-wo tsukuro-u-to shi-te-iru*
- b. *wareware-no shi-teiru-koto-wa teikoku-ni mukau-koto-desu*
- c. *tatoeba America-wa teikoku-wo tsukuro-u-to shi-te-i-masu*

In the translations above, "*tatoeba*" (for example: J082) can be identified as an instance of the exhibition of the implicit logic drawn by the interpreter (§21). This "*tatoeba*" (for example: J082) indicates that the interpreter construed the events expressed in this part as examples of 'criticisms'. It is presumed here that this construal was arrived at when she repeatedly translated "SO MANY" (E080) as "*takusan-no*" (many: J081) and "*iroirona*" (various: J081) in the same place (§17). When the interpreter listened to "SO MANY STORIES" (E080), she was accessing her background knowledge about 'various

stories' which were actually criticisms levelled at the US. A similar expression, *iroirona* (various) is delivered in "*ironna-koto-ga ari-mashi-ta*" (various things happened: J082). This "*ironna-koto*" (various things: J082) is understood here as the exhibition of a meta-representation which summarises those criticisms.

The interpreter's CC construction can be explained in the following way. When the interpreter produced "*iroirona*" (various: J081), she started to construct CCs for 'criticisms'. As I discussed in the previous section, this CC eventually developed into Event 2. From the origin of Event 2, however, the interpreter assumed that a variety of examples might be included in the CC, and, motivated by this assumption, she was able to summarise those examples as '*ironna-koto*' (various things). In other words, the element of Event 2 constructed for *iroirona* (various) served as a conceptual package which accommodated various examples of criticisms in the following part of the discourse. And "*ari-mashi-ta*" (happened: J082) is considered to be delivered to express the concept which was constructed when the interpreter processed "AFTER" (E080). When the interpreter processed "AFTER SO MANY STORIES" (E080), a basic concept was formed which equated to 'a variety of criticisms have been levelled at the US', leading to the interpreter's delivery of "*ironna-koto-ga ari-mashi-ta*" (various things happened: J082) despite the lack of any corresponding expression in the ST. Based on this recognition of a 'variety of criticisms', the interpreter identified "THAT" (E081) as a signal to give some examples of criticisms against the US in the ST.

I have here given an explanation of how the interpreter recovered the implicit logic in this part of the ST. Next, I will address the interpreter's construal of the examples.

### ***Construal of the examples***

In this subsection, I will address the textual features of this part of the TT, in which 'examples of criticisms' are expressed, in order to point out that the interpreter's attitude towards the 'examples' is rather different from that towards Events 1 and 2.

The interpreter firstly constructed Event 1 for the events of 'media strategy'. She then constructed and employed Event 2 for the events of 'criticisms'. However, when the interpreter produced the TT to express the 'examples', she did not draw on Events 1 or 2, since each event of the 'examples' has a unique set of participants which have their own semantic roles. The interpreter's construal of the 'examples' is observed in the style of sentence ending she uses for each TT phrase. When the interpreter produced the TT expressions based on Event 1 or 2, she attached polite endings (e.g. "*tsutae-mashi-ta*" (conveyed: J080)) even though the English language does not itself possess a system which expresses politeness in this manner. Conversely, when she translated the

examples of criticisms, she chose not to attach a polite ending in the TT, instead producing the TT in plain form. (e.g. “*tsukuro-u-to shi-te-iru*”(is going to build: J082)).

This operation is quite significant for this part of the TT. (12c) is an alternative translation, which is mostly similar to (12a), but includes a plain form ending. If (12b) were to be used for this part, the utterance would not be clearly understood as an example of criticisms against the US. On the contrary, the audience might be led to believe that the source speaker is suggesting that the US is actually ‘going for empire’. Even if the interpreter were to produce (12c), which is completely the same except for the style of sentence ending, this problem would not be solved, in spite of use of *tatoeba* (for example).

It is unlikely that this shift of sentence ending was implemented by the interpreter as a conscious strategy to make the TT more comprehensible. Given that SI is a highly constrained cognitive activity, it is entirely plausible that the interpreter was unconscious of the style of the sentence ending she employed for this part. Since the style of sentence ending indicates the interpreter’s attitude toward the events, it is more plausible that it was the interpreter’s comprehension at the conceptual level that enabled this operation at the superficial linguistic level.

In this subsection, I have examined the interpreter’s construal of the examples through the style of sentence ending. In the next subsection, I will explore how the interpreter handled different kinds of event CCs.

### ***Development of CCs and their status***

In this subsection, I will analyse the status of CCs in this part of SI performance. First, I address the status of CC1 when the interpreter translated “WE” (E081) as “*America*” (America: J082). Although the source speaker used a demonstrative without explicit information about America, the interpreter identified the referent as ‘America’ (J022). Since the corresponding expression in the ST is WE (E081), which is a first-person plural pronoun, this use of “*America*” (America: J082) indicates that the interpreter held the source speaker to be a representative of ‘America’. Consequently, the status of CC1 at this juncture is specified in the following way.

(13) CC1 [AMERICA represented by THE SPEAKER]

As analysed in Chapter 7, this reference assignment for “WE” (E081) is mediated by the background information about the speaker held by the interpreter. The list in (14) is



provides a review of the sort of background information necessary to provoke this reference assignment.

- (14) a. The source speaker is Frank Gaffney.
- b. Frank Gaffney works for the US government as a military expert.
- c. The US government utilised the mass media for military purposes during the Iraq War.
- d. The topic of the ST is media strategy employed by the US government during the Iraq War.

Of these, (14a) is acquired from the setting of the SI performance. (14b) is knowledge about the topic. (14c) is also knowledge about the topic or, possibly world knowledge. (14d) is directly related to the question asked by the host of the programme, which elicited the ST as an answer. It follows that every category of background information that falls within the parameters of this study are integrated into this SI performance.

The role of background information is more clearly understood from the formulation of the TT expression at (823). While the grammatical subject in the ST is a noun clause of “WHAT WE ARE DOING” (E082), the counterpart in the TT is a noun phrase which consists of a single word, “*America*” (America: J082). While the predicate in the ST is “WAS GOING FOR” (E081), in the TT it is “*tsukuro-u-to shi-te-iru*” (is going to build: J082). In terms of formal fidelity, the equivalence between the ST and the TT is not secured. On the other hand, the ST and the TT share common participants who fulfil the same semantic roles: ‘America’ is the agent and ‘empire’ is the theme. In other words, the equivalence of the messages between the ST and the TT is secured by the fact that both utterances can be understood as ‘America will become an imperialistic nation’. Figure 8.22 is shows the status of the CC constructed for this part of the TT.

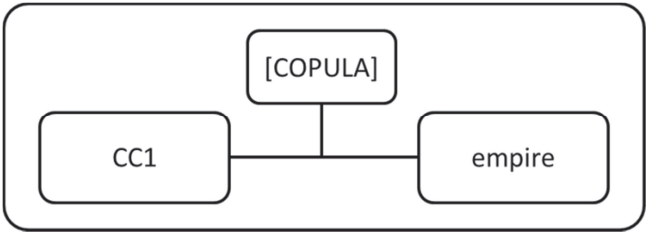


Figure 8.22

The formulation of (12a) cannot be explained by linguistic correspondence between the ST and the TT. It is considered here that the interpreter constructed a CC as illustrated



in Figure 8.22 with reference to her background information on the topic, and produced the TT expressions by drawing on it. In this figure, CC1 is associated with ‘empire’ with a copulative CC. As long as the interpreter constructed CCs as depicted in the figure, there is no need for her to stick to the superficial features of the ST expressions, which allows her to produce the TT expressions in her own words. This situation is neither Event 1 or 2.

Subsequently, the interpreter translated “WE WERE GOING TO KILL IMMENSE NUMBERS OF CIVILIANS” (E082) as “*hontou-ni takusan-no shimin-wo koroso-u-to-shi-te-iru*” (are going to kill really a huge number of citizens: J083) and “WE WOULD BE USING WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION OURSELVES” (E082) as “*tairyou-hakai-heiki-wo tsukau-de-aro-u-to*” (are going to use weapons of mass destructions: J083). These three examples of criticisms of the US can be summarised as ‘America will become imperialistic and kill civilians with weapons of mass destruction’. In this series of events, ‘America’ is the agent, and ‘civilians’ and ‘weapons of mass destructions’ are the themes. However, even if we are able to summarise the events shown above, this assumption does not necessarily provide the actual picture of interpreter’s construal at this juncture. The features in the TT do not indicate that the interpreter construed the three events expressed in those examples as a series of events in a temporal sequence. While two instances of “WE” (E082, E083) are repeatedly delivered in the ST, the interpreter did not translate this element in the TT, as it is not required in Japanese. CC1 is considered to have served as the theme of the topic of the discourse. Nonetheless, “*aruwa*” (or: J082) does not indicate that the interpreter construed the temporal sequence between the two events which are expressed in “*America-wa teikoku-wo tsukuro-u-to shi-te-iru*” (America is going to build an empire: J082) and “*hontou-ni takusan-no shimin-wo koroso-u-to-shi-te-iru*” (are going to kill really a huge number of citizens: J083). Also, even though the interpreter produced “*soshite*” (and: J083) between “*hontou-ni takusan-no shimin-wo koroso-u-to-shi-te-iru*” (are going to kill really a huge number of citizens: J083) and “*tairyou-hakai-heiki-wo tsukau-de-aro-u-to*” (are going to use weapons of mass destructions: J083), given the plausible temporal order, this “*soshite*” (and: J083) cannot be understood as the interpreter’s construal of the sequence of the two events.

However, all three events share the same sentence ending without a morpheme designating politeness, demonstrating that the interpreter construed these three events in a parallel relation to the examples of criticisms. The end of the series of events is demarcated by a Japanese morpheme “*to*” (J084) in “*tsukau-de-aro-u-to*” (is going to use: J083). Given this, the delivery of “*ironna-koto-ga iwa-re-mashi-ta*” (various things

were told: J084) indicates that the interpreter construed these three examples in the form of quotations. Figure 8.23 illustrates the interpreter's operation for this part.

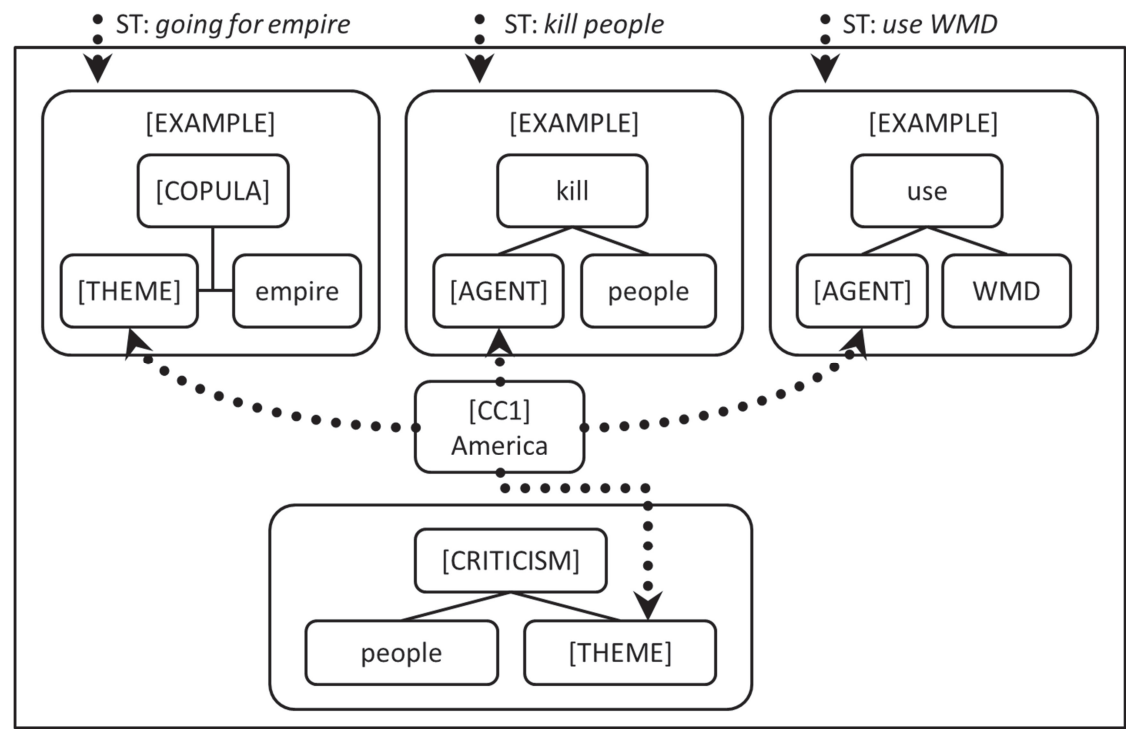


Figure 8.23

In this figure, three events are shown in parallel and share CC1, but the interpreter does not recognise the temporal order or logical relation between them. All three events are understood as examples of ‘criticisms’. While CC1 is specifically recognised as ‘America’, it serves as the theme or the agent in each event, still playing an important role in this operation. It should be noted that, again in this process, background knowledge is a crucial source in the assignment of CC1 to the appropriate position in each event, although this is omitted from figure 8.23.

In this section, I have described how the interpreter handled examples of ‘criticisms’ levelled at the US government. The interpreter recovered the procedural meaning during this part of SI performance. The interpreter clearly recognised that these examples are separate from Event 1 and 2. On the other hand, CC1 was still retained and played a significant role during this performance. When the interpreter completed the translation of all three examples, she needed to come back to the main stream of this discourse, handling Events 1 and 2.

## 8.6 Coexistence of three events

In the previous section, I analysed how the interpreter processed examples of ‘criticisms’ against the US government separately from Events 1 and 2. I also pointed out how a Japanese morpheme “*to*” (J084) in “*tsukau-de-aro-u-to*” (is going to use: J083) indicated that the interpreter recognised the end of the series of events. The following part of this SI performance indicates that the interpreter reprocessed the ST on the basis of Events 1 and 2 as the history of CCs while retaining events which were constructed for ‘examples’ of ‘criticisms’. This section addresses coexistence of three different kinds of events in the interpreter’s cognitive environment and the working of her conceptual operations during the subsequent part of the SI performance.

After translating the examples of criticisms, the interpreter translated “LOTS OF THINGS LIKE THIS NEEDED TO BE REBUTTED” (E084) as “*ironna-koto-ga iwa-re-mashi-ta kedomo sou-ja-nai to-iu-koto-wo shimesu hitsuyou-ga atta*” (various things were told, but it was necessary to show such things were not true: J084). This part of performance includes §24, §25, §26 and §27. The actual performance for this part and a possible alternative as a more literal translation are provided below in (15).

### (15) ST: LOTS OF THINGS LIKE THIS NEEDED TO BE REBUTTED

- a. *ironna-koto-ga iwa-re-mashi-ta kedomo sou-ja-nai to-iu-koto-wo shimesu hitsuyou-ga atta*
- b. *kono-you-ni hanron-sareru hitsuyou-no-aruu ooku-no-koto*

A single noun phrase of this part of the ST can be easily formulated as the literal translation shown in (15b). If the sentence form were required or preferred as this part of the TT, it could easily be embedded in an existence sentence form such as “*ooku-no-koto-ga atta*” (there were a number of things). Nevertheless, the interpreter did not elect this option in the actual TT and employed “*ironna-koto-ga iwa-re-mashi-ta*” (various things were told: J084) (§24) and “*sou-ja-nai-to-iu-koto-wo shimesu*” (to show such things are not true: J084) (§27), which express two events based on Events 1 and 2 as the history of CCs. The conceptual operation carried out by the interpreter can be explained through examination of these events.

At the point when the interpreter had only heard the beginning of “LOTS OF THINGS” (E084), she commenced production of “*ironna-koto-ga iwa-re-mashi-ta*” (various things were told: J084) (§24). As already examined, the passive voice in this TT expression indicates the interpreter’s construal of Event 2 at this juncture. It follows that the interpreter identified the theme of Event 2 from “LOTS OF THINGS” (E084).

Unfortunately, the transcript in the sampled SI performance for this part does not provide us with a very accurate delivery timing of the ST and the TT. The auditory record of the actual performance, however, shows that the interpreter started to produce “*ironna-koto-ga iwa-re-mashi-ta*” (various things were told: J084) after “LIKE THIS” (E084) and produced “*kedomo*” (but: J084), right after “REBUTTED” (E084). Given that the interpreter had already received “LIKE THIS” (E084) at this juncture, it is likely that she identified the referent of this part as the examples of criticisms mentioned in the previous part of the discourse.

It is conceivable that the interpreter recognised the end of the examples when she listened to “AND SO ON” (E084), motivating her to summarise this part before moving to the next part of the discourse. While it is plausible that “LOTS OF THINGS” (E084) triggered production of “*ironna-koto-ga iwa-re-mashi-ta*” (various tings were told: J084), “*ironna-koto*” (various things: J084) might have been retained from the previous TT expression, “*ironna-koto*” (various things: J082). If this is the case, the interpreter held a meta-representation of criticisms at this juncture. And “*iwa-re-mashi-ta*” (were said: J084) is clearly derived from Event 2. As long as Event 2 is constructed for ‘criticisms’, it is construed as a form of verbal communication. This delivery of *iu* (say) as a superordinate term in “*ironna-koto-ga iwa-remashi-ta*” (various tings were told: J084) indicates the level of abstraction of Event 2 at this juncture.

In the previous section, I mentioned how “*to*” (J084) in “*tsukau-de-aro-u-to*” (is going to use: J083) signifies the interpreter’s recognition of the end of the examples. A further aspect of the interpreter’s recognition can be noted in the same part. This “*to*” (J084) has another function, one that denotes that the aforementioned examples are the theme of “*iwa-re-mashi-ta*” (were said: J084). It follows, therefore, that the interpreter had already recognised the examples as the theme of Event 2 when she produced this “*to*” (J084).

In the previous discussion, CC1 was identified as the theme of Event 2. The examples also serve as the theme of Event 2. Even though both CC1 and the examples are both referred to as themes, their roles are not the same. While CC1 serves as the goal of this event of verbal communication, the examples are the content of the criticisms of the US government. Since the taxonomy of the semantic role is not of interest in this study, the semantic role of the examples and CC1 is referred to as Theme 1 and Theme 2 respectively.

As mentioned above, the interpreter produced “*kedomo*” (but: J084) immediately after “NEEDED TO BE REBUTTED” (E084). The corresponding expression of this adversative conjunction is not found in the ST (§25). As discussed in Chapter 7,

exhibition of the implicit logic is enabled by handling two CCs at the same time. It follows that the interpreter was handling two CCs for “*iwa-re-mashi-ta*”(was told: J084) and “*sou-ja-nai-to iu-koto-wo shimesu*”(to show such things are not true: J084) when she comprehended the logic of this part at this juncture. It should be noted that the interpreter converted the voice when she translated “TO BE REBUTTED” (E084) as “*sou-ja-nai-to-iu-koto-wo shimesu*”(to show such things are not true: J084) (§27). This performance also corroborates that this is not just a trans-coding, but the result of a conceptual operation based on Event 1.

In the previous section, the theme of Event 1 was people in America and the general public around the world. This performance, however, indicates that the interpreter recognised “*sou-ja-nai-to-iu-koto*”(that such things are not true: J084) is another theme in Event 1. In order to make a distinction between the participants in this event of ‘media strategy’, the semantic role of the content of the ‘media strategy’ is referred to as Theme 1 and that of people as Theme 2.

This part of the TT includes “*sou*”(such: J084) as an instance of exhibition of a meta-representation (§26). The corresponding expression of this “*sou*”(such thing: J084) is not found in the ST. This demonstrative was employed to refer to “*ironna-koto-ga iwa-re mashi-ta*”(various things were told: J084), the delivery of which is based on Event 2. The negation in “*sou-ja-nai-to-iu-koto*”(that such things are not true: J084) also indicates that the interpreter recognised the contrast between Events 1 and 2. This performance indicates that the interpreter was working on three different kinds of events at the same time. The three kinds of events are shown below.

- (16) a. Events of ‘media strategy’ structured as Event 1
- b. Events of ‘criticisms’ structured as Event 2
- c. Examples of ‘criticisms’

The interpreter correctly understood who the participants were and what their roles were with reference to each event CC which is retained as the history of CCs, although the event participants were explicit in the ST. In other words, the interpreter’s performance in this part is supported by highly conceptual operations. Although none of the three types of events are sufficiently expressed in the ST, the description of this operation indicates that the interpreter identified them with the appropriate participants and their semantic roles. Figure 8.24 illustrates the operations carried out during this part of the performance.

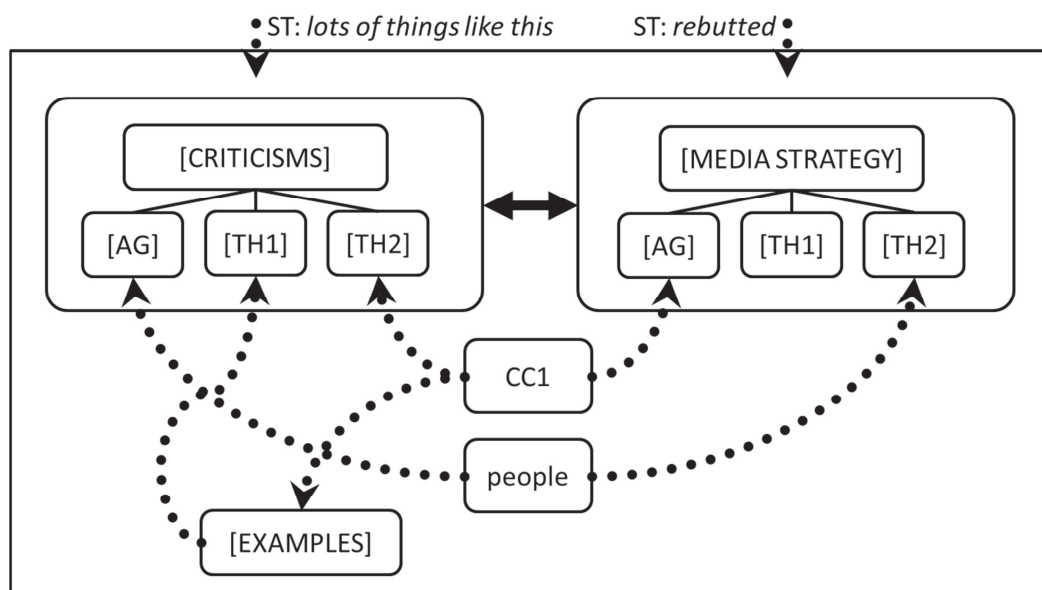


Figure 8.24

This figure shows the status of the three different kinds of events that are held by the interpreter. The double-headed arrow between Events 1 and 2 illustrates the contrastive relation recovered by the interpreter. AG and TH stand for agent and theme respectively. CC1 is still retained in this environment and shared by all three kinds of events. The CC for ‘examples’ serves as Theme 1 in Event 2. Also, the CC for ‘media strategy’ has two themes, although the information for Theme 1 is not depicted in this figure. Event 2 contributes as part of the content of Theme 1, because it is represented as *sou* (such thing) in “*sou-ja-nai-to-iu-koto*” (that such things are not true: J084).

If the interpreter produces a literal translation as shown in (15b), none of the conceptual operations mentioned above are required. But, a literal translation without conceptual operations would mean that the interpreter has failed to identify the participants and their semantic roles in the event. In this case, “LOTS OF THINGS” (E084) might not have been specified and the agent and theme of “REBUTTED” (E084) would not have been grasped. This performance seems a risky option and might give rise to less comprehensible TT expressions.

In this section, I have described the interpreter’s cognitive status while she handled three different kinds of event at the same time by resorting to exhibition of a meta-representation and the recovery of implicit logic. None of the three events are newly constructed CCs for this part of SI performance, but serve as the history of CCs at this stage. In the next section, I will trace how the interpreter exploited these three events in the following part of SI performance.

## 8.7 Persistent role of Event 1

This section will illustrate the conceptual operations at work during the following part of the sample SI performance. In this part, Event 1 serves as the theme of a new event CC. I will explore how the interpreter utilised Event 1 in her conceptual operations and how the content of CC1 developed during the performance. Also, before concluding this online analysis, I will address other possible traces of the interpreter's conceptual processing, which are identified in this sampled SI performance.

### ***Concept-based reference assignment***

In this subsection, the reference assignment of “THE ADMINISTRATION” (E084) as the ‘Bush administration’ is examined.

The interpreter translated “THE ADMINISTRATION UNDERSTOOD PROPERLY” (E084) as “*Bush-seiken-wa sore-wo chanto rikai-shi-mashi-ta*” (Bush administration duly understood that: J085). This part includes §29 and §30. In terms of §29, “THE ADMINISTRATION” (E084) was specified as “*Bush-seiken*” (Bush administration: J085). Since it is normal to refer to the US government as *the administration*, this reference assignment may be thought as a simple one. However, because the word administration does not necessarily mean a political entity, in order to appropriately understand the meaning of it in this discourse, the interpreter had to narrow down the linguistically encoded meaning of this lexical item. It was not until the interpreter disambiguated this word that she was able to identify the country in question and its leader. This reference assignment therefore requires the following steps.

- (17) a. Disambiguation of the meaning of *the administration* as ‘the government of a country’.
- b. Determination of the country in question as the USA
- c. Determination of the name of the president as Bush.

This inference process is not a very complicated one. (17b) and (17c) are derived from world knowledge which is part of the interpreter's background information. (17a) is brought about by the history of CCs constructed during the processing of the previous part of the discourse. When the interpreter produced “*an-ni hime-te hihan-sare-tari*” (be implicitly criticised: J081), CC1 developed into CC1 [US GOVERNMENT]. And, when the interpreter produced *America* (America: J082), CC1 developed into CC1 [AMERICA represented by THE SPEAKER]. This construal of CC1 is considered to have continued up to the moment that the interpreter produced “*sou-ja-nai-to-iu-koto-wo shimesu*” (to



show such things are not true: J084) by drawing on Event 1. As long as CC1 is associated with the government, it seems quite easy for the interpreter to implement the first step of the reference assignment stated in (17a).

The following is another case of concept-based operations which is similar to this reference assignment. The demonstrative *sore* (that) is part of “*sore-wo chanto rikai-shi-mashi-ta*” (properly understood that: J085). In the ST, the content of “UNDERSTOOD” (E085) is expressed in the phrase which is led by “THAT” (E085). While the interpreter produced “*sore*” (that: J085) in the TT, when she delivered the expression, the content of the *that*-clause had yet to be given in the ST. In the TT, the referent of “*sore*” (that: J085) is “*sou-ja-nai-to-iu-koto-wo shimesu hitsuyou-ga atta*” (it was necessary to show such things are not true: J084). In terms of the structure of the discourse, while the theme of ‘understood’ is found in the previous part of the discourse in the TT, the counterpart is given in the downstream in the ST (§30). In spite of this difference, the TT sufficiently conveys the message intended by the source speaker. This is because the theme of ‘understood’ is delivered as ‘media strategy’, which is based on Event 1, in both the ST and the TT. In other words, in this part of the discourse, Event 1 serves as a participant, of which the semantic role is the theme, in an event CC for ‘understand’. The explanation is that the interpreter identified the content of understanding as Event 1 when she processed “UNDERSTOOD PROPERLY” (E085) and constructed a CC for the event with a blank slot for the theme. Although there was no expression which required a referent, she formulated a conceptual slot and filled it with part of the history of CCs.

### ***Enrichment of abstract information***

In the previous subsection, I examined how the interpreter utilised Event 1 in a case of reference assignment and identification of the theme of ‘understand’. The description of this performance clarifies the importance of the history of CCs to the interpreter when making the discourse coherent. The function of Event 1 is still evident in the next part. (18a) is the actual translation by the interpreter which includes §31, §32, §33 and §37. (18b) and (18c) are attempts at literal translation.

(18) ST: NO BETTER, NO MORE CREDIBLE WAY TO DO THAT

- a. *jissai-ni hitobito-ni tsutaeru-tame-ni soshite shinpyou-sei-wo motsu-tame*
- b. *sore ijou-ni yoi sore ijou-ni sinnyou-ni taru sou-suru-tame-no houhou-wa ari-mase-n*
- c. *sou-suru-tame-no saizen-no mottomo shinrai dekiru houhou-wa*



In order for the interpreter to process this part of the ST, there are two hurdles to be cleared. First is how to overcome the *no better, no more* construction. In the actual performance, the interpreter did not produce this information immediately after hearing it, but retained it until later on and finally produced it as “*ichiban ii*” (the best: J088) (837). In (18b), “NO BETTER, NO MORE” (E085) is translated as “*sore ijou-ni yoi sore ijou-ni sinnyou-ni taru*” (better than that, more credible than that) with negation. Even in this attempt, “NO” (E085) must be retained for a while. Apart from an excessive use of the demonstrative, the referent of “*sore*” (that) is not clear, because this demonstrative actually refers to nothing. Perhaps, this part needs to be retranslated later with a superlative expression. If the interpreter had come up with another option (18c), this would also have been acceptable. In this case, the interpreter would not have to retain “NO BETTER, NO MORE CREDIBLE” (E085) for later. If the interpreter had come up with (18c), she could have employed this expression in order to save her working memory during this performance. In reality, of course, even experienced interpreters cannot be expected to opt for the best strategy every time, and even in such a case, he/she would still have to go through with his/her SI performance.

The second hurdle faced in processing this part is how to understand and express the content of “TO DO THAT” (E086). The interpreter produced it as “*jissai-ni hitobito-ni tsutaeru*” (in order to actually convey to people: E086). This delivery reveals that the interpreter recognised ‘people’ as the theme in the event ‘convey’, clearly indicating the presence of Event 1. Although the content of CC1 stayed implicit, the theme and the event is expressed as “*hitobito-ni*” (to people: J086) and “*tsutaeru*” (convey: J086). It is understood that “TO DO THAT” (E086) refers to “REBUTTED” (E084) in the ST. However, as previously mentioned, this can also be understood as an instance of ‘media strategy’ or Event 1. As long as the interpreter construes Event 1 as the theme of this part, she will be able to keep track of the discourse. Figure 8.25 shows this operation.

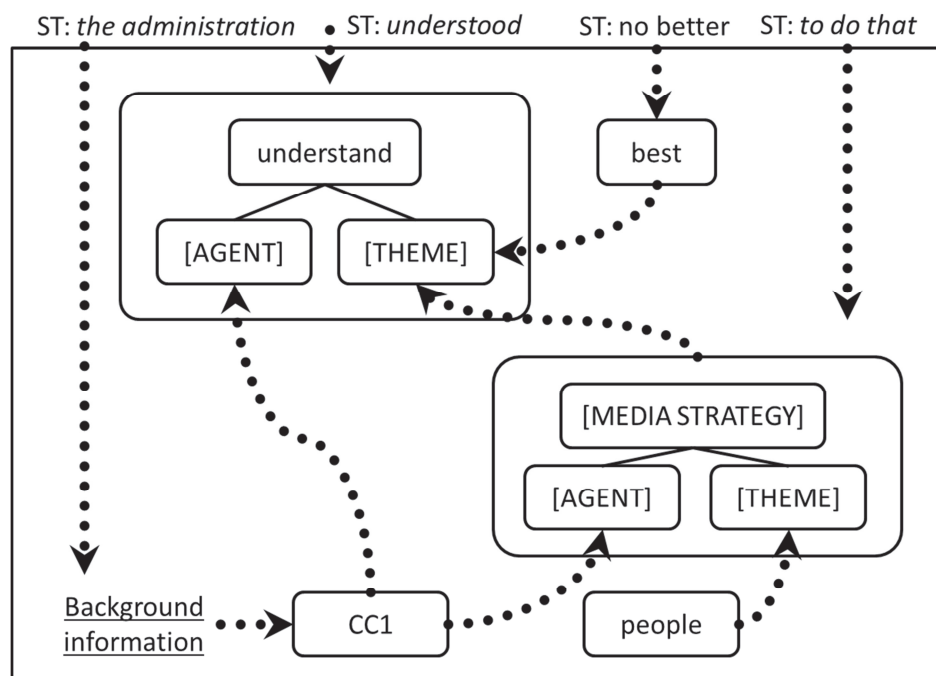


Figure 8.25

Although Event 2 is omitted from this figure in order to clarify the point under discussion, this does not mean that the CC has faded away.

The information corresponding to “CREDIBLE” (E086) is separately translated as “*shinpyou-sei-wo motsu-tame*” (in order to have credibility: J086) (§33) with a conjunction “*soshite*”(and: J086) (§32). It is conceived that “CREDIBLE” (E086) is left un-translated because the interpreter concentrated on other more significant and intractable tasks. But, when the interpreter produced “*jissai-ni hitobito-ni tsutaeru tame*”(in order to actually convey to people: E085), she might have noticed that she had not translated “CREDIBLE” (E086), at which point she hastily inserted this expression in the TT so as to make it as natural as possible.

This part of the ST deals with the theme of ‘understood’ which is led up to by “THAT” (E085). Although “UNDERSTOOD” (E085) had already been translated as “*rikai-shi-mashi-ta*” (understood: J085), the interpreter duly construed this part in association with “UNDERSTOOD” (E085). This is indicated by repeated translation of “UNDERSTOOD” (E085) as “*kangae-ta-no-desu*”(thought: J089) (§38). This means that the interpreter construed the ‘US government’ as the agent of ‘media strategy’ as well as ‘understanding’. It follows, therefore, that the status of CC1 at this juncture is CC1 [US GOVERNMENT].

(19) CC1 [US GOVERNMENT]

Although the expression “*jissai-ni hitobito-ni tsutaeru*” (actually convey to people: E085) does not reflect any expressions in the ST, the interpreter did not deviate unduly from the message given in the ST, but rather enriched the message through the addition of this contextual complement. This enrichment of the message signified by “TO DO THAT” (E086) must entail the constant conceptual construction throughout the interpreter’s online discourse processing.

***Development of CCs and their status***

In this subsection, I will continue to analyse how the interpreter exploits the history of CCs during the online processing of the discourse. Also, I will address the nature of a CC which can accommodate seemingly different elements at the linguistic level by examining the status of CC1 at this juncture.

In response to 834, the interpreter employed “*juugun-kisya*” (embedded journalists: J088) as part of the TT as shown in (20) below.

(20) ST: PEOPLE WHO DID NOT WORK FOR THE US GOVERNMENT EMBEDDED WITH THE TROOPS

- a. *America-seifu-no ningen-dewa-nai hitotachi-ga jissai-nijuugun-kisya-toshite*
- b. *America-seifu-ni tsutome-te-iru-no-dewa-naku butai-ni umekoma-re-ta hitobito*

Although there is no mention of *embedded journalists* in the ST, the interpreter produced “*juugun-kisya*” (embedded journalists: J088), because, thanks to the background knowledge that she had on the topic, she was aware that “PEOPLE WHO DID NOT WORK FOR THE GOVERNMENT EMBEDDED WITH THE TROOPS” (E086) referred to embedded journalists. This is an example of a direct exhibition of the interpreter’s background information. The interpreter could have translated this part more literally without resorting to the use of *juugun-kisya* (embedded journalists) as shown in (19b). However, *butai-ni umekoma-re-ta hitobito* (people embedded with the troops) is not a very plausible alternative to *juugun-kisya* (embedded journalists) in the TL. Upon hearing this translation, the audience are likely to think that it is some non-specific group of people, as opposed to journalists, who are working with the troops. Moreover, whether the interpreter accessed her background information on embedded journalists or not critically affects her performance in the subsequent part of her

performance. The interpreter processed the following part as shown in (21a). (21b) is an example of literal translation.

(21) ST: WITNESSING WHAT WAS GOING ON DAY TO DAY

a. *sore-wo houdou-suru*

b. *hibi nani-ga oki-te iru-ka-wo mokugeki-suru*

The interpreter's output in this part of the performance is far from literal translation. While the ST expression to specify the event which occurs is "WITNESSING" (E087), that in the TT is "*houdou-suru*" (report: J088) (§35). On the other hand, whereas the theme of the event is "WHAT WAS GOING ON DAY TO DAY" (E087), the corresponding expression in the TT is a single demonstrative "*sore*" (that: J088) (§36). Considering that "*houdou-suru*" (report: J088) is the activity of transferring information as a core part of the 'media strategy', it is highly conceivable that the interpreter relied on Event 1 in order to carry out this performance as well. At the same time, given that this lexical item is exclusively used in relation to journalism and typically and comprehensively expresses journalists' activity, this word choice is constrained by the previous TT expression of *juugun-kisya* (embedded journalists: J088). On the other hand, the use of "*sore*" (that: J088), can be understood as an exhibition of a meta-representation of a CC constructed for "WHAT WAS GOING ON DAY TO DAY" (E087). In the TT, however, the referent of "*sore*" (that: J088) is understood to be "*sou-ja-nai-toiu-koto*" (such things are not true: J084). Even if the interpreter heard "WHAT WAS GOING ON DAY TO DAY" (E087) in the ST and duly understood it, "*sore*" (that: J088) was produced to express the concept of 'journalists' activity' in general rather than information corresponding to the ST. Figure 8.26 shows this operation at work.

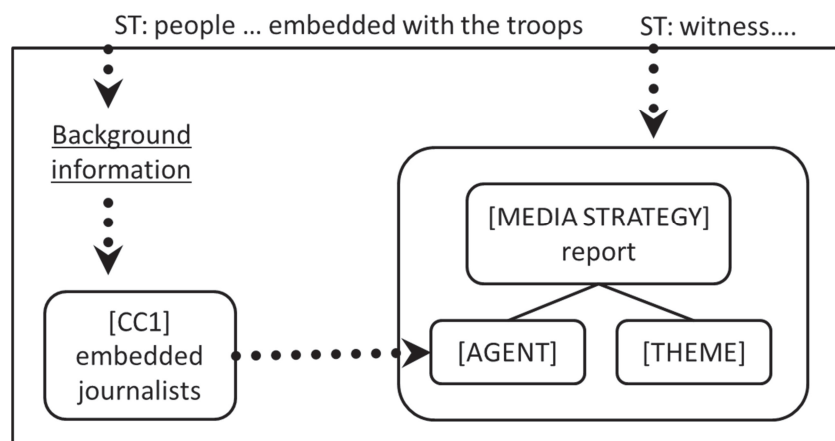


Figure 8.26

As long as production of “*houdou-suru*”(report: J088) is based on Event 1, “*juugun-kisya*” (embedded journalists: J088) is positioned as CC1 which is the agent. On the other hand, this entity must be recognised as ‘*America-seifu-no ningen-dewa-nai hitotachi*’ (those who are not people of the US government: J087). It follows that CC1 accommodates two sub-CCs at this juncture as shown below.

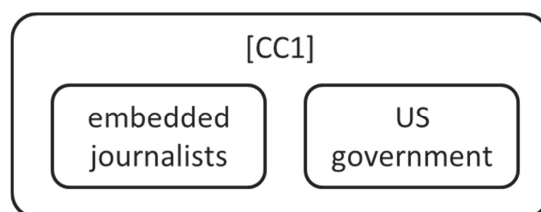


Figure 8.27

If I continue to use the notation of CC1 that I have employed throughout this case study, it will be described as below.

## (22) CC1 [EMBEDDED JOURNALISTS/US GOVERNMENT]

Two elements are distinct at the linguistic level. These two are expressed in different lexical items. They are not co-referential, not members of the same category and do not share the same referent. Nevertheless, due to the nature of the concept, different elements of this kind are contained within the single CC.

In this subsection, I have examined the development of CCs and their status during this part of the SI performance. Although the interpreter’s delivery diverges

significantly from the ST, this divergence can be explained as a concept-based approach. It is in the nature of CCs that even two elements which are distinctively different from each other at the linguistic level can be accommodated in a single CC.

This observation might suggest that the interpreter is not very conscious of the strategy at the linguistic level. Or, even if she maintains she was conscious of such a strategy, her actual performance reveals that her delivery owes much to the conceptual processing of the discourse, which is beyond the lineal processing of linguistic signs given in the ST. It goes without saying that it is not the aim of this study to maintain that the interpreter should deliver a TT which includes as many differences from the ST as possible. Some examples from the actual SI performance, however, strongly suggest the advantages of the concept-based approach. I will examine this possibility in the next section.

### ***Consequential advantage of the concept-based approach***

In this subsection, I will examine examples in the performance where the advantages of the concept-based approach are evident.

In the ST, “PEOPLE” (E086) is modified three times, with: “WHO DID NOT WORK FOR THE US GOVERNMENT” (E086), “EMBEDDED WITH THE TROOPS” (E087) and “ACTUALLY WITNESSING WHAT WAS GOING ON DAY TO DAY” (E087). In this discourse, “WITNESSING” (E087) implies journalists’ reporting activity because “PEOPLE” (E086) will report the situation on the battlefield if they witness it. In other words, the ST bears connotations of journalism. For this reason, the word journalists or expressions related to journalism do not have to be explicitly employed in the ST. In the TT, however, if the interpreter had produced (19b) or (20b) in succession with their high fidelity to the ST, it would demand too much of the audience to identify the link to journalism in the TT. The audience might well understand it to mean ‘the best way is for general people to work with the troops and witness the situation on the battlefield every day’. Although evaluation of interpreter’s performance is not the aim of this study, there is justification in saying that interpreter’s conceptual operations significantly contribute to making the output of this part of SI performance comprehensible to the audience. The interpreter’s ability to access her knowledge on embedded journalists is critical to the success of this part of the SI performance. Since embedded journalists were one of the key components of the US government’s media strategy in the Iraq War, if the interpreter were to lack background information on this, it would have a serious impact on her SI performance.

After translating this part, the interpreter produced “*ichiban-ii-de-arou-to kangae-ta-no-desu*” (thought it would be the best way: J088) to conclude the sentence. As I have already pointed out, “*kangae-ta*” (thought: J089) is a repeated translation of “UNDERSTOOD” (E085) (838). And “*ichiban-ii-de-arou*” (it would be the best way: J088) is translation of the information retained about “NO BETTER, NO MORE CREDIBLE WAY” (E085) (837). This performance also demonstrates that the interpreter not only retained some information, but also construed Event 1 as the theme of ‘understanding’.

It is always possible to examine the approximate correspondence between expressions in the ST and the TT. Examination of the syntactic structure of the ST reveals that the head of the noun phrase, “PEOPLE” (E086) is modified by three elements: a clause led by “WHO” (E086), a phrase led by “EMBEDDED” (E087) and another phrase led by “WITNESSING” (E087). In the TT, “PEOPLE WHO DID NOT WORK FOR THE US GOVERNMENT” (E086) is translated as “*America-seifu-no ningen-de-nai hitotachi*” (those who are not people of the US government: J087). Next, “EMBEDDED WITH THE TROOPS” (E087) is translated as “*juugun-kisya-toshite*” (as embedded journalists: E088). Then, if “*sore*” (that: J088) corresponds to “WHAT WAS GOING ON DAY TO DAY” (E087), “*houdou-suru*” (report: J088) is a translation for “WITNESSING” (E088) which conveys the occurrence of an event. Although the correspondence of information might be examined as stated above, it is unlikely that the interpreter understood each fragment given in the ST and formulated the correspondent TT expressions word for word or phrase for phrase. On the contrary, it is more reasonable to explain this operation as a concept-based approach.

In this section, I have addressed how the interpreter’s performance in this part, which is supported by her construction of CCs, has advantages over a more literal approach. It should be noted, however, that the TT expressions which result are unlikely a product of the interpreter’s conscious effort to elaborate the TT at the linguistic level. Rather, the resulting advantageous delivery was a consequence of her online comprehension of discourse at the conceptual level.

### ***Other possible traces of conceptual processing***

While the SI performance continues beyond this point, the content of the ST is the source speaker’s personal views on this issue, so I have stopped tracing the development of the CCs for the performance here.

Before concluding this chapter, I would like to pay attention to the repetition of “*jissai-ni*” (actually) at J079, J080, J086 and J088. In all four instances the interpreter was referring to Event 1. In J088, “*jissai-ni*” (actually) is a translation of “ACTUALLY”



(E087). And “*jissai-ni*” (actually: J079) could be a translation corresponding to “CLEARLY” (E078). However, “*jissai-ni*” (actually: J080) was produced slightly before the interpreter heard “ACTUALLY” (E080). Moreover, “*jissai-ni*” (actually: J086) does not have a corresponding expression in the ST. Without question, given its use in Japanese, “*jissai-ni*” (actually) could be being used here by the interpreter out of habit, or as a sort of filler. Even if it is one of the interpreter’s habitual expressions, however, given that she produced this expression only for Event 1, the use of “*jissai-ni*” (actually) might be motivated by her attitude towards Event 1. While there is insufficient evidence to argue this motivation with any great persuasion, I would like to pay attention to the interpreter’s use of “*jissai-ni*” (actually: J086). When the interpreter employed “*jissai-ni*” (actually: J086) in the enrichment of “TO DO THAT” (E086) as “*hitobito-ni tsutaeru-tame-ni*” (to convey to people: J086), the interpreter might have construed Event 1 as a distinctly realistic event, when compared with others. On the other hand, in the ST “ACTUALLY” appeared twice in E080 and E087. If these expressions also reflect the source speaker’s attitude toward Event 1, it can be said that the interpreter has properly understood the source speaker’s attitude towards Event 1 and this attitude might therefore have been included as part of the content of Event 1. Given the structure of the discourse, ‘criticisms against the US government’ are the background to ‘US government media strategy’, and ‘examples’ are the theme of the ‘criticisms’. At the conceptual level, Event 2 is the background of Event 1 and ‘examples’ are the theme of Event 2. That being the case, it can be said that the interpreter may well recognize Event 1 as the core of the discourse, which is constantly salient in the interpreter’s cognitive environment. In other words, the description of this retention of Event 1 during the interpreter’s performance suggests that Event 1 functioned as the topic of this discourse at the conceptual level.

In this section, I have analyzed how the interpreter utilized the history of CCs in her online discourse processing and addressed how these conceptual operations serve to support her SI performance. Since this part of the SI performance reveals considerable differences between the ST and the TT, the development of CCs can be traced clearly.

## 8.8 Summary

In this chapter, I traced the online development of CCs and related conceptual operations in a sampled SI performance by observing the differences between the ST and the TT summarized in Table 7.1.



All of the phenomena observed in this performance involve the contribution of contextual information. In this study, the types and content of the contextual information introduced in specific instances of the SI operation were closely examined. The online development of CCs was also traced by exploring the transformation of the content of CCs, the resources of CCs, the timing of the construction and introduction of CCs, and the role and the contribution of CCs in discourse comprehension.

The principal features of a CC as identified in this study through the analysis of the sampled SI performance are listed below.

- Introduction of a CC despite lack of a corresponding ST expression
- Retention of CCs
- Incremental development of CCs
- The role of contextual information to the CC construction
- Conceptualisation of CC content and its fluidity

Molecules in physics have a homogeneous internal structure and, even when they are detached from the whole, their nature remains unchanged. On the other hand, biological cells in an organic life form have a heterogeneous structure and each element and the whole are complementary. The nature of a CC is analogous to the cells of a biological organism rather than molecules in physics. Accordingly, if a CC can be compared to a biological cell, an event CC can be likened to an organ of a biological organism. Once an event CC has been constructed, the interpreter can project the information given in the ST into an appropriate event CC in order to process it. The construction of an event CC, however, is not the aim of discourse processing. This study holds that an event CC is constructed as a product of discourse comprehension. The source of an event CC can be the syntactic or lexical information which exists in an utterance, but it is only part of the total resources available, and so a CC comprises a wide range of information sources. The structure of an event CC is discursive rather than a reflection of the syntactic structure of an utterance. Once an event CC has been constructed, it can serve as a guide to discourse comprehension.

What should be noted is the retention of CC1 throughout this SI performance. The description of the development of CCs in this study indicates the indispensable role of CC1 during this sample SI performance. From the beginning of the SI to the part just discussed, explicit use of CC1 was extremely limited in both of the ST and the TT regardless of whether the element was used as the agent or the theme. This element, however, was anchored and played a key role in the online processing of the discourse.

The semantic role of CC1 is determined in each event CC. The introduction of CC1 is related to the construction of Event 1. Once Event 1 has been constructed, the interpreter's operations are surely supported by it. In other words, Event 1 served as the topic of this discourse. As part of the history of CCs, event CCs contribute to comprehension of the ST and facilitate organisation of the TT through their interaction with other background information. As long as discourse processing progresses in accordance with the event CCs, it is no wonder that expressions in the TT can be, to a large extent, free from the superficial linguistic features of the ST. On the contrary, if this discourse had been interpreted solely on the basis of the linguistic information given in the ST, the TT would have been produced without any relation to CC1 or Event 1. It is hard to imagine an operation of this kind or, at the very least, does not sound like a realistic explanation of the actual SI operation.

The processing of the ST must provide two functions: comprehension of the immediate part in the discourse at the local level and structuring of information in the discourse at the global level. That does not mean, of course, that interpreters process the ST in two different ways. For example, when interpreters comprehend utterances, they are supposed to be continuously conscious of the direction of the discourse at the global level. This interpreters' attitude is observed through the exhibition of implicit logic. Also, the exhibition of a meta-representation indicates that the interpreter has conceptualised the information at the time he/she utilised the representation, the performance of which usually entails the summarization of the previous part of the discourse. The construction of an event CC is understood as an interpreter's effort to structure a propositional form based on information given in the ST plus relevant contextual information. During the online processing of a SI performance, various types of conceptual operations are related each other. There is, however, no distinction between local and global operations in the CC model since the construction of CCs is an integrated conceptual operation.

Drawing on the CC model, I have described to what extent and in what way an interpreter exploits non-linguistic resources such as the incremental development of non-linguistic conceptual representations during the online processing of the ST by observing the various types of linguistic differences identified between expressions in the ST and the TT. This case study provides analyses of only limited instances of conceptual operations. However, seen from the plausible description of conceptual operations during SI, which are based on the empirical linguistic evidence identified in the actual ST and TT, it is questionable whether an interpreter can produce a coherent

and plausible TT without the introduction, retention and exploitation of non-linguistic resources.

The functional explanations attempted in the case study have yet to be corroborated by non-linguistic cognitive or social models. Instead, the functional explanations represent hypotheses about the SI process and also general utterance comprehension which are based on linguistic evidence, and which can in turn be refined by non-linguistic evidence. Although the proposing model of conceptual processing is intuitively plausible based on the linguistic evidence, it is something which requires validation and enrichment through future interdisciplinary research.

## **Part IV**

### **Conclusion**

The final part of this thesis consists of a single chapter which summarises the contribution the study makes to interpreting studies and relevant fields, and which addresses issues for future research. Since the CC model is designed as a descriptive device which traces the online development of semantic representations during discourse processing in general, the contribution that the study makes is not limited to interpreting studies. Since it is a work which is grounded in the field of interpreting studies, however, all of the samples used in this study are records of actual SI performances and they are employed in order that interpreters' conceptual operations can be described in a plausible fashion as a crucial part of the SI process. For this reason, the observations here will be given mainly in the context of interpreting studies.

## **9. CC and SI**

### **9.1 Two major contributions**

The study's two major contributions are summarised below.

- Elaboration of the CC model and instantiation of its description
- Explicit description of the conceptual operations at work during SI

The first contribution of this study is elaboration of the hypothetic CC model and instantiation of the description of online utterance comprehension achieved by drawing on the model. The CC model was originated by Funayama (e.g. 1994, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007 and 2008). This study has adopted and elaborated upon the basic idea of the model and elicited its potential as a descriptive device of the construction of concepts carried out by an interpreter. The second point is an explicit description of the conceptual operations at work during SI through observation of the various linguistic differences which occur between the ST and the TT. I have closely observed the superficial differences between the ST and the TT and analysed the conceptual operations which are the root cause of the differences. This analysis enabled an explicit description of the intermediate representations constructed during an SI performance. Through reference to this description, this study has considered the SI process from the perspective of the online processing of discourse comprehension. This study also supports the notion of deverbalization (Seleskovitch, 1978/1998) and draws upon the CC model in order to do so. This short chapter summarises the observations contained in the analysis and their possible contribution to relevant fields. By way of conclusion it also considers further research issues.

### **9.2 Elaboration and instantiation**

I have elaborated the hypothetic model of CCs as a device which describes the process of concept construction carried out by an interpreter and provided explicit descriptions of the online process of discourse processing by drawing on the original model. A CC is a descriptive device which represents the meaning construction which occurs during utterance comprehension, and does so from the perspective of the exploration of information resources and conceptual content. As such, the CC model treats linguistic

and non-linguistic information equally as materials used in the construction of concepts. The nature of CCs as described in this study can be summarised in the following way.

- Incremental construction throughout discourse processing
- Linguistic and non-linguistic resources required for concept construction
- Fluid and non-linguistic nature of a conceptual content

In this study I have explored in detail the incremental construction of CCs during the online development of discourse processing. It is assumed here that the CCs are not constructed at one point in time, but develop step by step according to the online process of discourse comprehension. This study provides an explicit description of an interpreters' construction of CCs during online utterance comprehension which occurs in parallel with the development of the discourse. The descriptions provided in this study reveal that at the outset of the SI performance, before the interpreter understood the topic and direction of the ST, she struggled to construct CCs by integrating the linguistic input given in the ST with contextual information. Once the interpreter has constructed the CCs, however, these will then be incorporated into the history of the CCs and serve as part of the contextual resources to be used during the further development of the CCs. In this way, CCs accumulate and develop incrementally during discourse processing.

In terms of resources used in the construction of concepts, I identified the diverse resources used in CC construction, provided an explicit description of the sources of information, and explored how such resources contribute to an interpreter's utterance comprehension. When processing the ST, interpreters draw on the linguistically encoded meaning in the ST, extra-textual information from their environment, existing knowledge, and the history of CCs which are constructed from previous parts of the ST, in order to recover the message intended by the source speaker. Through analysis of actual SI performances, this study has traced how and when specific linguistic and non-linguistic information were used for the purpose of discourse processing and specified the role of this information in the construction of CCs.

I also addressed the non-linguistic nature of concepts. The CC model assumes that linguistic information given in the ST is integrated with other cognitive resources to form non-linguistic semantic representations. This process is called conceptualisation. Chapter 4 explored the non-linguistic nature of CCs and discussed the advantage and the function of such representations during SI. Chapter 5 presented and analysed cases in which the interpreter introduced a CC as a participant in an event and determined

its semantic role despite the lack of linguistic information corresponding to it. In Chapter 8, I provided a detailed description of the transformation of a CC. The analysis in the chapter suggests that the CC was also formulated despite the lack of corresponding information in the ST, that it played different roles during the progress of the interpreter's discourse comprehension, and that its content changed constantly, showing the fluid nature of conceptual representations.

When an event CC is constructed during discourse processing, its participants and their semantic roles might be identified through a structural aspect of a mental model. This study also described the construction of structured concepts of this kind and their role in discourse comprehension. Frame knowledge and other cognitive resources are resources used in the construction of an event CC. The propositional attitude, viewpoints and other peripheral information are similarly resources involved in event CC construction. During discourse processing, an event CC as part of the history of CCs, can be embedded as a participant in another event CC. In such cases, the event CC, as a component of a superordinate event, exhibits the nature of an entity CC at the same time.

The construction of an event CC might not, in itself, be the object of an interpreters' conscious effort during a SI performance. It is conceivable here that an event CC is constructed as a consequence of the natural process of utterance comprehension. Due to the nature of CCs, an event CC will change its level of abstraction during discourse processing from a highly schematic state to a rich concept which is associated with a body of cognitive information.

Because concepts are imperceptible, measures to directly observe the development of conceptual content are severely limited. The CC model can therefore serve as a valuable device to explore the reality of conceptual processing during online utterance comprehension through analysis of linguistic evidence.

### **9.3 Description of conceptual process of SI**

The second major contribution of this study is its explicit description of the conceptual operations at work during SI. Through close observation of records of actual SI performances, I was able to clarify the linguistic differences which occur between expressions in the ST and the TT. Taking such differences as a window on the interpreters' mind, I described the conceptual operations at work during SI through reference to the CC model. This description made possible an analysis of the types of conceptual operations and resources which give rise to the differences identified. Within the relatively young discipline of interpreting studies, deverbalization (Seleskovitch,

1978/1998) is considered to be one of the most controversial notions. This study has attempted to support the notion through examination of empirical linguistic data collected from actual SI samples. This study has also closely analysed how conceptual processing of this kind can support an interpreter's SI performance at the non-linguistic level.

I observed several typical conceptual operations which gave rise to differences between the ST and the TT. These included repetitive translations, the exhibition of background information, the exhibition of meta-representations with a demonstrative, the construal of implicit logic, and the construction and retention of event CCs. Based on these observations, I examined information resources employed during each operation. My findings concerning interpreters' conceptual operations indicate that interpreters process linguistic information from the ST by integrating it with extra-textual information. Of these, the exhibition of meta-representations with a demonstrative, the construal of implicit logic and the construction and retention of an event CC suggest that an interpreter's online processing of the ST functions in two ways: one is comprehension of the ST utterances and the other is organisation of the discourse. It is my contention here, however, these functions are merely different aspects of a single integrated operation, which is the construction of CCs.

Comprehension of the discourse is not simply a case of tracing the linguistic structure of the ST. Sometimes it gives rise to a new element in the TT, not found in the ST. This observation identified a feature of an interpreter's mental operations which is that interpreters comprehend utterances by searching and checking the direction of the discourse. An exhibition of implicit logic reveals the interpreter's effort to determine the direction of the discourse, while handling two event/property CCs at the same time. Also, an exhibition of meta-representations with a demonstrative is construed as a trace of the interpreter's continuous effort to retain the history of CCs and situate it in such a way as to aid the processing of the subsequent part of the discourse. These operations are implemented at the conceptual level which is beyond the linguistic information given in the ST.

The construction and retention of CCs also form part of the organisation of discourse. Once CCs have been constructed, they are included as a part of the history of CCs. The analysis of the sampled SI performance in this study reveals that an event CC is retained and repeatedly employed during the processing of the down-stream of the discourse. In this interpreter's performance, it was conceivable that an event CC functioned as a topic of the discourse. This observation suggests that conceptualisation during utterance comprehension is not a sporadic operation which was carried out only



where differences between the ST and the TT were identified, but rather a continuous task during the interpreter's discourse processing. In other words, the description provided in this study explicitly shows that the conceptual operations in SI performance are not anomalies or sporadic phenomena, but a constant and continuous undertaking. By virtue of this, the essential role of deverbalization in an SI performance was shown to be in line with Seleskovitch's (1978/1998) assertions.

#### **9.4 Contributions to relevant fields**

The conceptual operations analysed in this study are not exclusive to SI performance. Rather, CCs are a device which can describe the online development of concepts during discourse processing in general. Observations in this study clarify the contribution which such conceptual operations make to the comprehension of discourse. Therefore, description of SI process in this study demonstrates that the parallel texts which are transcribed from the actual SI performance can provide data which are valuable during exploration of the cognitive aspects of online discourse processing in general. While the conceptual operations examined in this study are identified as an essential part of the discourse processing involved when attempting to re-express a message in one language in another, the observations also shed light on the cognitive mechanisms at work during utterance comprehension.

Since the construction of CCs involves various contextual resources, the circumstances of CC construction — the when and how — are affected by factors which differ depending on the hearer. Even if an interpreter constructs CCs in the manner described in this study, the nature of their development may take many forms. CCs might develop differently depending on the interpreter, and the same interpreter might feasibly construct CCs differently depending on the occasion. It goes without saying that individual differences in discourse comprehension are only one factor which leads to variations in the TT produced. The CC model, however, can provide a plausible explanation for how different interpreters produce their own unique TT expression for the same ST or how the same interpreter produces different TT expressions on different occasions. It achieves this through an explicit description of the differences between CCs constructed for the same discourse. In order to show that the actual TT is not the only possible performance, only unsuccessful scenarios were presented as alternative performances in this study. Even successful cases can, however, be discussed as alternative performances.

The following shows the potential of the CC model in interpreter training. Novice interpreter have a tendency to pay too much attention to the linguistic features of the

ST and are unable to adequately construct CCs. This represents an obstacle in the pursuit of a successful SI performance. In order to assist a novice interpreter who appears unable to adequately construct CCs, a trainer might provide possible background information. When the novice understands the message in the ST, he/she might produce it in his/her own words. Although background information is essentially a non-linguistic cognitive complement, as a practical means in an educational setting, it can be provided in verbal form to the students. It would appear better to give this instruction in the source language, otherwise interpreting students might not notice the role of supplementary information in their discourse processing and think that the trainer partially helped their translation task rather than their comprehension of the ST. Or, if the trainer asks some questions so that students can elicit their background knowledge necessary to understand the ST, the question might be given either in the source or target language. Through this experience, students are supposed to learn the role of non-linguistic information, how to construct the message given in the ST and, finally, expected to master how to produce the message in the TT without sticking to the superficial linguistic features of the ST. It goes without saying that the trainer does not have to teach the CC model itself, because interpreters do not necessarily have to be conscious of their CC construction. If the trainer can provide some examples of performances which are supported by conceptual processing of the ST, it would be enough for the students to learn the necessary skills of interpreting. From the trainer's perspective, however, this model is considered to be of use.

Given that the construction of concept is imperceptible, the observations in this study of actual SI performances give precious and valuable empirical clues of use in the examining the reality of human cognition. As long as language reflects the general mechanism of human cognition, as cognitive linguists argue, the description of conceptual operations in this study seems plausible enough. However, these observations provided here are based on linguistic evidence and need to be tested and corroborated by the non-linguistic approaches used in other fields related to cognitive science such as philosophy, psychology and artificial intelligence.

## **9.5 Further issues**

In Chapter 3 of this thesis, I provided an overview of the CC model. However, what I have provided here is only one aspect of the model which covers only the topics required for the purpose of this study, although I would maintain that it is the essence of the model.

In order to serve as a basic theory of the interpreting process, the framework of the

CC model needs further refinement. I expect, however, that the accumulation of systematic and detailed observations on phenomena relevant to this study will enhance the credibility of the model as a standard theory of the interpreting process. New types of conceptual operations which are not addressed in this study might also be of great use in the analysis of the wider range of phenomena present in a SI performance.

As a general theory of utterance comprehension, one of the possible topics is how to handle the fluidity and the consistency of a CC. Funayama (2002, 2004 and 2008) suggests a tentative solution to this problem with his idea of cognitive tags. There remain, however, a number of issues to be resolved if this is to provide a viable solution. Another topic worthy of further exploration is a typology of basic conceptual operations. Funayama (2007) classified possible operations on CCs into construction, integration, expansion and reduction. The validity of this classification, however, needs further study. For example, if we are to admit the integration of CCs, then the fission of CCs can be predicted as a reverse operation. Moreover, integration must have sub-categories such as inclusion, grouping or synthesis. Also, the observations in this study indicate that interpreters establish logical relations between CCs, which may also prove important for further development of the model.

## **9.6 Summary**

This study has attempted to demonstrate the potential of the CC model as a means of describing discourse processing. Also, by drawing on the CC model, I have provided an explicit description of the conceptual operations at work during an SI performance.

Using empirical linguistic evidence collected from actual SI performances, this study has attempted to support the notion that deverbalization (Seleskovitch 1978/1998) is an essential process during SI performance. The findings of this study corroborate the assertion that SI is not simply a question of converting linguistically encoded information between two languages, but supported by cognitive operations which involves the construction of CCs. It is conceivable, therefore, that the aspect of utterance comprehension described here as the development of CCs is part of the universality of human cognition which extends beyond the peculiarities of any one language. The main claim of this study is that, while SI involves the re-expression of a message from one language into another, it entails conceptual processing which is supported by the universality of human cognition. This assumption, however, needs to be examined using non-linguistic evidence provided by related cognitive sciences such as philosophy, psychology, and artificial intelligence. In order to be accepted as a model of the interpreting process and utterance comprehension in general, validation by

further interdisciplinary research is essential.

## Bibliography

- Abt-Mikasa, M. (2008). (Non-) Sense in note-taking for consecutive interpreting. *Interpreting*, 10 (2), 197-231.
- Anderson, L. (1994). Simultaneous interpretation: Contextual and translation aspects. In S. M. Lambert, & B. Moser-Mercer (Eds.), (1994).
- Austin, J. (1955/1962). *How to do things with words*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Barsalou, L. (1999). Perceptual symbol systems. *Behavioral and Brain Science*, 22, 577-660.
- Blakemore, D. (1992). *Understanding utterances: An introduction to pragmatics*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Blakemore, D. (2002). *Relevance and linguistic meaning: The semantics and pragmatics of discourse markers*. Cambridge University Press.
- Carston, R. (2002). *Thoughts and utterances: The pragmatics of explicit communication*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Clark, H. H. and Van Der Wege, M. M. (2001). Imagination in discourse. In D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen, & E. Hamilton (Eds.), *The handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 772-786). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Croft, W. (1990). Possible verbs and the structure of events. In S. L. Tsohatzidis (Ed.), *Meanings and prototypes: Studies on linguistic categorization* (pp. 48-73). London: Routledge.
- Croft, W. (1991). *Syntactic categories and grammatical relations: The cognitive organization of information*. University of Chicago Press.
- Evans, V. (2009). *How words mean: Lexical concepts, cognitive models, and meaning construction*. Oxford University Press.
- Evans, V. (2009). Semantic representation in LCCM Theory, In V. Evans, & S. Pourcel (Eds.), *New directions in cognitive linguistics* (pp. 27-55). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Fillmore, C. J. (2003). The case for case. In C. J. Fillmore *Form and meaning in language: Papers on semantic roles* (pp. 23-122). CA: CSLI Publications. (Reprinted from *Universals in linguistic theory*, pp. 1-88, E. Bach, & R.T. Harms, Eds., 1968, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston)
- Fillmore, C. J. (1982/2006). Frame semantics. In D. Geeraerts (Ed.), *Cognitive Linguistics: Basic readings* (pp. 373-399). Berlins: Mouton de Gruyter. (Reprinted

- from *Linguistics in the Morning Calm*, pp. 111-137, by Linguistic Society of Korea (Ed.), 1982, Seoul: Hanshin)
- Fodor, J. (1975). *The language of thought*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Funayama, C. (1994). Douji-tsuyaku-ni arawareru ninchi-file [Cognitive files formed during simultaneous interpreting]. *Current English studies*, 33, 1-12.
- Funayama, C. (1997). Douji-tsuyaku-to ninchi-gengo-gaku [Simultaneous interpreting and cognitive linguistics]. *Gengo*, 26-9, 28-35.
- Funayama, C. (2000). Douji-tsuyaku-no ninchi-teki-sokumen-wo kousei-suru youso-ni-tsuite [On elements which are involved in cognitive aspects of simultaneous interpreting]. In K. Miyahata (Ed.). *Douji-tsuyaku-ni-okeru jouhhou-flow-no ninchi-gengogaku-teki-kensyo* [Cognitive linguistic examination on information flow in simultaneous interpreting] (1998-1999 Report of JSPS Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) (2) 10610518, pp. 3-26). College of Integrated Arts and Sciences, Osaka Prefecture University.
- Funayama, C. (2002). Cognitive tags in simultaneous interpretation. *Interpretation Studies*, 2, 15-27.
- Funayama, C., Kasahara, T., & Nishimura, T. (2002). Douji-tsuyaku-ni-okeru yakusyutsu-chien-no mechanism [Mechanism of production delay in simultaneous interpreting]. In C. Funayama (Ed.). *Douji-tsuyaku-ni-okeru taiyaku-chien-no ninchi-gengogaku-teki-kenkyu* [Cognitive linguistic research on translation delay in simultaneous interpreting] (2000-2001 Report of JSPS Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) (2) 12610560, pp. 3-24). College of Integrated Arts and Sciences, Osaka Prefecture University.
- Funayama, C. (2004). Conceptualization processes in simultaneous interpretation. *Interpretation Studies*, 4, 1-13.
- Funayama, C. (2005). Hatsuwa-rikai-no micro model [A micro model of utterance comprehension]. In C. Funayama (Ed.). *Douji-tsuyaku-data-ni motozuku gengo-rikai-katei-no micro-bunseki* [Micro analysis of language comprehension based on simultaneous interpreting data] (2003-2004 Report of JSPS Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) (2) 15520262, pp. 1-16). Kobe City University of Foreign Studies.
- Funayama, C. (2006). Hatsuwa-rikai-no online-gainen-hyouji [Representation of online conceptualization in utterance comprehension]. *The Kobe City University Journal*, 57, 1-22.
- Funayama, C. (2007). Enhancing mental process in simultaneous interpreting training. *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer*, 1 (1), 97-116.

- Funayama, C. (2008). Concept-based representation of simultaneous interpreting. In C. Funayama (Ed.). *Douji-tsuyaku-ni-okeru gainen-ka-no kensyo* [Examination of conceptualisation in simultaneous interpreting]. (2006-2007 Report of JSPS Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) (2) 17520272, pp. 1-13). Kobe City University of Foreign Studies.
- Garnham, A. (1987). *Mental models as representations of discourse and text*. West Sussex: Ellis Horwood Limited.
- Garnham, A. (2001). *Mental models and the interpretation of anaphora*. East Sussex: Psychology Press Limited.
- Gerver, D. and Sinaiko, H. W. (Eds.). (1978). *Language interpretation and communication. Proceedings of the NATO symposium, Venice, Italy, September 26-October 1, 1977*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Gile, D. (1990). Scientific research vs. personal theories in the investigation of interpretation, In L. Gran, & C. Taylor (Eds.). (1990).
- Gile, D. (1995). *Basic concepts and models for interpreter and translator training*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Givon, T. (1978). Universal grammar, lexical structure and translatability. In Guenther, F. & Guenther-Reutter, M. (Eds.). (pp.235-272).
- Goldman-Eisler, F. (2002). Segmentation of input in simultaneous translation. In F. Pöhhacker, & M. Shlesinger (Eds.). (pp.69-76). (Reprinted from *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research*, 1972, 1 (2), pp. 127-140)
- Gran, L., & Dodds, J. (Eds.). (1989). *The theoretical and practical aspects of teaching conference interpretation*. Udine: Campanotto.
- Gran, L., & Taylor, C. (Eds.). (1990). *Aspects of applied experimental research on conference interpretation*. Udine: Campanotto.
- Guenther, F. & Guenther-Reutter, M. (Eds.). (1978). *Meaning and translation: Philosophical and linguistic approaches*. London: Duckworth.
- Halliday, M.A.K., & Hasan, R. (1976). *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.
- Hatzdaki, A. (2007). The process of comprehension from a psycholinguistic approach – implications for translation. *Meta*, 52 (1), 13-21.
- Herbert, J. (1952). *The interpreter's handbook: How to become a conference interpreter*. Geneva: Georg.
- Isham, W. P. (1994). Memory for sentence form after simultaneous interpretation: Evidence both for and against deverbilization, In S. M. Lambert, & B. Moser-Mercer (Eds.). (1994).
- Ishizuka, H. (2008). Douji-tsuyaku-no SL/TL no sai-kara saguru datsu-gengo-ka-no



- jittai [An examination of conceptualisation in simultaneous interpreting based on the differences between SL and TL]. *Interpreting and Translation Studies*, 8, 19-36.
- Ishizuka, H. (2009). Hatsuwa-rikai-ni-okeru jisyuu-kozou-to shiten [Events and a viewpoint in utterance comprehension]. *The Kobe City University Journal*, 60, 81-103.
- Ishizuka, H. (2010). Douji-tsuyaku-sya-ni-yoru shieki-teki-jisyuu-kouzou-no haaku [Construction of a causal event structure by a simultaneous interpreter]. *Interpreting and Translation Studies*, 10, 1-20.
- Ishizuka, H. (2012). Repetitive Translation and Conceptual Processing in SI. *Interpreting and Translation Studies*, 12, 83-103.
- Ito-Bergerot, H. (2005). TIT riron-to sagyou-kioku [The TIT theory of interpreting and working memory]. *Interpreting and Translation Studies*, 5, 53-72.
- Ito-Bergerot, H. (2007a). Chikuji-tsuyaku-no kihon-process-no kentou [Basic consecutive interpretation process]. *Interpretation Studies*, 7, 89-116.
- Ito-Bergerot, H. (2007b). Chikuji-tsuyaku-ni-okeru speech rikai-no ninchi-process: ESIT nihon-go section kunren-sei-no ninchi-skill syutoku-ni-tsuite [The cognitive process of comprehension in consecutive interpretation: Skill acquisition of students in the Japanese section]. *Interpretation Studies*, 7, 277-287.
- Jackendoff, R. (1990). *Semantic Structures*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Jensen, P. A. (1985). SI: A note on error typologies and the possibility of gaining insight in mental processes. *Meta*, 30 (1), 107-113.
- Johnson-Laird, P. N. (1983). *Mental models: Towards a cognitive science of language, inference, and consciousness*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Johnson-Laird, P. N. (1988). *The computer and the mind: An introduction to cognitive science*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Katz, J. J. (1978). Effability and translation. In Guenther, F. & Guenther-Reutter, M. (Eds.). (pp.191-233).
- Keenan, E. L. (1978). Some logical problems in translation. In Guenther, F. & Guenther-Reutter, M. (Eds.). (pp.157-189).
- Kintsch, W. (1998). *Comprehension: A paradigm for cognition*. NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Kohn, K., & Kalina, S. (1996). The strategic dimension of interpretation. *Meta*, 41(1), 118-138.
- Komatsu, K. (2005). *Tsuuyaku-no gijutu* [Skills for interpreting]. Tokyo: Kenkyusya.
- Kussmaul, P. (2005). Translation through visualization. *Meta*, 50 (2): 378-391.
- Lakoff, G. (1987). *Women, fire, and dangerous things: What categories reveal about the*



- mind*. University of Chicago Press.
- Lambert, S. M., & Moser-Mercer, B. (Eds.). (1994). *Bridging the gap: Empirical research in simultaneous interpretation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Langacker, W. R. (1987). *Foundation of cognitive grammar: Volume I theoretical prerequisites*. Stanford University Press.
- Langacker, W. R. (1991). *Foundation of cognitive grammar: Volume II descriptive application*. Stanford University Press.
- Langacker, W. R. (2008). *Cognitive grammar: A basic introduction*. Oxford University Press.
- Lederer, M. (1978). Simultaneous interpretation – units of meaning and other features. In D. Gerver, & H. W. Sinaiko (Eds.). (pp. 323-332).
- Lederer, M. (2003). *Translation: The interpretive model* (N. Larché, Trans.). Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing. (French original published in 1994 as *La traduction aujourd'hui – le modèle interprétatif*. Paris : Hachette.)
- Matsui, T. (2000). *Bridging and relevance*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Minamitsu, Y. (2002). Douji-tsuyaku-ni-okeru syouou-kankei-no kouchiku: Shiji-hyougen “sou-riu” wo tegakari-ni [A cognitive-pragmatic account of demonstratives in simultaneous interpretation-the case of *souiu*]. *Interpretation Studies*, 2, 43-61.
- Minsky, M. (1985). *The society of mind*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Mizuno, A. (1997). Euporose-no saishin-tsuyaku-riron [European latest interpreting theories]. *Gengo*, 26-9, 40-47.
- Mizuno, A. (2004). “Imi-no riron” hihan-to tsuyaku model [Criticism against “Theory of Sense” and interpreting process models]. In Editorial Committee of the Japan Association for Interpretation Studies (Ed.). *Collected papers from ‘Interpreting research’* (pp. 107-22). (Reprinted from *Interpreting Research*, 13, 1997).
- Mizuno, A. (2005). Process model for simultaneous interpreting and working memory. *Meta*, 50 (2), 739-752.
- Newmark, P. (1981). *Approaches to translation*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Ohori, T. (2002). *Ninchi-gengo-gaku* [Cognitive linguistics]. University of Tokyo Press.
- Olohan, M. (2000). Investigating domain conceptualisation and scene construal in trainee translators, *Meta*, 45 (4), 593-608.
- Pöhhacker, F. (1993). From knowledge to text: Coherence in simultaneous interpreting. In Y. Gambier, & J. Tömmola (Eds.). *Translation and knowledge: SSOTT IV* (pp. 87-100). University of Turku, Centre for Translation and Interpreting.
- Pöhhacker, F., & Shlesinger, M. (Eds.). (2002). *The interpreting studies reader*. London: Routledge.

- Schank, R. C., & Abelson, R. P. (1977). *Scripts, plans, goals and understanding*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Searle, J. (1969). *Speech acts*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Seleskovitch, D. (1998). *Interpreting for international conferences* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed., S. Dailey, & N. McMillan, Trans.). Arlington, VA: Pen and Booth. (First translated edition published in 1978. French original published in 1968 as *L'Interprète dans les conférences internationales: problèmes de langage et de communication*. Paris: Minard Lettres Modernes.)
- Seleskovitch, D., & Lederer, M. (1995). *A systematic approach to teaching interpretation* (J. Harmer Trans.). Silver Spring, MD: Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf. (French original published in 1989 as *Pédagogie raisonnée de l'interprétation*. Luxemburg: OPOCE.)
- Setton, R. (1999). *Simultaneous interpretation: A cognitive-pragmatic analysis*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Shlesinger, M. (2000). Interpreting as a cognitive process: How can we know what really happens? In S. Tirkkonen-Condit, & R. Jääskeläinen, (Eds.). *Tapping and mapping the processes of translation and interpreting: Outlooks on empirical research* (pp. 3-15). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Sperber, D., & Wilson, D. (1995). *Relevance: Communication and cognition* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Blackwell. (First edition published in 1986.)
- Talmy, L. (2000a). *Toward a cognitive semantics, vol. 1: Concept structuring systems*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Talmy, L. (2000b). *Toward a cognitive semantics, vol. 2: Typology and processing in concept structuring*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Taylor, C. (1990). Coherence and world knowledge, In L. Gran, & C. Taylor (Eds.).
- Tsohatzidis, S. L. (Ed.). (1990). *Meanings and prototypes: Studies on linguistic categorization*. London: Routledge.
- van Dijk, T. A., & Kintsch, W. (1983). *Strategies of discourse comprehension*. New York: Academic Press.
- Whorf, B. L. (1956). *Language, thought, and reality: Selected writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*, J. B. Carroll (Ed.). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Wykes, T. (1981). Inference and children's comprehension of pronouns. *Journal of Experimental Child Psychology*, 32, 264-78.

## Appendix A

[R-6]: In C. Funayama (Ed.). *Douji-tsuyaku-ni-okeru gainen-ka-no kensyo* [Examination of conceptualisation in simultaneous interpreting]. (2006-2007 Report of JSPS Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) (2) 17520272, pp. 1-13). Kobe City University of Foreign Studies.

E 001 I would like, if I might, to begin by thanking all my G8 colleagues and the other leaders from different countries round  
J 001 始めたいと思います。まず、G8 の同僚の人たちにそして

E 002 the world who participated in the summit, and thank them especially for their expressions of  
J 002 そのほか世界各国の指導者に、え、このようにサミットに参加して下さったことに感謝の意を表します。

E 003 solidarity and the strength of their commitment to the British people at what has  
J 003 また、今回、結束の心、連帯の心を見せて下さったことに感謝をすると同時に

E 004 obviously been a difficult time as a result of the terrorist acts in London yesterday, and I would most sincerely like to  
J 004 強いコミットメントをもって、え、この困難なときを迎えている、昨日のテロの行動に

E 005 thank them for that. They showed great leadership and a very great sense of friendship towards my country,  
J 005 悩まされる、イギリスの国民に対する支援をして下さったことに感謝をいたします。非常に大きな

E 006 and I was honoured to receive that. In respect of the G8,  
J 006 友情の気持ちを私の国に対して皆さんはみせて下さいました。私は非常に光栄に思います。

E 007 as you know we put two major issues right at the forefront of  
J 007 G8 ということに関しては皆さんご存知の通り、2つの問題を主要テーマに掲げておりました。

E 008 our deliberations: the issue of Africa and the issue of climate change. In respect  
J 008 私たちのいろいろな討議には2つの主要テーマがありました。それはアフリカの問題と気候変動

E 009 of Africa you will now be reading the communiqué and you will see the chairman's remarks as well.  
J 009 の問題です。アフリカに関しては皆さんはそのコミュニケをもうお読みになると思いますし、

E 010 It is in the nature of politics that you do not achieve absolutely everything you want to  
J 010 議長のサマリーもこれからお読みになるとおもいますが、政治というものは、本当にすべて自分が達成し

E 011 achieve, but nonetheless I believe we have made very substantial progress indeed.  
J 011 たいと思うことを完全に達成できるものではないということです。それにも関わらず、私たちは大きな

E 012 As I said to you earlier today, we do not simply by this communiqué make poverty history,  
J 012 前進を遂げることが出来たと思います。今日もうすでに申し上げたとおり、私たちはこのコミュニケに

- E 013 But we do show how it can be done, and we do signify the political  
J 013 より貧困を過去のものとする事は出来ません。しかしどのようにすればそれが出来るかということ、
- E 014 will to do it. The passion that we have brought to  
J 014 それは、私たち、共通認識をもっていますし、そのための政治意志も私たちは今日みせました。大きな情
- E 015 this has been echoed by a quite remarkable campaign in all parts of our country, but in all  
J 015 熱を以ってこの問題にあたらうとしています。そのためにはまた大きなキャンペーンも行われました。
- E 016 parts of the world also. It has been led with a great deal of dignity  
J 016 私たちの国だけではなく世界中であのような大々的なキャンペーンが行われました。それは、大きな
- E 017 and with an enormous compassion and decency for the scandal of the thousands of people  
J 017 尊厳をもって行われ、そしてまた、すばらしい、その、思いやりの心と
- E 018 who die every day preventably in Africa, motivated by a determination to see a  
J 018 それから、人間的な気持ちを持って行われました。アフリカでは、たくさんの人が日々なくなってい
- E 019 stop to it. About a year ago we established  
J 019 くそれはやめさせたいという、そういう動機からです。 およそ一年ほど前、
- E 020 the commission for Africa, with the purpose of trying to put in place the basic elements of a comprehensive package that  
J 020 私たちは、アフリカ委員会を設立しました。そしてその目的というのは、 ごく基本的な
- E 021 would right the wrongs of Africa. That commission for Africa report has really informed our decisions  
J 021 包括的な支援策をアフリカに対して書き出すためのたたき台を作るためです。そして
- E 022 and our deliberations here at the G8. As you will see, the commitment to the doubling of aid we have achieved, and  
J 022 アフリカ委員会の報告があり、それが G8 の今回の討論のたたき台となりました。
- E 023 a doubling of aid not just for Africa, the extra \$25 billion, but also, as has been  
J 023 これから援助を倍増するという、 250億ドルをさらに付け足す、上乗せ
- E 024 estimated now by the OECD a doubling of overall aid which gives us an additional  
J 024 するということだけではなく、アフリカだけではなく、他の国々に対しても全体的にその、
- E 025 \$50 billion. We always recognised however  
J 025 支援を倍増すると OECD も言っています。 それは、500億ということになっていきます。

- E 026 that it wasn't enough simply to increase aid. We also have the  
J 026 しかしそれでもこの支援、援助を増やすだけでは十分ではないということを認識してます。
- E 027 finance ministers agreement to cancel debt, and I would like to pay tribute  
J 027 私たち、また蔵相会議からの合意もあります。債務の帳消しであります。
- E 028 to my own colleague and chancellor, Gordon Brown, for the work that he did in  
J 028 この 債務の帳消しということに関しては、
- E 029 bringing finance ministers together on that issue. We also made sure  
J 029 ブラウン蔵務相が、蔵務相会議の会議で、G8 の蔵務相会議でそのような合意をたたき出す、そのリーダー
- E 030 that we developed specific commitments in relation to the other problems that  
J 030 シップをとってくれたことに感謝をいたします。また具体的なコミットメントを作っておくことも必要
- E 031 Africa has, in respect of HIV-Aids for example, as close as possible to universal  
J 031 です。その他アフリカにはいろいろな問題があります。例えば、HIV エイズの問題があります。
- E 032 access within the next few years. If we can really do that, and that is the commitment there, what a  
J 032 できるだけここ数年の間に、その治療薬がすべての人の手に届くようにと
- E 033 huge difference that will make to Africa. In respect of malaria, and TB, and polio,  
J 033 コミットメントをもってそれにあたればアフリカに大きな違いをもたらすことも出来ます。
- E 034 specific commitments. In respect of education, again commitments that should allow us to  
J 034 またマラリアやポリオそれからまた結核などに関してもです。それから教育ということに関しても
- E 035 reach the Millennium Development Goals that were set out. In respect of peace-keeping,  
J 035 コミットメントをもってミレニアム開発目標を達成することが出来るような行動をとっていく。
- E 036 not merely the training of an additional 20,000 peace keepers for Africa, but an  
J 036 それから平和維持活動ということに関しては、さらに2万人の PKO 要員を訓練するという
- E 037 endorsement of the basic principles of the United Nations plan that we have a sufficient force from  
J 037 だけではなく、アフリカに対してですね、そうではなく国連の計画を承認する、支援するということです。
- E 038 the Africa Union capable of keeping the peace, and enforcing the peace in circumstances where there has been conflict.  
J 038 それはつまりアフリカ連合から十分な 武力、兵力を持ち、 え、この紛争のあるとこ

E 039 And on trade, I think some of us would have liked to have gone  
J 039 ろで、平和を維持できるような十分な力をあたえていくということです。それから貿易ということに関し

E 040 further and had a specific end date given now for the ending of all export subsidies.  
J 040 ては、 さらにもっと具体的な日時もしっかりとした形で、貿易に関しての、

E 041 Nonetheless, we have two commitments:  
J 041 例えば輸出補助金はいつやめるのかということを設定してもらいたいと希望している人もいることを知

E 042 one that we should establish a credible end date; and secondly,  
J 042 っています。が、それにもかかわらず 私たちはこの2つコミットメントを示しました。

E 043 a commitment to make a success of the next round of negotiations in Hong Kong later this year.  
J 043 信頼出来るような期日を制定するという。 それから2つ目には、次の香港での今年終わりに

E 044 And I think from what was said round the table, and what was said by president Bush yesterday,  
J 044 あります交渉を、これを成功させるためにあらゆる努力をするということです。それを昨日、ま、ブッシ

E 045 I believe it is possible to get a clear commitment at Hong Kong  
J 045 ュ大統領もテーブルの、 交渉のテーブルで、話し合いのテーブルでおっしゃいましたが、

E 046 to a date, and I believe it should be, and will be, 2010, in which we can end such subsidies.  
J 046 香港ではっきりとした明白なコミットメントを得ることが出来ると思う、2010年までに という期日です。

E 047 There are also commitments on infrastructure, on building trade capacity, because  
J 047 そのような補助金をやめる、その期日です。またその他にもインフレに関するコミットメントがあります。

E 048 it is not enough for us simply to open up our markets, we also have to make sure that  
J 048 貿易をする能力を高めるということ（が）あります。私たちは市場を開放するだけでは不十分です。

E 049 those developing countries have the capacity to make use of those more open markets.  
J 049 私たちは途上国において、 これらの 市場をうまく活用する能力を

E 050 And there was also from the African side likewise a firm and strong  
J 050 身に付けさせなくてはなりません。で、また、アフリカ側からも発言がありました。 アフリカ側

E 051 commitment to good governance, to democracy to human rights, to respect for the rule of law. We have said  
J 051 からも強い コミットメントがありました。この法による支配、そ

E 052 throughout, and I say again now, this can never be done on the basis of the old relationship of charity between donor and  
J 052 て民主主義、よき統治に対するコミットメントです。これは決して 以前の

E 053 recipient, it can only be done on the basis of a partnership. The only people that will change Africa ultimately  
J 053 ドナーとそれから被援助国の間の 慈善ではなく、パートナーシップによってのみ実現することが出

E 054 are Africans. And to those people who say all we ever wanted to do was put money into Africa,  
J 054 来ます。最終的にアフリカを変えるのはアフリカの人々です。 私たちは単に

E 055 that has never been our case. Our case is that the money is necessary,  
J 055 アフリカにお金を投入すること だけを目指していたという人たちもいるでしょう決してそう

E 056 but it is never sufficient. In the end it is only  
J 056 いったことはありません。もちろん資金は必要です。しかし、それだけでもって十分で（は）ありません。

E 057 vibrant African leadership, capable of giving good governance to its people, that can make the ultimate difference,  
J 057 最終的には アフリカの 指導力、活力ある 指導力によってのみよき、統治を

E 058 that will root out corruption, that will entrench democracy and human rights  
J 058 実現し、大きな変化をもたらすことが出来ます。汚職をやめさせ、そして民主主義、

E 059 and will make sure that people respect the rule of law so  
J 059 人権擁護を浸透させ、 そして、 人々が法による統治を尊重することを確実にするに

E 060 I am very pleased at what we have been able to achieve and I hope, as I said to  
J 060 はアフリカの人々の指導力が必要です。 大変今回のこの成果についてうれしく思っております。

E 061 you earlier today, that clear signal on Africa, not just of intent but of detailed propositions  
J 061 え、そして、先ほど申し上げましたけれども、え、このアフリカに関する明確な意思の表れ、

E 062 for help, stands in stark contrast to the politics of terror that we saw exhibited yesterday.  
J 062 そして具体的な、この、援助に対する提案、え、これは、テロの、昨日の政治と

E 063 The second issue was climate change.  
J 063 対比するものであります。もう 1 つ、気候変動という議題を取り上げました。

E 064 Now here let me be very clear as to what we haven't achieved and what we have achieved.  
J 064 え、さて、この点に関してははっきり申し上げたいと思います。私たちは何を達成し、達成でき



E 065 We were never going to be able at this G8 to resolve the disagreement over Kyoto, nor to  
J 065 なかったか、はっきり申し上げます。 私たちは この G8 において、京都議定書をめぐる対立を解消

E 066 renegotiate a set of targets for countries in place of the Kyoto protocol, that was never going to  
J 066 出来ると思いませんでした。 (え、) また、新たに、それぞれの国の目標を、新たに交渉し、

E 067 happen and I have to be very blunt with you about that. But I tell you my fear  
J 067 議定書に代わるものを設定することは、当初から出来ないと考えていました。このことをはっきり申し上げ

E 068 on climate change, which is why I put this on the G8 agenda  
J 068 げます。ただ、この気候変動について、 私が危惧していることについてお話を

E 069 if it is impossible to bring America into the consensus on tackling the issue of climate  
J 069 します。だからこそ、この議題を取り上げたのです。もし私たちがアメリカを動員し、そしてこの

E 070 change, we will never ensure that the huge emerging economies, particularly those of china  
J 070 問題、気候変動に取り組むことを説得することが出来なければ、私たちは、新興国、

E 071 and India, who are going to consume more energy than any other part of the world,  
J 071 え、特に中国、インドといったような大国を、この先、他のどこの国よりもエネルギー消費が増え

E 072 we will never ensure that they are part of a dialogue, and if we cannot have America as part of the dialogue on climate  
J 072 るであろうという、これらの国々が必ずやこの対話に参加することを、保証することは出来ません。

E 073 change, and we can't have India and china as part of the dialogue, there is no possibility of us  
J 073 そういった気候変動に関する対話にアメリカ、そしてまた、中国、インドを参加させることが出来なけれ

E 074 succeeding in resolving this issue. What I wanted to do therefore at this summit was establish the following,  
J 074 ば、私たち、この問題を解決することなどとうてい出来ません。ですから私たち、このサミットで目指し

E 075 and I believe we have done this. I wanted an agreement  
J 075 たことは、次のようなことであります。私たちはこの成果をあげることが出来たと思います。

E 076 that this was indeed a problem, that climate change is a problem,  
J 076 まず私としては、 え、これが本当に問題であるということを認識したいと思いました。

E 077 that human activity is contributing to it, and that we have to tackle it;  
J 077 気候変動が問題であると、え、そして人間の活動がその原因であると、え、そして我々これに対応しなく



E 078 secondly, that we have to tackle it with urgency; thirdly,  
J 078 てはいけないという合意を達成しようと思いました。そしてまたこれは急務であるということの認識も

E 079 that in order to do that we have to slow down, stop and then in time reverse the rising  
J 079 必要でした。３番目。それをするためには私たちは、この、排出量の増加を抑え、そして最終的には

E 080 greenhouse gas emissions; and finally, we have to  
J 080 それを削減しなくてははいけないということ、これを合意したいと思いました。そして

E 081 put in place a pathway to a new dialogue when Kyoto expires in 2012.  
J 081 最後になりますけれども私たちはこの新たな対話のために道筋を え、特に 2012 年

E 082 And what we have agreed is a dialogue between the G8 countries and others, but most particularly the five that came to  
J 082 京都議定書が期限を迎える後のための 対話の道筋を築かなくてはなりません。それは、G8 諸国と

E 083 Gleneagles yesterday, and that dialogue will be on  
J 083 そして 今回グリーンイーグルスへきてくださった５ヶ国との間の対話がまずは必要であります。

E 084 how we confront and tackle this problem. It is combined in addition, with a specific plan  
J 084 この対話は、いかに我々がこの問題に対応することができるのかに関する対話であります。

E 085 of action in respect of all the main issues, and that plan of action  
J 085 これは具体的な行動計画に加えてのことです。ここでは主だった様々な問題が含まれています。

E 086 and the dialogue together will then be reported on, first of all at a meeting that will be held here in Britain  
J 086 そしてこの行動計画と対話が組み合わさって、 我々、

E 087 on 1 November, and then in successive [放送ここまで]  
J 087 まず 11月1日第一回の対話 [放送ここまで]

## Appendix B

[N-1]: In C. Funayama (Ed.). *Douji-tsuyaku-data-ni motozuku gengo-rikai-katei-no micro-bunseki* [Micro analysis of language comprehension based on simultaneous interpreting data] (2003-2004 Report of JSPS Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) (2) 15520262, pp. 1-16). Kobe City University of Foreign Studies.

■ [M]: ここからは、アメリカが圧倒的な軍事力を持つことの意味を、国内、海外のゲストとともに議論していきます。ワシントンのスタジオには、保守系のシンクタンク、安全保障政策センター所長の、フランク・ガフニーさんに来ていただいています。レーガン政権下で国務次官補をつとめ、ブッシュ政権の国防政策の立案にもかかわっています。一方、ロンドンのスタジオには、王立防衛問題研究所所長のリチャード・コボルトさん。元イギリス海軍の提督で、現在は、下院国防委員会の顧問をつとめています。また、東京のスタジオには、国際政治がご専門の、東京大学教授、藤原帰一さんにきていただきました。藤原さんよろしくお願いたします。[F]: よろしくお願いたします。[M]: まず、最初にガフニーさん、アメリカは自分が脅威と見る政権に対しては、先制攻撃も辞さないという安全保障戦略にもとづき、フセイン政権を打倒しましたが、今後、こうしたですね、アメリカのこの政策、そして、今回の戦争が、歴史の中でどのように位置づけられるというふうにお考えでしょうか。

E 001 [G]: WELL, I'M NOT QUITE SURE IF THAT'S THE CORRECT FORMULATION OF OUR POLICY.

J 001 [G]: いまの

E 002 WHAT WE SAW IN THE EFFORT TO DEAL WITH SADDAM HUSSEIN'S REGIME

J 002 前提、我々の政策に関して、それが正しくいま説明されたかどうかちょっと疑問だとは思います

E 003 WAS A PARTICULAR FOCUS ON TRYING TO PREVENT A GOVERNMENT THAT IS

J 003 けれども、サダム・フセイン政権と対応するときには、我々、特に、焦点として、

E 004 A THREAT. YES BUT MOST ESPECIALLY HAD THE POTENTIAL, WE BELIEVE, TO ENABLE

J 004 あの、脅威のある政権、政府、そちらを阻止すること、それからまた、

E 005 ATTACKS NOT FROM ITS OWN SOIL DIRECTLY AGAINST US BUT THROUGH INTERMEDIARIES,

J 005 我々が信じていたのは、わたしたち、直接に

E 006 SPECIFICALLY TERRORISTS WITH WHOM SADDAM'S REGIME WORKED, AND IT TRAINED

J 006 攻撃するのではなくとも、テロリストを通して我々、攻撃する可能

E 007 THEM, IT PROVIDED LOGISTICAL INTELLIGENCE AND OTHER FORMS OF SUPPORT.

J 007 性のある国であります。サダム・フセインはテロリストの訓練もした、そのほか

E 008 THIS WAS A THREAT THAT, IN THE AFTERMATH OF 9/11/2001

J 008 いろいろのロジの支援、いろいろな支援をしました、テロリストに対して。これは、9

E 009 PRESIDENT BUSH AND THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS AND, I THINK, THE

J 009 月 11 日のあの事件のあとは、我々にとっては脅威であるわけです。

E 010 OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FELT COULD NOT BE TOLERATED

J 010 ですからブッシュ大統領、それからアメリカの議会も、そしてアメリカ

E 011 LEST IT RESULT IN ANOTHER ATTACK UNPROVOKED,

J 011 の市民も、こういうことは許せない、容認できない、と思ったのです。また攻撃があるかもしれ

E 012 WITHOUT WARNING PERHAPS, THAT WE WOULD FIND VASTLY MORE

J 012 ない、我々が何も挑発もしていないのに、警告もなにもなくして、また攻撃があるかもしれない。

E 013 DEVASTATING EVEN THAN THE DESTRUCTION THAT WE EXPERIENCED ON 9/11. SO,

J 013 それはもっと大規模な攻撃かもしれないと。もっと

E 014 THAT WAS THE BASIS OF THE EFFORT TO DEAL WITH SADDAM

J 014 9月11日より何倍もの破壊力を持っているかもしれないという、そういうことを恐れたのです。

E 015 HUSSEIN'S REGIME, AND I THINK IT IS A PRUDENT AND EMINENTLY RESPONSIBLE

J 015 ですからそれを基盤に、サダム・フセイン政権に対して、我々是对策を

E 016 BASIS TO DEAL WITH SIMILAR SORTS OF THREAT, SHOULD THEY DEVELOP ELSEWHERE.

J 016 とったのです。で、同じような脅威が出てくれば、同じような対応をするの

E 017

J 017 が、責任のある立場だと思います。

■ [M]: コボルトさん、まあ、イギリス、ヨーロッパの視点からはですね、今回の戦争、どのようにご覧になっていますか。

E 018 [C]: YES, YES INDEED. WELL, CERTAINLY, IT WAS, FROM THE MILITARY POINT OF VIEW,

J 018 [C]: そうですね。もちろん、

E 019 IT WAS TECHNICALLY, IMMENSELY IMPRESSIVE. TREMENDOUS

J 019 軍事的な観点からいいますと、技術的には、大変すばらしいものがあつたと思います。

E 020 ADVANCES HAVE BEEN MADE SINCE THE FIRST GULF WAR MAINLY, I THINK, IN THE

J 020 さまざまな、最初の湾岸戦争のときよりは、

E 021 APPLICATION OF INFORMATION SYSTEMS TO THE WEAPONS AND THE CENSORS,

J 021 発展が見られました。特に、情報システムの適用の仕方に、大きな違いがありました。それを、

**E 022** AND BETWEEN THEM THE DECISION MAKERS, SO THAT EVERYTHING  
**J 022** 兵器, そしてセンサーに用いたわけですが, そして, 意思決定者もそれを利用しました.

**E 023** HAPPENED VERY FAST. AND BECAUSE EVERYTHING HAPPENED VERY FAST,  
**J 023** ですから, すべて, たいへん早く進みました. そして, すべてが

**E 024** THE PLATFORMS, THE ARMORED VEHICLES HAD TO MOVE VERY FAST. SO, THERE WAS AN  
**J 024** 早く進んだから, この装甲車両も, 非常に速く進む

**E 025** ABILITY TO USE BOTH AIR POWER AND GROUND POWER SIMULTANEOUSLY RIGHT FROM THE  
**J 025** ことが出来ました. そして, 空軍力, そして地上への戦力, それを同時に

**J 026** START. AND AS A RESULT, THE WAR FIGHTING PART OF THE CAMPAIGN WAS OVER IN 21  
**J 026** 使うことを, 最初からできたわけです. その結果, 戦争そのものは,

**E 027** DAYS AS OPPOSED TO 43 DAYS IN THE FIRST GULF WAR. AND INCIDENTALLY THE AIR  
**J 027** 21 日で終わりました. それに対して 湾岸戦争では 43 日かかりま

**E 028** CAMPAIGN IN KOSOVO TOOK 78 DAYS. SO, EVERYTHING WAS VERY MUCH FASTER.  
**J 028** した. コソボの空爆ですが, これは 78 日もかかりました. ですから,

**E 029** AS FOR THE MATTER OF THE PREEMPTIVE STRATEGY, THIS IS GOING TO BE  
**J 029** すべてがもっと早く進んだわけです. この先制攻撃という政策に

**E 030** SOMETHING THAT, I THINK, INTERNATIONAL LAWYERS WILL ARGUE ABOUT FOR ALONG  
**J 030** ついてですが, これは, 国際的な法律家たちがこれから先長く議論

**E 031** TIME, THOUGH I THINK THIS ALSO GOT TO BE AN ELEMENT THAT IN REALITY GOT TO  
**J 031** していくことだと思います. そして, 現実的に,

**E 032** HAPPEN, THAT THE PREEMPTIVE STRATEGY IS NOW DE FACTO LAW JUST AS IN 1837.  
**J 032** いま, 起こったことですね, この先制攻撃はいまや, 事実となった.

**E 033** THE DECISION OF THE BRITISH TO ATTACK THE USS CAROLINE BECAME THE SOURCE  
**J 033** 1837 年, イギリスが, アメリカ艦船

**E 034** FOR INTERNATIONAL LAW OF SELF-DEFENSE FOR THE NEXT 150 YEARS.  
**J 034** キャロラインに攻撃を仕掛けようと考えたのと同じだと思います. 自衛ですね, そのためにやる

E 035 SO, I THINK THAT WE DO SEE A GREAT ADVANCE HAVING BEEN MADE

J 035 ということでやったわけですが、

E 036 DURING THIS WAR. I THINK THOUGH THAT AT THIS STAGE, WE SEE THE TRANSITION

J 036 このようなかたちで、戦争は大きく発展したというふうに思います。しかし現段階では、

E 037 FROM WAR FIGHTING TO STABILIZATION OPERATIONS TO RECONSTRUCTION BEING A

J 037 わたしたちはいま、戦争から、安定化への作戦へと移ってきていると思います。国の

E 038 A FAR LESS CERTAIN TYPE OF OPERATION.

J 038 再建へと移ってきています。こちらのほうが、もっと不安定な、はっきりとしないかたちで進ん

E 039

J 039 でいると思います。

■ [M]: ワシントンのガフニーさんにかかっています。アメリカはですね、今回の戦争で、戦争を短期に終結すること、そして被害を最小限にとどめること、それから、アメリカ軍、イラクの解放軍として受け入れられることの3点を、その、勝利の条件としてあげていたと思うんですが、今回の戦争でですね、これは満たされたと言っているのでしょうか。

E 040 [G]: I THINK I HAVE BEEN SO FAR WE'RE WATCHING WITNESSING, AS WERE JUST

J 040 [G]: はい、満たされたと思います。わたしたちずっと見てきたところ、

E 041 MENTIONED, THE TRANSITION FROM THE IMMEDIATE LIBERATION OF THE PEOPLE OF

J 041 考えていきますと、いまは、ひとつの移行期ですね。人々を解放し

E 042 IRAQ TO THE STABILIZATION OF THAT COUNTRY, AND ULTIMATELY, TO ITS

J 042 た。イラクの人々を解放して、それからこの国の安定化に、いま移行しよう

E 043 RECONSTRUCTION, WE HOPE, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE UNDER A NEW FREE IRAQI

J 043 としています。それから、最終的にはその再建です。出来るだけ早く、新しい、

E 044 GOVERNMENT. THIS IS I THINK A FLUID SITUATION WHICH IS THE ONE THAT IS SUBJECT TO

J 044 自由なイラクの政府が成立して、その国の再建に直接当たれるように願っています。し

E 045 CHANGE WITHOUT NOTICE. BUT I BELIEVE WHAT WE SET OUT TO DO WE HAVE

J 045 かし、流動的な状況です。ですから、どんどんこれから変わっていく可能性もあります。

E 046 DONE EXCEEDINGLY WELL, THANKS IN PART TO THE TECHNOLOGIES AND SKILL OF THE

J 046 しかし、わたしたちが やろうとしたことを、本当にすばらしい業績でわたしたちはやったと思います。

E 047 THE PEOPLE DOING THEM, BUT ALSO, AND THIS IS JUST TREMENDOUSLY IMPORTANT TO

J 047 技術や、それから人々のスキルによることだと思います。

E 048 EMPHASIZE, THANKS TO THE SUPPORT THAT, I BELIEVE, WE ENJOYED FROM THE IRAQI

J 048 それから、もう一つ、とても重要なのは、これ強調しておきたいんですが、わたしたちはイラ

E 049 PEOPLE AND CONTINUE TO ENJOY FROM THE VAST MAJORITY OF THEM, FOR

J 049 クの人たちからも、支持を得た。たくさん、イラクの大

E 050 ENDING THIS HORRIFIC REGIME THAT WAS NOT ONLY A THREAT TO US BUT WAS

J 050 半の人たちはわたしたちを支持してくれた。それをもって、この恐ろしい政権に、とどめをさす

E 051 REALLY EXTRAORDINARY BEASTLY TO ITS OWN PEOPLE.

J 051 ことができたのです。わたしたちに対して脅威であるというだけではなくて、国民にとってもそうだったん

E 052

J 052 です、イラクの人にとっても。

■ [M]: ロンドンの、コボルトさん、コボルト提督にうかがいます。イギリスは、中東地域を統治した経験を持っていますけれども、その経験から、イラクや中東地域の戦後の課題は何だとお考えになりますか。

E 053 [C]: WELL, I THINK, FIRST OF ALL, THERE IS THE RECONSTRUCTION OF IRAQ AND SETTING

J 053 [C]: まず、第一に、国の再建、イラクの再建、という問題があると思

E 054 UP A FREE IRAQI GOVERNMENT SO THAT THE THIRD OF CONDITIONS, THAT THE UNITED

J 054 います。そして、自由なイラク政府を打ちたてるとのことですね。

E 055 STATES SHOULD BE SEEN AS LIBERATORS, DOES ACTUALLY COME ABOUT.

J 055 そして、アメリカは、ま、解放軍として見られるという

E 056 I THINK THAT IS GOING TO BE QUITE A TOUGH TASK. I THINK IT'LL TAKE QUITE A LONG

J 056 こと。これが事実としてできるわけですが、これがまず大きな、課題だろうと思いますし、

E 057 TIME, AND I THINK THE HONEYMOON PERIOD BETWEEN THE COALITION FORCES AND

J 057 長く時間がかかることだと思います。この蜜月期間、

E 058 THE IRAQIS WILL BE OVER, IF IT IS NOT ALREADY OVER, AND  
J 058 合同軍とそれからイラクの人たちの間の蜜月期間、ハネムーンというのは、すでに

E 059 WILL TURN TO A MORE DIFFICULT RELATIONSHIP. I THINK, FOR EXAMPLE, ONE  
J 059 終わったとは言わないまでもですね、大変難しい関係に変わっていくかもしれません。たとえば、

E 060 MIGHT WONDER, WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF THE SHIITE MAJORITY, 55% OF THE IRAQIS WHO  
J 060 もし、シーア派の多数派、この

E 061 ARE SHIITE, DECIDE THAT THEY WANT TO HAVE A FUNDAMENTALIST ISLAMIC STATE  
J 061 55%を占めるシーア派の人たちが、原理主義的な

E 062 WHETHER OR NOT THEY HAVE THE FREEDOM TO DO THAT BECAUSE THE DEMONSTRATIONS  
J 062 な イスラム 国家を作りたいというふうに 考えたとしたらどうなるのでしょうか？

E 063 IN KABALA RECENTLY WERE PERHAPS A WARNING, AND PERHAPS MORE SIGNIFICANT THAN  
J 063 たとえば、カバラでのデモなどが、いろいろありますけれども、これもひとつの警鐘を鳴らしている

E 064 THE WELCOME THAT GENERAL GARNER RECEIVED IN KURDISTAN. NOW FARTHER  
J 064 ものだと思います。ガーナー氏が得たその歓迎よりも、まあ、そういった

E 065 AFIELD FROM IRAQ, I BELIEVE THERE IS A VERY REAL NECESSITY  
J 065 そういった動きが見られるわけですね。さらに、

E 066 IF THE REST OF THE REGION ARE TO BECOME ACCEPTING WHAT HAS BEEN DONE IN  
J 066 現実的な必要性として、ほかの地域がもしも、

E 067 IRAQ FOR THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS BROADLY BETWEEN THE ISRAELIS AND  
J 067 イラクで行われたことを受け入れると、そしてこれが、中東の和平交渉などへも

E 068 THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY SHOULD GAIN MOMENTUM. WE HAVE SEEN  
J 068 広がっていくのであれば、イスラエルとしてパレスチナ当局の方に、広がっていくというようなことに

E 069 SOME PROGRESS IN THE LAST 48 HOURS WITH PRESIDENT ARAFAT GIVING SOME  
J 069 なっていくのであればですね、一部 この48時間ほどの間に、少し、進展が見られ

E 070 POWER TO HIS PRIME MINISTER. BUT I THINK THERE IS A LONG WAY TO GO BEFORE  
J 070 ました。アラファト議長が、首相に、ま、譲歩するような動きも見られました。

E 071 THE ROAD MAP THAT PRESIDENT BUSH HAS REFERRED TO ACTUALLY BECOMES

J 071 しかし、このロードマップ、まもなくブッシュ大統領が出すということで、何度も言

E 072 REALITY. BUT I THINK THE PROGRESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS A PRECONDITION

J 072 れていますが、これがやがて現実へとなくなっていくと思います。 この中東での進展、これはまず前提

E 073 FOR REGIONAL STABILITY, WHICH AFTER ALL IS PROBABLY THE BASE

J 073 条件になってくると思います。 それがあって地域の安定が図れると。 そして、

E 074 REASON FOR EVERYTHING THAT IS HAPPENING IN IRAQ TODAY.

J 074 これが おそらく 一番 イラクで起こっていることの根底に流れ

E 075

J 075 ているものだと思います。

■ [M]: え、ゲストの方々にはまた、のちほどかかいます。

■ [M]: ふたたび、またゲストのみなさんに聞きます。 ワシントンのガフニーさん、アメリカではですね、地方紙を取り込むなど、メディアに対する戦略が、功を奏しているように見えるんですね。 で、これは新しい安全保障戦略のもとで行われた、今回のイラク戦争の中で、このメディア対策というのはどのように位置づけられるんでしょうか？

E 076 [G]: WELL, I THINK YOU'VE INDICATED BEFORE THERE WAS SORT OF AN OVERALL

J 076 [G]: おっしゃったとおり、先に、最初示唆されましたけれども、

E 077 EFFORT TO EXPLOIT INFORMATION TO MAXIMUM EFFECT. IT WAS USED BOTH TO DOMINATE

J 077 全体的な 努力が なされて、 情報をできるだけ駆使しようと、それをもって、成果を最大化し

E 078 THE BATTLE FIELD. IT WAS USED TO INFLUENCE OUR ENEMIES. AND CLEARLY, IT WAS USED

J 078 ようとしたんです。 これは戦場を支配するためです。 そして わたしたちの敵に対して、 影響力

E 079 TO CONVEY TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, AND FOR THAT MATTER, THE INTERNATIONAL

J 079 持ったためです。 そして、実際に、 アメリカの人たちにも、 そ し て

E 080 POPULATION WHAT THIS WAR WAS ACTUALLY ABOUT AFTER SO MANY AH

J 080 また、 国際社会にも、 実際にこの戦争は、何のためなのかということを伝えました。

E 081 STORIES AND ALLEGATIONS, AND INSINUATIONS THAT WHAT WE WERE DOING WAS

J 081 たくさんのいろいろな話や、 主張や、申し立てや、あるいは暗に秘めて 批判され



E 082 GOING FOR EMPIRE AND WE WERE GOING TO KILL IMMENSE NUMBERS OF CIVILIANS

J 082 たりいろんなことがありました。たとえばアメリカは帝国をつくろうとしている、あるいは

E 083 AND WE WOULD BE USING WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION OURSELVES AND SO ON

J 083 本当にたくさんの市民を殺そうとしている、そして大量破壊兵器を使うで

E 084 AND LOTS OF THINGS LIKE THIS NEEDED TO BE REBUTTED AND I THINK THE

J 084 あろうと、いろんなことが言われましたけども、そうじゃないということ

E 085 ADMINISTRATION UNDERSTOOD PROPERLY THAT THERE WAS NO BETTER, NO MORE

J 085 示す必要があったのです。そしてブッシュ政権はそれをちゃんと理解しました。

E 086 CREDIBLE WAY TO DO THAT THAN TO HAVE PEOPLE WHO DID NOT WORK FOR THE

J 086 実際に人々に伝えるために、そして信憑性を持つ

E 087 US GOVERNMENT EMBEDDED WITH THE TROOPS ACTUALLY WITNESSING WHAT WAS

J 087 ためには、アメリカ政府の人間ではない人たちが、

E 088 GOING ON DAY TO DAY. IT WORKED, I THINK, SENSATIONALLY. IN PART THOUGH IT SHOULD

J 088 実際に従軍記者としてそれを報道するというのが、一番いいであろう

E 089 BE CLEAR IT WORKED BECAUSE THE WAR WENT VERY WELL. IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN

J 089 と考えたのです。本当にでもそれはうまくいきました。でも、うまくいったのは戦争が

E 090 MUCH LESS OF A SUCCESSFUL OPERATION, AT LEAST WITH RESPECT TO THE THIRD OF

J 090 うまくいったからですね。

E 091 THOSE INFORMATION STRATEGIES, HAD THE WAR NOT BEEN A SUCCESS STRATEGICALLY

J 091 あの、いろいろな情報戦略の、3分の1は、もし、

E 092 AND TACTICALLY.

J 092 戦争が、戦略的にうまくいってなければこれほどうまくいかなかったでしょう。

■ [M]: ロンドンのコボルトさんに伺います。イギリスには、アメリカのようにメディアを取り込む戦略はあるのでしょうか。

E 093 [C]: I THINK THAT WE, TO A GREAT EXTENT IN THIS COUNTRY, DID MUCH THE SAME AS THE

J 093 おそらく、わたしたちは、いまイギリスにおいては、アメリカと同じようなことを

E 094 UNITED STATES DID, THOUGH I THINK THAT ONE COULD SAY THAT THE MEDIA COVERAGE  
J 094 大体においてはやったと思います。

E 095 HERE WAS MORE BALANCED IN THE SENSE THAT THE VOICES AGAINST THE WAR, AND  
J 095 メディア報道は、よりバランスが取れてたと思いますね。 戦争反

E 096 SKEPTICAL ABOUT THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR WERE PERHAPS HEARD A LITTLE BIT MORE  
J 096 対の声 そして、戦争の成り行きに対して 懐疑的な声も もう少しアメリカ

E 097 PROMINENTLY. I FOR ONE WOULD SAY THAT THE EMBEDDING THE JOURNALISTS WAS NOT  
J 097 よりは大きな声で響いたのではないのでしょうか。 わたし自身は、 ま、従軍記者、これはいつも

E 098 ALWAYS A SUCCESS. ONE GOT A MULTITUDE OF REPORT FROM VERY GOOD REPORTERS AND  
J 098 うまくいったとは限らないと思います。 ま、さまざまなリポートが、

E 099 THEY WERE, AS IT WERE, LOOKING THROUGH THE WRONG END OF THE TELESCOPE. AND  
J 099 ま、いいリポートが届けられました。 まるで、 しかし、

E 100 PUTTING THEM TOGETHER DIDN'T NECESSARILY GIVE A CLEAR PICTURE. I THINK  
J 100 これはですね、 望遠鏡の逆側から見たものをまとめたようなものもありました。 結果的に、

E 101 IRONICALLY CERTAINLY SECRETARY RUMSFELD, VICE PRESIDENT CHENEY, AND  
J 101 あまりはっきりとした 絵が 描けなかったわけです。 しかし、皮肉なことに、 ラ

E 102 INDEED THE BRITISH COMMAND IN THE GULF AIR MARTIAL BURRIDGE ALL TOOK  
J 102 ムズフェルド氏、 そしてチェイニー氏、 そして、 バレッジ司令官、イギリス

E 103 ISSUE WITH THE JOURNALISTS AT ONE STAGE OR ANOTHER WHICH IS INTERESTING  
J 103 の司令官ですが、 ジャーナリストたちと あるときは対立をするようなこともありましたね。

E 104 BECAUSE, TO A GREAT EXTENT, THEY WERE IF NOT MANIPULATING, AT LEAST  
J 104 これも興味深いことだと思います。 というのも彼らは、 操作は

E 105 MANAGING THE MATERIALS THAT THE JOURNALISTS HAD TO OFFER. SO I THINK  
J 105 しなかったまでも、ま、管理はしていたわけですね。 どういうものを、 ジャーナリ

E 106 THERE WERE QUITE A LOT OF DIFFICULTIES THERE. BUT ON THE WHOLE, IT WAS  
J 106 ストに提供するか、 そのへんを、マネージしてたと思います。 そこにいろいろ難しさはあり

**E 107** JUST ABOUT ALL RIGHT, THE MEDIA COVERAGE.

**J 107** ますけれども、                      しかし、まあ、                      うまくはいったんではないかと思います。

■ **[M]:** ワシントンのガフニーさんに伺います。フセイン政権がですね、大量兵器を保有していたという、アメリカが言っていた証拠は依然としてまだ出てきていないんですけれども、アメリカはですね、今回の戦争の、そうした正当性をもはや重視していないと、そういうことなんでしょうか。

E 108 [G]: WELL, I THINK ACTUALLY THERE HAS BEEN ABUNDANT PROOF FOR MANY YEARS

J 108 [G]: あの, もう

**J 109** THAT SADDAM HUSSEIN'S REGIME HAD WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. I THINK

J 109 何年間も、サダム・フセイン政権が、大量破壊

**E 110** WHAT YOU ARE SAYING IS “DID HE HAVE WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AT THE

**J 110** 兵器を持ってきたという、そういう証拠はあります。

**E 111** MOMENT THAT WE LIBERATED HIS COUNTRY?" AND I, LIKE SECRETARY POWELL,

**J 111** 現在はどうかといいますと、彼、国を今解放したんですけども

E 112 AM CONFIDENT THAT WE WOULD FIND EVIDENCE THAT HE DID INDEED. WE'VE

J 112 どうでしょうか、っていうんですが、 わたしはパウエル長官と同じように、 彼は

**E 113** SEEN EVIDENCE THAT SOME OF INCREDIBLY HIGH LEVELS OF TOXIC CHEMICALS

**J 113** 大量破壊兵器を持っていたという証拠は見つかると思います。

**E 114** SEEMED TO HAVE BEEN DUMPED INTO RIVERS      SHORTLY BEFORE OR IN THE MIDST

**J 114** 本当に、極めて 高度に毒性のある、化学物質が

E 115 OF OUR LIBERATION CAMPAIGN. THAT SUGGESTS THAT THERE WERE WEAPONS AT THE

J 115 河川に流されたということもあります。この我々の解放作戦の途中にです。

**E 116** TIME. I THINK WE WOULD ACTUALLY FIND WEAPONS THEMSELVES IN DUE COURSE.

J 116                      ですから、そのときには、ちゃんとそういうような兵器があったのです。                      そして

**E 117** BUT YOU HAVE TO UNDERSTAND, THIS IS SOMETHING THAT WAS WORKED VERY HARD

J 117 いずれそういう 兵器を我々は必ずや見つけると思います。

E 118 AT, CONCEALING WEAPONS FOR MANY MANY YEARS. NOW THAT WE HAVE

J 118 わたしたちは、しかしながら、サダム・フセイン政権というのは、何年間も

E 119 SOME OF THE SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS WHO WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THEM IN

J 119 こうした兵器を隠匿するために、本当に努力をし

E 120 CUSTODY, I SUSPECT, WE WILL BE GETTING THEIR HELP TO FIND THEM. BUT I THINK

J 120 できたんですね。でも科学者やエンジニアの人たち、我々拘束して

E 121 AS THE SECRETARY ... THE BOTTOM LINE IS ABSOLUTELY RIGHT. THE PEOPLE

J 121 いる人たちがそれを見つけるのを手伝ってくれると

E 122 OF IRAQ THEMSELVES ARE THE BEST INDICATION OF HOW CORRECT, HOW JUSTIFIED,

J 122 思います。でも、パウエル長官がおっしゃったとおり、イラクの人々を見れば、

E 123 HOW MORAL WAS THE EFFORT TO BRING ABOUT THE END OF THIS REGIME. MY

J 123 我々の作戦が、我々の努力が、どれだけ本当に

E 124 GUESS IS THAT THERE ARE GREAT MANY OTHER PEOPLE AROUND THE WORLD WHO ARE

J 124 正しいものであったかということを証明してくれると思います。彼らの反応を見てもそれが

E 125 WITNESSING WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THE PEOPLE OF IRAQ, AND WOULD WELCOME

J 125 わかるでしょう。また世界中を見て、イラクの人々に

E 126 SIMILAR EFFORTS BEING MADE ON THEIR BEHALF.

J 126 起こったこと、あれを見ますと、自分たちもそういうことをして

E 127

J 127 してもらいたい、と思っている人たちがいると思いますよ。

■ [M]: ロンドンのコバルトさん、新しいアメリカの安全保障戦略のもとで行われたイラクの戦争、圧倒的な力を示したんですけれども、このアメリカの圧倒的な力がですね、今後の、その、国際社会にどのような影響をもたらすというふうにお考えですか？

E 128 [C]: WELL, I THINK THERE ARE POSSIBLY TWO ASPECTS WE ARE CONSIDERING ONE IS THAT

J 128 おそらく、ふたつの ことがあると思います。ひとつは、

E 129 THE USE OF THE AMERICAN MIGHT WAS PUSHED AGAINST SYRIA JUST AFTER THE  
 J 129 アメリカのこの力の行使、  
  
 E 130 WAR FIGHTING IN IRAQ TO MAKE SYRIA'S BEHAVIOR CHANGE. THERE WAS NO USE OF  
 J 130 これはちょうど戦争のあとですね、シリアのほうにも向けられました。シリアの態度をそれで変えさせ  
  
 E 131 FORCE ACTIVELY. NEVERTHELESS, THE THREAT OF THE USE OF FORCE DID UNDOUBTEDLY  
 J 131 ようと、力、武力そのものは使われませんでしたけれども、それを使うかもしれない  
  
 E 132 CHANGE SYRIA'S BEHAVIOR, AND SYRIA, AS FAR AS THE UNITED STATES IS  
 J 132 ということで、それでシリアの態度が変わりました。そして、アメリカ  
  
 E 133 CONCERNED, HAS NOW BECOME A MUCH MORE REASONABLE AND COOPERATIVE  
 J 133 にとってみればですね、シリアはいまでは、もっと、  
  
 E 134 COUNTRY. AND THE OTHER EFFECT IS, IF I COULD TAKE UP ONE'S POINT THAT  
 J 134 協力的な国となりました。もう一つの効果は、  
  
 E 135 FRANK GAFFNEY MADE HERE, I THINK THAT HE SAID THAT A NUMBER OF OTHER  
 J 135 先ほどガフニーさんもおっしゃったと思うんですが、いくつかのほかの  
  
 E 136 NATIONS MIGHT WELCOME THE LIBERATING EFFECT THAT THE UNITED STATES CAMPAIGN  
 J 136 国々、やはりですね、このような解放してくれるアメリカを歓迎するかもしれない。  
  
 E 137 IN IRAQ HAD. NOW THAT MAY BE TRUE, BUT THERE ARE ALSO A NUMBER OF OTHER  
 J 137 イラクでやったようなことを歓迎するかもしれないと。これも本当かもしれませんが、それ  
  
 E 138 COUNTRIES, ANOTHER NUMBER OF REGIMES, THAT MIGHT BE RATHER UNPLEASANT IN  
 J 138 以外の国々、いくつかの政権はもしか  
  
 E 139 THEMSELVES, WHO WOULD BE VERY FRIGHTENED BY THAT TYPE OF OFFER AS IT  
 J 139 したら、その政権そのものはいいい政権ではないかもしれませんが、そのようなかたちで  
  
 E 140 WERE. THEY WOULD FEEL IT WAS THREATENING I THINK WHAT THE UNITED STATES MAY  
 J 140 アメリカがやってくるかもしれないということで、恐れを感じているかもしれません。脅威と  
  
 E 141 SEE AS A LIBERATING INFLUENCE THAT SHOULD BE WELCOMED BY  
 J 141 感じているかもしれません。アメリカが、今後、ま、解放者として

E 142 EVERYBODY, IS CONSIDERED TO BE A MALIGN INFLUENCE BY OTHERS. THEY DON'T  
J 142 すべての人たちから歓迎されるべきだという そのもの、

E 143 NECESSARILY AGREE THAT THE UNITED STATES MODEL IS NECESSARILY THE MODEL  
J 143 と見る人たちもいれば、悪いものだと思われる人たち もいると。アメリカのモデルは、

E 144 FOR THEM.

J 144 必ずしも、自分たちすべての人たちにあてはまるモデルとはいえないと思います。

■ [M]: ワシントンのガブニーさんにもう一回伺いますけれども、今回イラクで、自信を深めたアメリカがですね、今後世界各地で次々と、アメリカが危険だと感じる政権に先制攻撃を行うんじゃないかと、そういう心配が、国際社会の一部にはあるようです。それからいまのように、アメリカが圧倒的に力を見せ続けると、アメリカに対する反感が強まり、かえってそれによって、むしろテロが増えてくるんじゃないかと、そういう懸念も示されているんですが、こういう意見にはどのように反応なさいますか？

E 145 [G]: WELL, JUST TO PICK UP ON COBBOLD'S POINT, I WAS TRYING TO MAKE DISTINCTION,  
J 145 [G]: いま、コボルトさんがおっしゃったことについて、

E 146 I GUESS, BETWEEN PEOPLE WHO ARE REPRESSED BY REGIMES LIKE SADDAM'S  
J 146 ちょっとよろしいですか。わたしは 実際に 抑圧されている人々と

E 147 WHO I THINK WOULD BE QUITE HAPPY TO HAVE OUR HELP IN BRINGING  
J 147 たとえばサダム・フセインのような政権 により、この抑圧されている人たちというのは

E 148 ABOUT THEIR LIBERATION TOO. THERE IS NO GETTING AROUND IT THAT THE  
J 148 やはり解放を求めているであろうと思うんですね。

E 149 REPRESSING REGIMES WOULD BE VERY UNHAPPY ABOUT THAT HELPING MADE AVAILABLE  
J 149 このような、 しかしながら、その彼らを抑圧して

E 150 TO THEM. WILL THERE BE COUNTRIES THAT THE UNITED STATES FINDS  
J 150 いる政権そのものは、我々が来るのは、あまり喜ばないでしょうね。

E 151 THREATENING AND IN A VERY SIMILAR WAY TO THAT OF SADDAM HUSSEIN'S IRAQ, I THINK  
J 151 それから次に、アメリカが危険だと思うような国ですね、サダム・フセインのイラク

E 152 ABSOLUTELY. PRESIDENT BUSH HAS MADE VERY CLEAR THAT THERE ARE TWO OTHER  
J 152 のようなそういう国に対しては、 また攻撃をするのかと。

E 153 COUNTRIES THAT HE REGARDS AS MEMBERS OF THE AXIS OF EVIL, NORTH KOREA  
J 153 ま、 ブッシュ大統領は、あと二つあるとおっしゃいましたね。あの、いわば、

E 154 AND IRAN. RECENTLY, AS THERE'RE MORE SAYING SYRIA HAS BEEN PUT ON NOTICE  
J 154 悪の枢軸の国です。 北朝鮮と イランです。 で、 シリアもいま警告を

E 156 THAT ITS CONDUCT IS DEEMED TO BE UNHELPFUL AT LEAST IN IRAQ AND  
J 156 出されました。 行動を改めなければ、 というような

E 157 POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS. WHETHER WE WILL BE ABLE TO EFFECT CHANGES IN THE  
J 157 警鐘が なされているわけですが、 そういうような国々に対して、

E 158 BEHAVIOR OF THESE GOVERNMENTS, AND IDEALLY FROM MY POINT OF VIEW, CHANGES  
J 158 その行動を 変えさせるために、 影響を与えることが

E 159 IN THE REGIMES THEMSELVES WITHOUT THE USE OF FORCE REMAINS TO BE SEEN BUT  
J 159 出来るかどうかということ、 わたくしの見解から言いますと、 我々武力行使をしなくても、

E 160 I THINK WE ARE IN THE STRONGER POSITION TO DO THAT TODAY. AND WHILE PEOPLE  
J 160 その、 政権が変わっていくというのは、

E 161 MAY NOT UNIVERSALLY APPLAUD US, I THINK THE MORE THEY SEE OF THE HOPE AND THE  
J 161 これは いまでは人々は そういう可能性が強くなって

E 162 FREEDOM AND THE OPPORTUNITIES THAT THE PEOPLE OF IRAQ WILL HAVE, HOPE AND  
J 162 きていると思います。 わたしたちと、全員が 同意するかどうかは

E 163 FREEDOM AND OPPORTUNITY I HOPE THEY WILL HAVE WITH THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLOIT  
J 163 わかりませんが、 しかし、イラクの人達には いま希望や機会が もっとあると。

E 164 THEMSELVES, THE MORE I THINK WE WILL FIND AMERICAN STANDING IN THE  
J 164 もっと自分たちを 活用して、そして より良い生活を作っていくような、

E 165 WORLD BROADLY SUPPORTED, AND THE APPRECIATION THAT IT IS ON THE RIGHT SIDE  
J 165 そういう機会があるわけです。で、 アメリカのそういうようなスタンスに関しては、

E 166 IN TRYING TO RESIST THESE DANGEROUS REGIMES.  
J 166 幅広く支持を受けていると思います。 こうした危険な政府に対して抵抗しようという

E 167

J 167 動きです。

■ [M]: コボルトさん、いまのワシントンのガフニーさんの指摘を受けてですね、国際社会は、アメリカと今後どのように向き合う、付き合っていきたいとお考えですか？

E 168 [C]: WELL, I THINK THERE IS ONE MODEL THAT THE BRITISH USE. AND THAT IS

J 168 [C]: ひとつの、 イギリスが使っている

E 169 BECAUSE THEY BROADLY SUPPORT THE UNITED STATES' AIMS TO GET AS CLOSE

J 169 モデルがあると思います。 これはイギリスを、イギリスはアメリカの目的を支持して、

E 170 TO THE UNITED STATES AS THEY CAN AND INFLUENCE THE DETAILS AND

J 170 そして、できるだけアメリカに近づこうとしてるからというところもあるんですが、そして、さま

E 171 SOMETIMES THE BROAD STRATEGY OF THE UNITED STATES FROM A POSITION OF CLOSE

J 171 ざまな面で影響を及ぼそうと、 場合によっては 幅広い戦略にも 影響を及ぼそうと、

E 172 ALLIANCE. I THINK THAT IS PROBABLY THE MOST CONSTRUCTIVE WAY OF DOING IT.

J 172 同盟関係に基づいて 及ぼそうとしている ということがある からだと思いますけれども。

E 173 OTHERWISE I THINK THAT COUNTRIES GOT TO HAVE REGIONAL ALLIANCES, WHICH CAN

J 173 これは建設的なアプローチだと思います。 そうでなければ、 地域的な

E 174 HAVE SOME INFLUENCE ON THE UNITED STATES BECAUSE OF THE COLLECTIVE

J 174 同盟をそれぞれの国が持っていて、それが、 アメリカに対して影響を及ぼすことができると

E 175 STRENGTH. I THINK THERE IS STILL, I WOULD SAY, A DANGER IN WHAT FRANK

J 175 思います。 力を合わせて、影響を及ぼすわけですね。 そうはいいましても、ここにひとつ危険が

E 176 GAFFNEY SAID THAT THERE ARE PEOPLE, FOR EXAMPLE, WHO THINK THAT THE UNITED

J 176 あると思います。 ま、ガフニーさんがおっしゃったことの中に危険があります。 たとえば、

E 177 STATES IS NOT A NICE ORGANIZATION. THEY THINK IT IS AN ORGANIZATION THAT IS

J 177 アメリカは いい国ではないと考えている人もいるわけですね。

E 178 THREATENING TO THEM AND THEY WOULD LIKE TO CHANGE THE UNITED STATES' WAY

J 178 大変脅威を及ぼすものであると考える人もいる、と。 ですから、



E 179 OF BEHAVIOR OR INDEED HAVE A REGIME CHANGED IN THE UNITED STATES. I'M NOT

J 179 アメリカを、 変えて、そして そこで 政権交代をしてほしいと考えて

E 180 ONE OF THOSE PEOPLE BUT THEY DO EXIST. AND I THINK THAT GOING TOO WILDLY

J 180 いる人もいるわけですね。わたし自身はそうではありませんが、そういう人もいます。

E 181 TO CHANGE REGIMES EXCEPT AS A LAST RESORT DOES SET A PRECEDENT THAT

J 181 ですから、あまりにもあちこちの政権を 替える、これを最後の手段以外で

E 182 MAY COME BACK AND TO BITE THE UNITED STATES VERY NASTILY IN THE FUTURE.

J 182 やろうと してしまいますと、これはもしかしたらアメリカに対して、 悪影響を及ぼす、

E 183

J 183 アメリカがかえって噛みつかれるような、そういう前例をつくることにもなりかねません。

■ [M]: みなさん、どうもありがとうございました。