Proper Names in the Media: Problems for Translators/Interpreters and L2 Learners

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This paper seeks to identify the nature of problems that proper names pose for translators/interpreters and L2 learners. First, I examine some grammatical traits of proper names as they appear in the media. Then, drawing in particular on Hirsch (1987, 1993) and the results of a small survey, I discuss the problems of proper names from a schema-theoretical viewpoint. Specifically, the discussion includes two types of knowledge regarding proper names, the nature of schemata associated with names, and the range of names that translators/ interpreters and L2 learners need to deal with. Finally, I distinguish the types of strategies that are relevant to both translators/interpreters and L2 learners and L2 learners.

1. Introduction

Proper names, which can be discussed in the framework of cultural literacy, pose unique difficulties in the comprehension of culture-specific texts, whether written or spoken. The lack of appropriate schemata for the referent of a name deprives the reader or listener of presupposed extratextual clues to the text. At the phonetic level, unfamiliar names can be problematic to interpreters, who have to store the names in their short-term memory and recode them in a target language. The knowledge of proper names represents an important aspect of cultural literacy in the sense that names often serve as signposts of a specific culture. Mizuno (BS interpreters group 1998) discusses the importance of cultural literacy in broadcast interpreting, stating that cultural literacy presents the greatest challenge for broadcast interpreters. Fostering cross-cultural awareness has also been regarded as increasingly important in teaching English in Japan. However, traditional English classes in Japan have

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not paid much attention to proper names. At the junior and senior high school levels, culture-specific names are carefully glossed so that they will not present any problems in the comprehension of the text. Vocabulary quizzes also tend to exclude proper names. Therefore, proper names are rarely the focus of the learner's attention. Only at the university level are students increasingly exposed to unsimplified texts in which culture-specific proper names figure more prominently.

The issue of proper names and cultural literacy may concern advanced learners of English and professional translators/interpreters to a greater degree as they deal with unsimplified, culture-specific materials such as news reports. Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad, & Finegan (1999: 15) point out that "since newspaper articles are intended to provide current information about important people and events, they commonly use proper nouns referring to known people, places, or institutions".

The nature of the problems experienced by translators/interpreters and L2 learners may be different, however. This paper attempts to identify some problems that are common to both translators/interpreters and L2 learners, and others that are specific to translators and interpreters. First, I examine some grammatical traits of proper names as they are used in the media. Second, from a schema-theoretic perspective, I discuss implications of Hirsch (1987, 1993) and the results of a small survey. Specifically, the discussion includes two types of knowledge regarding proper names, the nature of schemata required to deal with names, and the range of names that the professional translator/interpreter and the learner need to know. Finally, I classify the general types of strategies that are relevant to the translator/interpreter and the learner.

Specific interpreter training techniques such as shadowing and sight translation have been increasingly explored in the classroom. While the nature of the problems facing the translator/ interpreter and the learner may differ significantly, the way in which the issue of cultural literacy is handled by translators/interpreters may also provide useful hints for improving the learner's cultural competence.

2. Grammatical traits of proper names

2.1 Proper nouns and proper names

A proper noun is a single word whereas a proper name can be either a single word or more than one word (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik 1985: 288). Since this paper deals with the problems presented by the names of people, places, organizations, etc., which are in many cases composed of more than one word, the term *proper name* will be used throughout the paper. Another reason for using this term is that names often occur in the form of verbs and adjectives as I will illustrate in Section 2. 4.

2.2 Proper names behaving like common nouns

Proper names generally lack number contrast, article contrast, and modification. However, there are occasions when they take on the characteristics of common nouns (Quirk et al. 1985: 288-291), as in the following examples:

(a) number contrast.

(1) Christopher had derided the idea of safe havens, telling French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe, "Wouldn't we be creating *six Dienbienphus*? (*Newsweek*, May 31, 1993)

The plural form of the proper name *Dienbienphu* here means situations like *Dienbienphu*. The metaphorical use of a name as in this instance presupposes that the listener can call up relevant associations (see also Example (4)).

(b) article contrast

(2) *An America* responsible for removing Saddam would be *an America* expected to bear some responsibility for the post-Saddam shape of Iraq; a task whose dimension (and popularity with the American public) would make Haiti look like a picnic. (*Newsweek*, October 17, 1994)

The use of a determiner with restrictive modification occurs when a particular aspect of the referent of the name is described (Quirk et al. 1985: 290).

(c) modification

(3) As chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the administration of *Bush* "41," General Powell was an avatar of restraint, cooling off policymakers who believed that armed intervention could be cheap or easy. Moderates have been counting on Powell to rein in *Bush* "43's" hard-chargers, too. (*Newsweek*, March 6, 2002)

Here, the reader needs to use his or her world knowledge to figure out what the modifying numbers 41 and 43 stand for.

(4) Suppose Ross Perot won 75 seats in the U.S. House of Representatives. And suppose *some latter-day Jefferson Davis*, intent upon splitting up the country, won another 75 seats. (*Newsweek*, November 8, 1993)

In this passage, the reader is expected to recall the relevant property of Jefferson Davis.

2.3 Common nouns behaving like proper names

Sometimes common nouns are capitalized and take on unique denotation. In that case, they can be classified as proper nouns or proper names. Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik (1972: 164) state that "the difference between an ordinary common noun and a common noun turned name is that the unique reference of the name has been institutionalized, as is made overt in writing by initial capital letter". Let us look at two examples:

(5) Hopes for peace in northern Ireland are higher than at any time since "*the Troubles*" broke out in 1969, but the IRA's Aug. 31 ceasefire is only one half of the equation. (*Newsweek*, September 19, 1994)

The use of quotation marks here signals the idea of 'what is called', and therefore indicates that the name, which refers to the political disorder and violence in Northern Ireland, has not yet been fully institutionalized. The following instance demonstrates a similar phenomenon, but the knowledge of the name is shared by members of a much smaller discourse community:

(6) The last news is that if the road is built, it will take the form of a tunnel under Barnes and the exit will be in Rocks Lane. This exit arrives just before '*the Tree*' and therefore the area will still be erased. (a music magazine)

In this instance, the knowledge of '*the Tree*' is shared only by the readers of the fan club magazine. It is assumed that the readers know that '*the Tree*' refers to the tree into which the musician in question crashed and was killed. Thus, the difficulty in dealing with proper names concerns not only to what degree a name is institutionalized, but also for what kind of discourse community it is institutionalized. In other words, the learner/translator is likely to experience difficulty if s/he is not familiar with the community in which the name is uniquely used.

A distinct problem may arise in listening when a name consists of common nouns and adjectives. In such cases, in the absence of any orthographical cues (i.e. the capitalized letter of each of the constituent words) the listener may ascribe a common-word interpretation to the name. For instance, 'The Damned' (the name of a rock band) may be misinterpreted as 'the damned' if the listener is not familiar with the name. Likewise, to the viewer who missed the preceding part of the program, the following exchange may be difficult to understand:

(7)KING: So a *House Party* couldn't succeed today?

LINKLETTER: I don't think so. And don't forget, my *House Party* was about one-tenth stars, and the rest was in the audience. Nobody does that. I just walk out in the audience and make up a show. (*Larry King Live*, July 26, 2002)

This example also demonstrates the importance of context in the recognition of a proper name. The guest's response here provides a clue, but it is made clear earlier in the program that *House Party* is the name of a TV show.

2.4 Proper names used as adjectives and verbs.

If we assume that the major difficulty which proper names cause the learner has to do with the background knowledge associated with the names, then it is necessary to include in our consideration the adjectives and verbs derived from proper names as in the following examples:

(8) The caution, however, has a difficult time standing up against the *Faustian* power of the new drubs. (*Newsweek*, February 7, 1994)

(9) If he ends up being *Carterized* - rendered politically impotent - he has mostly himself to blame. (*Newsweek*, August 22, 1994)

Carter and McCarthy (1995) point out that morphological creativity is commonly observed not only in journalism but also in everyday talk. The above examples show that this is also true with proper names. A name can generate a new form functioning as a different part of speech, but such an improvised form may be short-lived and is often used for one specific occasion as in Example (9). The following example involves the coinage of a new name:

(10) "She's, uh, she's Polynesian. Well, half Polynesian. And, uh, half American. She's *Amnesian*." (The film, *Dave*)

This is a result of a play on words and the nonce form is not likely to be used in any other situation. However, some coined words like *Reaganomics* take root and find their way into dictionaries.

2.5 Proper names in acronyms and initialisms

Some proper names appear in the form of acronyms and initialisms. Both acronyms (e.g. *TOEFL* for *The Test of English as a Foreign Language*) and initialisms (e.g. *CDC* for *The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention*) are formed from the initial letters of a group of words in a

name, but the latter are not pronounced as words. Abbreviated names may add extra difficulty for the reader/listener if they represent more than one referent (e.g. *FRB* for both *The Federal Reserve Board* and *The Federal Reserve Bank*).

3. A schematic view of the knowledge of proper names

In the previous section, I discussed some grammatical properties of proper names. However, the unique difficulty that culture-specific names cause the reader or listener arises not so much from the forms they take as from the lack of real world knowledge associated with the names. This requires a schematic view of the knowledge of proper names. The now widely accepted interactive model holds that the comprehension of a text requires both bottom-up and top-down processing simultaneously (Carrell & Eisterhold 1988, Nassaji 2002). Bottom-up processing is often characterized as data-driven or text driven, while top-down processing as conceptually driven or reader-driven (Rumelhart 1980, Omaggio 1986, Carrell & Eisterhold 1988, Barnett 1989). A distinction is often made between formal schemata, which include the knowledge of rhetorical and discourse structures of different types of texts, and content schemata, which concern the knowledge of the world. The knowledge of a proper name here is regarded as one type of content schema which consists of a network of associations.

Schema theory posits that no text carries meaning in itself but only provides direction for readers/listeners so that they can make sense of it based on their schemata (Omaggio 1986, Carrell & Eisterhold 1988). The reader is viewed as an active participant and all of his or her knowledge and previous experience play a major role in the comprehension of the text (Barnett 1989: 33). When processing language, the reader/listener must "actively select the most appropriate schemata for making sense of the incoming words" (Hirsch 1987: 53). In the context of teaching English as a foreign language, this means, as Ovando and Collier (1985: 138) suggest, that the teacher needs to be aware of the differences in cultural schemata of the students and those presupposed by the text. For translators and interpreters, this means bridging the gap in cultural schemata for the target readers or audiences.

Thus the relevant knowledge we bring to bear on the task of understanding a text is essential. However, the lack of schemata for proper names may cause additional difficulties in comprehending spoken messages. In a written text, the reader at least has orthographical clues to a proper name because the initial letter of each word in the name is capitalized. However, in spoken discourse there are no such cues and therefore the listener may even fail to recognize it as a name. In such cases, the listener may mishear it as some common word(s) s/he knows (cf. Section 2.3). Under real-time pressure, this may be costly in terms of processing effort even if the listener realizes his or her mistake seconds later. The problem is

even more complicated for interpreters, who have to recode the name in the target language. Even when simple transliteration is required, a lack of schemata may affect their capacity to retain the name in their short-term memory (Rumelhart 1980). In the absence of orthographical clues such as spelling, they may also run the risk of mispronouncing the name (Quini 1993), or worse, fail to realize that there is a set conventional translation for the name in the target language.

3.1 Two types of knowledge regarding proper names

I would like to draw upon Bachman and Palmer's (1996) model of language use in pointing out two aspects of knowledge that need to be examined. In this model, they recognize topical knowledge as an essential component of language use. If we have sufficient factual knowledge regarding the topic of a text, it facilitates top-down processing of the text. In other words, we need to possess some degree of factual knowledge about the referent of a name when it is the topic of the text. Another component deemed essential in this model is sociolinguistic knowledge. Bachman (1990) specifically includes in this domain the knowledge of cultural references and the figurative use of language. The reader/listener needs this type of knowledge to make sense of allusions to culture-specific names.

To illustrate, let us compare the following pair of sentences with a similar pragmatic meaning. The first sentence includes the common noun *hermit*, whereas the second sentence replaces it with the name *Greta Garbo*:

- (11) (a) Jacqueline Kennedy was like *a hermit*.
 - (b) Jacqueline Kennedy was like Greta Garbo.

Allerton (1987) points out that "whereas common nouns seem to have a lexical meaning or sense, through which we can identify previously unfamiliar specimens, proper nouns serve principally to label or identify individuals". Thus *The Random House Unabridged Dictionary*, Second Edition, defines the word *hermit* as "any person living in seclusion; recluse", while providing the following information for the name *Greta Garbo*: "1905-90, U. S. film actress, born in Sweden". This description does not help listeners or readers to make sense of the sentence. What they need to know is the type of information included in the following description:

a US film actress, born in Sweden, who suddenly stopped making films in 1941 when she was still extremely popular, and became a RECLUSE (=someone who lives on their own and does not want to see other people). She was known for her beauty and for saying 'I

want to be alone'. Her films include Queen Christina (1933), Anna Karenina (1935), and Camille (1936). (*Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture*, Second Edition)

This information helps the reader make necessary connections to make sense of the allusion in Sentence (b). However, this type of real world knowledge is usually not included in language dictionaries. Some dictionaries enter adjectives derived from proper names but not the names themselves (Urdang 1996). This situation can cause learners/translators great inconvenience and frustration. The problem derives from the fact that they are not exposed to culture-specific proper names first-hand. Therefore, they have no schemata associated with the names.

3.2 The nature of an essential schema

The question which arises here is: How can one possibly acquire extensive schemata on culture specific names. Brumfit (1984: 29) explains the extensive nature of our associations as follows:

There is no limit to the possible range of extensions, associations and therefore meanings that may develop for any lexical item, because, as human beings, we possess the capacity to form associative ties between concepts, and to persuade each other of the value of such associations, so that they become conventionalized for particular groups.

Hirsch (1987: 127), however, makes some interesting observations. He states that "the nature of this world as it exists in the minds of literate adults is typically elementary and incomplete", noting that the associations they share are "extensive but limited". For instance he points out that "literate people know who Falstaff is, that he is fat, likes to eat and drink, but they can't reliably name the Shakespeare plays in which he appears" and that about canaries they share "just a few associations such as yellow, sing, kept in cages, but not much more". Hirsch (1987: 143) also states that "only a few hundred pages of information stand between the literate and the illiterate". This raises an interesting question: Can we learn the information just like we learn new meanings of a word?

Another factor we need to consider is the speed of calling up necessary associations. Hirsch (1987: 59) notes that "the primary associations must be available to us in milliseconds". If we learn culture-specifc names with their primary traits and associations, will that information be retrieved quickly enough to be of practical use in communication? Thus, a schema dictates both declarative knowledge and procedural skills. It may be useful here to use the 'maturity' metaphor to describe a schema. If the learner has learned relevant information but cannot deploy it quickly enough, then the learner's schema may be described as 'in the embryonic stage' or 'not in the operational stage'.

3.3 The range of names that the learner and the translator/interpreter need to know

In terms of what a literate person needs to know, Hirsch (1987: 143) states:

Each of us shares an immense amount of information with small circles of intimates and cospecialists, and the smaller the circle, the greater the amount shared. But what we share with the very large circle of literate persons throughout the nation cannot be huge.

On this assumption, Hirsch (1993) compiled a dictionary titled *The Dictionary of Cultural Literacy, Second Edition*. Critically, however, the dictionary does not enter names and events in the fields of sports and entertainment because they are not of lasting significance. This calls into question the adequacy of using the dictionary as the yardstick for the judgment of what names the learner/translator needs to know (Mizuno/BS interpreters group 1998). Learners at any proficiency level talk about sports and entertainment. It is obvious that names in these fields abound in the media.

However, the dictionary may potentially serve as more than just a reference book. We may, for instance, consider the possibility of memorizing the information provided in the dictionary. Hirsch (1987: 130), in fact, states that "school can play a central role in conveying shared information". However, one might ask: Can the learner bear the monotony of such a task?; What about the quality of the learner's schemata thus developed? There may well be a qualitative difference between such schemata and the native speakers' schemata developed as a result of first-hand exposure to the referents. For instance, in Example (11), the use of a recluse for Greta Garbo may sacrifice some subtle meaning. The name Greta Garbo carries with it further, albeit less significant, information as to what type of recluse she was.

Even more fundamental questions may be asked: Is the learner only interested in American culture? If the learner is interested in another culture as well, does this mean that s/he has to memorize about twice as many items? Generally, the names we encounter may be classified into the following groups (cf. Mizuno/BS interpreters group 1998):

- Group 1: Names known in limited discourse communities
 - e.g. Teenage Dream (the name of a song), Woodridge Road, Mr. so and so
- Group 2: Names known within the culture of one nation
 - e.g. Mister Rogers, Capitol Hill, Geritol
- Group 3: Names known across cultures
 - e.g. the Earth, Beethoven, Australia

Names in Group 1 are known within small groups of people or intimate circles. They need to be addressed only when we anticipate reading/listening to materials related to them. Names in Group 3 are not likely to cause much difficulty because we already know much about them. The names that are probably the most problematic are those in Group 2. They are not part of our prior experience and therefore we do not possess any schemata associated with them (Carrell & Eisterhold 1983, Carrell 1988). However, the names are familiar to native speakers and they occur abundantly in conversations and in the media. It should be noted here that the boundaries between the three groups are not clear-cut, and the status of any name can fluctuate with time.

In terms of the range of names that translators/interpreters and L2 learners need to know, learners may target the discourse communities and cultures they are interested in. On the other hand, translators/interpreters do not have this choice. They must be ready for all the names they encounter. This, however, does not mean that they need to know all kinds of culture-specific names. Strategies to deal with unfamiliar names may be even more important (See Section 5).

4. The results of a preliminary survey

The results of a small survey (1994, unpublished study) asking 14 native speakers of English about 24 proper names demonstrated the culture-specific nature of proper names. The names in the questionnaire were chosen from my data consisting of proper names actually encountered in the media. The participants included 5 British and 5 Americans who had lived in their respective countries most of their lives. The four other respondents had lived in more than one country for an extended period of time. Of the 24 items in the questionnaire, there were 5 names that all the British participants knew. However, four of the 5 Americans knew none of the names.

Of the 24 items in the questionnaire, there were 13 names that all the Americans knew. Interestingly, however, Hirsch's (1993) dictionary enters only two of them. Similarly, of 6 items that four of the Americans knew, only two names are listed in the dictionary. Hirsch states that any item must have lasting significance. Hirsch (1993: x) "arbitrarily chose a memory span of fifteen years" as the basis for that judgment. However, the names not found in the dictionary actually occur in the media, however ephemeral they may be. The results of the survey supports Mizuno's (BS interpreters group 1998) observation that cultural knowledge required for broadcast interpreters is diverse and far more extensive than those items covered in Hirsch (1993). A question also arises as to whether a distinction is necessary between cultural literacy and cultural knowledge as we deal with proper names in the media.

5. Strategies relevant to translators/interpreters and language learners

Pragmatic, extralinguistic knowledge involving proper names is a formidable issue for both translators/interpreters and learners. The results of the survey just mentioned suggest that translators/interpreters who deal with more than one culture may indeed need to know more than native speakers. In this respect, they are in a different position from learners who may need to pursue only knowledge in the areas they are interested in.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to examine specific strategies to deal with unfamiliar names. However, I would like to suggest that we need to distinguish two types of strategies: decoding strategies and encoding strategies.

5.1 Decoding strategies

The decoding strategies refer to both recognizing a proper name and gaining knowledge about the referent. They may be further classified into proactive (preemptive) and reactive strategies. Proactive strategies are possible if one can anticipate the topic of the text in advance. For instance, based on the topic, one can research the names that one may encounter. Conference interpreters are usually informed of the topic of the conference in advance and therefore need to do research on that topic. This usually includes names of people, organizations, etc.

Reactive strategies are employed when one has actually encountered an unfamiliar name. They include, for example, guessing from the context and the use of dictionaries and the Internet. For learners of English, reactive strategies may be more important than proactive strategies. On the other hand, in the case of simultaneous interpreting, the resources may be considerably limited because of time constraints.

5.2 Encoding strategies

Encoding strategies uniquely concern translators/interpreters, whose work it is to transfer messages into a target language. When dealing with proper names, the general principles of effectiveness and efficiency proposed by Hatim and Mason (1990, for a brief discussion, see Hanaoka 2000) need to be observed. Hatim (2001: 103-104) states:

Within Relevance Theory, whether to opt for translation or transliteration is a matter to be settled in the light of processing factors such as 'cost and benefit' associated with the principle of 'relevance': Is it rewarding for the reader to learn that a particular name carries given connotations?

Specifically, at least the following three factors need to be considered.

(1) The culture-specificity of the name

Translators/Interpreters need to decide how familiar the name may be to the reader/listener. Their assessment of the readers/listeners' knowledge state may be a crucial factor in their choice of translation strategies. In the classification of names suggested in Section 3. 3, names in Group 2 are the most problematic. It may at times be difficult to decide how much cultural knowledge the target audience may already possess. The name *C-SPAN* in the following excerpt illustrates the point:

(12)

MARGARET WARNER: As I sit in my office trying to -- watching it on *C-SPAN*, it's hard to understand what's in a lot of these amendments, and I particularly wanted to know whether the president's proposals, the ones that he made yesterday, for instance creating this new task force, doubling the penalties for wire fraud and mail fraud, have those passed?

SEN. TOM DASCHLE: They have passed. That's correct. They passed this afternoon. They were part of the so-called *Leahy Amendment*. *The Leahy Amendment* has about seven or eight provisions, and the president's proposals included three of those seven provisions. So we passed those. We passed *the Leahy Amendment*, which sets up a new securities fraud law that now allows the Justice Department and the SEC to clearly define what is right and what is wrong with regard to securities law and not have to use the mail fraud laws that we've had in years past. So this will also clarify just how the enforcement mechanism can be used in the future. (The PBS *NewsHour with Jim Lehrer*, July 10, 2002)

The knowledge of the name *C-SPAN* is presupposed in the discourse, but it is questionable whether the average Japanese viewer is familiar with the name. With technological advances such as the advent of communication satellites, however, it is possible that some names that were virtually unknown a year ago may be quite common now.

(2) Topical knowledge/figurative knowledge

I suggested in Section 3.1 that the knowledge of names involves two types of knowledge, i.e. topical and figurative knowledge. Strategies for an unfamiliar name that requires topical knowledge include addition or explication of extratextual factual information. For instance, in Example (3), *Bush* "41" was rendered in the Japanese edition as *Chichioya no George Bush*. On the other hand, the figurative use of a name as in Examples (1) and (4) may require the explicitation of the figurative meaning (for a discussion of metaphor translation, see Hanaoka 2001).

(3) Relationship to macro/micro-structure

If the referent of a name is the topic of a discourse and thus is part of the macro-structure of the discourse, then the name should be deemed essential. For instance, the *Leahy Amendment* in the above excerpt is the topic of the discourse and therefore an important lexical item. Compared with *the Leahy Amendment*, *C-SPAN* occurs lower in the text structure and therefore can be regarded as less essential and therefore may be more susceptible to simplification strategies.

6. Concluding remarks

the problems that proper This paper has addressed names pose for translators/interpreters and L2 learners. First, the examination of proper names as they appear in the media demonstrates their grammatical flexibility and morphological creativity. Secondly, from a schematic viewpoint, I argued that we need to address two types of knowledge regarding proper names, i.e. topical knowledge and figurative knowledge. While the former refers to factual knowledge which provides the reader with contextual clues, the latter helps the reader access the appropriate associative meaning of a particular use of a name. I also pointed out that the schemata need to be 'mature' so that the relevant associations can be retrieved quickly enough to meet the demands of real-time communication. With regard to the range of names that translators/interpreters and L2 learners need to know, learners can target the discourse communities and cultures according to their interests. However, translators/interpreters do not have this choice. They must be ready for all the names that they encounter in any text. The results of a small survey confirm the culture-specificity of proper names and suggest that the cultural knowledge required for translators/interpreters is diverse and far more extensive than those items covered in Hirsch (1993).

I also classified the general types of strategies that are relevant to translators/interpreters and L2 learners. While both translators/interpreters and L2 learners need to address decoding strategies, encoding strategies uniquely concern translators/interpreters, who need to encode names in a target language. I pointed out three specific factors involved in encoding strategies: the culture-specificity of a name, the figurative/non-figurative use, and the relationship of the name to the macro/ micro-structure of the text. There are some important pedagogical implications for L2 learners. For instance, proactive strategies such as doing research on an anticipated theme are typically used by interpreters. These are effective strategies that L2 learners can use to build their vocabularies including the knowledge of proper names. They may also learn from the reactive strategies that translators/interpreters employ upon encountering unfamiliar names. Although encoding strategies do not concern L2 learners directly, the underlying principles may also have important implications for the comprehension strategies of L2 learners. Thus, future research should explore the pedagogical applications for L2 learners of both the decoding and encoding strategies used by interpreters and translators.

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