

On the universality of frames

Evidence from English-to-Japanese translation*

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This paper investigates the cross-linguistic applicability of the concept of *frame* as developed in the Berkeley FrameNet project. We examine whether the frames created for the annotation of English texts can also function as a tool for the assessment of the accuracy of English-to-Japanese translations. If the semantic structure of a source text is analyzed in terms of the frames evoked by its constituent words and the ways in which the elements of those frames are realized, then those frames, their constituent elements, and their interconnections must somehow be present in the translation. The paper concentrates on passages involving causation, as causal relationships are considered by many to exhibit the most salient differences in rhetorical preference between the two languages.

Keywords: causation, Frame Semantics, FrameNet, noun-centered vs. verb-centered typology, parallel-text corpora, rhetorical structure, topic-worthiness, transitivity, translation assessment

1. Introduction

This paper investigates the cross-linguistic applicability of the concept of *frame* as developed for English in the FrameNet project (Fillmore & Baker 2010; Fillmore et al. 2003). In particular, we will examine whether or not the frames created for

* An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 11th International Pragmatics Conference held in Melbourne, Australia in 2009. The paper was revised to its present form in 2009, but the manuscript was never published until now. In February 2014, one of the authors, Charles J. Fillmore passed away. We hope that this paper, the final collaboration among all the co-authors, retains the Fillmorean wit and wisdom that everyone has come to expect. We are grateful to the following individuals for valuable discussions on the themes addressed in this paper: Kimi Akita, Hans Boas, Michael Ellsworth, Albert Kong, and Ashlyn Moehle.

the annotation of English texts can also function as an assessment tool for the accuracy of English-to-Japanese translation. The hypothesis to be tested is that if the semantic structure of an original English text is carefully analyzed in terms of the frames evoked by its constituent words and the ways in which the elements of those frames are realized, such frames and frame elements, as well as their interconnections, must somehow be shared by the translation.¹

FrameNet is an online lexical resource based on the principles of *Frame Semantics* (Fillmore 1982, 1985, 1994; Fillmore & Atkins 1992). A *frame* is a schematic understanding of types of events, situations, individuals, and things, including the participants, props, parts, and their relations to each other and to the larger situation. Words are understood with a particular frame as background, or, in FrameNet terms, words *evoke* frames. The FrameNet database groups words with the same background knowledge into frames, and defines in prose these frames and the parts of the frame (the props, participants, etc.; they are called the *frame elements* in the FrameNet project). For instance, the words *vend*, *sell*, *vendor*, *seller*, *auction*, and *retail* are grouped in the **Commerce_sell** frame (frame names are in the Courier typeface), as they all have as background a commercial transaction and take the point of view of the seller of goods. Note that a single frame may contain both nouns and verbs (or any part of speech).

The frames are arranged in a hierarchy, connected by several types of relationships. The **Commerce_sell** frame is a more specific type of the **Giving** frame,² so it *inherits* features from the **Giving** frame. At the same time, it is a *perspective on* a more general **Commercial_scenario** frame. Another perspective on that general frame is **Commerce_buy**, which includes the words *buy* and *purchase*. Alongside inheritance and perspective, we expect that the relations *causative_of* and *inchoative_of* will play a major role in considering English-to-Japanese translations. To give two examples, **Endangering** (*imperil*, *endanger*) is the causative counterpart of **Being_at_risk** (*safe*, *at risk*), and **Death** (*die*, *pass away*) is the inchoative counterpart of the stative **Dead_or_alive** (*dead*, *deceased*, *alive*,

1. Empirically, the acceptable ranges of translation accuracy vary significantly by the type of text and the initiator's purpose for translating the text (see Hasegawa 2011 for further discussion on this topic). As explained below, we adhere in this paper to scientific texts for which factual accuracy is normally expected.

2. There are many interesting issues to investigate in the cross-linguistic applicability of frames. For example, the verb *give*, the archetypal member of the English **Giving** frame, does not entail a transfer of ownership. That is, *Give it to me* can mean simply 'hand it over to me', where the speaker does not intend to keep the item indefinitely. By contrast, the Japanese verbs *ageru* and *kureru*, which are most commonly used as translational equivalents of *give*, necessarily entail a transfer of ownership. The FrameNet database can serve as a precious resource for this kind of subtle yet significant cross-linguistic difference.

living). We expect frames will aid greatly in establishing relations between word senses in different languages, and in understanding one way in which translations may differ from originals by evoking different, but related, frames.

It is widely agreed that translation must be regarded as an art, not a science (Newmark 1981: 137), and that translations, especially of passages anchored in the author's culture, are bound to lose some meanings due to different expectations and experience on the part of the target-text readers. In order to minimize the effect of cultural differences for our investigation, we have examined a parallel-text corpus consisting of selected passages from the *Scientific American* magazine and their Japanese translations appearing in the *Nikkei Saiensu* magazine. This decision is based on the assumption that scientific writing is a genre in which considerations of factual specificity and conceptual clarity are mandatory, while those of aesthetic elegance and cultural nuances are normally less relevant. Therefore, we expect scientific translations to be a base-line testing ground for the utility of FrameNet tools: if the frames needed for scientific texts turn out not to be cross-linguistically applicable, there will be little reason to expect FrameNet frames to serve as a *tertium comparationis* (i.e. a common platform of comparison) for texts in such areas as esthetics, social structure, religion, or art.

Influenced by common formulations of salient differences between English and Japanese, which will be explained in detail in Section 2, we concentrate on passages involving causation. In short, many Japanese linguists see expressions of causal relationships as a context for one of the most salient differences in rhetorical preference, or perhaps even differences in general cognitive tendencies, between the speakers of English and Japanese.

The organization of this paper is as follows: Section 2 illustrates the rhetorical differences in causal expressions (including transitivity), attempts to reformulate as empirical hypotheses the cognitively deep typological characteristics claimed to differentiate the two languages, and explores ways of testing these hypotheses with data taken from our parallel texts. Section 3 analyzes source-and-translation pairs exhibiting the kinds of differences discussed in Section 2, using descriptive notions developed in FrameNet. Section 4 is devoted to a discussion of our findings and their implications for broader issues in translation.

2. Typological differences in framing causal events

In 1930 Japan, a silent movie entitled *Nani ga kanojo o soo saseta ka* made a sensation and achieved box-office success.

- (1) *Nani ga kanojo o soo saseta ka.*
 what NOM she ACC so made.to.do Q
 ‘What made her do it?’

This success was reportedly due in significant part to its linguistically eccentric title; it used familiar vocabulary and familiar grammatical structure, but it juxtaposed an abstract subject (*nani* ‘what’) to a VP headed by a verb with causative morphology, and that was just not possible in normal Japanese. Even today, after decades of noticeable rhetorical-style changes influenced by English, sentences that pile up abstract nouns, such as (2), continue to sound strange or foreign to Japanese ears.

- (2) *Kono jijitsu no ninshiki ga mondai no kaiketsu ni kooken-suru.*
 this fact GEN awareness NOM problem GEN solution DAT contribution-do
 ‘The recognition of this fact will contribute to the resolution of the problem.’

(Even the denominal verb *kooken-suru* ‘contribute’ permits an analytic gloss as ‘makes a contribution,’ adding another abstract noun.) A more idiomatic formulation of the content intended in (2) would be along the lines of (3).

- (3) *Kore ga wakar.eba, mondai wa zutto kaiketsu-shi.yasuku naru.*
 this NOM if.understand problem TOP much solution-do.easily become
 ‘If we understand this, the problem will become more manageable.’

Many Japanese grammarians have offered descriptions of this type of rhetorical difference between Japanese and English, but their characterizations are sometimes so impressionistic that researchers whose native language is not Japanese find them inscrutable. Among such claims, Ikegami (1988:9) appears to assert that the different ways of encoding are derived from a deep-seated difference in cognition: in Japanese text, “[a]n individuum is not seen in isolation; it is not clearly separated from what it stands contiguous with. It is merely a part of a larger whole, with which it may become merged to the extent of losing its identity.” Adapting Ikegami’s idea, Maynard (1997:172) characterizes the same phenomenon as *scene-orientation* (as in Japanese) vis-à-vis *agent-orientation* (as in English). She contends, “[f]or Japanese people, the scene of an event as a whole assumes the primary focus of attention (in comparison to English, where the agent is the primary focus).”

We find it necessary to examine the phenomena that led to such speculation in less impressionistic ways, in the hope of providing testable hypotheses about differences in rhetorical preferences between the two languages. To this end, we have selected a parallel-text corpus consisting of the first several paragraphs of a number of *Scientific American* articles published between October 2005 and October 2006 and their Japanese translations in the *Nikkei Saiensu* magazine. This corpus

contains 266 English sentences, mostly multi-clausal, accompanied by translations into Japanese created by professional translators and judged to be reflective of idiomatic Japanese.

Let us begin our examination with Seidensticker & Anzai's (1983) claim that English uses transitive constructions with significantly greater frequency than Japanese. We found that 382 English and Japanese clause-pairs agreed in transitivity (i.e. transitive or intransitive in both languages), whereas 119 clause-pairs did not.³ That is, of all the English clauses that were translated fairly straightforwardly into Japanese, approximately 75% maintained their transitivity, but 25% switched it.⁴ Of the 119 unmatched clause-pairs, 99 English transitive clauses were translated into Japanese intransitive clauses, e.g. (4):⁵

- (4) Initially the brain can function normally as it loses dopaminergic neurons.
Doopamin-sadoosei nyuuron ga shooshitsu-shite mo toosho wa
 dopaminergic neuron NOM disappear even initially TOP
seijoo.ni kinoo-suru.
 normally function
 Backtranslation: 'Even if dopaminergic neurons disappear, [the brain] functions normally at first.'

By contrast, only 20 English intransitive clauses were translated into Japanese transitive clauses, e.g. (5):

- (5) Gleevec [a drug] has been a huge clinical success.
Guribekku wa rinshoo no ba de ooki.na seikoo o osameta.
 Gleevec TOP clinical GEN place in huge success ACC accomplished
 Backtranslation: 'Gleevec accomplished a huge success in the area of clinical trials.'

The ratio of "English transitive into Japanese intransitive" vs. "English intransitive into Japanese transitive" is approximately 5:1. Therefore, as Seidensticker & Anzai

3. Categorization between transitive and intransitive was made based on semantic, rather than morphosyntactic, criteria. *Point to*, for example, is morphosyntactically intransitive, but semantically transitive. We used paraphrasability as a diagnostic test. That is, if the predicate can be paraphrased into transitive, e.g. *point to* into *suggest*, we categorized it as transitive. To simplify our analysis, we considered passive clauses to be intransitive, although we are aware that they could be categorized as transitive because, in most cases, two entities are involved.

4. Some clauses are either not translated at all or translated into significantly different constructions. We did not count those cases.

5. Most example sentences are somewhat simplified for expository purposes.

claim, we conclude that transitive clauses are indeed significantly less preferred in Japanese than in English.

The next hypothesis to consider is Ikegami's (1981) typology of *DO-language* (*suru no gengo*) vs. *BECOME-language* (*naru no gengo*). Citing Bloomfield (1933), Ikegami argues that the most favored sentence structure in English is *actor-action*, and, thus, it is a DO-language, where events are described as actions involving actors. Japanese, by contrast, is said by Ikegami to be a BECOME-language, preferring to describe events as a chain of state-changes.

When checking this hypothesis with our parallel texts, we could not simply count transitive and intransitive clauses and assign them respectively to the DO-type and the BECOME-type descriptions. Many transitive verbs in English indicate states (e.g. *have, entail, know, represent, suggest*) or non-agentive events (e.g. *experience, fail, lose, reach, complete, undergo*), and many intransitive verbs indicate acts and processes (e.g. *function, pervade, pass through, run, work*). Therefore, we first identified predicates that denote a change of state and then determined whether the depicted situation is given a DO type or BECOME type expression.⁶ The sentences in (6) exemplify the former, and those in (7), the latter.

- (6) I had built a model of a room that was part of my lab. [DO]
Watashi wa kenkyuu.shitsu no naka ni heya no shukushoo-mokei
 I TOP lab GEN inside LOC room GEN miniature-model
o tsukutta.
 ACC made
 Backtranslation: 'I made in my lab a miniature model of the room.'
- (7) The world's population is stabilizing. [BECOME]
Sekai jinkoo wa anteeka-shi.tsutsu-aru.
 world population TOP is-stabilizing
 Backtranslation: 'The world's population is stabilizing.'

The results of sorting clauses under these criteria, summarized in Table 1, do not support Ikegami's hypothesis that English favors the DO-type and Japanese the BECOME-type of description ($\chi^2 = 0.03$, $df = 1$, $p > 0.1$).

Table 1

	English	Japanese
DO	110	104
BECOME	255	248
Total	364	352

6. When the clause in question is negated, we considered the affirmative counterpart.

The reason why there are fewer clauses in Japanese than in English in Table 1 is that some English transitive clauses are translated into *stative* clauses in Japanese, as shown in (8):

- (8) These therapies alleviate symptoms, not causes.
Chiryooahoo wa izure.mo taishoo-ryooahoo _____ de, konponteki.na
 treatment TOP each-one symptomatic-treatment COP fundamental
chiryooahoo de wa nai.
 treatment COP TOP not
 Backtranslation: ‘The therapies are all symptomatic treatments, not
 fundamental ones.’

In (8), the English original uses the transitive VP *alleviate symptoms*, but the Japanese translation is stative, *taishoo-ryooahoo de* ‘are symptomatic treatments’. We discarded Japanese clauses that do not denote any change of state in our analysis.

As shown in Table 1, English does not necessarily use DO-type descriptions significantly more frequently than Japanese does. Regarding this phenomenon, Kondo’s commentary (1986:2, cited by Uchimura 1991:408) is particularly relevant:

“One salient feature of English syntax, although often neglected by native speakers of English (and of other European languages) is a frequent and almost unlimited use of inanimate entities (things, time, space, collectives, abstract concepts etc.) as subjects for verbs that indicate intentional acts. To treat these uses as peripheral to mainstream English constructions fails to reflect an important characteristic of English, especially as viewed from the vantage point of a Japanese speaker.”
 (Translation by Uchimura)

If we take Kondo’s phrase “verbs that indicate intentional acts” as referring to verbs that *can* express an agentive act when occurring with a human subject, as in (9), then, Ikegami’s claim is at least interpretable.

- (9) This lightning-fast channel jumping should permit [DO] cognitive radio systems to transmit voice and data streams at reasonable speeds.
Kono denkaa-sekka.no chiiki-henkoo ni.yotte, onsei ya deeta o
 this lightning-fast channel-jumping by voice and data ACC
shikarubeki sokudo de yaritori dekiru yoo.ni-naru. [BECOME]
 reasonable speed at exchange be.able become
 Backtranslation: ‘By this lightning-fast channel jumping, we will become
able to exchange voice and data at reasonable speeds.’

Of course, the meaning of *permit* in (9) is quite different from a situation of one human being giving another human being permission to do something. By recognizing *permit* as meaning ‘enable’ we can see that ‘X enables Y’ and ‘by X, Y

becomes possible' are two shapings of the same propositional form. The new count reflecting this re-categorization of the DO-type and the BECOME-type of encoding (i.e. if the verb *can* be used to depict an intentional act, the clause is categorized as the DO-type) is shown in Table 2.

Table 2

	English	Japanese
DO (re-categorized)	260	187
BECOME (re-categorized)	104	165
Total	364	352

In Table 2, the ratio of DO to BECOME in English is 2.5:1, whereas in Japanese is 1.1:1. That is, if we re-categorize the predicates in the way explained above, we find that, while Japanese uses DO type and BECOME type equally frequently, English uses more than twice as many DO type descriptions than BECOME type ones. Therefore, Table 2 would support Ikegami's hypothesis ($\chi^2 = 25.56$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.001$). However, this cross-linguistic difference is not likely to impress English speakers, because they do not consider such formally transitive sentences as those in (10) to be agentive:

- (10) a. The popularity of Wi-Fi also brings problems.
 b. The alternative possibility — that living cells or their precursors arrived from space — strikes many people as science fiction.

Because many Japanese transitive verbs necessarily or strongly imply agency (Hasegawa 1996: 60, 70–84), Japanese speakers tend to assume that the same is true with English transitive verbs, and they sometimes even conclude that English speakers conceive the world differently. The “however” that introduces the last sentence in the following excerpt suggests that its author believes that speakers of English have marvelous ways of observing events in the world. That is, the difference is claimed to be cognitive rather than purely linguistic.

“In English, one very commonly attributes actions to inanimate subjects. A telephone, for example, can wake one up; a stone can break a window, etc. However, *the Japanese normally find it difficult to conceive of an inanimate subject as performing or undertaking a conscious act of will or action of its own volition, or instigating a process.*” (Uchimura 1991: 406, emphasis ours)

In English, verbs like *kill* can take such inanimate subjects as *accident*, *earthquake*, *illness*, and *war*, whereas the Japanese counterpart *korosu* cannot.⁷ For example, (11a) is perceived as anomalous, or understood figuratively as an instance of personification; (11b) is the more idiomatic way to describe such events.

- (11) a. *Jishin ga takusan.no hito o koroshita.*
 earthquake NOM many people ACC killed
 ‘The earthquake killed many people.’
 b. *Jishin de takusan.no hito ga shinda.*
 earthquake LOC many people NOM died
 ‘Many people died in the earthquake.’

Therefore, if one equates *kill* with *korosu*, one will conclude that English speakers construe inanimate entities as performing conscious acts. Anthropomorphism gone wild is exciting; a claim that differences are merely matters of lexical meanings and subject selection is boring.

In fact, Ikegami’s contention (1982: 101) seems to be that although the actor in the *actor-action* structure is typically a human, the pattern itself is so strongly preferred that English enables inanimate entities, or even the names of event types, relations, or abstract properties to appear as the sentence subject. In our parallel corpus, the transitive clauses with an inanimate subject number 147 in English and 76 in Japanese.⁸ Furthermore, some inanimate subjects are abstract, i.e. not referring to concrete objects. With intransitive clauses, the Japanese translations have 53 abstract subjects, surpassing 38 in English. By contrast, with transitive clauses, we found 50 abstract subjects in English and only 17 in Japanese ($\chi^2 = 16.895$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.001$). Here, it seems valid to conclude that transitive constructions with inanimate subjects are less favored in Japanese, although the difference in intransitive clauses is not as clear-cut.

Tokieda (1950) proposes yet another typology: *object-centeredness* (*mono chuushin*) vs. *event-centeredness* (*koto chuushin*).⁹ In his analysis, a situation can be described by selecting an entity (typically the actor) as a focus and expressing

7. Regarding agentivity, *korosu* is semantically closer to *murder*. However, *murder* is pragmatically a marked verb, but *korosu* is not.

8. Humans, animals, social organizations, and robots are included in the category of animate subject; natural forces are excluded.

9. An example to support this idea is frequent uses of *koto* ‘thing’ in places where a simple NP would suffice: e.g. *anata ga suki* [you-NOM-like] vs. *anata no koto ga suki* [you-GEN-thing-NOM-like] ‘(I) like you’; *watashi shitteru?* [I-know] vs. *watashi no koto shitteru?* [I-GEN-thing-know] ‘Do (you) know me?’; *watashi o mite!* [I-ACC-look] vs. *watashi no koto o mite!* [I-GEN-thing-ACC-look] ‘Look at me!’

the situation surrounding it (object-centered encoding), or the entire situation can be described without focusing on any particular entity (event-centered encoding). Western languages are said to prefer the former, whereas Japanese is said to favor the latter. Tokieda also claims that speakers of Western languages prefer to perceive the world as objects. This claim seems to imply that the NP *the recognition of this fact* in (2) is heard by the English-speaker as the name of an object, whereas the clause *we understand this* in (3) is heard by the Japanese-speaker as referring to an event. The claim about English-speakers' experience is at best untestable.

Toyama (1987: 10–11) expresses the difference in strictly grammatical terms; he contends that sentences in Western languages are fundamentally noun-centered, e.g. (2), whereas the Japanese language exhibits a strong inclination towards verb-centeredness, e.g. (3).¹⁰ He even considers the noun-centered construction a more adequate medium for careful and objective reasoning.

What exactly is meant by *noun-centered* or *verb-centered* is unclear. Most modern theories of grammar de-emphasize the semantic tendencies that are associated with nouns and verbs. We can interpret Toyama's typology in terms of Langacker's (1987) understanding of the core difference between nouns and verbs. On Langacker's account, nouns pick out *regions*, "set[s] of interconnected entities," where an entity is intended to be "maximally general," including "things, relations, sensations, interrelations, points on a scale, locations in the visual field, etc." (pp. 62–63). Verbs, on the other hand, pick out processes: sets of relations between entities, aligned along a temporal axis and understood or construed by sequentially scanning the relation.

Langacker argues that even nouns derived from verbs (*discussion, contribution, evaporation*, etc.) fit the region vs. process categorization. A process, as a sequence of coordinated relations across time, may be understood as a temporally-delimited region (p. 90): For instance, *explode* in its physical sense denotes a process in which, very roughly, some whole item comes apart due to a great force that pushes fragments of the whole outward. These various parts (the whole, the pieces, the force) and the relations between them (the force acts upon the whole, the pieces come apart and move, etc.) are temporally and conceptually bounded, but this is not profiled by the verb. What the derived noun *explosion* does is to "raise this [bounded] region to the level of explicit concern ..." (p. 90).

Given Langacker's understanding, one way to interpret the claim that English is more noun-centered is that certain events are naturally expressed in English by stating some fact about the event "object." On the other hand, the same situation might be preferentially depicted in Japanese not as a fact about an object, but as

10. The distinction between noun-centered and verb-centered style is observable within a language. For example, noun-centered sentences are more common formal registers of English.

a relation between processes. While the construal of the situation would differ between the two languages, it is reasonable to believe that at some level the same meaning is expressed by both conceptualizations.

It is this meaning (or at least part of this meaning) that can be analyzed by use of FrameNet. Because FrameNet does not consider that the conceptual differences outlined above necessarily rise to a difference in frame-level understanding, a given frame may contain both nouns and verbs (as well as adjectives, prepositions, etc.) that evoke it. This holds not only in the case of support verbs — *we decided* and *we made a decision* are analyzed with the same frame — but in cases of simple NPs evoking a notion that could be expressed with a verb, such as *their discoveries of fossils* and *they discovered fossils*. These two types of phrases certainly have different syntactic functions and, as mentioned above, the NP may participate in additional predications (... *were disputed*), but the VP may not. According to Langacker, they additionally differ in their conceptualization or profiling of the event. Nevertheless, FrameNet recognizes the common semantic content provided by the two phrases and analyzes them in the same frame with the same frame elements. They both contribute to the content of the **Becoming_aware** frame (via *discovery* or *discover*) and the fillers of two of its frame elements, namely **COGNIZER** and **PHENOMENON** (FEs are designated in small-capitals).

Becoming_aware definition: A **COGNIZER** adds some **PHENOMENON** to their model of the world. It is similar to **Coming_to_believe** except the latter generally involves reasoning from evidence.

The upshot is that FrameNet in essence abstracts out certain characteristics idiosyncratic to English and, therefore, can apply to other languages, although some modifications will be occasionally called for. We will demonstrate this possibility shortly.

Those researchers who subscribe to the object (noun) centeredness and event (verb) centeredness typology do not mean that this characterization applies to all sentence types; rather, the distinction applies when some kind of causation is involved. When Situation1 causes Situation2, or when Situation1 results in Situation2, both situations are likely to be expressed by clauses in verb-centered Japanese, but frequently Situation1 is referred to by an abstract NP in noun-centered English. Sentence (12) from our corpus illustrates this type of encoding difference:

- (12) Better diagnosis has made experts aware that Parkinson's disease can attack those younger than 40.

Shindan hoohoo ga shinpo-shita kotoni.yotte, 40-sai.miman demo
diagnosis method NOM advanced NMLZ by 40.below even

paakinson-byoo o hasshoo-suru kotoga wakatte.kita.

Parkinson's disease ACCacquire NMLZ NOM aware.became

Backtranslation: 'Due to the fact that diagnostic methods advanced, we've become aware that even those who are under 40 can have symptoms of Parkinson's disease.'

Capturing this rhetorical difference is not an easy task, requiring a firm grasp of syntactic, semantic, and stylistic differences between the two languages. No automatic translation algorithms have even attempted to deal with it, and it is quite challenging for human novice translators as well. In the following, we will demonstrate how we can analyze and represent the causal relation in (12) in terms of frames developed in FrameNet.

3. Frames as a tool for translation assessment

In this section, we will apply a method for evaluating translation accuracy using FrameNet's frames. But before that, a brief discussion of proposals for translation quality assessment would be useful. House (1997: 1–27) contends that such evaluation presupposes a theory of translation that determines (i) the relationship between a source text and its translation, (ii) the relationship between features of the text and how they are perceived by humans (author, translator, recipients), and (iii) the consequences these relationships have for determining the borders between a translation and other textual operations, e.g. creative transposition of poetry.

House identifies three types of approaches to translation quality assessment: anecdotal, behavioral, and text-based. Anecdotal approaches are based on generalizations offered by professional translators, poets, philologists, philosophers, and other groups of writers; they tend to deny the legitimacy of efforts for deriving general principles for assessing translation quality and instead discuss concrete and random examples of translation problems and suggestions on optimal solutions (see also the discussion on p. 2).

Representing behavioral approaches is Nida's (1964: 166) requirement of *dynamic equivalence*, i.e. the requirement that the relationship between the target-language reader and the target-language message should be substantially the same as that between the source-language reader and the source-language message. Several tests have been proposed along this line of approach, e.g. the Cloze Test for assessing readability,¹¹ elicitation of readers' reaction to several transla-

11. A Cloze Test consists of a text with certain words removed, and examinees are asked to supply them by inferring from context and their linguistic knowledge. Words are deleted from

tion alternatives and equivalence in informativeness. House criticizes behavioral approaches for simplistically equating overall translation quality with degrees of informativeness and intelligibility.

The text-based approaches are divided into several subtypes. We introduce here what House calls *linguistically-oriented approaches*, which are most relevant to our investigation. Reiß (1971) contends that the most important criterion in translation is the text type, which influences all subsequent choices that the translator has to make. There are four types: (i) content-oriented texts, e.g. news, scientific, and technical texts, (ii) form-oriented texts, e.g. literary genres, (iii) conative texts, e.g. advertisements, texts of a persuasive bent, and (iv) audio-media texts, e.g. operas, radio plays. Different rules are needed for each text type for producing or assessing translations. As stated earlier, we are concerned in this work with only content-oriented texts.

Koller (1972) asserts that a comprehensive model for translation quality assessment should consider these three functions: (i) source text criticism concerning transferability into the target language, (ii) translation comparison in which the method used in the production of a particular translation is described, and (iii) evaluation of the translation according to adequacy with respect to the limitation established in (i) that is measured by native speakers' metalinguistic judgments. We consider FrameNet's frames to be a good candidate that can serve partially as the model envisioned by Koller.

3.1 Example 1

Let us examine sentence (12), whose matrix predicate is *make*, evoking the **Causation** frame (frame-evoking elements are shown in all-capitals):¹²

Causation definition: A CAUSE causes an EFFECT. Alternatively, an ACTOR, a participant of a (implicit) CAUSE, may stand in for the CAUSE.

- (13) [Better diagnosis]_{CAUSE} has MADE [experts aware that Parkinson's disease can attack those younger than 40]_{EFFECT}

Better (or rather, *good*) evokes simultaneously the **Desirability** frame and, because it is a comparative adjective, the **Comparison** frame. The entity modified by *better* is the **EVALUEE** (judged as good) and also the **ITEM** being compared. The

the text according to a word-count formula (every n-th word), or selectively depending on the purpose of the test.

12. In this study we are not concerned with tense and aspect.

Comparison frame specifies that the ITEM must be compared against something else (the STANDARD). These two frames are defined below:

Desirability definition: This frame concerns an EVALUEE being judged for its quality, i.e. how much it would probably be liked. In many cases, the EVALUEE is implicitly judged good or bad relative to other instances of its type.

Comparison definition: An ITEM is compared against a STANDARD with respect to some ATTRIBUTE.

The comparative construction in English specifies that in the absence of an explicit mention of the STANDARD (e.g. *than other ones*) one possibility is the Item in an earlier state (e.g. *The house I want is cheaper now*). Putting this together with the Desirability frame, we compositionally understand *better diagnosis* as meaning “diagnosis [techniques] which are better than they were before”. Notice that the idea of something being better than it was before is essentially the same as improvement, which FrameNet analyzes with the Progress frame, and for present purposes we analyze the sentence as involving Progress, defined as:¹³

Progress definition: An ENTITY changes from a PRIOR_STATE to a POST_STATE in a sequence leading to improvement.

Diagnosis is identified as the ENTITY of this frame: BETTER [diagnosis]_{ENTITY}. Thus the CAUSE in this sentence is the progress (improvement) in diagnoses.

Aware evokes the Awareness frame:

Awareness definition: A COGNIZER has a piece of CONTENT in their model of the world. The CONTENT is not necessarily present due to immediate perception, but usually, rather, due to deduction from perceivables.

This results in the following frame-element assignment:

- (14) Better diagnosis has made [experts]_{COGNIZER} AWARE [that Parkinson’s disease can attack those younger than 40]_{CONTENT}

Can evokes the Possibility frame:

Possibility definition: A POSSIBLE_EVENT is deemed to have some probability of occurrence, if some (generally implicit) further CONDITION pertains.

13. In general, interpretation of comparatives where the STANDARD is understood as “than before” requires a notion of state change; hence, in the case of *better* and *older* the notions of improvement and aging, respectively. At present, FrameNet provides an analysis of the pieces (Desirability and Comparison) but not any further interpretation arising from their composition (in this case, Progress). This issue is further discussed in Section 5.

demo paakinson-byoo o hasshoo-suru koto ga wakatte.kita]_{POST_STATE}
 even Parkinson's disease ACC acquire NMLZ NOM aware.became

The **Awareness** frame contains as its evoker *wakaru* 'understand'; the **COGNIZER** frame element is implicit here:

- (19) *Shindan hoohoo ga shinpo-shita koto ni.yotte* [40-sai.miman demo
 diagnosis method NOM advanced NMLZ by 40.below even
paakinson-byoo o hasshoo-suru koto ga]_{CONTENT} *wakatte.kita*
 Parkinson's disease ACC acquire NMLZ NOM aware.became

We then need to consider a major rhetorical difference between English and Japanese, namely the topic-worthiness phenomenon. Other things being equal, the following hierarchy of topic-worthiness is normally followed in Japanese:¹⁴

- (20) Human (first/second person) > Human (third person) > Animate
 Nonhuman > Inanimate

Therefore, when translated into Japanese, sentences like the following, in which a non-human entity is selected as the subject (occupying a more salient syntactic position) and a human is downgraded as the object as exemplified in (21), are likely to be reconstructed in such a way that the human occupies the subject position:

- (21) But nothing prepared me for the curious challenges involved in figuring out what Washington actually looked like.
Shikashi, Washinton ga jissai.ni dono-yoo.na sugata o
 but NOM actually what kind-of appearance ACC
shite-ita ka o suitei-suru to-iu kyoomi-bukai choosen o
 was Q ACC imagine QUOT interesting challenge ACC
hajimeru ni-atari, watashi wa nan.no yobi.chishiki-mo nakatta.
 start at I TOP no preparation there.was.not
 Backtranslation: 'But when I started the interesting challenge of imagining what Washington actually looked like, I had no preparatory knowledge.'

Similarly, in (16), the subject of *attack* is *Parkinson's disease* and the direct object is humans; therefore, we need to paraphrase it along the lines of *those younger than 40 can acquire Parkinson's disease*, which evokes the **Getting_disease** frame:¹⁵

14. Determination of topic-worthiness involves several factors: the natural topic hierarchy of Hawkinson & Hyman (1974), Givón's case hierarchy (1976) and intrinsic topicality hierarchy (Givón 1979), the agency hierarchy of Silverstein (1976) and Comrie (1981), and the topic acceptability scale of Lambrecht (1986).

15. The frames of **Attack** and **Getting_disease** are related, but not closely. **Attack** (in its literal sense) is related via inheritance to **Transitive_action**, and finally to

Getting_disease definition: A VICTIM starts off without the DISEASE, and then comes to suffer from it. If the DISEASE is infectious, then the SOURCE from which the DISEASE is transmitted may be mentioned.

The **Getting_disease** frame includes as its frame evokers (*byooki ni kakaru* ‘contract (a disease)’, (*byooki ni naru* ‘become (sick)’, *kansen-suru* ‘get infected’, *hasshoo-suru* ‘acquire (symptoms)’, etc.

- (22) *Shindan hoofoo ga shinpo-shita koto ni.yotte* [40-sai.miman]_{VICTIM}
 diagnosis method NOM advanced NMLZ by 40.below
demo paakinson-byoo o]_{DISEASE} *hasshoo-suru koto ga wakatte.kita*
 even Parkinson’s disease ACC acquire NMLZ NOM aware.became

As demonstrated, all major frames and frame elements of the original sentence (12) are encoded in its translation; therefore, according to the FrameNet’s frame test, this translation is judged as highly accurate.

3.2 Example 2

The translation of the second example is less straightforward than the first one:

- (23) Developments over the past decade have given new credibility to the idea that Earth’s biosphere could have arisen from an extraterrestrial seed.
Kono 10 nen de kenkyuu ga susunde-kuru to, chikyuu no seibutsu
 this year over research NOM has.progressed as earth GEN life
wa chikyuu.gai no seimei.tai kara hassei-shita to-iu aidea
 TOP earth.outside GEN life.form from emerged QUOT idea
mo hi.genjitsuteki.na o.hanashi to wa ienakunatte-kita.
 also unrealistic story QUOT TOP cannot.say-became
 Backtranslation: ‘As research has progressed over these 10 years, the idea that life on Earth sprang from extraterrestrial organisms can no longer be said to be a fanciful tale.’

The matrix predicate of (23) is *give (new) credibility*, which evokes the Evidence frame:

Objective_influence, which is a perspective on a general frame of Influence. The other perspective on Influence is **Be_influenced**. This is the frame from which **Getting** inherits; **Getting_disease** is a subtype of **Getting**. The metaphorical *attack* in the example sentence describes a situation more general than the literal **Attack** frame does. A full metaphorical analysis of this case will place the English sentence closer to the general **Transitive_action** frame and thereby closer to the evoked Japanese frame of **Getting_disease**.

Evidence definition: The **SUPPORT**, a phenomenon or fact, lends support to a claim or proposed course of action, the **PROPOSITION**, where the **DOMAIN_OF_RELEVANCE** may also be expressed. Some of the words in this frame (e.g. *argue*) are communication words used in a non-communicative, epistemic sense.¹⁶

- (24) [Developments over the past decade]_{SUPPORT} have given new credibility to [the idea that Earth's biosphere could have arisen from an extraterrestrial seed]_{PROPOSITION}

This frame assignment is notable in that neither of the words *give* nor *credibility* evokes the **Evidence** frame. Rather, *credibility* evokes the **Trust** frame, which describes situations in which some source of information is believable (cf. *that idea has no credibility*).

Trust definition: A **COGNIZER** thinks that the **INFORMATION** given by a particular **SOURCE** is correct. The specific **CONTENT** or **TOPIC** of the **INFORMATION** may also be described.

- (25) [Developments over the past decade]_{SOURCE} have given new credibility to [the idea that Earth's biosphere could have arisen from an extraterrestrial seed]_{INFORMATION}

Give is here acting as what FrameNet identifies as a *causative support verb*. As a support verb, it allows a noun's semantic arguments to be expressed as its own arguments. It is a *causative* support because it additionally evokes the **Causation** frame (A **CAUSE** causes an **EFFECT**).¹⁷ In this case, the fact that some information is correct (i.e. *the idea that ...* in (23)) is the **EFFECT**, and the **CAUSE** is the subject of *give*, namely *developments over the past decade*.

- (26) [Developments over the past decade]_{CAUSE} have given new credibility to [the idea that Earth's biosphere could have arisen from an extraterrestrial seed]_{EFFECT}

16. As discussed in Section 2, some Japanese scholars assume that words that are used as communication verbs always express communication even when they occur with an inanimate subject. It is essential to recognize that most such verbs are polysemous and can also be used as epistemic markers without any assumption of a communication agent.

17. The phrase *have credibility* evokes only the **Trust** frame. *Have* is a (non-causative) support verb, allowing the **INFORMATION** frame element to be expressed as its subject: [That idea]_{INFORMATION} has **CREDIBILITY**. In general we find *have*, *get*, and *give* combine with nouns to describe related events: *have an idea*, *get an idea*, *give someone an idea*. Some nouns allow only one or two of these verbs: *have one's revenge*, *get one's revenge*, *??give one's revenge*.

The combination of **Causation** and **Trust** is semantically equivalent to **Evidence**, as described above. We thus analyze the multiword expression *give credibility* as evoking the **Evidence** frame.¹⁸

This complex construction can be realized in Japanese as follows (details will be discussed shortly):

- (27) [X] *wa* [Y] *ni aratana shinpyoosei o ataeta.*
 TOP to new credibility ACC gave
 X = developments over the past decade
 Y = the idea that Earth's biosphere could have arisen from an extraterrestrial
 seed
 'X have given Y new credibility.'

Development as an abstract noun normally evokes the **Progress** frame; however, *developments* (plural) here refers to research results, evoking the **Achieving_first** frame.

Achieving_first definition: A **COGNIZER** introduces a **NEW_IDEA** into society.

Both the **COGNIZER** and **NEW_IDEA** frame elements are null-instantiated.¹⁹ The evokers of this frame include: *coin.v*, *coinage.n*, *discover.v*, *discoverer.n*, *discovery.n*, *invent.v*, *invention.n*, *inventor.n*, *originate.v*, *originator.n*, *pioneer.n*, *pioneer.v*, *pioneering.a*.

Decade evokes the **Calendric_unit** frame:

Calendric_unit definition: Words in this frame name the different parts of the calendric cycle, both man-made and natural. Frame elements include **WHOLE** for the whole of which the target is a part, **RELATIVE_TIME** for locating the time with respect to an identifiable reference point, and **NAME** for the name of the day (month, etc.) of a specially named unit. Words in this frame figure into a variety of temporal schemas, realized as constructions.

18. FrameNet currently does not have the capability to render this sort of complex analysis; either the sentence is analyzed separately in the **Trust** and **Causation** frames, or the multiword expression *give credibility* is placed directly in the **Evidence** frame.

19. A frame element which is conceptually salient may go unexpressed in a sentence (Fillmore et al. 2003). This is called *null instantiation*. It may be licensed by a construction (e.g. imperatives in English allow omission of the subject) or by a lexical item, as in the case of *development*. If the missing frame element is necessarily recoverable from linguistic or extralinguistic context, this is *definite null instantiation*. In contrast, if the filler of the frame element is not recoverable, or need not be located in the context, this is called *indefinite null instantiation*.

- (28) Developments over the [past]_{RELATIVE_TIME} decade have given new credibility to the idea that Earth's biosphere could have arisen from an extraterrestrial seed

Japanese does not have a lexical equivalent of *decade*; therefore, the term must be interpreted as *10 years* and then translated. *The past decade* can be translated straightforwardly as *kako* 'past' *10-nen* '10 years'; however, the translator of this magazine article preferred *kono* 'this/these' *10-nen*.

Japanese words that evoke the **Achieving_first** frame include *hakken(suru)* 'discovery, discover' and *hatsumei(suru)* 'invention, invent'. Thus, "developments over the past decade" can be translated as *kono 10 nen no hakken*:

- (29) *Kono 10 nen no hakken wa [Y] ni aratana shinpyoosei o ataeta*
 this year GEN discovery TOP to new credibility ACC gave
 Y = the idea that Earth's biosphere could have arisen from an extraterrestrial seed
 'Developments over these 10 years have given Y new credibility.'

However, as discussed in Section 2, causative sentences with an abstract subject are highly marked in Japanese. Therefore, the original text is first paraphrased along the lines of (30):

- (30) As research has progressed over these 10 years, the idea that Earth's biosphere could have arisen from an extraterrestrial seed has gained new credibility.

When translated into Japanese, this paraphrase is still somewhat unnatural because the subject of *gain* is abstract. We, therefore, paraphrase (30) further:

- (31) As research has progressed over these 10 years, the idea that Earth's biosphere could have arisen from an extraterrestrial seed can no longer be said to be a fanciful tale.

This construction can be transferred into Japanese by means of the connective *to* 'as':

- (32) *Kono 10 nen de kenkyuu ga susunde-kuru to, [Z]*
 this year in research NOM has.progressed as
 Z = the idea that Earth's biosphere could have arisen from an extraterrestrial seed can no longer be said to be a fanciful tale
 'As research has progressed over these 10 years, Z.'

Idea evokes the **Opinion** frame:

Opinion definition: A COGNIZER holds a particular OPINION, which may be portrayed as being about a particular TOPIC.

- (33) Developments over the past decade have given new credibility to the idea [that Earth’s biosphere could have arisen from an extraterrestrial seed]_{OPINION}

The COGNIZER frame element here is an instance of indefinite null instantiation. This frame is realized in the Japanese translation as:

- (34) [*chikyuu no seibutsu wa chikyuu.gai no seimei.tai kara hassei-shita to.iu*]_{OPINION} aidea
 earth GEN life TOP earth.outside GEN life.form from emerged
 QUOT idea
 ‘the idea that life on Earth sprang from extraterrestrial organisms’

Within the OPINION frame-element, the matrix predicate is *could*, which evokes the Possibility frame, as seen in the previous example:

- (35) Developments over the past decade have given new credibility to the idea that [Earth’s biosphere]_{POSSIBLE_EVENT} could [have arisen from an extraterrestrial seed]_{POSSIBLE_EVENT}

This frame is not realized in the Japanese translation, which can be backtranslated as: ‘life on Earth sprang from extraterrestrial organisms’. However, Possibility is in effect incorporated into the notion of *idea*.

Arise evokes the Coming_to_be frame:

Coming_to_be definition: An ENTITY comes into existence at a particular PLACE and TIME which may take a certain DURATION_OF_ENDSTATE, have a CAUSE, or be formed from COMPONENTS.

- (36) Developments over the past decade have given new credibility to the idea that [Earth’s biosphere]_{ENTITY} could have arisen [from an extraterrestrial seed]_{COMPONENTS}

This frame has been transferred straightforwardly into Japanese:

- (37) *Kono 10 nen de kenkyuu ga susunde-kuru to, [chikyuu no seibutsu this year over research NOM has.progressed as earth GEN life wa]_{ENTITY} [chikyuu.gai no seimei.tai kara]_{COMPONENTS} HASSEI.SHITA to.iu TOP earth.outside GEN life.form from emerged QUOT aidea mo hi.genjitsuteki.na o.hanashi to wa ienaku.natte-kita idea also unrealistic story QUOT TOP cannot.say-became*

As was the case with Example 1, we do not delve into minor frames that are evoked by *earth*, *biosphere*, *extraterrestrial*, and *seed*.

3.3 Example 3

This final example represents the case that involves deviation in frame correspondences.

- (38) Wi-Fi provides fast communications links that allow e-mail messages to appear almost instantly and Web pages to paint computer screens quickly — all with the mobility and freedom that has made cell phones nearly ubiquitous.

Wi-Fi no koosoku tsuushin o riyoo-sure.ba, denshi-meeru o
 GEN fast communication ACC if.use e-mail ACC
sokuza.ni aite ni todokeru koto ga dekiru shi webu-peeji wa
 quickly addressee to deliver NMLZ NOM can and web-page TOP
shunji.ni gamen ni hyooji-sareru. Wi-Fi nara, itsu.demo doko.demo tsukaeru
 instantly screen on is.displayed if anytime anywhere usable
keitai-denwa ni hitteki-suru idoosei to jiyuu.do o arayuru mobairu-
 cell.phone to rival mobility and freedom ACC all mobile-
kiki ni ataerareru-no-da.
 device to can.give

Backtranslation: 'If (we) use the fast communication facility of Wi-Fi, (we) can deliver emails to the addressee immediately and Web pages are displayed on screens instantly. Wi-Fi can provide any mobile device with the mobility and freedom that rivals cell phones, which can be used anywhere anytime.'

The matrix verb *provide* evokes the **Supply** frame:

Supply definition: A SUPPLIER gives a THEME to a RECIPIENT to fulfill a need or purpose (PURPOSE_OF_RECIPIENT) of the RECIPIENT.

- (39) [Wi-Fi]_{SUPPLIER} PROVIDES [fast communications links that allow e-mail messages to appear almost instantly and Web pages to paint computer screens quickly — all with the mobility and freedom that has made cell phones nearly ubiquitous]_{THEME}

This frame is realized in the Japanese translation as:

- (40) ... [Wi-Fi]_{SUPPLIER} *nara*, [itsu.demo doko.demo tsukaeru keitai-denwa ni
 if anytime anywhere usable cell.phone to
*hitteki-suru idoosei to jiyuu.do o]_{THEME} [arayuru mobairu-kiki ni]_{RECIPIENT}
 rival mobility and freedom ACC all mobile-device to
 ATAERARERU-NO-DA
 can.give*

Backtranslation: '... Wi-Fi can provide any mobile device with the mobility and freedom that rivals cell phones, which can be used anywhere anytime'

Within the **THEME** frame element, *allow* evokes the **Make_possible_to_do** frame:

Make_possible_to_do definition: An **ALLOWER** exists to provide the environment for which an **ALLOWED_ACTION** may occur.

- (41) Wi-Fi provides [fast communications links]_{ALLOWER} [that]_{ALLOWER} allow [e-mail messages to appear almost instantly]_{ALLOWED_ACTION} and [Web pages to paint computer screens quickly]_{ALLOWED_ACTION} — all with the mobility and freedom that has made cell phones nearly ubiquitous²⁰

Make_possible_to_do is the causative of the **Possibility** frame. That is, the words that evoke **Make_possible_to_do** indicate that a situation of **Possibility** has been brought about. Again, in order to avoid an abstract subject in a causative construction when translating into Japanese, this part of the sentence is paraphrased as “If we use the fast communication facility of Wi-Fi, e-mail messages appear almost instantly and Web pages paint computer screens quickly.”

Appear evokes the **Coming_to_be** frame:

Coming_to_be definition: An **ENTITY** comes into existence at a particular **PLACE** and **TIME** which may take a certain **DURATION_OF_ENDSTATE**, have a **CAUSE**, or be formed from **COMPONENTS**.

- (42) Wi-Fi provides fast communications links that allow [e-mail messages]_{ENTITY} to appear almost instantly and Web pages to paint computer screens quickly — all with the mobility and freedom that has made cell phones nearly ubiquitous

This frame has not been transferred into the translation as such; the information has been framed based on a different perspective. Our real-world knowledge enables us to interpret *e-mail messages to appear* as *to receive e-mail messages*, but the translation takes the opposite perspective, i.e. *to deliver e-mail messages*, which is strictly speaking inaccurate, although these two events are factually equivalent.

Delivery definition: A **DELIVERER** hands off a **THEME** to a **RECIPIENT** or (more indirectly) a **GOAL** location, which is accessible to the **RECIPIENT**.

20. According to the FrameNet annotation protocol, this sentence would be bracketed as: allow [e-mail messages]_{ALLOWED_ACTION} [to appear almost instantly]_{ALLOWED_ACTION} and [Web pages]_{ALLOWED_ACTION} [to paint computer screens quickly]_{ALLOWED_ACTION}. This is because “e-mail messages” and “Web pages” are both the objects of allow as well as the subject of the corresponding predicate.

- (43) ... [*denshi-meeru o*]_{THEME} *sokuza.ni* [*aite ni*]_{RECIPIENT}
 e-mail ACC quickly addressee to
 TODOKERU *koto* ...
 deliver NMLZ
 ‘... that (it) delivers emails to the addressee immediately ...’

Paint evokes the *Inchoative_filling* frame:

Inchoative_filling definition: A thing or substance, the *THEME*, comes to fill a container or cover an area. The area or container can appear as the direct object with all these verbs, and is designated *GOAL* because it is the goal of motion of the *THEME*. Corresponding to its nuclear argument status, it is also affected in some crucial way, unlike goals in other frames.

- (44) Wi-Fi provides fast communications links that allow e-mail messages to appear almost instantly and [Web pages]_{THEME} to paint [computer screens]_{GOAL} quickly — all with the mobility and freedom that has made cell phones nearly ubiquitous

This frame is transferred directly into Japanese:

- (45) *Wi-Fi no koosoku tsuushin o riyoo-sure.ba, denshi-meeru o*
 GEN fast communication ACC if.use e-mail ACC
*sokuza.ni aite ni todokeru koto ga dekiru shi [webu-peeji wa]*_{THEME}
 quickly addressee to deliver NMLZ NOM can and web-page TOP
*shunji.ni [gamen ni]*_{GOAL} HYOOJI.SARERU
 instantly screen on is.displayed

In the adverbial modification at the end of the sentence, *make (... made cell phones nearly ubiquitous)* evokes the *Cause_change* frame:

Cause_change definition: An *AGENT* or *CAUSE* causes an *ENTITY* to change, either in its category membership or in terms of the value of an *ATTRIBUTE*. In the former case, an *INITIAL_CATEGORY* and a *FINAL_CATEGORY* may be expressed, in the latter case an *INITIAL_VALUE* and a *FINAL_VALUE* can be specified.

- (46) Wi-Fi provides fast communications links that allow e-mail messages to appear almost instantly and Web pages to paint computer screens quickly — all with [the mobility and freedom]_{CAUSE} [that]_{CAUSE} has made [cell phones]_{ENTITY} [nearly ubiquitous]_{FINAL_VALUE}

This frame has not been transferred into Japanese. Rather, the translation backtranslates as ‘Wi-Fi can provide any mobile device with the mobility and freedom that rivals cell phones, which can be used anywhere anytime.’ It misses the information that it was the mobility and freedom of cell phones that made them virtually ubiquitous.

4. Concluding remarks and future research directions

We outlined in this paper several rhetorical differences between English and Japanese as characterized by Japanese researchers, and explored their validity using a bilingual corpus consisting of English magazine articles and their Japanese translations. Our corpus supports some of their claims, while failing to support others. We then selected from the corpus three translationally related pairs of sentences and demonstrated how the conceptual frames developed by FrameNet can be used to analyze both the English originals and their Japanese translations.

We identified the major frames encoded in the source text and investigated whether they reappear in the Japanese translation. By comparing the frames evoked by major constituents of each pair of texts, we were able to assess translation accuracy more objectively than would have been possible with hitherto proposed translation evaluation methods, some of which are discussed below. This is mainly because many kinds of morphosyntactic differences between the two languages can be abstracted away from the basic frame structures. That is, frame semantic information can be expressed by using different parts of speech or — as we have seen with the causative relation — can be incorporated into the meaning of a verb in one context and expressed as a type of subordination in another, both within the same language and across languages. We have shown that FrameNet frames are quite versatile even when applied cross-linguistically to languages that prefer different event-encoding strategies.

In Example 1, *Better diagnosis has made experts aware that Parkinson's disease can attack those younger than 40*, the translation contains all major frames either straightforwardly, maintaining the original grammatical structure, or, when such a method results in conflict with a stylistic norm of Japanese, a paraphrase of the source text has been translated. Therefore, in terms of the FrameNet frame test, Example 1 is judged as highly accurate.

In Example 2, *Developments over the past decade have given new credibility to the idea that Earth's biosphere could have arisen from an extraterrestrial seed*, we have found that the **Possibility** frame is absent from the translation: *the idea that Earth's biosphere could have arisen from an extraterrestrial seed* is translated into Japanese that backtranslates as “the idea that Earth's biosphere has arisen from an extraterrestrial seed.” However, the concept of possibility is part of the very notion of “idea” (vis-à-vis “fact”) in this context; thus no omission is recognized in this translation.

In Example 3, *Wi-Fi provides fast communications links that allow e-mail messages to appear almost instantly and Web pages to paint computer screens quickly — all with the mobility and freedom that has made cell phones nearly ubiquitous*, our test has revealed that *e-mail messages to appear*, which is understood as a partial

perspectival variant of “to receive e-mail messages” had been translated as another perspectival variant of that, i.e. “to deliver e-mail messages.” Furthermore, the information that the mobility and freedom are the causes that made cell phones nearly ubiquitous is not included in the translation. Rather, the translation back-translates as “Wi-Fi can provide any mobile device with the mobility and freedom that rivals cell phones, which can be used anywhere anytime.”

These examples have demonstrated how FrameNet frames can be utilized in assessing the accuracy of translation. Of course, accuracy is not the sole criterion for translation quality assessment, and, as discussed earlier, the importance of accuracy *per se* can differ significantly according to the text types. In conative texts like advertisements, for example, translation accuracy might simply be irrelevant. That is, the overall quality assessment should depend on the *skopos* in the sense of Vermeer (1978) and Reiß & Vermeer (1984).

In the Skopos Theory, translation is viewed as a *chain of human actions*, not as a process of transcoding. A text is viewed as an offer of information made by a producer to a recipient. Translation is then characterized as offering to the target-language audience information that is similar to the information originally offered to the source language audience. Typically, a translation project begins with an *initiator* who commissions a translation to accomplish a particular purpose or function when the translation is read by the target audience. Such a purpose or function is called the *skopos* of the translation project. In the Skopos Theory, the determiner of appropriate method and strategy is the *skopos* specified by the initiator, not the source text itself or the function assigned to it by the original author, nor its effect on the source-text audience (as claimed by Nida 1964).²¹

Although accuracy is merely one of the criteria in translation quality assessment, it is a significant one. And, arguably, the most significant criterion in assessing content-oriented texts, e.g. scientific translation. Several diagnostic tests for translation accuracy have been proposed, but, to our knowledge, they all seem to sanction the assumption that the ultimate measurements must rest on experts' subjective judgments. Carroll (1966), for instance, evaluated the accuracy (as part of adequacy) of translation in terms of the informativeness of the original *relative to the translation*. That is, if the translation conveys the same amount of information, reading the original afterwards should not be informative at all. In one variation of his tests, English and Russian bilinguals first read an English translation of a Russian scientific text and then read the Russian original. He divided the translations to be measured into small parts so that a substantial number of independent

21. For example, Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* was originally meant as a satire of contemporary social ills, but today, it is translated and read as a fantasy adventure tale. Therefore, the translation should adopt the style appropriate for fantasy tales (Reiß 1971/2000: 162).

judgments could be obtained (p. 56). His subjects were asked to rate the informativeness of the original of each unit on a 10-point scale (p. 58), the description of which is provided below:

- (47) 0. The original contains, if anything, *less* information than the translation. The translator has added certain meanings, apparently to make the passage more understandable.
1. Not informative at all; no new meaning is added nor is the reader's confidence in his/her understanding increased or enhanced.
 2. No new meaning is added by the original, either at the word level or the grammatical level, but the reader is somewhat more confident that s/he apprehends the intended meaning.
 3. By correcting one or two possibly critical meanings, chiefly on the word level, it gives a slightly different "twist" to the meaning conveyed by the translation. It adds no new information about sentence structure.
 4. In contrast to 3, adds a certain amount of information about the sentence structure and syntactic relationships. It may also correct minor misapprehensions about the general meaning of the sentence or the meaning of individual words.
 5. Between 4 and 6.
 6. The original is clearly informative. Adds considerable information about the sentence structure and individual words, putting the reader "on the right track" as to the meaning intended.
 7. Between 6 and 8.
 8. The original is very informative. Contributes a great deal to the clarification of the intended meaning. By correcting sentence structure, words, and phrases, it makes a great change in the reader's impression of the intended meaning, although not so much as to change or reverse the meaning completely.
 9. After reading the translation, the original is extremely informative. Makes "all the difference in the world" in comprehending the meaning intended. (A rating of 9 should always be assigned when the original *completely* changes or reverses the meaning conveyed by the translation.)

This is a daunting task, including highly subjective judgments (e.g. point 3: the original gives a slightly different "twist" to the meaning conveyed by the translation) as well as judgments that require adequate knowledge of linguistic analysis (e.g. point 6: the original adds no new information about sentence structure). This test may appear at first glance decently objective, but when the description of each point on the scale is examined seriously, it is deemed close to a black box. It is not inferable on what bases the experiment subjects could make such difficult

decisions. It also does not seem to be very useful to a linguist-translator, since it fails to identify specific lexical or phrasal contributions to each judgment.

Another assessment guideline worth mentioning is one used in the certification program of the American Translators Association. It consists of three-hour proctored examinations in a specific source-target language pair. Each examination is evaluated by two graders, who are certified translators and mark “errors” on a scale of 1, 2, 4, 8, or 16 points according to their intuition. The maximum points for deduction are, for example, 1 point if errors are not apparent to a casual source-language reader; 4 points if errors do not result in a loss of meaning; 8 points for errors whose consequences are not catastrophic; 16 points if they are. Final scores of 18 or higher are marked as ‘fail’. The checking criteria include addition, omission, word choice, too freely translated, too literal, ambiguity. However, no objective measurement guideline is available for each criterion; characterized by House (1997) as anecdotal assessment, what is depended upon is solely the experience of qualified translators.

We believe that tools developed by FrameNet can be used as a tool that is at least one degree closer to objective accuracy assessment of translation, by providing the frames according to which addition and omission are identified. However, a number of striking problems emerged from this study that complicate the applicability of FrameNet concepts and practices in cross-language comparison.

First, frame semantic information should be describable in a way that recognizes the difference between semantic information that is directly encoded in a lexical or grammatical form, on the one hand, and information that can be compositionally derived from the elements of a phrase, on the other. Since FrameNet itself is a lexical resource, it does not provide a complete account of frame semantics. Consider, for example, the case of comparison of degree. Comparative adjectives can be used to compare objects that are being evaluated on the same scale (*this is better than that, I am older than you*), but they can also be used for comparing present states with past states of the same object (*this is better now, we are older now*), and that interpretation requires a notion of state change; hence, in the case of *better* and *older*, the notions of improvement and aging, respectively. The quasi-paraphrase relation between *better diagnosis methods* (i.e. “better now than before”) and *diagnostic procedures have improved* (example 12) cannot be directly displayed by lexical annotations.

A similar issue arises with *give credibility* in (23–26), where the epistemic **EVIDENCE** frame was seen as the compositional result of causing ([Developments over the past decade] caused [the idea that Earth’s biosphere could have arisen from an extraterrestrial seed]) and justified belief (a **COGNIZER** thinks that the **INFORMATION** given by a particular **SOURCE** is correct). An analogous but simpler problem arises within the FrameNet lexicon of commercial transactions. Here the

combination of **Getting** with an expression of money-exchange evokes the same situation as **Commerce_buy**: *I got the book for \$19.99* conveys the same situation as *I bought the book for \$19.99*, where *bought* directly evokes the buying concept. A polysemy solution could treat this as a lexical problem by simply including the verb *get* within the **Commerce_buy** frame, in addition to its appearance in the **Getting** frame.

The second problem in the applicability of FrameNet concepts in cross-language comparison is that the relation may be expressed metaphorically in one context and with frame-appropriate language in another. This is the case in the description of a disease and a person who comes to suffer the disease. Where English spoke of a disease attacking the victim, as in (16), Japanese spoke of the victim acquiring (or catching) the disease, as in (22), using a verb appropriate to just that concept, *hasshoo-suru* ‘acquire/have symptoms of’. The Japanese choice is more consistent with the type-ranking that places humans over non-humans within the same clause. That a lexical solution is also possible here is suggested by the fact that some dictionary entries for *attack* include the case where a disease-agent is the subject.

Third, a situation can be expressed by asserting P in one case and negating the denial of P in another case. For example, we saw in (23–26) that research made a particular belief reasonable in English, but made it impossible for people to say that it could be doubted in the Japanese translation in (31–32). Most linguistic resources designed for participation in language understanding applications lack an appropriate means for interpreting negation, and the existing FrameNet database is no exception.

An important result of this study is an awareness of both the utility and limitations of applying a lexical resource to analyze and compare translations. FrameNet takes a frame semantic approach to meaning description, and so it is revealing of certain types of differences between idiomatic English and Japanese, as in preferences regarding the expression of event causation. Notions such as frame-evoking expression, frame element, and frame-to-frame relations are necessary for understanding the correspondences (or lack thereof) between a translation and the original. At the same time, a lexical resource is limited in its inability to recognize the relation between a lexically-encoded meaning and that same meaning created by compositional processes, not to mention the possibility of non-lexical material (grammatical patterns, or constructions) contributing to the understanding of a sentence. Paraphrase relations such as those mentioned above, which range from relatively simple (**Causation+Trust=Evidence**) to quite complex (“give credibility” translated into “can no longer be said to be a fanciful tale”). Although FrameNet in the current state does not provide the means to explicitly represent

these inter- and intra-language relations, by highlighting areas of great divergence across texts, it does provide a firm base upon which to conduct a deeper analysis.

Moreover, turning the analytical framework embodied by FrameNet towards cross-linguistic texts highlights intriguing avenues in cross-linguistic constructional analysis. Frame semantics provides a useful dimension within which to understand how to compare similar-seeming constructions in different languages, such as comparisons or causatives. It may also highlight similarities between seemingly dissimilar constructions, or constructions that exist in a paraphrasal relationship (e.g. giving + exchange on the one hand, and commerce on the other).

A full-fledged frame semantic account of sentence — and text — meaning, with FrameNet as a core component, will ideally provide a detailed enough specification or description of the meaning of a sentence such that even more detailed and precise comparative analysis can be carried out. What we have shown here is the crucial role that lexical-semantic analysis plays in this larger endeavor.

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