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編者的話：

本期共收錄四篇研究論文，主題包括醫療翻譯、口譯筆記研究、眾包譯者的動機研究以及《老子》譯本的研究，這些論文涵蓋不同領域，深刻體現了翻譯學的跨學科研究特性。楊承淑與齊龍駒研究了主要國家的國際醫療現狀與相關數據，通過梳理文獻以及相關組織活動等資料並根據不同類型的國際醫療業務類別及其屬性，分析相對應的醫療口筆譯課程內容與功能。在此基礎上，該論文對醫療翻譯能力以及譯者在跨領域、跨文化、跨業種等問題進行了系統的探討。莫愛屏、李蜜與莫娟一文採用虛擬民族志方法，通過在線觀察的方式研究眾包翻譯社群及其演變，總結出娛樂導向型、資訊導向型和公民教育導向型三種類型的眾包翻譯。作者通過分析“知乎”網站的相關問答以考察譯者的動機，發現該翻譯形式公益性與盈利性、利己性與利他性相互依存的特性。Sabrina Wang以專業譯員與學生譯員為研究對象，就兩組被試在交替傳譯中的筆記類型做了有益探討。通過考察口譯筆記中的符號、縮寫形式與完整字詞，研究發現專業譯員的筆記更加全面和系統化。魏寧（Nicholas Morrow Williams）則對陶友白（Witter Bynner）所譯的道家經典著作《老子》重新做了解讀，作者認為陶譯不僅翻譯了作品中的語言，譯者更是將《老子》視作一部詩歌作品，旨在以新的英語形式反映其神秘和微妙之處。其外，本期收錄了創刊主編劉靖之教授所著回憶錄的第二部分，內容包括早期香港翻譯學會執委會的成員構成以及《翻譯論集》（劉靖之主編）出版歷程的回顧。

劉康龍

二〇一八年六月

Translation Quarterly No. 88, June 2018

目錄 CONTENTS

回憶錄 Memoirs

翻譯教學與國際醫療：論醫療的外語服務與實務運作

楊承淑　齊龍駒

Abstract

Translation Education and International Medicine: the Service and Practice of Foreign Language Services in Medical Care (*by* Yang Cheng-shu and Chi Long-jin)

Language barriers between doctors and patients are a fundamental problem during the implementation of international medical care at clinics. Therefore, the effective provision of language services for foreign patients when providing medical care—whether for oral communication or written documents—as well as the establishment of training courses to train such personnel are key issues that must be addressed for the promotion of international medicine. Currently, the more successful providers of international medical care are mostly individual clinics and hospitals, each separately providing training for translators and interpreters on an internal basis. One example is Bangkok Hospital, a famous international hospital in Thailand.

This study examines the current status and statistical data of international medicine in several countries, and analyzes the language requirements and recipients of such language services in each country. Then, information from prior literature and activities by related organizations were used to analyze a variety of international medical services and their characteristics, as well as the corresponding medical translation and interpretation training courses and their functions. Furthermore, actual examples from each country were used to illustrate *the implementation status and characteristics of international medical services on offer currently, in order to organize and categorize the primary functions and positioning of the international medical services in each country.*

Finally, the PACTE (1997-2011) Translation Competence Model and the European Master's in Translation Model (2009), both widely used throughout Europe, were used as a basis to investigate the skill levels present during the implementation of medical language services at medical clinics, including facets such as language ability, knowledge level, technical skills, professional skills, etc. Additionally, the internationalization of medical institutions were examined in depth, to determine the cross-sector, cross-cultural, and cross-industry competence of translators and interpreters, in order to organize and describe the language skills necessary for international medical services, now and in the future, as well as the characteristics and special qualities of such skills.

一、前言

就醫療產業的長遠發展而言，本文所探討的「國際醫療」，不同於傳染疾病或緊急災難等，對於社會民生造成重大威脅的公共衛生問題，或有危及他國人民保健的跨國性與迫切性醫療課題。實務上，國際醫療的議題設定及其推展，往往出於國家經濟或社會需要，且多數是醫院經營決策下的選擇結果。因此，其跨國的屬性與範圍，並非難以限定場域的全球範疇或區域性突發事件，而是具侷限性與常態性的跨國醫療服務。

若以近年推行國際醫療有成的泰國與韓國為例，回顧其國際醫療的發展軌跡及崛起經緯，即可推知其產業之屬性特質。1997年6月泰國

首當其衝，成為亞洲金融風暴下幣值暴跌、金融秩序大亂的國家（沈在文，2014）。同年11月，韓國也發生幣值狂貶的金融風暴，帶來幾乎國破家亡的絕境。而受到這場金融風暴肆虐的國家，大都採取政府產業主導的經濟發展模式，故其復甦之路，其實也是政府主導下的產物。

金融風暴之前，早已投資興建完成的泰國大型醫院，面臨泰銖的驟然貶值，以及內需市場欲振乏力的困頓，醫院與政府於是將營運目標轉向外國病患，並爭取以美元計價的醫療營收，以帶領醫院走出財務困境。2004年泰國政府推出一項五年期國家發展策略計畫，由公共健康部長領軍，以醫療服務、健康保健、泰國藥草等三大主軸，推動泰國成為「亞洲健康旅遊中心」。透過品管、註冊、認證、立法、保證合理定價等方式，鞏固醫療旅遊產品的可信度（齊龍駒，2009）。

據台中市衛生局長黃美娜（2013）的考察，如今泰國三大國際醫療醫院集團一康民（Bumrungrad Hospital）、曼谷（Bangkok Hospital ）、三美泰（Samitivej　Hospital），每年的外國病患總數已達112萬人。若以每人醫療支出10萬元計，即可達1120億台幣產值。

而同受金融海嘯重創的韓國，浴火重生的翻轉力量，無疑來自影劇等文創產業的大放異彩。韓劇的外銷產值，從1998年的320萬美元，飆升到2005年的9870萬美元，7年間暴增達30倍以上（劉心圓，2016）。韓劇不但帶動了數百萬觀光客前往韓國旅遊，也在其國內誘發了影藝市場對於整容手術的強烈需求，而其「成果」透過「韓流文化」的傳播，更讓鄰國女性有目共睹、趨之若鶩。

2007年3月，由政府與韓國觀光公社主導，輔導33家醫療院所成立「韓國國際醫療服務協議會」，透過法令鬆綁及增加病床數，大力招攬外國觀光客前往健檢、美容等（王劍平，2008）。2009年，由「保健福祉部」（Ministry of Health & Welfare）及「保健產業振興院」（Korea health industry development institute，KHIDI）共同負責對外宣傳韓國整體醫療服務形象，對內主導健全醫療產業環境的營造（孫文榮、王世如，2013）；例如該年推出針對「保健福祉部」註冊登記的醫療機構，接受其美容整形的外國旅客可獲退稅10%的具體誘因（中國商業電訊，2016）。據韓國「保健福祉部」2014年的統計，2009年以來的訪韓醫療旅遊人數年平均增長率為43.5%，2014年訪韓醫療旅遊達 26萬6501人，其中在醫院掛號者為2.4萬人（Ministry of Health & Welfare, Republic of Korea, 2014）。甚至，韓國政府早在2012年即宣佈2020年之前，該產業將提供1.1萬個工作機會（包括5000名護理師及4000名醫療口譯員等）（Ministry of Health & Welfare, Republic of Korea, 2012）。

從泰國與韓國的國際醫療推動情況觀察，無論法令的鬆綁與推動，乃至醫療重點項目的設定，甚至醫院與旅遊娛樂的緊密結合（齊龍駒，2009）等，都可看出產官之間為扶植此一新興產業而進行的密切連結。然而，醫療現場在落實國際醫療業務上的根本難題，莫過於克服醫病之間的語文障礙。因此，提供外國病患在求醫過程中，口語溝通或書面資料上的語文服務專才，並依此目標而設計的課程規劃與有效執行，顯然是學界在國際醫療事業的推動上得以著力之處。

以產業規模龐大的泰國為例，其國際醫療語文服務人才，大都以醫療院所為單位，各自進行院內所需的譯員訓練。例如，以30家醫院連鎖經營的「曼谷國際醫院集團」，可提供32種語文服務，專職譯者高達200名。該院每年施以100-180小時的醫療與保險等相關知識及技能訓練，譯員薪資約為護理人員的1.5倍。[1] 可見，國際醫療院所為了擁有夠格的語文人才，無論時間與經濟成本的付出都十分可觀。而就現實層面考量，該院對於語文人才的高成本付出，彰顯了溝通無礙在國際醫療現場的角色功能是舉足輕重的。

因此，學界針對常態性的跨國醫療服務，投注於醫療翻譯的人才培養與教學研發，才能建構出具針對性及系統性的課程設計規劃。此舉不但可為本國的國際醫療事業提供可用的語文服務專才，同時也具備跨國服務的開展空間。而藉此達到醫療資訊的通暢及語文障礙的解除，未來進一步拓展至國際醫療合作以及病患送出或接受等事業，更是各國迄今猶未開發的「藍海」領域。[2]

二、醫療口筆譯的需求分析

迄今各國對於醫療口譯的需求，無疑是跨國移動與移居行動的積累結果。在各主要移民國家，如美國、澳洲等，都已發展成國家主導的社會福利事業，目的在於維護移民的身心健康，以協助適應主流社會生活及其後續發展。而學界對於醫療口譯的研究，也都集中在社區口譯的活動或醫療場域中的群體關係等。如，Bagchi, et al（2010）、Angelelli（2004）、謝怡玲（2007）、Pöchhacker 與 Kadric（1999）。

而醫療口譯之所以在認知上成為淩駕筆譯的服務重點，可說是以醫師或醫院觀點出發，認為病患在診間接受診療時有此「需要」的推論結果。其實，若從病人權益的角度看來，無論從醫療院所的外語標示，到病患接受侵入性檢查（麻醉、放射線、顯影劑等）或治療之際，書面資料的提供與病人的「知情同意」（informed consent），本質上都是醫療行為的一環。

迄今各國對於醫療場域的外語標示，往往都在承辦大型國際活動（如，奧運、博覽會等）之後，才由中央或地方政府主導，以行政規章或計畫委辦等方式，加速落實其門面上的雙語標示。例如，中國承辦 2008 北京奧運之前數年，即展開大規模的公共場所中英標示語統一

及其相關規章的建置。[3] 而醫療機構的內外標識，也因而得到了統一與正名的機會。然而，伴隨檢查與治療而來的書面資訊外語化，卻未在社區移民的醫療場域中受到應有的關注。

而另一方面，近十餘年來發展令人矚目的國際醫療機構，對於口筆譯的重視及其資源配置，與針對移民的社區醫療口譯的思維與落實方式，可說大相逕庭。首先，在人才養成方面最突出的不同之處，就是多由國際醫療院所（泰國）或政府相關部會（韓國）積極推動，並規劃出符合醫療場域需求的專業性與系統化課程。

根據2013年臺北市聯合醫院中興院區前往首爾的考察報告顯示（孫文榮、王世如，2013），韓國以整合產業、政府、學界的「產官學」聯手方式，透過「韓國人力資源發展衛生福利研究所」（KHRDI）開設醫療口譯培訓課程；此外，另有由大專院校、韓國觀光公社等共同開設國際醫院營銷專家或國際醫療協調員（coordinator）等醫療產銷人員培訓課程。

實務上，國際醫療場域裡，出於商業機制下的對價關係，大都安排一對一的方式，為病患提供充分的資訊與周到的服務（孫文榮、王世如，2013）。因此，無論韓國、泰國、臺灣（長庚、台安、北投健康管理醫院[4] 等），都為病患或健檢貴賓提供全程隨行的個別服務。或許也是安排譯者伴隨之故，醫療院所往往忽略筆譯的重要性，直覺以為口譯員可以隨時提供口譯、或針對書寫內容口語譯出的「視譯」（sight translation）服務。其實，僅提供口譯會造成病患對於訊息內容的記憶負荷或保存上的困難，有時甚至礙於時間壓力而造成忽略必要資訊，或是不便要求譯出書面內容的細節等，都是病人可能出現的心理負擔。

因此，考量病患權益與溝通效益等因素，提供口筆譯兼顧的醫療翻譯課程，應是符合醫療現場需求的教學內容與技能建構。而透過書

面資訊的傳遞，亦可為正在考慮接受治療的病患及其家屬，提供正確的資訊內容。對於醫療院所而言，更可達到服務廣大病患及傳播醫療資訊的功能。

三、因應不同群體與需求的課程設計

據前述北市聯合醫院的首爾考察報告顯示（孫文榮、王世如，2013），韓國的國際醫院營銷專家或國際醫療協調員的課程內容為：全球醫療的理論教育、醫療服務法、國際醫療保險、醫療糾紛及國際市場營銷、醫療口譯及溝通等。[5] 從科目內容看來，這是以國際醫療服務的知識與規範為主體，因而醫療口譯所佔比重不高。

至於美國，根據2000年公佈的語言平權行政命令—Executive Order 13166[6] 而衍生的Bridging the Gap培訓模式，課程約為40小時。內容包含：LEP（limited English Proficiency）Guidance、Language Access的公平性、個資保護的說明責任、資訊傳達的正確性認識等，經50題測驗後達70分者可獲檢定資格。由此可知，官方指令下的醫療口譯培訓課程，往往是偏重法規而口譯技能不足的內容結構。

臺灣的社區通譯養成課程也是循此模式，僅約32小時。根據張家春、成之約與林國榮（2014）等研究報告中的受訪者資料顯示，基礎訓練課程包括：通譯員起源與精神、服務的內涵及倫理、服務守則及未來發展趨勢等，共12小時。專業訓練課程以「生育保健」為主（包括：避孕、孕期保健、產後及新生兒照顧、母乳哺餵、嬰幼兒保健、副食品添加、婦女常見癌症等七個單元），另含「實習及衛生所門診作業說明」、「協助家訪技巧」、「通譯員作業規範」等，共20小時。該項培訓包含了法令規範、生育保健、保健或家訪的程式知識、門診作業見習等。

2008年以來，美國IMIA（the International Medical Interpreters Association）主導的培訓基準，更加強調醫療體系的參與。例如，隸屬University of Massachusetts Medical School's MassAHEC Network的醫療口譯培訓機構──Massachusetts Medical Interpreter Training。該課程總計60小時，針對高中學歷以上並具外語能力的雙語者，提供門診與急診所需之知識內容及溝通技巧訓練，結訓後發給結業證明。培訓內容下（Gany, et al 2010）：

1. National Council on Interpreting in Health Care頒布之倫理規範（Code of Ethic）
2. 譯者的作業標準（Standard of Practice）
3. 解剖學與生理學簡介（Introduction to Anatomy and Physiology）
4. 英語與目標語言之醫療術語（Medical Terminology in English and Target Language）
5. 三方溝通技巧（Triadic Communication Skills）
6. 口譯技巧（Interpreting Skills）

此外，該課程還有針對進階醫療口譯的特定領域培訓（Specialized training）。含：糖尿病、HIV/AIDS、緊急應變（Emergency Preparedness）、口腔、兒科、身心科等。對比進階與初階課程內容，可知醫療知識及譯者在醫療場域的應變能力，對於醫院的需求是更為明確的。

此類課程現在也有專精於特定領域的現象。Gany et al（2010）的研究以紐約大學醫學院移民保健中心的課程為例，指出在癌症治療上接受過專業訓練的譯者，無論翻譯錯誤或引發醫療疏失都較少。該中心提供80小時課程；30小時理論、50小時實務。包含：譯者角色、醫病互

動、口語聽說、語言學知識、口譯技巧、醫療詞彙等。可見，醫療口譯人員的角色功能、語言知識及運用能力等，經實務檢驗是具有避免訊息傳達錯誤，乃至減少醫療疏失的作用。

以上兩類課程分別代表了以國際醫療服務人員及社區口譯者為對象的培訓模式。韓國的培訓課程是為該國的國際醫療產業，培訓該行業服務人員而量身打造的教學內容，故未必涉及具體的醫療項目。然而，若針對移民而設的社區醫療，顯然需要針對性地因應主要診療科別的需求。美國的醫療口譯實踐方式，主要由學員取得檢定證書[7] 之後，進而在醫療院所透過為病患的口譯服務，逐步與現場需求在磨合中求取譯者的專業發展。

根據日內瓦大學醫院（Geneva University Hospitals）[8] 2009年針對700名醫師、700名護理師、及93名社工的內部調查顯示（Hudelson & Vilpert 2009），回答最需醫療口譯員的科別是：精神科（Psychiatry, 63）、兒少科（Child and Adolescent Health, 59）、社區醫療及保健（Community Medicine and Primary Care, 38）。

據此可知，針對不同診療目的與群體，並以滿足醫療場域的需求為目標，設計符合實際需要的醫療口筆譯課程，是可以具體掌握方法及客觀數據的。前項各例的共同內容包含：醫療知識、語文技能、醫療規範等。同時，從美國麻州大學與日內瓦大學醫院的診療科別可知，外籍居民的社區醫療項目有其共通之處。

迄今，除了曼谷國際醫院兩年間達280小時的院內培訓與實踐養成之外，從美國、韓國、瑞士的經驗看來，譯者的養成與落實運用似乎並未發展出與醫療現場密切連動的課程系統。其中包含立足於調查結果而規劃的專業知識技能在內的課程架構，乃至追蹤考察學習者應用實踐後的經驗分享、自我反思，以及對於醫病關係、同儕經驗的觀察

等，系統性的專業知識建構及發展方法等。

可想而知，其中最主要的癥結原因，還是出於譯者在醫療場域中提供的角色功能及其市場價值（market value）。而這又與醫院對於外國病患的診療或健康諮詢，是否視為重要營運策略而定。以外籍病患佔曼谷醫院25%、三美泰醫院40%、康民醫院佔比近50%的成果看來（黃美娜，2013），即可驗證譯者養成與醫院營運之間的關係是如何相輔相倚了。然而，即使同在泰國，選擇以優勢醫療項目為主軸的曼谷醫院，以「我們和你說同一種語言」為訴求，可見譯者的配置具有不可取代的功能。

再以韓國整形專科BK（Beauty Korea）整形醫院的服務人員培訓為例，該院2012年的客戶量達12,000人次，其中30~40%為外國顧客；中國最多，日本其次，再其次為東南亞。主要整形項目為：眼部、鼻部、顏面輪廓、胸部、體型、除皺、脂肪移植等，亦提供皮膚科及牙科協診服務。醫療團隊由整型外科、麻醉科、皮膚科、牙科等20多名各領域專家組成，設有27位不同語言的專業翻譯（包括中文、英文、日語、蒙古語、越南語等）及15位外語專業諮詢師。

這批接受過1年以上整形外語諮詢翻譯訓練的專業諮詢師，從事的工作並非口譯，而是以外語直接和顧客溝通以提高諮詢準確度，並提供手術安排及其後續服務。例如，配合外國客戶的行程及需要，提供手術安排（甚至諮詢後當日手術）、術後休養、術後檢查等。因此，就其業務內容推估，培訓內容應含：前述整形項目的醫療知識及手術程式方法、醫美儀器與材料、醫美行銷、翻譯訓練、顧客服務技巧等。此外，從養成期間長達一年看來，這是一個量身訂做的醫美語文服務人才培訓課程。而從其中包含翻譯訓練看來，雙語能力與文書製作的能力，應是該職務的必要技能。

此外，再從一份臺灣義大醫院2011年發行的《健康檢查日中英實用會話》（許朝添、春野智毅，2011）教材內容及結構可知，這是醫院為國外人士健檢而自行開發的專用教材。包含接待、基礎檢查、精密檢查、婦科檢查等，18週次的健檢程式及內容。詳如下：

第一週	櫃檯、更衣室	第十週	大腸鏡恢復室
第二週	採尿、身高、體重、血壓	第十一週	眼科檢查、眼底鏡檢查
第三週	檢查流程説明、抽血	第十二週	耳鼻喉科檢查、聽力檢查
第四週	心電圖、照X光	第十三週	骨質密度檢查
第五週	腹部超音波	第十四週	婦科超音波、子宮頸抹片
第六週	內視鏡準備室	第十五週	體脂肪、肺功能檢查
第七週	內視鏡檢查室	第十六週	泌尿科檢查
第八週	大腸鏡準備室	第十七週	乳房超音波、用餐
第九週	無痛式大腸鏡檢查	第十八週	總評、滿意度問卷、繳費

據該書在圖書網站的概述[9]：「從第一週到第十八週， 週學習約二十個生詞及五個文型練習，配合會話及MP3聽力訓練，相信讀者能循序漸進，得心應手於醫療日語會話。」可見，該書的初衷是以日本人為對象的健康檢查，且以醫護人員與受檢者對話為其對象。就該書每課會話內容及所附照片等，可看出由醫師主導並配合醫院服務項目的醫事程式與內容知識，構成具臨場感與實用性的教本。至於，該書的英文內容，據前述網頁揭示：「本書另一特色是兼具英文會話，對於國際醫療及國民出國旅遊就醫，非常實用。」可知該書並非針對醫護英語而編，且隨書所附DVD僅有日語而無英語，可見英語人士健檢亦非該院的目標業務。[10]

從以上各國與各類型醫療口譯培訓的內容與方式，可以歸納出其中主要屬性與內容之間的關係。若以社會福利為考量，其醫療口譯的培訓重點即以法規、倫理、程式等施行規範為主體，其次則為醫療知識及

術語對應、最後則是溝通技巧。診療科別則以身心科、醫療保健、生活習慣病等為主，目的在於維持日常生活的基本功能。至於雙語能力、口筆譯技能、文書製作能力等訓練項目，無論從語文能力要求或總時數及教學時數的配置看來，仍有繼續加強的空間。

而以跨國求醫病患為主要考量的醫院，其培訓內容往往針對醫療場域的實際需求，設計量身定做的訓練課程。主要內容為：1. 針對性的醫療知識及程式方法；2. 針對性的服務與行銷手法；3. 根據業務性質的分工訓練(如，保險、諮詢、翻譯)。醫療項目包含健檢、醫美、外傷、重症、器官移植、關節置換、人工生殖、心臟手術、癌症治療等，求醫目的在於追求更佳的生命品質。

以下，將本節所舉各國醫療語文服務人員的訓練內容及醫療服務需求等，歸納整理如下表。

（表一）各國醫療語文服務人員之訓練內容及醫療服務需求概覽

泰國醫院	醫療知識	保險		見習 實習	實做		曼谷醫院
臺灣通譯	生育保健	法令	程式 內容	見習	服務 倫理	通譯員史	社區通譯
美國醫院	解剖/生理 門診急診	法令	三方 溝通	SOP	倫理 規範	醫療術語 專科口譯	麻州 大學醫院
臺灣健檢	健檢程式	依法 行事	機器 材料	院內 實做	行銷 客服	翻譯訓練	BK醫院
韓國醫美	整形醫療	知情 同意	醫療 機器	步驟 說明	客戶 評價	用餐收費 說明	義大醫院
日內瓦	*精神科*	*兒少科*	*社區 醫療*	*保健*	*(僅顯示需求科別)*		*大學醫院*
共同特徵	特定領域	遵法	程式/ 機材	見習/ SOP	倫理/ 客服	口譯技能 醫療術語 專門知識	

由上表可知，醫療語文服務人員需要掌握基礎醫學知識、各科雙

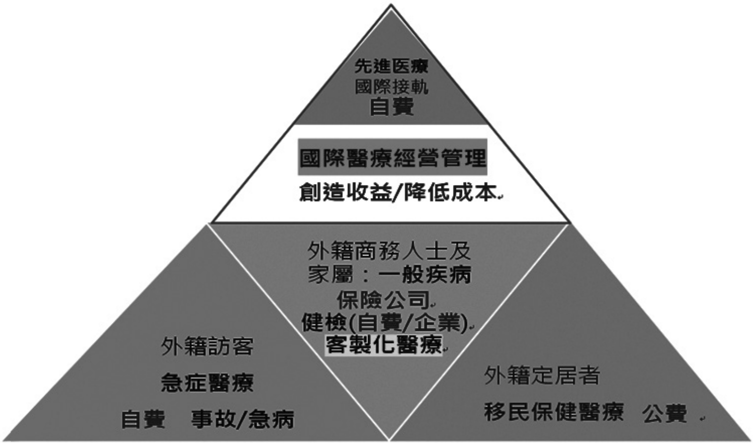
語醫療知識描述、治療或檢查程式、儀器或材料特性、專門術語等醫療知識與診療實務。在溝通專業上，則需精準說明、口筆譯技能、行銷技巧、客戶服務等專門技能。此外，還需熟習法規（含保險規章）並遵行醫療場域中的施行規範及倫理準則等。而國際醫療口譯員的養成，即可以此為起點，將職業化與專業化設為課程目標，並配合實務屬性調控得宜，才能有效滿足複雜而廣闊的需求。

四、國際醫療的功能與定位

從前節的屬性描述可知，不同的醫療需求與功能，必然深刻地影響其實務運作與人才養成。因此，本節擬針對現行的國際醫療業務，透過具體案例描述其實施情況及特色，以梳理並歸納各類國際醫療的主要功能及其定位。

根據前節所描述的各國案例，可知國際醫療可以包含以病患為重心的：1. 移民保健、2. 客製化醫療、3. 急症醫療、4. 先進醫療等定位面向。而就醫院的營運管理而言，設置國際醫療部門不但可以創設以外籍病患為主體的特色診療，且可透過以下業務達到支援前述部門，並增加營收與降低成本的效用。如：1. 醫療貿易（醫療機器設備進口、租賃）2.醫療行銷（外語諮詢、外語導覽）3. 知識管理（常用文書、院內標識等外語化的系統性管理）等。試以下圖顯示其各項業務內容及屬性功能。（圖一）

根據「聯合國世界旅遊組織」UNWTO（World Tourism Organization）的定義，「觀光醫療，系指以醫療護理、疾病與健康、康復與休養為主題的旅遊觀光」（葉慈薇，2013）。依此定義對照國際醫療現有的消費群體與功能屬性，可知（圖一）各項業務中，出於社會福利性



（圖一）：國際醫療部門的業務內容及屬性功能

質的移民保健，僅是支應生育及生活上最低限度的檢查項目，而非當事人對於優質醫療或休養等的追求，顯然不宜與「觀光醫療」相提並論。此外，由於難以形成產業化的市場運作、專業分工、行業優勢、資金流動等特質，更不宜納入觀光醫療的範疇，探討其產業結構與發展等課題。

而1至3項的共同性則為自費醫療；病患或消費者除了自行承擔費用之外，最主要的經費來源就是保險公司的醫療給付。對於醫院而言，這些醫療項目顯現了市場需求與營收的挹注。而保險公司承擔了疾病的醫護支出，但也激發了醫療保險商品的潛在需求。至於，保險的除外項目則是消費者願意承擔的自費醫療，而這些項目往往是為了爭取時間或特定效益下的客製化醫療，大抵以急重症為主，美容醫療居次。因此，對於醫療院所、保險公司、自費病患而言，三者都是其中的受益方，且形成彼此依存的供需結構。但以消費需求為前提的國際醫療，顯然醫療與矯治才是病患或消費者的主要目的，旅遊觀光應屬附帶性質。[11]

畢竟，對於消費者而言，從旅遊過程中取得的短期護理與休養，

勢必無法長期落實於日常生活之中，其功能屬性應視為旅途中的文化體驗或是自我改善的追求，或許更足以形成觀光上的獨特亮點。例如，針灸、腳底按摩等。再者，一次性或短期即可奏效的治療；如，漢方護理、雷射去斑、美容手術等，也是適合短期停留者的醫療項目。現行的具體案例包括泰式按摩、韓國的美容整形手術等，都已形成一定的產業規模與國際知名度。然而，觀光與醫療是否具有組合優勢，以下試以推行國際醫療有成的醫療院所為範本，並梳理其具競爭優勢的項目，盼能為本課題找出可行的方向。

依照（圖一）的上下順序，首先探討先進醫療的屬性及定位。以先進性而言，該醫療機構應有能力提供突破性及有效性的醫療，或是病患無法在本國取得的醫療資源。前者如日本大阪大學醫院的再生醫療（陳耀昌，2017）、後者如日台兩地的動態追蹤質子治療等，海外病患大都透過當地主治醫師或仲介機構的轉介而決定跨國尋醫。此類國際醫療通常治療難度甚高、病患耗資甚 ，大都不屬保險理賠範圍。但為了取得突破性治療成效的病患及家屬，每年依然有人願意重金循此途徑就醫。

事實上，對於輸送方與接收方醫院而言，這是極有意義的專業知識與醫療文化的交流。例如，罕見疾病的治療透過國際病患的需求而延續其專業命脈，或擴大比較對照的研究對象，以及促進專業領域的人脈與資訊交流等。若能淡化其中的商業色彩，在病患往來兩國的過程裡，透過妥善的語文服務，提供良好的醫病溝通與充足的醫療資訊，則醫療團隊或病患與家屬皆可大為受惠。然而，成功的國際醫療醫院，在與鄰國的醫療先進性上，必須持續投入研發以掌握優勢，並取得突出而穩定的成果，才能在國際競爭中勝出。

進入商業機制的先進醫療中，質子治療是十分典型的案例。根據 KK NEWS 網站2017年4月報導（港安健康管理，2017）：「目前

全球共有50家質子治療中心投入臨床應用，還有32家正在興建中，一般來說美國、日本、德國這幾個醫療發達的國家是較熱門的去處。」如2015年12月啟用的林口長庚質子暨放射治療中心，2016年有394例[12]，境外病患數量現已漸增。在此之前，2014年6月30日《蘋果日報》（蔡明樺，2014）刊載，透過臺灣其他醫院安排到日本接受質子或重粒子治療之癌症病患，已有具體金額及病例等報導。此外，亦有全球質子治療的市場報告書等問世（Renub Research, 2017）。

其次，談到國際醫療的經營管理。一般而言，國際醫療部門的設置並非醫院的必要選項。但從醫院的經營管理成效而言，透過國際醫療部門，不但可以創造診療特色，且可達成營收增加、兼具降低管理成本的功效。主要項目概述如下：

1. 貿易營收：醫療機器設備進口、租賃、資訊管理、成本分析等。
2. 醫療行銷：外語諮詢、外語導覽、[13] 網站經營、境外夥伴醫院建立與維護等。
3. 知識管理：醫療常用文書、院內標識、病患及員工教育、合約管理等，知識內容的多語化及系統化管理。
4. 高端醫療：醫療保單服務、專案管理師、醫療專機接洽等，病患專屬服務。

透過國際醫療業務，可將醫院的國際事務範圍由內到外、從數位軟體到硬體設備等，在具有雙語能力與醫療知識的人員手中，進行系統化的資料庫建置與管理，以便醫院推展國際事務所需之文書、人力、規範、傳承等，達到資源的有效整合與運用。然而，根據臺灣主要人力銀行網頁顯示，各大醫院國際醫療部或特診中心人員的職掌，似乎偏重於專案管理師的角色，或是外語諮詢導覽等業務，尚未涵蓋前述多項內容。

再者，談到客製化醫療的對象與服務範圍。目前，各大醫院多以高階健檢，做為此類醫療項目的首選。內容包含癌症篩檢、心血管、腸胃鏡等針對特定年齡層或對某類疾病有所疑慮者的精細健檢，或是針對青壯年的全身健康檢查。而同屬自費項目的外商或外籍人士的健檢，自然就納入了客製化國際醫療的基本項目，甚至成為部份醫療院所的特色服務。但與國內健檢最大不同之處，就是必須提供外語溝通人員協助掛號、導引、說明、結帳等流程，以及進行麻醉或侵入性檢查時的外文版知情同意書、或出具申請保險核付所需的文件等雙語服務。

至於，外籍病患進入門診或住院，則其整體醫療需求勢必包含門診預約及說明、病史與病情、目前用藥情況，以及治療計畫說明、檢查與診療、領藥與用藥說明、安排下次就診等。而對住院病人則需提供：家屬通知與行程安排、生活資訊提供、術後門診追蹤、出具外文證明、歸國協助等服務。[14]

臺灣在該領域頗具規模及特色的有：林口長庚醫院國際醫療部、台安醫院國際特診中心等。林口長庚一年的國際病患是2.1萬人，其中八成為門診；[15] 佔比最高的病患來自大陸（44.8%，約9500人），其次為美國（9%，半數是持美國護照的大陸人士）、香港（7.7%）。這兩家醫院都是經過美國JCI認證的醫院，後者更是全球JCI評鑑過的醫院中，最大規模的單一醫院（3700床，且設有質子中心）。台安的病患全年約1.5萬人，大都是居住臺北地區的外籍門診病患（亦含住院），診療時的主要外語為英、日語；而長庚的境外病患則以重症居多，主要語言為中、英語。

至於急症醫療方面，可分為入境與出境旅客的急症或事故醫療。據2014年交通部觀光局統計，國人同年出國人次達1200萬次。又據2014年健保局統計，全年健保核退的境外就醫案件高達13萬5千多件。

換言之，出險率為1.125。亦即，平均約90人中有1人會在國外緊急就醫。其中，比重最高的病症是上呼吸道感染，約達35 。其次依序為：急性支氣管炎、腎衰竭、牙齒、急性扁桃腺炎等（吳佳珍，2015）。又，根據2009-2013年統計（邱玉珍，2013）顯示，台灣人出國遠遊，最常見的突發疾病前三名是：心血管疾病（中風、心肌梗塞）、車禍外傷、呼吸道疾病（肺炎、肺水腫）。

此類醫療依其病情與個別情況，可以概分為就地診療、專機或客機輸送。病情可初步控制者的醫療程式，類似前述客製化醫療中的門診、手術、住院等。而病情嚴重或危急者，可透過保險公司客戶服務視窗，或是醫療輸送服務公司的客服中心（call center），請求安排地面與空中接送所需的各項服務。在此過程中，具備航空醫療專業背景的醫護人員、語文溝通無礙，乃至熟知保險理賠規則、運送程式及處理效率等，都是跨國急救醫療的重要關鍵。

據日本指標型旅行社JTB廣報（公關）室，於2016年7月6日發行的News Release第101號顯示，在2015年度賠付超過300萬日圓的77件案例中，醫療費用最貴的是美國（含關島、夏威夷），高居30件（達39%）。其中8件動用了醫療專機與醫護人員隨行，總額達1億296萬日圓。77件中，外傷佔22件，受傷原因多為行進間失足（9）、滑倒（5）、外力撞擊（3）、運動（2）等。此外，則為置身飛機、郵輪、或長途巴士等密閉式交通工具，由於外力或帶病等原因引發顱內出血（4）、器官發炎（2）、缺氧（1）等緊急不適有關。

此類跨國醫療輸送，涉及保險公司、醫療專機租賃（或客機改裝）、國際救援公司、空中醫護人員等專業分工及行業運作，具有非常明確的產業化特質，亦已在各國行之有年，臺灣也不例外。過去，投入醫療包機歷史最優久的是國際SOS救援公司（以國人返台就醫為

主），此外，另有漢翔航空醫療專機、中興航空醫療飛航救援中心等（以外籍人士返送回國就醫為主）。每年約有數百件醫療轉運及醫療專機的轉送服務，每趟出勤至少台幣120萬元以上，跨洲更達20萬美金以上，[16] 單一行業的直接產值即可達數億元。

然而，檢視以上國際醫療的各種類型，大都是根據醫院的屬性特質或經營策略而萌芽，經長年耕耘而成為醫院的醫療服務特色，並形成醫院財務平衡的槓桿。就前述醫院營收看來，重視醫療外語網頁或院內標示等資訊提供，並配置醫療外語服務人才得宜者，來自外國病患的營收也就愈高。未來，醫院如何透過醫療外語人才的運用及策略性的資源配置，透過國際間的多角化連結與經營，為醫院創造高附加價值與契機，乃至發展其醫療特色與診療文化，進而透過國際病患加大與海外合作的廣度與深度，更是醫院及其周邊行業可以各自創造發揮的新藍海。

五、國際醫療翻譯的教學與實務

儘管國際醫療實務的領域屬性、專門技能、準則規範等，看似各有偏重，口筆譯技能未必居其核心。事實上，翻譯學界透過近20年的實務與實證研究，對於翻譯能力的詮釋，也逐漸拓展成多面向的知識技能及綜合應用能力的融合。

其中最廣為傳播與施行的就是始於1998年巴塞隆納自治大學PACTE (Process of Acquisition of Translation Competence and Evaluation)小組，對於職業譯者翻譯能力的描述（PACTE, 2011）。

2005年PACTE小組推出新版翻譯能力模式的詮釋與描述，將原本位於核心的翻譯轉換能力，代之以與語文轉換能力相互依存的解決

問題及提昇效率的「策略運用能力」。其他則包括：1. 雙語能力；2. 百科及專科知識；3. 翻譯服務能力；4. 工具技術能力，以及一系列認知與態度等心理機制。

這樣一套可分解而又足以靈活解釋各領域翻譯能力的建構式模型，立即受到2005年啟動的「歐盟翻譯碩士」（EMT; European Master's in Translation）學位的青睞，到2014年6月時已有64所大學採行（朱曉敏，2015）。2009年版EMT的內容擴增為對於跨文化溝通能力及資訊蒐集能力的要求（王傳英，2012）。兩者相較如下（Montafej, J. & Nemati, A. 2014）：

（表二）PACTE(2005)與EMT(2009)的能力描述比較

PACTE (2005) Translation Competence Model	EU Model (EMT, 2009)
1. Bilingual sub-competence	**1. <u>Translation service provision competence</u>**
2. Extra-linguistic sub-competence (bicultural/encyclopedic/subject knowledge)	2. Language competence
3. knowledge about translation sub-competence	3. **Intercultural competence**
4. Instrumental sub-competence	4. **Information mining competence**
5. **<u>Strategic competence</u>**	5. thematic competence
6. Psycho-physiological components	6. technological competence

備註：1.粗體字為新增項目，加底線之粗體字為最重要項目。2.本表由筆者整理。

本節將以PACTE（2005）「翻譯能力模式」與EMT（2009）對於翻譯能力的描述為基礎，對於醫療實務與課程內涵的關連性，及其在醫療場域的實踐活動情況，進行語言能力、知識能力、技術能力、職業能力等各面向的考察。

首先，依照PACTE及EMT陸續揭示的各項能力屬性，並針對其中主要的成分內容及技能運用的難易程度，進行分析及分類如下：

（表三） PACTE與EMT模式的能力組合與難易度階層分析

能力組合	語言能力	知識能力	技術能力	職業能力
成分內容	雙語知識	特定知識/程式	資訊搜尋	客戶服務
一般技能	雙語技能	百科知識	工具運用	行銷技巧
進階技能	翻譯口譯	跨文化溝通	術語詞庫	經營管理
專精涵養	分析編輯	專家知識	物聯網應用	倫理與規章
綜合運用	溝通策略	跨領域貫通	介面整合	應變協調
譯者能力	**語/文/編/修**	**專定/文化知識**	**人機操作整合**	**獨立/團隊作業**

其次，若以醫療院所為範疇，檢視譯者與該專定領域的關係方（stakeholder）之間的互動及業務上的交集，可以概括描述如下：

1. 對於醫病雙方而言，譯者的角色更接近溝通與協調者的功能。
2. 譯者的語言能力與知識內涵應高度融合，並配合現場需求調整表達方式。
3. 譯者對醫藥專業的知識落差，須透過技術與工具運用提高效率與精準度。
4. 醫療語文服務者，應以靈活的客服、行銷、管理手法面對客戶，並精研法令規章、保單條款、知情同意等，以保障患者權益，並遵行醫病倫理。

所謂溝通協調的角色功能是指，譯者在醫療場域的人際關係上，應讓不同語言與文化背景的醫病之間，透過譯者回應病患的治療需求，並在互動過程中保持理解與尊重的態度，以做出有益的決策。此外，作為醫療機構的一份子，譯者也應配合醫療機構的工作目標，協力完成其團隊任務。

而語言能力與知識內涵的融合，是指譯者應有能力將醫療知識與

治療程式、乃至醫療機材的作用等，針對醫療現場的需求提供即時有效且又準確的溝通。相對於會議口譯或商務口譯所追求的口譯技巧或表達藝術，醫療口譯更需依附於特定領域的知識平臺與實務場域，將專家知識、操作程式、檢驗機制、數據指標、藥物機轉、執行規範等，透過雙語間的轉換與表達，進行切合需求的口筆譯等語文與知識兼備的服務。

然而，譯者畢竟不是醫師，但卻又必須將醫師的問診與醫囑等，精細且兼顧現場情況進行動態的調整與雙語表達。因此，透過精準的資訊蒐集技術、翻譯記憶軟體、詞庫建置、醫療物聯網的運用等技術方法，才能以最有效率的方式進入醫療場域，成為醫病之間的溝通橋樑。未來，將前述工具融合匯整的平臺建置，不但可以成為教學上的助力，更會是醫療現場的利器。屆時，譯者的工作語言，除了自然語言之外，介於人機之間的操作語言，也是譯者必須掌握的能力之一。

最後，就各國的國際醫療語文服務人員培訓內容與課程描述可知，與現行口譯教學非常不同的特點，就是對於職業服務能力的要求。包括：接待、行銷、服務、管理、遵法、倫理，以及協調與應變能力等。相對於會議口譯員在口譯廂的獨立作業，或是商務口譯員的任務多元性，醫療口譯員服務的對象是病患與醫院。若以醫療院所設定的業務為範疇，譯者會在醫院與醫護人員等同質性較高的群體裡，擔任多類職種的代言人與協調者。譯者必須理解醫療程式與知識，因應醫療需求之外，還需擔任導覽、禮賓、促銷、文書管理、醫療保險申請知識及程式、知情同意書的口筆譯、法規與醫療倫理的解釋與遵行等多重角色。

未來，醫療翻譯人員在其工作能力的組合與比重，勢將影響人才養成與實務運作，其重組模式的主要特點如下：

1. 追求雙語能力與專家知識的高度整合。

2. 口語與書寫能力之外，尚應具備編輯修訂等，語文再生產能力。
3. 採取以使用者文化與慣習為基準的跨文化溝通原則。
4. 具備充分的知識能力，以選擇適切的工具及搜索技術，並加以靈活運用。
5. 組成術語平行語料庫與翻譯記憶庫的教學及應用團隊。
6. 實務環境中，譯者須具備獨立作業的應變能力及團隊作業的協調能力。

六、結語

1941年日內瓦大學翻譯學院源於國際組織的會議需求而開創的口譯培訓模式，依附於國際會議的同步口譯工作之需而沿用至今。歐洲由於歐盟與OECD等國際組織駐在的地利之便與尊重多語的文化觀點，再加上會議口譯的共同話語平臺，使得以公眾演說及討論問答為主的口譯培訓內容與模式，成為各國翻譯教育的範本。然而，由於移民與跨國移動而形成的社區口譯，其中的人際介面與話語多方輪動的訊息傳達方式，直接挑戰了口譯以一對多的話語形式及其教學慣習。

社區口譯脫離了口譯的技巧性與藝術性追求，而將焦點轉向移民在社區的活動與醫療保健等課題。亦即，轉為以人為重心的翻譯行動。但從翻譯的生產場域對照國際組織內的國際會議，國際醫療的口譯生產場域就是醫療院所。其知識生產的內容，相對於國際會議的廣博程度，醫療知識技術的精深更甚。故其進入門檻往往在於醫療知識與診療程式的掌握，譯者的挑戰在於融合語言運用與知識能力之後，才有機會入其門徑。

如今，透過醫療機構的國際化視野與行動，對於譯者能力的要求

日益升高，譯者在雙語能力與專家知識融合的過程中，猶需兼顧職業能力與職業意識的培養，才能在跨領域、跨文化、跨業種等複合而多變的環境中順應生存，並進而在醫療系統中建立可識別、可評估、可連結的職業屬性，以取得其專業化與職業化的位置。

注 釋

[1] 引自Bangkok Hospital Hua Hin 院長Dr. Somarch Wongkhomthong，2010年於日本演講時提供的數據。該院體系內第一年全職譯員需經180小時教育訓練，第二年則為100小時。此外，在2015年6月輔仁大學跨文化研究所主辦之「推進國際醫療翻譯：教育與實務」國際研討會中，Dr. Somarch Wongkhomthong亦曾披露該項訓練模式。

[2] 將國際醫療稱為「藍海」事業引述自北海道大學附屬病院寶金清博院長2016年10月22日於「北海道国際医療ネットワーク　プログラム」之開幕致詞。札幌：京王PLAZA酒店。而「藍海」的典故，則出自2005年經濟學暢銷書《藍海策略》(Blue Ocean Strategy)，是韓國學者金偉燦（W. Chan Kim）與法國學者莫博涅（Renée Mauborgne）的共同著作。指企業應開創尚未被開發之新興「藍海」市場，以對抗惡性削價競爭早已血流成河的「紅海市場」。

[3] 北京市質量技術監督局於2006年11月頒佈了《公共場所雙語標識英文譯法通則》，其中「醫療衛生」為其第5部份。

[4] 根據筆者2016年12月至2017年2月前往前述醫院的參訪見聞。

[5] 部份文字出入，係2017年4月26日與該報告作者確認後酌予調整的結果，由筆者自負文責。

[6] 2000年8月11日，美國總統克林頓簽署13166號行政命令，以便英語能力有限者(LEP)可獲得聯邦政府補助的醫院等機構，溝通無礙的服務。

[7] 美國的醫療口譯檢定包含口筆試，主要機構有：CCHI（Certified Commission for Healthcar Interpreters），與CMI（National Board of Certification for Medical Interpreters）。

[8] 日內瓦大學醫院是擁有2000張病床的公立聯合醫院，50 的病患並非瑞士國籍，而是來自185國家。1999年起由紅十字會為醫院轉介社區口譯，2002年則由該院醫療倫理委員會提出不宜由病患親友擔任口譯的議題。其後，該院主動於簡介及手冊宣導使用專業譯者。然而，統計顯示受訪者偏好的口譯者依序為：院內雙語員工（40%，英德西義與法語），紅十字轉介（34.2%），病人親友（24.5%），未成年者（0.3%）等。引自（Hudelson & Vilpert, 2009; 9: 187)，Table2.

[9] http://24h.pchome.com.tw/books/prod/DJAK1D-A68712789

[10] 承蒙本書作者許朝添教授2017年5月31日，以「談三語健檢會話一書之編著過程—熱情與理想」為題來所演講，解釋該書編輯始末，並證實當初設定之目標群體確為日本人士。

[11] 曼谷醫院（華欣）院長Dr. Somarch Wongkhomthong，於2015年6月本所主辦之國際研討會中，曾明確指出他們醫院的營運是以醫治為主，健檢與美容等並非主要項目。從病患人數與病床規模等，亦可知此言不虛。

[12] 2017年2月13日筆者於長庚醫院國際醫療部聽取簡報及導覽時獲知。

[13] 2017年2月13日筆者於長庚醫院國際醫療部聽取簡報時，獲知該院每年接待參訪達230團。2017年台北周邊的台大、長庚、北醫、北投健康管理等醫院參觀費，約為每位2000-2500元。

[14] 根據台安醫院「國際特診中心」網頁內容。https://www.tahsda.org.tw/departments/FeaturedCenters.php?Dept=%E5%9C%8B%E9%9A%9B%E9%86%AB%E7%99%82%E6%9C%8D%E5%8B%99

[15] 2017年2月13日筆者於長庚醫院國際醫療部聽取簡報獲知。台安醫院則引述自2月14日該院簡報數據。

[16] 有關臺灣醫療轉運情況，據UIA（聯合國際救援）徐震宇執行長2017年5月3日來所演講所示。

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虛擬民族志方法論
視角下眾包譯者的動機研究

莫愛屏　李蜜　莫娟

Abstract

A Virtual-ethnographic Interpretation of Translator's Motivations in Crowdsourced Translation (*by* Mo Aiping, Li Mi and Mo Juan)

Drawing on a rational consideration of Virtual Ethnography, this paper discusses translator's motivations in crowdsourced translation. It first categorizes three main types of crowdsourced translation in China, i.e., entertainment-oriented, information-oriented and civic education-oriented. It then discusses the main characteristics of these motivations, aiming to shed light on the translation attitude, translation process management, and translation quality control. It is found that these motivations are mostly interest-motivated, and characterized by both non-profitability and profitability, selfishness and altruism. It can be concluded that in the present context of Chinese culture "going global", such research contributes significantly to some related fields such as translation pedagogy, translation practice (particularly the translation of Chinese culture into foreign languages), etc.

一、引言

"眾包"(crowdsourcing)是大眾在閒暇時間參與內容產出、解決問題、甚至企業研發的一種新鮮事物(Howe 2006),主要指公司或機

構將過去分配給員工的任務外包給志願者的一種工作模式。 近年來，隨著互聯網技術、雲計算及大數據運用的飛躍發展，眾包被迅速應用到諸如物流、出版、傳媒、教育等領域。 網絡信息的傳播由原來的單向轉為雙向，從權威、精英生產發布資訊變成大眾共同創造、傳播與分享；信息鏈終端的消費者變成生產者和創造者；各種社交媒體和網絡服務平臺也應運而生（曹藝馨，2015: 78）。在這種歷史變革的背景下，眾包翻譯模式便迎來了發展的機遇。

國內相關研究起步較晚，主要包括數字化時代的眾包翻譯，涉及翻譯的模式、案例應用、對語言服務行業、出版業的影響等內容（陳偉、莫愛屏，2014；陸燕，2012；唐智芳、於洋，2015）。少數學者關注眾包翻譯中"人"的因素，探討了該模式下的倫理、主體間性以及群體智慧等（郝俊傑，2016；賈立平，2015），鮮有學者探究眾包譯者的動機。在眾包翻譯模式下，譯者究竟有哪些動機？是什麼造就了這些動機？它們之間的異同如何影響譯者的翻譯態度和翻譯質量？翻譯發包方的目標能否順利實現？這些均是該研究領域亟待回答的問題。基於對民族志方法論的思考，本研究試圖通過對網絡社群（如知乎）、網絡新聞報導等的考察，對眾包翻譯類型進行分類，探討眾包譯者動機的顯著性特徵，旨在為解釋翻譯活動中譯者的態度、翻譯過程與質量管理等主客觀因素之間的互動提供理據。

二、眾包翻譯與民族志方法論視角

20世紀初，文化人類學家馬林諾夫斯基（Malinowski）創立了民族志方法論（Ethnography），引起了人們的廣泛關注。民族志既是一種研究方法和過程，常用來描繪人們的生活和經驗，又是一種研究成果和

產品，用來詮釋文化脈絡中人的實踐（Geertz 1973: 27）。現代民族誌發展迅速，其研究成果被語言學、教育學、新聞傳播學等人文學科廣泛採用。民族志方法論主要涉及研究者所從事的田野作業、觀察、訪談等，特別關注某個特殊的社群（一個民族或一個文化群體），從內部著手描述其客觀行為和闡釋相關的意義。虛擬民族志（Virtual Ethnography）則運用民族志思路探究被互聯網催生的新型社區形式——虛擬網絡社群，是一種通過互聯網觀察網絡社群及其成員的定性方法（Hine 2000: 65；庫茲奈特，2016: 2）。與傳統田野作業不同，虛擬民族志方法論視角下的研究者雖不能與研究對象進行面對面的互動和交流，卻打破了時空的界限。他們常常通過觀察網絡文本、參與網絡社群、在線訪談的方式獲取一手資料。

眾包翻譯（Crowdsourced Translation）指人們採用眾包的方式，將過去由職業譯者完成的任務外包給網絡譯者的一種翻譯模式（陸燕，2012：74）。它由網絡社區或社交平臺的用戶（職業和業餘譯者）生成，也常被稱為用戶生成翻譯（User-generation Translation）、社區翻譯（Community Translation）、志願者翻譯（Volunteer Translation）、協作翻譯（Collaborative Translation）等（Dolmaya 2012：169）。該翻譯模式由特定機構或群體提供改為大眾共同參與創造，依賴虛擬網絡社群和群體智慧，形成了獨特的線上文化社群，是虛擬民族志研究的主要內容。

本研究在虛擬民族志視角下，首先以翻譯網絡社群為研究對象，採用論壇的參與、線上觀察等方法，探究彰顯譯者動機的眾包翻譯類型。選取了以字幕組（如伊甸園、風軟、人人影視等）、譯言網、果殼網、政見網、Coursera等為代表的主流眾包翻譯虛擬社群以及網易、新浪等門戶網站，從宏觀上觀察其演變趨勢和側重點，梳理出三種類型的眾包翻譯模式並對其中的翻譯動機加以描述（詳見第三部分）。其

次，從微觀上聚焦眾包翻譯參與者，以網絡問答社區"知乎"為觀察對象。"知乎" 在國內影響力廣泛，用戶參與回答次數超過41億次，相當於不列顛百科全書的4350萬次，[1] 因而能廣泛徵集到眾包譯者的真實回答，可被視作一種在線調查方式。本課題組成員以註冊用戶的身份對該社區進行了長達一年（2016.07-2017.07）的在線觀察，蒐集有關眾包翻譯的在線問答。先以"眾包翻譯""翻譯動機""字幕組""譯言網""公開課"等為關鍵字，選定關于眾包翻譯的線上回答，聚焦譯者動機。再根據內容相關度，最終鎖定三個問題及其回答進行質性研究，嘗試解釋譯者動機的顯著性特徵（詳見第四部分）。這三個問題分別為：1. 網絡字幕組成員的工作動力是什麼？網絡字幕組真的從來不盈利嗎？[2]（簡稱問題A）；2. 譯言的古登堡計劃和外國的有什麼區別？[3]（簡稱問題B）；3. 字幕組的動力是什麼？[4]（簡稱問題C）。問題A共有202條回答，得到了4450人關注，其中位列第一的回答獲得了12742條點贊和1037條評論。問題B由於所提問內容的限定性，得到了1條回答和7人關注。問題C得到了25條回答，96人關注。

三、衆包翻譯的類型與動機

通過觀察主流眾包翻譯社群及其演變，我們認為眾包翻譯可分成三類：娛樂導向型、資訊導向型、公民教育導向型。娛樂導向型眾包翻譯涉及電影、劇集、遊戲等內容；資訊導向型眾包翻譯側重傳播各類文化資訊，如新聞、科普文章、暢銷小說、學術著作等；公民教育導向型眾包翻譯具有公民教育性質，其內容涵蓋自然科學和社會科學，以公開課、慕課等字幕翻譯為主。[5] 這三種類型均體現眾包譯者不同的翻譯動機。眾包譯者動機相互交織，複雜多樣，詮釋這些動機

有助於理解眾包翻譯的顯著性特徵。

3.1 娛樂導向型

娛樂導向型是眾包翻譯最主要的類型，也最能體現眾包翻譯的特徵與內涵。以影視字幕翻譯為例，譯者們已成立日劇、美劇、醫務劇、律政劇等各種專譯小組，形成了成熟的網絡社群，其中“伊甸園”“風軟”“人人影視”的影響最大。該領域微觀層面的研究涉及字幕翻譯的特點、翻譯策略和翻譯過程中的譯者主體性（鄭寶璿，2011；謝楠，2009；Remael 2001）；而宏觀層面的研究多從社會學角度探討字幕翻譯折射出的迷群文化和志願行為。

一般說來，字幕翻譯由各迷群（電影、劇集的粉絲群體組建的網絡社區）自己生產和傳播，群體間互動頻繁、積極互享。Izwaini（2014：101-107）對阿拉伯語網絡社群的眾包影視翻譯和開源軟件本土化中志願翻譯的研究表明：譯者的首要動機源自對影視劇集和開源軟件的喜愛，希望能將好的內容與大眾分享。基於電腦和網絡技術的發展，電腦用戶有機會參與志願翻譯，為社群的發展貢獻一已之力，並將其視作與其他用戶溝通的一種方式。

該類型的譯者不求物質回報，以學生、大學畢業生等業餘譯者居多。Zhang和Mao（2013）則從傳播學的迷群角度研究了中國的網絡翻譯社群。他們認為譯者首要動機為個人興趣，其次才是對語言學習和翻譯感興趣而參與翻譯實踐。

3.2 信息導向型

資訊導向型眾包翻譯的側重點在於對各類文化資訊的傳播，主要宣傳國外主流媒體的文章、暢銷小說、學術著作等。“果殼網”、“知乎

日報”等網絡社群以無償或有償的方式招募譯者翻譯《經濟學人》《新聞週刊》等；“譯言網”、“政見網”等則招募譯者翻譯各類暢銷書籍、學術著作等。

國外學者在該領域的研究多以維基百科和TED為研究對象。Dolmaya（2012, 2015）針對維基百科的眾包翻譯模式開展了系列研究。她從社會學角度探討維基百科眾包譯者的身份特徵（職業、專業背景）及其在翻譯中所擔任的角色（譯者、編輯者、項目經理以及其他成員），以及參與翻譯活動的內外部動機。她發現多數譯者（包括職業譯者與業餘譯者）的首要動機是讓目的語者獲得源語所傳達的信息。業餘譯者與職業譯者的動機略有不同。前者內部動機居多，他們傾向於選擇智力刺激性的項目，旨在鍛煉自身技能，以幫助眾包翻譯發起機構達到目的；而後者則外部動機居多，他們希望通過翻譯實踐吸引客戶、提高自身聲譽。Olohan（2014：23-26）以TED為案例，從社會學和心理學角度探討眾包翻譯的志願行為，並基於11個TED志願譯者的博客，總結出6條顯性和隱性的譯者動機：1. 希望他人能從TED中受益；2. 響應TED的傳播宗旨；3. 參與社會變革；4. 成為社團的一份子；5. 學習TED視頻內容；6. 享受翻譯的樂趣。

3.3 公民教育導向型

公民教育導向型眾包翻譯以公開課、慕課等字幕翻譯為主。從該類型的名稱來看，眾包翻譯具有公民教育的性質。從其所涵蓋的內容來看，眾包翻譯既涉及自然科學，又涉及社會科學。屬於此類型的網絡社群為眾包翻譯的發展做出了積極的貢獻：“譯言網”、“果殼網”相繼與慕課巨頭Coursera簽訂了合作協議；“網易”、“新浪網”等開辦了頗具影響力的“網易公開課”、“新浪公開課”欄目。英國公開大學的Beaven（2013）

等人針對日益盛行的眾包翻譯，開辦了講解翻譯工具及其應用的慕課 Open Translation Tools and Practices（簡稱 OT12）。由於其內容較為專業，該類型眾包翻譯對譯者的專業知識儲備提出了更高要求。

在國內的相關研究方面，我們以“公開課”和“翻譯”為主題詞搜索知網，僅得到81條結果。選中所有相關文獻進行可視化分析，我們得知多數研究側重翻譯方法和策略。與影視字幕對比，公開課字幕圖像內容單一，常出現停頓、反復等強調手法，且口誤及學術性語言較多。陳曉莉、錢川（2013）等人針對這些特點提出了適宜於公開課眾包翻譯的減譯、加註、歸化等策略。這些公開課涵蓋數學、哲學、心理學、醫學、物理、工程等領域，因此，以非英語專業的業餘譯者居多，如主修數學等理工專業的“肖浩廉字幕組”就組織翻譯了網易公開課欄目“可汗學院”的大部分數學課程。此外，公開課內容通常具有社會、政治或教育意義。譯者認為自身承擔了一定的公民責任，希望通過翻譯打開民眾心智，拓寬其視野，傳遞有益於民眾和社會的資訊（Zhang & Mao 2013：54）。

綜上所述，眾包翻譯社群所折射出的譯者動機複雜多樣，可歸納如下：1. 興趣愛好：譯者出於對翻譯實踐或對所翻譯內容的熱愛而從事翻譯活動；2. 能力提升：譯者希望通過翻譯活動或者翻譯內容提升自己的語言技能、拓展專業知識等；3. 成就感：譯者因為自身翻譯作品被認可而產生的自豪感；4. 責任感：部分譯者在看到某些翻譯內容時產生非我莫屬的感覺；5. 社交需求：譯者希望通過翻譯活動加入社群，認識志同道合的朋友，或與他人溝通交流；6. 聲望需求：希望藉助自身的翻譯作品打開或維持知名度和影響力；7. 勝任感：譯者出於對自身能力的信任或者挑戰從事翻譯活動；8. 分享與回饋：譯者不求回報，只求回饋社會；9. 謀生：譯者希望通過翻譯活動獲取報酬。

受不同類型的影響，這些動機相互交織呈現，表現出眾包翻譯區別於其它領域翻譯的顯著性特徵。

四、民族志方法論視角下衆包譯者的動機分析

"動機"（Motivation）指的是推動人為實現某一目的而採取行動的原因（佟穎，2016：19）。譯者動機指譯者參與翻譯實踐的原因，即翻譯動機。民族志方法論重視從內部描述一個種族或社群的本來面目，從參與者的角度發現其觀點、動機及其演變。

4.1 興趣驅動性

從現有研究結果以及蒐集到的語料和案例來看，眾包翻譯最為顯著的譯者動機是興趣或愛好。以影視字幕翻譯為代表的娛樂導向型社區較多依賴於志願行為，譯者受興趣、愛好的驅動參與翻譯實踐。資訊導向型和公民教育導向型翻譯平臺出於盈利的目的，篩選出一定的翻譯材料（例如公版圖書和公開課視頻等）供譯者選擇。在受限的前提下，譯者仍會選擇對其更具吸引力的作品或視頻。知乎問題"網絡字幕組成員的工作動力是什麼？網絡字幕組真的從來不盈利嗎？"（問題A）就得到了202條來自資深譯者和新手譯者的回答。在點贊數最多的回答中也不難見到"喜歡"、"熱愛"、"被劇情吸引"等字眼。例如：

> (1) 網友卡爾尤斯：沒有報酬還這麼辛苦的做，為了什麼？也許就是上面提到的一個字的答案，"愛"，僅此而已。我是2010年進組的，當時進組的原因就是看House MD（美劇《豪斯醫生》）的風軟版，每次被劇情吸引的同時也被字幕組成員的辛勤勞動而感嘆，遂報名成為他們一員……既然來了，就別抱著任何功利的思想，在這個浮躁的大環境下面，做點純粹的事兒。我想，

愛，非功利的愛，就是網絡字幕組成員的思想寫照。

例（1）中的網友卡爾尤斯是“FRS風軟”字幕組成員，他的回答獲得了12742條點贊。他提到參與字幕翻譯的原因是“被劇情吸引”和“非功利的愛”。“被劇情吸引”表明譯者源於對影視劇集等內容的喜愛而從事翻譯活動。“非功利的愛”則表明譯者從最初狹隘的個人興趣轉變成對字幕翻譯工作的熱愛和責任。

（2）網友北寧：（動機）有如下一個方面：1. 對心中的愛好的一點執念吧。看起來很虛，但是這是真的。敝組只是一個很小的組織，和@卡爾尤斯那樣的大組簡直是天上地下。但是，出於對航空的執念，我們在不斷的發展壯大，人數呈幾何級增長。從一般的航空愛好者，到模飛界的名人，以及數位飛行員，我們為著同樣的目標而前進。 這個過程是快樂的。

例（2）中的網友北寧是ACI字幕組成員，他的回答位列第五，獲得了130條點贊。ACI字幕組是一個專注於航空題材翻譯的志願譯製團隊。譯者們對航空有著共同的興趣愛好，受該興趣的驅動開展翻譯實踐，致力於普及航空知識，促進飛友群體發展，幫助大眾認識和參與航空發展。

總而言之，眾包翻譯模式下受興趣驅動的譯者動機既包含對影視劇集等內容的喜愛，也包含對翻譯活動的熱愛，並衍生出責任感從而達到了無功利的愛。

4.2 公益性與盈利性

娛樂導向型眾包翻譯社區由於缺乏官方組織，譯者在參與前已知曉翻譯任務是為無報酬的志願者行為。這樣的譯者動機顯然具有公益

性。然而，資訊導向型、公民教育導向型的眾包翻譯多由官方的網絡平臺組織，有較強的商業目的，因而會支付一定的報酬。譯言網的“古登堡計劃”[6] 作為開放的協作翻譯項目，長期招募譯者翻譯版權到期、已成為公共版權的外文作品，其公開協定裡明確了收益為40%。譯者在嘗試翻譯實踐之前，必然或多或少地考慮了報酬。因而，這一行為又具有盈利性。例如：

> (3) 網友Axl Zhang：只針對我組回答問題。最開始建組的初衷就是為了一部大家都熱愛的片子做字幕，做劇當然是不拿報酬的。後來等發展成熟了，會有商業合作找上來，這種時候是有報酬的，但遠比翻譯公司拿到的錢少。至於某大組，我覺得組織者是盈利的，但接觸過他們下屬的翻譯，肯定是沒有報酬的。工作動力真的就像前面所說一樣，愛。愛這部美劇就想讓更多的粉絲看到最好最快的字幕。

例（3）是網友Axl Zhang對上述知乎問題A的回答，位列第四獲得了356條點贊。譯者最初參與翻譯時並沒有考慮報酬，顯然，這是一種無償的、具有公益性質的活動。例（3）中的話語也透露出大字幕組因發展成熟、品牌效應等原因會給組織者帶來廣告等商業聯姻收入的資訊。又如：

> (4) 網友言又一十：謀生手段。有些人把這作為自己的謀生手段，其實字幕組也不是完全無利可圖，靠廣告多，靠轉型或者合作什麼的還是可以盈利的。不過單純想以此來盈利的人，我敢說，在字幕組這條純潔高尚的路上是走不長久的。

例（4）是網友言又一十同一問題的回答，說明部分譯者將字幕翻譯作為謀生手段，靠廣告、商業合作獲取報酬。因此，這種翻譯行為具有盈利性。

(5) 網友銀河南岸：譯言實施的是古登堡翻譯計劃，是把這些圖書譯為中文、譯者不再需要任何人或組織的授權或許可。但是譯者本身持有對譯本的版權，所以對譯本進行收費。也是對翻譯工作的回報。這些費用當然是由主持項目的譯言網和譯者們分享的。因此，古登堡計劃的圖書是完全免費的，而古登堡翻譯計劃是收費的。比起譯者們從事的商業翻譯，古登堡翻譯計劃的回報微乎其微。

例（5）則是網友銀河南岸對知乎問題“譯言的古登堡計劃和外國的有什麼區別？”（問題B）的回答，證明了以譯言為代表的資訊導向型眾包翻譯平臺具有一定的盈利性質，但相比純粹的商業翻譯，其報酬微不足道。

可見，眾包譯者的動機複雜多變，公益性動機與盈利性動機相互交織，具有矛盾的特徵。娛樂導向型譯者的動機多為公益性。由於其官方平臺的性質，資訊導向型和公民教育導向型譯者動機的盈利性概率較大。

4.3 利己性與利他性

眾包譯者的動機還具有衝突性的特徵，即利己性與利他性。利他性動機指譯者願意奉獻自己的時間精力來翻譯作品，以達到服務大眾、分享知識與愉悅、回報社會的目的。利己性動機則指譯者在從事翻譯實踐服務大眾的同時，惠及自身，不管是物質的還是精神的。娛樂導向、資訊導向、公民教育導向三種類型下的譯者在興趣愛好之餘會有意識的借助翻譯活動鍛煉自己的語言能力，學習所翻譯的內容，提升翻譯能力，獲取成就感、認同感等。資訊導向型和教育導向型下的一些譯者在追求報酬的同時，希望能打開知名度而獲取更多機會，也希望挑戰自我以獲得勝任感。例如：

(6) 網友黃曉宇：古代中國有個人叫玄奘，他發現佛經中文版的翻譯謬誤頻出，還有很多缺失，於是組團前往西土天竺搬運原版佛經，返唐後親自翻譯、傳播，《西遊記》由此而來。當今中國有一些人，他們發現很多好片國內看不到，於是組團，前往外網搬運原版片源，下載後親自翻譯、共享，江湖人稱字幕組。……一個人大腦中從未分享過的疑惑、知識、經驗、見解和判斷力，總是另一群人非常想知道的東西。

例(6)是知乎問題 A 位列第二的回答，收到了984條點贊。該回答將玄奘西天取經與字幕組的共享行為進行對比，點出了譯者的分享動機；同時也闡述分享的目的是讓他人學習知識、積累經驗、提升判斷力，因而此類翻譯行為具有利他性。

(7) 網友 L.YES ：因為從MOOC學到很多知識，還是免費的，所以做字幕來回報 …… 對我而言。

(8) 網友李海：分享精神吧，我們是做音頻製作教育類教程字幕的，一開始的目的就是因為發現國外的教程確實是更好，想讓更多人看得到。

例(7)(8)是譯者對知乎問題"字幕組的動力是什麼？"的回答。回答者分別為慕課和公開課字幕的譯者，表明公民教育導向型的眾包譯者俱有利他動機。他們希望通過翻譯活動分享知識、回饋社會等。

(9) 網友Bubble Berry：(動機) a.為了練習英語/熟悉相關軟件/練習漢語/...b.為了體驗成就感……開始之後，堅持的理由：1) 這是一部連續劇/番影，開了得填(責任感)；2) 擔心未來的字幕質量下降 (對品質的堅持)；3) 不想放棄已經打響的名聲 (維持公眾關注度)。

例(9)仍然是來自知乎問題A的回答，位列第六共收到73條點贊。網友Bubble Berry直言翻譯的動機是為了提高語言能力，體驗成就感，

維持自身的聲望。此外，也有譯者在回答中把翻譯社群當成了社交網絡，把翻譯作品變成了一種溝通方式，以滿足自身的社交需求；也有譯者因精通相關專業內容，而對翻譯工作產生了勝任感。譯言網眾包翻譯作品《史蒂夫喬布斯傳》的譯者們在接受主流媒體採訪時提到，希望能藉助此次翻譯機會挑戰自我。[7][8] 這些動機都具有精神上的利己性。

基於上述民族志方法論的分析表明，眾包譯者動機呈現出區別於其他領域翻譯的顯著性特徵。娛樂導向型眾包翻譯社群呈現顯著的興趣驅動性特徵；由於缺乏官方組織，且依賴志願行為，譯者通常沒有報酬，因而這一活動又具有公益性。信息導向型眾包翻譯側重翻譯新聞、科普知識、小說和學術著作等文化資訊，多由官方組織實施，是一種商業行為，故具有盈利性。公民教育導向型眾包翻譯則以公開課、慕課字幕翻譯為主，旨在傳授自然科學和社會科學知識，具有社會、政治和教育意義，帶有典型的利他性。值得注意的是，譯者通過翻譯實踐，尋求能力提升、成就感，滿足其社交與聲望的需求，故這種翻譯行為又帶有精神上的利己性。

五、 結語

新興的眾包翻譯依賴網絡和群體智慧，形成了獨特的線上文化社群。本研究採用虛擬民族志方法，以在線觀察的方式從宏觀上描述眾包翻譯社群及其演變，梳理出娛樂導向型、資訊導向型和公民教育導向型三種類型的眾包翻譯。從微觀上聚焦眾包譯者動機，並以“知乎”的相關問答為個案，解釋眾包譯者動機及其顯著性特徵，旨在為理解譯者的翻譯態度、翻譯過程管理、翻譯質量管理等提供理據。

本研究發現：這些動機與趣驅動性顯著；不求回報的公益性與追逐報酬的盈利性特徵共現；滿足個人需求的利己性與造福他人的利他性特徵相互依存。然而，囿於以觀察、描述等定性方法為主，本研究帶有一定的主觀性。未來研究還可通過問卷訪談、歸納法、實驗法等方法探討譯者動機與翻譯過程、質量管理之間互動等內容。此類研究在當前語境下有一定的現實意義，其研究成果對翻譯教學、中華文化外譯等領域的研究也有較大啟示。

注 釋

[1] 詳見搜狐報導“4年超2900萬註冊用戶，知乎是怎麼做到的？”http://mt.sohu.com/20160815/n464266465.shtml

[2] 該問題及其回答詳見知乎網頁 https://www.zhihu.com/question/21421000

[3] 該問題及其回答詳見知乎網頁https://www.zhihu.com/question/23517729/answer/25204199

[4] 該問題及回答詳見知乎網頁 https://www.zhihu.com/question/20328961

[5] 頗具代表性的公開課平臺有：網易公開課https://open.163.com/；慕課平臺有：MOOC中國http://www.mooc.cn/

[6] 譯言“古登堡計劃”詳見網頁http://www.qnwz.cn/html/qnwzx/140516/lh/2014/0515/493590.html

[7] 詳見新浪新聞報導：23歲管延圻：喬老爺子我對得住你http://ent.sina.com.cn/x/2011-10-26/07403460720.shtml

[8] 詳見新浪新聞報導：武漢女孩譯《喬布斯傳》為保密差點“內傷”http://edu.sina.com.cn/l/2011-10-25/1736208185.shtml

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Note-taking in Consecutive Interpreting:
A Comparative Study of Professional and Novice Interpreters

Sabrina Miao Wang

Abstract

This paper focuses on an empirical pilot study on note-taking in consecutive interpreting, reporting on data collected from the notes produced by three professional interpreters and three student interpreters. Adopting both qualitative and quantitative methods, this paper aims to determine the key features of the notes by analysing their distribution over three categories, namely, symbols, abbreviations and complete words and to discuss the views of participating interpreters on the use of symbols in note-taking. Based on the analysis of the notes, the results show that good practice involves combining short-term memory and notes in order to reduce their volume, thereby saving more processing capacity for listening and comprehension. The use of more symbols including memory prompts will help interpreters to grasp the meaning of the speech, and experienced interpreters are likely to have a more consistent and comprehensive system of symbols than beginners. The results also suggest that for better performance, interpreters should abide by some basic rules in their use of symbols, namely, limiting themselves to one set, trying not to create or improvise symbols on the spot and combining symbols with short-term memory.

1. Introduction

1.1 Background Research

In the globalized information age, frequent cooperation and negotiations have been carried out between countries through regional and international conferences; as a result, conference interpreting has been given more and more attention as it plays an increasingly indispensable role in bilingual and multilingual communication. Consecutive interpreting (hereafter CI) is one of two modes of conference interpreting, the other being simultaneous interpreting (hereafter SI). Compared with SI, CI has one distinctive characteristic related to strategy or technique which is the system of note-taking. By developing a consistent and efficient system, an interpreter can perform with great efficiency, completeness and fluency.

Given the central role that note-taking plays in CI, the literature produced by scholars and interpreting practitioners in this field has been extensive. For instance, Jean Herbert's work titled *The Interpreter's Handbook: How to Become a Conference Interpreter* (1952) provides a solid foundation for the development of a system of note-taking for CI. Building on his theories, Jean-Francois Rozan puts forward his seven principles and twenty symbols in *La prise de notes en interpretation consecutive* (1956) (translated into English by Andrew Gillies in 2004), followed by Heinz Matyssek's *Handbuch der Notizentechik fur Dolmetscher* (1989). Most recently, two editions of *Conference Interpreting Explained* published by Jones (1998, 2002) and *Note-taking for Consecutive Interpreting: A Short Course* (2005), *Conference Interpreting: A Student's Practice Book* (2013) and *Note-taking for Consecutive Interpreting: A Short Course (2nd Edition)* (2017) published by Gillies provide fairly comprehensive and constructive guidance on conference interpreting, note-taking in CI in particular. The theories and techniques introduced by these scholars and practitioners in the field have been widely disseminated within the interpreting community.

Note-taking techniques and theories have been in existence for decades and used by various scholars and interpreters based on their own systems of note-taking and their own field experiences. There have been three controversial issues: the quantity of notes, the choice of language and the choice of form (namely, symbols, abbreviations and full words). The choice of form or the use of symbols in note-taking, which has attracted considerable attention over the years, has been discussed from various perspectives and generated a number of critical comments, including those of Herbert (1952), Rozan (1956), Matysek (1989), Jones (1998, 2002), Her (2001), Phelan (2001), Gile (2002), Lung (2003), Dam (2004), Nolan (2005), Gillies (2005, 2013, 2017), Dai and Xu (2007), Heimerl-Moggan and John (2007), Liu (2010) and Wang et al. (2010). Some of the well-established and systematic note-taking systems proposed by the scholars mentioned above will be discussed in detail in Section 2.2.

1.2 Research Objectives

This paper will focus on an empirical pilot study designed to determine what consecutive interpreters actually note rather than resolve the issue of what interpreters are supposed to note, whether symbols or words. The first objective of this research is to analyse the distribution of notes taken by participants in three categories (as stated above), namely, symbols, abbreviations and full words. Another objective is to focus on describing notes produced by participating interpreters in order to examine what are actually noted in these categories. The third objective is to discuss interpreters' views and experiences with regard to the use of symbols in note-taking.

1.3 Structural Outline

This paper is then divided into a further four sections. Section 2 will critically review literature on CI, the role note-taking plays in the process of CI, and the debate on the use of symbols in note-taking. Given that the paper is centred on an empirical pilot study drawing upon findings from an experiment and a questionnaire, research methods, preparations and procedures of the empirical study will be explicitly introduced in Section 3. Section 4 will present the results and findings in three parts, namely, analysis of the distribution of notes, description of the notes and discussion of the views of participating interpreters on the use of symbols in note-taking. Finally, the conclusion of this study, the limitations of this research and suggestions for further research will be presented in Section 5.

2. Literature Review

2.1 CI

According to Jones (2002: 5), conference interpreting includes two modes, CI and SI. Gillies (2005: 3) states that during CI, the interpreter needs to listen to a speech of a length usually ranging from one minute to five minutes, comprehend what the speaker has said, memorise the speech and take notes, and then reproduce the same message in the TL, while SI requires the interpreter to listen and speak at the same time and to split attention between the input from the speaker and the output to the audience (De Groot 1997: 27). This paper is focused on note-taking in CI; therefore, SI will not be discussed further in the current research although it has also been studied by a number of scholars previously. CI is demanding and challenging because it requires interpreters to deal with multiple tasks at the same time. Weber (1989: 161) considers CI as one of the most difficult sports skills, which requires interpreters to strike a balance between "brain and muscles".

Jones (2002: 5) mentions that the term 'consecutive interpreter' comes from the fact that interpreters first listen to a speech no matter whether the speech is long or short, and then recreate the speech consecutively based on what they note while listening; although some interpreters depend entirely on their memory to finish their tasks, they are still strongly recommended to develop their note-taking techniques to give an accurate and efficient interpretation of a very long source speech.

Gillies (2005: 3) states that during CI, interpreters need to listen to any speech of any length and then reproduce the same message in the target language. During this process, they have to make full use of the "combination of notes, memory and general knowledge" in order to attain a high standard of performance.

To be more specific, Pöchhacker (2008: 33) extols the Effort Models introduced by Daniel Gile (1995) for having laid a solid theoretical foundation for the study of the cognitive processing component of CI. Therefore, according to the Effort Models of Gile (1995: 178-179), there are two phases in the process of CI, including a listening phase and a reformulation phase. The listening phase is made up of four components, namely, listening and analysis, short-term memory operations, note-taking and coordination. The reformulation phase consists of remembering, note-reading and production. Remembering is regarded as "the operations involved in recall from memory and notes" about the source speech and reading means "reading or deciphering notes" that interpreters have taken during the former phase. It is obvious that notes work through both phases of CI.

Different scholars have slightly different definitions or explanations of CI; however, all of them have mentioned that notes play a significant part in the success of interpreters' work. Based on the previous theories mentioned above, while note-taking acts - to a relatively modest extent - as an aid to memory, it constitutes an indispensable component of interpreting as it exerts an influence on both phases of CI.

2.2 Note-taking

What is note-taking for CI and what is the purpose of taking notes? As Seleskovitch (cited in Santiago 2004) points out, interpreters store their information by using short-term memory that has a very limited duration, and if they do nothing with the information, it will fade very quickly. Therefore, if consecutive interpreters want to deliver a relatively equivalent target speech, they usually need to write down notes while receiving information. Mahmoodzadeh also states in Alexieva (1994: 199) that "even with the best memory it is next to impossible for the interpreter to remember all that is said in lectures, negotiations or press conferences, particularly if names, dates and figures are involved."

To be more specific, the first purpose of note-taking, according to Rozan (2004: 25), is that note-taking can help interpreters develop a better understanding of "links between all the ideas", which means interpreters could grasp the basic structure of the source speech with the assistance of notes. Jones (2002: 40) also states that note-taking could jog interpreters' memory, and more specifically, notes could give interpreters a general picture of the source speech, enabling interpreters to render the "structure of a speech" and helping them to improve the analysis of the relations between ideas in order to clarify the main and the subordinate principles. Meanwhile, based on Gillies's theory (2005: 6), with the help of note-taking, interpreters are able to have a "visual representation" of the "skeleton structure" of source speech with the help of notes as the source speech should be firstly analysed at "the macro-level."

Compared with the first purpose, another obvious purpose of note-taking should be explained at the micro-level. Rozan (2004: 25) mentions that note-taking could help interpreters retrieve all the ideas in a given speech, enabling interpreters to deliver a complete and accurate performance. Jones (2002: 39) also stresses that note-taking can help interpreters relieve their memory. Just as a body consists of bones but also flesh and blood, a speech comprises a logical structure but also many separate elements, such as "numbers, names, lists and so on." As interpreters need to focus their attention on analysing and listening, they should devote less time to remembering each element; notes can help ease the burden on the interpreter's memory and allow greater processing capacity to be devoted to listening attentively. According to Heimerl-Moggan and John (2007: 9), note-taking can act as a guarantee, enabling interpreters to render an interpretation of "correct order, completeness and clarity", which means note-taking also covers detailed information of the source speech apart from the general structure.

Moreover, there is also another purpose which is not as obvious as the first two in terms of helping interpreters' memory. Rozan (2004: 25) points out that notes act as a tool to facilitate "a fluent and stylish interpretation", which means notes can help interpreters find the most appropriate meaning of words in a given context rather than word-for-word translations or dictionary equivalences.

Although note-taking plays a positive and crucial role in the process of CI, it does not mean note-taking is an end in itself. Instead of that, interpreters should develop a system of note-taking which is consistent, simple and efficient. In other words, ignorance of efficient note-taking for CI will have a detrimental effect on the performance of interpreters.

The following section will analyse the reasons why interpreters should develop an efficient system of note-taking. Gile (1992: 191) mentions that the

Effort Models are derived from the concept of Processing Capacity. In the first phase of CI, the total Processing Capacity requirements include three parts, namely, listening, memorizing and note-taking. If what interpreters require exceeds the Processing Capacity or if Processing Capacity cannot be properly allocated, interpreters - beginners in particular - will encounter difficulties during interpreting. By contrast, in the second phase, interpreters read their notes, deliver their interpreting and can control this phase and the allocation of Processing Capacity themselves. Therefore, the correct allocation of Processing Capacity in the first phase is the key to the delivery of effective interpretation. As Gile (1992: 192) suggests, interpreters should allocate more Processing Capacity to listening while as little as possible to note-taking in order to make best use of Processing Capacity. Gillies (2005: 8) also mentions that although notes play a part in both phases of CI, "any reduction in the effort required to take good notes" will exert a profound positive impact on the whole process of CI. For his part, Jones (2002: 39) warns that if interpreters pay too much attention to note-taking, there will be two possible outcomes, both negative. The first one is that interpreters are likely to get into the trap of word-for-word translation as their notes are just like "a form of shorthand", full of words deriving from the source speech rather than containing ideas. Another is that interpreters are likely to miss out parts of the speech as they pay insufficient attention to listening, understanding and analysing: a "flying blind" situation will be extremely dangerous for consecutive interpreters.

Therefore, based on these scholars' suggestions and advice, it is undeniable that note-taking indeed plays a crucial role in CI. As we have seen, however, note-taking is a means to an end rather than an end in itself (Jones 2002: 39).

According to Gillies (2017: 267), there have been different ways proposed by different scholars of note-taking in CI; however, "there is not much disagreement among authors on these principles". The next section will give a brief summary of note-taking principles proposed by different scholars.

Rozan is among the pioneers proposing seven note-taking principles of CI and key symbols used in CI note-taking. As Rozan (1956 / 2003) mentions in his book, his note-taking system was established through his 10-year experience as a practising interpreter and his 4-year experience as an interpreting teacher/trainer. According to Rozan (1956 / 2003), there are seven principles for note-taking, namely 1) noting the idea rather than the word; 2) abbreviating words of more than four-five letters by noting a few of the first letters and a couple of the last; 3) using links; 4) indicating negation; 5) single- and double-underline for emphasis; 6) noting vertically; and 7) indicating repetition. In addition, Rozan (1956/2003) introduces twenty symbols and mentions that ten of these are considered indispensable. These principles of Rozan would lay a good foundation for future note-taking studies and several editors subsequently commented that "it would be hard to find an interpreter in Western Europe whose note-taking style owes nothing to Rozan" (Rozan 2002: 7).

As summarized in Gilles (2017: 269), Seleskovitch (1975; 1989/2002) provides a useful account of what to note and how to note by further developing Rozan's principles. According to Seleskovitch (ibid.), "what to note" includes ideas, fulcra, transcodable terms, numbers, proper names, technical terms, lists, the first sentence, the last sentence, and striking usage. In terms of how to note, she emphasizes the importance of clear, minimal notes with little or no use of the target language, the use of recurring and multi-purpose symbols and abbreviations, noting the first and the last sentences. She highlights clarity of structure, which need to adhere to the speaker's order of delivery.

Thiéry (1981) outlines 15 principles of note-taking such as noting quickly what comes to your mind first, understanding is more important than taking notes, noting abbreviations, links and structures and using symbols that already exist. Apart from those noting principles, Thiéry (1981) also points out that interpreters should number unbounded pages, cross out finished notes, glance at the whole section before interpreting, look at the audience and make sure that the colour of the pen clearly stands out against that of the paper. To sum up, he not only discusses how to take notes, but also suggests what to do with the notes and note-taking tools.

Matyssek (1989) is best known for his systematic and efficient system of symbols although he also offers a series of recommendations for note-taking in general, for instance, noting meaning rather than words, noting vertically rather than horizontally, noting names, dates, numbers and keywords, using abbreviations, noting tenses, moods, number, emphasis and so on. Matyssek (1989) provides fairly comprehensive rules for the use of symbols, for instance, symbols should be simple, economical, easy to recognize; they must be convincing both in form and meaning and should be independent of language; symbols should be derived from the mother tongue of the interpreter and should represent meaning rather than words; and basic symbols should be created that can be adapted to express different meanings.

Ilg and Lambert (1996) add their own note-taking techniques by building on the techniques proposed by the previous scholars. They suggest that interpreters should note concepts in the forms of general signs or words, note the main grammatical constituents of speech, use arrows to represent verbs and indicate repetition. Also, the forms of symbols could be Greek and Latin prefixes, typographical signs, polysemic short forms (ASAP), mathematical signs, colloquialisms (OK), abbreviations, acronyms, and so on. They also point out that notes should be taken vertically, explicitly and economically, giving a clear structure of meaning.

Jones (1998/2002) offers a relatively comprehensive introduction to both SI and CI including note-taking techniques. He also focuses on what to note, for instance, the main ideas, the links, the speaker's information, tenses, numbers, dates, proper names and so on as well as how to note vertically and diagonally, using abbreviations and symbols and noting links in margins.

Gillies (2005, 2013, 2017) provides a fairly concise and comprehensive system of note-taking and teaches both students and teachers the basics of note-taking by adopting a step-by-step approach: he covers analysing speech for note-taking, taking diagonal notes, using links, noting vertically and showing hierarchies, using symbols and so on.

Note-taking techniques and suggestions mentioned above clearly indicate that different scholars have shown their agreement in general note-taking principles to some extent, for instance, most of the scholars mentioned above as well as several other researchers in this field stress that note-taking should focus on meaning rather than words (Rozan 1956/2003; Seleskovitch 1975, 1989/2002; Thiéry 1981; Matyssek 1989; Ilg and Lambert 1996; Jones 1998/2002; Gillies 2005, 2013, 2017; Deng 1991; Jia 1995; Chuang 2008; Han 2002; Mu and Lei 1998), note-taking should be done vertically and should show hierarchies (Rozan 1956/2003; Matyssek 1989; Ilg and Lambert 1996; Jones 1998/2002; Gillies 2005; 2013, 2017, Liu 2008), should pay attention to some key elements such as tenses, moods, dates, numbers, terms and so on (Seleskovitch 1975, 1989/2002; Matyssek 1989; Ilg and Lambert 1996; Jones 1998/2002), and most importantly, should make best use of symbols and abbreviations in note-taking (Rozan 1956/2003; Seleskovitch 1975, 1989/2002; Thiéry 1981; Matyssek 1989; Ilg and Lambert 1996; Jones 1998/2002; Gillies 2005, 2013, 2017; Wu 2008; Han 2002). A further point to note is that note-taking systems for English-Chinese CI are relatively undeveloped; as mentioned by Liu (2008: 65f), some of the note-taking rules and principles such as using abbreviations in note-taking are largely based on European languages, which are difficult for native speakers of Chinese and some of these are inappropriate due to linguistic differences. This pilot study on note-taking in CI, the use of symbols in particular, could be further expanded subsequently to develop a systematic, consistent and efficient note-taking system for English-Chinese CI.

2.3 The use of symbols in note-taking

2.3.1 The definition of symbols

Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2000: 1318) defines symbol as "a sign, number, letter, etc. that has a fixed meaning, especially in science, mathematics and music". Gillies (2005: 99) also states that a symbol in note-taking can be a picture or a sign and can be "a short word, a pair of letters or a single letter", but it should be able to represent the "underlying meaning of a word or an expression" instead of the exact word or phrases used by the speaker. Based on its traditional and contextual definition in note-taking, it follows that symbols (rather than words or sentences) are used to reveal the information or the message that the source speech seeks to communicate, giving interpreters an idea or a concept, which is the clearest difference between symbol-based notes and language-based notes. This obvious difference between the two systems has given rise to a fierce argument on the use of symbols in note-taking.

2.3.2 Advantages of the use of symbols

With regard to the advantages of using symbols in note-taking, the key theorist is Matyssek. According to Matyssek in Jones (2002: 49), interpreters should be advised to take a maximalist approach to using symbols in note-taking, create language-independent note-taking systems, and develop "a comprehensive system of symbolization", which is also called "a new code language or an 'interpreter's shorthand'" (Dam 2004: 252). Apart from Matyssek, several other scholars have noted the advantages of symbol-based notes, including Cheng (1994), Gile (1995), Jones (2002), Alexieva (2003, as cited in Mason 2008), Nolan (2005), and Heimerl-Moggan and John (2007).

Jones (2002: 49) outlines two obvious advantages of noting symbols for CI. One advantage is that interpreters can save time in noting symbols, which makes note-taking more efficient and more complete. The other is that interpreters can easily get rid of the "trap of word-for-word translation" as a symbol represents a concept or an idea and interpreters tend to think of the underlying ideas rather than words when they retrieve memory from notes.

Moreover, owing to their enhancement of the long-term memory point of view, symbols seem to be gaining popularity compared with words. CI, all too often, relies on the long-term memory when the speaker delivers a speech of five minutes or longer. Garretson (1981: 244) takes a psychological approach in demonstrating that long-term memory, which is important for CI, can fade very quickly, but it is less difficult to recall a large number of ideas than to remember long sequences of words. Smith (as cited in Santiago 2004) also points out that "it takes no longer to put a rich and relevant chunk of meaning into long-term memory than it does a useless letter or word." Based on these psychological theories, Nolan (2005: 294) suggests that for interpreters, the successful way to note in CI is to reduce "words into ideas" and put "ideas into symbols" so that symbols will be reproduced easily and accurately in the target language.

In addition, Heimerl-Moggan and John (2007: 18) point out that since it still takes interpreters too much time to note important words, the recommendation is that they write down abbreviations, acronyms but mainly symbols rather than full words. They also state that the ideal way of note-taking is to note only symbols and the development of a system of symbols is regarded as "the first step" for note-taking. As for the reason for choosing symbols, they (2007: 47) explain that "a functioning set of symbols can not only save interpreters' time but also focus interpreters on the source speech rather than worrying about what has been missed out or dropped". More importantly, the seemingly "confusing and complicated" process of developing a functioning set of symbols will bring more benefits. First, using symbols can allocate more processing capacity of interpreters to "the subtleties of what is being said, for instance, little utterances, emotions of the speaker and secondary information" (ibid.). Apart from that, the process of developing symbols will help interpreters to grasp the underlying meaning of words and phrases, which is not only a good way for interpreters to build up quality vocabulary but also for them to enhance comprehension skills.

To sum up, based on the previous theories put forward by those scholars and interpreters, saving time, reducing processing capacity, grasping ideas rather than words, avoiding word-for-word translation, improving recall, and noting semantic images rather than lexical and syntactic elements are the major concerns of interpreters while taking notes, which are also the important reasons why symbols are often recommended in place of words in CI.

2.3.3 Disadvantages of the use of symbols

However, there is another school of thought calling for minimizing the use of symbols in note-taking for CI, which is represented by Herbert (1952), Keiser in Taylor-Bouladon (2001) and Rozan (2004). Rozan (2004: 25) argues that interpreters should choose a natural language to note and minimize the number of symbols in notes. He adds that interpreters should limit the number of symbols in notes to 20; as a matter of fact, among those 20 symbols, only 10 symbols are "indispensable" for interpreters. Rozan's explanation is that interpreters should focus on understanding rather than “symbolizing”, and they should not decipher symbols while reading back notes as is done in shorthand: a speech is still recreated “by virtue of words” rather than ideas. Interpreters should not attempt, therefore, to formulate symbols during the note-taking process which would add to their burden rather than reduce it. Symbols must be devised and memorized beforehand.

Herbert (1952: 40) also warns that relying on symbols would be dangerous as interpreters may “temporarily forget” the meanings of symbols while reading back notes. He suggests that “not more than half a dozen” new signs and symbols should be used at a time until “previous symbols are perfectly assimilated”. Meanwhile, Herbert in Rozan (2004: 25) also points out that the meanings of symbols should be decided in a given context as symbols could only represent “a general notion or direction” in notes.

Furthermore, Jones (2002: 50) is concerned that the system of symbols is a “complex, abstract” and arbitrarily-created system; therefore, interpreters may not concentrate on listening and analysing the source speech, because they have to focus on how to associate words and phrases with symbols. He also warns that even when interpreters’ notes are complete and accurate, they may encounter difficulties when they read back notes as they have to convert symbols into words again. Therefore, in both listening and reformulation phases, this abstract system of symbols is likely to be a burden for interpreters as it requires too much time and capacity for the word-symbol conversion process.

Although the case for using a number of symbols in note-taking seems to outweigh the case against it, there is still no empirical study to support the premise that symbols can largely replace texts in note-taking. All of these theories are mostly based on personal experience. The choice of form or the use of symbols in note-taking is still one of the most controversial questions in the field of interpreting. However, there is still a common tendency that notes should be efficient (both simple and informative) so that they can be written in an easy and quick way and give complete and accurate information to interpreters in the retrieving process.

Instead of giving a definite answer to the question regarding which system interpreters should select, i.e. symbols or words, this paper aims to analyse the distribution of symbols, abbreviations and full words in interpreters' notes, and to describe interpreters' notes in terms of symbols, abbreviations and full words. Furthermore, the paper is designed to ascertain the basic rules of noting symbols as well as their relative merits from the perspective of practicing interpreters including both beginners and experts.

3. Research Methods and Procedures

3.1 Pilot Study

The current empirical pilot study is designed to identify what professional and student interpreters note by quantitatively analysing and qualitatively describing their notes in terms of symbols, abbreviations and full words rather than deciding on what interpreters are supposed to note in English-Chinese CI.

Previously, some experiments have been carried out to examine the notes taken by students only in English-Chinese CI (Lung 2003; Dai and Xu 2007; Liu 2010; Want et al. 2010). Lung (2003) analyses notes produced by 21 students interpreting from English to Chinese and finds that students mainly use languages rather than abbreviations or symbols. Dai and Xu (2007) discusses notes of 12 students interpreting from Chinese to English and the conclusion is that note-taking is language-dominant. Liu's (2010) experiment involves 120 students and the findings show that student interpreters prefer languages to symbols and full words to abbreviations. Wang et al.'s experiment (2010) with 12 students concludes that notes are language-dominant, and symbols are less used. The major difference between previous empirical studies and this pilot study is that the aim of this project is to involve both professionals and students, to compare, describe and analyse notes taken by two groups of different levels of expertise and to identify differences in expert-novice note-taking systems and provide pedagogical suggestions for future training and teaching.

According to Hale and Napier (2013), piloting means testing before the final version of the experiment and the piloting phrase could help ensure that the experiment is a valid instrument and after the pilot, the research could further refine the instrument and launch it officially. Therefore, one suggestion based on this pilot study for future research is to carry out a larger-scale empirical study by including more subjects, both professionals and students, to explore further the most systematic and efficient ways of note-taking in English-Chinese CI as the research into note-taking in CI has mostly focused on European languages and one system dedicated to the English-Chinese language pair would be of great significance and usefulness.

Apart from testing for future experiments, another reason for carrying out this pilot study is that given the special nature of interpreting, large-scale empirical research can be time-consuming and expensive because a) "interpreters often seem to think that they are being assessed for quality, whereas this is not the case" (Gile 1997: 120). The starting point of the experiment is to look at notes and CI output produced by all the subjects; however, more importantly, it is to investigate the differences between experts and novices and to provide recommendations for training and teaching based on professionals' practice, experience and techniques. However, a number of professional interpreters approached did not want to take part in the experiment, for fear that analysis of their output might affect their interpreting career and damage their reputation; b) many professional interpreters were too busy to participate in the experiment during the suggested experiment period which was relatively short; and c) the high fees charged by professional interpreters made it impossible to have a large sample size when the experiment was carried out, so the number of participants was thus reduced. Without a large subject pool, it can still be predicted that the pilot study with a balanced number of three experts and three novices (1:1 novice to expert ratio) at this stage would not affect the results of the research negatively and will still help identify what interpreters note in CI to some extent. Furthermore, the pilot study can be expanded subsequently for providing a more systematic, efficient and consistent way of note-taking in English-Chinese CI.

3.2 Research Methods

According to White (2000: 66), using "triangulation" which includes both qualitative and quantitative research approaches on one topic could be "complementary, with the outcome resulting in a more thorough understanding of the problem under investigation." In an attempt to explore the issue of the use of symbols in note-taking from a variety of viewpoints and to enhance the reliability of the results, this research project was conducted via a combination of these two research approaches.

Just as White (2000: 24) points out, quantitative research provides results with "numerical values" from an objective point of view. As this paper firstly aimed to analyse the distribution of three categories including symbols, abbreviations and full words in notes, the first part of the research was based on the analysis with the help of tables and adopted a quantitative approach to deal with the data and to evaluate the results.

In order to reveal what interpreters' notes actually look like in terms of the three categories, namely, symbols, abbreviations and full words, the paper also adopted a qualitative approach that includes a display of photos of notes made by professional and student interpreters, followed by an explicit description of their notes according to their own explanations after the experiment.

Finally, this paper provides an analysis of the questionnaire on note-taking.

3.3 Research Preparations

3.3.1 Participants

All the subjects had Chinese as their native language and English as their strongest foreign language. Among them, three professional subjects were invited from the London-based United Nations Interpreting Centre, Conference Interpreting Department Training Centre of China Translation and Publishing Corporation as well as Monterey Interpretation Institution, a China-based international conference interpreting training centre. Moreover, their professional experience ranged from three to six years, and they received their training from three different training centres.

The group of three student subjects comprised two students from

Middlesex University and one from University of Westminster and all of them had obtained the one-year MA in Interpreting in 2008-09 and had been taught note-taking techniques in different ways.

3.3.2 Experimental Materials

Given that the subjects included both professional and student interpreters, great importance was attached to the choice of experimental speech for testing the level of interpreters, and the speech content, speed and accent.

First, the source speech that all participants interpreted was chosen from English Interpretation Certification Examination of Intermediate Level administered by the Ministry of Education of China, which is designed to test the Chinese-English interpreting level of the fourth-year graduates and postgraduates who have received interpreting training as well as that of professional interpreters who have practised in this field for many years.

Secondly, the experimental text was a 6-minute, 7-segment and 560-word-long speech in English, presented at a meeting entitled International Cooperation against Transnational Organized Crime, which was interpreted consecutively from English into Chinese by six interpreters after taking notes. The content of the speech, based on the topic of money laundering, was general without having specific terminology or specific background requirements, which was suitable for all subjects.

Thirdly, the speech was presented by a male speaker at a rate of approximately 93 words per minute, which meant that the pace of the chosen material was even, and the speed was maintained at medium level. The speaker, Charles Jones from the Department of Justice of Hong Kong SAR, had no distinguishable accent.

3.3.3 Questionnaire

Data was also collected from a questionnaire which was designed to obtain the views of professional and student interpreters on the use of symbols in note-taking for CI. All subjects completed this questionnaire after completing the interpreting task. It comprised six questions including both open and closed questions.

3.4 Procedures

First, the study focused on analysing all the data obtained from notes produced by both professional and student interpreters over three categories, namely, symbols, abbreviations and full words. The paper first analysed the distribution of notes by professional and student interpreters separately, followed by a comparison and contrast between them.

Based on the previous empirical study done by Dam (2004: 253), notes were traditionally divided into three categories, namely, symbols, abbreviations and full words. Given that this paper was designed to study notes for Chinese-English interpreting, there were slight differences in the definition of these three categories although notes were still divided into these three types.

The first category in this paper relates to symbols. This category is a broad one, containing all non-language-based notes. In note-taking for CI, as Jones (2002: 108) points out there are also some non-verbal signs which are similar to symbols but do not really convey verbal information directly but act as a reminder for consecutive interpreters. These non-verbal signs are named "memory prompts". Memory prompts look like symbols, but they are just used to remind interpreters that something needs to be added to the interpretation rather than being related to concepts or ideas. For instance, if an arrow pointing diagonally downwards (↘) is used to denote decrease, decline and fall, it is a symbol; however, if it is used as a recall line, as Jones (2002: 233) mentions, which is drawn "from the first notation of the concept to the place it would have appeared the second time", it is just a memory prompt conveying non-verbal meaning. By using memory prompts, interpreters can take notes more quickly than noting down words or symbols. Therefore, in this paper, symbols contain both traditional verbal signs and non-verbal signs called memory prompts.

The second category of abbreviations not only included acronyms like "IMF" for" International Monetary Fund", but also a short form or a contracted form of a word, for instance, "corr" for "corruption". Meanwhile, with regard to notes for Chinese-English interpreting, it should be clarified that what abbreviation means in Chinese is not the same as what it means in English. According to *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*

(2000: 1), 'abbreviation' refers to "a short form of a word, etc." in English, while Chinese uses ideograms instead of alphabet-form abbreviations, uses key characters from a term or phrase, in other words, for the sake of convenience, Chinese abbreviation refers to a shortened phrase of a long expression, which often consists of no less than two Chinese characters, for instance, "Jiefangjun or解放軍" (The Liberation Army) is the abbreviated form for "中華人民共和國解放軍" (The Liberation Army of the People's Republic of China). Even the abbreviated form of Chinese is still too complicated and takes interpreters a long time to note, so they may just note any one word of that phrase, such as "軍" (Army), to represent the full Chinese phrase or they may note the translated English abbreviation "PLA" for that Chinese phrase. Therefore, the category of abbreviations in this paper includes mainly English abbreviations.

Apart from that, as Dam (2004: 253) indicates that the category of words contains full words, including English words both "with or without morphemes of inflections" and words both in the singular and in the plural, which means that both "launder" and "laundering" and both "state" and "states" would be dealt with as full words. Meanwhile, all Chinese characters in notes are treated as full words.

The second step of this research was centred on the description of notes. The paper described and explained the notes produced by professional and student interpreters separately, followed by a conclusion based on the comparison and contrast between their notes.

The last procedure of this research obtained the views from participating interpreters by analysing the questionnaire on the use of symbols for note-taking.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 Data collection and Analysis

The following is the analysis of the distribution of notes made by professional interpreters.

Notes Form	Subject 1	Subject 2	Subject 3	Subject 4
Symbols	59 (33%)	147 (66%)	93 (42%)	299(48%)
Abbreviation	14 (8%)	31 (14%)	36 (16%)	81(13%)
Full Word	108 (60%)	45 (20%)	91 (41%)	244 (39%)
Total Units	181	223	220	624

Table 1: Distribution of professional interpreters' notes over three categories of note forms

Table 1 gives a clear distribution of notes made by three professional interpreters including Subject 1, Subject 2 and Subject 3 over three categories of note forms, including symbols, abbreviations and full words. In general, the three sets of notes taken by professional interpreters were made up of 624 note units with 299 (48%) symbols, 81 (13%) abbreviations and 244 (39%) full words and each of them produced between 181 and 223 note units. According to this general calculation, symbols (48%) were likely to be the first choice for note-taking, full words (39%) tended to be the second choice while abbreviations (13%) were used to the least extent. According to Paneth (2002: 37), as interpreters gain more and more practice and experience, symbols will account for the majority of their notes. Based on these results, it would appear that symbols encouraged by a majority of interpreting scholars for use in note-taking was the first choice of professional interpreters.

This group result can also be confirmed by the performance of individual interpreters including Subject 2 and Subject 3. As can be seen in Table 1, both Subject 2 and Subject 3 showed their preference for using symbols over abbreviations and full words. Symbols in the notes produced by Subject 2 and Subject 3 accounted for 66% and 42% of total note units respectively; words tended to be used as the second choice, taking up 20% and 41% respectively; while abbreviations were used as the last choice, 14% and 16% respectively.

However, the conclusion that symbols make up the majority of notes made by professional interpreters seems to be premature after analysing the distribution of notes made by Subject 1. It can be clearly noted that full words were the first choice for Subject 1, which took up the biggest proportion - 60% of the total units, while symbols were the second choice, only taking up 33% of the total units and abbreviations were again the last choice with only 8%. As stated, it is impossible to conclude that symbols comprise the majority of notes made by professional practitioners.

Meanwhile, as two of them (Subject 2 and Subject 3) showed a preference for noting symbols (66% and 42% respectively) over full words (20% and 41% respectively) while the other (Subject 1) used more full words (60%) than symbols (33%), the conclusion that interpreters prefer either symbol-dominant notes or word-dominant notes is unlikely to be convincing. In other words, perhaps in a future study, it could be found that other interpreters have abbreviation-dominant notes.

Although this study could not draw a definite conclusion that professional interpreters' notes should be symbol-based or word-based, or professional interpreters take down more symbols than full words in their notes, it is worth mentioning that there is a clear correlation between the number of symbols and the number of total note units. As is shown in Table 1, Subject 1 who had the highest proportion of full words (108, 60% of the total units) and the lowest proportion of symbols (59, 33% of the total units), took down fewer notes (181) whereas Subject 2 who had the smallest proportion of full words (45, 20% of the total units) and the largest proportion of symbols (147, 66% of the total units), had the highest number of the note units (223). Based on these findings, it can be observed that interpreters are likely to produce notes that are more detailed if they use more symbols and fewer full words, or conversely, if they use fewer symbols and more full words their notes are likely to be less detailed.

These results agree with the findings obtained by Dam (2004: 255), which have demonstrated that symbols are more economical and efficient than full words since they allow interpreters to note down more information as long as their knowledge and use of symbols are adequate. In the analysis of Dam's experiment with five Spanish-to-Danish professional interpreters (2007), her two hypotheses including a) the more detailed the notes, the better the target text and, conversely, the briefer the notes, the poorer the target text; and b) the more abbreviations / the fewer full words, the better the target text and, conversely, the fewer abbreviations/the greater use of full words, the poorer the target text were supported with evidence. However, the issue of whether more notes can lead to better interpreting has not been settled yet in English-Chinese CI. More empirical studies are needed in this language pair to explore the relationship between the quantity of notes and the quality of interpreting by examining notes taken by both professionals and students in order to give a complete picture. The following part will focus on the analysis of distribution of notes made by student interpreters.

Notes Form	**Subject 4**	**Subject 5**	**Subject 6**	**Total**
Symbols	76(29%)	68(26%)	103(43%)	247(32%)
Abbreviation	84(32%)	106(40%)	6(3%)	196(26%)
Full Word	99(38%)	90(34%)	129(54%)	318(42%)
Total Units	259	264	238	761

Table 2: Distribution of student interpreters' notes over three categories of note forms

In the group of student subjects, data were collected from three sets of notes produced by three student interpreters, namely, Subject 4, Subject 5 and Subject 6. In total, these three sets of notes consisted of 761 note units with 247 (32%) symbols, 196 (26%) abbreviations and 318 (42%) full words. The total number of note units made by each subject ranged from 238 to 264. From an overall point of view, full words (42%) seemed to be noted as the first choice by student interpreters, symbols (32%) were used to a lesser extent, while abbreviations (26%) accounted for the smallest proportion. Based on this overall picture, it can be seen that the student interpreters tended to show a slight preference for using full words over abbreviations and symbols.

This result can also be obtained from the performances of Subject 4 and Subject 6. Full words accounted for the biggest proportion of notes produced by these two subjects (38% and 54% respectively). However, based on the performance of Subject 5, the result showed a slight change from the performance of the whole group. Subject 5 noted more abbreviations (40%) than full words (34%) and symbols (26%).

More interestingly, the proportion of symbols appearing in the individual notes is not consistent with that of symbols for the whole group. As indicated above, Subject 4 and Subject 5 even noted more abbreviations (32% and 40% respectively) than symbols (29% and 26% respectively) whereas only subject 6 took down more symbols (43%) than abbreviations (only 3%).

It is also noticeable that Subject 4 and Subject 5 noted far more abbreviations (32% and 40% respectively) than did Subject 6 (only 3%) and far fewer full words (38% and 34% respectively) than Subject 6 who noted 54% of full words for his total note units. As a result, Subject 4 and Subject 5 had significantly more note units (259 and 264 respectively) than Subject 6 (only 238). Therefore, it can be seen that the use of abbreviations is likely to enable interpreters to note more information than full words probably because interpreters can thereby save time and take more detailed notes. This result is also consistent with Dam's conclusion that abbreviations are likely to need less time and effort than full words so that interpreters are able to note more if they take down more abbreviations (2005: 251).

To sum up, after analysing the distribution of notes between two groups of subjects, it can be clearly seen that note-taking strategies in terms of the choice of form are a matter of personal interest and that performance in completing the same task varied. It is therefore difficult to recommend one form as optimal for all interpreters.

The following part will compare the performance of professional interpreters and student interpreters, analysing the relations of distribution of notes between these two groups.

As shown in Table 1 and Table 2, it can be clearly observed that there are some differences than similarities between professional and student interpreters in terms of the quantity of notes and the choice of form in note-taking.

First, in terms of the quantity of notes, three professional interpreters produced a total of 624 note units as shown in Table 1 whereas student interpreters wrote 761 note units as indicated in Table 2, showing that professional interpreters made fewer notes than student interpreters. This result also coincides with individual performance. It clearly shows that the total number of note units of each professional interpreter ranged from 181 to 223, which was far fewer than the total number of note units for each student interpreter which ranged from 238 to 264. According to Keiser in Taylor-Bouladon (2001: 62), the less an interpreter writes down, the more his memory will take over. It seems that the reason why professional interpreters noted less than student interpreters was that professional interpreters relied more on their memory than student interpreters. Meanwhile, Taylor-Bouladon (2001: 62) also mentions that a majority of student interpreters are likely to take down a number of notes, but as they become more experienced, their memory plays an increasingly important role so that professional interpreters seem to prefer to take "a few clear notes" rather than note "a whole page of notes" which are written too hurriedly to be read back. Therefore, based on both the group and individual performance, we can hypothesize that professional interpreters are likely to take down fewer notes than students largely because they have become more reliant on memory than are students.

The second aspect of difference between distribution of notes made by professional and student interpreters is that the proportion of symbols in the notes produced by professional interpreters (48%) was higher than that in the notes of student interpreters (32%), whereas the percentage of word-based notes of professional interpreters (39%) was a little lower than that of student interpreters (42%). Meanwhile, in the group of professional interpreters, symbols were the first choice for Subject 2 (66%) and Subject 3 (42%), and the second choice for Subject 1 (33%). By contrast, in the group of student interpreters, symbols were the second choice for Subject 6 (43%) and the last choice for Subject 4 (29%) and Subject 5 (26%). Jones (2002: 49) explains that symbols are used to help interpreters dispense with "word-for-word" translation as symbols are usually associated with an idea or a concept rather than with exact words. Meanwhile, according to Kalina (1992: 253), during CI, student interpreters have been frequently advised to focus on meaning rather than on words. Ballester and Jimenez (1992: 237) also state that for student interpreters, it is too hard to capture the overall meaning or to process the content of the speech so that they tend to focus too much on words. According to their theories and the professional-student performance in this experiment, it can be concluded that professional interpreters tend to use more symbols in note-taking than students as they are more likely to escape word-for-word translation and to grasp the underlying meaning of the speech.

Another result deriving from the distribution of notes is that professional interpreters showed a preference for using symbols (48%) in note-taking over full words (39%) while making minimal use of abbreviation (13%); student interpreters showed a tendency to use full words (42%) as their first choice and make less use of symbols (32%) and abbreviations (26%). The two findings mentioned above correspond to the findings of the empirical studies on note-taking in English-Chinese CI by Lung (2003), Dai and Xu (2007), Liu (2010), and Wang et al. (2010). Their empirical studies which only involve student interpreters all confirm the finding of this pilot study that the notes of students are language-dominant, and symbols and abbreviations are used less frequently. However, as this pilot study also involved professionals, the results are different from those of students, which generated interesting findings and contributed constructive suggestions for interpreting training and teaching. Since notes produced by professional and student groups show divergent trends in the use of symbols and full words in this experiment, it would be impossible to offer a definitive conclusion regarding the entire interpreting community's preferred form based on the findings of this experiment.

Nevertheless, all the conclusions and results are based on the analysis of the distribution of notes produced by professional and student interpreters. What is more important and practical is to analyse the notes to find out what they took down, how professional interpreters could reduce the volume of information and resort to symbols rather than words and how student interpreters performed when they faced the same task as professionals. Therefore, the following subsection presents a deep analysis of notes made by both groups in order to establish more practical and firmer support for the results above.

4.2 Notes Description

Here a pair of photographs of notes is to be described and analysed; the pair contains note elements made by one professional interpreter and one student interpreter. Before explaining their notes, the transcript of one randomly-chosen paragraph of the speech will be presented. Below the transcript, there are two photos of notes, one showing the notes made by a professional interpreter **(Picture 1)** and the other the notes produced by a student interpreter **(Picture 2)**. Then the analysis of these notes will be presented in terms of symbols, abbreviations and full words based on the discussion with interpreters about the actual meaning of each note unit. After analysing this group of notes, a conclusion will be drawn from the comparison and contrast of these two sets of notes in terms of the choice of form.

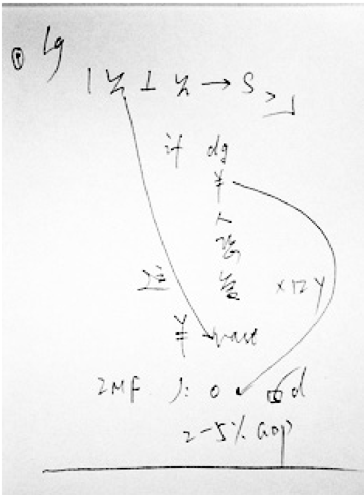
The following is the transcript of one paragraph of the speech:

(Quoted from http://www.51test.net/show/12575.html.)

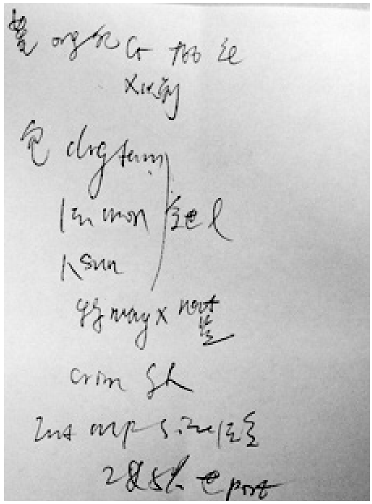
Ladies and Gentlemen,

Organized crime groups pose challenges to our societies as never before. Whether they are involved in drug trafficking, money laundering, people smuggling or outright terrorism they are operating in today's world in increasingly sophisticated ways without any regard to national frontiers. The profits of their crime are vast. The International Monetary Fund has stated that the aggregate size of money laundering in the world today could be somewhere between two and five percent of the world's gross domestic product.

First, Picture 1 clearly shows a mixture of symbols, abbreviations and full words, which are noted vertically. Symbols seem to form the biggest proportion among these three aspects; therefore, the paper will focus on explaining some important and interesting symbols instead of describing all of them. "ㄨ", one symbol, appeared twice in the first line, symbolizing crime, challenge or other words with the similar meaning of representing



Picture 1 (Subject 2 / professional)



Picture 2 (Subject 5 / student)

something dangerous to our society; the horizontal arrow"→" was very widely used in notes, denoting a trend towards; "before" in the first sentence and "has" in last sentence were both symbolized by the sign "」", which meant that this backward-looking sign was used to denote the past and the perfect tense; "if" seemed to be a full word, although it just symbolized "whether" as it had the same meaning but could be noted in a quicker and easier way; the round bracket "(" was used to denote " or " in this paragraph, and was always used to denote "and", "not only…but also" or "a list of things", giving the interpreter a clearly logical structure; "X□‖" symbolized "without any regard to national frontiers", "X" was always used in notes to denote negation; "□" denoted "nation, country or state", therefore "adding a line at the top right corner of "□"(as shown in Picture 1 "δ") denoted "world" or "international" in the last sentence. That means a simple square is an "organic symbol" in this context, which is "a starting point for many other symbols" (Gilles 2005: 104). Apart from these verbal signs, there were also two non-verbal signs or memory prompts in this picture - two very long arrows or recall lines. One was used for replacing "crime" and the other was for "money laundering", as these two phrases had both appeared more than once in this paragraph, therefore, the recall line combined with memory could help this interpreter to note more simply and logically. Finally, ":" was a very important sign, denoting "state", "say", or maybe "declare".

In term of abbreviations, "lg" was the abbreviated form for "ladies and gentlemen", "s" for "society", "dg" for "drug" and "d" for today. In addition, there were two well-known acronyms, namely, "IMF" for "International Monetary Fund" and "GDP" for "Gross Domestic Product".

With regard to full words, it is noticeable that simple Chinese characters were written down, such as "人", while slightly complicated Chinese characters were written almost in one stroke. It also can be seen that English full words containing no more than four English letters like "vast" had been written down.

By contrast, although Picture 2 also clearly shows that there is a mixture of symbols, abbreviations and full words, it is noticeable that symbols in Picture 2 are much fewer than those in Picture 1. There were two "X", denoting negation, such as "never" and "without"; the round bracket ")" gave a clear structure, denoting "or"; and "a thundering sign" before "大" was used to remind the interpreter that "vast" did not only mean "big" but "extremely big".

Abbreviations account for a larger proportion in this picture than that in Picture 1, for instance, "org" was the short form of "organized"; "G" was the initial of "group"; "drg tarr" was abbreviated for "drug trafficking", "smu" for "smuggling", "terr" for "terrorism", "nat" for "national", "int" for "international", "crim" for "crime" and "prot" for "product".

With regard to full words, there were also some Chinese characters written in a simpler way and English words containing no more than four letters, such as "way" and "size".

Through analysis of and comparison between both pictures, there are three points that need to be highlighted.

First, from the point of the quantity of notes and the use of memory prompts, it can be seen that the professional interpreter relied more on memory than the student. For instance, the professional interpreter only noted “dg”, “¥” and “人” to represent phrases like “drug trafficking”, “money laundering” and “people smuggling”, noting only one half of some phrases and letting memory take over the other half; however, the student interpreter tried to note the whole phrases like “drg tarr”, “洗mon” and “人 smu”. The comprehensive way of noting by the student could easily result in noting more note units and heavy reliance on notes rather than on memory. The use of memory prompts also shows that the professional interpreter memorized the whole picture, the logical structure of this paragraph as well as what had been said before, leading to less repetitive notes, which could not be deduced from the performance of the student.

Secondly, as concluded in Section 4.1, it can be acknowledged that the professional interpreter used more symbols, memory prompts than the student interpreter, and that the professional interpreter digested the meaning and the whole content rather than focusing on words whereas the student interpreter did not. More obviously, the student noted “Int” when she heard “international”, but when she heard “Monetary Fund” afterwards, she realized that this was the name of an organization and could have been noted as “IMF”. Using abbreviations less accurately and less efficiently shows that the student interpreter wrote down a word as soon as she heard a word rather than capturing a chunk of meaning.

Thirdly, the professional interpreter had a more comprehensive, complete and solid system of symbols and abbreviations than the student interpreter. For instance, the professional interpreter used “々” for “crime, challenge or anything dangerous to society”, while the student interpreter used “犯” for “crime” in the first sentence and “crim” for ”crime” in another sentence; moreover, the professional interpreter developed organic symbols, like “a simple square” for “nation” and “a simple square with a line on the right top corner” for “international” or "world", whereas the student interpreter just used "nat" for "national" while both "世" and "int" for "world" and "international".

4.3 Questionnaire Analysis

After describing notes made by interpreters, the questionnaire aims to discover the views of interpreters on the use of symbols in note-taking. In terms of note-forms, five of six subjects unanimously agreed that symbols were much more efficient and useful than full words and interpreters should develop a system of symbols, whereas only one student interpreter expressed her opinion that Chinese characters with the assistance of memory was preferable to symbols.

However, while being asked whether they really had a system of symbols, only two professional interpreters and one student interpreter confirmed that they did. One professional interpreter stated that his system was a mosaic of drawings of mental images, conventionally shortened forms of words, and signs borrowed from maths, etc. For instance, he noted that frequently occurring notions in symbols, such as money, economy, or investment could be represented by the dollar sign, and also noted links in symbols, such as cause-effect, chronological order or a proposition and example could be shortened or converted to signs. Another professional interpreter mentioned that most of her symbols were borrowed from mathematical signs and many symbols were created on the spot. Once created, the elements of the system would be accumulated, although she had a system of symbols, it was not a complete one as she considered this system to be open-ended. The only student interpreter who had a system of symbols stated that she often used symbols to note verbs, tenses, numbers, words describing a person's mood (happy, sad, angry, indifferent) as well as to note those words that had similar meanings for which symbols such as "good, great, fabulous and fantastic" would be noted as "✓".

Based on the opinions of participating interpreters, the obvious advantages of symbols can be summarized as the following three aspects. First, the overwhelming advantage of symbols over words or other means of memory recall is that symbols are so immediate that they allow interpreters more leverage in linguistic transmission. Moreover, symbols are hugely representative, which means interpreters can spend more time analysing the speech instead of noting everything down mechanically as symbols can stand for concepts rather than single words, so sometimes when interpreters hear different words, a symbol is all that needs to be noted. Finally, symbols can work more effectively than words in terms of rationalizing the logic of the source speech.

However, despite the obvious advantages of symbols, their effectiveness is not guaranteed. There are three common situations that illustrate this. First, one symbol may be used to stand for totally different images, leading to a situation in which interpreters find difficulty in deciphering their notes immediately and accurately. For instance, Subject 3 stated that his symbol for “country” and “demand” were initially the same, i.e. “□”; therefore, it was hard for him to retrieve the information represented by the symbol, and as a result, he got stuck in interpreting and resorted to improvising. Secondly, creating a symbol on the spot is likely to lead to confusion. According to the statement of Subject 5, if symbols are created on the spot, the chances are that these new symbols are difficult to recognize. Once he created a shelter-shaped symbol “介” for “financial institution” as this phrase had appeared many times on that day; however, the interpreter spontaneously converted this symbol into “仲介公司” (intermediary agency or broker) as “介” was mistaken for the Chinese word “介” in “仲介公司” (intermediary agency or broker). Lastly, symbols are regarded as a sort of code language, requiring a long time to practise and remember, and even under pressure, interpreters still need to spend a little time to recall what a symbol stands for. As a beginner, Subject 6 preferred to spend time improving Chinese and English rather than remembering a kind of shorthand or another language.

Through the analysis of this questionnaire, it is well-known that symbols can be more efficient and useful than words, and popular than words among participating interpreters; however, given the detrimental effect of symbols on interpreting, it seems that several basic rules are essential for developing a system of symbols. First, in order to avoid confusion, interpreters should not use one symbol to represent very different objects or concepts and should adhere to one fixed set of symbols. Secondly, interpreters should never improvise or create new symbols on the spot and use only those symbols that have already been devised and mastered. Thirdly, symbols should be the reflection of interpreters' mental image rather than a mere representation of language: interpreters should combine symbols with memory, enabling them to better analyse the speech rather than rely exclusively on their symbols. In order to save time in developing a system of symbols, interpreters should try to create easy, simple and consistent symbols which can be easily remembered and quickly written. It is also recommended, for the same reason, that interpreters develop organic symbols.

5. Conclusion

5.1 Summary

This paper centres on choice of form in note-taking, the use of symbols in particular, and is designed to provide suggestions and recommendations on how to note effectively and efficiently and how to develop a system of symbols.

Section 2 provides a solid theoretical and empirical foundation for this research, reviewing the published works and consisting of summary and analysis of previous theories on the topic of CI, note-taking as well as the choice of form in note-taking.

Section 3 and 4 focus on an empirical pilot study on notes produced by both professional and student interpreters and their views on note-taking, the use of symbols in particular. This paper has illustrated the distribution of note units, described notes, analysed the questionnaires, and finally presented three points that are worth reviewing.

First, it can be noted that professional interpreters tend to make better use of their memory or to make a better combination of memory and notes, which can be clearly demonstrated by the quantity of their notes, their content as well as the use of memory prompts whereas student interpreters are likely to rely too heavily on their notes, and even to ignore the importance of memory, resulting in the creation of more but less clearly-structured notes than professional interpreters. Therefore, it is strongly recommended that interpreters should strike a balance between notes and memory as the basic rule is that note-taking is no more than an aide to memory: without memory, the best notes and the most comprehensive system of symbols cannot achieve a successful outcome.

Moreover, professional interpreters are likely to grasp the meaning of source speech rather than exact words of that speech, and build up semantic networks rather than lexical, syntactic and grammatical networks. The first piece of evidence is that professional interpreters have a more solid and comprehensive system of symbols and they are proficient at using symbols in note-taking; another point to note is that each and every speech is made up of words with relations and links. Understanding these relations and links helps professional interpreters reduce the quantity of notes. The use of memory prompts enables interpreters to obtain a whole picture of the speech and to digest it adequately. As Hatim and Mason (1997: 49) state, "in note-taking, it is not words in themselves that are recorded but rather arrangements of ideas in relation to each other." Thus, interpreters should be fully aware that note-taking should help interpreters analyse and understand the source speech rather than provide an exclusive focus on the lexical level.

Lastly, there is no doubt that symbol-based notes are more economical, more efficient and more informative than word-based notes; however, they should be analysed from a holistic perspective. As Heimerl-Moggan and John (2007: 20) state, the aim of note-taking is no more than a memory reinforcer: interpreters are supposed to develop their symbols before or after their interpreting work rather than during the assignment, otherwise, they have to reduce the time allocated to listen, understand and memorize. If interpreters encounter difficulties in listening, understanding and memorizing processes, no number of symbols will help them.

5.2 Limitations

Although this empirical pilot study adopts both qualitative and quantitative approaches, which seems to be comprehensive and persuasive, there are still limitations and potential problems in this study.

First, the research took both professional and student interpreters into consideration as both groups make up the whole interpreting community, thereby ensuring that the results and discussions are more comprehensive and inclusive. Given time was limited and the access to more subjects was restricted as mentioned in Section 3.1, the results and discussions of this research were only based on the experiment with six subjects.

Moreover, this research only aimed to explore how professional and student interpreters took notes, what they noted and their views on the choice of form in note-taking, and a further research into the relations between note-taking and the quality of interpreting in this language pair could be carried.

In addition, it must be acknowledged that although the interpreting of all subjects including both professionals and students was recorded, performance as such was not evaluated. Also the experiment was not conducted under the supervision of other professional interpreters who might have offered practical suggestions and recommendations for improving the experimental design.

5.3 Suggestions for future studies

For future research on this topic, a larger-scale experiment could be designed and developed by extending the experiment period, involving more professional and student participants and inviting professional assessors to evaluate the interpreting output. Thus, more comprehensive and representative data can be obtained for informing note-taking teaching and training of consecutive interpreters. Besides, studies can also be conducted to determine whether there is a correlation between the types of note-taking and the quality of interpreting output in English-Chinese CI.

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Real Words Are Not Vain:
Reading Witter Bynner's *Laozi* Translation as Creative Interpretation

Nicholas Morrow Williams

Abstract

The bestselling translation of Laozi by American poet Witter Bynner (1881–1968) has sustained severe criticism from scholars of ancient Chinese philosophy. But they have misunderstood what Bynner was trying to do, which was not simply to present a literal representation of the language of the text: Bynner saw Laozi as a poetic work and aimed to reflect both its mysteries and subtleties in a new English form. Inspired by the translation theories of Nida and Steiner, as well as the more recent interpretive model of translation, we can read Bynner's Laozi as one valid interpretation of its source text, intended to make the ancient classic speak to contemporary Americans at a time of global conflict. The second half of the article presents close readings of Bynner's translation of key passages in Laozi. These are used to illustrate the varied and original literary devices from the English language that Bynner employs to emulate the poetic dimensions of Laozi. Finally, in certain passages it seems that Bynner's version is even more accurate than others, more scholarly translations of Laozi. As the interpretive model suggests, translations that aim solely for formal equivalence will actually neglect key features of their sources.

1. Introduction: *Laozi* as Philosophy or as Poetry?

In translating a philosophical text, one must strive to find a balance between the medium and the message, to convey the philosophical content while also respecting its literary form. Translators of *Laozi*, however, have tended to value content far above form, and have translated the text in a dry and literal way, without the kind of attention to style and rhetoric that one would expect for such an enigmatic classic. This history is rooted in the "ancient quarrel between philosophy and poetry" that has haunted Western philosophical discourse since Plato.[1] A strict division between the two fields has always been rejected by careful thinkers and poets, though—not least Plato himself, who concludes the *Republic* with an elaborate fiction, the myth of Er. Thus to read and translate *Laozi* successfully we must recognize the unity of disciplines that happen to be divided at modern academic institutions.

In ancient China, the opposition between *zhuzi* 諸子 thinkers and poets was not clearcut either, and *Laozi* was never seen as a work of pure philosophy. In fact, the text fervidly challenges the idea that there are enduring truths of this world that can be stated explicitly. When *Laozi* says that "The nameless is the beginning of Heaven and of Earth, / That with a name is the mother of the myriad things" 無名天地之始，有名萬物之母, it is making a philosophical statement, to be sure, but also enunciating a parallel couplet that rhymes (Mandarin *shi* 始, *mu* 母 < Old Chinese **lhəʔ*, **məʔ*).[2] The couplet conforms to poetic prosody and its overall meaning is a marriage of sound and sense. This is not to say that its philosophical import is contaminated by literary razzle-dazzle; to the contrary, for most readers past and present, the rhetorical art in which the meaning is couched only increases its profundity. The rhyming couplet implicitly identifies the named and nameless, and that is part of its larger message.

That *Laozi* was not a straightforward presentation of philosophical ideas was recognized by some early translators. Consider how James Legge (1815–1897), not always appreciated as a connoisseur of poetic style, renders the following passage of *Laozi*'s first chapter in heroic couplets (Legge 1891: 47):

> Always without desire we must be found,
> If its deep mystery we would sound;
> But if desire always within us be,
> Its outer fringe is all that we shall see.
> 故常無欲，以觀其妙；
> 常有欲，以觀其徼。

Although this attempt at conveying the primary sense of *Laozi* while also conforming to conventional Victorian prosody leaves something to be desired, we can still admire Legge's attempt and appreciate his attention to rhyme and literary form. In retrospect it was one of Legge's many virtues that he could marry this attention to form with serious investigation of Chinese thought, in a way that few have managed since.

Most translators of *Laozi* since Legge's time have pursued another strategy, attempting to present the text more as pure philosophy devoid of poetry. Consider Walter Gorn Old's (1864–1929) rendering of the same passage: "That which was before Heaven and Earth is called the Non-Existent. The Existent is the mother of all things. Therefore doth the wise man seek after the first mystery of the Non-Existent, while seeing in that which exists the Ultimates thereof" (Old 1909: 25). Similarly, the great translator Arthur Waley (1889–1966), though he possessed a unique gift for translating Asian literature into English books with a freshness and appeal for Western readers, chose in this case to emphasize doctrinal technicalities. For this Waley writes, "It was from the Nameless that Heaven and Earth sprang; The named is but the mother that rears the ten thousand creatures, each after its kind. Truly, 'Only he that rids himself forever of desire can see the Secret Essences'; He that has never rid himself of desire can see only the Outcomes" (Waley 1943: 141). "Can see only the Outcomes" is nearly incomprehensible. In this case Waley consciously chose to present the text in a "foreignizing" translation, faithful to its surface meaning but on the whole neglecting its poetic dimension.[3]

Waley also offered a highly influential distinction between "scriptural" and "historical" interpretations of *Laozi* (Waley 1943: 129–30). He claimed that nearly all interpretations from that of Wang Bi 王弼 (226–249) up to the 18th century had been "scriptural" ones offering up their own mystical additions but not interested in the original meaning of the text (cf. Chan 1991). By contrast, Waley meant to offer a historical translation directly reproducing that original meaning.[4] This distinction has been adopted in a recent study of the various challenges of translating *Laozi* by Michael Lafargue and Julian Pas (Lafargue and Pas 1998). Lafargue and Pas compare seventeen different translations of *Laozi*, and are dismissive of the versions by Witter Bynner and Steven Mitchell, which embellish on the text with poetic additions. Lafargue and Pas explicitly accept Waley's distinction and favor so-called "historical" translations.

Yet the prejudice in favor of supposedly historical translations has dominated scholarly discourse on *Laozi*. Perhaps the most authoritative translator of *Laozi* in the second half of the 20th century, D.C. Lau (1921–2010), renders the same passage as: "The nameless was the beginning of heaven and earth, / The named was the mother of the myriad creatures. / Hence always rid yourself of desires in order to observe its secrets; / But always allow yourself to have desires in order to observe its manifestations."[5] This is very fine in its way, but unmistakably possesses the sheen of the contemporary philosopher, who has polished and refined his prose to avoid ambiguity or literary flourish. It is fine to imagine a *Laozi* intent on observing the manifestations of the Way, but it is not exactly the same *Laozi* who has appealed to so many readers intent on sublime recognition of the mysteries. In the quarrel between philosophy and poetry within Sinology, it is the philosophical side that has triumphed in the interpretation of *Laozi*.[6]

The modern discipline of translation studies shows, by contrast, that translating *Laozi* cannot merely be a matter of capturing its philosophical gist. The classic work of Eugene Nida emphasized that "formal equivalence" at the level of the word or sentence was not necessarily the best representation of a source text. In the translation of the Bible—another scripture that can be as enigmatic as *Laozi* on occasion—it was preferable to aim for "dynamic equivalence," to find an equivalent in the target language that made a similar point in a more natural and effective way. According to the principle of dynamic equivalence, one might need to revise some of the propositional content of a text in order to equal its persuasive power in the target language. Moreover, a translation of a complex text is not simply a crib to help the reader grasp the basic appearance of the original. It might also aim to recreate the source in a new way, to offer a particular interpretation of the source. As George Steiner writes in his classic *After Babel* (Steiner 1998: 291):

> The translator must actualize the implicit "sense," the denotative, connotative, illative, intentional, associative range of significations which are implicit in the original, but which it leaves undeclared or only partly declared simply because the native auditor or reader has an immediate understanding of them.

Though it is impossible to know the full scope of the "undeclared" background to which the original readers of *Laozi* had access, even for a modern reader the Chinese text is full of rich associative significations. Consider how the lines translated by Legge, above, draw a potent equivalence between "having desire" and "lacking desire" that is sharpened and intensified by end-rhyme. A translator aiming for dynamical equivalence might well depart from their literal sense while aiming to preserve the rhyme and repetition of *Laozi*'s text. This approach would lead to a translation that is also a valid interpretation of *Laozi*, even if it seems inaccurate at a literal level.

More recently, scholars of translation studies have also put forth an "interpretive" model which is relevant here. The interpretive model sees the translation process as a holistic one in which the translator is forced to interpret the source text, not just to copy or transfer it directly. Drawing inspiration from Nida and Steiner, these scholars criticize formal equivalence and argue that translators ought to "faithfully recreate the global effect of the text on the reader" (Lederer 2003: 84). In this view, a translation of *Laozi* should not ignore poetic devices or formal structure, since they are obviously indispensable to *Laozi*'s overall effect. The interpretive model in translation studies, as with Steiner's work, sees translation as just one of many acts of interpretation that are fundamental to human discourse, not unrelated to reading or writing commentary for a text. One scholar writing in Chinese, Xin Hongjuan 辛紅娟, views *Laozi* translation in relation to the larger theory of intercultural contact and travel, seeing a translation as a kind of "textual journey" 文本行旅. In particular, she points out the difficulty of translating its poetic and obscure language (Xin 2008: 133–58). Given this challenge, any translation of *Laozi* must be only a partial interpretation of the text that represents some aspects rather than others.[7]

As one recent discussion of *Laozi* translation points out, "Though translation is possible, there can be no lasting translation" 譯可譯，無常譯 (Miao 2002). In this paper, I argue that the version of American poet Witter Bynner (1881–1968) is a consistent and compelling interpretation of *Laozi* as poetry (or philosophical poetry, but with the emphasis on poetry). Though it has been lambasted repeatedly by philosophically-minded scholars, their criticisms are often tendentious or superficial. In the second half of the article, close readings of numerous passages are used to illustrate the literary accomplishment of Bynner's version, and further that it can even illuminate some philosophical issues better than other versions. All readers of *Laozi* today are the poorer if they have not encountered Bynner's singularly impassioned re-creation of its philosophical poetry.

2. Witter Bynner and His *Laozi* Translation

Bynner's translation has to appreciated in light of his particular background. A Californian of New Mexican origin, Bynner was a well-regarded poet in the first couple of decades of the 20th century, though his best-known achievements were in parody and translation. With Arthur Davidson Ficke (1883–1945) he published the pseudonymous collection *Spectra: A Book of Poetic*

Experiments in 1916. Inspired by the vogue for Imagism and other modernist literary movements that sought to overturn literary conventions, Bynner and Ficke intended a parody of modernist verse (Smith 2000). But many readers mistook their book for a sincere contribution to modernist literature. Here is one of the poems Bynner contributed, titled only "Opus 6" (Bynner 1995: 37):

> If I were only dafter
>   I might be making hymns
> To the liquor of your laughter
>   And the lacquer of your limbs.
>
> But you turn across the table
>   A telescope of eyes.
> And it lights a Russian sable
>   Running circles in the skies. . . .
>
> Till I go running after,
>   Obeying all your whims–
> For the liquor of your laughter
>   And the lacquer of your limbs.

It is important to remember *Spectra* when examining Bynner's translation of *Laozi*, because it shows us that he had a playful and poetic temperament, not always shared by contemporary scholars, but quite well-suited for approaching Daoist thought. This poem, for instance, is undeniably fanciful, with its disarming opening and aerial Russian sable. But the liquid alliteration of "liquor," "laughter," "lacquer," and finally "limbs" attains the musical consonance between sound and sense, and the harmonious equivocation between symbol and flesh, of a true love song.

It was that combination of good humor and literary grace that allowed Bynner to take up the quixotic task of translating Chinese texts without knowing any Chinese. To be more precise, it was those personal qualifications of his own and also his good fortune to meet a real scholar of Chinese that led him to do so. This was Jiang Kanghu 江亢虎 (1883–1954), one of the founders of the Socialist Party in China. Jiang and Bynner met in 1918, when both were teaching temporarily at Berkeley. They remained lifelong friends and collaborated on the translation of the famous Qing anthology *Tang shi sanbai shou* 唐詩三百首 into English. The work was completed in 1929 and published under the title *The Jade Mountain*. Jiang served in the collaborationist government of Wang Jingwei in Shanghai, and after the Japanese defeat in 1945 was put in prison by the Nationalists, then later the Communists (Cai 2015: 29–41). They continued to correspond till Jiang's death in prison, and Bynner tried unsuccessfully to lobby for his friend's release. In 1948 Bynner recalled in a letter to Jiang their happy collaboration: ". . . the eleven years together, exchanging texts and making them better each time, till finally the book evolved which Waley himself called 'better' than his own."[9]

As the first full translation of the anthology into English, *The Jade Mountain* was a real and important Sinological achievement, in spite of Bynner's ignorance of Chinese. Moreover, thanks to Bynner's sensitivity to English diction and verse, these translations remain some of the finest English versions of many of these poems. They are full of tender, lyrical verses like these from Zhang Jiuling 張九齡 (678–740) (Bynner 1978: 66):

> The moon, grown full now over the sea,
> Brightening the whole of heaven,
> Brings to separated hearts
> The long thoughtfulness of night . . .
> 海上生明月，天涯共此時。
> 情人怨遙夜，竟夕起相思。

Though Bynner does not follow the original syntax of the Chinese closely in the fashion of today's scholars, the English verse is memorable and stylish. Burton Watson in 1978 reflected on the development of Sinology in the half-century since their publication, and, while admitting Bynner's lapses in accuracy, concluded justly that: ". . . with certain notable exceptions, there are not many translators of Chinese poetry in America today who can equal the kind of sonority and brilliance of language that Bynner achieved" (preface to Bynner 1978: 30). A more stringent critic later appraised Bynner's translations as "sometimes impeachable but always moving" (Kroll 2002: 988).

Bynner's second and final foray into Chinese-English translation was when he published his translation of *Laozi* in 1944 as *The Way of Life According to Laotzu*.[10] He explains in a contemporary letter that he felt himself helpless to assist China directly, and thought of the project as his own oblique contribution and a kind of "service to China."[11] Unfortunately, when Bynner set out to write this translation he had no way to contact Jiang in wartime Shanghai. Instead he wrote his version based on the numerous previous translations of *Laozi* that he was able to consult.[12] It is worth reflecting that most of these, with the exception of Waley's serious study, were also likely derived in large part from earlier translations. According to Herbert Giles, moreover, even the earliest English translations were mostly based in one way or another on Stanislas Julien's (1797–1883) truly pioneering effort of 1842 (Giles 1886: 356). In that sense, even though Bynner knew no Chinese, he was following in the mainstream of Western *Laozi* studies.[13]

Indeed, Bynner's method was not dissimilar from that of *The Jade Mountain*, which had relied throughout on Jiang's literal versions and explanations of the Chinese. Again Bynner felt his primary goal to be reinstating the poetic form of his source in English. For he writes in his introduction that "Above all I have been prompted by hope to acquaint Western readers with the heart of a Chinese poet whose head has been too much studied" (Bynner 1978: 340). Via the published translations that he consulted, Bynner recognized in the memorable imagery and compressed arguments of *Laozi* poetic insights that appealed to him personally. He objects to previous renderings as "dry and stiff, pompous and obscure" (Bynner 1978: 340), and he chose to refashion the text into an English version that was itself highly poetic and was much admired by American readers.[14]

Bynner rendered the text into a highly rhythmic free verse, in a clear and vigorous American diction, regularly supplemented by rhyme. His version of chapter 43 suggests the flavor:

> As the soft yield of water cleaves obstinate stone,[15]
> So to yield with life solves the insoluble:
> To yield, I have learned, is to come back again.
> But this unworded lesson,
> This easy example,
> Is lost upon men.
> 天下之至柔，馳騁天下之至堅，無有入無間，吾是以知無為之有益。
> 不言之教，無為之益，天下希及之。

Though Bynner glosses over some of the key doctrinal terms, in particular *wuwei* 無為, he paraphrases the meaning in an immediately comprehensible form as a "lesson" about "yielding." Moreover, the verse is so smooth that the reader hardly even notices the unobtrusive rhyme between "again" and "men," dividing the chapter neatly into two stanzas.

Bynner's version directly inspired some later attempts to reinterpret *Laozi* without reference to the original Chinese. One of these later translators, Archie Bahm, wrote (Bahm 1986: 121):

> Twelve English editions of the *Tao Teh King* were used in preparing the present interpretation. One of these, that by Witter Bynner, a fellow New Mexican, has served as an example for interpreting the *Tao Teh King* without reference to Chinese texts. Although greatly admiring Bynner's work, especially for its profound grasp, terse expression, and poetic style, the writer rejects the ideal that Lao Tzu's extreme naturalism provided any place for poetry. Despite the presence of rhymes in early Chinese texts, *neither rhyming nor metaphorical subtlety are essential to the doctrine or its mode of expression.* [emphasis added]

Curiously enough, though Bahm is following Bynner's own approach of secondhand translation, he feels that the essence of *Laozi* is its philosophical "naturalism," and that the highest priority in translating it is fidelity to this message. Thus he rejects the poetic art of both *Laozi* itself and Bynner as non-essential, anticipating the modern academic perception of *Laozi* translations in general.

3. Scholarly Perceptions of Bynner's Translation

The scholarly world has generally been dismissive of Bynner's translation ever since its publication. Homer H. Dubs (1892–1969), translator of the *Han shu* 漢書, wrote a scathing review at the time, and since then two other eminent Sinologists, A.C. Graham and Paul R. Goldin, have also denounced it for inaccuracy (Dubs 1945; Graham 1991; Goldin 2002). These critics all profess themselves to be objecting to Bynner's translation style: specifically, they argue that he is unfaithful to the philosophy of *Laozi*. Relying on their own well-established expertise in Chinese philosophy, they dismiss Bynner's interpretations of the text, confident that a non-Sinologue would not be able to comprehend its meaning adequately. Examining these objections to Bynner, I will demonstrate that these experts have failed to appreciate the true intent of his translation, and therefore have also neglected its real fidelity. In fact, in some cases Bynner's version actually comes closer to the readings of the earliest *Laozi* interpreters, like Wang Bi, than do other more scholarly versions.

Dubs' short book review already puts the case clearly, accusing of Bynner of "mere dilettantism" since he knew so little either of the Chinese language or of the history of China. A distinguished historian, Dubs is justly outraged at Bynner's ignorance of China, but he does not explain what he himself would consider an adequate translation of the text. Moreover, Dubs's key argument that scholars of European culture would never tolerate a rank amateur like Bynner turns out to be factually wrong. Bynner's rendering of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*, like his *Laozi* a reworking of previous translations made without reference to the original Greek, was appreciated so much by classicists that it was included in the standard compilation by David Grene and Richmond Lattimore, *The Complete Greek Tragedies*.

A.C. Graham, a profound interpreter of Chinese philosophy and also a masterful translator of Tang poetry, was one of the best-qualified scholars of the 20th century to evaluate Bynner's translation.[16] He criticizes Bynner for muddling the semantic contrasts and concrete images in *Laozi*, and failing to imitate its starkly "modern" style (Graham 1991: 125). More recently Paul R. Goldin, also an expert in Chinese philosophy who has demonstrated appreciation for Tang poetry (Goldin 1994), widens the scope of critique. He criticizes the Bynner translation, as well as several more recent versions also composed by non-Sinologues, both for inaccuracy and specifically for misrepresenting the philosophical content of *Laozi*. Both Graham and Goldin seem to prefer the straightforward, scholarly translations of D.C. Lau and Wing-tsit Chan.

While making many good points, though, none of these critiques takes full account of the difficulty of translating a text like *Laozi*, as shown by Dubs's casual remark that "Such a great book demands, from anyone who attempts to write about it, a profound understanding of its ultimate meaning" (Dubs 1945: 213). Though an accomplished historian, Dubs seems to have missed the philosophical ramifications of pursuing "ultimate meaning." There is no extended passage explicitly setting forth the principles of *Laozi* in such a way that we could use them as a key to understanding the philosophical argument as a whole. Along similar lines, Chan Sin-wai has argued that "we may say that philosophical translation differs from other types of translation in at least one aspect—the translator must have a good knowledge of the philosopher's thought *before* he begins translating his writings" [emphasis added] (Chan Sin-wai 1991: 84). Yet how can one be sure of the meaning of a cryptic ancient text like *Laozi* before beginning to translate? To some extent, making sense of a foreign system of philosophy requires assimilating it and evaluating it whole, so that in some sense we must evaluate how faithful a translation is not just in relation to individual phrases and clauses, but also to our own prior assessment of the total meaning of *Laozi*—on which point contemporary critics frequently differ.

For instance, Graham claims that Bynner has failed to understand *Laozi* because he uses "existence" for *dao*, when in fact *Laozi* seeks to transcend even the binary opposition of existence/non-existence (Graham 1991: 129). But *Laozi* rejects conventional terms for things in general, so any word used to open the book will in some way be unsatisfactory, as Bynner's translation is careful to emphasize: "Existence is beyond the power of words / to define." By using the term "existence" so popular in the Existentialism-haunted mid-20th-century, Bynner is applying the doctrine of *Laozi* to a focal point of contemporary debate. That application may be problematic but cannot be dismissed as naïve on. This is not to say that any translation would be correct, merely that the translation of *Laozi* demands some special considerations of the inevitable distance between interpreter and interpretation. It is Graham who, by claiming that *Laozi*'s sense can be captured definitively in words, has failed to assimilate this point (Graham 1991: 123).

Paul Goldin also objects to the unscholarly and slipshod nature of the "pseudo-translations" he examines, but recognizes that the ultimate issue is to what extent they accurately represent the philosophy of *Laozi*. In this regard he cites Graham's earlier objections to Bynner's rendering of *Laozi*, ch. 5 (Goldin 2002: 188):

> Nature, immune as to a sacrifice of straw dogs,
> Faces the decay of its fruits.
> A sound man, immune as to a sacrifice of straw dogs,
> Faces the passing of human generations.
> 天地不仁，以萬物為芻狗；
> 聖人不仁，以百姓為芻狗。

Graham and Goldin both object to the way that Bynner has narrowed the range of interpretation here, avoiding the possible implication that Heaven and Earth, or the "sound man" (*shengren* 聖人), could be indifferent to human suffering. Graham finds that the original passage is ambiguous, as "Lao-tzu never apologizes and never explains," while Bynner "is anxious to make it quite plain that Lao-tzu is recommending indifference, not to the welfare of other people, but to our common mortality" (Graham 1991: 127). Graham, by contrast, follows D.C. Lau's rendering of *bu ren* 不仁 as "ruthless," and even cites Sam Peckinpah's violent film *Straw Dogs* (1971) as revelant here, while admitting that it is not really Taoist in implication. Goldin agrees with Graham's objection but goes even further in asserting that the lesson of the passage is that " . . . we too must be prepared to be inhumane when circumstances warrant. In Chinese, the implications of this little couplet are ferocious" (Goldin 2002: 188).

Graham is correct to observe that the original text is ambiguous, but translation demands choices, and Lau's version does not so much preserve the ambiguity as select the same aggressive interpretation that Goldin prefers, the demand to be "ruthless" and "inhumane." An equally literal translation would be "not benevolent," which would not be ferocious either. By contrast, Wang Bi, one of the greatest of all Chinese philosophers, glosses the first line here as "Heaven and Earth obey the self-so, without action and without production. The myriad things govern themselves accordingly, hence Heaven and Earth are *bu ren*" 天地任自然，無為無造。萬物自相治理，故不仁也 (*Laozi Daodejing zhu jiaoshi*, 5.13). In other words, *bu ren* means something more like "indifferent to" rather than "ruthless." Heaven and Earth do not influence the course of events because they are on a different plane of action. But Wang Bi, at least, does not see any exhortation to be "inhumane" in these lines. It is possible, of course, that Graham and Goldin, employing new research on pre-Qin philosophy, have achieved a deeper understanding of the text than Wang Bi.[17] In that case, though, their quarrel is with traditional readings of *Laozi*, not with Bynner, and it has nothing to do with translation method *per se*.

Thus we might reverse Graham's judgment that the reader attracted to *Laozi* through Bynner's translation ought to progress to a philologically superior one like that of D.C. Lau (Graham 1991: 130). It is equally true that a careful student of *Laozi*, thoroughly acquainted with the reliable translations of Lau and other contemporary scholars, can learn much from the interpretations and insights of Bynner's version. This is because

Bynner's version, unlike those of more literal-minded scholars, is not a direct translation but a dynamic one. Bynner seeks to recreate the poetic effects of the text in a new "American version," and also to convey his insights into its meaning, gleaned both from his reading of previous translations and his pure intuition. Though Bynner's translation certainly contains misrepresentations and even glaring errors, it also succeeds in communicating both the ideas and the rhetoric of *Laozi* in ways that a literal translation fails to. Moreover, Bynner treats *Laozi* as a text that can be meaningful and inspiring for readers today rather than purely as a historical document. In this sense he pays it more respect than those scholars today who are interested solely in its historical meaning, not in its enduring philosophical and literary merit.

4. Reading Bynner's *Laozi* as Literary Interpretation

Whatever view of *Laozi* we adopt, though, whether that of Wang Bi or of other commentators, there will always be puzzles left interpreting *Laozi*. Thus no translator, whatever his or her mastery of the Chinese language and textual tradition, will be able to solve every crux or identify the original intent of every passage in *Laozi*. To the contrary, it will always be necessary to make some bold "raids on the inarticulate" (Eliot 1980: 128), crafting a poetic translation to represent the broad intent of the text without necessarily being faithful to each individual character. Bynner's translation, though imperfect in many ways, is nonetheless a valuable example of this kind of translation, both interpretive and idiomatic, not always literal but always guided by the literal sense. Most important of all, perhaps, is that Bynner strikes an original balance between the philosophy and poetry of *Laozi*, finding an idiosyncratic resolution to an ancient challenge that contemporary scholars often fail even to address.

The remainder of this paper will examine passages from *Laozi* to illustrate how Bynner has communicated certain ideas in *Laozi* that are obscured or eliminated in more scholarly versions. This would already be more than adequate to demonstrate that Bynner's translation is worth reading, but we can go even further, and identify specific words in *Laozi* that he has translated more accurately than previous versions. Strange as it may seem, Bynner's secondhand translation improves in some ways on previous ones, not just with regard to the overall meaning of *Laozi*, but also in regard to some specific terms. By convincing themselves that these problems are solely philosophical or at the least questions of how to express philosophical ideas in language, critics of Bynner have forgotten that neither *Laozi* nor Bynner were "philosophers" in any sense but rather aimed to create verbal structures of both profundity and grace.

It is unclear which translation Bynner used as his primary text. Both the Heshanggong and Wang Bi texts were used by early translators of *Laozi*. Since, as we have seen, Wang Bi's commentary seems to be especially helpful in understanding Bynner's translation choices, the following examination will use as primary reference the recent edition of the Wang Bi *Laozi* by Lou Yulie 樓宇烈.[18] Since Bynner's time, of course, we have a great deal of new evidence about the original text of *Laozi*, in particular the manuscripts discovered at Mawangdui 馬王堆 and Guodian 郭店.[19] Since these were not available in Bynner's time, however, and were not cited by his critics, they will not be mentioned in the discussion below.

Perhaps the key to reading Bynner's version of *Laozi* s Chapter 47, since Bynner took a line from this as the epigraph to his own translation—"The way to do is to be"—and it seems to represent what he considered the heart of *Laozi*'s philosophy. The rendering in ballad form also shows off Bynner's poetic craft:

> There is no need to run outside
> For better seeing,
> Nor to peer from a window. Rather abide
> At the center of your being;
> For the more you leave it, the less you learn.
> Search your heart and see
> If he is wise who takes each turn:

> The way to do is to be.
> 不出戶，知天下；不闚牖，見天道。其出彌遠，其知彌少。
> 是以聖人不行而知，不見而名，不為而成。

To read backwards in the translation, we should consider first whether "The way to do is to be" is a good translation of *bu wei er cheng* 不為而成. At first one is inclined to reject the translation, which does not mention the sage (*shengren*) of the original, and seems not be rendering *cheng* 成 "complete" at all. Bynner's translation is certainly not word-for-word, since the direct translation would be something paradoxical like Lin Yutang's "Accomplishes without doing" (Lin 1943: 50). Instead of leaving the paradox in place, Bynner has reshaped it into an affirmative statement: "The way to do" (*cheng* 成) is merely "to be" (*bu wei* 不為). This is actually an equivalent statement of the same point in English.

Admittedly, the "Search your heart and see" is indefensible as a representation of the original text. Here I think we must refer to Bynner's subtitle, "An American Version," which makes clear that he is not merely trying to translate but also to adapt for American readers' enjoyment and inspiration. It would be foolhardy to argue that Bynner's translation is always superior; there are definitely cases, as here, when he simply invents something that is not superior to a literal version. But perhaps this loss of accuracy is a worthy sacrifice in order to obtain the more insightful moments of Bynner's translation, like the memorable "The way to do is to be."

For Bynner's approach does frequently lead him, as here, into a correct and appealing elucidation of a difficult text, of which more learned translators tend to be incapable. Consider chapter 60:

> Handle a large kingdom with as gentle a touch as if you were cooking small fish.
> If you manage people by letting them alone,
> Ghosts of the dead shall not haunt you.
> Not that there are no ghosts
> But that their influence becomes propitious
> In the sound existence of a living man:

There is no difference between the quick and the dead,
They are one channel of vitality.
治大國若烹小鮮。
以道蒞天下，其鬼不神。
非其鬼不神，其神不傷人；
非其神不傷人，聖人亦不傷人。
夫兩不相傷，故德交歸焉。

In the first line Bynner's insertion of "as gentle a touch" is the kind of addition for clarity that Graham is so hostile to. But this can also be seen as an interpretation that helps to clarify the message of the line. Bynner does want to elaborate a clear message from the text, as if combining the roles of translator and commentator. These additions help the reader to enjoy the text as Chinese readers always have, guided by interlinear commentaries.

More important, though, is Bynner's understanding of the message of this whole chapter. He finds in it the communion between living and the dead through "one channel of vitality." This is a bold interpretation, to be sure. D.C. Lau, by contrast, gives us for the final line, "As neither does any harm, each attributes the merit to the other" (Lau 1963: 121). But this seems not so much literal as utterly opaque. Similarly, Lin Yutang's "Virtual (power) flows toward them" does not seem either correct or intelligible (Lin 1943: 56). By contrast, Wang Bi's commentary again may support Bynner's interpretation, since Wang glosses this line with "spirits and sage both conform to the Way" 神聖合道 (*Laozi Daodejing zhu jiaoshi*, 154). "Conform to the Way" is very close to "one channel [way] of vitality." There is a kind of fidelity deeper than surface equivalence.

In some cases Bynner's efforts to create poetry of his own do lead him very far from the source text. For example, his translation of chapter 33:

Knowledge studies others,
Wisdom is self-known;
Muscle masters brothers,

Self-mastery is bone;
Content need never borrow,
Ambition wanders blind:
Vitality cleaves to the marrow
Leaving death behind.
知人者智，自知者明。
勝人者有力，自勝者強。
知足者富，強行者有志，
不失其所者久，死而不亡者壽。

Bynner obviously felt this chapter to be a bit too flat in itself. He made out of it instead an elegant octet, not just adding embellishments here and there but transforming the source into English poetry. Most obviously the metaphor of "muscle" versus "bone," representing ordinary strength versus self-mastery, is entirely Bynner's innovation. Whether one enjoys this or not is probably a matter of taste, but this kind of transformation should not be evaluated for literal accuracy.

The rendering of the final couplet as "Vitality cleaves to the marrow / Leaving death behind" at first looks equally free. Yet the literal meaning of this sentence is something like "Those who do not lose their proper place last long, / Those who die without being lost achieve long life." Though worded differently, Bynner's meaning is actually very close to this. "Vitality" (surviving, lasting a long time) means "cleaving to the marrow" (not departing the innermost location). Achieving this you can "leave death behind" (live on without regard for death). Again, this is a plausible and coherent interpretation of the text, conveying its sense without regard to the specific phrasing of the original.[20]

Even more striking is the lyrical quatrain with which Bynner renders chapter 40, perhaps suggesting a lingering influence from his experience translating Tang poetry:

Life on its way returns into a mist,
Its quickness is its quietness again:

> Existence of this world of things and men
> Renews their never needing to exist.
> 反者，道之動；
> 弱者，道之用。
> 天下萬物生於有，有生於無。

As in the previous example, Bynner introduces a concrete image absent in the text, that of the mist. Whether "returns into a mist" is an evocative and memorable rephrasing of "returning" 反者 in *Laozi* is, again, in part a manner of taste. Bynner's rendering of the motion of the Dao as "life on its way," however, is highly insightful. One of the special achievements of Bynner's translation is his careful way of reminding us not to reify the Dao as an absolute or abstraction. Rather than some kind of divinity to be worshipped, or some higher wisdom inaccessible to ordinary mortals, Bynner finds the Dao to be simply the passage of things in ordinary existence, "life on its way." "Renews their never needing to exist" is a startling but thought-provoking interpretation of what that doctrine actually means. Admittedly, his failure to translate in any form the key doctrine that "Being is produced from Nonbeing" 有生於無 is a serious lapse.

Though he sometimes wanders away from the original text, Bynner's attention to style frequently turns up gems. Consider the elegant rendering of the proverb in chapter 70:

> Sanity is a haircloth sheath
> With a jewel underneath.
> 是以聖人被褐懷玉。

It is important to note that his translation of *shengren* 聖人 not as "sage" but as "sanity" is an interpretive decision consistent through *The Way of Life*. He also renders this and related terms as "the sound man," thereby conveying the accessibility of sagehood. Bynner wants to present us *Laozi* as a text from which any reasonable person can learn, rather than an account of sages from the remote past. This is an interpretive decision entirely consistent with the modus operandi of a philosophical translation.

The examples above have shown that Bynner's translation has considerable value as an interpretation and literary re-creation of *Laozi*. This would already be more than adequate to prove the thesis of this article and refute the condescending objections of philosophers and historians. In fact, though, we can go much further, and defend he translation *even with regard to the literal meaning of individual words*. In a result that Bynner himself might not have anticipated, Bynner in some cases ends up more faithful to the literal meaning of the text than the great scholars who preceded or succeeded him. Consider how he renders certain key terms in chapter 21:

> The source which, while it appears dark emptiness,
> Brims with a quick force
> Farthest away
> And yet nearest at hand
> From oldest time unto this day,
> Charging its images with origin:
> What more need I know of the origin
> Than this?
> 窈兮冥兮，其中有精；
> 其精甚真，其中有信。
> 自古及今，其名不去，
> 以閱衆甫。
> 吾何以知衆甫之狀哉？以此。

This chapter is rather opaque in any version, but several of Bynner's choices show an attention to detail and specificity that outclass most other translators.[21] "Brims with a quick force" for the straightforward *qi zhong you jing* 其中有精 is a wonderfully lively and active rendering. Lau and other translators provide simply "within it is an essence," but this is rather misleading, suggesting that the Dao has a fixed essence, a proposition most philosophical interpreters of *Laozi* reject. Likewise, Lau's rendering of *yi yue zhong fu* 以閱衆甫 as "it serves as a means for inspecting fathers of the multitude" is literal but singularly opaque. By contrast, Bynner renders precisely Wang Bi's interpretation of *zhong fu* as the "origin of things" 物之始. As for his interpretation of "charging its images with origin," though admittedly not a direct translation, it strikes me as a reasonable interpretation of the meaning of the passage, and in particular of a Daoist epistemology, in which the substance of things is filled in by an amorphous and unnamable Dao.[22] Chan writes "By which we may see the beginning of things," which is literally accurate but not nearly as vivid as "charging its images with origin." Again the divergence between Bynner's translation and others comes in part because other scholars reject Wang Bi's interpretations, and in part because they fail to aspire to Bynner's literary grace.

5. The Philosophical Accuracy of Bynner's Translation

Through accurate rendering of certain key terms and flexibility elsewhere, Bynner also succeeds, in some cases, in representing even the formal argument of the text more accurately than other translators. In chapter 78 he conveys the message of the source text in a more idiomatic fashion:

> What is more fluid, more yielding than water?
> Yet back it comes again, wearing down the rigid strength
> Which cannot yield to withstand it.
> So it is that the strong are overcome by the weak,
> The haughty by the humble.
> This we know
> But never learn,
> So that when wise men tell us,

> 'He who bites the dust
> Is owner of the earth,
> He who is scapegoat
> Is king,'
> They seem to twist the truth.
> 天下莫柔弱於水，而攻堅強者莫之能勝，其無以易之。
> 弱之勝強，柔之勝剛，天下莫不知，莫能行。
> 是以聖人云：受國之垢，是謂社稷主；
> 受國不祥，是謂天下王。
> 正言若反。

Bynner's rendering of the opening sentence seems to alter it for no obvious reason, as in his phrase "back it comes again." As an interpretive translation, though, Bynner's version is specifying the way that water can vanquish its opposition. Similarly, his conclusion of "cannot yield to withstand it" is an elegantly paradoxical formulation of this same principle that helps to relate this sentence to the remainder of the chapter. Moreover, Bynner's treatment of some particular phrases in this chapter is insightful. "Bites the dust" cleverly recasts in English idiom the same figure of speech as the Chinese ("suffers the pollution of the state" 受國之垢), while "He who is scapegoat is king" is a very economical phrasing of the Chinese idea. By contrast, Lau's "One who takes on himself the calamity of the state / Is called a king worthy of dominion over the entire empire," though correct in its sense, is extremely wordy and in that sense grossly misrepresents the original. Finally, "seem to twist the truth" is a correct rendering of "true words seem the opposite" 正言若反 which sums up the chapter vividly. Throughout the passage Bynner effectively Americanizes the text without doing injustice to its main contents. "This we know / But never learn" 天下莫不知，莫能行 is a particularly effective formulation, like "The way to do is to be."[23] Though the surface meaning is quite different from *Laozi*, the idiomatic meaning is actually very close to the text.

But let us hear from *Laozi* itself on the matter, in the final chapter (#81):

Real words are not vain,
Vain words not real;
And since those who argue prove nothing
A sensible man does not argue.
A sensible man is wiser than he knows,
While a fool knows more than is wise.
Therefore a sensible man does not devise resources:
The greater his use to others
The greater their use to him,
The more he yields to others
The more they yield to him.
The way of life cleaves without cutting:
Which, without need to say,
Should be man's way.
信言不美，美言不信；
善者不辯，辯者不善；
知者不博，博者不知。
聖人不積，既以為人，己愈有；
既以與人，己愈多。
天之道，利而不害；
聖人之道，為而不爭。

On one hand, Bynner's rendering of *mei* 美 as "vain" is tendentious, as Graham points out. The text of *Laozi* delights in the paradox that *mei* and *xin* 信, while both positive values, must necessarily conflict. Bynner simplifies the message by reducing *mei* to mere vanity, rather than being "beautiful" or "admirable." And yet, the apparent paradox of the text is illusory, since it seems clear from the remainder of *Laozi* that its author would side with authenticity over show. In that sense, Bynner is not twisting words but making a reasonable argument about the proper interpretation of the text.

The most original translation in this passage is "The way of life cleaves without cutting." Here Bynner employs a vivid metaphor which is actually based on the literal meaning of the Chinese text, since *li* 利, though meaning "beneficial," can also mean "sharp," so a literal translation could be "the way of Heaven is sharp without harming."[25] Bynner's rendering adapts the sense, as we are accustomed to, for a secular American audience by presenting the whole book as "the way of life," but the description of the way of life here is a compelling translation of the source. These two cases at the beginning and end of chapter 81 together illustrate Bynner's method at its best: interpreting the meaning of *Laozi* in a plausible way, rather than leaving it obscure or incomprehensible; and recasting it into entirely idiomatic, frequently lyrical, and usually original and striking English.

This analysis has not been intended to argue that Bynner's translation is perfect. There are numerous examples like "Search your heart and see" where Bynner misrepresented *Laozi* by sticking in catch-phrases of contemporary Americana. And yet even these additions and alterations can be justified in principle in the context of Bynner's overall project of interpretive translation. Bynner finds the musical paradoxes and philosophical cadences of *Laozi* too appealing to simply record their content in English prose. Instead he has set out to make a literary representation of them in English, and achieved at least a partial success by any standard.

Bynner has much to teach readers and translators of *Laozi* even today. There is something of an arms race among scholarly translators to achieve more and more literal renderings of premodern texts. Each time a translator inserts a word here or rearranges the syntax there, he opens himself up to attack by his colleagues, since these kinds of changes are quantifiable and determinate. But when another translator fails to convey the essential meaning of a text, regardless of fidelity to the individual words and phrases, it requires a greater expense of effort and analysis to critique him. Thus our translations seem inevitably to grow more and more accurate, without conveying the spirit of Chinese literature any better. Sometimes the tools of a scholarly discipline and the objects they cleave and cut miss one another entirely.

Bynner's rendering of *Laozi* remains a highly instructive text, accurate in spite of its creative embellishments and profound in spite of its accuracy. Why read *Laozi*, after all? It is a mistake to read a serious thinker solely for specific statements of doctrine, like learning about the taste of wine by reading the labels on bottles. Any academic or professional endeavor requires discipline and practice, of course, and it is proper that scholars devote themselves to philology. But *Laozi* is only worth reading and translating if it can speak to us and not just to its own time. "The way to do is to be"; translators forget an intuition of the whole at their peril, betrayed by the individual words of a text whose true meaning lies elsewhere. In this sense Bynner's example is an important lesson not just of the multiplicity of translation but also of the incommensurability between different modes of inquiry and creation.

Notes

[1] The quarrel between poetry and philosophy is alluded to by Plato in *Republic*, book X, 607b–c. Glenn W. Most has argued convincingly that this quarrel probably did not exist before Plato, and may have been invented by him (Most 2011).

[2] This is my own translation. As my default text of *Laozi* I use the convenient *Laozi Daodejing zhu jiaoshi* 老子道德經注校釋, comm. Wang Bi 王弼 (226–249), ed. Lou Yulie 樓宇烈 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008). For Old Chinese, I follow the convenient reconstructions of Schuessler 2009.

[3] In this sense Waley anticipates Lawrence Venuti's critique in *Venuti 1995*.

[4] In general Waley's approach to pre-Qin classics was anthropological and not literary, in vivid contrast with his domesticating translations of imperial literature.

[5] Lau 1963: 57. Lau's translation has been widely appreciated internationally; see, e.g., Li and Jin 1995.

[6] One might also note that philosophical interpretations of *Laozi* have often denied that its Weltanschauung is even translatable into European terms, while somehow going on to translate it. Cf. Haun Saussy's pertinent remarks in Saussy 2001: 108–14.

[7] It is important to consider even translations that seem quite wrongheaded precisely because they may open our minds to new possibilities. Consider that one of the greatest German translators renders Dao as "Sinn" and De as "Leben" (Wilhelm 1957)!

[8] Jiang lived there from 1913 to 1920. See Wang 1981: 151–53.

[9] Letter of September 24, 1948, in *Selected Witter Bynner*, 288. Judging from this letter, it seems that Bynner was hurt by Waley's dislike of his *Laozi* and comforted himself with recollections of how Waley had admired *The Jade Mountain*.

[10] See the reprint of The Way of Life According to Laotzu in The Works of Witter Bynner, vol. 3: The Chinese Translations, 329–88.

[11] See the reprint of *The Way of Life According to Laotzu* in *The Works of Witter Bynner*, vol. 3: *The Chinese Translations*, 329–88.

[12] Bynner cites the previous translations of Heysinger 1903; Old 1904; Wai-tao and Goddard 1935; Ch'u 1937; Maurer 1943; Lin 1943; and Waley 1943, and also refers to Giles 1901.

[13] During this same period, a number of Chinese scholars also began to produce *Laozi* translations. For a survey of this important contemporary phenomenon, see Liu 2015. Lin Yutang's translation will be discussed below.

[14] According to David Lattimore, it sold 41,000 copies in its first two decades. See Lattimore, preface to *The Way of Life*, in Bynner 1978: 309.

[15] As in some cases before Bynner's translation shows a mysterious affinity with the Wang Bi commentary, which explains this line in terms of water. See *Laozi Daodejing zhu jiaoshi*, 120.

[16] Graham 1965 is still very enjoyable and enlightening to read.

[17] Even if this were the case, though, I would point out that the various commentarial traditions are valued highly within the Chinese cultural context of which we are speaking, even if frequently disdained by scholars of early China.

[18] *Laozi Daodejing zhu jiaoshi*: see bibliography for reference. Translations of Wang Bi's commentary include Lin 1977; Lynn 1999; and Wagner 2003.

[19] For the Mawangdui version see Henricks 1989. For the Guodian texts and translation see Cook 2012: 195–321.

[20] The Mawangdui texts both have *wang* 忘 "to forget" instead of *wang* 亡 "be no more." But the Heshanggong interpretation was already similar, reading *wang* 亡 as *wang* 妄 "in vain," and Wang Bi likewise reads the line figuratively. See Gao Ming, *Boshu Laozi jiaozhu*, 404–5. The scholarly translators who failed to recognize the broader significance of *wang* here were the only ones who missed the point all along.

[21] It is striking also to note that Legge chooses to render this passage rather freely into verse, concluding: "Now it is so; 'twas so of old. / Its name—what passes not away; / So, in their beautiful array, / Things form and never know decay" (Legge 1891: 64). No one could

accuse Legge of not knowing Chinese.

[22] Perhaps Bynner was inspired by Waley's "Its charge has not departed" 其名不去 (Waley 1943: 170).

[23] Other translators tend to render this in considerably less fluent English, as in Waley's "a fact known by all men, yet utilized by none" (Waley 1943: 238).

[24] And yet every translation must be tendentious. Both Waley and Lin Yu-tang translate *xin* as "true" and *mei* as "fine-sounding," which must also implicitly award the laurel to *xin* rather than *mei*.

[25] Waley adopts the same interpretation but forgoes any euphony at all with his "to sharpen without cutting" (Waley 1943: 243).

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About the Author

Nicholas Morrow Williams is assistant professor of Chinese literature at The University of Hong Kong. His research is focused on classical Chinese poetry, as well as its connections to philosophy and religion and its reception beyond China itself. He is currently working on a new translation of the *Chuci* 楚辭 anthology.

Memoirs

香港翻譯學會
創會的二十年（1971-1991）（二）

劉靖之

孫述宇、余也魯、高克毅、劉治平、丁紹源

其他創會會員還有第一、二屆（1971-1973、1973-1974）執委會主席馬蒙、司庫林山木、執委查良鏞、孫述憲、孫述宇、余也魯、黃兆傑、高克毅以及法律顧問王澤長。由於我是1974年2月16日才參加學會成為執委會委員的“執政”時期，那時是第二屆執員會，同年6月22日舉行週年會員大會，第三屆執委會上任，因此我與1971至1974年的部份執員沒開過會，也不熟悉。在記憶裏，我沒在學會活動上見過林行止、查良鏞、黃兆傑三位創會會員，孫述憲要到1980、1990年代在學會活動上才見過面。在1971-73、1973-74兩屆執委會期間，孫述宇為執委會編輯，出版了6期《譯訊》，後出任第五和第六屆執委會副主席（1976-1978、1978-1980），然後便從執委會名單上和學會活動中消失。根據“百度”的“孫述宇”條，有關資料很簡單：

“**孫述宇**，1934年出生廣洲，原籍中山。在中國大陸時主修自然科學，來港後轉入文科。香港新亞書院畢業，美國耶魯大學博士。曾任美國Iowa University遠東系副教授，香港中文大學英文及翻譯系教授，台灣成功大學英文系教授。著有《金瓶梅的藝術》及《水滸傳的來歷及藝術》兩本專著。”

余也魯在執委會活躍了11年之久，從1971到1982年，我與他在執委會

共事了七年，開會情景還有些印象。他大致上有會必到，會上發言頗積極，對學會的發展具有推動效果，雖然在學會沒有擔任何職務。余也魯（1921-2012）江西奉新人，美國斯坦福大學人文科學院傳播學碩士，曾任香港浸會學院社會科學學院院長兼傳理學系系主任、教授。余氏曾任英文《傳播季報》主編，著有《傳播教育現代》，《雜誌編輯學》等，譯有《傳學概論》（Wilbur Schramm: Men, *Messages & Media – A Look at Human Communication,* 1973）。

高克毅，筆名喬志高（George Kao, 1912-2008）於1972-1975年應宋淇的邀請，來香港中文大學翻譯研究中心擔任資深訪問研究員，主要任務是在宋淇主持的翻譯研究中心創辦中譯英的《譯叢》半年刊，並於1973年正式創刊。高克毅在美國密西根州出生，3歲時返回中國，學習中國古典文學，在教會小學、中學以及燕京大學完成正規教育，然後赴美進修，分別在密蘇裡大學及哥倫比亞大學取得新聞學和國際關係碩士學位。作為記者、作家、翻譯，高克毅廣為人知的是用美式英語發表文章，翻譯經典小說。從美國之音中文廣播主編退休後，即來香港中文大學翻譯研究中心工作，參加香港翻譯學會的執委會，可能這也是宋淇的主意，而高氏也可以藉此廣交香港翻譯界的朋友。根據《譯訊》第11期的報導，第七、八、九期《譯訊》是由高克毅負責編輯的（出版日期分別是1/6/1974、1/12/1974、1/2/1975）：“本會出版之《譯訊》，過去由高克毅先生主編，因高先生已辭職返美，改由孫述宇先生為主編。”（《譯訊》第11期：26.6.1976）事實上，高克毅返美後的第10期（2/6/1975）是由孫述宇主編，從第11期開始由我做主編，參與《譯訊》的編輯出版工作，斷斷續續到現在。

高克毅在香港雖然只工作了短短三年，但他對學會的活動，不論大小，一貫積極參加──他不僅是兩屆執委會成員（1973-74、1974-

75），還擔任三期的《譯訊》主編，為學會“午餐例會”作專題演講（《譯訊》第七期1/6/1974刊登的〈讀中文英譯《譯叢》所遭遇的問題〉以及《譯訊》第26期10/1988刊登的〈語言的笑料以及美國的通用話語〉）。由此可見，作為訪問學者，高氏在對中大翻譯研究中心和香港翻譯學會均作出了貢獻。1975年返美之後，他還多次來港旅遊，探訪中大翻譯研究中心和翻譯學會的老朋友。記得有一次高克毅夫婦專程到愉景灣探望住在那裏的賴恬昌，學會執委會的幾位成員應賴氏之建議，參加了當天下午的聚會，眾人相談甚歡。

早期執委會的義務秘書是相當重要的職位，由於當時聯繫會員要寫通告、複印、郵寄，工作繁重。第一、二屆的義務秘書是宋淇（1971-73、1973-74），第三屆至第六屆是劉治平（1974-1980），第七至九屆是梁寶生（1980-1986）。劉治平牧師（1929-1998）在新加坡和多倫多接受神學教育，曾任中華基督教聯會總幹事、香港葛培理佈道大會總幹事（1975），1980年代初移民加拿大，出任多倫多中華聯會教會主任牧師。梁寶生是香港政府高級中文主任，負責部門的中文文件和翻譯工作。學會的早期會務，除了主席的領導，義務秘書的辛勞和勤奮也是不可缺少的。

丁紹源（1927-1994）於1977年加入學會，雖然不是創會委員，但他從第七屆執委會（1980-1982）開始，一直參與執委會的決策，至1994年7月14日因急性肺炎逝世，享壽67歲。丁氏全方位推動各項工作，如早年為學會會員開設中譯英高級翻譯進修課程、擔任學會與英國語言學會及香港大學合辦的翻譯文憑課程講師、學會翻譯文憑考試委員、在學會主辦的國際翻譯研討會上提交論文並擔任評論員、主持專題講座等。1980年代中，丁氏參加學會訪問團，前往北京、上海、杭州、臺北與海峽兩岸的作家、翻譯專業人士交流。丁氏的興趣廣泛，精通

中、日、英、德多國語言，對科技、法律、新聞、會議傳譯、譯員訓練、翻譯教學等均有豐富經驗。曾對《基本法》英譯本進行仔細而深入的分析，並向《基本法》委員會提出有建設性的建議。丁氏為美國駐香港領事館翻譯主管、香港日本國際交流基金口語講座講師等。丁氏的英年早逝，不僅是學會的損失，也是香港翻譯界的重大損失。(《譯訊》第34期，1994.12: 2-3)

由創會會員擔任學會執行委員會主席(馬蒙、宋淇、賴恬昌)的16年(1971-1986)，我稱之為學會的"早期"。雖然1980年之後宋淇不再做主席，而賴恬昌接任的三屆主席，執委大部份是新人；宋淇於1983年3月11日退出執委會之後，執委會裏的創會會員只剩賴氏一人，這意味着不同的執委有不同的理念。在創會會員裏，賴氏和高克毅等較開明，較有幽默感，願意聆聽，接受各種不同的想法。1985年執委應邀到北京、上海、杭州，1986年應邀到臺北訪問，交流之餘，還結識了兩岸翻譯界人士，這些訪問的影響在學會的1990年代所舉行的國際研討會上充份表現出來。早期的翻譯學會在各方面都為1990年代的發展奠下了良好基礎。

《翻譯論集》和"代序"

1980年春，香港三聯書店總經理蕭滋向我建議，編輯一本翻譯文集，將過去散見於報刊的文章收集起來，既能保存資料，又便於參閱。他還說，香港翻譯學會裏翻譯高手可以助一臂之力，為此書的內容提供寶貴的意見。於是在執行編輯林毅協助下，搜集所能找得到的文章、書信、短評33篇，匯集為《翻譯論集》，我以〈重神似不重形似—嚴復以來的翻譯理論〉為題撰文作為此論集之"代序"。在編輯過程中，我曾向翻譯學會的幾位資深翻譯家請

賴恬昌為《翻譯論集》所寫的書法

教，請他們為《翻譯論集》推薦佳作。當時學會會長也是執委會主席宋淇(筆名林以亮)最為熱心，為了協助搜羅好文章，他不怕麻煩地從故紙堆裏尋得趙元任的〈論翻譯中信、達、雅的信的幅度〉。在1980年4月11日的信裏，他如此寫道："昨日掛上電話後，本即將影印各件寄上，忽憶起趙元任先生曾有一文論翻譯，見解精闢，必需包括在內，否則漏了一條大魚，豈不可惜？下午回家後，整理各卷，最後終於尋到原文，乃趙先生寄給高克毅兄，由他

影印給弟者。影印本不是十分清楚，現在再加影印，如果有問題，兄可去港大圖書館一查，可能找到原文。”然後他交代了一些外文的大小字母等事宜，說：“這樣一來，兄所編的這套論文集存精去蕪，頗具代表性，當代重要論文全部包括在內，可以拿得出去了。”傅雷關於致林以亮、羅新璋論翻譯書和林文月〈《源氏物語》中譯本第五冊序〉兩文也是由宋淇推薦提供的。

1981年代，《翻譯論集》即將出版，賴恬昌接任學會會長一職，並以會長的身份為此論集題詞。題詞共203字，內容有三點：一、“創作者時難亦有時易，譯事者則無時不難，凡身歷其境者，莫不深曉此理”；二、“今劉靖之君選論翻譯之有獨到之處者凡三十餘篇，蒐集成書蔚為大觀，誠譯者之最佳參考資料矣”；三、“或問譯事可教乎？餘答曰可教與否雖非所知而可學而能則絕無疑義。”題詞雖短，賴氏的翻譯觀則展示無遺（標點為我所加）。宋淇的鼎力協助和賴恬昌的題詞，充份顯示學會執委對此論文集之重視。

《翻譯論集》於1981年8月由三聯書店香港分店出版之後，到1990年4月第三次印刷；臺北書林出版有限公司經三聯書店授權於1989年10月在臺北出臺灣版，並於1993年在臺北出版了修訂版，到2004年9月臺北版的修訂版已六刷。“代序”〈重神似不重形似—嚴復以來的翻譯理論〉似乎頗受歡迎，紛紛出現在各種論文集裏如羅新璋編《翻譯論集》（北京：商務印書館，1984，頁852-866）；中國翻譯工作者協會《翻譯通訊》編輯部編《翻譯研究論文集（1949–1983）》（北京;外語教學與研究出版社，1984年，頁377-391）。有關對《翻譯論集》的評論，年代太久，我已不大記得了，但在整理過去信件時，有一封錢鍾書於1985年4月18日的親筆信，那是在學會執委訪問北京、杭州和上海（1985年4月3-12日）之後收到的。那次會見是在社會科學院外國文學研究所，只短短的說了幾句話，會見時間既短與會的人又多，難以交談，想錢氏已收到並閱讀了我主編的《翻譯論集》。信的內容是謝謝送給他的論集，待他的《談藝錄》一書出版後，當會寄贈一本。

2013年，收到上海外語教育出版社寄來楊曉榮主編的《二元、多元、綜合—翻譯本質與標準研究》（2012）。這本文集是楊自儉和王菊泉總主編的8種“英漢對比與翻譯研究”系列文集之七。這本“之七”文集共選收了37篇重要論文，包括〈重神似不重形似—嚴復以來的翻譯理論〉。在為這篇文章撰寫的“編者絜記”裏，楊曉榮說20世紀80年代初，中國先後出現兩部《翻譯論集》，一部是我主編，於1981年在香港出版；另一部為羅新璋主編，於1984年在北京出版。“兩書的序言都是編者對所輯文獻精心研讀後形成的研究結果，對把握中國翻譯理論思想發展的脈絡，具有重要意義，而且都以標準為其中主要內容，所以本書將兩篇序言全部收入，並按首次面世年份排列，將劉靖之此文放在前面。”楊曉榮還說：“這兩部書作為新時期奠基性的翻譯理論歷史文獻整理成果，在翻譯界產生了重大影響。”（楊曉榮，2012：176）

楊曉榮在評論我主編的《翻譯論集》的序言時說：“就時間跨度而言，本文作者的注意焦點在20世紀前80年。從後往前看，這是國外現代和當代翻譯理論開始對中國翻譯界產生了重大影響之前中國翻譯理論所呈現的一種本土狀態；從前往後看，這是經上千年積累，發展到清末民初，各種社會文化變革自20世紀初開始相繼發力以後中國翻譯理論在半個多世紀之內逐漸形成的狀態。這就是中國翻譯史上的近現代階段，到今天對中國的翻譯研究都有著直接而深厚的影響。”（楊曉榮2012：176-177）非常形象化，非常深刻而生動的分析。是的，在撰寫這篇序言時，我沒有想到中國的翻譯界正在總結過去、展望將來，邁向嶄新的翻譯理論世界！現在的翻譯研究肯定比40年前繁榮，但更美好嗎？我懷疑。現代的翻譯理論研究竭力跟在歐美翻譯理論研究後面，忘了中譯外、外譯中的獨特性！更令人失望的是翻譯理論家與翻譯實踐完全脫了節，翻譯理論學者只研究而不事翻譯實踐，形成了一批批空談理論家，令中國的翻譯失去了實質和內涵！

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[5] 劉靖之主編，1981。《翻譯論集》，香港：三聯書店香港分店。（1981年8月初版；經三聯書店授權，臺北書林出版有限公司於1989年10月在臺北出版，並於1993年在臺北出版了修訂版。）

[15] 楊曉榮主編，2012。《二元· 多元· 綜合--翻譯本質與標準研究》，“英漢對比與翻譯研究”之七（總主編：楊自儉、王菊泉），上海：上海外語教育出版社。2012年9月第1版。

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