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# 翻譯季刊

## *Translation Quarterly*

香港翻譯學會  
The Hong Kong Translation Society

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## Chief Editor's Note

The present issue of *Translation Quarterly* presents four articles on a variety of themes that encompass philosophical meditations on untranslatability, corpus linguistics, the personality traits of translators, and the painting-translation interface.

Jeremy Tambling's article tackles the issue of untranslatability, examining examples from the translation of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and readings of Paul Celan's translation of Shakespeare's sonnet 105. Celan's translation, Tambling notes, is a creative act which demonstrates how the poem is changed from one "which describes, at the level of the signified, to one that that works solely at the level of the signifier". Tambling also reconsiders the position of Walter Benjamin, who readers may remember was the subject of a detailed discussion in our previous issue (*TQ* 77), and for whom translation is a means to "release the 'way of meaning' in the source text". Tambling concludes by considering what he terms "Hölderlinian absoluteness", in which the attempt to combine two languages in one through translation leads to "the possibility of madness".

Guangrong Dai's contribution brings us firmly back to a more concrete realm, presenting the findings of a corpus study on the use of classifiers in Chinese translated texts. Focusing on the construction "*yi + ge*", he finds a difference between untranslated and translated Chinese in regard to the frequency and usage of this construction. Dai argues that these different usages of *yi ge* in translated Chinese are influenced by a "combination of source language interference and target language normalization". Dai's findings are of particular interest in highlighting how linguistic and stylistic hybridity is produced during the translation process.

Beginning from Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* (the personal

set of “dispositions” that structure and are structured by individual action) Chung Yu-Ling and Huang Yun-Hsin’s study examines differences in personality traits of translators in Taiwan. The authors compare translation practitioners with student translators across a range of six traits defined by the HEXACO Personality Inventory. They identify Openness as a key defining trait of practicing translators, and suggest ways in which this may be enhanced in the course of translator training.

Our final contribution, by Zhang Baohong, explores issues of the relationship between painting and poetry, two modes of artistic expression that have long had deep affinities. Focusing on Kenneth Rexroth’s translations of Chinese poetry, Zhang examines how impressionistic painting has influenced Rexroth’s work, in such aspects as strategy and aesthetics. From these observations Zhang goes on to make several proposals that seek to exploit the interplay of poetry and painting, including the concept of “painting-oriented translation”.

Robert Neather

December 2015





# Translatability and Untranslatability: Getting the Truth in Translation

*Jeremy Tambling*

## ***Abstract***

*This paper revisits questions of translation, and its politics, asking what it is, by reference to Shakespeare's use of the word in A Midsummer Night's Dream, one of those examples which helps to historicise the idea of translation. More specifically, it looks at untranslatability, a term used by Derrida, and asks what it means, through discussion of Benjamin, and of Emily Apter, and Barbara Cassin's Vocabulaire européen des philosophies; Dictionnaire des intraduisibles, a dictionary which demonstrates the impossibility of thinking that philosophical terms can be identical from one language to another, and which therefore questions the possibility of 'philosophy'. The paper's other major example is an examination of Peter Szondi's readings of Paul Celan translating Shakespeare's sonnet 105, which produces not simply an entirely new poem, but reveals how translation shows that poetry has changed – roughly, from a poetry which describes, at the level of the signified, to one that works solely at the level of the signifier. Celan's translation, as a creative act, writing a post-Mallarméan poem, is compared with the impossible venture of Hölderlin translating Sophocles, and the relation of that to the idea that there can be a translation – a coincidence of two languages – as a form of madness.*

On Sunday 9 November, 2014, Catalonia, with its main city Barcelona, voted on the question of whether the region, the most prosperous in Spain,

could, effectively, break away from the rest of Spain, with its capital Madrid. Voters were asked two questions: whether Catalonia should be a state, and if they replied yes, they were asked if it should be an independent state. Some 80% of the two million who voted, out of the five and half million who were able to, replied yes to both questions. The Madrid government is pledged to ignore the decision, which was interesting for me both because just before that, there had been a failed vote for Scottish independence (18 September, 2014), and because at the end of October 2014 I had given lectures in both Madrid and Barcelona, and had learned from my hosts in the University of Barcelona that though Spanish was spoken there, the language was Catalan, not Spanish, though related to Spanish (both Romance languages), and that, for instance, *Ulysses* (1922) had been translated into both Spanish and Catalan, as had other modernist and feminist English writers such as Virginia Woolf. In taking over a text into their language, Catalonia was, distinctively, enriching its own culture, giving it something of what Joycean modernism stood for. As Joyce opposes Dublin to London, the colonial centre, for everything in *Ulysses*, and *Finnegans Wake* (1939) constitutes a refusal of English as the authoritative colonial language in Ireland, so translation of Joyce into Catalan opposes Barcelona to Madrid, makes it an alternative capital.<sup>[1]</sup> Catalonia's history of translation, in the context of the language being banned under Franco, shows a culture learning to become independent by saying it has a language robust enough to translate *Ulysses* into, though there is an ambiguity here: the culture is already strong enough to be able to absorb a translation of *Ulysses*, but it needs the translation of a heterogeneous text to establish its own homogeneity. Perhaps we should begin with the proposition of Giorgio Agamben that "we do not have ... the slightest idea of what either a people or language is" (cited at Apter 2006: 243), so that the claim to being a people using a common language is impossible, just as the status or definition of an independent language remains undecidable. Perhaps

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the Jewish Mr Bloom speaking in Dublin in *Ulysses* says all that can be said when asked by “the citizen” what a nation is: “a nation is the same people living in the same place ... or else living in different places” and then, when asked by an aggressive nationalist what his nation is, saying “Ireland. I was born here. Ireland” (Joyce 1986: 272). Translation becomes a performative act, making a people, and creating a language, perhaps in opposition to a stronger, more hegemonic one.<sup>[2]</sup>

And such desire to create both a nation and a national identity, and to translate in order to achieve those things, is only one aspect of a new translation-industry. Because it is more the case that translation consolidates an existing hegemony, the language into which a text is being translated is usually seen as more literary, more central, having more cultural capital, more able to assess the worth of translation and the culture from which the translated text has come. Emily Apter, writing from the standpoint of New York, notes that “the number of publications, books, book series, articles in journals about, and journals devoted to the practices and theory of translation spiked from 2000-2012” (Apter 2013: 4). The predominant drive in this published work has been, inside the discourse of globalization, with which it has been contemporary, and part, to create the subject of World Literature. That idea is one of *universal translatability*, which, however, Lawrence Venuti discusses by seeing the traffic as going only one way – America, he says, does not read foreign works, either in their original languages or in translation – and as secretly establishing homogeneity. He writes:

the prevalence of fluent domestication has supported these developments because of its economic value: enforced by editors, publishers, and reviewers, fluency results in translations that are eminently readable and therefore consumable on the book market, assisting in their commodification and insuring the neglect of foreign texts and English-language translation discourses that are more resistant to easy readability. (Venuti 1995: 15-16)

Venuti's project, which attacks "fluency" as that which makes things be lost in translation, smoothing out difficulties, resorting to paraphrases, using what is deemed to be colloquial English, could be called "against fluency". And Emily Apter's project could be called "noting untranslatability". Both Venuti and Apter contest translation as an industry which fosters the global interests of the United States in the name of equal access to literatures; at the same time, the example of Catalan suggests the interest that a region has in seeing its language become a target language, both nationalistic and also contesting the censorship of literary materials which has gone on, historically, in Spain.

Apter's argument for "untranslatability" responds to the "linguistic turn" within twentieth-century philosophy, to the new attention to language which stemmed from the work of Saussure. She claims that all those who believe in universal translatability ignore this. Her book, *Against World Literature*, is a full discussion of Barbara Cassin's *Vocabulaire européen des philosophies: Dictionnaire des intraduisibles* (2004), whose translation into English in 2014 as *Dictionary of Untranslatables: A Philosophical Lexicon* she was involved in. Cassin argues for the conceptual differences which are carried by the differences between languages, and which show themselves in mistranslation, and which mock claims to what Apter (2013: 41) calls "encyclopaedic mastery and scholarly ecumenicalism". The lesson within her vast text, with its numerous collaborators on the French edition, and numerous translators for the English, is that no philosophical concept translates: all the time different languages are working with different concepts, and mock the thought of dialogue about concepts across languages. Apter also comments on Cassin's sense that homonymy (i.e. words which sound the same, but mean differently) and amphiboly (ambivalent syntax, or ambiguity) constitute a "radical evil" in translation ("radical evil" comes from Kant, and expresses his sense that evil cannot, finally, be eliminated from the human, that in fact, it is what humans

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start with). Rather, Apter says, following Cassin, language destabilizes in its very structure (Apter 2013: 25-27). The date for the first citation of “amphiboly” in *OED* is 1558, meaning “when the sentence may be turned both the wayes, so that a man shall be uncertayne what way to take”. In another citation of 1610, it is a synonym of equivocation, which Cassin’s encyclopedia shows to be a synonym for the idea of *translatio* in Boethius, meaning:

the transfer of meaning which occurs when using the name of one thing to designate another that has no name – this is done out of “penury of names” and results in equivocation, since the same name applies to two different things. (Cassin 2004/2014: 1146)

Translation, and equivocation, as both deceptive practices, then, emerge together, while equivocation further comes into its own in English at the beginning of the seventeenth century, with Francis Bacon, in 1605, announcing “the great Sophisme of all Sophismes, being /Æquiuocation or Ambiguitie of Wordes and Phrase”. In 1606, the word appears several times in *Macbeth*, usually being interpreted by editors of the play with reference to the trial of the Jesuit priest Father Garnet (28 March 1606) for complicity in the Gunpowder Plot (Shakespeare 1984: xx-xxi). The Porter who opens up the castle the morning after the murder of Duncan in the castle, and who begins by pretending to be the porter of Hell gate, uses “equivocate” and its cognates five times, and when Macbeth realizes how he has been tricked by the language of the witches, he speaks of “the equivocation of the fiend” (5.5.43), and says “be these juggling fiends no more believed / That palter with us in a double sense” (5.8.19-20). For “palter”, *OED* gives both “to mumble, to babble” and also “to shift, equivocate, or prevaricate in action or speech; to act or deal evasively, esp. for treacherous ends; to use trickery”. But if we follow Cassin, it could

not be the case that Macbeth could ever get out of sophism and forms of entrapment by words, and that Shakespeare knows that; further, that readings of the play which see it in terms of Macbeth's individual evil miss the point, which rather focuses on the instability and radical evil which exists in language, and the impossibility of not thinking in "a double sense", of being outside equivocation (the word "pun", it may be noted, does not appear in English until 1660, but Shakespeare's Richard the Third says "I moralise two meanings in one word" (*Richard the Third* 3.1.83), saying that this is the activity of the devil, called the Vice: the devil certainly gets into translation). There cannot be a clear, unambiguous access to language, without its equivocations, for language exists independent of humans, and it is not owned by people who pride themselves on their humanistically-acquired grasp of language – the point which becomes increasingly central to Heidegger, who starts an essay called "The Way to Language" (1959) with an interesting quotation showing this from the German Romantic writer Novalis (Friedrich von Hardenberg, 1772-1801). Novalis writes a short essay, entirely self-sufficient, not engaging in dialogue, called "Monologue", which notes "the absurd error people make of imagining they are speaking for the sake of things: no one knows the essential thing about language, that it is concerned only with itself" and that "the whims of language" make people say "the most ridiculous false stuff" (Wheeler 1984: 92-93). Heidegger draws out from this that "language speaks solely [*einzig*] with itself alone [*einsam*]" (Heidegger 1971: 111). This insight, that language, not people, speaks, is one of those which Heidegger gives to Lacan, who writes about the signifier:

it is not only man who speaks, but in man and through man that it [*il*] speaks; in that his nature becomes woven by effects in which the structure of the language of which he becomes the material can be refound, and in that the relation of speech thus resonates in him, beyond anything that could have

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been conceived of by the psychology of ideas. (Lacan, *Ecrits*, 689; trans. Fink 2006: 578)

“It” speaks, then, something other than the human subject. Novalis, who anticipates philosophy’s “linguistic turn”, continues: “hence the hatred that so many serious people have for language. They notice its waywardness, but they do not notice that the babbling they scorn is the infinitely serious side of language”, and he concludes that the person who “lacks a feeling and an ear for language, will find language making a game of him, and will become a mockery to men”. “Wayward” is, incidentally, a key word for *Macbeth*; “weird”, as in the “Weird Sisters” who so equivocate with Macbeth, may be a translation of the “wayward sisters”. So language works as tricks, as turns (a turn is a trick), as a tour, and as a detour, which, of course, suggests Derrida’s essay on translation, “Des Tours de Babel”: tricks of Babel, where “Babel” is simultaneously the name of God (the untranslatable) and “confusion”: i.e. what calls for translation, and where translation is caught up in tricks, which it furthers.

If Emily Apter argues for untranslatability, she does so both to prevent the fluent seamlessness which translates in such a way that it increases American hegemony and monolingualism, in the name of globalization, and untranslatability responds to language as not permitting the reduction of any text to transmissible meaning, or that the meaning is the least interesting part of a text. But we need to weigh up translatability versus untranslatability, as this paper means to do. If there is one thing worse than translating, it is not translating; as Heidegger (1996: 65) says: “tell me what you think of translation and I will tell you who you are”. The person who refuses translation, or who will not translate, or avows that they will not teach works in translation, is like Novalis’ serious person who thinks that identity, national and personal, is somehow separable from language, and can and should be kept so, and thinks of that identity as

already completed.

Untranslatability, as pointing to a truth about language, is an essential concept, but so is translatability, which of course comes from Walter Benjamin's essay, "The Task of the Translator" ("*Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers*", 1923), written to go with his translation of Baudelaire's *Tableaux parisiens*, which though it gives few hints for the formal question of how to translate, nonetheless makes translation the most vital work possible. It is crucial for two other major writers about translation, Blanchot and Derrida (Tambling 2008). In the 1920s, Benjamin engaged, with Franz Hessel, on translating Proust, about whom he also wrote. On 29 February 1940, Theodor Adorno writes to him in Paris from New York, where he wanted Benjamin to come, to escape the Nazis: Benjamin failed to cross the border into Spain, and took his own life that same year (26/27 September 1940). Adorno mentions Benjamin's writing on Proust, and Benjamin responds in a letter of 7 May:

you are quite right to bring up Proust. I have been thinking about his work a great deal myself recently ... You speak felicitously about the experience of "that's not it at all" – that experience when time turns into something we have lost. (Lonitz 1999: 329)<sup>[3]</sup>

The sense of something missing, something tried and shown not to be what was wanted, haunts that statement "it's not that", and works through any attempt at translation, making meaning what can never be stabilized in time; that indicating that translation is a critique of the idea of time being immanent and sequential. Translation notes the impossibility of fixing meaning within time, and the differential nature of truth: that one thing can only be expressed through another, one time in another time; translation always involves a distance between two texts, two modes of perception, which cannot be closed. If I can say "that's not it at all", I



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recognize two possibilities of meaning in the language I am working with. Such a differential sense, which means that translation must be on the side of anachronism, that one meaning appears to have force perhaps long after its moment of stating, in a kind of delayed reaction, is lost when working with the sense of history as a single chronology. The words said in one historical moment do not mean the same when they are said in another: the argument, of course, of Borges' short story, "Pierre Menard, Translator of the *Quixote*". To translate a text from one period into another may require doing something analogous to trying to copy a Raphael in the style of Picasso; but to forget the historical difference, i.e. trying to copy the Raphael as though it was a Picasso, letting the translation take precedence over the time of the text, involves a refusal of the past, as though there was no getting outside the present. Translation must both challenge historical narrative, and engage with history.

This is approaching Walter Benjamin's ground. He takes as model the German poet Friedrich Hölderlin (1770-1843) who translated Sophocles' tragedies, the *Oedipus* and *Antigone* and fragments from the others, into German in 1804, just the period of his becoming mad (he was confined from 1806 until his death), in such a way that the two historical moments came into violent opposition. That opposition is an image for Benjamin, whose critical work has as subject the desire to reclaim the past to change the present, and vice versa: for him, an image, which gives a sense of things as they are, is never a single thing, but compound, "dialectics at a standstill" (dialectics, because what is involved is bringing together opposite moments, present and past), and, says Benjamin, "the place where one encounters them [images] is language" (Benjamin 1999: 462). The idea of an absolute clash, in the union of German and Greek, relates to Hölderlin and his sense that tragedy shows "the fearful enormity of God and man uniting and the power of nature becoming boundlessly one with man's innermost being in rage", so that it shows "infinite unification"

which “purifies itself through infinite separation” (Hölderlin 2009: 323). Such a moment, which brings everything together while dissolving them too, is like “dialectics at a standstill”, a moment when there is an arrest of thought, and so a momentary cessation from the idea of history as single, increasingly univocal, progress; it is “when thinking suddenly comes to a stop in a constellation pregnant with tensions” (Benjamin 2003: 296). An image for that momentary arrest of thought is the text and its translation, when, as does not always happen, the source text can be read in the light of its translation.

As an instance of translation engaging with a different time from that of the source text, and responding to it, we can take Paul Celan’s rendering of Shakespeare’s sonnet 105. Celan (Paul Antschel, 1920-1970), was born in Czernowitz, in Bukovina, still then in the Austrian Empire (hence German was the hegemonic language). It is now part of Ukraine. His first language was Romanian, as was his country, after 1918. He lost both his parents, separately, to Nazi anti-Jewishness in World War II; while he survived the labour camps in Romania, their trauma engaged him for the rest of his life, which was spent in voluntary exile in Paris, after 1948. He undertook translations of twenty-one of Shakespeare’s sonnets, published in 1967 (Eskin 2004), translating from English into German, as the target language, and the language of oppression was, of course, a political act for him, especially when the subject of the sonnet is love of someone who palpably cannot be trusted: perhaps the subject of the poem is the German language, symbolic of untrustworthiness, of betrayal. This translation, of sonnet no. 105 (for which see Duncan-Jones 1997), thinks about the beloved, the young man, the subject of the first 126 sonnets, who is to be praised as being constant (all commentators on the sonnet find this praise of constancy ironic; commentators differ on the extent to which the love of the “I” is homoerotic). But the constancy is also in the lover, the “I”, and that, subtly, is what is being praised:

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Let not my love be called idolatry  
Nor my beloved as an idol show,  
Since all alike my songs and praises be  
To one, of one, still such, and ever so.  
Kind is my love today, tomorrow kind,  
Still constant in a wondrous excellence,  
Therefore my verse to constancy confined,  
One thing expressing, leaves out difference.  
Fair, kind, and true, is all my argument,  
Fair, kind, and true, varying to other words,  
And in this change is my invention spent,  
Three themes in one, which wondrous scope affords.  
Fair, kind, and true, have often lived alone,  
Which three, till now, never kept seat in one.

Ihr sollt, den ich da lieb, nicht Abgott heissen,  
Nicht Götzendienst, was ich da treib und trieb.  
All dieses Singen hier, all dieses Preisen:  
Von ihm, an ihn und immer ihm zulieb.  
Gut ist mein Freund, ists heute und ists morgen,  
Und keiner ist beständiger als er.  
In der Beständigkeit, da bleibt mein Vers geborgen,  
spricht von dem Einen, schweift mir nicht umher.  
"Schön, gut und treu," das singe ich und singe.  
"Schön, gut und treu" – stets anders und stets das.  
Ich find, erfind – um sie in eins zu bringen,  
sie einzubringn ohne Unterlass.  
"Schön, gut und treu" so oft getrennt, geschieden,  
In Einem will ich drei zusammenschmieden.

I attempt a literal translation of Celan:

You (plural) ought / should not name Idol, whom I there loved, not idolatry, what I there engage in and did: all these singings, all these praises, from him, to him, and ever for the love of him. Good is my friend, is today and is tomorrow, and no-one is more constant than he. In constancy there remains my verse sheltered, it speaks of the one, does not waver. “Fair, good, and true” [= faithful], that I sing, and sing. “Fair, good, and true” – always otherwise and always thus. I find, invent – in order to bring them into one, to harvest them into one without remainder. “Fair, good, and true”, so often separated, divided, I want to forge in one all three.

I will also give, with my literal translation, the older and traditional, and very influential “Romantic” A.W. Schlegel / Ludwig Tieck translation of the Sonnet (anthologized in Klotz 2009: 83), part of a project to translate all Shakespeare, carried out between 1797 and 1833 (Habicht 1993):

Nicht Götzendienst nennt meine Liebe! Nimmer  
Betrachtet als mein Götzenbild den Freund:  
Denn all mein Singen, all mein Loben, immer  
Von einem, nur auf einen ist's gemeint.  
Gut ist mein Liebling heut, ist morgen gut;  
Ein seltnes Wunder treuer Freundespflicht;  
Und so, erfüllt von immer gleichen Mut,  
Bedarf nicht der Veränderung mein Gedicht.  
Schön, gut, and wahr, ist all mein Gegenstand;  
Schön, gut, und wahr, verändert nur nach Namen;  
In einem drei: welch weites Wunderland!  
In ihrem Wechsel aller Dichtung Samen.  
Schön, gut, und wahr; sie lebten oft zerstreut:  
In einem nimmer, bis auf unsre Zeit.

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(Do not name my love idolatry! Never let the friend be taken as an image of the gods: for all my singing, all my praises, always are for one, all meant for one. My love is good today, is good tomorrow, and a rare wonder is true friendship; and so, full of enduring spirit, it does not suit that my poetry changes. Beautiful, good and true, is all my subject, beautiful, good and true – each name does not alter. In all three, which is an expansive wonderland! In them, all poetry changes, is the same. Beautiful, good and true; they often love separated, in one never, until our time).

When Shakespeare writes the second quatrain, beginning “Kind is my love”, the challenge of the lover becomes to produce a poetry of praise which is itself unified:

Fair, kind, and true, have often lived alone,  
Which three till now, never kept seat in one.

The implication of this is that only now, in the poem, are these three things brought together.

The Hungarian critic Peter Szondi (1929-1971), who wanted to bring German historical and philological scholarship into contact with American New Criticism and with deconstruction, commented on this translation with reference to what Benjamin’s “The Task of the Translator” calls an “intention towards language” (Szondi 1972: 5). He argues that the intention in the time of Shakespeare (and the time of the “Romantic” translation) and that in the time of Celan are absolutely different, so that this basic difference governs everything in Celan’s poetry and translation; Celan rejects “the traditional conception of language, according to which different signifiers can correspond to the same signified. Indeed, we can sense a desire to abolish the distinction between signifier and signified altogether” (ibid.: 15; see also Fries and Hughes 1983). Thus:

Fair, kind and true, is all my argument,  
Fair, kind and true, varying to other words

(which suggests the possibility of different signifiers meaning the same thing) becomes in Celan:

“Schön, gut und treu”, das singe ich und singe.  
“Schön, gut und treu” – stets anders und stets das.

(“Beautiful, good and true” – that I sing, and sing.  
“Beautiful, good and true” – always different and always that.)

Celan’s poem offers “the stubborn repetition of his own action”, says Szondi; he “creates a repetition that does not simply say what is expressed in the original by the word ‘all’; moreover, by reducing *das singe ich* to *singe* through the omission of both subject and object, he hypostatizes, as it were, the poet’s action”. In other words, “sing” stands out as not a description of something, but becomes the thing itself. So, Szondi says, “this is an action that coincides with the poem instead of being its subject matter, as is the case in Shakespeare” (Szondi 1972: 14).

Shakespeare’s sonnet makes words equivalent to each other (fair, kind and true), in a sense that they all point to one constant lover, and to “constancy”, a property in the lover (and so an allegorical name) and to the poetry, and the word is significantly placed at the middle of the poem, in line 7. It will be noted that the older German translation makes nothing of constant / constancy in lines 6 and 7; when it thinks about what constancy implies, it uses “*immer*” (lines 3 and 7 – “always”, and contrasts it with “*nimmer*” (1 and 14 – “never”). Celan, says Szondi, “refuses to concede that words may be interchangeable in this way” (ibid.: 16), as having one signified, we may add: making the words interchangeable allows the poet to speak, however

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implicitly, of his own creative gifts (which is what the poem does, implicitly, praise). While Shakespeare writes:

Therefore my verse to constancy confined

Celan translates this as:

In der Beständigkeit, da bleibt mein Vers geborgen  
(literally: in constancy, there lies my verse sheltered)

Szondi comments:

constancy, the theme of Shakespeare's sonnet, becomes for Celan the medium in which his verse dwells and that impedes the flow of his verse, imposing constancy upon it. Constancy becomes the constituent element of his verse, in contrast to Shakespeare's original, in which constancy is sung *about*, and described by means of a variety of expressions. Celan's intention toward language ... is a realization of constancy in verse. (ibid.: 20-21, my italics).

In Celan, constancy cannot be talked about. It is not a signified which lies beyond the poem. The translation is post-Mallarméan, in that the "poem is its own subject matter, and both invokes and describes itself as a symbol" (ibid.: 26). It can only shelter in itself, not go beyond itself; nor can constancy mean anything other than the way it exists in the poem.

But this makes more striking what happens in line 11: "*Ich find, erfind*" – "I find, invent", which, however, because of the *langue* of the poem, i.e. its German structure, may also be read as "*Ich find, er find*": "I find, he finds" (ibid.: 16-17). The language, not the intention, yields a sense which complicates constancy, and one commentator on Szondi's reading finds the same thing in line 6: "*Und keiner ist beständiger als er*", reading that as "*und kein er ist beständiger als*

*er*”, so that “and no-one is more constant than he” becomes “and no he is more constant than he” or even “no he is he-constanter than he”, thus introducing another he into the love-relationships of “my love”, and threatening to undo all constancy altogether. If the translation contains these elements which undo constancy, that has implications for what translation is, as an exercise in constancy: the more constancy it expresses, the less the constancy that appears. The poem does not say “you” (*du*), but it does begin with “*Ihr*”, which is a plural you: who are the addressees of the sonnet? Celan puts in quotation marks the words for “Fair, kind, and true”, which are neither in the Shakespeare text, nor in the earlier translation; so these three attributes, or virtues, perhaps suggestive of the Trinity as three-in-one, and divine (contrast the reference to idolatry) become a literary formulation. Are they the “*Ihr*” of Celan’s first line? Are they personifications, names for the other lovers, which include another “*er*” (he) in their grammar? The only pronouns in Shakespeare are “my”, with no “he”, but Celan by working with three pronouns, *ich*, *er* and *Ihr* (I, he and you), produces three to go with the three times repeated and allegorical “Fair, kind, and true”, which are both *three* qualities, and yet *one* quality since they are to be united, to be forged together, as Celan says, in the last line. They stand alone, actually without any referent at all, either in Shakespeare or in Celan. They are allegorical, either to be identified, in Celan with those who are different from the lover (*Ihr*), or else they are to be identified with the lover. As all pronouns tend towards the deictic, i.e. towards breaking down a specific reference, so it happens here: Celan’s poem does exactly what Shakespeare’s poem says it is not doing: i.e. Celan does not leave out difference, whereas Shakespeare says he does (ibid.: 8): the earlier version translates as “my writing needs no shift, or change”. But of course, in saying that it leaves out difference, Shakespeare recognizes the presence and power of difference, and Celan’s translation recognizes that, so bringing out something in the poem, so that both indicate that constancy and difference, neither present in the older version, are inseparable. And the point is apparent from the very meaning



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of the word: constancy implies “standing together”; the word implies duality. Constancy is a way of expressing not one thing but two, which must have a separation between them. However much the *meaning* of the poem denies that, the *intention* within the language disallows it.

Szondi is not arguing that Celan’s translation differs from Shakespeare’s sonnet at the level of conscious intention; he is not consciously working against Shakespeare. Rather, the point is that a change in European ways of thinking about language means that it is no longer possible to write in Shakespeare’s conventions; though Shakespeare subtly makes the praise of the lover into his praise of his own poem, so making the poem self-reflexive, now that division of *topoi* has gone, because the poem has no entity behind it which it signifies (there is no “young man”, who is the addressee, no Mr W.H.); there has been a change from a mimetic intention towards a sense of the poem as something existing within itself, sheltered in its own “constancy”, which contains difference. One result of this is that whereas the Schlegel translation reads as a translation, it may be said that the Celan reads as an independent poem, though it asks for the difference from Shakespeare to be noted, so that we read two poems, and for the difference between them. In so responding, with the sense of language not communicating other than itself, and with the sense that translation is baffled because the intention within language changes as much as the meanings of words do in different times, Celan is in the same tradition in which Benjamin works in his essays on language, to which we can now turn.

In the essay “On Language as Such and on the Language of Man” (1916), Benjamin writes of everything partaking of language, and language always communicating “the mental being corresponding to it ... this mental being communicates itself *in* language and not *through* language. Languages ... have no speaker, if this means someone who communicates *through* these languages”. So “language communicates itself”, just as much as each being has a linguistic being, which is its language (Benjamin 1996: 62-63). There are three

emphases: language is not for instrumental purposes, nor is it communication; second, everything is in process of communication; third, that communication, as Benjamin understands it, can only be of language. As Szondi says of Celan's translation, "it does not speak *about* something [constancy], but 'speaks' itself" (ibid.: 13).

"Constancy" proves to be something already in motion; to think about the language out of which we translate is not straightforward. We can return to the point "that's not it", this time through Heidegger. He writes that "in every dialogue and in every soliloquy an original translating holds sway"; implying that reading a text in its own language is not outside the sphere of translation either (Heidegger 1992: 12). The text has moved on: it is not certain that we can read any text as those contemporary to its writing did, nor can it be thought that writing an original is different from translating: we start with repetition, with the sense that writing an original text is already repeating something, because a language is not coincident with itself; hence one reading of it will give something, and another will seem to close up that reading. Heidegger's example is already an illustration of this: "truth" sounds a flat term, but in Greek it is *aletheia*, "unconcealedness", which means that though things are open, there has also been something of concealedness: what is unconcealed must have been concealed, as though concealedness came first, so that in thinking of "truth as un-concealedness there holds sway some sort of conflict with concealedness and concealment" (ibid.: 14). Further, the *a-* which opens *aletheia* is a privative, so that to move from concealment to unconcealment is a loss. "Truth" (Latin *veritas*), so flat a concept, and exactly what the Celan sonnet shows throughout to be so duplicitous, is a limitation in that it pretends to fixity, and to permanence of identity; it does violence to what is concealed, and yet, to think in opposite terms, if unconcealment moves out of concealment, that is a process which is a form of translation. To think of "the truth in translation" means to think it can reside nowhere else; and that translation starts inside the source text, so that reading is translating,

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wrestling with something which is withheld, a double process of originary translation. A layering within language makes it not possible to think outside some act of interpretation; to have to say at all times, “it isn’t that”. This doubleness leads Heidegger towards the word which always characterizes him: the sense of the uncanny (*unheimlich*), of the unfamiliar in language, giving the idea that the most difficult task is “the translation of one’s own language into its ownmost word” (ibid.: 13). That word would be canny, and uncanny at the same time (which means that it would be uncanny.) Thinking, writing, in the familiar language is hardest because of what is concealed within the familiar. Heidegger is quoting from a letter of Hölderlin saying that “nothing is harder for us to learn than the free use of what we are born with”, and that “in the process of civilization what we are actually born with, the national, will always become less and less of an advantage”. What is proper to a native language is also strange, concealed in it; it is hardest to think past the easy use of the language, but that is what originary translation implies, and it indicates that all thinking, all writing, partakes of the nature of translation, which may be thought of as working with concealment, because what is “proper” cannot be assumed; it is hidden.

The title of Benjamin’s essay, “The Task of the Translator” puts the emphasis not on the work of translating, but on the responsibility that any translator has (Benjamin 1996: 253-263). It begins by denying that the work of art is designed for a particular audience, as if it was like a person talking to a person. It cannot be “consumed”, it does not communicate a definite “message” or give “information” (the topic of Benjamin’s essay “The Storyteller”). The same point must hold for translation, which similarly does not exist “for the reader”; the reason being that a literary work does not “say”, and any translation could only be of what it “says”; to see this point is to note that “translation pertains not to meaning but to language itself” (A. Benjamin 1989: 89). That is like Szondi’s reading of Celan’s translation: the concern is with language as the incarnation of meaning, not pre-existent

meaning which one attempts to express in language. Benjamin's essay, as a challenge to think of translation as a "mode", as a way of being, insists on a text having "translatability", which means that a work exists insofar as it can be transported elsewhere, that it can exist in a different mode from the one in which it is written. It becomes a work by its movement out of itself; difference giving it its identity. Its translatability is a potentiality it has in itself, that it can move into another sphere, as when, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Bottom suddenly get the ass's head put on him, and one of his fellow-actors says "Bless thee, Bottom, thou art translated" (3.1.98). Bottom is more fully Bottom when he has been translated; such a transformation into an ass brings out what Bottom was before, only it was concealed: in such a way, we can speak of the truth in translation. Quince's mis-use of the word effectively, only heightens the meaning: and it associates Bottom, meeting with the Queen of the Fairies, with the Biblical Enoch, transformed by being "translated that he should not see death, and was not found because God had translated him: for before his translation he had this testimony, that he pleased God" (Hebrews 11.5).<sup>[4]</sup>

Benjamin insists that it is not a matter of communicating the sense of the original text, because the text begins to exist in translation in its own language as it enters into its "afterlife" (*Fortleben*) during which time, the concept of "original meaning", what Benjamin elsewhere calls its "material content", (Benjamin 1996: 297), is in process of disappearance, losing its force. For "even words with a fixed meaning can undergo a maturing process" (ibid.: 256), a maturing which also makes other meanings decay: "afterlife" includes both death and life, so that "translation", in the Biblical sense used above, can also mean "death" (*OED*, "translation" 1*c*). So translation has to do with survival, with "living on". The implications of the text being always in transit also mean, in a way that Heidegger would agree with, that the text cannot be thought of ever existing, even in its beginning, within a world of stable signification. There is always a process of displacement. And translation, which is always after the event, always anachronistic to the time of the source text,

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has the “task” of watching over this “maturing process”; the sense of language moving towards a fuller communication of itself, so that all languages have a kinship in that they are moving towards something else, which Benjamin calls “a pure language” (*reine Sprache*).

Such a “pure language” definitionally cannot belong to any language which is spoken, and will never form a totality, inherently graspable. Benjamin speaks of languages growing until “the messianic end of their history”, which associates them, therefore with what he calls “messianic time”: a time outside history, or rather, outside history seen as a continuum, as a chronological sequence, causally determined. And history, from what Benjamin says about it, may be seen as dictating how languages should be, since it has brought languages under its imprint, making each heavily responsible for bearing meaning, a meaning which always implies guilt and responsibility and mourning, which, of course, has the effect of silencing people (Fenves 2011: 241; Hamacher 2002; Tambling 2010). Similarly, the writing of history, i.e. historicism, constitutes the past as the authoritative source, so that, in the context of translation, it regards the original work as enshrining a special meaning, which it wants to consecrate and make dominant for the present. Benjamin thinks entirely differently about the relation of past text to its present manifestation, just as Freud gets out of subservience to a past which dominates for ideological reasons with the joke “*traduttore – traditore*”; (“translator – traitor”). He comments: “the similarity, amounting almost to identity, of the two words represents most impressively the necessity which forces a translator into crimes against his original” (Freud, *Standard Edition*, 8.34).<sup>[5]</sup> Just the slightest, thriftiest, modification of the first word produces the second, with its opposite sense, but with the implication that the first word allows the second in as a potential. If the translator is, necessarily, a criminal, that involves an attitude to history, to the past as Father.

Benjamin thinks that translation must begin with a sense of meaning as futural, not in the past; and the past will be seen in the future. The task of translation is to allow those fragments of another language in the “source

text” to appear in another time: these fragments are not, of course, the “meaning”, that which it is only the meanest task of translation to render. Translation “catches fire”, says Benjamin (the terminology is very close to Hölderlin), from “the eternal life of the works [i.e. that they are not situation-specific] and the perpetually renewed life of language”. It puts this “hallowed growth of languages to the test” by seeing how near their hidden meaning is from revelation – which history, seen in chronological terms, as the march of progress will not show (Benjamin 1996: 257). That hiddenness is their foreignness; languages shelter in themselves things that the translator’s target language does not contain, but “reconciliation and fulfillment” of languages occurs in that element of a translation which quite goes beyond translating the “subject matter”.

Benjamin defines “the task of the translator” specifically as “finding the particular intention toward the target language which produces in that language the echo of the original” (ibid.: 258). The translator must find, and develop a slant towards the language into which s/he is putting another text (again, there is a sense in which this language is future, to be created), which will make that language echo what was in the original language. This echo is not there yet; the target language will seem very different from the source language, but it will be heard, so that the future will repeat, in echoing form, what was in the past, so that this will not be lost. Indeed, the echo comes from the future, as an echo indicates that there has been a prior sound. Translation is the work of making nothing in history be lost, in the sense of wasted. The echo exceeds any normal history of language development, which would, of course, exclude the “pure language”. Or, changing the image, the translator is outside the wood of languages, calling into it; the translation :

calls in the original [language], calls it in that unique place where the echo in one’s own language is capable to render the resonance of the work of a foreign language. (Trans. Nägele 1997: 33)

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The reverberation of the original is to be heard in the alien, target language (ibid.: 258-259); translation works that this may happen; two texts will be heard in the translation, both inside it; the translation being outside a partial sense of language.

Here, as Samuel Weber shows, Benjamin draws on the distinction between the thing meant (*das Gemeinten*) in the text, and a text's "way of meaning" ("*die Art des Meinens*" (ibid.: 259), what Szondi thought of in terms of the "intention" of the poem) (Derrida 2002: 130-131). Access to that is through the syntax. Yet, as Benjamin writes with Hölderlin's translations of Sophocles in view, "a literal rendering of the syntax casts the reproduction of meaning entirely to the winds, and threatens to lead directly to incomprehensibility". Hölderlin points the way. Translation must "incorporate the original's way of meaning, thus making both the original and the translation recognizable as fragments of a greater language" (ibid.: 260) – no more than mosaic-like fragments, but which can be associated together in what Benjamin elsewhere thinks of in the figure of a constellation. To get to the way of meaning will give priority to the syntax over that which is meant, associated with grammar, always, as in Nietzsche's criticism of grammar ("we still believe in God because we still believe in grammar"), associated with the privilege of the subject, and with sentences whose grammar supports the subject/predicate distinction. Benjamin writes:

a real translation is transparent; it does not cover the original, does not block its light, but allows the pure language ... to shine upon the original all the more fully. This may be achieved, above all, by a literal rendering of the syntax which proves words rather than sentences to be the primary element of the translator. For if the sentence is the wall before the language of the original, literalness is the arcade. (ibid.: 260)

The translator must go at things word by word, and such words are

the “passages” through arcades in Paris, which so fascinate Benjamin in the *Arcades Project*; because of their potentialities, because of their separateness which leads into such strange and anachronic spaces, with their own light shed on them from above. If Benjamin takes over the opening sentence of St John’s Gospel, “In the beginning was the word” (ibid.: 260), that is not to speak about God as the original creator, but rather to say that the word has always been symbolizing, always there. The sentence, with its sense of being a unit of single meaning, is the wall. The image suggests the danger in translation being too fluent, seamless, coherent, and so blocking the original. Whereas the image of the arcade opens up gaps, recesses, it indicates that the unit of meaning (here, the sentence) is always exceeded by the way it is meant.

The syntactical structure, the way of meaning of the text, is where there resides what cannot be communicated. It symbolizes, as Benjamin argues that everything communicates its linguistic being, but it does not symbolize a given meaning, which, indeed, weighs it down, as Benjamin says, “with a heavy, alien meaning”. The “task” is to relieve it of that; which would bring about the “pure language – which no longer means or expresses anything, but is, as expressionless and creative Word, that which is meant in all languages” (ibid.: 261). The “expressionless” (*das Ausdruckslose*) is the undoing of language as full of meaning, and in his essay on Goethe’s novel, *Elective Affinities*, written at the same time, Benjamin sees it having the force of a caesura, shattering the work in its “beautiful semblance” “into a thing of shards” (ibid.: 340). We can then define the pure language in two ways. It underlies language, as a way of meaning, and it is emerging. Put another way, it shatters the dream of a complete statement in a work of art, and the place where this is found is in translation.

What has been said has implications for the target language, which must be changed in the process:



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it is the task of the translator to release in his own language that pure language which is exiled among alien tongues, to liberate the language imprisoned in a work in his re-creation of that work. For the sake of the pure language he breaks through decayed barriers of his own language. (ibid.: 261)

The target language, with its structures of meaning, must undergo destruction, in attempting to realize and release the “way of meaning” in the source text, which is done by breaking through, so releasing, something in the target language. The target language is already decayed, already caught up in older ways of signifying which have dictated its way of being, making it old before it starts.

If we put this in Hölderlin’s terms, to which Benjamin is responding throughout, then an original text must be represented in another form. In Hölderlin’s hymn “Der Rhein” (c.1805), the gods are the strongest, in being deathless, but they need humans, otherwise they could not be manifest:

Denn weil  
Die Seeligsten nichts fühlen von selbst,  
Muss wohl, wenn solches zu sagen,  
Erlaubt ist, in der Götter Nahmen  
Theilnehmend fühlen ein Andrer,  
Den brauchen sie ... (109-114)

(For since / the most blessed feel nothing of themselves / Another must, I assume, if it’s permitted / To say such a thing, do the feeling / In the gods’ name, sharing it, / Him they need ...). (George 2012: 474-475)

The strongest has to be put forth in the weakest, which is what happens in tragedy, according to Hölderlin; in the clash between god and man, the

strongest and the weakest oppose each other, but the god is represented only in the weakest, where he is seen in all his pathos, as the tragic hero. Here, the absolute need for translation appears: the original represents itself in translation, which represents what cannot be represented. And is it permitted to say such a thing, that something can only be seen in something else? Is it not to claim too much for translation? Perhaps it leads into the possibility of madness, in the attempt to combine two things into one, as if they were metaphors of each other (remembering that the Latin word translation translates the Greek word metaphor). It is much more intense than the Schlegel translation of Shakespeare. In contrast to Hölderlin, Benjamin's idea of translation seems more like metonymy, where word and phrase are set alongside each other, and what is sought is equivalents for something already in change.

Celan's translation of Shakespeare would be the opposite of this Hölderlinian absoluteness, whose danger lies in the dream of immediacy with which he brings together two opposites without any sense of distance between them. Celan accepts the difference, and in doing so, tries to move between translatability and non-translatability. But, if we accepted the absoluteness of the opposites, and continued to speak of source and target languages, we would still have to think of equivocation, double meaning, interrupting any single utterance, in whatever language, making for untranslatability, not here because of an inadequacy in the translation, but because the "it" which is to be translated was itself always double, uncannily so.

## Notes

- [1] *Ulysses* was published in Catalan in 1981 (Barcelona: Leteradura) in a translation by Joaquim Mallafrè (then a lecturer in Catalan at the Universitat Rovira i Virgili in Tarragona). A revised edition was published in 1996 (Barcelona: Proa). However, *Ulysses* had been translated into Catalan at an earlier date; see Lázaro (2008).

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- [2] For the Catalan history, see Venuti (2013: 131-140); see also Casanova (2004: 245-247).
- [3] The passage in Adorno that Benjamin alludes to is in *Prisms* (Adorno 1981: 196).
- [4] For discussion of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, see Sallis (2002: 21-45).
- [5] Andrew Benjamin insists on the crime being against the author – *Freveler an seinem Autor* (1989: 142). I will take “original” to mean “parent”.

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# Hybridity Features of Classifier Constructions in Translated Chinese

*Guangrong Dai*

## **Abstract**

*Translated language is different from non-translated language. It combines the characteristics of both source and target languages, and so presents a set of hybrid features at different linguistic levels. The present research investigates hybridity features of classifier constructions in translated Chinese with the help of comparable and parallel corpora.*

*According to McEnery and Xiao (2007), classifiers occur twenty-nine times more frequently in Chinese than in English, and Chinese is regarded as a classifier language, while English is a non-classifier language. The frequencies of single classifiers, such as Temporal classifier (qt) and Verbal classifier (qv), are higher in non-translated Chinese than those in translated Chinese. However, classifier constructions such as “YI GE + Noun” are used more frequently in translated Chinese. “YI GE” can be used as an indefinite article. The present research finds that most of the collocations of “YI GE” in non-translated and translated Chinese are similar, though the frequencies are different. Translated Chinese follows the norms of native Chinese, and this is the result of the normalization tendency in translation. However, translated Chinese still shows hybrid characteristics that are distinct from non-translated Chinese in the collocations of “YI GE”. The parallel corpus data shows that “a/an + (adj.) + noun” are the most common equivalents of “YI GE”, followed by “another”, “one + noun”, “the noun”, “one”, etc.*

*The concordancing results also tell us that “YI GE” is used in translated Chinese when there are no articles used in the English source text. The translators add “YI GE” according to the norms of the target Chinese language, and this addition results in the over-representation of “YI GE” in translated Chinese. “YI GE” constructions in translated Chinese can be divided into four classes: “YI + GE + countable noun”, “YI + GE + abstract noun”, “YI + GE + verb/adjective” and “YI + GE + complex phrases”. The combination of source language interference and target language normalization leads to the hybridity of classifier constructions in translated Chinese.*

## **1. Introduction**

It is common, when reading translations, to feel that they are written in their own peculiar style. Indeed, translated language has been regarded as a “non-standard version of the target language” (Hopkinson 2007: 13) owing to the influence of the source language and the target native language. Translated language combines the characteristics of the source and target languages, and so it presents a set of hybrid features. The present research focuses on the hybridity features of classifier constructions in translated Chinese.

## **2. Classifier constructions in Chinese**

While classifiers have been used in Chinese for over three thousand years, the technical term “classifier” is only a recent phenomenon in grammars of the Chinese language. The classifier was the last to have been recognized by grammarians as one of the eleven word classes in Chinese because members in this category cannot function independently as sentential constituents. Syntactically, they are used

after a demonstrative pronoun or numeral, and before a noun, as with *zhāng* 張 and *gè* 個 in the sentence “*zhè zhāng zhuōzi liǎnggèrén tāibú dòng*” 這張桌子兩個人抬不動 (“this table cannot be lifted up by two people”). The “numeral + classifier” construction can be named “NC” for short (Ding et al 1961/1999: 168).

## 2.1 Categories of classifiers

Modern Written Chinese makes frequent use of classifiers and the classifier is an important linguistic feature which marks lexical items as belonging to the same semantic class. Each noun has its own specific classifier which can indicate “shape, size, colour, movability, animacy, status”, and other properties (Crystal 2008: 78). A classifier categorizes a class of nouns by picking out some salient perceptual properties, either physically or functionally based (Ross and Ma 2006: 43).

In Allan’s (1977) cross-linguistic classifications, classifier categories can be divided into the following types: material, shape, consistency, size, location, arrangement, and quanta (Allan 1977: 297). In this sense, the Chinese classifier system includes the following categories: Material: (in)animacy, abstract, verbal nouns; Shape: long, flat, round or one-dimensional, two-dimensional, three-dimensional; Consistency: flexible, hard/rigid, non-discrete; Size: big and small (Tai 1992: 589-590; 1994: 5).

Some researchers use “measure words” or “measures” to mean classifiers. For example, Chao (1968) adopts the label “measure words”, and defines a “measure word” as a bound morpheme which forms a D-M (determinative-measure) compound with one of the determinatives. Chao divides classifiers into nine groups: classifiers, or individual measures (Mc); classifiers specially associated with V-O constructions (Mc’), group measures (Mg), partitive measures (Mp), container measures (Mo), temporary measures (Mt), standard measures (Mm), quasi-measures (Mq), and measures for verbs (Mv) (Chao 1968: 584-585). Table 1 presents all these classifier categories and their specific features in Chinese:



## Hybridity Features of Classifier Constructions in Translated Chinese

		n > 1	M	MM	的	N	Listable
1	Mc Classifiers, or Individual Measures	✓	個	(✓)	*	人	✓
2	Mc' Classifiers Associated with V-O	✓	句	(✓)	( )	話	✓
3	Mg Group Measures	✓	行	(✓)	( )	字	✓
4	Mp Partitive Measures	✓	堆	(*)	( )	土	✓
5	Mo Container Measures	✓	鍋	(*)	( )	面	*
6	Mt Temporary Measures	*	地	*	✓	東西	*
7	Mm Standard Measures ( )	✓	尺	(✓)	✓	布	(✓)
8	Mq Quasi-Measures	✓	課	(✓)	*	*	(✓)
9	Mv Measures for Verbs	✓	趟	(✓)	*	*	✓

Table 1 Types of Classifiers (Chao 1968: 619)

In Table 1, “n” signifies the numerals, “M” signifies the classifier/measure words, “MM” indicates the repetition of measure words, “的” (*de*) refers to the “N + 的 (*de*) + M” construction, “N” signifies the nouns after the measure words, “Listable” refers to the limited set of classifier words that can be listed, “✓” means “yes”, “\*” means “no”, and “( )” indicates “in most cases” or “not absolutely”.

In the present study, we consider the classifier as a closed category word, while some measure words in Chao (1968) belong to the open category.

## 2.2 Classifier Constructions in Chinese and English

Chinese classifiers always occur with a number, e.g., *yī* (“one”), *sān* (“three”), and/or a specifier, i.e., *zhè* (“this”) or *nà* (“that”) before the noun

(Li and Thompson 1981: 104-105). The classifier construction in Chinese is “(specifier) (+) number + classifier + noun”. For example:

- (1) *sān*      *gè*      *rén*  
 三      個      人  
 three (number) CLF person  
 three people/persons
- (2) *wǔ*      *jià*      *fēijī*  
 五      架      飛機  
 five (number) CLF plane  
 five planes
- (3) *zhè*      *suǒ*      *xuéxiào*  
 這      所      學校  
 this (specifier) CLF school  
 this school
- (4) *nà*      *sān*      *běn*      *shū*  
 那      三      本      書  
 that (specifier) three CLF book  
 Those three books

(All examples adapted from Ross and Ma 2006: 43, and Li and Thompson 1981: 104)

English is different from Chinese in respect of the use of classifiers. English has two kinds of classifiers (Quirk *et al.* [1985: 261] adopts the technical label of “quantifiers”); one is the closed-class one, such as “many”, “(a) few” and “several”, “much” and “(a) little”; the determiners “any”, “no”, and “some”, and the predeterminers “all” and “both”. The other is the open-class classifiers, most of which consist of a noun of quantity (“lot”, “deal”, “amount”, etc.) followed by “of” and often preceded by the indefinite article, such as “plenty of”, “a lot of”, “lots of”, “a great/good deal of”, “a quantity (amount) of”, and “a large number of” (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 263-264).

In English, we can say “three persons” without a classifier between the number and noun if the noun is countable. With uncountable nouns,

## Hybridity Features of Classifier Constructions in Translated Chinese

however, English also uses an open class of words that are functionally similar to Chinese classifiers such as “three cups of water”, “two pounds of coffee” and “a herd of cattle” (Lehrer 1986: 109).

According to Xiao (2006), classifiers in Chinese are necessary in certain contexts:

### A. Grammatically mandatory

The classifier is mandatory in Chinese; the following example (a2) is unacceptable:

(a1) 三 本 書	(a2) *三 書
<i>sān běn shū</i>	* <i>sān shū</i>
three CLF book	three book
three books	three books

### B. Distinguishing between word senses

The same noun can be modified by different classifiers which can differentiate word senses as in the following examples:

(b1) 一 條 線	(a2) 一 根 線
<i>yī tiáo xiàn</i>	<i>yī gēn xiàn</i>
one CLF line	one CLF thread
a line	a thread

### C. Resolving syntactic ambiguity

The classifier can resolve syntactic ambiguity as in the following examples:

(c1) 賀 老 總 給 了 他 一 把 手 槍
<i>Hè lǎozǒng gěi-le tā yì-bǎ shǒuqiāng</i>
Hè general give-Asp him one-CLF pistol
General Ho gave him a pistol.

- (c2) 賀老總 給了他 一手槍  
Hè lǎozǒng gěi-le tā yì shǒuqiāng  
Hè general give-Asp him one pistol (CLF)  
General Ho shot him once with a pistol.

All these examples show that the classifier is obligatory in Chinese, while it is only required for noncount nouns in English. The number of English classifier words is much smaller than that of Chinese classifier words. According to McEnery and Xiao (2007), classifiers occur twenty-nine times more frequently in Chinese than in English. In this sense, Chinese can be regarded as a classifier language, while English is a non-classifier language.

### 3. Classifier Constructions in Non-translated and Translated Chinese

This section compares the frequencies of classifiers and classifier constructions in translated and non-translated Chinese to identify and explain any significant difference. We concordanced the classifiers that McEnery and Xiao (2007) indicate as being used frequently in Chinese, i.e., Temporal classifier (qt) and Verbal classifier (qv) in the Lancaster Corpus of Mandarin Chinese (LCMC) and Zhejiang University's ZJU Corpus of Translational Chinese (ZCTC). LCMC and ZCTC represent native and translated Chinese respectively. These two Chinese corpora are each composed of one million words in five hundred 2,000-word text samples which are taken proportionally from fifteen text categories published in China in the 1990s. LCMC was designed as a Chinese match for the FLOB corpus of British English and the FROWN corpus of American English, and for use in cross-linguistic contrastive analysis of English and Chinese (McEnery and Xiao 2004), while ZCTC was created as a translational counterpart of LCMC with the explicit aim of studying features of translated Chinese (Xiao, He and Yue 2010; Xiao and Dai 2010). The samples from LCMC and ZCTC reflect the features of

## Hybridity Features of Classifier Constructions in Translated Chinese

native and translated Chinese in the 1990s (Xiao and Dai 2014).

We also concordanced all types of classifiers (tagged as “q”) in these two corpora. The results are presented in Table 2. The frequencies of Temporal classifier (qt), Verbal classifier (qv) and all classifiers (q) are higher in LCMC than those in ZCTC.

	LCMC	ZCTC	LL	Sig.
qv	2898	2607	13.73	0.000
qt	3593	3537	0.17	0.678
q	16695	16157	5.93	0.015
yi + classifier	4683	5222	32.6	0.000
mq	4647	5868	149.36	0.000

Table 2 Classifiers in LCMC and ZCTC

We also concordanced the classifier constructions: “*yi* (‘one’) + classifier”, and “numeral/specifier + classifier” (tagged as “mq”). The concordancing results indicate that both the constructions are used more frequently in ZCTC than in LCMC.

The classifier construction of “*yi* (‘one’) + classifier” is illustrated in Figure 1 and Figure 2.

用电子、技术、提高经济信息灵敏度，加速工业化的进程，走出了  
似乎有点不可思议，记者采访下去方知，《少奇号》逐渐出  
他学得很认真吗，手摸鼠标器在那部外国著作上，俨然  
就再立个人偶像，他走进去，他走进去，他走进去，他走进去，  
点中学学生的桂冠，使他一门心思把自己的前途和清华、北大、清  
说没有……我错了，果无幸焉……那一次，在反省所中，  
于是大年二二年级时申请退学的，到是  
把他关进监狱的，那时他主事的是  
那时，他正联系承包一项工程，急于用钱，于是，他盗用了有  
有的反革命文化，他走进去，他走进去，他走进去，他走进去，  
信仰问题呢，他神情花惹，我想，他的信仰如他的文化，也是走  
“不仅如此，丹增在前藏说的同时，还请画师强巴仁波切为主席前  
这，一是两袋83-6棉花良种，二是400多本毛主席书籍，三  
秋之夜，记者在胜利西路管理站贴井总公司目睹了7万里圆月。约  
唱全家都来了，一  
68岁的老翁几乎是一口气说出这一句。  
当地所请地方一切事务都归西康三中书记，那里已  
特别进行一吕尚成道开荒开农园时的  
范的自行车和小板凳，是最珍贵的精神财富，也是他们年轻干  
四岁半的男孩刘坤从15层楼跳下，在空中划出一道弧线，  
想不到，不撞树的车子反而向车  
正在他慌乱的跳着往回走的时候，那位不知名的小伙子冲上来抱住他，又住  
同时跑来的那位不知名的小伙子冲上来抱住他，又住

党国自己发展社会主义生产力的过程，将强化自己的生产措施，规定新员工两年之内须集体住所，每  
种强化自己的生产措施，规定新员工两年之内须集体住所，每  
为熟练的计算机员，觉得胜在理直，他踌躇满志，竟敢胜在理直，  
悲别的路径，他踌躇满志，竟敢胜在理直，他踌躇满志，竟敢胜在理直，  
他，她踌躇满志，竟敢胜在理直，他踌躇满志，竟敢胜在理直，  
间办公室，我和叶洪祥开始了谈话。  
公司任职。  
张东亮。  
于用铁，于是，他盗用了一张不该由他支配的支票。  
不该由他支配的支票。  
盲目的优越感，觉得自己不是奸淫盗掠，高别的犯人一等；  
片空白。  
精美的美画，并在周围饰以金边，上面的细节我全知道。  
善报佛心。  
这话逗得人们前仰后合。

Figure 1 “ $\gamma_i$  + classifier” construction in LCMC



因此，现实主义者提供了一个框架，在 其中美国对华政策的 不管这种解释听起来多么令人信服，在 摩根索本人的文档中存有 相反，另 种正式的行为，它对“现实主义者”来说代表接受政治现实，同时允许 另 最重要的，是，艾森豪威尔政府未能解决美国对外政策的 在此，摩根索回到了现实主义批评的 他在杜鲁门担任总统期间撰写此书，将艾奇逊的对华政策视为 类内固有的一种倾向，即在对外政策中还看重公众舆论，过份迁就 然而，就不承认中华人民共和国而言，艾奇逊是在谈论 每个 网景1995年8月上市造就了 一个抵制 HIV/AIDS 治疗药物的政策。 一些医药公司谈判，目前已有5家大医药公司计划降低一些抗逆转录病毒 一些抗逆转录病毒药物的价格，这些药物具有改进 AIDS 治疗和减少一 一个帮助实验室防止肾衰竭传播的工作指南，以帮助各国完成任务。 一个国家的机构（NTP）负责协调这些活动 一个国家的实验室，它有权检查有关实验室是否存有肾衰竭病毒和具有 一个重要部分。 一个帮助提高公众识别和报告危险的运动，并将每年的10月 一个高级别的协议，在国际组织参与和协调下，共同对两国边境地区 一个学术委员会，以及一个由WHO的流行病学专家、实验室工作人员和 一个由WHO的流行病学专家、实验室工作人员和联合国粮农组织、联合 一个中心）组成的专业队伍，开始执行控制 RYF 蔓延的行动计划。 一个5人组成的物流小组用了数月的时间策划、筹备、最终成功地 一些工作人员：运输经理利·杜加尔（上图右一）、薛存及仓储经理 一些设施，并对其进行管理。 一个仓储 供应及维护中心。 一个重要设施是位于Jombang西主会场的国际广播中心。	因此，现实主义者提供了一个框架，在 其中美国对华政策的 不管这种解释听起来多么令人信服，在 摩根索本人的文档中存有 相反，另 种正式的行为，它对“现实主义者”来说代表接受政治现实，同时允许 另 最重要的，是，艾森豪威尔政府未能解决美国对外政策的 在此，摩根索回到了现实主义批评的 他在杜鲁门担任总统期间撰写此书，将艾奇逊的对华政策视为 类内固有的一种倾向，即在对外政策中还看重公众舆论，过份迁就 然而，就不承认中华人民共和国而言，艾奇逊是在谈论 每个 网景1995年8月上市造就了 一个抵制 HIV/AIDS 治疗药物的政策。 一些医药公司谈判，目前已有5家大医药公司计划降低一些抗逆转录病毒 一些抗逆转录病毒药物的价格，这些药物具有改进 AIDS 治疗和减少一 一个帮助实验室防止肾衰竭传播的工作指南，以帮助各国完成任务。 一个国家的机构（NTP）负责协调这些活动 一个国家的实验室，它有权检查有关实验室是否存有肾衰竭病毒和具有 一个重要部分。 一个帮助提高公众识别和报告危险的运动，并将每年的10月 一个高级别的协议，在国际组织参与和协调下，共同对两国边境地区 一个学术委员会，以及一个由WHO的流行病学专家、实验室工作人员和 一个由WHO的流行病学专家、实验室工作人员和联合国粮农组织、联合 一个中心）组成的专业队伍，开始执行控制 RYF 蔓延的行动计划。 一个5人组成的物流小组用了数月的时间策划、筹备、最终成功地 一些工作人员：运输经理利·杜加尔（上图右一）、薛存及仓储经理 一些设施，并对其进行管理。 一个仓储 供应及维护中心。 一个重要设施是位于Jombang西主会场的国际广播中心。
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Figure 4 “numeral/specifier + classifier” (mq) in ZCTC

Figure 3 and Figure 4 show the numerals or specifiers in the construction of “numeral/specifier + classifier” are *yī* (“one”) in LCMC and ZCTC. The following section discusses the construction of “*yī* (‘one’) + classifier” in native and translated Chinese, focusing on *yī ge*.

4. “YI GE” in Native and Translated Chinese

The classifier construction “YI GE” has attracted the attention of a number of scholars. Cheung (1977) compared the indefinite articles “a, an” in English and “YI GE” in Chinese. He argued that both were similar, but that “YI GE” in Chinese can simply express indefinite meaning, and that its main function is to mark the existence of the noun phrase (as in sentence 5a), or to emphasize the modifier of the noun phrase as in sentence 5b:

- (5a) 他 是 一 个 学 者 。  
Tā shì yíge xuézhě

3sg. be one-CLF scholar

He is a scholar.

- (5b) 他 是 一個 在 美國 念書 的 人。

*Tā shì yíge zài měiguó niànshū de rén*

3sg. be one-CLF in America study de person

He is a man who studies in America.

Hu (1982) argues that “YI GE” in Chinese can be equal to English non-definite articles (“a”, “an”) or numerals with the stress on “YI GE” or not in spoken Chinese.

- (6a) 我 看 到 一個 ‘人’。

*Wǒ kàn dào yíge ‘rén*

1sg. see Aspect-marker one-CLF person

I saw a man.

- (6b) 我 看 到 ‘一個 人’。

*Wǒ kàn dào ‘yíge rén*

1sg. see Aspect-marker one-CLF person

I saw one man.

But it is difficult to indicate the difference in written Chinese, so Hu (1982) argues that if *yí* (“one”) is omitted in the structure of *yíge* (numeral + classifier), the remaining classifier can be considered to be equivalent to the English indefinite articles:

- (7a) 我有把刀 (*wǒ yǒu bǎ dāo*): I have a knife.

- (7b) 我看到個人 (*wǒ kàndào ge rén*): I saw a man.

- (7c) 我要借本書 (*wǒ yào jiè běn shù*): I want to borrow a book.

- (7d) 房子裡有張桌子 (*fāngzǐlǐ yǒu zhāng zhuōzi*): There’s a table in the room.

(Hu 1982: 118-119).

Other research on the classifier construction (*yí*) *ge* includes Lü (1984/1999),



Tsao (1978) and Wang (1984, 1990). According to Lü (1984/1999: 157), (*yí*)<sub>ge</sub> can be used as an indefinite article. Tsao (1978) gives some examples of noncount nouns in the construction of “YI + *Zhong*” 種 (numeral + classifier) as follows: “a kind of loneliness”; “a kind of graceful manner” (Tsao 1978: 49).

Wang (1984: 341-343) agrees that *yi ge* and *yi zhong* can be used as indefinite articles and that they play an important role in the development of the Chinese language. Wang (1990: 460) points out that many European languages such as English, French and German have articles which earlier acted as a specific kind of adjective. All the articles are used before nouns in the sentences and they can mark the noun quality of the words after them, even if the words are not nouns (such as the adjectives, indefinite verbs, and gerunds). The words after the articles can function as nouns.

The concordance results of “YI GE” from LCMC and ZCTC are shown in Figure 5 and Figure 6 respectively.

四散，由于在  
地，也只好于  
觉得自己没有享受过爱情的欢乐。于是，他鬼鬼祟祟地钻进了邻舍的偷来的监时。  
还有的自以为有思想，连管干部也不入流，都是为了  
十一岁的乃乃立、新院人等。如今这些人在深化  
类，是我国经济体制改革的试验田，也是我国改革正在变化  
快进中的民间声音站，只有一见  
抱起浑身是血、昏倒在地任意放荡的人，同样没有  
0多名共产党员和许多多共青团员将自己的生命、财产抛之后见  
一见的  
前，几天前的想是  
部主任所说眼前这个小伙子  
当她清楚地看到侍候在身边  
痛心地对记者说：“经济损失仅  
他对记者说，党已制定  
的信中说，这些平民是在巴沙拉遭难的，建造工作受到红字会  
消息在合肥市  
一群人的支起了松木柱、棺材板，在废墟上挖出  
一名十来岁的女孩刚想打上个盹，脱股骨头撞着了  
老太太抱着  
通讯员作了进一步采访，  
通讯员作了进一步采访，一个中年人是党员  
答：被烧成重伤后，这时间  
街医院里，一名叫曹凤根的25岁的妇女正在产房痛苦地呻吟。这是  
这儿真成了因技术  
引子，如果

时期内忽视了这个问题，在当时，其竞争者普遍造成经济上很大的  
多少时候，便能熟练地操作“小推车”了。  
个女孩子，她在黑暗中慌乱地打昏了女孩儿，自己跌跌撞撞  
多岁的年龄——二十岁。  
请大、中领导和判的犯人打起来。  
情的时候，当她的父母钱爹也想不到儿子会关押在大墙  
标志。  
胖瘦腿的姑娘冲进了4号塔楼15层的窗台上。  
留下姓名。  
心坎处接受女职工的生产和国家的物资。  
穿的人也要跑到厨前指挥着  
军人推着一辆装满蔬菜的自行车朝营区走去。”  
平上，某红军师通信营营部战士长陈新建骑着自行车外出采购蔬菜  
素平生熟的老人深为感动，立即决定先收人，后收菜，不收钱，不收地  
至连带的孩子小孩子等人作什么买卖，我们建立起来的  
出粮区管理混乱，无可救药地说，我们每年20元只能买30公汽油油  
地方，广大都职工20多年来用心血建立起来的一整套教学制度  
复课计划，并继续投入在积极准备，争取在9月底或10月初开始  
划训练的蓝图。  
下，而做了几百。  
个机关生长期，感  
蜘蛛蟹身上，那柔软的感觉使她浑身直起鸡皮疙瘩。  
人说：“是他叫我们的。”  
人说：“是能省我过来的。”  
他：“是男。”  
他：“是干部。”  
基于干部独夫断绝。“乡亲们，我们对不起你们啦！”  
肥胖的妇女把他拉起来，那位妇女的话真感人——“共产党把  
新的生命却将一代人送。  
的怪，膨胀的库存掩盖了企业生产经营上的良性循环。  
难题。  
企业的库存量过大，产品积压严重，造成了资金的过度沉淀，就有

Figure 5 “YI GE” in LCMC

因此, 现实主义者们提供了一个框架, 在其中美国, 同时允许一种正式的行为, 它对“现实主义者们”来说代表政治现实, 同时允许

最重要的, 是艾森豪威尔政府未能解决美国对外政策的

在此, 摩根斯坦利到现实主义者们

他在杜鲁门担任总统期间签署此书, 将艾森豪威尔的对外政策

境内固有的一种倾向, 即在对外政策中过分尊重公众舆论, 过份

然而, 就不承认中华人民共和国而言, 艾奇逊是在言论

网景1995年8月上市造就了

WHO说, 各国政府需要有一

为了使DCC的要求能得到实行, WHO已制定了

所有国家都须遵守的规定

NTF将组织

专业培训也是母亲安全项目的

马拉维开展了

沙特和也门已签订了

有关政府的卫生部组成了

有关政府的一个学术委员会, 以及

工作人员和联合国粮农组织、联合国开发计划署(UNEP)、WHO在开罗的

这些设施中最重要的, 是外勒基地(Field Support)中心。

物流中心由捐助建设的一

IBEC派了许多员工从事奥运会的筹备工作, 因此公司还在悉尼建设了

捐助

一个框架, 在其中美国对外政策的一个中心问题可以得到解释, 这个中心问题可以解释得清楚, 这个问题就是像艾奇逊及其幕僚这样细致地在和朝鲜半岛危机的情况下去研究和利用这些机会。

关系到华盛顿为什么在亚洲冷战期间实行一种对外政策, 其特征又涉及决策者和公众是否受同样的文化价值观影响, 或者决策是否基本问题——如何为明智的对外政策的需要而获得公众、特别

中心主题, 那就是这个国家的政治制度鼓励决策者们去迎合公众? 范列, 那么, 范列和艾奇逊的幕僚的官员是些老外交官、游说

受特殊利益集团过大的影响? 国家的要求。

依然大有争议的问题, 而且给出了有关于杜鲁门行政当局政策、经济时代都有自己独特的发展曲线。

为力量雄厚的竞争者, 迫使微软放弃它自己的专营在线服务, 把为

研制HIV/AIDS治疗药物的政策。

帮助实验室防止再次传播的工作计划, 以帮助各国完成任务。

国家专门机构(NTF)负责协调这项活动。

国家实验室, 它们检查有关实验室是否存在曾发疯病毒和具有

重要部分。

帮助提高群众识别和报告儿童危险信号的运动, 并将每年的10月

高级别的人群, 在国际组织参与和协调下, 共同对两国边境地区

学术委员会, 以及一个由WHO的流行病学家、实验室工作人员和

由WHO的流行病学家、实验室工作人员和联合国粮农组织、联合

中心)组成的专家小组, 开始执行控制H5N1蔓延的行动计划。

5人组成的物流小组, 用了数个月的时间规划、筹备, 最终成功地

仓储、供应及维修中心。

重要设施是由Homebush主会场的国际广播中心。

自助餐、餐厅内的所有设施都是由美国本土运去的。

项目进行的关键不是对每个环节都从美国本土, 而是看如果知道

Figure 6 “YI GE” in ZCTC

The frequency of “YI GE” in LCMC is 2,841, while it is 3,782 in ZCTC (LL=139.73,  $p<0.000$ ). The translated Chinese texts use “YI GE” more commonly than non-translated Chinese ones. As well as frequency, it is interesting to consider the collocations of “YI GE” in LCMC and ZCTC.

Table 3 illustrates the concordancing results of the collocations (the concordancing parameters are: left: 0, right: 2).

ZCTC			LCMC		
Node	Freq	Z-Score	Node	Freq	Z-Score
a	838	43.2	a	645	34.4
n	2259	34	n	1821	25.4
ude1	666	11.6	ude1	443	10.8
b	140	10.4	b	68	3.3
z	27	6.9	z	33	8
v1	46	4.5	uls	9	7.1
udh	2	3			

Table 3 “YI GE” collocation in LCMC and ZCTC (left: 0; right: 2)

Hybridity Features of Classifier Constructions in Translated Chinese

The table tells us most of the collocations of “YI GE” in LCMC and ZCTC are similar, such as “a” (adjective), “n” (noun), “ude1” (auxiliary 的), “b” (noun modifier), “z” (descriptive), though the frequencies are different. The translated Chinese follows the norms of native Chinese, and it is the result of the normalization tendency in translation. If we change the concordancing parameter, i.e., left: 0, right: 1, we obtain the results as illustrated in Table 4.

	ZCTC		LCMC	
Node	Freq	Z-Score	Node	Z-Score
a (adjective)	640	52.2	508	44
n (noun)	1728	50.8	1381	40.5
b (distinguishing words)	121	16.8	21	7.8
z ( <i>zhuangtai</i> : state expressions)	20	8.2	55	6.7
vl (verb phrase)	39	7.8	23	3.3
nl (noun phrase)	13	4.3		
bl (distinguishing phrase)	6	3.4		

Table 4 “YI GE” collocation in LCMC and ZCTC (left: 0; right: 1)

Table 4 shows the collocations of the classifier construction “YI GE” in LCMC and ZCTC. Most of the collocations of “YI GE” in translated Chinese follow the norms of native Chinese (such as “a”, “n”, “b”, “z”, “vl”), and so can be regarded as a normalization tendency in translation. However, the translated Chinese still shows the different characteristics from non-translated in the collocations of “YI GE”. Table 4 shows that “YI GE” in translated Chinese can collocate with the “noun phrases” (“nl”) and “distinguishing phrases” (“bl”) with high Z-score. For example:

Noun phrases (nl) in ZCTC:

- (8) 孤寂是這些人尚未擁有的一個自然資源，到目前為止，惟有鳥類學者和

鶴認識孤寂的價值。(Solitude, one natural resource)

In English, “one natural resource” is acceptable, while the Chinese *yíge zìrán zīyuán* 一個自然資源 (one + CLF + noncountable noun) sounds unnatural and strange.

### Distinguishing phrases (bl) in ZCTC:

- (9) 這是一個強有力的防守打法，如果你來不及打一個好的上旋球時，這種打法能幫助你擺脫困境。(English version of the underlined: This is a best defensive play.)

The distinguishing word “best” in English can be translated into Chinese as *qiáng yǒu lì* 強有力.

All these examples show that “YI GE” can be used as a noun marker in the sentence. Its main function is not to express the numeral meanings, but to mark the noun after its position. That is to say, we can judge that the components after (i.e., on the right of) “YI GE” must be a noun (the noun may be modified by other kinds of words, such as adjectives, prepositions or preposition phrases).

Concordance results can also indicate recurrent patterns before (i.e., on the left of) “YI GE”, and display any differences between the two corpora. The concordancing results show a sharp difference between the comparable corpora. Figures 7 and 8 illustrate the collocations of “YI GE” in ZCTC and LCMC respectively.

Window L1 R0      Score Z-score  
Colligating with wtag      DL all

Node	Frequency	Z-score
rz	402	57.4
vshi	435	56.2
vyou	198	42.9
ule	253	40.8
v	869	19.6
p	276	12.4
vf	93	11.3
udel	314	6.9
uguo	15	5.5
uzhe	24	4.6
pba	16	3.4
---	15	2.2

59 collocates      Show ☒ Controls

Figure 7 “YI GE” Collocations in ZCTC (left: 1; right: 0)

Window L1 R0      Score Z-score  
Colligating with wtag      DL all

Node	Frequency	Z-score
vshi	294	155.4

1 collocates      Save      Query      Show ☒ Controls ☐ Forms

Figure 8 “YI GE” Collocations in LCMC (left: 1; right: 0)

In LCMC, only the verb *shi* 是 is used before “YI GE”, while there are many kinds of words that appear immediately to the left of “YI GE” in ZCTC, such as “rz” (deictic pronouns), “vyou” (verb of *yǒu* 有), “v” (general verbs), “p” (prepositions), “vf” (directional verbs), “ule” (aspect marker *le* 了), “uguo” (aspect marker *guo* 过), and “udel” (auxiliary word *de* 的). These items also have high frequencies and Z-scores.

## 5. “YI GE” in the English-Chinese Parallel Corpus

The results discussed in the preceding section show a tendency for the translated Chinese to use more classifier constructions than non-translated Chinese, and most of them are the construction “*yī* (‘one’) + classifier”. We now consider reasons for the higher frequencies in ZCTC than in LCMC.

When we check the phenomenon in a parallel corpus, we find that the parallel concordancing results show that the source English language uses more of the numeral “one”, singular articles (especially the indefinite article, i.e., “a” and “an”), and specifiers (“this” and “that”).

Specifiers of “this” can be translated into Chinese as “*zhè* + (*yī*) + *ge*” 這一個 (“this one”) while “that” can be translated into Chinese as “*nà* + (*yī*) + *ge*” 那一個 (“that one”).

According to Quirk *et al.* (1985: 253-254), the indefinite article “a/an” can be regarded as an unstressed numeral, equivalent to the stressed “one”. The indefinite article derives historically from the unstressed form of “one”, and in present-day English there are still many contexts in which this numerical function is uppermost. Thus “one” could be substituted as a slightly emphatic equivalent of “a” in the following coordinate constructions: a mile or two (one or two miles); the Wrights have two daughters and a son; a foot and a half of water (one and a half feet) (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 273).

The following are other examples in which “one” could replace “a” or “an”, and where the adjective “single” can add an intensifying force to the indefinite article (or “one”):

Mungo can walk forty miles in a (single) day.

They didn’t stop talking for a (single) moment.

There’s not a (single) pickled onion in the house.

In addition to being a numeral, “a/an” also has substitute and generic functions, and it can also mark the noun. Different functions depend on different

contexts, and “a/an” before countable nouns can function as a numeral. In English, the common nouns can be divided into count and noncount nouns, as in Figure 9.

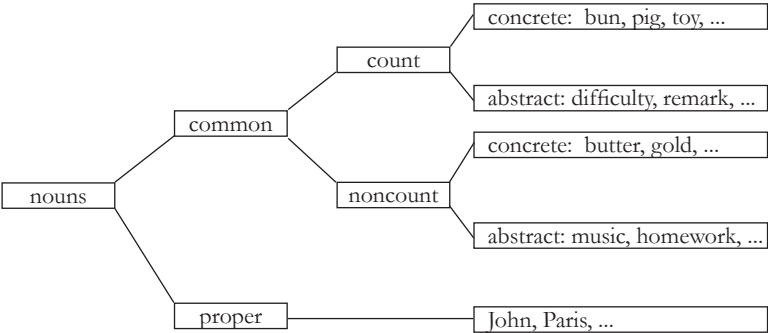


Figure 9 The most important noun classes in English (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 247)

In English, both count and noncount nouns can enter partitive constructions, i.e. constructions denoting a part of a whole. Such constructions express both quality partition (e.g., a kind of paper) and quantity partition (e.g., a piece of paper). Quality partition is expressed by a partitive count noun like kind, sort, or type followed by an of-phrase, as illustrated in Table 5:

SINGULAR PARTITIVES	PLURAL PARTITIVES
A new kind of computer	new kinds of computers
A delicious sort of bread	delicious sorts of bread
Another type of research	other types of research

Table 5 Noncount nouns (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 249)

In English, the cardinal numeral “one” may be regarded as a stressed form of the indefinite article and may sometimes replace it as in the following sentence: “I would like a/one photocopy of this article”.

The construction “a/an + count noun” is the common usage in

English, and its equivalent in Chinese is “*yi* + classifier + count noun”. For example:

- (10a) <sn=“L1E\_0045”> And we had to find a way so that they could cross a bridge without humiliation. </s>  
(10b) <sn=“L2C\_0045”>我們曾經必須找到一個方法，使他們能夠過橋而不丟失面子。</s>  
(11a) <sn=“L1E\_2349”> Sally did not know she had married a poet as well as a farmer. </s>  
(11b) <sn=“L2C\_2349”>薩莉沒有想到，她嫁給了一個農民，也嫁給了一個詩人。</s>  
(12a) <sn=“L1E\_0168”> and I sat with my back close to a dune, while Susan kept to the shoreline, staring out to sea or looking about for interesting shells or stones. </s>  
(12b) <sn=“L2C\_0168”>我緊靠一堆沙丘坐下，蘇珊則靠近岸邊，一會兒凝望大海，一會兒在四周尋找有趣的貝殼或石子。</s>

The following BNC word list shows the most frequent words in English (Table 6): they are “a” (the 5<sup>th</sup>), “that” (the 8<sup>th</sup>), “this” (the 23<sup>rd</sup>), “an” (the 33<sup>rd</sup>), and “one” (the 38<sup>th</sup>).

N	Word	Freq.	%	Texts	%
5	A	2,181,592	2.19	4,045	99.78
8	THAT	1,052,259	1.06	4,026	99.31
23	THIS	454,419	0.46	4,004	98.77
33	AN	338,743	0.34	3,942	97.24
38	ONE	290,466	0.29	3,937	97.11

Table 6 BNC word list

In the English-Chinese translation process, the numeral “one”, indefinite articles “a/an”, and specifiers “this/that” can be translated into the Chinese construction “*yi* + classifier”, as in the following sentence:



(13) She is an excellent teacher in the school.

在這學校裡，她是一名優秀的老師。

We concordanced the Babel English-Chinese Parallel Corpus (cf. Dai and Xiao 2011), for the translation of these words (“a”, “an”, “this”, “that”, “one”, which are tagged as “AT1”, “AT1”, “DD1”, “DD1”, “MC1” respectively within the CLAWS tagset). Figure 10 illustrates the concordancing results of “AT1” (“a”/“an”) in the Babel corpus:

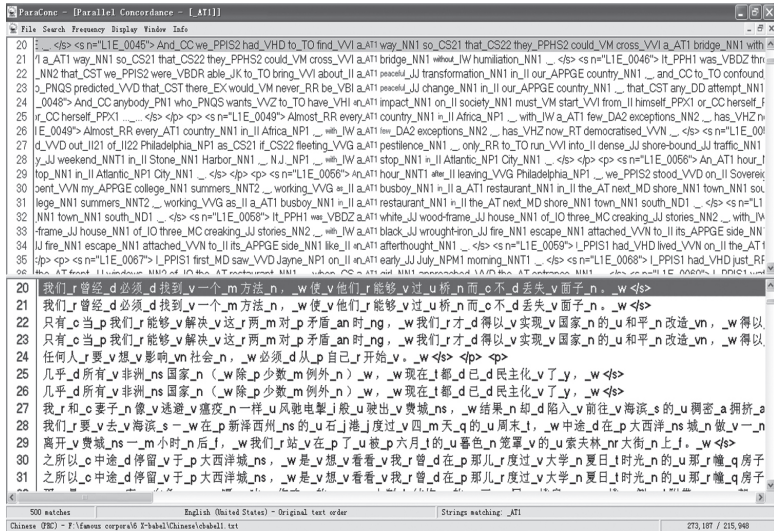


Figure 10 “a”/ “an” (AT1) in the Babel corpus

We find that most of the instances of the English articles “a” and “an” are translated into “YI GE”, for example:

(14a) <sn="L1E\_0007">And this must be achieved in a rapidly globalizing world.

(14b) <sn="L2C 0007"> 而這必須在一個迅速全球化的世界裡進行。

(15a) <sn="L1E 0010">The vision expressed in the idea of African

renaissance is that of the reconstruction and development of an Africa in which people's lives are constantly and rapidly improving towards standards broadly in line with the best in the world.

(15b) <sn="L2C\_0010">非洲復興的理想，就是建設和發展一個人民生活 迅速  
不斷改善的非洲，使他們的生活水平達到和世界最高水平大體相當。 </s>

We now turn to a consideration of “one”. Figure 11 presents the concordancing results of “MC1” (one) in the Babel corpus:

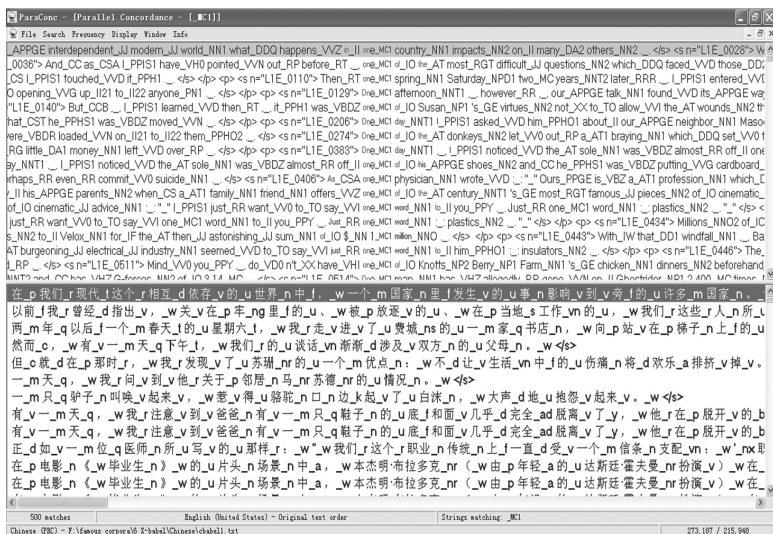


Figure 11 “one” (MC1) in the Babel corpus

Most occurrences of “one” are also rendered as “YI GE” in translated Chinese:

(16a) <sn="L1E\_0027">In\_II our\_APPGE interdependent\_II modern\_II  
world\_NN1 what\_DDQ happens\_VVZ in\_II one\_MC1 country\_NN1  
impacts\_NN2 on\_II many\_DA2 others\_NN2 . . </s>

(16b) <sn="L2C\_0027"> 在\_p 我們\_r 現代\_t 這個\_r 相互\_d 依存\_v 的\_u  
世界\_n 中\_f , \_w 一個\_m 國家\_n 裡\_f 發生\_v 的\_u 事\_n 影響\_v 到\_v  
旁 f 的 u 許多 m 國家 n 。 w </s>

# Hybridity Features of Classifier Constructions in Translated Chinese

(17a) <s n="L1E\_0110"> Then\_RT one\_MC1 spring\_NN1 Saturday\_NPD1 two\_MC years\_NN1T2 later\_RRR ٢٠٠٠ I\_PPIS1 entered\_VVD a\_AT1 bookstore\_NN1 in\_II Philadelphia\_NP1 and\_CC asked\_VVD a\_AT1 young\_JJ woman\_NN1 on\_II a\_AT1 ladder\_NN1 where\_RRQ I\_PPIS1 might\_VM find\_VVI the\_AT Shakespeare\_NP1 sonnets\_NN2 I\_PPIS1 needed\_VVD for\_IF an\_AT1 English\_JJ class\_NN1 .</s>

(17b) <s n="L2C\_0110"> 兩\_m 年\_q 以後\_f 一個\_m 春天\_t 的\_u 星期六\_t , \_w 我\_r 走\_v 進\_v 了\_u 費城\_ns 的\_u 一\_m 家\_q 書店\_n , \_w 向\_p 站\_v 在\_p 梯子\_n 上\_f 的\_u 一\_m 位\_q 年輕\_a 姑娘\_n 詢問\_v , \_w 在\_p 哪兒\_r 可以\_v 找\_v 到\_v 我\_r 上\_v 英語\_nz 課\_n 需要\_v 的\_u 莎士比亞\_nr 的\_u 十四行詩\_l . \_w</s>

These structural differences are obvious in translations from English into Chinese because of the way that classifier constructions are over-represented in translated Chinese (normally the classifiers are not required in English). Figure 12 illustrates the concordancing results of “YI + GE” in the Babel corpus:

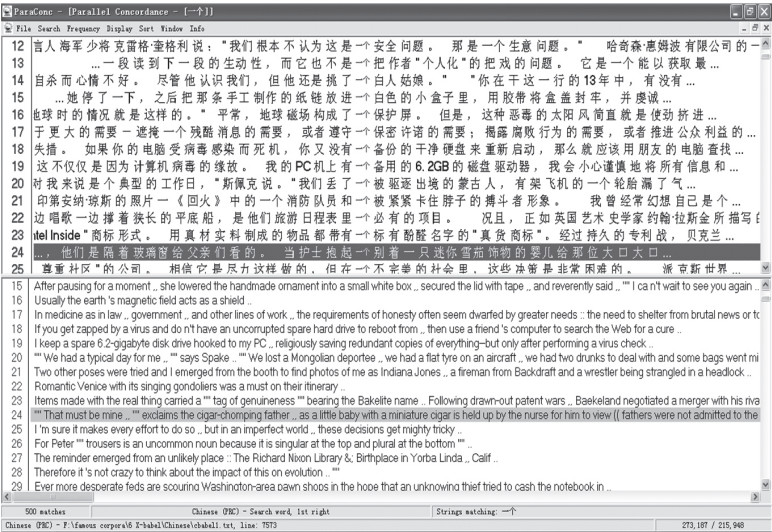


Figure 12 “YI GE” in the Babel corpus

The source language in the Babel corpus is English. The total concordancing result of “YI GE” in Babel is 1138, but we limited the number of concordance lines to 500 for analysis. Based on the analysis of this large sample, the occurrences can be classified into the following groups according to their translations into English (see Table 7).

YI GE	English original	Frequency
	a/an + (adj.) + noun	301
	another	25
	one + noun	21
	the noun	20
	one	18
	any/no/anyone/someone	13
	every/every one/everyone	12
	(the) best/first/last	11
	one of the pl.	11
	(the) next	10
	each	6

Table 7 “YI GE” and its English Originals in the Babel Corpus

Table 7 shows that “a/an (adj.) + noun” are the most common equivalents of “YI GE”, followed by “another, one + noun, the noun, one”, etc. The following are some examples from the parallel concordancing results.

1) “YI GE” equals “a/an + (adj.) noun”

- (18a) <sn=“L1E\_3255”> Terman and many other early advocates of IQ testing had in mind the creation of an American meritocracy, though the word didn’t exist then.
- (18b) <sn=“L2C\_3255”>特曼和許多早期擁護智商測試的人們都想到了創造一個精英統治的美國社會，儘管當時並沒有“meritocracy”這個詞。

## Hybridity Features of Classifier Constructions in Translated Chinese

- (19a) <sn="L1E\_0250"> I pictured the palm tree as something with feeling, something possessed of a heart that throbbed. </s>  
(19b) <sn="L2C\_0250">我把椰棗樹想像成一個帶有情感的生命，一個有顆跳動的心的生命。</s>  
(20a) <sn="L1E\_3907">Students seized on the idea, knocking on doors, throughout Eastbourne after school in search of sponsors to pledge a small sum for each word the pupils could spell correctly. </s>  
(20b) <sn="L2C\_3907">學生們立即採用這個好主意，放學後在伊斯特本挨家挨戶敲門尋找贊助人保證為小學生能準確拼讀出的每一個單詞出一筆小小的費用。</s>

### 2) “Another” in English includes the meaning of “YI GE”

- (21a) <sn="L1E\_0655"> This natural selection of mutations was first proposed by another Cambridge man, Charles Darwin, in 1857, though he didn't know the mechanism for it. </s>  
(21b) <sn="L2C\_0655">突變的自然選擇是由另一個劍橋人查理斯·達爾文於1857年首先提出的，儘管他並不知道其機制。  
(22a) <sn="L1E\_3201">They take organs from one body and integrate them into another, granting the lucky recipient a longer, better life. </s>  
(22b) <sn="L2C\_3201">他們從一個人體中取出器官並把它們植入另一個人體內，使幸運的接受移植者有一個更長更好的生命。</s>

### 3) Every/everyone/every one

- (23a) <sn="L1E\_2180"> They were so very different in every respect: </s>  
(23b) <sn="L2C\_2180">他們在每一個方面都與其他民族不同：</s>  
(24a) <sn="L1E\_1348">A writer — in fact every one of us in life — needs that mother force, the loving force from which all creation flows; </s>  
(24b) <sn="L2C\_1348">一個作家 —— 其實生活中的每一個人 —— 需要一股來自母親的力量，所有創作都源於愛的力量；</s>  
(25a) <sn="L1E\_0391"> That night, everyone kept looking at me. </s>  
(25b) <sn="L2C\_0391">那天晚上，家裡每一個人都不停地瞧著我。</s>

(26a) <sn="L1E\_0482"> A 1924 Time cover story on Bakeland reported that those familiar with Bakelite's potential "claim that in a few years it will be embodied in every mechanical facility of modern civilization". </s>

(26b) <sn="L2C\_0482">1924年以貝克蘭為封面的一期《時代》雜誌的封面人物故事報導說，那些知曉酚醛潛力的人“聲稱再過幾年它就會體現在現代文明的每一個機械設備上”。</s>

#### 4) Any

(27a) <sn="L1E\_1284">Something says the public would no more want a substitute for the first-born of the millennium than any parent would replace a baby. </s>

(27b) <sn="L2C\_1284">可以說，公眾並不要一個千禧第一嬰兒的替代者，正如任何一個父母都不會讓自己的孩子被替換掉。

(28a) <sn="L1E\_4768">An angry athlete is an athlete who will make mistakes, as any coach will tell you. </s>

(28b) <sn="L2C\_4768">任何一個教練員都會對你說，運動員一生氣就會犯錯誤。</s>

#### 5) The + (last/best/first, etc.) + Noun

(29a) <sn="L1E\_3444">eight open-air performances will take place in Taimiao, the oldest ancestral temple just outside the ancient city's Imperial Palace, where the last emperor, Pu Yi, was wed in 1924 (and where the New Age musician Yanni performed in 1997 ). </s>

(29b) <sn="L2C\_3444">八場露天演出將在太廟進行，那是古城是宮外的一個古代廟宇，1924年末代皇帝博儀就是在那兒舉行婚禮的（那裡也是新時代音樂家雅尼1997年來華演出的場地）。</s>

(30a) <sn="L1E\_4301"> The UK has become the latest country after the US and Germany to join an international battle for scarce high-tech workers by relaxing its work permit rules for overseas specialists. </s>

(30b) <sn="L2C\_4301">繼美國和德國之後，英國最近放鬆了對海外專門人才的工作限制，成了加入稀缺的高科技人才爭奪戰的又一個國家。</s>

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- (31a) <sn="L1E\_1310">“Imagine, we would have finished the picture tonight”, my father was shouting. “Instead that moron suddenly gets it into her beautiful empty, little head that she can’t play the last scene.” </s>  
(31b) <sn="L2C\_1310">“想想看，我們今晚本可以拍完那部電影，“父親吼道，“可是那個空長了個漂亮小腦袋的蠢婆娘突然冒出了個怪念頭，說她演不了最後一個鏡頭。” </s>  
(32a) <sn="L1E\_5088"> I was in fourth grade when I told my first real joke. </s>  
(32b) <sn="L2C\_5088">我讀四年級的時候第一次講了一個真正的笑話。 </s>  
(33a) <sn="L1E\_3111">BlueMountain.com is the best known, with 2,000 e-cards available and 11 million monthly visitors to its site. </s>  
(33b) <sn="L2C\_3111">BlueMountain.com是最著名的一個網站，隨時備有2000種電子賀卡，每月有1100萬網友訪問。 </s>

### 6) The + noun(s)

- (34a) <sn="L1E\_0024"> Nor is it to ignore the fact that some of our problems are of our own making as we know from the record of the first decades of independence. </s>  
(34b) <sn="L2C\_0024"> 也不是忽略一個事實，即有些困難是我們自己造成的，這一點從獨立最初幾十年的記錄中我們可以看出。 </s>

### 7) No + noun

- (35a) <sn="L1E\_3239">No country embraced the IQ—and the application of IQ testing to restructure society—more thoroughly than the U.S. </s>  
(35b) <sn="L2C\_3239">沒有一個國家像美國那樣完全徹底地接受智商—以及運用智商測試去重建社會。 </s>  
(36a) <sn="L1E\_4397">Dodi was no playboy, Rees-Jones concluded. He never saw him take cocaine </s>  
(36b) <sn="L2C\_4397">裡斯一鐘斯認為，多迪不是一個花花公子，他從沒有見過多迪吸毒

## 8) One...the other/ One...another

(37a) <sn="L1E\_1223"> and the other was the kindly, poverty-stricken artist for whom her sympathetic heart had interceded only this morning. </s>

(37b) <sn="L2C\_1223">另一個就是那位和善的窮畫家，今天上午她那顆溫柔的心還為他送情呢。</s>

(38a) <sn="L1E\_3814">One test followed another. </s>

(38b) <sn="L2C\_3814">檢查一個接著一個。</s>

(39a) <sn="L1E\_1453">Even his recreation consisted in change of study, laying down one subject to take up another. </s>

(39b) <sn="L2C\_1453">連他的消遣都是放下一個科目又拿起另一個科目的變換研究。</s>

## 9) One...next

(40a) <sn="L1E\_3317">Tradition says that the one who catches the bouquet will be the next to marry. </s>

(40b) <sn="L2C\_3317">相傳抓到花束的女孩會成為下一個結婚的人。</s>

## 10) Someone/ anyone

(41a) <sn="L1E\_4973"> “ If your car breaks down, you will be there for days before anyone passes by and it is terribly hot. </s>

(41b) <sn="L2C\_4973"> “ 如果車於發生故障，你會幾天呆在那裡碰不上一個人，而且天氣又酷熱難當。</s>

## 11) Others Types of Equivalents

(42a) <sn="L1E\_1775"> These are the times of fast foods and slow digestion; tall men and short character; steep profits and shallow relationships. </s>

(42b) <sn="L2C\_1775">這是一個快餐食品和消化遲緩相伴的時代；一個體格高大和性格病態並存的時代；一個追名逐利和人情冷漠共生的時代。</s>

(43a) <sn="L1E\_0966">Once the bug of movie stardom bites, it's hard to let it go.



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- (43b) <sn="L2C\_0966">一旦作電影明星的夢想開始噬咬一個人的心，人們是不會輕易放棄的。</s>
- (44a) <sn="L1E\_1478">When afterwards replying in succession to the arguments of his parliamentary opponents – an art in which he was perhaps unrivalled. </s>
- (44b) <sn="L2C\_1478">後來在議會上應對對手一個接一個的爭論時－他在這門技藝上也許是無人可比的</s>

The concordancing results also tell us that “YI GE” is used in translated Chinese when there are no articles used in the English source text. The translators add “YI GE” according to the norms of the target Chinese language, and this addition results in the over-representation of “YI GE” in translated Chinese.

There even exist some strange collocations of “YI GE” in translated Chinese according to the norms of non-translated Chinese.

- (45a) <sn="L1E\_5246">I was playing in a puddle after a rainstorm and suddenly felt a huge weight on my feet. </s>
- (45b) <sn="L2C\_5246">一場暴雨之後，我在道上的一個水坑裡玩，突然間感到一個很大的重量壓在我的兩腳上。</s>

In the example, “*yíge bēndà de zhòngliàng*” 一個很大的重量 (“one-CLF very huge De weight”) is strange or unacceptable in Chinese, for *zhòngliàng* is an uncountable noun in Chinese and so normally should not collocate with “YI GE”. As mentioned above in Section 4, Tsao (1978) argues that when “YI GE” collocates with noncount nouns, this should be categorized as an example of hybridity in Chinese.

On examining data from the corpus further, we find that “YI GE” construction in translated Chinese can be divided into four classes: “YI + GE + countable noun”, “YI + GE + abstract noun”, “YI + GE + verb/adjective” and “YI + GE + complex phrases”. The combination of source language interference and target language normalization lead to the hybridity of “YI GE” in translated Chinese.

## 6. Explanation of the Prevalence of Classifier Constructions in Chinese

According to Gil (1987), languages vary considerably with respect to their strategies for marking (in)definiteness. Some languages use both definite and indefinite articles obligatorily (Type A languages), while some languages (Type B languages) only use definite articles obligatorily, the indefinite article being optional (cf. Gil 1987: 254-255). English, as a representative of a Type A language, is different from Chinese, which is a language of Type B. The difference may be illustrated in Table 8.

Typological Correlate	Type A	Type B
1 Obligatory marking of (in)definiteness	+	-
2 Obligatory marking of nominal plurality	+	-
3 Obligatory marking of numeral classification	-	+
4 Existence of adnominal distributive numerals	-	+
5 Free NP-internal constituent order	-	+
6 Existence of stacked adnominal numeral constructions	-	+
7 Existence of hierarchic interpretations of stacked Adjective construction	+	-

Table 8 The noun phrase typology (Gil 1987: 256)

As pointed out above, English and Chinese are different from each other in their distinctive use of numeral classifier systems. The difference can be a direct consequence of the count-mass parameter put forward by Gil:

Since count nouns come with a “natural” unit for enumeration, Type A languages, possessing count nouns, do not require a numeral classifier specifying such a unit. While mass nouns, however, have no such natural units, hence, Type B languages, possessing only mass nouns, must make use of a numeral classifier in order to establish appropriate units for enumeration (Gil 1987: 258)

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Nominalization is a basic morphological process or syntactic mechanism in English which transfers a verb or adjective into a noun. The main method of nominalization is adding an affix to a verb or adjective, and the morphological conversion can realize the nominalization process in English (Qu 2005: 319-320). However, the Chinese verbs or adjectives will use new words if they change into nouns, such as the adjective *cōngmíng* 聰明 (wise) has to change into *cōnghuì* 聰慧 (intelligence) or *zhìhuì* 智慧 (intelligence) as a noun.

In translating into Chinese the English nouns which have been formed from a verb or adjective by nominalization, a translator will use the verb or adjective to translate the nouns. So the construction “YI + Classifier + Verb/Adjective” is common in translated Chinese (Ma 2010: 80). We investigated this construction from English-Chinese parallel corpora, such as Babel, GCEPC (cf. Wang and Qin 2010), and found many examples, such as the following:

(46a) <sn=”1321”>What mattered were individual relationships, and a completely helpless gesture, an embrace, a tear, a word spoken to a dying man, could have value in itself.

(46b) <sn=”1321”>他們\_r 重視\_v 個人\_n 的\_u 關係\_n。\_w 一個\_m 完全\_ad 沒有\_v 用處\_n 的\_u 姿態\_n，\_w 一個\_m 擁抱\_v，\_w 一\_m 滴\_q 眼淚\_n，\_w 對\_p 將\_d 死\_v 的\_u 人\_n 說\_v 一\_m 句\_q 話\_n，\_w 都\_d 有\_v 本身\_r 的\_u 價值\_n。

(47a) <sn=”6”> That Cézanne could explore such complex problems without sacrificing the quality of his art is an index of his genius. </s>

(47b) <sn=”6”>塞尚\_nr 在\_p 不\_d 犧牲\_v 其\_r 藝術\_n 本質\_n 的\_u 條件\_n 下\_f 探索\_v 這樣\_r 複雜\_a 的\_u 問題\_n，\_w 是\_v 他\_r 天才\_n 的\_u 一個\_m 表現\_v。

The “an embrace” in sentence (46a) is translated into “*yīgè yōnghào*” 一個擁抱 (YI + CLF + verb), and “an index” in sentence (47a) is translated into “*yīgè biǎoxiàn*” 一個表現 (YI + CLF + verb). The hybrid construction of “YI + Classifier + Verb/Adjective” reflects the influence of the English source language in the translation processes; such constructions were considered

unacceptable when they appeared in Chinese, but they have been accepted by the reader over time. In the Chinese language development process, some verbs can be used as nouns, such as the words *tǐxiàn* 體現, *yǎn xí* 演習 and *gǎishàn* 改善 in the following examples:

(48) <sn="5">這\_r次\_q 你們\_r親屬\_n 團聚\_v 是\_v 一\_m件\_q 喜事\_n, \_w  
是\_v 我們\_r 民族\_n 大團結\_n 的\_u 一個\_m 體現\_v, \_w 一個\_m 演習\_  
vn ° \_w </s>

(49) <sn="15">我們\_r 要\_v 把\_p 經驗\_n 好好\_d 總結\_v 一下\_m, \_w 使\_v  
這\_r 方面\_n 工作\_vn 來\_f 一個\_m 改善\_v ° \_w </s>

## 7. Conclusions

The present research first defined the classifier in Chinese, and demonstrated how the categories of the classifier system in Chinese are different from English. It reviewed the major categories of classifier in Chinese, and pointed out that the classifier is obligatory in Chinese, and that Chinese can be regarded as a classifier prominent language compared to English.

It then focused on the classifier and its constructions in translated Chinese and the analysis drew upon qualitative and quantitative methods from a synchronic perspective.

The case study of classifiers focused on “YI GE”. The corpus evidence suggests that it is a feature of hybridity in translated Chinese that the construction has formed into “*yi + ge + countable noun*”, “*yi + ge + abstract noun*”, “*yi + ge + verb/adjective*” and “*yi + ge + complex phrases*”.

The research investigated the English equivalents of “YI GE” in an English-Chinese parallel corpus, and ended by offering tentative explanations for the prevalence of classifier constructions in Chinese. The combination of source language interference and target language normalization lead to the hybridity of classifier constructions in translated Chinese.

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# 譯者慣習初探： 比較台灣從業譯者和翻譯學生

鍾玉玲 黃芸新

## ***Abstract***

A Preliminary Study of the Translator's Habitus in Taiwan: Comparing Practicing Translators and Translation Students (by Yu-Ling Chung, Yun-Hsin Huang)

*Drawing on Bourdieu's notion of "habitus" as the set of dispositions that structure individual behaviour, this study uses the HEXACO Personality Inventory-Revised to explore practicing translators' habitus and personality and compares it with the result of translation students (undergraduates). It is found that the translators and students are obviously different in personality trait scores. Among the six traits, there are differences between translators and students, and also between high grade students and low grade students in Conscientiousness and Openness. Since high conscientiousness will generally predict higher performance in the workplace, Openness becomes the unique trait to reflect practicing translators' personality in Taiwan. Based on this finding, it is suggested that translation teachers can design personally adaptive teaching goals and methods to improve the efficacy of their translation teaching.*

## 一、引言

翻譯研究 (Translation Studies) 自1960年代從語言學旗下分出 (Snell-Hornby 2006)，1990年代經歷“文化轉向”(cultural turn) 以來 (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990)，學界的相關研究蓬勃發展。在Chesterman繪製的“譯者研究”(Translator Studies) 地圖中 (Chesterman 2009: 19)，“譯者研究”(Translator Studies) 包括三個次領域：文化層面、認知層面、社會層面的譯者研究，其中認知層面的譯者研究是最新興、最有待探索的一個次領域。從Chesterman繪製的這個地圖來看，有關“譯者慣習”(translators' *habitus*) 的研究包含了認知層面及社會層面的譯者研究，因為“慣習”(habitus) 這個概念包含個人的認知／態度與行為，及個人與其所處社群、社會、文化的互動與回饋。

有關譯者認知和態度方面，在“隱形的譯者”(translator's invisibility) (Venuti 1995) 這個意識型態下，譯者向來被視為作者的附庸，不被視為主體，因此以譯者為主的文獻相當欠缺。現有的“譯者研究”多半是質性研究，少有量化研究，而且這類研究多半集中在譯者的翻譯經驗和人生故事上，比較容易流於主觀 (Maier 2007: 5-6)。在這些“譯者研究”中，固然有部份是從社會學的角度切入，探討譯者的位置、認同、立場等議題，但從心理學的角度針對譯者所做的研究，仍然相當缺乏 (Chesterman 2009)。新近的研究趨勢是從認知心理學的角度研究口、筆譯者在從事翻譯工作時的心理和生理狀態，以及透過翻譯教學的取徑，從“翻譯天賦”(translation aptitude)、“翻譯直覺”(translation intuition) 等層面探索口、筆譯者的養成和專業訓練 (Echu and Dassé 2010; Shlesinger and Pöschhacker 2011)。

認知理論認為人類的認知，包含人們因應環境經驗，依照其感官訊息而產生的思考、記憶、反應等，這些認知將使個人產生不同的詮釋意義。根據認知理論來研究譯者認知和譯者心理，可由態度 (attitude) 著手，其包含認知／信念 (cognition/belief)，感受／情緒 (affect/emotion) 與行為 (behaviour) 三個部分 (e.g. Atkinson et al. 2000)。同時，態度也是對該對象的整體評價和反應，由於其整體性難以切割，因此雖可視為三個部分，但彼此之間是緊密連結且互相影響的。例如Schlenker (1974)的回顧指出，態度能有效預測個體之行為，Fazio (1989)也發現越可得 (accessible) 的態度越能影響個體之行為。類似的看法，在認知觀點上也主張人的認知與信念會影響其行為，此類觀點獲得相當多實驗研究與臨床觀察的支持 (e.g. Beck 1963; Ellis 1979)。然而，個人的行為也有可能反過來對原先所抱持的某種態度產生影響。因此，探索譯者的認知的同時，也是在探索譯者的態度、行為，即譯者的慣習。

然而，除了內在的認知層面之外，外在的結構依然會對個體產生影響。個體的行為可能影響其認知，而個體也可能因其內、外在認知進行調整，進而影響其行為。因此，譯者的翻譯行為若有改變，原因除了其內、外在認知調整之外，也可能是受到“慣習”的影響。譯者慣習除了反映譯者的個人特質之外，也會呼應譯者所處之外在結構 (如譯者社群及譯者所處社會、文化)，進而成為譯者內化的標記。Bourdieu主張“慣習”(habitus)形塑結構，同時也被結構形塑 (Bourdieu 1992: 170)，換言之，個人的慣習可以形塑其結構 (個人所屬之社群、團體)，同時也被其結構所形塑。個人的慣習既反映出一個人的內在認知及家庭化、社會化的結果，這個人同時又受其外在社會影響而使他的慣習持續形塑中，因此是一個變動的組

成。Bourdieu用“性情”(dispositions)的概念來詮釋“慣習”，指其為一組“持續的、可轉換的性情系統”(Bourdieu 1977: 82-83)<sup>[1]</sup>，包含個人身處特定社會結構的結果及其在該社會中的行為傾向(Tyulenev 2014: 173)。而“性情”這個概念就接近以下將討論的“人格特質”。

自2000年以來，Bourdieu的“慣習”概念廣泛地應用於歷史、人類學、社會學、教育學和政治學等各個領域的研究，這些領域的學者同意Bourdieu主張的“慣習”概念所衍生的理論，提供了一套精巧的架構，用來處理複雜的概念具體化過程，尤其是個人(行動者)與社會結構之間相互反饋、影響的動態過程，藉以避免機械式決定論這種破壞結構主義方法的謬誤，也避免了將個人預設為完全理性地計算與行動的主體。Bourdieu所提到的“慣習”這個概念，包含兩個部份：一為特定社群之集體慣習，此部份為行動者在其社群中社會化的過程中養成，並將之內化；另一為個人慣習，指的是行動者的主體化過程。集體慣習和個人慣習同步發展，共同形塑行動者的行為。為了深入探索“慣習”這個概念，思考如何將之運用於翻譯研究中，特別是譯者的身上，有關“慣習”的先決條件部份，研究者嘗試從心理學中類似的概念“人格特質”(personality)著手；“慣習”的環境養成部份，則從心理學中類似的概念“後天習得能力”(acquired ability)部份探索，即“慣習習得”(the acquisition of habitus)的概念(Bourdieu 1977; Wacquant 2011)，意指個人在所屬社群、團體中學習而得，並內化的集體慣習(Bourdieu 1977: 85)。

“人格特質”在心理學與一般語彙中相當常見，用來說明“人格”的概念建構。“人格”的概念是用來說明人的個別獨特性，以及跨時間、跨情境所展現出的穩定性。Allport(1961，引自Hall, Lindzey and Campbell 1998: 273)對人格的主張是“個體內部有許多能夠決

定其獨特行為與思想的身心系統(psychophysical systems)，而人格即為此等身心系統的動力性組織(dynamic organization)”。這樣的看法將人格視為人所擁有的“實存”。延續這樣的看法，目前研究中最廣為使用的人格理論為“特質論”，將前述動力性組織視為存於個人內在的、個別性特徵組成，這些特徵組織即為特質。本研究採用Lee與Ashton(2004)的六因素人格理論，Lee與Ashton根據“語彙假說”

(Lexical Hypothesis，主張者認為重要的外顯性格特質會存在於人自然語言中，並透過語彙形式表達，故透過收集某一種語言中對人性格的描述語彙，應可發現人性格的基本架構)，針對11種不同語言(包括英語、克羅埃西亞語、菲律賓語、法語、德語、希臘語、匈牙利語、義大利語、韓語、波蘭語、土耳其語)中的性格相關形容詞進行比對、分析與歸類，主張人格特質應可分為六個向度：誠實—謙卑、情緒性、外向性、親和性、嚴謹性與開放性。其中“誠實—謙卑”之外的五特質，與五因素人格特質相同，重複地驗證了五因素人格模型的有效性，但在文化及語彙的更迭與更多的跨文化研究之下，六因素人格模型更進一步擴展並細分人格特質的向度。

因此，本研究採用此一包含五因素人格模型，且可提供更多新訊息的六因素人格模型，以將譯者人格特質與過去研究比對。此理論六因素的描述如下：(1)誠實—謙卑(Honesty-Humility)：此項特質高分者較不會因個人利益而利用他人，較不願意破壞規則，對於奢侈性的享受與提昇自己的社會地位皆較無興趣。相反地，低分者則較易將他人視為達成自己目的的工具，容易為了己身利益而破壞規則，並重視物質享受，較為自戀或誇大自身重要性。(2)情緒性(Emotionality)：在此向度得到高分者易經驗到害怕、焦慮的感受，較需要他人的情緒支持，且對他人易有同理、感性或依附等情緒連結之感受。相反地，

低分者對於各種實質傷害或生活壓力較不易感到害怕或擔心，較不需要將自己的感受或想法分享給他人，與人相處時較為情緒疏離。(3) 外向性(Extraversion)：此項特質高分者對人抱持著較正面的感受，對於領導團體較有自信，對於參與社交活動或與他人相處都感到愉悅，充滿熱情、精力充沛，且容易經歷到正向的感受。反之，低分者認為自己較不受歡迎，受到眾人注意時會感到彆扭不安，對社交活動較乏興趣，較不正向樂觀。(4) 親和性(Agreeableness)：此向度之兩端為親和相對於憤怒(Anger)，高分者(親和者)易寬宥自己遭受到的不幸與寬恕他人，願意妥協並與他人合作，且可以輕易的控制憤怒。反之，低分者(憤怒者)對於傷害自己的人傾向於抱持著怨恨，易批評他人的短處，較為固執己見，對於不公的對待會很快的感到憤怒。(5) 嚴謹性(Conscientiousness)：在此向度得到高分者在生活及時間安排上都較有組織性，行事有規律且有目標，做任何事都傾向於追求正確與完美，做決定時會審慎的三思而後行。相反地，低分者不會特別去規劃生活或作息，易避免困難的工作或具挑戰性的目標，較不會追求完美，易在衝動或缺乏反思的狀態下做出決定。(6) 開放性(Openness to Experience)：在此向度上獲得高分者能欣賞藝術與自然之美，也對各式各樣的知識感到好奇，在日常生活中能自由的運用想像力，且對不尋常的念頭或人物感到興趣。反之，低分者不易被各種藝術或創作所感動，較乏智性上的好奇，避免接觸有創造性或新奇的事物，且對於較為激進或不傳統的念頭不感興趣。

在這種以語彙假說建立的人格特質論中，一個重要的假設是任何一個特質都有兩個相反的“端點”，兩端點之間是連續變化，而非“有”或“無”某個特質。例如“外向性”特質，就是由“極端外向(願意投注心力於社會性活動)”與“極端內向(喜歡自己一個人，不願意

投注心力於社會性活動)”兩個端點所形成的；而人的思考或行為習慣集結起來的特徵，可以畫在兩端點連結起來的“特質向度”中的某一點。換言之，每個特質其實都是一個連續的向度變化，因此我們不會說這個人是“外向型”的，而是說他具有“高外向性”。而個人在所有特質向度上的位置，集結起來可以形成對這個人的人格特質剖面圖，用以瞭解其整體樣貌。為了測量這些特質，Lee與Ashton（2004）編製了相應的人格量表——HEXACO Personality Inventory——進行測量。該量表分為六個分量表，每個分量表的分數就可以表徵受測者在該特質向度上的表現，亦即在各個分量表的得分高低代表同一人格特質的兩個端點。

本研究在研究方法設計上，安排了HEXACO人格量表測驗等形式，並將受試者分為兩組：從業譯者透過問卷調查和深度訪談方式進行；翻譯學生透過問卷調查方式進行。在翻譯學生的部份，研究者在不同的時間點檢視受測學生經過一學期（四個半月）特定主題的翻譯實作後，其認知和態度有無改變，並與其翻譯表現（翻譯成績）（performance）比對。由上述兩組受試者所得資訊，用來分析從業譯者與翻譯學生在“慣習”的部份面向上，即其人格特質上的差異，以探究翻譯學生在何種程度上可以與從業譯者產生關聯。

## 二、研究方法

### 2.1 研究參與者與研究程序

研究者針對修習翻譯課程的92名大三學生，進行人格特質問卷調查，並與其修課成績表現比對，選出學期成績在前25%與後25%的學生（各為25人與19人），以彰顯潛在適合從事翻譯工作的差異性；另

針對39名台灣從業譯者進行問卷測量和深度訪談。納入研究分析的總人數為83人。由於研究者在訪談過程中發現，台灣從業譯者並無法嚴格區分其為口譯者或筆譯者，尤其口譯者在口譯接案空檔泰半兼職從事筆譯工作，因此本研究所指“譯者”皆包含口、筆譯者。

研究者在翻譯課程的學期初，即在第一門課的課堂上進行研究說明，並讓學生依照自己的意願填寫人格特質問卷，並利用該門翻譯課程學期成績進行分類。譯者方面則由電子郵件、社群網站進行初步受試者招募，若從業譯者有意願瞭解研究內容，則透過電子郵件或電話進行進一步說明，並先請從業譯者閱讀受試者知情同意書；待譯者同意後，則約定面對面訪談並填寫問卷。

## 2.2 研究工具

### 2.2.1 人格特質：HEXACO人格量表修訂版

HEXACO人格量表修訂版（HEXACO Personality Inventory-Revised）為六因素人格特質量表，中文版由許功餘翻譯（Lin et al. 2012）。此量表經一系列針對測驗計量特性之研究進行修訂與相關研究，具有良好的信度與效度。該量表共有200題、100題與60題三種版本，並皆可採用自陳式或他人觀察填答。

本研究在從業譯者部份採用自陳式60題HEXACO人格量表修訂版，在翻譯學生部份採用自陳式100題HEXACO人格量表修訂版。60題版本為Lee與Ashton團隊為了縮短施測時間，自100題中依統計特性再次選出60題，是被包含在100題版本中的。本研究原欲使用較完整的100題版本，然而和從業譯者接觸並施測後，依實際考量改使用施測時間較短的60題版本。最後分析時，研究者自學生填答的100題中選出該60題，因此研究整體分析所使用的是HEXACO-PI-R人格特質



量表的60題版本。此版本採李克特式計分（1分為極端不同意，5分為極端同意），並擁有良好的信效度。以社區樣本檢驗發現，在信度方面，各因素之內部一致性在.73至.80間。效度分析則包括建構效度與聚斂效度之檢驗，在建構效度的部分，經由驗證性因素分析，驗證了該量表分為六個因素，六因素共能解釋29.1%的變異量，各題之最高因素負荷量皆超過.30，顯示該量表擁有良好的因素結構。各因素與各文化間廣為使用的新大五人格特質量表（Neo-Five Factor Inventory）中相對應因素之相關在.40至.71間，顯示HEXACO人格量表修訂版-60題版本擁有良好的聚斂效度（Ashton and Lee 2009）。由於著作權考量，本研究無法隨附整份問卷，僅就六因素各舉列一範例題目如下：

（1）誠實—謙卑（Honesty-Humility）：我不想要別人對待我的方式好像我比他們優秀。（2）情緒性（Emotionality）：我有時會為一些小事而有些焦躁不安。（3）外向性（Extraversion）：在團體討論中，我很少表達自己的意見（反向題）。（4）親和性（Agreeableness）：當別人不同意我的時候，我通常能讓自己的意見保持相當的彈性。（5）嚴謹性（Conscientiousness）：即使要花很多的時間，在工作上，我還是力求精確。（6）開放性（Openness to Experience）：我喜歡去學習外國的歷史和政治。

### 2.2.2 翻譯表現：翻譯課成績

本研究以受測學生的翻譯課學期成績做為“潛在是否適合從事翻譯工作”之指標，滿分為100分。學期成績為較長期的綜合翻譯工作表現，包括課堂參與程度、分組討論、翻譯作業、口頭報告與書面報告等，能夠反映學生對翻譯工作的投入程度與能力表現。因此，本研究主張，學期成績應能較整體地反映學生潛在是否適合從事翻譯工作。

### 三、結果

#### 3.1 譯者與學生之比較

##### 3.1.1 譯者與學生基本資料

本研究根據翻譯課學生的成績，取學期成績在全體後25%（成績低）與前25%（成績高）的翻譯課學生，希望從學生的成績分配嘗試區分潛在較適合從事翻譯工作與潛在較不適合從事翻譯工作的學生。這些翻譯課學生的人數與平均分數如下表一。

學生組別	人數	性別	年齡	學期成績
			平均值±標準差	平均值±標準差
成績低學生	19	男10人；女9人	22.63 ± 3.25	74.85 ± 8.35
成績高學生	25	男5人；女20人	23.08 ± 5.17	84.67 ± 1.64

表1 兩組翻譯學生組成與學期成績

譯者部分則依其從事翻譯工作之年資進一步區分為“資淺譯者”與“資深譯者”兩組，前者從事翻譯工作的年資不到10年，後者則在10年以上。兩組譯者之組成請參見下表二。

譯者組別	人數	性別	年齡
			平均值±標準差
資淺譯者	19	男8人；女11人	35.11 ± 8.06
資深譯者	20	男3人；女17人	43.45 ± 8.24

表2 兩組譯者組成

##### 3.1.2 譯者與學生人格特質之比較

由於本研究希望瞭解從業譯者與翻譯學生在人格特質上的表現，藉此一瞭解，嘗試初步探索在翻譯教學中，若欲提升適合從事翻譯工作之潛力，可著重於加強哪些人格特質之提升。因此，本研究將比較四組受試者的六項人格特質，嘗試區分與“一般性成績好”及“潛在適合從

事翻譯工作”相關之不同人格特質。四組受試者之六項人格特質的平均值與標準差列於下表三。

	成績低學生	成績高學生	資淺譯者	資深譯者
親和性	32.42±3.56	32.96±5.01	34.79±5.32	36.20±4.61
嚴謹性	29.11±6.38	32.21±5.45	35.84±5.43	37.75±4.24
情緒性	37.00±6.57	36.13±4.45	32.42±6.43	32.85±4.46
外向性	31.26±7.50	34.04±6.31	35.53±5.98	36.15±3.86
誠實-謙卑	31.53±4.01	32.54±6.02	36.32±4.99	39.10±4.32
開放性	30.26±6.09	33.42±5.04	38.68±4.42	38.40±4.27

表3 六項人格特質平均值與標準差

本研究利用單因子變異數分析比較四組受試者之人格特質，發現在六種人格特質上皆有顯著或微顯著差異，因此進一步利用Fisher's least significant difference (LSD) 方法進行事後比較，兩兩比較各組間的差異。變異數分析與事後比較之整理結果列於表四。由於本研究各組受試者人數較少，因此事後比較之整理結果同時納入到統計顯著與統計微顯著差異部分，不另區分，以利整體趨勢之探索。

	MS	F	p	事後比較結果
親和性	57.91	2.60	.06	資深譯者>成績高學生=成績低學生 (資淺譯者與另外三組皆無顯著或微顯著差異)
嚴謹性	291.98	9.87	.00	資深譯者=資淺譯者>成績高學生>成績低學生
情緒性	105.75	3.46	.02	資深譯者=資淺譯者<成績高學生=成績低學生
外向性	90.21	2.43	.07	資深譯者=資淺譯者>成績低學生 (成績高學生與另外三組皆無顯著或微顯著差異)
誠實-謙卑	231.85	9.32	.00	資深譯者=資淺譯者>成績高學生=成績低學生
開放性	319.84	12.63	.00	資深譯者=資淺譯者>成績高學生>成績低學生

表4 六項人格特質於四組受試者之差異

由表四可知，在各項人格特質上，資深和資淺兩組譯者皆無差異，譯

者與學生則有明顯區別。其中兩組學生間無顯著或微顯著差異的包含親和性、情緒性、外向性與誠實—謙卑性，顯示譯者比學生更易和他人親近，情緒較為穩定，較為外向、願意和他人相處，待人處事也更誠實、不自滿自大。這些特質可能反映“潛在較適合從事譯者”，但不反映學生在求學過程中的“一般性的成績優良”。而在嚴謹性與開放性兩項特質上，則除了譯者皆高於學生族群之外，成績較高的學生亦高於成績較低的學生，顯示成績高的學生做事較成績低的學生來得更細心、負責，在面對不同面向的各種事物時也抱持著較為開放的態度、較能容納不同的價值觀。此結果指出，嚴謹性與開放性可能同時反映“潛在較適合從事譯者”與“一般性的成績優良”。

#### 四、結論與討論

由於Bourdieu並未將其“慣習—資本—場域”的理論架構完全系統化，因此要探究其主張較好的方式是先從關鍵概念談起(Tyulenev 2014: 172)，而“慣習”便是其中之一。人格為慣習的組成元素之一，因此本研究假設：調查譯者的人格傾向將可部份反映譯者的慣習。人格除了反映個人的先天特質之外，也包括其社會化的結果，易言之，包括遺傳因素和環境因素皆形塑人格。慣習可以理解為個人的行為傾向，是一種涵蓋社會學及心理學的概念，意指個人的行為除了受到人格特質影響，也會受到社會化(社群模仿)的影響，是一個內在和外在互相形塑的過程，並持續變動中。就譯者而言，具有某些人格特質可能潛在較適合成為譯者，但環境因素如譯者社群等也具有重要影響，尤其是台灣的翻譯場域並未建制化(Chung 2013)，資淺譯者在入行之

初受到資深譯者帶領或加入譯者社群學習，受到的規範程度較大。

然而，欲探究“慣習”這個概念的組成，除了調查行動者(agent)在心理學方面的人格特質之外，也需調查在社會學方面行動者與其家庭、所屬社群、社會結構的互動與關聯，即其社會化的過程。由於“慣習”具有主體能動性，涉及的層面包括個人和結構，工程浩大，為了探索台灣的譯者慣習，本研究僅嘗試初步體現台灣譯者個人層面的慣習，至於譯者所處結構(即場域)的部份，則有待未來研究加以闡明。

由上述研究結果顯示，客觀上高嚴謹性最能穩定的預測翻譯工作表現與長期投入翻譯相關工作，低情緒性能使人較穩定的投入翻譯相關工作；此兩者在過去其他職業研究中亦被發現能穩定預測各種工作表現，可能不特別針對“翻譯”(Alessandri and Vecchione 2012; Barrick, Mount and Judge 2001)。若針對翻譯，與其他職業工作有所區別的人格特質是高開放性，高開放性能夠預測優良的翻譯表現。此部份發現或可詮釋為：台灣從業譯者的“慣習”面向之一為“高開放性”，翻譯學生與從業譯者最大的區別在於開放性，此特質亦可用來預測翻譯學生從事口筆譯工作的適性。由於翻譯工作需要瞭解、甚至是熟悉各種不同的文化以及多重觀點，方能進入原文文本所欲表達的意見脈絡，進而運用新的參考架構重塑譯文文本，因此必然需要抱持著開放的心態，接納各種可能與譯者原先經驗不一致的訊息，才能透徹地瞭解翻譯素材，進而良好、有效地傳達訊息。

值得一提的是，本研究亦發現，台灣譯者的誠實—謙卑性是較高的。由於誠實—謙卑性也反映出“避免為己利操控他人”、“較不願意打破規則”、“自覺沒有特權提高社會地位”<sup>[2]</sup>等特質，雖然這項特質是以台灣的從業譯者與翻譯學生相比而得，但多少也反映出台灣從業譯者偏向於傳統的譯者角色：附屬於作者、忠於(屈從於)作者／原文、隱

形的譯者等，與近年來翻譯研究中日益強調之譯者主體性有所衝突，顯示台灣的翻譯理論界與實務界之間對譯者的角色認知有差距。未來可以進一步探討台灣譯者對“譯者”角色的自我認知與台灣社會對於“譯者”角色的結構性認知，以求拉近台灣的翻譯學界、實務界，與社會結構對“譯者”角色之間的認知距離。

## 注 釋

- [1] [habitus is] ...a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions.
- [2] Honesty-Humility: Persons with very high scores on the Honesty-Humility scale avoid manipulating others for personal gain, feel little temptation to break rules, are uninterested in lavish wealth and luxuries, and feel no special entitlement to elevated social status.

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# 印象派繪畫與漢詩英譯\*

## ——以王紅公漢詩英譯為例

張保紅

### *Abstract*

On the Impressionist Painting and Chinese-English Poetry Translation—with special reference to Kenneth Rexroth's Chinese-English poetry translation (by Zhang Baohong)

*Based on the viewpoints of impressionist painting, the present paper attempts to analyze how impressionist painting has influenced Kenneth Rexroth's Chinese-English poetry translation in terms of the artistic technique, the choice of subject matter, translation strategy and aesthetic motivation. It aims, firstly, to further explicate Kenneth Rexroth's theory of sympathy in relation to poetry translation and highlight the value of impressionist painting as a method for poetry translation by tackling some problems in interlingual translation study; secondly, to propose a new concept of "painting-oriented translation" as well as a new "mix and match" research perspective; and, lastly, to outline the significance of the interplay between the linguistic and non-linguistic arts in the context of the discussion about making Chinese literature "global".*

肯尼斯·雷克思羅斯 (Kenneth Rexroth, 1905-1982) 是美國當代著名詩人，20世紀50年代美國“三藩市文藝復興”運動的領軍人物和“垮掉派”詩歌流派的先驅，被譽為“美國最有才智的詩人” (Hamill et al. 2003: VI)。雷氏自幼在博學多識、能詩會畫的母親引導下開始接觸中國文化，到十二三歲時就非常認真地讀完了全部的東方聖典

(Rexroth 1977: 116) 青年時代起，他在詩人翻譯家賓納 (Bynner) 的指導下，開始學習與翻譯中國古典詩歌。20世紀中後期，他翻譯出版了《漢詩一百首》和《愛與流年：續漢詩一百首》，與中國學者鐘玲合譯了《蘭舟：中國女詩人詩選》以及《李清照全集》共四部中國詩歌集。此外，還撰寫了研究中國文化的若干論文。因鍾情於中國文化，他給自己取了個中文名字“王紅公”，書寫在他的有些譯本與詩集上。

雷氏的漢詩英譯實踐成就斐然，“對於其他美國詩人與譯者有‘巨大的影響’”(鐘玲，2003: 40) 他的一些“譯詩還在一些詩刊上轉載，或被收入英詩選集之中成為批評家評論的對象。他的有些譯詩還被譜成歌曲傳唱”(朱徽，2009: 134)。美國當代著名詩人威廉斯 (W.C. Williams) 對其英譯《漢詩一百首》評價說：“在我有幸讀到，用美國現代語言寫作的詩集之中，這本書能置於最富於感性的詩集之列”(鐘玲，1985: 122)，對其英譯的杜甫詩歌稱讚說：

“雷克思羅斯翻譯的杜甫詩，其感觸之細微。其他譯者，無人能及”(同上)。翻譯家賓納也對其英譯的杜甫詩歌讚譽道：“這些譯詩，使我們感到，我們的心靈在古代的山水中復活了，我們與古人情感交融”(同上)。國內雷氏研究專家鄭燕虹 (2009a: 63) 指出：“他是繼龐德之後譯介中國文化最重要的美國詩人。”學者劉岩 (2004: 7) 說得更為具體：“無論從翻譯的技巧上講，還是從譯詩集對後人的影響上講，雷克思羅斯的中國詩歌譯文都可以同龐德的《華夏集》媲美。”雷氏“翻譯的中國詩曾受到國內外學者的讚譽，引起了學者們的研究興趣”(鄭燕虹，2011: 125)。檢視目前國內研究雷氏的相關文獻，我們注意到研究最多的是中國文化對雷氏創作的影響，這方面用力較勤的學者有鄭燕虹、遲欣等。<sup>[1]</sup> 其次是近年來興起的對雷氏漢詩英譯的研究，主要包括雷氏“同情”詩歌翻譯觀

的研究（李永毅，2006；鄭燕虹，2009；楊成虎，2010）及其“創意英譯”的研究（鐘玲，1985，2003；劉岩，2004；朱徽，2009；葛中俊等，2010；鄭燕虹，2011；遲欣，2013）。毫無疑問，這些研究有助於我們理解雷氏“同情”詩歌翻譯觀的基本內涵<sup>[2]</sup>及其“創意英譯”的特色。然而，所需指出的是，雷氏“同情”詩歌翻譯觀究竟是如何應用于漢詩英譯實踐的？也就是說，譯者翻譯過程中是如何將自己與另一個人相認同，又是如何將另一個人的話語變成自己的獨特話語的？雷氏的“創意英譯”多被論者一筆帶過地歸結為自由創作，<sup>[3]</sup>其間有無隱在的翻譯理據？雷氏的詩歌翻譯實踐對文學翻譯可帶來哪些啟示？對中國文學文化更好地走出去又有何借鑒？等等，這些問題均有待進一步探討。為此，本文擬跳出目前通常使用語言學或文學方法進行翻譯研究的視域，嘗試著從印象派繪畫的視角展開探討，以期對上述問題作出一定思考與解答。

## 一、印象派繪畫簡介

印象派是19世紀後半期至20世紀初期流行於法國、歐美乃至世界的一種藝術流派和文藝思潮。它最早產生於繪畫領域，後來波及到音樂、文學等其他藝術領域。

印象畫派是在現代科學技術（尤其是光學理論）的啟發下產生的注重“光與色”的繪畫流派，按時期可分為早期印象派、新印象派與後期印象派，其代表人物分別為莫奈、修拉、凡高等。印象派畫家打破傳統繪畫的褐色調子，根據光色原理對繪畫色彩進行了大膽革新。他們走出畫室，深入原野和鄉村、街頭，認真觀察沐浴在光線中的自然景色，尋求並把握色彩的冷暖變化和相互作用，以看似

隨意實則準確地抓住物件的迅捷手法，把變幻不居的光色效果記錄在畫布上，留下瞬間的永恆圖像。

“印象派繪畫理論的基本點是：一切自然現象都應從光的角度來觀察，一切色彩都來源於光”（邵大箴，1989: 1）。物體的色彩是根據光的照射而產生的，在不同的時間、環境、氣候等客觀條件下，因不同的光支配，物體會呈現出不同的色彩（楊勇，2010: 62）。莫奈的《幹草垛》系列組畫表現的正是在同一場景中不同角度不同時刻不同光線下，草垛所呈現的色彩微妙變化。

印象派畫家在描繪瞬間的光色場景之時，注重繪畫中光、色、形、意、美的融合，他們在光、色中求形，用光與色來表現意和美。“他們不但認為真實即美，而且認為透著感情氣息的真實更美，追求一種主客相融的審美意象”（董朝文等，2008: 32）。在印象派繪畫作品中，光和色是基本的繪畫語言、藝術要素、快速跳動的音樂旋律和慢慢流淌的文化符號。光和色是形、意、美的藝術起點，形、意、美在光和色中成形、達意、示美。

印象派繪畫被認為是“時間的藝術”，是“光的詩”，富有“光感”、“色彩”和“表現”是印象派繪畫的主要藝術特徵。印象派畫家則被看作是“光的詩人”，他們用“光”當作語言而做詩（豐子愷，2002: 50）。

## 二、印象派繪畫技巧在雷氏翻譯中的應用

雷氏的詩歌翻譯觀是“同情”觀，他認為詩歌翻譯是一種同情行為，這種“同情行為”包括兩個過程：“第一個過程是譯者走進作者的世界，將自己與作者相認同；第二個過程是譯者將作者的話轉化為自己的話”（鄭燕虹，2009b: 138）。在談到翻譯希臘詩人薩福

(Sappho)的詩作時，他說：“(翻譯中)最為重要的是同情能力——先是將自我投射到薩福的人生經歷中去的能力，然後是盡最大努力將其經歷轉化為自己話語的能力”(Rexroth 1961: 28)。雷氏的這種“同情行為”是如何付諸實踐的？有何內在的理據？下面從雷氏的漢詩英譯實踐出發，結合印象派繪畫的觀點與技巧對其譯詩中的“自我特色話語”進行歸納、闡述與分析。

## 2.1 光的明暗度與情景傳真

以明暗關係來表現空間是西方傳統繪畫的一個突出特點(馮民生, 2007: 111)。印象派畫家追求色彩的表現，更關注光照下物體明暗的變化。他們“專注於光的分析及其親眼所見的全過程，這是他們藝術追求的全部”(Lucie-Smith 1986: 9)。通常而言，光線照射的角度、範圍以及移動路徑直接影響著物體的明暗變化。物體先受光的部分其表面會顯得明亮，後受光的部分則顯暗淡。如果物體是逐步受到光照，其整體會慢慢變得明亮起來。反之，如果是逐步失去光照，其整體會慢慢變暗。雷氏討論譯詩時，主張“與原作者所處的境況合二而一”(Rexroth 1961: 37)，並進行“原創的體驗”(同上, 28)。而實現這樣的“原創體驗”，他採取的方法之一是翻譯中根據原作描繪的現實情景，利用前述的光照原理，記錄著自己“親眼所見，親身經歷，感同身受”的光照瞬間。有學者將雷氏譽之為“照相機般描寫的大師”

(Gibson 1972: 25)這樣評價雷氏筆力的精准既適用於其創作，也適用於其翻譯。雷氏的譯文因借用了外光視角，語言簡練，形式獨特，景真情切，其詩美效果一如美國詩人喬納森·威廉斯(J. Williams)所言：“他的詩總縈繞在你的耳邊，在你的腦海裡總也揮之不去”

(Hamalian 1991: 375)。例如：

- (1) 原文：花隱掖垣暮，（啾啾棲鳥過。）

——杜甫《春宿左省》

譯文：The flowers along the palace

Walls grow dim in the twilight.

(Twittering birds fly past to roost.)

上列原文出自杜甫《春宿左省》一詩，其時（乾元元年758年春）杜甫在長安任左拾遺官職。該詩描寫了他上封事前的那個晚上在門下省值守夜班，徹夜不眠，等待早朝的緊張心情，表現了他居官小心謹慎，忠勤為國的品格。這裡所引詩句是原詩開篇之句，生動描繪了宮廷夜幕降臨時一派靜謐的情景，其大意是：左省宮牆邊，花兒隱藏在暮色中。有的譯者將其譯為“The flowers hide in the dusk by the Yamen’s wall” (trans. Wu Juntao) 而雷氏則從光照下物體的明暗變化出發，將這句譯為“The flowers along the palace / Walls grow dim in the twilight”。沿著宮牆邊的花叢因漸漸失去光照，其顏色隨之慢慢暗淡下來，於是看上去給人隱隱綽綽、模糊不清的感覺。譯文將暮色漸漸降臨與變化的全過程在讀者的想像中複現出來了，給人很強的現實體驗感。而追求作品表現予人的現實體驗感，是雷氏詩歌翻譯與創作共同致力的目標。雷氏認為：“作詩就是傳達感受力。所作之詩要增強與引導我們去直接體驗的意識以及從直接體驗中進行提煉與總結的意識”（同上，103）。也正是在這個意義上，摩根·吉布森（Morgan 1972: 128）指出：“評判雷氏詩歌創作的優劣，主要還不是看其詩的結構、創意、或文體特質如何如何，而是要看他的詩是如何恰切地表現這種‘現實體驗’的。”由此可見，雷氏的翻譯踐行並延伸著其詩歌創作主張，而且從其基本內涵上來看與印象派畫論之間存在著彼此契合與相互共鳴的一面。可一併指出的

是，譯句中“along”一詞極富繪畫線條造型意味，它所形成的“線條性”構圖，引導我們的視線做水準延續運動，與“啾啾棲鳥過”（Twittering birds fly past to roost）形成彼此平行的水平線，“傳遞出平靜、安寧的意味，也暗示出開闊、深遠的空間”（蔣躍，2012: 47）。這是原作深層意蘊的應有部分。這也是雷氏譯詩所具有的繪畫特色之一。

印象派畫家尤為注重描繪瞬間的光色場景，但對光色瞬間的選擇並非隨意而為，而是他本人親眼見到或親身感受到的，經過精心挑選並留下深刻印象的瞬間細節，這些細節往往含蘊著德國美學家萊辛在其著作《拉奧孔》中所提出的“最富於孕育性的頃刻”<sup>[4]</sup>的特點。也就是說，這一瞬間可讓人想像到整個情景或事件的發展變化過程。雷氏認為：“藝術家的職能就在於揭示寓於過程中的真實，寓於變化中的永恆……”（Gibson 1972: 104）。因此翻譯過程中“捕捉”與表現這樣的光色瞬間亦即永恆瞬間來再現原作的情景，便成為雷氏的藝術追求所在。例如：

(2) 原文：（白帝更聲盡，）陽臺曙色分。

——杜甫《曉望》

譯文：The city is silent,

Sound drains away,

Buildings vanish in the light of dawn,

《曉望》這首詩作于唐代宗大曆二年（767）秋，寫的是杜甫當時流寓夔州瀘西，人生孤苦、失意而又無奈的心情。上引詩句是詩作的開篇之句，是“曉望”之景的前奏，其大意是：陽臺上（或從陽臺上看）拂曉的天色漸漸明亮起來。雷氏沒有選擇翻譯該句語義內容，而是從現實情景中房屋受光程度的多少或受光部分的先後出發，將

其譯為“Buildings vanish in the light of dawn”(房屋消失在拂曉的光照裡)。雷氏選用了“最富於孕育性的頃刻”中的“回顧性頃刻”(即可激發審美想像回顧以前可能已經發生的種種情形)來構建譯文。循此譯文,讀者不難想像黎明“姍姍來遲”的情景變化過程:太陽冉冉升起,房屋先有一部分受光,隨著受光部分漸漸增多,暗影一步步退去,最後整個房屋浸染在晨光裡了。毫無疑問,這樣的譯文給人鮮明的光線移動感、時間流逝感、空間真切感與動態畫面感,顯得極為細膩生動,予人身臨其境的感受。從翻譯效果看,既準確達意,又妥帖傳神。如此富有創意的譯文,與傳統漢詩名句“霧失樓臺”(秦觀《踏莎行·郴州旅舍》)、“潮平兩岸失”(王灣《次百固山下》)頗有異曲同工之妙。中西比讀,譯者詩人靈犀與共,令人嘆服!也可順帶一提的是,該句譯文與前句譯文“Sound drains away”(聲音一點點消退)形成情景表現上的“異質同構”關係,巧妙地實現了詩句間的內在連貫。

雷氏運用光照原理進行翻譯並非零星個案,也並非只限於單一的側面。通讀其譯作,我們能頻頻看到類似的譯例以及形式多樣的呈現,這已成為其翻譯中經常使用的一種藝術轉換方法,也是其譯文獨具的風格特色之一。

## 2.2 光的強弱冷暖與氛圍再造

光的強弱冷暖與不同的時間區段、不同的環境條件、不同的觀者視角等因素密切相關。一般而言,它們表現的多是自然物理屬性,但在印象派畫家的眼裡,情況就另當別論。他們認為“一切自然現象都應該從光的角度來觀察,一切色彩皆發源於光”(王福陽, 2009: 96)。光與色的價值與功能有著鮮明的美學意義。在他們的筆下,光的強弱冷



暖更多地具有烘托氣氛，傳遞情感的功能。莫奈的《幹草垛》系列組畫描繪的是光照下幹草垛色彩變化的瞬間印象，表現的是秋日溫暖與秋意濃郁的全過程，使人感到的是平靜與安寧。雷氏翻譯時善於“走進”詩作描繪的環境之中，去“現場”觀察與感受光線的特質，然後精心選用光的強弱冷暖來準確描繪“置身其中”所感知與體悟到的時空資訊以及情感形態，以求取得烘托詩作意蘊氛圍的效果。寓情於“光”彰顯了雷氏翻譯中表達“共同詩情”的視角與方法，<sup>[5]</sup>也成為雷氏譯作中一以貫之的亮點。例如：

(3) 原文：(山近覺寒早，草堂霜氣晴。)

樹凋窗有日，(池滿水無聲。)

——杜甫《早秋山居》

譯文：(Cold air drains down from the peaks.

Frost lies all around my cabin.)

The trees are bare. Weak sunlight

Shines in my window.

原詩句中的“日”字，可直接譯為“the sun”，但譯者不落窠臼，從光的強弱角度將其處理為“Weak sunlight（虛弱的日光）”，一方面準確描繪了秋天早晨日出時光照軟弱無力的視覺心理感受，另一方面折射出慵懶無力、行動悠緩與環境淒清的意味。從英譯文的篇章結構來看，譯者如此翻譯，語義上呼應了前三句英文詩行表達的清冷環境資訊，功能上暗示並定位了作者內在的心理感受，這是與原詩中所表現的秋日早晨淒冷、蕭瑟、寧靜的意蘊氛圍相一致的。

日光的強弱可以揭示外在的環境狀況，表現作者內心律動的情感，暗示並烘托原作整體詩意氛圍。與日光的強弱一樣，日光的冷暖也是如此，有時甚至分出長短的日光也不例外。例如：

- (4) 原文：(白帝更聲盡，陽臺曙色分。)

高峰寒上日，(疊嶺宿霾雲。)

——杜甫《曉望》

譯文：Cold sunlight comes on the highest peak,

(The thick dust of night

Clings to the hills,)

- (5) 原文：(青梅如豆柳如眉，)日長蝴蝶飛。

——歐陽修《南園春半踏青時》

譯文：(The blue

Green plums are already as large

As beans. The willow leaves are long,

And really are curved like a girl's

Eyebrows.) Butterflies whirl in the

Long sunlight.

本節所列舉的三例均含有“日”字，相同的是譯者均未譯為“the sun”，而是都譯成了“日光(sunlight)”，修辭上是以部分指代整體，藝術上則透著印象派繪畫的影子。不同的是同一“日”字其英譯文的表現形態各異。在例(4)中，譯者從光的冷暖角度將其處理為“Cold sunlight comes on the highest peak(寒冷的日光照在高峰上)”顯然有別於通常解讀的詩句大意：太陽從寒意籠罩的高峰頂上升起。然而，英譯文中陽光的“寒冷”有效地烘托出早晨寒冷的意蘊氛圍，也藝術地暗示出作者內心淒冷的感受。其表情達意的技法與漢詩名句“日色冷青松”(王維《過香積寺》)同出一轍。例(5)中“日長”譯為“Long sunlight”顯然偏離了原文所指一天時間較長或漫長的常規意義，但是特別傳神，富有詩意——仿佛世界就是大舞臺，一道長長的光柱打在“蝴蝶”的身上，任其在“臺上”翩翩飛舞，其傳遞出美好愜意的氛圍可謂不言自明。

雷氏翻譯中對光的強弱冷暖之創用，既從其靜態屬性方面描繪（如以上各例），也從其動態能量方面發掘。光之動靜如何選擇，他往往在把握原作精神的前提下，從文本詩句的字面中走出來，來到其描繪的現實空間中進行感知、體味與建構。例如：

(6) 原文：砧杵敲殘深巷月，（井梧搖落故園秋。）

——陸遊《秋思》

譯文：By the river they are  
Beating cloth for winter.  
Moonlight penetrates the  
Forest. (The trees are losing  
Their leaves. Autumn has come  
To my withered garden.)

原詩句中“深巷月”表達的是洗衣人在砧杵上搗洗衣物，已經很長時間，直至月近中天，光照深巷了。雷氏將“月”譯為“moonlight”，同時將趨於靜態空間感的“深巷月”改譯為極具動感的現實情景：Moonlight penetrates the / Forest。“Penetrate”的力度與強度，一方面將“物理力”轉化為“視覺力”，另一方面暗示出月上中天，月光明亮，朗照天下的情景。譯文中譯者改“巷”為“forest”，形式上與下文“the trees”謀得了一致，呈現出西方直線式思維干擾的痕跡。細按之下，雷氏之所以創設這樣的情景，也許受到馬奈畫作《草地上的午餐》中構圖的啟示：溪流、洗浴的女士、茂密的樹林、透射林間的陽光。綜而觀之，譯文詩情表達效果與原文頗為神似。

## 2.3 光景的創設與達意傳情

雷氏對外光情有獨鍾，也熟諳它的功用與價值，善於從外光的

視角來審讀與建構譯文，創造出語言形式在意料之外，而情韻內涵卻在情理之中的佳譯。翻譯實踐中遇到含有外光描寫的詩句，他往往會精心雕琢，以求譯語新穎別致，達意傳神，真正用“自己的獨特話語”來表達原作者的話語。碰到沒有外光描寫或沒有明顯外光參與的詩句，他也會不時借助外光，另闢蹊徑，創設出一幕暮光景入詩，讓讀者置身其中，去感同身受。這樣做的結果是既實現了表情達意之需，又因在譯詩中融匯了繪畫藝術新質而增添了別樣的詩意感興。外光視角已從雷氏翻譯中經常使用的藝術轉換方法發展為藝術創作方法。例如：

(7) 原文：(天明獨去無道路，出入高下窮煙霏。)

山紅澗碧紛爛漫，(時見松櫪皆十圍。)

——韓愈《山石》

譯文：Red cliffs, green waterfalls, all

Sparkle in the morning light.

原詩句是作者早行時在山路上所見的情景。作者用“山紅澗碧”概括雨後天晴，朝陽映照下的山花、澗水所特有的光感和色調，又用“紛爛漫”加以渲染，把美麗的山景表現得鮮豔奪目。詩句大意是：山花紅，澗水碧，交相輝映，絢麗多彩。如何再現這樣的詩境？有的譯者將此譯為“The hills were red, the little brook was blue, / A jumble of colours now burst into view” (trans. Suo Tianzhang) 不難看出，該譯文偏於事理資訊陳述，似難以使人置身其間，感同身受。雷氏宕開一筆，從外光視角來營構譯文，讓“山紅(Red cliffs)”“澗碧(green waterfalls)”在晨光中熠熠閃耀(Sparkle in the morning light)，藝術地表現了詩句所描繪的現實詩境以及“紛爛漫”的意味。這樣的處理方式與華茲華斯(William Wordsworth)筆下的詩句“Ships, towers, domes, theatres, and

temples lie / Open onto the fields, and to the sky; / All bright and glittering in the smokeless air” (Composed Upon Westminster Bridge) 在創作思路與表現方法上頗為接近。雷氏的“山紅 (Red cliffs)” (可能是因陽光照射山石而呈現紅色，也可能是山石本身的紅色，還可能是山石間盛開著紅色的花朵等等)、“澗碧 (green waterfalls)” 做如是處理，初看之下，與原詩情景似乎大異其趣，但仔細體味，又覺得十分切合情境，生動逼真，予人一楨山水畫幅的整體感。筆者認為不走進文本所描繪的“早晨陽光下的現實世界”去親自觀察、體會與認知，斷然不會建構出這樣的譯文。

外光視角為譯文如何藝術地表達原文開啟了新路徑、增添了新方法，也為譯文如何藝術地再現原作意蘊“增加了新內容”。但新內容的增添也不是隨意而為，漫無目的的，通常而言遵循的是原文表層形式所無，但其關涉的“現實情景”可有的原則，進一步說，遵循的是印象派繪畫走進現實環境，描繪瞬間現實情景的原則。而體現這一原則的方式筆者將其稱作“情景”顯化 (explicitation)。例如：

(8) 原文：白頭宮女在，(閑坐說唐宗。)

——元稹《行宮》

譯文：A few white haired old women sit in the sun,  
(Idly gossiping of the days of the dead emperor.)

原詩句“白頭宮女在”並未明確指出白頭宮女所在的具體場所及當時的天氣情況，譯者走出“原文文本”，進入文本所描繪的“生活現實”之中，於是在譯文裡增添了“in the sun (在陽光下)”，這樣的情景十分生活化，也極為典型。通過白頭宮女坐曬太陽這一細節再現了其閒適、慵懶、無奈、淒苦等意味。這裡“顯化”的光景沒有損害原文的詩意，相反顯得更為逼真、生動，形式上也與其它譯句謀得了視覺與

聽覺節奏的和諧。這樣的譯句讓人想起英國詩人納什(T. Nashe)詩句“*Young lovers meet, old wives a-sunning sit*”中坐曬太陽的老嫗們。坐曬太陽顯然已成為與人至老境相關聯的經典一幕，也成為中西文化彼此接受的共同人生規律。

## 2.4 色彩的冷暖及對比與藝術再創造

印象派畫家對於色彩尤其敏感，他們的獨創性通常表現在對於光與色的特殊處理上。他們認為，“光就是色彩、運動、時間、空間，光就是真實”(楊勇，2010:63)。光對色彩起著決定作用，物體並不存在固有的特定色彩，其色彩是由照射在上面的光決定的。“印象派畫家筆下畫出的物體不是我們所熟知的物體的顏色，而是我們看到物體時它們所呈現的顏色”(Walther 1993:5)。樹不一定就是綠的，天也不一定就是藍的，不同的光照可以產生不同的色彩感覺，隨時變化，隨地變化。而不同的色彩感覺又會給我們不同的冷暖感受與遠近印象，比如紅、橙、黃等進色或暖色能起前進或突出的印象，青、藍、綠等退色或冷色能起後退和深遠的印象(王福陽，2009:41)。印象派畫家“力圖捕捉物體在特定時間內自然呈現的瞬間色彩，及一定空間環境下所呈現的環境色”(同上，62)。他們也特別注重色彩在視覺中的強烈“衝擊”與相互配置後新生的和諧。雷氏在其詩歌創作中對印象派繪畫的色彩觀進行了充分實踐，他旅居法國期間創作的詩集《普羅旺斯的艾斯克市》(Aixen Provence)即為顯例。詩集中“雷氏以一個畫家的眼光，描繪了秋天的金色、橙色、綠色和紫色，描繪了十二月份塞尚(Paul Cézanne)畫作‘聖維克多山’(Mont Sainte-Victoire)中的‘純淨、明亮與石灰岩的灰白’……”(Hamalian 1991:291)。創作與翻譯合二而一，是雷氏文學活動的常態。雷氏(1961:40)認為：“翻譯能為我們提供最高層次的詩歌

寫作練習。它是保持才思敏捷，等待靈感迸發的最好方法。更為重要的是，它是最高層次的情感契合練習。”受此影響，雷氏譯文的選詞造句，謀篇佈局均打上了印象派色彩觀的烙印。翻譯中雷氏使用不同色彩給人的視覺心理感受傳譯原作詩歌語言營構的情景，既不露牽強斧鑿的痕跡，又能曲達其情，突顯畫境，增強現實切身感受。例如：

(9) 原文：日暮蒼山遠，(天寒白屋貧。)

——劉長卿《逢雪宿芙蓉山主人》

譯文：Sunset. Blue peaks vanish in dusk.

原詩句中“蒼山遠”表達的是觀者眼中蒼山的空間距離，通常情況下，人們往往會按字面義將其直接譯出。比如“Dark hills distant in the setting sun”(trans. D.R. Hales)。然而，這裡譯者另闢蹊徑，用色彩語言對“蒼山遠”的“空間距離”與“視覺形態”進行了藝術性轉換——藍色的山峰消失在暮色中，呈現的是觀者眼中遠處蒼山在暮色中的瞬間色彩印象，不言遠而遠自生。“樹木繁茂之山，如在近處，則為深綠，若在遠處，則為淺藍或淡紫；若山更遠，則其輪廓模糊，其色至淡若無”(Qian 1995: 67)，由此可見，譯文雖與原詩句表現形式殊異，但所取得的詩意效果並未因之減損，相反予人身臨其境的真切體驗感。類似的譯法也出現在王維詩句“寒山轉蒼翠，(秋水日潺湲)”的譯文裡：It has turned cold./ The mountains grow more vast and more blue。劃線的“藍色”給人遙遠、寒冷的感受，內涵上呼應著前一句中的“cold”，功能上再現了日落後遠山的蒼茫、宏闊與雄渾，也給全詩定下了暮色漸濃的基調。

王國維在《人間詞話》中說：“一切景語皆情語”。在印象派畫家

看來，則應是“一切色彩語言皆情語”。青年學者孫曉青（2010: 39）說：“色彩具有暗示力——表達情感氛圍、情感思想的能力。”大畫家凡高指出：“色彩本身就表達某種東西”（拉塞爾，1996: 38）。不同的色彩語言可用來暗示與表達不同的詩情，從而最大限度地釋放出詩的能量，強化和體現詩的藝術效果。正是在這一意義上，色彩語言突出而獨特的表情功能一直為雷氏所青睞，並在其翻譯實踐中得到了十分嫻熟而恰切的應用。例如：

(10) 原文：（寒食梨花斷月夜，）黃昏楊柳舊風光。

——朱淑真《傷別》

譯文：Huge willows in the golden

Twilight wave their long shadows

In the clear bright winds of Spring.

原文中“黃昏”是一個時間概念，通常而言，將其譯為“in the twilight”即可，而在“twilight”之前加上“golden”實有蛇足之嫌。但從印象派繪畫視角看，情況則大有不同。這裡雷氏突顯了“黃昏”的色調，功能上表現了相對具體的時間區段，呈現出現時的空間場景；審美價值上，“golden”屬於暖色，予人柔和、輕鬆、親近、依偎的感覺。這樣的感覺也正是原作者意欲表達的，換句話說，原作者往昔幾多溫馨美好的回憶盡在譯文的色彩中了。雷氏翻譯中對色彩的應用往往會依據詩情的不同，靈活多變，顯示出他對繪畫色彩把握的高超手腕。同是“黃昏”一詞，出現在“（花影壓重門，疏簾鋪淡月，）好黃昏”（李清照《小重山》）中時，他的譯文是“（Flower shadows lie heavy / On the translucent curtains.）/ The full, transparent moon / Rises in the orange twilight”。黃昏如何好？更多的是予人一種可以意會難以言宣或不



言宣的感受。這回雷氏卻使用了“orange(橙色)”一詞，這個暖色詞彙有別於暖色詞彙“golden”，它往往給人活潑、愉快、興奮的感受，如此一來，無疑將詩人的期待之情態表現得既含蓄恰切，又頗為直觀可感。可謂寓情感的波瀾于平靜的色彩！

印象畫派對色彩的運用是多維而綜合的，他們還採用原色並列、重疊和補色手法，形成印象派新的繪畫語言。在新的繪畫語言中，色彩對視覺的強烈衝擊所產生的新的意義得到了突出彰顯。從雷氏的譯作中，我們能清晰地看到他極為重視色彩的層次及其組合所帶來的突出詩畫效果。例如：

(11) 原文：絕句 杜甫

兩個黃鸝鳴翠柳，一行白鷺上青天。  
窗含西嶺千秋雪，（門泊東吳萬里船。）

譯文：FAR UP THE RIVER

A pair of golden orioles  
Sings in the bright green willows.  
A line of white egrets crosses  
The clear blue sky. The window  
Frames the western mountains, white  
With the snows of a thousand years.

原詩中“黃”與“翠”、“白”與“青”並置或映襯，色彩鮮明，早春的勃勃生機撲面而來。雷氏在譯文中轉存了所有這些色彩，另外還顯化了“千秋雪”的色彩(white)，不僅如此，又進一步純色化了這些色彩，使之比原文顯得更加明艷亮麗，逼人眼球：黃鸝是金黃的(golden)、翠柳綠得發亮(bright green)、白鷺是純白的(white)、青天是湛藍的(clear blue)、西嶺一片純白(white的位置突顯)。毫無疑問，原詩清新輕鬆的美好詩情已直觀地體現在這明艷亮麗的色彩對

比“合奏”中，譯作也因之映現出極富裝飾性意味的油畫色彩。

## 2.5 間印象場景與篇章審美重構

“把畫架搬到戶外”，是印象派的重要繪畫方式。印象派畫家堅持在自然光下寫生，注重捕捉自然光下一瞬間的場景，在畫布上留下忠實于自然的純真印象。莫奈的《日出》是該派繪畫最具代表性的例子，畫面中紅紅的朝日、多霧的早晨、微紅的天空、淡紫色的海水、色點中朦朧模糊的小船、船上依稀可辨的人影、遠處工廠的煙囪、大船上若隱若現的吊車，凡是一切，時空具體，情景逼真、生動，讓人感受真切。前文有述，印象派畫家不僅注重描繪瞬間的光色場景，也尤為注重繪畫的光、色、形、意、美的融合，追求一種主客相融的審美意象。雷氏借鑒印象派描繪瞬間印象的繪畫思維與方法，突破原文詩體形式與句法邏輯的限制，將譯筆當做“畫筆”，在“畫布”上一步一步描繪出原文中所蘊含的真實、生動的“現實圖景”。詩歌翻譯家許淵沖說：“翻譯不能只以原作為模特，而要以原作所寫的現實為模特”

（許鈞等，2001： 48）。法國新小說派作家西蒙（C. Simon）說：“寫作如同畫家作畫一樣，就象畫家在作畫過程中這裡添上一筆、那裡抹上一層色彩會產生新的效果一樣”（龔翰熊，1991： 347）。雷氏可以說是前述論斷身體力行最為典型、最具說服力、也是最富特色與成效的實踐者。他以作畫者的身份進入作者的角色，面對作者曾經歷的“現實世界”，以光色映照下的現實為“模特”，運用繪畫形式語言完成了對原文篇章的跨藝術（*interarts*）審美重構。例如：

(12) 原文：逢雪宿芙蓉山主人 劉長卿

日暮蒼山遠，天寒白屋貧。

柴門聞犬吠，風雪夜歸人。

譯文：SNOW ON LOTUS MOUNTAIN

Sunset. Blue peaks vanish in dusk.  
Under the winter stars  
My lonely cabin is covered with snow.  
I can hear the dogs barking  
At the rustic gate.  
Through snow and wind  
Someone is coming home.

雷氏譯文先聚焦“Sunset (日暮)”時分，進行場景定位並統攝全篇（他未將“日暮”譯為從屬於某句的時間狀語 at sunset），有如戲劇演出中說明時間的舞臺指示語（stage directions），然後譯筆在“畫布上”一步步展開，“畫出”日暮時分的瞬間印象：暮色中藍藍的遠山（參見前文分析）、天空的寒星（原文本無寒星，因“作畫”佈局之需，自然帶出，整體審視，強化了現實感，也濃厚了詩意氛圍，並無不妥）、雪壓的貧屋、柴門邊的吠犬、彌漫的風雪、夜歸的旅人。參照莫奈的《日出・印象》，雷氏如此佈局後的譯文似可稱作《日暮・印象》，據此可以說正是有了《日出・印象》等印象派作品的影響，雷氏的譯文在句子結構的再書寫與篇章結構的再布排上才如此大膽、灑脫，譯文的繪畫形式語言與繪畫思維特色才如此鮮明。雷氏這樣的譯法，絕非孤例。杜甫詩《野望》（清秋望不極，迢遞起層陰）與《宿府》（清秋幕府井梧寒，獨宿江城蠟炬殘）的開篇詩句分別譯為“Clear Autumn. I gaze out into / Endless spaces. The horizon / Wavers in bands of haze”；“A clear night in harvest time. / In the courtyard at headquarters / The wu-tong trees grow cold”等等。值得一說的是，兩首詩中首句同為“清秋”一詞，因描繪的瞬間印象有別，其譯文的定位也各不相同。鑒於此，印象派繪畫所主張的走進大自然去作畫，專注於瞬間印象，用光色邏輯以及光色下的

空間層次邏輯作畫的思想，便成為雷氏翻譯中進行篇章審美重構的基本指導原則。茲再引一例，來看看西方學者的相關評說：

(13) 原文：鹿柴 王維

空山不見人，但聞人語響。

返影入深林，複照青苔上。

譯文：DEEP IN THE MOUNTAIN WILDERNESS

Deep in the mountain wilderness

Where nobody ever comes

Only once in a great while

Something like the sound of a far off voice,

The low rays of the sun

Slip through the dark forest,

And gleam again on the shadowy moss.

不面對大自然，不走進大自然，就不會有對自然瞬間姿態的真切感受，也不會有對太陽下光的效果、色的變化的直感體認。雷氏的翻譯面對著“現實自然”作畫，其“畫筆”下的山不僅空，而且深、遠、人跡罕至。對雷氏的譯文有西方學者評論說：“具有哲理意義的空山（empty mountain）變成了具有現實經驗的山野（the mountain wilderness）”。“（雷氏）在第2行沒有用更為顯在的詞‘goes’，而用了‘comes’，也未使用第一人稱，他創造了一個隱在的敘述者兼觀察者（narrator-observer）。比如‘到我這兒來’（comes here where I am）”（Weinberger and Paz 1987: 23）。“人語響”未確指“人說話的響聲”，而是將其譯為“Something like the sound of a far off voice”，是鳥語蟲鳴，還是風聲水響，抑或人語陣陣？讀者雖不得而知，但感到與現實情景中的經驗感知尤為相符。“雷氏用‘slip’一詞來譯王維的‘入’（enter）也許有些過於感觀化，但又必須如此”（同上）。總體來看，落日余暉的時

空感，返照深林、青苔的光影形態與效果被描畫得細膩逼真，絲絲入扣。置身這樣的畫境，自然的靜美不能不油然而生，實可謂“真境逼而神境生”。從繪畫佈局來看，譯文全由待續句構成，既延展了空間，又一行一景，逐一“勾畫”而成。

從上可見，雷氏突破源語文本的限制，走進源語文本所源自的生活現實，運用“光色邏輯”重構了源語文本的語義語法邏輯與“文字的”線性邏輯，拓展並創新了譯文句子及篇章的呈現形態，彰顯了原作的內在空間特色，深化了詩與畫彼此交融的技術構成，實現了光色映照下不同物象的和諧同現與定向審美統一。從譯文讀者視角看，繪畫思維的融入增強了譯文讀者身臨其境的感受，繪畫形式語言的運用表徵了語言的創新性與時代性，也進一步方便了讀者體會與認知原作的廣度與深度，這應是雷氏譯作令人交口稱讚的特色所在。

### 三、印象派繪畫對雷氏翻譯影響探源

通過以上對雷氏譯文的細讀，我們看到印象派繪畫技巧對雷氏翻譯的顯在影響。這種影響是如何形成的？這種影響除了表現在技巧應用方面外，還會滲透到雷氏翻譯過程的其它方面嗎？比如他的翻譯選材、翻譯策略以及譯文審美風格，等等。下面就這些問題進行探討。

#### 3.1 繪畫藝術學習與追求

雷氏對繪畫的熱愛不只是停留在興趣的層面上，而是將其當作職業來追求，這也因此成就了他的畫名，後人往往將他稱作“美國重要的文學家、詩歌翻譯家、戲劇家、畫家……”（Gutierrez 1993: 134）。而在他如何成長為畫家的道路上，從其《自傳小說》等文獻中我們可

以追尋到他這樣的“足跡”。

雷克思羅斯從小立志成為一名畫家，尤其是抽象派畫家。他在《自傳小說》中寫道：“我似乎從孩提時代起就已開始了抽象派畫家的生涯，我接觸到的最早畫作給我印象深刻，我努力模仿這些畫，對我來說，這些畫看上去特別抽象，即使它們並非這樣”（Rexroth 1977: 114）。青少年時期的雷克思羅斯求知若渴，先後得到《立體畫派與後印象畫派》、《動態對稱性：希臘花瓶》、《未來主義畫派的配色方案》這三本書籍，如獲至寶，反復研讀。閱讀的經歷使他意識到“光靠讀讀糟糕的理論書籍和看看繪畫複製品，我是絕對成不了一名畫家的”

（同上，115）。雷氏的這一認識與意象派大詩人龐德的相關經歷與感受不謀而合。龐德（2001: 225）堅信：“直接接觸藝術品要遠遠勝過閱讀藝術理論書籍……，直接接觸富有藝術創作經驗的人也遠遠勝過閱讀藝術書籍。”此後，雷氏便花大量時間去菲爾德博物館和芝加哥藝術研究院：在芝加哥藝術研究院他修讀了所有能修讀的藝術課程，認真聽取自己見到的每一位畫家的建議；在菲爾德博物館，常常數小時臨摹那裡展出的畫品。“我也做了大量的臨摹，因為有人告訴我以前的繪畫大師們就是這樣學習繪畫的……，我臨摹過分析立體派的所有畫作，我臨摹藝術研究院收藏的第一幅塞尚作品時的激動心情，至今還記得特別清晰……，我還臨摹過奧迪隆·雷東、卡贊、畢沙羅、甚至英尼斯……”（同上，116）。

雷氏認真閱讀繪畫理論書籍，虛心聽取所接觸到的畫家建議，悉心臨摹大家前輩的畫作，獨自“創作油畫與水彩畫集”（Hamalian 1991: 374）。與戀人約會時談論畢沙羅、塞尚等的畫作，與朋友漫步時探討繪畫理論與哲學，甚至還發表研讀繪畫的相關見解，繪畫幾近貫穿到了他生活的方方面面。細按他學習或臨摹的畫家，印象派畫家或風景

畫家佔據絕對多數。這樣的學畫經歷，使他所嫻熟掌握的繪畫技藝潛移默化地滲透到了他的詩歌翻譯與創作實踐中。

### 3.2 翻譯選材及主題表現

印象派畫家繼承了法國現實主義“讓藝術面向當代生活”的傳統，主張回到日常現實中，將畫筆的視角對著那些日常極為平常的物象、自然風景與普通而真實的人們。現實生活中那些極為平常的草垛、池塘、鴨群甚至工廠冒著濃煙的大煙囪、鐵路、車站等物象都成為他們作畫的素材；日出、海灘、海景、樹木等平常的自然景色也是他們經常選取的題材；身邊的親朋好友、普通的勞苦大眾、自然場景中沐浴在光與色下的裸體也是他們經常描繪的對象。檢視雷氏英譯的作品，我們會看到在浩瀚的中國古典詩詞中他主要選擇翻譯了杜甫、梅堯臣、蘇東坡、李清照等詩人的作品，而在這些詩人的作品中又重點選擇翻譯了他們寫作的山水詩與愛情詩、友情詩（參見雷氏最早譯出的《漢詩一百首》或前文所引諸例，可窺一斑。），這些詩篇描繪的均是日常生活中的普通場景，寫的也多是生活中與詩人接觸頻密的親人、鄰居與朋友，這一點從其為所譯之詩重新擬定的題名中可以鮮明見出。同樣地，閱讀雷氏的詩歌作品，我們也注意到“雷氏的大多數詩歌是以直接而個性化的表達方式寫給他的家人、朋友、戀人、詩人、甚或知己的讀者的”（Gibson 1972: 17）吉布森甚至仿擬詩人威廉斯（W. C. Williams）的經典詩論“no ideas but in things”的結構，將雷氏的詩歌觀概括為“思想僅寓於大眾（no ideas but in persons）；思想僅寓於你我（no ideas but in I-Thou.）”（ibid, 101）這樣的翻譯選材、這樣的詩歌創作實踐及其觀念與印象派繪畫的創作觀、主題觀尤為契合。“印象主義運動不僅限於視覺藝術，在其它藝術與語言中也能找到其影響的痕跡，而

文學作品中的影響非常明顯。”（孫曉青，2010：20）美國學者列文森（Levenson 2000：195）指出：“首先是畫家探索了現代主義變革的種種可能性，因而繪畫成為率先垂範的藝術形式。”這種藝術形式於19世紀70年代以後進入到文學領域，遂形成了今天為人們所熟知的“文學印象主義”（literary impressionism）。鑒於這樣的文化大背景、雷氏的學畫經歷以及前文的實證研討，我們至少可以說印象派繪畫在相當程度上影響了雷氏漢詩英譯選材及其創作。

尤其值得一提的是，雷氏一生鍾愛的杜甫詩歌，經其對主題內涵選擇性的翻譯改寫，“使他筆下的杜甫不再是一位憂國憂民、鬱鬱不得志的儒家學者，而被創造性地轉換成一位寄情山水、過著簡單、淳樸生活的道家隱士。”（葛中俊等，2010：47）雷氏譯筆下杜甫形象的如此變化與印象派畫家全身心地投入自然，關注自然山水，尊重自然，探求光色變化的精神宗旨也是頗為契合的。有的論者從雷氏熱愛和嚮往自然、生活中酷愛旅行以及個人愛情生活經歷等角度闡釋其譯詩選材及其主題內涵表現的原因（鄭燕虹，2009a：62-65）雖不無道理，但若放在印象派藝術思潮對文學產生影響的大背景下來看，雷氏的這些經歷顯然可以成為印象畫派影響下的一個個生動注腳。“文章合為時而著，歌詩合為事而作。”（白居易語）創作如此，翻譯亦然。在這一意義上，雷氏翻譯的選材可謂感於時而動，其選材之主題內涵的呈現也因時而進行了選擇性地“譯/作”。誠如有的論者所言，他“敏銳地捕捉時代的脈搏，在吸收中國文化的同時，亦創亦譯，刻意淡化中國封建文化，回避帝王和王侯將相的描寫，過濾掉儒家忠君的愚忠思想，有時刻意把儒家色彩‘道家化’。”（魏家海，2014：100）雷氏在論及成功的翻譯時說：“所有偉大的譯著能流傳至今，是因為它們完全屬於它們的時代。”（Rexroth 1961：19）雷氏這麼理解著成功的翻譯，也自身朝



著這個方向實踐。這應是雷氏譯作廣為傳播，“對於其他美國詩人與譯者產生巨大的影響”的重要原因之一。

### 3.3 翻譯策略與方法

選定了較為具體的翻譯題材，如何在翻譯中表達這些題材的內容，印象畫派在策略與方法上給了雷氏以啟迪與指引，這既可看作雷氏“努力追求破除藝術形式之間人為界限”的執著探索與有力佐證（Hamalian 1991: 375），又可視為雷氏翻譯對印象派這一時代文藝思潮的傾情呼應。

印象派畫家反對傳統繪畫的固有成法，主張從室內走到室外作畫，面對光影下真實的大自然作畫，捕捉和描繪物體在陽光照耀下最為精彩的瞬間。他們認為“畫作要畫出的不是樹木、蜿蜒的道路、房屋的屋頂，而是要畫出這些物體給人的印象，觀畫人解讀這些印象時，就同他解讀直接來自現場的印象是一樣的”（Powell-Jones 1994: 12）。進一步說，“印象派畫家畫出的不是風景本身，而是風景所引發的那種感覺”（Walther 1993: 15）。誠如當代作家鐵凝（2003: 85）站在莫奈原作《幹草垛》前觀賞時所言：“並不覺得是在讀畫，我是通過這些孤寂的草垛和吉尼爾的土地，在盡情呼吸，呼吸吉尼爾，呼吸上帝賜予人類的空氣和陽光。”基於印象派的作畫策略與目的，我們可這樣描述雷氏的翻譯行為過程：雷氏翻譯過程中從文本之內走到文本之外，走進作者當時的創作體驗或創作原文時所面對的“生活現實”之中，在面對共同的“生活現實”時，通過“靈視（vision）”<sup>[6]</sup>與作者感同身受，彼此相互認同，合二而一，亦即雷氏所說的“同化（assimilability）”。然後，運用印象派繪畫技巧與形式語言（參見2.1節）對原作語言進行轉換、改寫，實現將作者話語轉化為自

己話語的目標，運用印象派繪畫的空間佈局重構原作的篇章結構，借鑒其作畫主張再現原作給人的“印象”（而不是字比句次地忠於原文），最終達到“譯作既能忠實於原作的精神，又是名副其實的英文詩”的目的。（Rexroth 1970: XIII）做出這樣的推斷描述，我們可從雷氏的創作觀與翻譯實踐或翻譯觀中找尋到基本理據。創作上，“對雷氏來說，靈視就是體驗現實：他在《長篇詩選》的緒論與最近一次採訪中說：‘我們必須體驗的是真真切切的事物本身，我們始於體驗現實，終於感悟’”（Gibson 1972: 128）。翻譯上，雷氏（1961: 19）認為：“優秀的譯者是不會對照著原文本逐字翻譯的。他不是代理人，而是傾心盡力的辯護律師。”他這麼理解創作與翻譯，實踐中也是這麼做的。他翻譯杜甫詩歌時參看了多家譯文，也與自己的中國朋友進行過反復討論，他說：“這些譯文是我自己獨自完成的，有些譯得很自由，有些譯得較嚴謹，這取決於我當時讀詩的感覺。”在談到翻譯宋代詩詞時，他坦言：“最初我手頭沒有中文文本，我常常是從其它西方語言中翻譯過來的，主要是蘇裡葉德莫朗（Soulié de Morant）和馬古理（G. Margouliès）的法文譯本”（Rexroth 1970: XIII）。由此看來，雷氏的翻譯策略與方法是“印象派式的”，他注重“現實體驗”，他沒有依據原文或原文文字，他表現的是閱讀原文後的詩感，是閱讀其它譯本後的詩感，他追求的譯文是“能獨立成篇的英文詩”（Rexroth 1956: 157），他明確標舉譯者與作者情感“契合”的詩歌翻譯觀，甚至在“詩人即譯者”一文中首先提出詩歌翻譯的新命題：“作者就是譯者，‘作者’不存在了，創作的行為也隨之變成了翻譯的行為”（楊成虎，2010: 37）。

雷氏在剖析作者與譯者合二而一的策略與方法時，使用的是靈感、體驗這些概念來解說的，顯得較為神秘。這裡從印象派繪畫視角進行解說，將其翻譯的策略與方法做了一些具體化，多了一份知性，少了

一份神秘。因此，在這個意義上，雷氏帶著鮮明“印象派繪畫風味”的翻譯策略與方法為漢詩英譯開啟了一條可資借鑒的新思路，為現代英詩創作增添了新手段，也為其未來發展探索了新方向。

### 3.4 審美風格追求與表達

印象派畫家描繪的物件是生活中極為平常的人物、風景與瑣事，往往表現出平和、寧靜、和諧的審美趨向。比如莫奈的《日出·印象》、《盧昂大教堂》與《睡蓮》，馬奈的《草地上的午餐》，修拉的《大碗島星期日的下午》，塞尚的《一藍蘋果》等。當然也不乏有表現熱情奔放、輕快活潑審美趨向的，比如凡高的《向日葵》，德加的《舞臺上的舞女》等。但從其表現的物件來看，總的傾向屬於傳統美學中所說的“優美”之列。印象派繪畫這樣的審美趨向也滲透到了雷氏翻譯選材的風格指向上，也就是說，雷氏選譯的山水詩、愛情詩與友情詩，往往是那些風格上偏于平和、寧靜與和諧的詩篇。趙毅衡（2003：54）談到中國詩對雷克思羅斯的影響時指出：“他接受的中國詩影響也偏向於陰柔婉約的一面”。比照看來，雖然認知的角度不盡一致，但其結論卻殊途同歸，不謀而合。

在審美風格表現方式上，印象派繪畫指導著雷氏以“光色邏輯”與“空間邏輯”來轉換、改寫原文的語義語法邏輯與字面線性邏輯，完成了對原作篇章結構的重塑與對原作“印象場景”及其內在情感的再現。在這一意義上，雷氏將詩歌這門時間藝術轉換成了空間藝術或時空藝術。從翻譯的視角看，雷氏將屬於語際翻譯類型的詩歌翻譯“演繹”成了符際翻譯。<sup>[7]</sup>進一步說，演繹成了語際與符際翻譯彼此互動、相互融合的跨界翻譯。因此，雷氏的譯作打上了印象派繪畫審美風格的深深烙印。

#### 四、結語

通過細讀、梳理與分析雷氏的譯作及其翻譯過程，我們看到印象派繪畫對雷氏的翻譯具有顯在的方法論意義，它直接影響著雷氏的翻譯認知、翻譯策略與方法、翻譯選材及其主題內涵表現以及譯作審美風格的追求與呈現。由此我們看到印象派繪畫的基本原理及其創作技法在很大程度上闡釋了雷氏“同情”詩歌翻譯觀是如何付諸實踐的過程，揭示了其“創意英譯”的印象派繪畫理據，彰顯了其譯文獨具的自我話語特色。除此之外，我們還可看到它給文學翻譯帶來的種種啟示，這可表現在以下幾個方面：

① 印象畫派的基本原理與方法運用於漢詩英譯實踐，將詩歌翻譯從語際翻譯擴展到了符際翻譯，使我們看到了傳統意義上文學翻譯這門語言與語言之間轉換的藝術更為廣闊的內涵——文學翻譯還可以是文學語言與其他藝術語言之間轉換或交融的藝術，還使我們認識到譯者“感時（時代藝術風尚）而動”“因時而譯/作”的重要文化交流價值以及出色的文化傳播效果。當代超現實主義詩人帕斯（Octavio Paz）將現代詩的發展趨勢簡要概括為空間對時間的勝利，並列對連續的勝利（轉引自江弱水，2010：9）。從雷氏的譯文中我們不難明白帕斯論斷的個中緣由，也不難看到雷氏翻譯的前衛價值與創新意義。因此，站在非語言的藝術本位來研究文學翻譯，進行語際與符際翻譯之間的互動研究，必將開啟一片全新的視閥，給文學翻譯諸多既成的認識（比如文學翻譯的定義、原則、方法、批評等）帶來重新或深入思考與重新定位的契機。

② 傳統翻譯中的直譯、意譯、釋譯、甚至是風韻譯、創意英譯等方法均是從文學本位角度提出的，主要圍繞著文學語言的形式與內

容之間的關係來進行的探討與分類。印象畫派視角下的翻譯方法，似乎與它們都有聯繫，但似乎又都聯繫不大，這應是上文諸多論者多將雷氏的某些譯文直接歸入“創作”範疇的重要原因之一。從繪畫本位角度看，筆者將雷氏的譯法暫命名為“畫譯”以彰顯其譯法獨具的特色，這裡的“畫譯”不是指所譯作品在文學想像的參與下生成的圖畫或將文字譯為可視的圖畫，而是指滲透著繪畫原理與技法的翻譯方法，它來自非語言藝術領域，使用的是繪畫形式語言，是區別於語言藝術領域的翻譯方法。“畫譯”是一種全新的翻譯方法，對文學翻譯實踐與研究具有直接的實用價值與啟示意義。

③ 在文藝娛樂圈，常能看到“混搭”（混合搭配）的藝術表演形式，比如芭蕾舞混搭太極。成功的“混搭”因為機巧地融合了不同藝術形式的元素，呈現出跨越與創新的特色，往往能使演出曲目或傳統經典曲目煥然一新，審美蘊含豐贍，演出效果出奇制勝，大大增強其藝術表現力與傳世影響力。文學創作中的“混搭”現象並不少見，成就的經典也比比皆是。但文學翻譯中的“混搭”現象（比如譯作中融匯了繪畫、攝影等非語言藝術的因數）並未引起足夠重視，它所體現出跨越與創新的價值還未得到充分發掘，其對於中西文學文化傳播、交流與發展的意義也未能得到彰顯。因此，文學翻譯研究中真正意義上的文學與藝術相互貫通、彼此借鑒、共生發展、協同創新的局面尚待開拓。

④ 在今天中國文學“走出去”的大語境下，人們圍繞著如何“走出去”進行了較為廣泛而深入的探討。檢視這方面現有的研究成果，我們注意到探討的重心多集中在譯者模式、譯介模式、歷史文化語境因素、傳播模式、接受與影響等方面，相比之下，針對譯文文本語言研究的並不多見，進一步說，針對譯文文本是以什麼樣的語言表現形式、技法及其整體藝術構成在譯入語文化中獲得接受、認同

與傳播的研究不多。此外，這方面已有的相關研究往往立足于文學翻譯是語言轉換的藝術這樣的認知視域，運用的多是語言學或文學的研究方法，而立足於語言藝術與非語言藝術之間彼此互動轉換的視域，跳出語言學或文學研究方法的框框，從非語言藝術視角來探討翻譯中的技藝創新與方法創新還未引起多少關注。也就是說，中國文學是以什麼樣的語言藝術面貌成功地融入目的語文化的論題還有待更多探討。

## 注 釋

- [1] 鄭燕虹著《肯尼斯肯尼斯·雷克思羅斯與中國文化》(外語教學與研究出版社, 2012); 遲欣著《中西合璧 古今交融——點擊肯尼斯·雷克思羅斯詩歌創作》(外文出版社, 2011)。
- [2] 雷氏(1961: 19)在“詩人即譯者(The Poet as Translator)”一文中說:“將詩譯成詩是一種同情行為——將自己與另一個人合二而一, 將他的話語轉換為自己的話語。我們知道, 優秀的譯者是不會對照著原文本逐字翻譯的。他不是代理人, 而是傾心盡力的辯護律師。他的工作是一種最為特殊的請願。詩歌翻譯是否成功的標準是同化, 看陪審團是否被說服。”
- [3] “在雷氏的譯文中最動人最優美的部分, 往往是跟原文出入較大的片段, 是他將原文當成供自己自由發揮的原材料的產物。在這些部分, 他經常甚至超越了常規的翻譯界限而進入創作領域”(朱徽, 2009: 135)。“雷克思羅斯只是將原作當作自己創作的素材, 以原作的情感激發自己的情感體驗, 進而“創作”出譯作”(葛中俊等, 2010: 49)。“在翻譯過程中, 雷氏更是展示了創造性意義上的自由, 這種翻譯策略有助於體現他本人的審美觀, 也為讀者提供了一種欣賞這位元詩人獨創性作品的閱讀方式”(遲欣, 2009: 64)。“要將雷氏的譯作與他自己的詩歌區分開來, 幾乎是不可能的事, 它們的言說往往是合二而一的”(Weinberger 2003: xxiv)。欣賞雷氏的譯作, “不應該逐字探索, 拘泥原文”而應把他的譯作看作是他體驗中國詩歌之後另外的創作, “有點唱和的意

味”(鐘玲, 1985: 103)。

- [4] 萊辛認為,“故事”有動作情節的發展過程,“畫”只能描繪故事裡的一場情景,要使“故事畫”產生與“故事詩”同樣的效果,畫家就必須選擇“最富於孕育性的頃刻”,通過這一頃刻情景來暗示故事的整個發展過程。有人從繪畫情境、敘事藝術和抒情意境的視角探討了“富於孕育性的頃刻”的學理意義與審美價值,並從構思意圖和審美效果的角度歸結了“富於孕育性的頃刻”所呈現的三種基本形態:①誘導性頃刻;②回顧性頃刻;③雙向性頃刻(陳文忠, 1994: 137-146)。
- [5] 有了共同詩情,即使譯者不懂“作者”所用的語言,照樣能用自己的語言翻譯出好譯作來(楊成虎, 2010: 38)。
- [6] 雷氏認為:“詩歌即靈視,一種感官相交融與共沉思的純粹行為。”“靈視”以一種啟迪、開竅、內在靈光與佛禪頓悟的方式感知世界。在靈視的狀態下,特殊性即普遍性,感知者與被感知物件難分彼此,詩人是純粹的存在體,與其他存在體相交融(Gibson 1972: 19)。
- [7] 翻譯理論家雅各森(Roman Jakobson)將翻譯劃分為語內、語際與符際翻譯三大類。符際翻譯是指“通過非語言的符號系統解釋語言符號,或用語言符號解釋非語言符號,比如把旗語、手勢變成言語表達”(譚載喜, 2004: 199)。

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## Book Review



# 法律語言、法律翻譯及法律全球化 ——略論歐洲法律語言學新書 《法律話語》

陳可欣

Marcus Galdia. *Legal Discourses*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2014, pp. 449. ISBN 978-3-631-65590-0 hb.

《法律話語》(Legal Discourses) 從法律語言之角度分析法律，剖析在不同之法律話語中法律意義如何產生，包括專業及非專業層面。作者於摩納哥國際大學任教國際法，專研與語言相關之法學理論。全書洋洋二十萬字，分立九章，包括“法律話語符號學”(Semiotics of Legal Discourse)、“對話性與理性之間的法律論證”(Legal Argumentation between Discursiveness and Rationality)、“法律中的語言學轉向”(Linguistic Turn in Law)等，全面地透視法律話語“說法”(speaking about law)之本質，其中有關全球法律、法律翻譯及“淺白語文法律草擬”(plain language law drafting)之部分，尤值得香港之法律翻譯界及法律草擬人員注意。本文將結合香港及大中華地區之情況，討論書中幾個頗有趣味之觀點。

## 一、法律全球化與法律翻譯

作者在本書第八章之部分篇幅，總結法律翻譯近世之理論及實踐，及全球化對法律翻譯之影響，其中表達了一些饒有哲學意味之看法。歐洲關於全球法律之討論，始於德國哲學家康德（Immanuel Kant）在1795年發表之《論永久和平》（*Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*）。作者認全球法律統一之勢已銳不可擋，其發展主要集中在經濟法、刑法及行政法。他引用多位法律學者之言，說明“全球法律”（global law）聯繫於“人”（people）而非“國家”（states），基本理念為“公義”（justice），追求各種民主精神如自由平等、獨立自主、人民團結、遵守條約、防衛義務、人權保護等（Domingo 2010）。“世界法”（world law）一詞，在二十一世紀會愈多使用，其包含“國際法”（international law）及“跨國家法”（transnational law）兩詞之義（Berman 1995: 1617）。

基於上述趨勢，全球將會發展“單語法律”（monolingual law）。法律語言與其他自然語言之別，在於法律術語多源於拉丁語，故所謂“語言多元”（linguistic diversity），對法律語言學本非難題。在其中一節，作者使用多種歐洲語言之法律語料，說明語言近似之處。作者甚至預料，隨著未來全球法律語言之出現，共同指代系統（common system of reference）建立後，法律翻譯與比較法一直探討之術語問題將會消失。屆時，法律翻譯會如科技翻譯和醫學翻譯一樣，只需要解決語法問題。因此，在法律語言學，法律翻譯只屬“客人”（guest），而法律論證（legal argumentation）、法律解釋（legal interpretation）及事實說明（description of facts）等，則屬其固有之結構部分。

近年之全球化發展，對翻譯界而言可能只限於經濟層面。全球化為整個翻譯行業帶來空前的發展機遇和空間，因全球化亦帶來當地本地化(localization)，各個跨國企業需要不同語言的翻譯文本，務求在世界各地拓展業務。此為翻譯行業創造了不少商業機會，院校之翻譯課程，亦因此有了翻天覆地之變化，如香港近年多間大學紛紛開辦翻譯課程，課程重點愈趨“專業化”，以配合各行業之實際發展。《法律話語》中對法律翻譯前景之“預測”，確對大部分翻譯界人士有啟發作用，藉以重新思考行業的前景和方向。

此外，第八章在“全球法律”思想的驅使下，扼要論述幾個亞洲國家由古至今之法律發展歷史，包括印度、中國及日本。對法律翻譯學者及實務人員，有關中國法律的部分值得一讀。作者認為中國法不斷吸納各國法律，其語言面貌如互文性(intertextuality)，就十分豐富多姿。

## 二、淺白語文法律草擬

作者在書中第六章，表達其對“淺白語文法律草擬”之獨特見解，反映歐洲部分學者對現代法律語言之思想。近幾十年來，“淺白語文運動”(plain language movement)在英語世界之學術及法律界引起不少討論。“淺白語文法律草擬”主要由美國及澳洲兩普通法國家領導，近年香港律政署亦全面採納有關準則草擬法例。本書提出“淺白語文草擬”在理論上有兩個局限之處。第一，淺白語文不能產生所謂“淺白法律”(plain law)，因法律本身非常複雜，不同之解釋難以避免；第二，淺白語文可能是人工語言(artificial language)，如電腦語言，與日常語言(ordinary language)有異。日常語言不一定淺白，但屬人類真正使用的語言，建議與淺白語言在法律草擬並用，使法例更清楚易明。

香港的雙語言立法政策已實施二十多年，但中文法例的質素一直備受抨擊，有翻譯學者早在回歸初年，便提出以淺白語文草擬英文法例解決 (Poon 2002: 99)。至2012年，律政署法律草擬科出版《香港法律草擬：文體及實務指引》(*Drafting Legislation in Hong Kong: A Guide to Styles and Practices*)，其中之第九章〈淺白語文及無性別色彩草擬方式〉，奠定香港未來雙語立法“言簡意賅”之新方向。其實世界各國，無論是普通法體系還是大陸法體系，都一直追求既精準又簡練之立法語言，使法例清晰易懂，人人明白。香港首次使用中文作普通法法律語言，在理論和實踐上都需要借鑑其他國家的經驗。香港屬普通法系，自然會學習英美等普通法國家的法律草擬方法，然而長遠而言亦需要吸收其他國家的經驗，尤其是歐洲多國語立法之經驗，以突破思想的局限，不斷尋求新的方向和出路。

### 三、中港臺之法律翻譯及法律草擬工作

作者在本書透露其法律話語之哲學思想，為法律語言及法律翻譯清楚展示了全球化之遠景。其視野並不局限在西方，對東方世界法系亦有精要概括。所建構之全球化法律語言學遠景，實屬學術界創新之見。筆者近年研究中港臺之法律翻譯及法律術語，欲結合華人地區之情況，對本書觀點表達以下幾點意見，亦作為對翻譯界未來工作之前瞻：

第一，兩岸三地近年交往頻繁，在政治經濟、社會文化等領域關係愈趨密切，隨著法律領域交流增多，法律中文自有融合統一之勢。然而，三地畢竟長年分隔，且採用不同之法律制度，法律傳統、法律語言之差別已根深蒂固，法律術語之別，仍是三地律師及法律翻譯員每天要面對的難題。加上三地在其他領域的詞彙差別本已頗大，法律翻譯仍是

大中華地區需求殷切的行業。區內法律術語之“全球化”整合和統一，似乎還前路漫漫。

第二，法律術語意義之相似，並不能完全解決相關的法律翻譯問題。香港雙語立法政策下之術語翻譯，便是最佳例子。香港繼承英國普通法，法例中英文語之效力甚至意思完全一致。然而，翻譯問題仍然存在，許多中文法律術語翻譯不得其法，至今依然不為廣泛接受，包括不少法律界人士（吳靄儀，2009）。此對推動法律雙語化有莫大障礙。翻譯學者對語言轉換有深刻的認識和體驗，對當前之雙語法例草擬工作，自應責無旁貸，繼續探索其中對應之策，如新採用之淺白語文風格，宜多加討論探索，發表意見。

第三，早在八十年代，翻譯學已脫離語言學成獨立學科。翻譯學既非其他領域之附庸，故法律翻譯在法律語言學“作客”之論，似乎早已成立。翻譯學既已自立門戶，更為關注譯語不同文化之受眾，其中之理論及實務工作殊非簡單。是故在全球一體化的時代，翻譯學急速發展，亦一直擔當重要任務，促進各個行業之跨國發展，使不同民族更有效溝通。當然，翻譯學畢竟是綜合學科，研究之人需要密切注意相關學科之發展，如法律翻譯學者，必須掌握法律之基本知識。讀《法律話語》一書，不但能學習法律語言學和法學理論，亦能從中反思自身專業之發展情況，可謂獲益良多。

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