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翻譯季刊

Translation Quarterly

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編者的話：

本期為《翻譯季刊》第 107 期，是政治話語翻譯與傳播特刊。

隨著現代媒體和網絡技術的發展，政治話語在跨越國界、語言和文化傳播更加便捷和廣泛。政治話語既是具有特定政治目的和意義的語言表達，涵蓋政治演講、政治辯論、黨政報告及外交聲明等各種形式的語篇，具有傳達政治思想、宣傳政策及表達立場等作用。當前國際形勢下，國家領導人講話、演講和黨政文獻在內的政治話語翻譯日益受到重視。由於不同文化與社會存在著語言習慣、修辭風格及意識形態等方面的差異，政治修辭翻譯和政治詞匯翻譯的語用效果一直是政治話語翻譯中的重點和難點，其多維研究有助於提升政治話語的翻譯品質及跨文化傳播的功效。本特刊六篇文章的作者各自從不同視角，針對政治修辭翻譯和政治詞匯翻譯這兩大挑戰，分析探討政治話語修辭的翻譯處理、政治話語的語用翻譯表達及輿情認知等多方面的難點和解決方案。

政治修辭話語是在政治實踐活動中使用的具有修辭特點的語言表達，以政治隱喻和政治用典為典型特徵。《習近平談治國理政》是政治隱喻和政治用典的典範，該書高質量的翻譯有助於有效傳播中國核心黨政思想和價值觀。本期開卷的〈批評認知分析途徑下的政治隱喻翻譯研究——以習近平講話及翻譯為例〉，潘莉、張美芳和李響構建批評認知分析框架，以習書一至四卷收錄的習近平十年期間發表的 379 篇語篇構建語料，聚焦文中反腐話語的概念隱喻及其翻譯，從微觀到宏觀多個維度細緻分析。潘張李三人的研究表明，政治隱喻的使用既能反映講者的個人言語特點、個人經驗和思維方式，更能反映隱喻概念結構所承載的社會意識形態和勸說功能，譯者須與講者共用背景知識並瞭解其講話的意圖，在譯文中重構概念框架，完整地傳達原文的框架含意，從而傳播原文所表達的意圖與目的。該書各卷的用典翻譯涉及深刻的涵義，翻譯難度大，陳大亮在〈政治用典翻譯“變”與“不變”的規律〉針對其中一至三卷的 480 條次用典及譯文，自建成小型語料庫，按照文本、意義、形式和文體四個維度進行分類，描寫變與不變的翻譯現象，歸納政治用典翻譯的普遍法則，推演現象背後的翻譯規律。在〈概念整合網路下政治文獻的隱喻英譯策略研究〉一文中，陳琳和孫毅以認知語言學的概念整合理論為基礎，通過翻譯過程的四種概念整合模型解釋政治隱喻翻譯過程中多個因素的多空間即時線上運行機制，重點分析習書第三卷中的隱喻及其英譯的過程，揭示每種概念整合模型及相應翻譯策略的差異性和原因。

政治翻譯的語用研究是政治話語翻譯研究的另一個重要維度。在“*But, but me no buts: A Corpus-Driven Comparison of Contrastive Markers in Interpreted and Non-Interpreted Policy Speeches in English*”中，潘珺認為，政治演講和政治口譯的表達中，對比標記（contrastive markers; CM）的適當使用和表達構成重要的語用策略。她通過調查和比較

however 和 but 這兩個常用標記在有無口譯的英語政策演講中的使用情況發現，在口譯和政治家演講中以及在獨白模式和對話模式下，這兩種 CM 的使用顯示出不同的模式，而 CM 的搭配詞研究有助於探討相關語用含義及可能的觸發因素。李成團與趙志偉在〈政治話語翻譯的語用充實與語境順應研究〉，以習書第四卷英譯本為語料，探討語用充實理論在政治話語翻譯中的體現，提出將語言順應論作為理論框架，有助於探索譯者如何選擇合適的語言形式進行語用擴充與收縮，實現語用充實，如何對譯語進行語言語境和交際語境（由物理世界、心理世界和社交世界構成）的資訊充實，以取得譯語與原語的語用功能等效。政治話語語用通過翻譯在受眾中產生某種情感從而觸發相關輿情，政治話語翻譯的認知接受和輿情翻譯研究有助譯者調整翻譯策略，提升政治話語傳播效果。在〈政治話語翻譯與受眾輿情的認知關聯機制：大數據分析與理論假說〉，陳慶、沈琳與朱珊綜合借鑒體化認知論、框定效應論和鏡像神經元理論，通過選取具有代表性的中國政治辭彙進行歷時翻譯案例對比，分析“群眾”和“宣傳”二詞的英語對應詞及句子層面的語境，觀察相關對應詞的輿情效應差異，從而探討二詞的英語對應詞在選擇轉變上的歷時變化及其背後的輿情考量。

特刊最後是兩篇書評。潘韓婷、余璐平評述了《筆尖上的文化碰撞：對外話語與翻譯》一書，認為該書以對外傳播為核心層層鋪開，選材鮮活，評點犀利，可常讀常新，很具啟發意義。呂潔在評介 Routledge 出版集團的 *Translation and Media* 一書中指出，該書既分析了翻譯和媒體之間的並行、依存和所屬關係，又從多學科、跨學科視角對二者複雜關係中所涉及的熱點話題進行介紹和討論，是一本瞭解翻譯與傳播的不可多得的工具書。

潘莉

二零二三年三月

批評認知分析途徑下的政治隱喻翻譯研究 ——以習近平講話及翻譯為例

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Abstract

A Critical Cognitive Approach to Metaphor and Translation: A Case Study of President Xi’s Combat Corruption Metaphors (by Li Pan and Meifang Zhang and Xiang Li)

This article adopts a critical cognitive approach to conceptual metaphor and translation in political discourse. It examines the metaphors used by President Xi Jinping in his combat corruption addresses and their English translations. The analysis shows that the conceptual metaphors employed in political speeches for practical argument highlight the ways in which thinking and speaking metaphorically correlates with social practice and the context. It is also argued that the translator must have shared knowledge with the speaker and understand the situation well in order to reframe the situation and produce a translation that can transmit the intended message via metaphorical language in the target text. This is framed within concepts of cognitive semantics and critical discourse analysis to provide a new approach to translation studies.

一、引言

政治話語的本質特徵有二：一是目的性，二是說服力。政治話語目的的實現取決於說服力，而政治話語的說服力與受眾的心理需求密切相關。有學者甚至認為，政治話語構建應基於受眾的心理需求，“填補人們因需求受到挫折所產生的心理缺失”

(Neagu 2013, 1)。政治話語中，政治與意識形態的相關術語對一般聽眾而言，往往過於抽象晦澀。因此，在演講中，政治家們需要運用不同的語言手段吸引、激勵和說服支持者，隱喻就是其中一種重要的語言手段。也有學者認為，隱喻能夠激發人們“潛在的情感關聯”，建構一種聯想，有助於構建對講者的信任（Charteris-Black 2011, 28）。

隱喻對交際中的情感關聯的激發，既來自認知層面，也通過語言應用層面來實現，同時對社會現實有構建意義，這意味著我們在討論隱喻及其翻譯時有必要運用批評認知分析的方法。儘管之前也有學者試圖從認知的視角分析隱喻翻譯（例如 Mandelblit 1995; Schäffner 2004），或討論認知理論對翻譯研究的啟示，但從批評認知角度分析政治隱喻翻譯的文章至今尚不多見。政治隱喻主要指在政治及其相關社會實踐活動和理論闡釋中而使用的隱喻。本文嘗試結合批評話語分析與認知語言學，構建理論框架，通過描寫、闡釋和討論、討論等步驟，以批評認知的方法，分析政治話語中的概念隱喻及其翻譯。本文選取《習近平談治國理政》一至四卷中有關反腐的講話及其英譯文作為分析對象，從政治修辭和翻譯研究兩個角度展開討論。希望通過對政治話語中隱喻和翻譯的研究，進一步探討隱喻背後的社會文化因素、話語意圖，以及翻譯策略對政治話語傳播的影響。

二、認知語言學與批評話語分析

認知語言學是語言學一個較新的分支，認為語言是人類基於經驗事件而實現概念表達的工具，創立者普遍被認為是 G. Lakoff、M. Johnson 及 R. W. Langacker。其中 Lakoff 及 Johnson 專門研究語言中的隱喻及其與人類認知的關係。他們在隱喻研究的標誌性著作《我們賴以生存的隱喻》(Lakoff & Johnson 1980/2003) 中首先提出概念隱喻理論，認為語言、概念、思維和行為是通過隱喻建構的，我們說話和行動的方式在很大程度上取決於源域和靶域之間對現實世界所映射出來的概念框架。例如，“辯論是戰爭”的隱喻體現出我們在辯論中表現出的種種行為模式（Lakoff & Johnson 1980/2003, 4）。Charteris-Black（2011, 18）分析這種語言現象時認為，“隱喻提供了一種框架（frame），通過這一框架，源域（source domain）的某些表達方式可以用來闡述一些相對抽象的靶域（target domain）的概念。正因此，隱喻是我們瞭解‘言下之意’（voice within）的重要手段之一。”

認知語言學認為，理解隱喻的兩個概念域時，共用的知識和語境是至關重要的，同時概念內容不但包括意念內容，還包括情感、感知等體驗內容，隱喻的意義基於聽話者大腦中被啟動的概念，而概念與感知經驗和世界經驗相關（Johnson 1987）。曲衛國（2018）強調，要關注感官體驗和隱喻產生的語境對隱喻理解的重要作用。換言之，理解隱喻的前提是說話人與聽眾對社會現實和需求有共同的認知、體驗或經驗。Zinken（2003, 508-509）根據靶域的屬性將隱喻分為兩種，一種是相關隱喻（correlational metaphors），指的是靶域屬於物理體驗的概念隱喻。在這種情況下，我們借助身體經驗來理解抽象的概念。另一種是互文隱喻（intertextual metaphors），指靶域屬於文化經驗的概念隱喻，有其他人在其他場合曾經使用過並受到認可。互文隱喻的產生

有賴於我們經驗世界中對社會文化的瞭解，同時需要我們適應語境、處理抽象概念並選擇合適的語言表達。Goatly (2007, 383) 認為，在理解概念隱喻的認知過程中，身體經驗和歷史文化經驗扮演同等重要的角色。

批評話語分析是現代語言學的一個新分支，是旨在研究和解釋社會問題的跨學科性語言研究。批評話語分析者認為（例如 Fairclough 1992, 1995），語言是一種社會實踐，是社會過程的介入力量；語言不僅反映社會，還直接參與社會事物和社會關係的構成。Neagu (2013) 從以往的研究（例如 Fauconnier 1994; Lakoff 2009; Maslow 1970）中得到啟發，將政治話語的感染力歸因於其與聽眾的心理聯繫：一方面，政治話語通過神經系統和認知關聯與人的心理空間（mental space）相連；另一方面，政治話語通過觸發人的需求與挫折和人的心理空缺（mental void）相連（Neagu 2013, 4）。概念隱喻在政治話語中十分常見，它自身所具有的類比特性有助於演講者將論述通俗化。以習近平提出的要“堅持‘老虎’、‘蒼蠅’一起打”為例。此隱喻在過去幾年被國內外媒體廣泛引用，並為中國老百姓廣為接受。老虎是一種兇殘的動物，蒼蠅是一種體型微小的害蟲。如果任由這些動物/生物在生存環境中自由繁殖，就會危及人類的健康與生存。然而，這種類比判斷是“建立在人們對特定實體的理解之上，受到共有知識和語境的影響”（同上：13），從而與聽眾的心理空缺和情感相連。

Charteris-Black (2004, 2011, 2014) 應用批評話語分析的概念與方法研究政治話語及其中包括隱喻在內的修辭手段。他指出，隱喻作為政治修辭的一大特徵，是概念化政治事件並構建世界觀的重要手段（2004, 48）。在政治話語中，使用隱喻的根本目的是“通過消除不同的觀點從而將人們對政治事件的理解限定在某個框架之內”（Charteris-Black 2011, 32）。Charteris-Black (2014, 174-176) 從批評話語分析的角度，提出了批評隱喻分析模式的四個步驟，也可稱為四個階段。步驟一是**語境分析**，確定研究問題並選擇合適的分析材料；步驟二是**隱喻識別**，即確認哪些詞語在語境中屬於隱喻，並對隱喻進行初步分類；步驟三是**隱喻分析**，包括確定隱喻如何分類、如何組織、如何使用；步驟四是**隱喻解釋**，討論文本中的隱喻是基於何種理由選擇和使用的，這一步驟還會涉及隱喻的潛在影響、隱喻與其他表現手段的互動，以及隱喻在說服聽眾“建構、強調或改變觀點、思維和信仰”（同上：176）的過程中所扮演的角色。

到目前為止，無論是認知語言學還是批評話語分析，都沒有統一固定的理論框架，都在探索與發展中。張輝（2021）認為，“批評認知語言學的興起一方面反映認知語言學研究的‘社會轉向’，另一方面也體現了批評話語研究的‘認知轉向’”。這種你中有我，我中有你的研究模式應該適用於具有跨學科特徵的翻譯研究。因此，本研究根據 Charteris-Black (2014) 的批評隱喻分析及 Neagu (2013) 等學者的隱喻認知概念，對習近平反腐講話中的隱喻進行調查分析，以探討政治話語中的隱喻概念和聽眾心理之間的關聯。

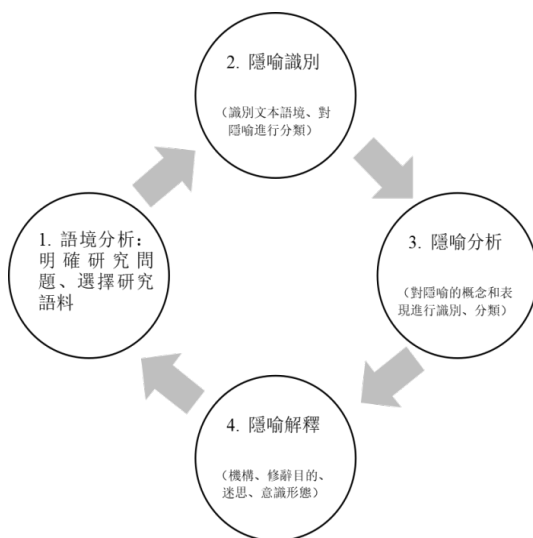


圖 1: 批評隱喻分析主要步驟 (根據 Charteris-Black 2014: 175)

三、習近平講話中的概念隱喻和翻譯

本節主要探討習近平關於反腐講話中的隱喻表達。首先介紹本研究使用的語料，接著分析隱喻使用的語境、識別文本中隱喻表達，最後對習近平演講中使用的典型隱喻例子及其翻譯進行解讀與討論。

本研究的語料來自《習近平談治國理政》一至四卷的中英文版本。這四卷書收錄了習近平從 2012 年 11 月 15 日至 2022 年 5 月 10 日期間發表的 379 篇演講、談話、講話、答問等，並同時發行不同的語言版本，為不同國家的讀者提供了一扇瞭解習近平政策理念和中國發展現狀的窗口。光明日報^[1]評論該書“深刻回答了一系列重大理論和實踐問題，為中國之治和世界發展指明前進方向，是世界瞭解當代中國和中國共產黨的重要窗口，持續受到國際社會熱烈關注和廣泛讚譽”。因此，本書是研究以習近平為核心的中共中央領導集體宣傳核心政治思想和價值觀的重要資料。

3.1 語境分析

習近平的講話涉及中國社會政治文化生活中的方方面面，我們從每章節的小標題中選取一個主題詞進行檢索，並統計四卷中其出現頻率。結果顯示，出現頻率最高的四個詞語分別是：發展（5,641 次）、人民（2,936 次）、改革（1,428 次）和合作（1,205 次）。由於中國共產黨堅持人民至上，注重黨群幹群關係，“人民”在四卷中頻繁出現，且頻次逐卷增多；“發展”和“合作”的高頻率也不難理解，因為這兩大主題在各個時期都會被談及；但是觸及“反腐”和“改革”這類話題，則需要領導人具有相當的魄力和能力。第一卷書中“反腐”一詞出現了 49 次，儘管數量上並不是特別突出，但正是這些演講拉開了中國共產黨黨內反腐運動的序幕。二至四卷中“反腐”一詞分別出現 26 次、39 次和 24 次，體現出中國共產黨黨內反腐運動的決心。

3.2 隱喻識別

反腐離不開群眾的支持，加強黨與人民群眾的聯繫是反腐倡廉的基礎，而反腐倡廉建設是治黨和自我革命成功的必要保證。本研究主要關注三個密切關聯的主題：“（群眾）聯繫”、“反腐”、“治黨”（包括“黨的自我革命”）。其中“（群眾）聯繫”主要分佈在第一卷的第十六章《密切黨同人民群眾聯繫》，“反腐”出現在第一卷的第十七章《推進反腐倡廉建設》，“治黨”及“黨的自我革命”分別出現在第二卷的第五章《推動全面從嚴治黨向縱深發展》、第三卷的第十九章《不忘初心、牢記使命，把黨的自我革命推向深入》和第四卷的第二十一章《以偉大自我革命引領偉大社會革命》（見表1）。選擇這五章的理由是，第一卷的十六章中習近平批評了某些領導幹部遠離群眾的行為，這些批評為隨後這一卷的十七章提到的反腐倡廉建設打下了基礎，而第二卷的第五章、第三卷的第十九章和第四卷的十一章中都強調了反腐倡廉深入的必要性及可行性。在研究過程中，我們首先識別出這 38 篇演講中出現的所有隱喻表達，接著分析習近平如何運用這些隱喻表達方式來描述黨群關係和腐敗幹部的所作所為，以及如何借助隱喻手段形象生動地闡釋黨中央密切黨群關係、嚴厲懲治腐敗的原則立場，並探討由此構建的正面形象。

表 1: “（群眾）聯繫”、“反腐”、“治黨” 三大主題主要涉及章節

卷數	章節	講話篇數	篇幅
第一卷	第十六章 《密切黨同人民群眾聯繫》	四篇講話	中文版 363-382 頁 英文版 399-422 頁
	第十七章 《推進反腐倡廉建設》	三篇講話	中文版 385-396 頁 英文版 425-441 頁
第二卷	第五章 《推動全面從嚴治黨向縱深發展》	十二篇講話	中文版 139-194 頁 英文版 151-213 頁
第三卷	第十九章 《不忘初心、牢記使命，把黨的自我革命推向深入》	九篇講話	中文版 497-551 頁 英文版 575-637 頁
第四卷	第二十一章 《以偉大自我革命引領偉大社會革命》	十篇講話	中文版 501-555 頁 英文版 581-645 頁

在隱喻識別過程中，我們主要參考了 Lakoff 和 Johnson 的理論，將隱喻的本質視為“借助一種概念理解和體驗另一種概念”（Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 5），理解隱喻的過程是將概念從源域向靶域映射（mapping）的過程，同時也參考了 Zinken（2003）對隱喻的兩種分類，以分析語言使用者及翻譯者的認知是否存在差異。

習近平在講話中使用多種概念隱喻類型，包括旅途、夢、家庭、生命、健康等，本文討論的主要是生命隱喻和健康隱喻。生命隱喻好比是一種文化理念，曾被其他人

使用過，因此可視為“互文隱喻”。例如，“群眾路線是我們黨的生命線”。把黨同人民群眾的關係比作血肉關係由來已久，比喻兩者非常密切、相互依存的關係。黨的相關文獻表明，最早使用“血肉聯繫”一詞的是李先念。他在 1941 年最初用來形容軍民關係（李先念，1989），後來不少領導人，例如陶鑄、周恩來、劉少奇及鄧小平等，都曾把黨群關係比作“血肉聯繫”。因此在我國，不僅黨員還是普通群眾對此隱喻都不陌生。

疾病隱喻則是一種“相關隱喻”，是利用我們每個人都有可能經歷的身體或物理體驗去理解一種新的或是抽象的概念。例如，習近平指出，我們的思想和行為也會“沾上灰塵”，也會受到政治“微生物的侵襲”，因此需要“洗澡”，“去灰去泥、放鬆身心，又舒張毛孔、促進新陳代謝”。無論是“生命隱喻”，還是“疾病隱喻”，所映射出來的模式都可以放在“生命——死亡”的大框架之中。

3.3 隱喻解釋與翻譯

批評認知分析的第四個步驟是**解釋**，主要是闡釋或探討演說中使用隱喻的目的、隱喻的潛在影響、隱喻與其他表現手段的互動以及隱喻在聽眾中所扮演的角色。習近平 2013 年 6 月 18 日在黨的群眾路線教育實踐活動工作會議上的講話中，非常強調黨群幹群關係。在表 2 的例子中，他把黨比喻為一個生命體，而群眾路線是黨的生命線。他多次用“血肉聯繫”、“血脈”等隱喻來強調黨和人民之間的依存聯繫，呼籲黨要同人民要“同呼吸”、“共命運”。他還運用另一個隱喻“黨的根基在人民”，將黨比作植物，而人民則是滋養植物的土壤，沒有土壤，植物將無法生長。

表 2: 習近平講話中的生命隱喻

源域（示例）	靶域（言下之意）
群眾路線是我們黨的生命線 核心問題是保持黨同人民群眾的血肉聯繫 能否保持黨同人民群眾的血肉聯繫，決定著黨的事業的成敗 黨的根基在人民、血脈在人民、力量在人民 在任何時候任何情況下，與人民同呼吸共命運的立場不能變	黨是一個生命體 黨同人民的關係是依存關係 群眾路線決定黨的存亡

表 3 所列的隱喻源自習近平關於反腐的講話。這些隱喻構建了一個“疾病——死亡”的概念框架，並指向同一個靶域，那就是，黨已經病得很嚴重。領導幹部應該“照鏡子”的隱喻包含了潛在的假設，即一些黨員形象不端；“（洗）洗澡”的隱喻預設了某些黨員藏污納垢；“正衣冠”暗示了有些人“衣冠不整”；“（治）治病”刻劃出的形象是某些人“身體有疾”。不同的源域共同體現出在某些黨員幹部乃至全黨內部出現的健康問題。這些描繪某些黨員幹部邋邋、骯髒、病人膏肓的形象很容易引發人們的危機意識。疾病隱喻在人的身體疾病和黨內腐敗現象之間構建了一個認知鏈接，讓黨員和大眾很容易明白整黨治黨的重要性和必要性，為反腐運動提供了正當的理由。

在同一框架下，“黨員幹部生病”還觸發出另一層隱含意義，即各級領導幹部需要

表 3: 習近平講話中的“疾病”隱喻

源域（示例）	靶域（言下之意）	
這次教育實踐活動借鑒延安整風經驗，明確提出“照鏡子、正衣冠、洗洗澡、治治病”的總要求 (2013.6.18)	黨內腐敗嚴重，需要整治	
黨的各級組織和每個黨員、幹部要自覺用準則對照自己的思想和行動，敢於直面問題，勇於自我解剖，向頑瘡痼疾開刀 (2016.10.27)		
每名黨員幹部都應堅決拋棄“看戲”心態，真正從別人身上汲取教訓，把未病當作有病防，堅守底線、追求高標準，不斷提高自身免疫力 (2018.1.11)		
我們的思想和行為也會沾上灰塵，也會受到政治微生物的侵襲，因此也需要“洗澡”，既去灰去泥、放鬆身心，又舒張毛孔、促進新陳代謝，做到乾乾淨淨做事、清清白白做人 (2013.6.18)		黨員幹部毛病很多，需要治理
幫助有問題的黨員、幹部找準“病症”，對症下藥，該吃中藥的吃中藥，該吃西藥的吃西藥，或者中西醫結合，該動手術的動手術 (2013.6.18)		
持續保持反腐高壓態勢，剷除寄生在黨的肌體上的毒瘤，永葆黨的肌體健康 (2019.6.24)		
要在自我淨化上下功夫，通過過濾雜質、清除毒素、割除毒瘤，不斷純潔黨的隊伍，保證黨的肌體健康 (2019.6.24)		

扮演“醫生”的角色，黨總書記則是“主治醫師”。習近平並沒有直接指明“黨員幹部中的腐敗分子”，而是借助“蛀蟲”、“老虎”、“蒼蠅”、“疾病”、“症狀”、“灰塵”等概念作比喻，同時和表達動作的詞搭配，如“打擊”、“抓住”、“治療”、“手術”等，表明了以習近平為核心的領導集體要給黨治病、處理危機的決心。在這個危急的關頭中國需要具有正面形象的、健康的黨來帶領國家前進，實現“中國夢”。

隱喻解釋實際上是隱喻翻譯，或是語內釋譯，或是語際翻譯。“演講者必須時刻將聽眾的情感和接受度放在重要的位置上”（張簫雨、張美芳，2018），譯者要對演講者使用隱喻的目的及其在受眾中引起的影響有所理解，才有可能準確地把原文的隱喻忠實地再現於譯文。我們的分析發現，在本文調查的語料中，絕大多數隱喻、尤其是與我們的身體經驗相關的隱喻，多數被忠實地翻譯成目的語。限於篇幅，在此僅舉六例：

(1)

ST: ……明確提出 “照鏡子、正衣冠、洗洗澡、治治病” 的總要求。(Vol.

1, Xi-C: 375)

TT: ... have been clearly defined: “*Examine oneself in the mirror, straighten one’s clothes and hat, take a bath, and treat one’s disease.*” (Vol. 1, Xi-E: 413)

(2)

ST: 同樣，我們的思想和行為也會沾上灰塵，也會受到政治微生物的侵襲，因此也需要“洗澡”，既去灰去泥、放鬆身心，又舒張毛孔、促進新陳代謝，做到乾乾淨淨做事、清清白白做人。(Vol. 1, Xi-C: 376)

TT: Similarly, *our minds and actions can get dusty too, tainted by political microbes, so we also need to “take a bath” to rid ourselves of dust and grime, refresh our body and mind, unclog our pores, and get our metabolism working, so that we carry out our duties earnestly and uphold personal integrity.* (Vol. 1, Xi-E: 414)

(3)

ST: 各級黨組織要採取有力措施，幫助有問題的黨員、幹部找準“病症”，對症下藥，該吃中藥的吃中藥，該吃西藥的吃西藥，或者中西醫結合，該動手術的動手術，切實體現從嚴治黨的要求。(Vol. 1, Xi-C: 377)

TT: Party organizations at all levels should take strong measures to help Party members and officials who have problems *in identifying their diseases, and provide remedies according to the symptoms. Those who need to take Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM) should take TCM, those who need to take Western medicine should take Western medicine, and those who need combined treatment of TCM and Western medicine should be given such treatment. Those who need operations should have operations performed on them.* We must effectively ensure that the Party is run with strict discipline. (Vol. 1, Xi-E: 415)

(4)

ST: (四) 深化標本兼治，奪取反腐敗鬥爭壓倒性勝利。(Vol. 3, Xi-C: 510)

TT: Fourth, we must intensify efforts to *address both the symptoms and root causes of corruption, and secure a sweeping victory.* (Vol. 3, Xi-E: 590-591)

(5)

ST: 持續保持反腐高壓態勢，剷除寄生在黨的肌體上的毒瘤，永葆黨的肌體健康。(Vol. 3, Xi-C: 533)

TT: We must maintain a tough stance against corruption and *eradicate the tumors endangering the health of our Party.* (Vol. 3, Xi-E: 619)

(6)

ST: 生了病就要及時醫，該吃藥就吃藥，該開刀就開刀。不論什麼問題，不論誰出問題，該出手時就出手，對腐敗問題尤其要堅決查處，不斷清除損

害黨的先進性和純潔性的因素，不斷清除侵蝕黨的健康肌體的病毒。(Vol. 4, Xi-C: 543-544)

TT: *If you are sick, go to the doctor. Take medicine if needed, and have surgery if necessary. We will not hold back on punishing corruption. Whoever commits a crime will be investigated and we will turn a blind eye in no case. We will not relent in cleansing the viruses that damage the health of the Party and undermine its progressive and wholesome nature.* (Vol. 4, Xi-E: 632)

從以上的譯例可以看到，講話中關於疾病的隱喻基本上都忠實地再現於英譯文中，既保存了講話者的語言風格，也有效地傳遞了語言所隱含的意義。然而，我們也發現有一些隱喻，尤其是互文性隱喻，沒有被完全譯出，導致原文所包含的概念框架特徵因此丟失。例如，習近平在講話中多次提到或呼籲黨要保持同人民群眾的“血肉聯繫”，和他們“同呼吸”、“共命運”，如以下七例。然而，幾乎所有這些隱喻概念在翻譯中都被忽略了（見表 4）。

表 4: 被翻譯忽略的隱喻

原文	譯文
核心問題是保持黨同人民群眾的血肉聯繫 (Vol. 1, Xi-C: 366)	<i>Maintaining close ties with the people is essential to improving ...</i> (Vol. 1, Xi-E: 402)
黨的十一屆三中全會以來，……重視保持黨同人民群眾的血肉聯繫 (Vol. 1, Xi-C: 366)	Since the Third Plenary ... <i>maintaining close ties with the people.</i> (Vol. 1, Xi-E: 402)
能否保持黨同人民群眾的血肉聯繫，決定著黨的事業的成敗 (Vol. 1, Xi-C: 367)	The fate of the Party's undertakings relies on whether it can <i>maintain its ties with the people.</i> (Vol. 1, Xi-E: 403)
保持黨同人民群眾的血肉聯繫是一個永恆課題 (Vol. 1, Xi-C: 378-379)	<i>Maintaining the Party's close ties with the people is a constant topic for study.</i> (Vol. 1, Xi-E: 418)
始終保持同人民群眾的血肉聯繫，一刻也不脫離群眾 (Vol. 1, Xi-C: 391)	<i>maintain close ties with them, and never become isolated from them.</i> (Vol. 1, Xi-E: 432-433)
解決好保持黨同人民群眾的血肉聯繫問題，……(Vol. 1, Xi-C: 394)	... <i>maintaining the intimate relationship between the Party and the people,</i> (Vol. 1, Xi-E: 437)
加強作風建設必須緊扣保持黨同人民群眾血肉聯繫這個關鍵 (Vol. 3, Xi-C: 508)	In improving Party conduct, we must focus on <i>maintaining close ties with the people.</i> (Vol. 3, Xi-E: 588)

表 4 裏面所有的“血肉聯繫” (blood and flesh relationship) 隱喻都被忽略了，全部被概括為“close ties” (緊密聯繫) 或“intimate relationship” (密切關係)。在中英語言文化中，“緊密聯繫” (close ties) 和“密切關係” (intimate relationship) 確實可以用來闡釋“血肉聯繫” (blood and flesh relationship) 的。2013 年 6 月 18 日，習近平在黨的

群眾路線教育實踐活動工作會議講話中還五次直接用到“密切聯繫群眾”，也被翻譯成“(maintaining/keeping) close ties with the people”。意譯隱喻的結果是，生動形象的隱喻表達在譯文中被抹殺，講話者使用隱喻的語言風格特點和說服感染力也就被抹掉了。

同時，我們進一步分析可以發現，習近平講話中使用隱喻“血肉聯繫”與使用“緊密聯繫”的語境差異較大。將講話中的“密切聯繫群眾”和“血肉聯繫”的上下文做分析比較，可以看到，當習近平回顧黨的歷史時，大多使用普通描述性的語言“密切聯繫群眾”，例如，“歷史和現實都告訴我們，密切聯繫群眾，是黨的性質和宗旨的體現”（2014，366-367）；“經過多年探索和實踐，我們在貫徹群眾路線、密切聯繫群眾方面有了比較系統的制度規定，大多行之有效、群眾認可，要繼續堅持”（同上：379）。而當他語重心長地強調黨群關係事關黨的存亡時，他趨向於使用隱喻“血肉聯繫”。例如：“能否保持黨同人民群眾的血肉聯繫，決定著黨的事業的成敗”（同上：367）；我們要“始終保持同人民群眾的血肉聯繫，一刻也不脫離群眾”（同上：391）。可見，講話者對隱喻的使用與否與情感層次和文內語境有一定的關係，仔細分析這種關係，有利於在譯文中更加準確有效地傳遞政治話語的言下之意。

四、討論：政治說服中的隱喻功能及翻譯策略

Charteris-Black (2011, 14) 認為，在政治語境中，演講者運用隱喻手法構建“正當思維”(thinking right)、“正當意圖”(having the right intention)、“正當表達”(sounding right)、“正當故事”(telling the right story)，從而表明其語言和形象的“正當性”(being right)。隱喻作為一種有效的說服策略，能將人們熟悉的、有親身體會的概念與新的主題聯繫起來，有助於聽眾理解複雜的政治概念和相關的政治事件，從而說服他們支持演講者的觀點。下面我們將討論習近平如何運用隱喻來強調重點話題，這些隱喻的功能和政治意義，以及翻譯政治話語中的隱喻要注意的問題和策略。

4.1 樹立形象：平易近人卻不失權威

腐敗問題不僅存在於各國黨內和各級政府，而且存在於各國軍隊。嚴重的腐敗阻礙國家經濟的發展。習近平剛剛上任時就著手啃這塊“硬骨頭”，展現出前所未有的決心和魄力。黨的十八大以來，以習近平為核心的黨中央更是進一步以自我革命精神推進全面從嚴治黨，以零容忍的態度進行反腐敗鬥爭，堅決查出違背初心和使命的腐敗分子。同時，習近平清醒地意識到反腐運動會所面臨的巨大阻力，惟有取得人民的理解和支持才能成功，因此他講話中多用老百姓聽得懂的表達，在演講中更是無時不刻注意運用“平易近人”的語言（陳錫喜，2014），他政治演講的一大特徵是頻繁使用與聽眾切身體驗息息相關的隱喻。例如，他號召黨員幹部“去灰去泥”、“放鬆身心”、“舒張毛孔”、“促進新陳代謝”，要求各級黨組織採取各種措施，幫助“有疾”的黨員幹部識別症狀、選擇合適的治療方法，“該吃中藥的吃中藥，該吃西藥的吃西藥”，“該動手術的動手術”。

認知語言學認為，如果說話人和聽話人共用知識，話語中的隱喻性語言就更容易

理解。習近平“平易近人”的隱喻將無處不在的腐敗現象與人體疾病聯繫起來，讓聽眾聯想到疾病及其對人體健康的傷害，也就很容易意識到腐敗問題的嚴重性和治病的迫切性。之前我國的腐敗問題不斷出現，慢慢變成了“頑瘡痼疾”，此外，黨的自我清潔和自我治療工作不到位，導致一些黨員幹部對腐敗行為熟視無睹，“久入鮑肆而不聞其臭”。由此可見，習近平所用的隱喻還傳遞出清晰的資訊：各級領導幹部將要解決之前遺留下來的問題。

另一方面，儘管習近平話語風格平實，表達上卻透出權威，尤其在反腐問題上。例如，在強調從嚴治黨時，習近平提出“懲治這一手決不能放鬆。要堅持‘老虎’‘蒼蠅’一起打”，表明了他查處懲治腐敗的堅定決心，平易近人的話語卻不失堅定與威嚴。類似的隱喻還有“踏石留印、抓鐵有痕”。習近平在 2013 年十八屆中央紀委二次全會上的講話中，借用這個隱喻，強調執政黨深入抓作風建設、反腐倡廉的決心，通俗易懂卻擲地有聲，這也正是在改革、反腐工作中，習近平希望黨在人民中重塑的良好形象。

4.2 以喻示警：黨所面臨的嚴峻形勢

習近平作為國家領導人，自從上任起就面臨的一個重大問題是如何嚴厲打擊、有效治理腐敗。為了警示問題的嚴重性和緊迫性，他運用大量負面概念隱喻來描述不容樂觀的現狀。他在演講中所用的一個重要的概念框架是“生命——死亡”，將黨內腐敗分子和黨面臨的嚴峻形勢聯繫起來。他提到了黨存在的大量“健康問題”，從“沾上灰塵、微生物的侵襲”，到“缺鈣”、“軟骨病”，乃至於“頑瘡痼疾”——這些需要藥物或者手術治療。有學者指出，“健康——疾病”隱喻具有極強的號召力，因為它“從人類經驗中一對最基本的概念中衍生而來，即生存與死亡的問題”（Charteris-Black 2011, 180）。“生命——死亡”的框架觸動的是人類對疾病的恐懼和對健康的渴求。習近平用隱喻刻畫的政治形勢在人們腦海中構築出的圖景通俗易懂又令人印象深刻：黨和國家的健康出了問題，如果得不到及時有效的治療，就面臨崩潰的危險。這傳遞的正是他領導的反腐敗運動的“正當意圖”（Charteris-Black 2011, 14）。健康隱喻還啟動了兩個對立的概念：一方面，很多黨員幹部得了病；另一方面，習近平將帶領各級領導主導“治療”的過程，使黨恢復健康。如此一來，這些隱喻在警示中國共產黨所面臨的嚴峻形勢的同時，即突顯了對症下藥（即整風反腐）的必要性和緊迫性，也隱含了黨員幹部被治癒的可能性。

4.3 填補人們因需求或挫折而產生的精神空缺

在本文開始我們提出了假設，政治家們通過使用隱喻來滿足人們的精神需求，填補心理空缺。改革開放以來，日益滋長的腐敗問題引發了人民的失望情緒，對貪官污吏的憤怒也易使得人民對執政黨逐漸失去信心。政治領導人在講話中有選擇地使用隱喻策略，有助於對目標聽眾群體產生強烈的情感，形成意識形態影響力，獲得聽眾的支持。習近平在 2013 年 1 月 22 日舉辦的第十八屆中央紀律檢查委員會第二次全體會議上的講話中，首次發出“老虎、蒼蠅一起打”的號召。這兩個生動形象的隱喻深入

人心，反腐運動也得到了人民群眾的廣泛支持。四年過去，在 2017 年的中國共產黨第十九次全國代表大會上，習近平做了長達 3.5 小時的報告。據中國網^[2]統計，該報告一共贏得 71 次掌聲，其中 6 次掌聲都與反腐工作有關。2000 餘名與會代表的熱烈回應表明習近平不僅運用隱喻講述了“正當故事”，他所領導的反腐工作及其成效也順應了人民的心理需求，從而得到了人民的肯定。

4.4 政治隱喻的翻譯策略

在翻譯教學中，我們常講到“直譯、意譯”，“語義翻譯、交際翻譯”，“異化翻譯、歸化翻譯”，“文獻翻譯、工具翻譯”，“顯性翻譯、隱性翻譯”等等翻譯策略及翻譯方法。各種翻譯策略背後都有相應的理念。概略說來，直譯、語義翻譯、異化翻譯、文獻翻譯、顯性翻譯等，雖然翻譯目的可能不盡相同，但都是以原文和源語文化為導向，在譯語條件許可時，譯文既保持原文的內容，又保持原文的形式，“特別指保持原文的比喻、形象和民族、地方色彩等”（張培基等，1980，13）。而意譯、交際翻譯、歸化翻譯、工具翻譯、隱形翻譯等，則以目標語為導向，注重譯文的自然流暢。為了達到交際目的，譯者可以採取不同的手段，“量體裁衣，靈活處理”（同上：15）。

在討論政治話語翻譯、尤其是其中的隱喻翻譯時，我們不僅要懂得不同的翻譯策略的特點，更要分析應用不同的翻譯策略所產生的效果。例如，如果我們用交際翻譯法，將“堅持‘老虎’、‘蒼蠅’一起打”翻譯成“*We have to persist in catching senior officials as well as junior ones guilty of corruption.*”，原意雖在，而原話中生動形象的比喻已蕩然無存了。又如上面所提到的，習近平將黨和人民的關係形象地比喻為“血肉聯繫”，在翻譯中，如果把該講話中幾個“血肉聯繫”隱喻概括為“*close ties*”（緊密聯繫）或“*ties*”（聯繫），雖然可以傳遞原文所表達的意思，但一方面可能會導致國家領導人的個人措辭特色及其反射出來的個人經驗得不到有效體現，另一方面，隱喻本身所代表的概念框架及帶給聽眾的聯想和說服力可能會被削弱。

五、結語

本文運用了批評話語分析和認知語義學理論相結合的分析框架，分析了習近平黨風建設和反腐講話中的隱喻及其翻譯。研究包括語境分析、隱喻識別、隱喻解釋和討論四個階段。認知學者認為，“認知分析框架將政治話語視為個人和集體思維過程的產物”（Chilton 2004, 51），我們的案例分析也證實了這一點。習近平的黨風建設和反腐倡廉的政治話語不僅代表他個人，也代表了以他為核心的領導集體整治黨風的決心；同時，他講話中的概念隱喻也反映出他個人的言語習慣和思維方式，而這些都與其社會活動、社會實踐密不可分。

概念隱喻的使用是一種軟性勸說，語言並不那麼直截了當，目的也不易被察覺，但是能夠對聽眾產生潛移默化的作用。因此，忠實地翻譯政治話語中的隱喻就顯得非常有必要。在我們研究的語料中，大部分隱喻都在譯文中得到了忠實的再現，無論是

形式、含義還是背後的意圖都在譯文中傳達出來；只有少部分的隱喻沒有被譯出。我們的分析發現，政治話語中隱喻翻譯的重要性在於，隱喻在譯文若被省略或者意譯，一方面會淡化政治人物的語言特色風格，另一方面會削弱了隱喻在政治話語中所具有的說服力和感染力。翻譯中，要有效實現隱喻的說服力和感染力，共用講者的背景知識、瞭解其講話意圖是前提。在此基礎上才能更好地理解原文，才能在目標語中完成隱喻概念的重構並選擇合適的語言完整地傳達原文的框架含意，從而在譯文中實現原文所表達的意圖與目的。希望這一發現對翻譯教學和翻譯實踐有一定的啟發作用。我們還希望，本文應用的批評認知分析模式為翻譯研究增添一條新的研究途徑。

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注釋

[1] https://epaper.gmw.cn/gmrb/html/2022-08/27/nw.D110000gmrb_20220827_3-01.htm

[2] http://www.china.com.cn/19da/2017-10/19/content_41756173.htm

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政治用典翻譯“變”與“不變”的規律

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Abstract

Variance and Invariance of Political Allusions in Translation (by Daliang Chen)

Xi Jinping: The Governance of China *abounds in political allusions with profound meanings, the translation of which involves many complicated factors including recontextualization, intertextual space, paratext, authorial intention, tension between form and meaning. The variables involved turn out to be a tough issue for translators. This paper, by using research methods of corpus-based studies, description, classification, comparison, induction and dialectic, explores invariance and variance of political allusions in translation from four dimensions of intertextuality, meaning, form and style. Based on the above-mentioned investigations, Internal laws of translating allusions are generalised. Research findings can contribute to the international communication of Chinese political discourse.*

一、引言

《習近平談治國理政》（以下簡稱《治國理政》）是政治用典的典範之作，數量多，類型廣，思想深。用典翻譯涉及的翻譯變數很多，翻譯難度大，是塊難啃的硬骨頭。現有的研究局限於直譯與意譯等翻譯方法的討論，現有的翻譯理論無法對其複雜現象作出合理解釋。如何從一個新的研究視角探究政治用典的翻譯規律，這是一個至今沒有解決的翻譯問題。

政治用典翻譯具有自身的特殊性，需要專門研究。其特殊性在於，它涉及的變數多，隨著文本類型、互文性強弱、語境、形意張力、時空轉換、讀者等因素而靈活多變。其“變”與“不變”之妙可從《周易》中的“易之三義”和《道德經》中“道可道，

非常道”獲得一定的理論依據與靈感啟示。

二、研究方法與研究問題

本文以《治國理政》的用典翻譯為研究對象，綜合運用語料庫研究法、比較法、描寫法、分類法、歸納法、演繹法、辯證法、理論與實踐結合法等研究方法，針對政治用典進行專題研究，從用典翻譯涉及的文本、文體、意義與形式四個維度提出相關研究問題，並在文章論證過程中及第七部分“研究發現”中回答這些問題。

2.1 研究方法

據統計，《治國理政》三卷本中共出現用典 480 條次，包括同一個典故的多次引用。統計數據之所以包括重複引用的典故，是因為同一個典故在不同的語境中譯法可能不一樣，這對於研究用典翻譯的變與不變來說有重要的參考價值。運用這些語料，再結合《治國理政》的中英文著作，自建成一個小型的習近平用典翻譯語料庫，內容包括用典、用典語境、原典出處、譯典、頁碼等主要資訊。上海外國語大學語料庫研究院胡開寶教授領銜研製的《習近平談治國理政》多語語料庫綜合平臺也給本研究提供了技術支援。根據收集到的大量語料，筆者進一步統計習近平用典的詞頻、詞簇、搭配及上下文語境。

借助語料庫以及紙質文本，筆者開始做文本細讀與比較研究。中文用典與英文譯典比較、同一個典故在共時語境下的譯法比較、不同國家翻譯機構的譯法比較、國內與國外譯法比較，這些都屬於用典翻譯的共時性比較。此外，還針對同一個典故在不同歷史時期下的譯法進行比較，也包括針對語內翻譯中涉及的源典、原典、用典進行縱向比較，這些都屬於歷時性比較。其中，用典出自原典，原典再往前追溯到它的源頭，就叫作源典。後文 5.1 中提到的“孺子牛”典故的歷史演變就是歷時性比較的具體例子。

在比較研究的基礎上，筆者從《治國理政》的翻譯事實出發，保證研究語料的真實可靠性，客觀描寫翻譯現象，不摻雜研究者的主觀臆斷。在描寫的基礎上，筆者把收集到的 480 條用典與譯典按照文本、意義、形式和文體四個維度進行分類，採用自下而上的歸納與自上而下的演繹相對接的研究路徑，描寫變與不變的翻譯現象，歸納政治用典翻譯的普遍法則，推演現象背後的翻譯規律，並通過具體實例驗證理論假說。在寫成文章時，筆者在文中共提到 46 個典故，重點解剖 11 個典型個案。

本研究始於翻譯實踐，終於理論昇華。本文的理論來自實踐，反過來又進一步指導實踐。理論不能高高在上，玄而又玄，不接地氣。實踐不能貼在地上躺平，要登高望遠，具備“一覽眾山小”的廣博知識以及“望盡天涯路”的遠見卓識。理論與實踐的融合就相當於“批判的武器”與“武器的批判”有機統一。

2.2 研究問題

1. 文本之間的“變”與“不變”具體指什麼？如何判斷用典文本與原典文本之間的互文性強弱？
2. 文體的“變”與“不變”表現在哪些方面？變與不變和典故類型有什麼關係？
3. 政治用典的意義有何特點？如何確定政治用典的意義並進行翻譯？
4. 在翻譯政治用典時，如何處理用典形式與意義的關係？其形式的“變”與“不變”還受哪些因素影響？
5. 綜合以上四個問題，政治用典“變”與“不變”的規律是什麼？

三、文本之間的“變”與“不變”

在形式上，用典表現為一個單詞、一個短語、一個句子、或一個句群。無論是哪一種形式，用典都不可能脫離文本而獨立存在。因此，用典是聯結文本與文本的紐帶與橋樑，並與其他文本形成互相交織的互文性關係。互文性關係不是靜止的，而是處於變化之中。本節所講文本的“變”與“不變”具體指的是用典文本與原典文本之間的關聯度及正文本與副文本之間的關係。

3.1 文本之間的關聯度

用典文本與原典文本有著“剪不斷，理還亂”的互文性關係。互文性關係有強弱之區分，其強弱程度可以用“關聯度”這個概念來表示，關聯度大小可以從語義和形式的關聯程度進行判斷。關聯度不是一個固定值，其大小隨著具體的用典語境而動態地變化。雖然用典的關聯度很難像自然科學那樣量化，但其變化可以用連續體概念來描寫與分析，分為最大關聯、部分關聯、最小關聯三種情況。

3.1.1 最大關聯

如果用典人完全借用原典的形式與意義，用典文本與原典文本之間在語義和形式兩方面都最大程度地相似，甚至相同，這兩個文本之間的關聯度就最大。這樣的例子在《治國理政》中很多，例如“奢靡之始，危亡之漸”、“少壯不努力，老大徒傷悲”、“桃李不言，下自成蹊”、“霸王別姬”等。這裏，筆者僅舉一例展開論述，起到以一範多的作用。

【例 1】

用典文本：我們就是要有這樣的道路自信、理論自信、制度自信，真正做到“千磨萬擊還堅勁，任爾東西南北風”。《治國理政》第一卷，22 頁。

原典文本：咬定青山不放鬆，立根原在破岩中。

千磨萬擊還堅勁，任爾東西南北風。鄭燮《竹石》。

譯典文本：We must have confidence in our path, our theory and our system. We must be as tenacious as bamboo, as described by Zheng Xie: “In the face of all

blows, not bending low, it still stands fast. Whether from east, west, south, or north the wind doth blast.”^[2] Volume I, p. 48.

習近平主席借用鄭燮（即鄭板橋）《竹石》的後兩句，用典沒有改變原典的形式與意義。習主席把竹石的韌勁和定力與我們的道路自信、理論自信、制度自信巧妙地聯繫在一起，用竹子意象表達堅韌不拔、毫不動搖的定力與毅力。用典文本、原典文本、譯典文本的關係緊密，在語義、形式上高度契合，形成很強的互文性關係。譯典通過增添必要的語境資訊，建立了竹子與人之間的內在聯繫，從而完成了互文性的建構。

3.1.2 部分關聯

部分關聯是指用典人對原典部分改變，或改其形式，或改其意義，用典文本與原典文本只存在部分關聯度，兩個文本在語義上部分重合。在這種情況下，譯典就不能完全照搬原典文本的形式與意義，而應該順應當下的文本語境，部分吸收前譯，部分創造新譯。這樣的例子包括“雄關漫道真如鐵”、“人間正道是滄桑”、“長風破浪會有時”、“新松恨不高千尺，惡竹應須斬萬竿”等。限於篇幅，這裡僅舉一例展開論述。

【例 2】

用典文本：中華民族的昨天，可以說是“雄關漫道真如鐵”。^[1] 近代以後，中華民族遭受的苦難之重、付出的犧牲之大，在世界歷史上都是罕見的。

《治國理政》第一卷，35 頁。

原典文本：西風烈，長空雁叫霜晨月。霜晨月，馬蹄聲碎，喇叭聲咽。雄關漫道真如鐵，而今邁步從頭越。從頭越，蒼山如海，殘陽如血。

毛澤東《憶秦娥·婁山關》。

譯典文本：In the old days, the Chinese people went through hardships as grueling as “storming an iron-wall pass.”¹ Volume I, p.37.

習近平的用典文本與毛澤東的原典文本就是部分關聯的一個典型例子。關於這句用典的時空轉換與創造性轉化，《習近平用典翻譯的互文性視角》一文中已有詳細分析，這裡不再贅述。關於這句用典與原典的部分關聯，筆者在這裡進一步闡發。中華民族的昨天指的從 1840 年鴉片戰爭一直到 1949 年中華人民共和國成立的這一百年艱苦卓絕的奮鬥歷程，可謂是漫長而曲折。中華民族在這一百年中遭受的苦難之重、犧牲之大、戰鬥之殘酷、過程之悲壯與毛澤東的《憶秦娥·婁山關》詩詞中描寫的戰爭場景何其相似！

3.1.3 最小關聯

有些用典經過用典人的推陳出新，或創造性轉化，其用典文本與原典文本之間的語義關聯度減弱，形式雖存，但語義已經發生改變。兩個文本之間的關聯度弱到“藕斷”，只有“絲連”，僅剩下一點微弱的形式連接。這類用典在《治國理政》中主要有“不知何處是他鄉”、“飛入尋常百姓家”、“桃花源人”、“吾日三省吾身”等，這裡僅選擇一個例子展開論述。

【例 3】

用典文本：要加強傳播手段和話語方式創新，讓黨的創新理論“飛入尋常百姓家”。^[2]

《治國理政》第三卷，313 頁。

原典文本：《烏衣巷》

朱雀橋邊野草花，烏衣巷口夕陽斜。

舊時王謝堂前燕，飛入尋常百姓家。（劉禹錫）

譯典文本：We should improve means of communication and create new means to promote our Party's innovative theories among the people. Volume III, p.365

習近平在借用“飛入尋常百姓家”這個典故時，僅取其字面意思，與原典主題毫無關聯。原典文本與用典文本之間只有形式關聯，沒有語義關聯。用典文本與「烏衣巷」沒有關係，與「舊時王謝堂前燕」也沒有關係。既然用典與原典之間沒有語義關聯，翻譯時毋須考慮與前文本的互文性聯繫，只須將「飛入尋常百姓家」重新置入新的語境，譯出用典文本的語境意義即可。譯典文本毋須標註原典出處，也不用建立與原典文本的互文性關聯。

3.2 從用典副文本到譯典副文本

副文本是正文本必不可少的有機組成部分，在用典翻譯中的尤其重要，絕不是可有可無的點綴。《治國理政》中的副文本主要有封面、前言、圖片、注釋、索引和附錄六類。考慮到篇幅的限制，這裡只聚焦注釋這一種副文本類型，探討從用典副文本到譯典副文本的變與不變兩種情況：一是保留用典的副文本不變，二是改變用典的副文本。

3.2.1 保留用典的副文本不變

《治國理政》中的很多用典都有注釋，注釋的內容包括用典的出處、典故背後的故事、背景知識、概念闡釋、文化缺省的補償等。這樣的例子有“韋編三絕”、“懸樑刺股”、“霸王別姬”等。這些注釋對於外國讀者的理解來說是不可或缺的，須在譯典中加以保留。

【例 4】希望廣大留學人員堅持面向現代化、面向世界、面向未來，瞄準國際先進知識、技術、管理經驗，以韋編三絕^[4]、懸樑刺股^[5]的毅力，以鑿壁借光^[6]、囊螢映雪^[7]的勁頭，努力擴大知識半徑，既讀有字之書，也讀無字之書。《治國理政》第一卷，59 頁。

You should keep the perseverance and diligence in reading as related in stories of Confucius, Sun Jing and Su Qin, Kuang Heng, and Che Yin and Sun Kang⁷. Volume I, p.64

中英文的上標意味著正文後分別對應四個副文本。為了節省篇幅，筆者沒有把中英文的四個注釋抄錄下來。對比用典與譯典發現，譯者在譯典文本中把用典文本中的四個故事變成了六個人名，在後邊的英文注釋中保留了用典的副文本不變。假如沒有譯文後面的注釋，目標語讀者是看不懂這個翻譯的。由此可見，副文本對於用典翻譯何等重要！副文本成為理解用典的一把金鑰匙。講好中國故事，只譯出幾個人名是遠遠不夠的，還要對人名背後的故事進行深度翻譯。

3.2.2 改變用典的副文本

注釋分為原文注釋與譯文注釋，二者應該有所區別。注釋應該隨著讀者的改變而改變。適合中國讀者的注釋未必適合外國讀者。有些中文注釋對於目標語讀者沒有任何意義。比如作者的原籍、字、號等資訊，都屬於無用資訊。注釋只標注原典的中文版本資訊，也屬於無效資訊，因為目標語讀者找不到這樣的資訊。在這種情況下，譯者不要機械照翻中文注釋，而應根據目標語讀者的需求，重新設計譯典的副文本資訊。

【例 5】我們不需要更多的溢美之詞，我們一貫歡迎客觀的介紹和有益的建議，正所謂“不要人誇顏色好，只留清氣滿乾坤”。《治國理政》第三卷，67 頁。

注釋：見元代王冕《墨梅》。

We do not need lavish praise from others. But we do welcome objective reporting and constructive suggestions, for this is our motto, “Not bent on praise for its bright colors, but on leaving its fragrance to all.”

Note: Wang Mian: “Ink Plum”(Mo Mei). Wang Mian (1310–1359) was a painter and poet of the Yuan Dynasty. The allusion in the poem is to appreciate things for their qualities rather than their looks, and President Xi was indicating that while China seeks no flattery, it expects honest and balanced reporting. Volume III, p90.

如果沒有英文的注釋，外國讀者是看不懂這個典故的，因為前邊講人，後邊講花，讀者很難建立二者之間的內在聯繫。對照中英文注釋發現，譯者不是機械地照翻原文的注釋，而是充分考慮目標語讀者的理解與接受，增加很多背景性知識以及解釋性內容。因此，副文本可以彌補語境的缺失，填補背景的空白，建立與前文本之間的語義聯繫。

四、文體的“變”與“不變”

《治國理政》的用典類型豐富，文體眾多，有諺語、習語、俗語、詩詞歌賦、古代典籍，可謂琳琅滿目，應有盡有。筆者把這些用典進行命名，分為三類：民間典故，古籍典故，詩詞典故。從文體風格上分析，民間典故口語化，古籍典故典雅，詩詞典故靈秀。下邊，我們通過具體實例展開論述其文體的變與不變情況。

4.1 保留民間典故的口語化風格不變

《治國理政》引用了很多民間典故，這些用典通俗易懂，言簡意賅，口語化色彩濃，且幽默風趣，形成一種獨特的語言風格。例如“眾人拾柴火焰高”、“雞毛撿子打屁股不痛不癢”、“過街老鼠，人人喊打”“按下葫蘆起了瓢”、“蘿蔔青菜，各有所愛”、“打鐵還需自身硬”、“鞋子合不合腳，自己穿了才知道”、“老鄉見老鄉，兩眼淚汪汪”、“當官不為民作主，不如回家賣紅薯”等。這些典故都來自民間，是老百姓經常使用的語言，既接地氣，又飽含智慧。這裡，僅舉一個譯例展開論述。

【例 6】眾人拾柴火焰高

- (1) When everybody adds wood to the fire, the flames rise high.
- (2) Many hands make light work.
- (3) The flame leaps high when everybody adds wood to a fire.

這句諺語在《治國理政》三卷本中共出現四次，可見其使用頻率很高。前兩次採用譯文（1），第三次出現採用譯文（2），第四次出現採用譯文（3）。這樣處理，既體現了英文表達的多樣性與豐富性，同時也考慮到不同的譯法契合不同的語境。其中，譯文（2）採用英文中類似的諺語，短小精悍，達到功能對等的效果，讀者易於理解，譯典的風格與譯本的整體風格是一致的。《治國理政》口語化的文章較多，收錄了很多講話、談話、演講、答問，這一點在書的“出版說明”中有交代，在書的正文中有體現。譯本的口語化風格在譯者團隊的定稿人那裡也得到進一步證實。“習近平總書記講話中有許多通俗生動的百姓語言，我們翻譯時力求原汁原味，保留其生動活潑的風格”（黃友義，2018，64）。保留這種口語化的語言風格，譯文讀起來親切自然，接地氣，

4.2 從古漢語轉變為現代英文

習近平用典中，很多來自《禮記》、《大學》和《論語》等古代典籍。這些著作作用古漢語寫成，古漢語寫成，語言古雅，“之乎者也”是其語言風格。由於年代比較久遠，當代讀者對這樣的語言已經感到陌生，在理解方面存在時空間距。

習近平引用的古籍典故都可以找到相應的譯本。但是，《治國理政》的譯者團隊並沒有直接搬用前人的譯法，而是重新創造新的表達方式。這是為什麼呢？其中的原因可以從互文性、語境、讀者、用典人意圖等方面得到解釋。除此之外，還有一個原因就是，有些譯本太老了，不適合當代的需要。關於這一點，徐明強深有感觸：“有些譯文是上上個世紀外國人翻譯的，翻的也是古英文的味道，放到現在這個語境裡面就覺得特別彘扭”（尹佳，2016，77）面對時間距離，翻譯作出調整是必須的，“前文本與當前文本之間的距離越大，翻譯需要的調整就越大”（Hatim & Mason 1990, 127）。為廣大讀者的理解與接受考慮，也是為了縮小譯典與原典的時空距離，《治國理政》的譯者團隊把古漢語轉換成現代英文，從而讓中國的古文字在英語世界鮮活起來。

4.3 從詩體轉變成散體

在習近平用典中，詩詞典故數量可觀，有的一句，有的兩句，有的是格律詩，有的是自由詩。原典是詩體，譯典應該譯成詩體還是散體？筆者認為，如果用典是一句詩，譯典只能譯成散體；如果是兩句詩，譯典能保留詩歌體制，可謂是錦上添花，譯成散體也無可厚非。兩句詩的用典還有其他變化，須具體問題具體分析。

如果把一句詩從原典詩歌文本中單獨拿出來，重新置入一個非詩體的政治文本中，其文體就發生根本性改變。筆者的這種觀點在 Plett (1991, 14) 那裡中得到進一步驗證：In this case, the poetic quotation is depoeticized. 正所謂“單絲不成線，獨木不成林”，上下文都不是詩，孤立的一句詩放在政治文本中就不再是詩。翻譯這類詩歌用典，譯者不必糾結於再現詩歌的節奏、韻律與形式特徵，只傳達該用典在新語境下的意義即可。

如果用典是兩句詩，也得分兩種情況分析。一種情況是，這兩句詩在原典文本中是連在一起的對句，諸如“朱門酒肉臭，路有凍死骨”之類用典。另外一種情況是，引用的兩句詩來自兩首不同的詩詞，用典人只是根據語義關聯原則把兩句詩組合在一起，例如“黑雲壓城城欲摧”、“我自巋然不動”。翻譯第一種情況，譯者能保留詩體，當然是佳譯，如 *The rich wine and dine, the poor starve and die* 這兩句譯文對仗工整，詩意很濃。翻譯第二種情況，譯者無須譯成詩體。因為用典人重意不重形。譯典不必顧慮詩歌的形式，直接譯其語境意義，處理好譯文的銜接與連貫即可。

五、意義的“變”與“不變”

語境、用典人意圖及用典的歷史性是影響典故意義的三個關鍵因素。這可以解釋一典多譯現象，同時也反映出用典意義的複雜性。用典翻譯再現的是語境意義，而不是字面意思。用典人意圖改變會直接導致意義改變，從而影響譯者的判斷與選擇。用典的歷史性與多義性進一步讓意義的“變”與“不變”問題變得複雜化。

5.1 用典意義的歷時演變

一些帶有歷史縱深感或文化負載詞的典故，其意義具有歷史性，隨著時代發展而發生意義演變。追溯典故的歷時性演變，可以幫助譯者全面瞭解典故的來龍去脈，以便根據語境作出正確的意義選擇。這樣的例子在《治國理政》中很常見，例如“道”、“仁”、“德”、“義”、“孺子牛”等。這裏，筆者選擇“孺子牛”來具體分析用典意義的歷時演變。

“孺子牛”這個典故最早出自《左傳·哀公六年》：“女忘君之為孺子牛而折其齒乎？而背之也！”齊景公非常疼愛他的小兒子，對他是百依百順。有一次，孺子讓齊景公裝作一頭牛讓他牽著玩。齊景公作為一國之君竟然口裡銜根繩子，讓孺子牽著走。不料，兒子不小心跌倒，把齊景公咬著繩子的門牙拽掉了一顆，頓時滿嘴鮮血直流。儘管如此，齊景公臨死前立下遺囑，仍讓孺子繼承了王位。這個典故的最初意思是指父

母對孩子的過分疼愛。

1932年，魯迅寫了一首《自嘲》的打油詩送給柳亞子。在這首詩中，魯迅借用了“孺子牛”典故。這裡的「孺子牛」具體指什麼呢？我們先看看整首詩再進行分析。

自嘲

運交華蓋欲何求，未敢翻身已碰頭。破帽遮顏過鬧市，漏船載酒泛中流。
橫眉冷對千夫指，俯首甘為孺子牛。躲進小樓成一統，管他冬夏與春秋。

根據魯迅研究資料，魯迅本人在致李秉中信中言及“孺子牛”的所指，並有許廣平的話為佐證。後來的學者對這首詩的寫作背景與作者本意進一步考證，認為魯迅〈自嘲〉詩中的「孺子牛」是指魯迅的兒子周海嬰，這應該是符合魯迅當時的原意的（王景山，1995；程振興，2018）。

1942年，毛澤東同志在《在延安文藝座談會上的講話》中引用了魯迅的這兩句詩。並賦予其新意：“千夫”在這裡就是說敵人，對於無論什麼兇惡的敵人我們決不屈服。“孺子”在這裡就是說無產階級和人民大眾。一切共產黨員，一切革命家，一切革命的文藝工作者，都應該學魯迅的榜樣，做無產階級和人民大眾的“牛”，鞠躬盡瘁，死而後已（毛澤東，1991，877）。毛澤東對“孺子牛”的闡釋可謂是“點石成金”，是對典故的昇華與發展。

2014年，習近平在新時代文藝工作座談會上又一次提到魯迅的“橫眉冷對千夫指，俯首甘為孺子牛”這兩句詩，旨在強調文藝工作者要自覺與人民同呼吸、共命運、心連心，歡樂著人民的歡樂，憂患著人民的憂患，做人民的孺子牛。

2021年，習近平在春節團拜會上的講話中說：“人民把為民服務、無私奉獻比喻為孺子牛，把創新發展、攻堅克難比喻為拓荒牛，把艱苦奮鬥、吃苦耐勞比喻為老黃牛。前進道路上，我們要大力發揚孺子牛、拓荒牛、老黃牛精神”。

綜上所述，“孺子牛”典故歷史悠久，後被魯迅激活，經過毛澤東與習近平的發展與創新，其形象變得可敬、可愛、可親，形成新時代為人民服務的孺子牛精神。《左傳》是“孺子牛”典故的源頭，《自嘲》是習近平用典的原典。翻譯“孺子牛”時，就涉及源典、原典、用典、譯典這四個不同概念，譯者須根據具體的語境判斷用典屬於哪一種意義，然後才能作出正確的選擇與精準地傳達。

5.2 用典意義隨著語境改變

對於用典翻譯而言，語境對意義的重要性怎麼強調也不過分。“一個典故從一個文本旅行到了另一個文本，這意味著該典故在脫離前文本語境之後又再次語境化，在互文性的指涉空間裡獲得新的生命與意義”（陳大亮、陳婉玉，2019，9）。語境改變，意義跟著改變，這是很容易理解的道理。

在《治國理政》中，習近平多次引用「各美其美，美人之美，美美與共，天下大同」這個典故，其翻譯值得討論。如果沒有語境，這十六字的意義模糊，概念抽象，具有很大的不確定性。脫離語境，這十六字就變成了文字遊戲，讓人不知所云。

【例7】人文上，中拉要加強文明對話和文化交流，不僅“各美其美”，“美

人之美，美美與共”，成為不同文明和諧相處、相互促進的典範。《治國理政》第一卷，311 頁

Culturally, we should enhance inter-civilizational dialogue and cultural exchanges. As a Chinese saying goes..... I hope we will develop a mutually reinforcing and exemplary relationship of harmony between different civilization. p342

這個例子的語境是講中拉之間的文明對話與文化交流，“美”的所指就比較明確。對於文化來說，“各美其美”就是指中拉彼此尊重、欣賞對方的文化；“美美與共”是指文明互鑒攜，共同繁榮。有了具體語境，本來抽象的概念就具體化了。

【例 8】我們應該把本國利益同各國共同利益結合起來，努力擴大各方共同利益的匯合點，不能這邊搭台、那邊拆臺，要相互補台、好戲連台。要積極樹立雙贏、多贏、共贏的新理念，摒棄你輸我贏、贏者通吃的舊思維，“各美其美，美人之美，美美與共，天下大同”。

We should champion a new vision of win-win outcomes for all and reject the obsolete notion of zero-sum game or winner taking all. Countries should respect others' interests while pursuing their own and advance common interests of all. (china.org.cn)

這個例子是習近平 2014 年 6 月在和平共處五項原則發表 60 周年紀念大會上的講話中的用典。由於中文較長，筆者只提供了與用典翻譯最相關的兩句譯文。這裡談的不是文化與文明，而是本國利益與世界共同利益之間的關係。因此，“各美其美，美人之美”指的是世界各國之間應該尊重彼此的利益，“美美與共，天下大同”指的是各國之間堅持合作共贏，共同獲益。

【例 9】堅持美人之美、美美與共。每一種文明都是美的結晶，都彰顯著創造之美。一切美好的事物都是相通的。人們對美好事物的嚮往，是任何力量都無法阻擋的！《治國理政》第三卷，469 頁。

We need to uphold the beauty of each civilization and the diversity of civilizations around the world. Each civilization is the crystallization of human creation, and each is beautiful in its own way. An aspiration for all that is beautiful is common to all humanity, and nothing can hold it back. Volume III, p544

這個例子的語境講的是“美”本身，包括文明之美、創造之美、美好的事物。因此，譯文相應地再現了 beauty, beautiful, diversity 等用典意義，再次證明瞭語境決定意義。

在例 7、例 8、例 9 三個例子中，用典使用的場合、指涉的物件都不一樣。語境變了，因而譯法也相應改變。這就是“譯則變，變則通”的翻譯之道。中文的同一個典故，在英文中有不同的譯法，語境在其中起著關鍵作用。

5.3 用典人改變原典意義

一般說來，用典人借用原典意義的時候較多，但也會改變原意，賦予新意。例如，王國維借用晏殊、柳永與辛棄疾的愛情詞句用以描述成就大學問、大事業的三種境界。在《治國理政》中，習近平用典善於對中國傳統文化進行創造性轉化與創新性發展。筆者以“不知有漢，無論魏晉”為例展開論述。

《桃花源記》描寫的是“芳草鮮美，落英繽紛”的世外桃源，人們過著怡然自得的生活，沒有剝削，沒有壓迫。這是陶淵明嚮往的理想社會，後人多用“世外桃源”來比喻與現實社會隔絕、生活安樂的理想境界。

但是，語言的意義不是固定不變的，關鍵取決於使用語言的人，“點鐵成金”、“奪胎換骨”就是用典創新的寫照。在《治國理政》中，習近平主席提醒全黨同志要跟上時代的步伐，不能身子進了新時代，思想還停留在過去。

【例 10】與時俱進不要當口號喊，要真正落實到思想和行動上，不能做“不知有漢，無論魏晉”的桃花源中人！《治國理政》第三卷，540 頁。

Advancing with the times must be more than a mere slogan; it must guide our thinking and action. We cannot blind ourselves to what is really happening out there like the people in the legendary Peach Blossom Spring who cut all ties with the outside world. Volume III, p.626.

此種語境下，“不知有漢，無論魏晉”在譯典文本中消失不見，這是因為用典人改變了原典的意義，譯典要相應跟著變通，以順應新語境的需求。在用典翻譯中，譯者要忠實的不是原典意義，而是用典意義，準確地說，是忠實於用典人意圖。

六、形式的“變”與“不變”

政治用典形式與意義之間的關係分兩種情況：一是形式與意義一致，用這種形式表達的恰好就是這種意義；二是形式與意義不一致，用這種形式不能傳達這種意義。第一種情況不會構成翻譯的難題，第二種情況則很容易出問題。譯者很容易被形式蒙住雙眼，陷入形式主義的陷阱。所以，譯者要看透形式背後承載的意義，在目標語中尋找能夠適切表達這種意義的形式。

6.1 用典形式不變

當原典與譯典在形式和意義兩方面都一致時，用典形式在轉換成譯典時，形式可以保留不變，即我們常說的直譯法。在《治國理政》中，這樣的例子很多，大致分成兩類：一是來自西方的典故，二是來自中國的典故。

習近平主席引用很多西方典故，例如：潘多拉的盒子（Pandora's box）、達摩克利斯之劍（Sword of Damocles）、紙牌屋（House of Cards）、阿客琉斯之踵（Achilles heel）等等。當這些西方典故翻譯成中文時，有直譯和意譯兩種方法。習近平主席引用的是

有形式意義的典故，現在再從中文譯成英文，只須採用還原譯法，把形式與意義還原過去就可以了。

對於來自中國的典故，如果其形式傳達的是普適性的道理，表達的是人類共同的生活與人生體驗。且形式能為目標語讀者理解與接受，那麼，這些用典形式就可以移植到譯典中保持形式不變。在《治國理政》中，這類典故數量最多，構成習近平用典最具中國特色的部分。“水能載舟，亦能覆舟”（The same water that keeps a ship afloat can also sink it.）“金無足赤，人無完人”（There is no pure gold, nor are there perfect people.）“一花獨放不是春，百花齊放春滿園”（a single flower does not make spring, while one hundred flowers in full blossom bring spring to the garden.）等用典都可以轉換成全世界人民可以理解的語言而不喪失其意義。這類典故在翻譯時基本不需要加注釋，這是翻譯的共性決定的。

6.2 用典形式改變

有些用典的存活對語境的依賴性很大，語境不足，譯文讀者很難理解，形式無法保留不變。有些用典形式改變是因為形意張力太大，形式與意義分離，形式沒有保留的價值。還有一些用典由於語域、對象、語境的改變，原來的形式不適合新的語境。“濤聲依舊”、“莫用三爺”、“黑雲壓城城欲摧”等用典形式都要根據用典語境而變通。考慮到字數限制，這裡僅舉一例展開論述。

【例 11】我在河北正定工作時結識的作家賈大山，也是一位熱愛人民的作家。他去世后，我寫了一篇文章悼念他。他給我印象最深的就是憂國憂民情懷，“處江湖之遠則憂其君”^[27]。《治國理政》第 2 卷，318 頁。

What impressed me most was his concern for the country and his countrymen wherever he was. “Though living at grassroots level, one is concerned for his state.” p.347.

原典出自宋代範仲淹的《岳陽樓記》，指大臣即使被貶到偏僻遙遠的地方還時刻為皇帝擔憂。用典借用了原典的形式，但語境與物件完全改變了，新語境下既沒有皇帝，也沒有江湖，而是習近平主席的朋友賈大山在上山下鄉期間憂國憂民的情懷。同樣的形式表達不一樣的意義。翻譯這句用典時，切不可機械照搬《岳陽樓記》的譯文，而應該根據當下的語境意義，選擇合適的表達形式。

七、研究發現

根據以上分析，典可譯，非常譯；譯則變，變則通。這篇文章所講的“變”，不是 transference，不是 shift，也不是 transposition，而是 variance。與之對舉的“不變”指的是 invariance。關於 invariance 這個概念的內涵，Kade, Bassnett, Neubert, Toury 都表達過各自的看法，Shuttleworth and Cowie (1997, 89-90) 把這個術語收進 *Dictionary of Translation Studies* 詞目中。筆者綜合了幾位學者的觀點，採用中西會通的思路，把這

兩個術語用在用典翻譯上，提出文本、文體、意義、形式四個維度的“變”與“不變”規律。翻譯是變與不變的辯證統一。變的是現象，不變的是本質。只有透過表層的現象把握深層的本質，才能從譯技提升到譯道的翻譯境界。

原典文本與用典文本之間關聯度大小直接關係著譯典與用典的互文性關係強弱。用典文本與原典文本的關聯度越大，譯典文本對原典文本的依賴性就越強，譯者就需要建立譯典文本與前文本的互文性關係。用典文本與原典文本的關聯度越小，譯典文本對原典文本的依賴性就越弱。當用典文本與原典文本的關聯度弱到沒有語義關聯的時候，譯者就可以置原典文本於不顧，直接根據用典語境譯出其當下的語境意義。

用典的類型包括諺語、習語、格言、歇後語、詩詞歌賦、古典名句、神話故事等，形成簡約、高古、典雅、平實、洗煉、含蓄等不同的風格。譯典在語體、體裁與體制三方面要根據用典人與用典文本的整體風格做出變與不變的選擇。不變是為了保持用典人的風格，變是為了順應目標語的時空轉換、文本類型、文體規範及讀者的理解與接受。

影響用典意義變與不變的關鍵因素包括文本之間的關聯度、用典人意圖、用典語境以及用典的歷史性與多義性。文本關聯度的大小影響譯典對原典的語境依賴程度。譯典要再現的是用典的語境意義以及用典人意圖。語境可以幫助譯者在用典的多義性中作出適切選擇，也有助於把抽象的概念具體化。

用典形式的變與不變由文體、意義與讀者三個因素綜合決定。文體的改變影響形式的變化，詩歌典故在政治體裁中一般譯成散體，古籍典故在語體上一般轉換成現代語言。讀者的理解與接受也是影響形式變與不變的重要因素，變是為了易於理解，不變是因為形式具有普遍的可理解性。意義是決定形式選擇的最關鍵因素，有什麼樣的意義，就需要什麼樣的形式與之相匹配。用典形式跟著意義變，決不能讓形式牽著意義的鼻子走。

用典人意圖、文本、文體、意義、形式五者之間相互影響，彼此呼應。用典人意圖決定原典文本與用典文本的關聯度。關聯度決定用典意義與原典意義的重合度。意義的重合度進一步影響譯文形式的選擇與取捨。文體跟著文本類型變，形式跟著意義變，意義跟著用典人意圖變。用典人意圖是起決定性作用的最關鍵因素。

用典翻譯涉及這麼多複雜因素，牽涉那麼多翻譯變數，難度大可想而知，非高手不可為。譯者緊緊圍繞忠實於用典人意圖這個中心，兼顧與前文本的關聯度以及讀者的理解與接受，融通中外，守正創新，善於在變與不變的對立統一中把握用典翻譯的規律，勇於承擔起提升國際傳播能力與文化軟實力的責任與擔當。

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概念整合網路下政治文獻的隱喻英譯策略研究

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Abstract

Metaphor Translation Strategies of Political Works Based on the Conceptual Integration Networks (by Chen Lin and Sun Yi)

The Conceptual Integration Theory which was proposed by Fauconnier used the “Four spaces” network model to explain meaning construction and interference mechanisms of parallel metaphorical process. Applying Conceptual Integration Theory to translation practice is an effective technique to translation studies. Books related to politics often use many metaphors when describing the purpose of governing the country and serving the people. The Conceptual Integration Theory proves to be a powerful tool for interpreting the cognitive process of political metaphor translation. On the basis of Conceptual Integration Theory in the field of cognitive linguistics, the author uses four types of conceptual integration network models in the process of translation to explain the parallel processing mechanisms of political metaphor translation involving related factors in various spaces, analyze the metaphors and translation process in Xi Jinping: The Governnance of China III, reveal the differences of conceptual integration network models and the reasons for different translating strategies, in the hope of providing a new perspective and examples for translation of political metaphor.

一、引言

政治文獻主要指黨和國家領導人的言論和講話，黨中央、國務院以及各級地方政府所發佈的有關國家和地方社會與經濟發展大政方針的檔和工作報告等 [5]。我國政治文獻在傳達中國治國的方針政策、陳述中國的人文歷史、介紹中國的經濟情況、呈

現中國的社會風貌、傳播中國的文化等方面起到了重要的作用。隨著我國經濟的發展和國際地位的不斷提升，政治文獻對塑造我國的國際形象起著越來越重要的作用。政治文獻的翻譯是譯文讀者瞭解我國方針政策、政治、經濟、軍事、外交等方面的重要管道。

政治文獻中有大量的隱喻。隱喻與政治關係密切，Thompson（1996）在他的論文《沒有隱喻的政治如無水之魚》中指出隱喻可以幫助政治家們對現實重組。政治家們善於使用隱喻來傳達複雜的政治概念和人們已有的知識經驗，幫助聽眾理解抽象複雜的政治概念，不動聲色地傳遞自己的意識和態度。古往今來有很多政治家在演講、著作中運用隱喻以達到治國、為政、勸君和政辯等目的。

二、文獻綜述

概念整合理論，也稱概念合成理論，由美國著名認知語言學家福科尼耶（Fauconnier）於1997年在心理空間理論的基礎之上提出。他在專著《思維和語言中的映現》（*Mappings in Thought and Language*）一書中對概念整合理論進行了詳盡且系統的描述。2002年，福科尼耶和特納（Turner）合作出版了《思維的方式》（*The Way We Think*）。他們認為，認知語言學的基本任務之一是在概念整合的過程中發掘其原則和運作機制。在這本書中，他們建立了一套完善的概念整合模型和運作機制，使用複雜和動態的“四空間”多域模型來解釋隱喻尤其是即時隱喻過程（on-line metaphorical processing）中的意義構建和推理機制（詹姆斯·羅爾，2005，207）。如圖1所示。

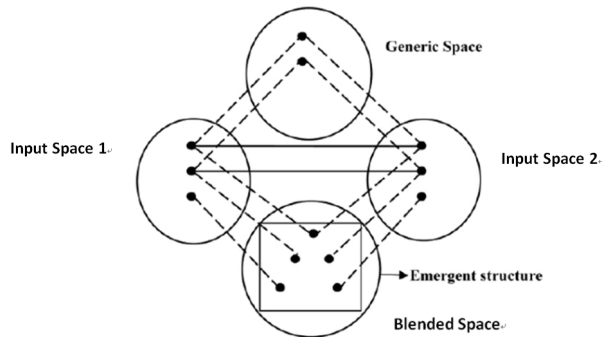


圖 1: 概念整合理論四個心理空間之間的關係模型 Fauconnier (1997, 151)

概念整合理論包括四個基本心理空間：輸入空間 1（Input 1），輸入空間 2（Input 2），類屬空間（Generic Space）和合成空間（Blended Space）。輸入空間 1 可稱為源域心理空間，輸入空間 2 可稱為目標域心理空間。輸入空間 1 和 2 的共同元素和抽象結構選擇性地映射到第三個心理空間：類屬空間。與此同時，兩個輸入空間通過跨域映射、匹配，最終選擇性地投射到第四個心理空間：合成空間（Blended Space）。合成空間除了從兩個輸入空間中選擇了部分的結構，還結合文化背景、結構和認知模型等元素，形成了新的層創結構（Emergent structure），達到了新的認知水準。這四個空間

通過跨空間映射進行對應連接，形成了一個完整的概念整合網路。

福科尼耶和特納 (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002) 從心理空間框架的角度將概念整合網路模型分成四種類型：簡單型網路 (Simplex Network)、鏡象型網路 (Mirror Network)、單域型網路 (Single-scope Network) 和雙域型網路 (Double-scope Network)。簡單型網路是指輸入空間 1 是抽象框架，而輸入空間 2 是沒有框架的兩個元素。輸入空間 1 的角色通過跨域映射投射到輸入空間 2 的元素當中，整合成了有角色填充的框架。在鏡象型網路中，所有的心理空間共用同一個框架。這一框架會被映射到合成空間，但並不意味著合成空間就局限於這一框架，它還能通過“完善”和“詳釋”，形成特有的層創結構。在單域型網路中，輸入空間 1 和輸入空間 2 有著不同的框架。其中一個輸入空間的框架映射到合成空間，另一個輸入空間的元素映射到合成空間，形成新的概念整合網路。在雙域型網路中，輸入空間 1 和輸入空間 2 有著不同的框架。與單域型網路不同的是，不是只有一個輸入空間的框架映射到合成空間，而是兩個輸入空間的框架同時映射到合成空間，這兩個框架都起到了至關重要的作用。兩個框架中的一些拓撲結構映射到合成空間，再通過“組合”、“完善”和“詳釋”形成新的層創結構。

福科尼耶和特納 (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002) 用這四種網路模型來解釋人類思維的多樣性和複雜性。概念整合的實用性很強，涉及領域廣泛，尤其對人類語言動態的意義構建和認知機制有很強的認知闡釋力。

《習近平談治國理政》第三卷包含了習近平的新思想、新觀點、新論述。其中收錄了習近平總書記在 2017 年 10 月 18 日至 2020 年 1 月 13 日期間的演講、談話、報告、指示、批示及賀信等 92 篇，反映了國家治國理念和執政方針，是中國當下具有代表性的政治話語專著。其英譯本由權威專家翻譯，具有重要的研究價值，有助於譯文讀者瞭解習近平新時代中國政治思想，客觀地認識中國的發展道路。《習》中蘊含了大量的隱喻。《習》中的概念隱喻使抽象的政治語言變得形象生動，從而更高效地傳達了國家領導人的執政理念及其背後的政治思想。

《習近平談治國理政》第三卷中概念隱喻的翻譯，是整本著作翻譯的關鍵所在。目前對《習》第一卷、第二卷的研究主要切入點有概念隱喻 (10 篇)，修辭學 (2 篇)，語料庫 (2 篇)，語篇隱喻 (1 篇)。對第一卷、第二卷英譯本的研究多集中在中國特色詞語的翻譯和翻譯理論應用分析上。孫曉磊 (2019) 從概念整合視閥對《習》中國特色隱喻的英譯進行了研究，解釋了譯者在翻譯中國特色隱喻時採用不同翻譯策略背後的心理認知過程。劉雲夢與盧衛中 (2021) 借助概念隱喻和關聯理論，融合認知和語用視角，探討了《習》第三卷中隱喻的運作機制和語用功能。

古今中外人們對隱喻的熱情經久不息。20 世紀 80 年代以來，隨著認知語言學理論的發展，隱喻成為眾多學科關注的熱門話題，尤其是隱喻的認知功能也越來越受到人們的重視。然而，概念整合理論在翻譯中的應用極為少見，相關研究還有一定的局限性，例如缺少在翻譯實踐中的實例論證，系統性研究不足。

用概念整合理論去研究或解釋翻譯活動或過程，到目前為止為數不多。國內認知語言學家王斌 (2001) 最早將概念整合理論應用於翻譯研究。他在《概念整合與翻譯》

中提出，概念整合能將翻譯帶入一個動態的運作系統。他認為，翻譯不僅僅是源語篇章向譯語篇章的映射，他需要一個繁複的加工過程，即譯者在原文和譯文在認知框架下的主觀選擇結果。他提出，原語文本及其文化認知圖示可以作為輸入空間 1，譯語表達形式及其文化認知圖示可以作為輸入空間 2，它們共同投射至合成空間。在類屬空間的制約下形成自己的層創結構，產生新的表達形式，即譯文文本。孫亞在《心理空間與翻譯》中探討了如何用概念整合理論去解釋翻譯過程，他認為，原文本空間和譯者空間為兩個輸入空間，譯文空間即合成空間是這兩個輸入空間概念整合的結果。

有國內學者認為，翻譯是可以納入概念整合網路框架的創造性勞動。原文本空間可以作為輸入空間 1，譯者空間或者譯語空間可以作為輸入空間 2。兩個空間共有的語言表達形式和文化認知圖示構成類屬空間。類屬空間制約著原文本空間和譯者空間向合成空間的映射。原文本空間和譯者空間的元素部分映射到合成空間，通過“組合”、“完善”和“詳釋”形成全新的層創結構，產生新的表達形式，即譯文。

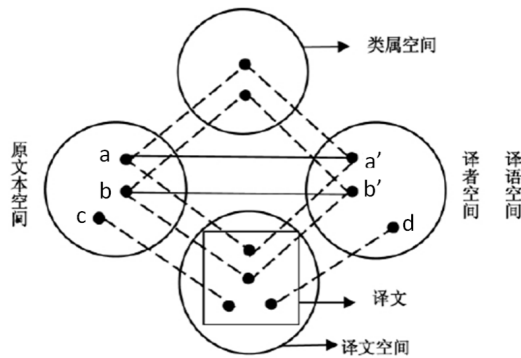


圖 2: 翻譯過程的概念整合模型 (孫曉磊, 2019, 148)

本文以《習近平談治國理政》第三卷及其英譯本為語料，以概念整合理論為框架，探究該著作中的隱喻，並分析各種類型的概念整合網路模型的翻譯策略，從而使譯文讀者更好地把握著作所傳遞的價值觀、概念隱喻及其背後的哲學內涵，更好地領略習近平新時代中國特色社會主義核心價值觀和精神風采。

三、研究設計

3.1 研究問題

本研究主要圍繞兩個問題展開：

隱喻翻譯過程中的概念整合分哪些類型？這些隱喻都採用了什麼翻譯策略？

3.2 研究工具

採用 Gerald J. Steen (2010) 所帶領的隱喻實驗室團隊開發的 MIPVU 來識別隱喻，操作流程如下：

1. 逐字閱讀語篇，確定需要標注的詞彙。
2. 當詞彙涉及間接用法，且該用法可通過從更基本的意義的跨域映射來解釋時，這一詞彙可以標記為間接隱喻。
3. 當詞彙涉及直接用法，且該用法可通過從更基本的意義的跨域映射來解釋時，這一詞彙可以標記為直接隱喻。
4. 當涉及詞彙-語法替代（如第三人稱代詞），或當詞彙被省略（如並列結構引起的省略），且被替代或被省略的詞彙表達出的直接或間接意義可以通過從更基本的意義、所指或話題的跨域映射來解釋時，那麼這一詞彙可以標記為隱含隱喻。
5. 當詞彙用作判斷跨域映射是否存在的標誌時，該詞彙可以被標注為隱喻標記（metaphor flag）。
6. 如果某一詞彙是新造詞（new-formation coined）時（如 honey-hunting），通過步驟 2 到步驟 5 的方法對其不同成分進行判斷。

3.3 研究方法

本文主要採用定性分析法。這種研究方法主要應用於兩個方面。一是用於陳述和分析隱喻的特徵、工作機制等。二是用於分析和解讀隱喻翻譯策略、評價翻譯效果等。

四、《習近平談治國理政》第三卷政治隱喻英譯

概念整合模型資料統計

福科尼耶和特納將概念整合網路模型分成四種類型：簡單型網路、鏡象型網路、單域型網路和雙域型網路。簡單型網路只有一個輸入空間具有組織框架，而原文本空間和譯者空間都有自己的組織框架，因此簡單型網路不適用於政治隱喻的翻譯。其他三種類型均適用於政治隱喻的翻譯。

政治隱喻翻譯的概念整合有四種類型。用鏡象型網路的政治隱喻的翻譯是最簡單的，兩個輸入空間具有相同的框架，其成分構成直接的對應關係。用單域型網路的政治隱喻的翻譯有兩種情況，一是原文本空間的框架映射到譯文空間；二是譯者空間的框架映射到譯文空間。用雙域網路的政治隱喻的翻譯是最複雜的。兩個輸入空間有不同的組織框架，同時映射到譯文空間，借助認知模式“組合”、“完善”和“詳釋”，形成層創結構即譯文。

表 1: 《習近平談治國理政》第三卷政治隱喻英譯概念整合網路模型資料統計

概念整合網路模型	次數	比例
鏡象型網路：對應物直接映射到譯文空間 (a 對 a' , b 對 b')	164	29%
C 型單域型網路：只有原文本空間的 c 映射到譯文空間	33	6%
D 型單域型網路：只有譯者空間的 d 映射到譯文空間	359	63%
雙域型網路：c 和 d 同時映射到譯文空間	10	2%
總計	566	100%

經過資料統計，《習近平談治國理政》第三卷英譯本中使用了概念整合的四種網路模型，其具體資料參見表 1。該圖顯示，政治隱喻的翻譯過程中，D 型單域型網路模型的比重最大，雙域型網路的比重最小。雙域型網路的結構最複雜，譯者需要借助認知模式“組合”、“完善”和“詳釋”，“直譯 + 解釋”的翻譯策略需要更多的篇幅，而且不是所有漢語中的文化意象都可以直譯。譯者最傾向於使用 D 型單域型網路概念整合模型來翻譯政治隱喻。由於英漢民族思維的差異性，很多有中國特色的政治隱喻在譯文空間沒有直接的對應物，譯者就用英語文化中的框架來傳達漢語隱喻激發的認知心理和感受，採用意譯或省譯的策略，以迎合譯文讀者的表達習慣，激發譯文讀者的閱讀興趣，有利於該著作在海外的廣泛傳播。

五、《習近平談治國理政》第三卷政治隱喻英譯 概念整合模型案例分析

5.1 鏡象型網路概念整合模型及隱喻英譯

福科尼耶和特納認為，在鏡象型網路 (Mirror Network) 中，所有的心理空間都享有同樣的組織框架。在鏡象型網路的選擇性映射過程中，由於組織框架是一樣的，兩個輸入空間就沒有競爭。

如圖 2 所示，這種鏡象型網路模型中，原文本空間和譯語空間由於有語言表達形式和文化認知的共同點而產生一定的認知關聯。在這種認知關聯的制約下，原文本空間的 a 和譯語空間的 a' 互相觸發啟動而形成對應關係，b 和 b' 互相觸發啟動形成對應關係。這些對應成分成為對應物，對應物直接映射到譯文空間，形成跨空間的映射關係，如圖 2 中的 a 映射 a'，b 映射 b'。由於這種直接的映射關係，翻譯中一般採用保留原概念隱喻，以直譯為主的策略，翻譯結果實現了形式對等和概念對等。

例 1：中國是世界第二大經濟體，有 13 億多人口的大市場，有 960 多萬平方公里的國土，中國經濟是一片大海，而不是一個小池塘。大海有風平浪靜之時，也有風狂雨驟之時。沒有風狂雨驟，那就不是大海了。狂風驟雨可以掀翻小池塘，但不能掀翻大海。經歷了無數次狂風驟雨，大海依舊在那兒！經歷了 5000 多年的艱難困苦，中國依舊在這兒！（P206）

China is the world's second largest economy. We have a market of more than 1.3

billion consumers who live on land of over 9.6million square kilometers. To use a metaphor, China' s economy is not a pond, but an ocean. The ocean certainly has its calm days, but also times of gales and storms. Without them, the ocean wouldn' t be an ocean. Gales and storms may ravage a pond, but never an ocean. Whatever the gales and storms, the ocean is still there. It is the same for China! After 5000 years of trials and tribulations, China is still here. (P242)

本句中有兩個隱喻：水流隱喻和氣候隱喻。水流隱喻源域是“大海”，目標域是“世界第二大經濟體”。氣候隱喻源域是“狂風驟雨”，目標域是“艱難困苦”。這兩對源域和目標域在英文中都有對應的說法。“大海”與 ocean，“世界第二大經濟體”與 the world' s second largest economy，“狂風驟雨”與 the gales and storms，“艱難困苦”與 trials and tribulations 形成對應關係。這幾組對應物直接映射到譯文空間。譯者採用直譯的策略，保留了原有的概念隱喻，意在指出中國經濟有巨大的發展韌性、潛力和迴旋餘地，表達了對中國經濟的發展情景持有樂觀的評估、推理和認知聯想，也表達了共建創新包容的開放型世界經濟的心願。

例 2：我們必須始終保持高度警惕，既要高度警惕“黑天鵝”事件，也要防範“灰犀牛”事件；既要有防範風險的先手，也要有應對和化解風險挑戰的高招；既要打好防範和抵禦風險的有準備之戰，也要打好化險為夷、轉危為機的戰略主動戰。(P220)

We should stay keenly alert to “black swan” and “gray rhino” events, and seize the initiative to prevent risks from arising, while adopting effective measures to address and resolve those that do arise. We must be fully prepared and make proactive strategic moves to convert danger into safety and adversity into opportunity. (P257)

本句有兩處動物隱喻：“黑天鵝”事件和“灰犀牛”事件。黑天鵝的存在寓意著不可預測的重大稀有事件，它在意料之外，卻又改變著一切。後來人們用“黑天鵝事件”來指極其罕見的、出乎人們意料的風險。“灰犀牛”是與“黑天鵝”相互補足的概念。“灰犀牛事件”是指太過於常見以至於人們習以為常的風險。這兩個動物隱喻在英語中有對應的說法。“黑天鵝”與 black swan，“灰犀牛”與 gray rhino 形成對應關係。這些對應成分直接映射到譯文空間，形成跨空間的映射關係。譯者在翻譯時，保留了原文本空間的概念隱喻，採用直譯的策略，表達了著力防範化解重大風險的決心。

5.2 C 型單域型網路概念整合模型及隱喻英譯

在單域型網路中，輸入空間 1 和 2 有著不同的組織框架，其中只有一個組織框架投射到合成空間中而另一個被淘汰，所以單域網路呈現了很明顯的競爭關係。單域網路是一種不對稱的框架映射模型。它的典型特徵是合成空間的組織框架是輸入空間 1 的組織框架的延伸。這種單域網路概念整合模式在不同的隱喻翻譯過程中存在以下兩種形式：只有原文本空間的 c 映射到譯文空間和只有譯者空間的 d 映射到譯文空間。

各民族文化、歷史、習俗等方面的差異會造成思維和認知的差異，從而反映出語言表徵心理的差異性。漢英語言的差異反映在翻譯上，原本空間的成分有時在譯語空間找不到對應的說法，不能構成直接的映射關係。在翻譯時，只能將圖 2 中的 c 直接映射到譯文空間，採用直譯或者譯入同類概念隱喻的策略，保留原本空間的概念隱喻，翻譯結果實現了形式對等，讓譯文讀者更加熟悉中國的傳統文化。

例 3：我們的頭腦要特別清醒、立場要特別堅定，牢牢把握正確鬥爭方向，做到在各種重大鬥爭考驗面前“不畏浮雲遮望眼”，“亂雲飛渡仍從容”。(P226)

We should be clear-headed, take a firm stance, and stay on the right course in major struggles. In the face of any major test, we should be “unperturbed by the cloud that obscures our vision”, and remain steadfast while “riotous clouds sweep past”. (P264)

“不畏浮雲遮望眼”出自北宋王安石的〈登飛來峰〉：“不畏浮雲遮望眼，只緣身在最高層。”這兩句詩的意思是高瞻遠矚的人，不怕被浮雲遮蔽住眼睛。比喻掌握了正確的觀點和方法，認識達到了一定的高度，就能透過現象看到本質，就不會被事物的假像迷惑。古人常有浮雲蔽日、邪臣蔽賢的憂慮，而詩人卻加上“不畏”二字。表現了詩人在政治上高瞻遠矚，不畏奸邪的勇氣和決心。“亂雲飛渡仍從容”出自毛澤東的一首七言絕句〈七絕·為李進同志題所攝廬山仙人洞照〉：“暮色蒼茫看勁松，亂雲飛渡仍從容。天生一個仙人洞，無限風光在險峰。”這首詩通過對勁松和仙人洞生動的描寫，歌頌了中國共產黨和中國人民為了偉大的社會主義事業而不屈不撓的戰鬥精神。這兩句詩在譯語空間沒有對應的表達方式，譯者在翻譯時採用了直譯的策略，保留了原本空間的概念隱喻，傳達了原文中的文化意象，號召大家發揚鬥爭精神，增強鬥爭本領，為實現中華民族偉大復興的中國夢而頑強奮鬥。

5.3 D 型單域型網路概念整合模型及隱喻英譯

由於漢英語言的差異性，有時原本空間的成分在譯語空間找不到對應的說法，譯者在翻譯時會放棄原本空間的語言表達形式，將其激發的認知聯想用譯者空間特有的語言形式表達出來。如圖 2，只存在於譯語空間或譯者空間的 d 映射到譯文空間，翻譯時譯者通常採取意譯、省譯的策略，譯入不同類概念隱喻或者放棄概念隱喻，翻譯結果因而實現了概念對等。

例 4：要同舟共濟，促進貿易和投資自由化便利化，推動經濟全球化朝著更加開放、包容、普惠、平衡、共贏的方向發展。(P46)

We should stick together through thick and thin, facilitate free trade and investment, and make economic globalization more open, inclusive, and balanced so that its benefits are shared by all. (P63)

本句中“同舟共濟”在譯語空間沒有對應的說法，但其激發的認知聯想類似於英語中的短語 through thick and thin。Through thick and thin 這個短語來源於英國。14 世紀時，

英國還沒有現在這般繁華，而是像小鄉村一樣，有很多樹林，有濃密的和稀疏的。人們穿過濃密的樹林比較困難，而穿過稀疏的樹林會輕鬆很多。因此用這個短語來比喻生活的困難和快樂，從而引申出“同甘共苦、有福同享有難同當”等類似的意。譯者放棄了原文本空間的概念隱喻，將“同舟共濟”意譯為 *through thick and thin*，成功地傳達了原文本空間的隱喻激發的認知聯想，呼籲各國人民同心協力，構建人類命運共同體，建設共同繁榮、清潔美麗的世界。

例 5：我們要加強生態文明建設，牢固樹立綠水青山就是金山銀山的理念……（P186）

We should strengthen our commitment to eco-civilization. Lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets.（P220）

在翻譯“綠水青山就是金山銀山”時，譯者放棄了原文中的概念隱喻，將其激發的認知心理和感受用譯語空間特有的語言形式表達出來。譯者將“金山銀山”意譯為“invaluable assets”，強調生態環境的價值和重要性，表達了走生態優先、綠色發展之路的決心。

例 6：領導幹部要有草搖葉響知鹿過、松風一起知虎來、一葉易色而知天下秋的見微知著能力，對潛在的風險有科學預判，知道風險在哪裡，表現形式是什麼，發展趨勢會怎樣，該鬥爭的就要鬥爭。（P226）

……leading officials should be sharp and quick in foreseeing and identifying potential threats, perceiving their locations, forms and likely trends, and resolving them as necessary.（P264）

由於漢英語言的差異，原文本空間中的動物隱喻“草搖葉響知鹿過、松風一起知虎來”和氣候隱喻“一葉易色而知天下秋”在譯語空間中沒有對應的說法，不能構成直接的映射關係。譯者在翻譯時放棄了原文本空間的表達形式，省略了概念隱喻，將“草搖葉響知鹿過、松風一起知虎來、一葉易色而知天下秋”意譯為 *be sharp and quick*，有效地傳達了原文激發的認知聯想。在翻譯戰爭隱喻“該鬥爭的就要鬥爭”時，譯者也採用了省譯 + 意譯的策略，放棄了原文本空間中的概念隱喻，將其意譯為 *resolving them as necessary*，號召全體黨員發揚鬥爭精神，增強鬥爭本領，為實現中華民族偉大復興而奮鬥。

5.4 雙域網路概念整合模型及隱喻英譯：c 和 d 同時映射到譯文空間

福科尼耶和特納認為，在雙域網路中，輸入空間 1 和 2 有著不同的組織框架。兩個空間中只有部分的組織框架能夠映射到合成空間中。兩個輸入空間都對合成空間裡的框架層次做出了貢獻，通過整合形成了不同於任何一個輸入空間的全新的框架。在四種整合網路當中，雙域網路是最複雜且最有創意的，因為它要求兩個輸入空間的成分和框架選擇性地投射並構建合成空間的組織框架。雙域網路概念整合模型也可以用來解釋翻譯的過程。在翻譯過程中，譯者為了保留原語的文化意象，將原文本空間的

c 映射到譯文空間。同時，為了迎合譯文讀者的閱讀期待，譯者將由 c 激發的認知聯想用譯語空間的 d 進行表達，也映射到譯文空間，借助認知模式“組合”、“完善”和“詳釋”，保留概念隱喻，採用直譯 + 解釋的策略，讓譯文實現形式對等和概念對等。

例 7：全黨同志特別是各級領導幹部做政治上的明白人，很重要的一條就是任何時候任何情況下都要堅定中國特色社會主義道路自信、理論自信、制度自信、文化自信，真正做到“千磨萬擊還堅勁，任爾東西南北風”。(P125)

All Party members, especially leading officials, must take a political stance on this issue, and maintain confidence in the Chinese socialist path, theory, system and culture at all times and in all circumstances. We must be as tenacious as bamboo, as described by Zheng Xie: “In the face of all blows, not bending low, it still stands fast. Whether from east, west, south, or north the wind doth blast.” (P150)

本句中的隱喻“千磨萬擊還堅勁，任爾東西南北風”出自清代畫家鄭燮的詩歌〈竹石〉。這首詩歌頌了竹子生在惡劣環境下，長在危難中，而又無畏無懼、堅定樂觀、慷慨瀟灑的精神面貌。譯者採用了直譯 + 解釋的策略，既保留了原文本空間的概念隱喻，又將其激發的認知聯想通過增譯的方式有效地傳達給了譯文讀者。譯者通過補充 We must be as tenacious as bamboo，譯出了竹子的堅韌不拔，抒發了全黨同志走社會主義道路的堅定決心和愛國情懷。

例 8：我們堅持加強黨的領導和尊重人民首創精神相結合，堅持“摸著石頭過河”和頂層設計相結合，……確保了改革開放行穩致遠。(P189)

To ensure sustained and steady progress of reform and opening up, we need to uphold Party leadership while respecting the people’s creativity; we need to explore experiences, like crossing a river by feeling for stones, while enhancing top-level design... (P222)

“摸著石頭過河”原是一句民間歇後語，完整地說是“摸著石頭過河——踩穩一步，再邁一步”，或者“摸著石頭過河——求穩當”。這富有民間智慧的歇後語被借用來表示一種科學的工作方法，表示面對新事物要本著穩妥的態度，進行探索。在翻譯“摸著石頭過河”時，譯者先將其直譯為“crossing a river by feeling for stones”。輸入空間 1 “石頭”激發的認知聯想映射到輸入空間 2 成為“經驗和規律”。然後輸入空間 1 把“石頭”、“河流”投射至新的空間，輸入空間 2 把“經驗和規律”也投射至這一新的空間，通過這樣借助認知模式“組合”，所形成的新的空間便是合成空間，合成空間中就有了新的層創結構，即“we need to explore experiences”。“頂層設計”中的“頂層”比喻我國中央政府，譯者將其直譯為“top-level design”。譯者既保留了原文本空間的文化意象，又考慮到目的語讀者的思維方式和表達習慣，採用了直譯 + 解釋的策略，使翻譯結果實現了形式對等和概念對等。譯文準確傳達了原文的思想，即我們要堅持黨的領導，既要敢試敢闖，又要蹄疾步穩，在改革開放的進程中實現中華民族偉大復興。

六、結語

自 2019 年起，有學者對《習》第一卷或第二卷中的概念隱喻展開了研究。研究範圍有心理學、概念隱喻、修辭學、語料庫、語篇隱喻和翻譯。2022 年有學者從認知和語用的角度對《習》第三卷中的隱喻進行了分析。但這些研究主要側重於概念隱喻或者對中國特色詞語的翻譯策略的研究，很少有學者分析譯者在翻譯時的認知過程。本文以認知語言學的概念整合理論為基礎，運用翻譯過程的概念整合新模型來分析《習近平談治國理政》第三卷中政治隱喻及其英譯的過程。通過對翻譯過程的四種概念整合模型進行資料統計和案例分析，揭示每種概念整合模型及其相應翻譯策略的差異性和原因，也解釋了譯者在翻譯隱喻時採用不同翻譯策略背後的心理認知過程，指出概念整合理論對政治隱喻的英譯有著強大的認知闡釋力。《習近平談治國理政》第三卷及其英譯本對於打破西方話語霸權、構建中國在世界輿論場中的話語體系，從而為世界構建中國智慧發揮著重要的作用。本文通過將概念整合理論納入政治隱喻的翻譯，譯者生動地解釋了習近平新時代中國特色社會主義思想，化抽象為具體，化晦澀為生動，幫助國際社會更好地瞭解這一重要思想的主要內容，增進對中國共產黨為甚麼能、馬克思主義為甚麼行、中國特色社會主義為甚麼好的認識和理解。

研究發現，譯者最傾向於使用 D 型單域網路概念整合模型來翻譯政治隱喻。翻譯時多採用省譯、意譯和歸化的策略，放棄概念隱喻或者譯入不同類概念隱喻。筆者認為，譯者在翻譯政治隱喻時可適當增加異化和直譯 + 解釋的翻譯策略，讓目的語讀者更加熟悉中國文化，逐漸適應漢語的思維模式和意識形態，以擴大漢語的影響力。

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But, *but* me no *but*s:
**A Corpus-Driven Comparison of Contrastive Markers in
Interpreted and Non-Interpreted Policy Speeches in English**

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Abstract

The rendition of political speeches and political interpreting usually involves the employment of high-level pragmatic competence. In this regard, the appropriate use and rendition of contrastive markers (CMs), i.e., the linguistic indicator that may signal propositions unfavourable or contrastive to people's presuppositions, form part of an important pragmatic strategy. Nevertheless, little empirical evidence has been provided as to how CMs are and should be rendered in political speeches and their interpreting. This study, therefore, aims to investigate and compare the employment of two frequently used CMs, however and but, in interpreted and non-interpreted policy speeches in English. Datasets in the Chinese/English Political Interpreting Corpus (CEPIC), consisting of speeches delivered by top government officials in or interpreted into English, were employed for the purpose of the study. Findings of the study suggest that the use of the two CMs displays different patterns in interpreter speeches and politician speeches, and in speeches delivered in a monologue mode and a dialogue mode. The pragmatic implications and possible triggers were further explored through examining the top collocates of the CMs. Findings of the study shed new light on issues relating to representativeness and sanction, or authority and acceptability of political speeches.

1. Introduction

The delivery of political speeches and political interpreting usually involves the employment of high-level pragmatic competence. Among the different genres of political discourse, policy speeches serve important means for the general public to access a government's official policies. Such speeches, delivered in modes of monologues and dialogues/debates, constitute also a special genre of parliamentary discourse in places with a parliamentary system.

In policy speeches, the appropriate use and rendition of contrastive markers (CMs), i.e., the linguistic indicator that may signal propositions unfavourable or contrastive to people's presuppositions, is of great significance. According to Pan and Wong (2018; 2019), the rendition of CMs reflects the nuances of political translation and interpreting and is worthy of exploration. Nevertheless, little empirical evidence has been provided as to how CMs are and should be rendered by politicians and their interpreters.

This study therefore aims to investigate and compare the use of two frequently contrastive markers, *however* and *but*, in interpreted and non-interpreted policy speeches in English. Datasets in the Chinese/English Political Interpreting Corpus (CEPIC, Pan 2019a), consisting of policy speeches delivered in or rendered into English in Beijing, Hong Kong SAR, London and Washington DC, were employed for the purpose of the study.

Policy speeches interpreted from Chinese (including the Putonghua [*Standard Chinese* in spoken format] and Cantonese [the principal language spoken in Hong Kong SAR] varieties) to English were chosen as the two languages feature significant differences at the pragmatic level (Gu 1992). Policy speeches delivered in the United Kingdom and the United States were chosen for comparison, since they represent two major varieties of the *Standard English* (see Crowley 2003).

2. Research Background

2.1 The pragmatics of political speeches and political interpreting

Political speeches and political interpreting constitute two special types of spoken discourse in politic settings, and are delivered under different constraints. They form indispensable parts of a political discourse (Schäffner 1997; Van Dijk 2002; Schäffner and Bassnett 2010).

Scholars have probed into the definition, categorisation, and features of political speeches, drawing attention to various aspects of this specific spoken genre. Ensink (1997, 10), for instance, suggested that political speeches featured "language use by politicians, i.e., those people who are professionally involved in the management of public affairs". Charteris-Black (2018, xiii), more specifically, defined political speeches as "a coherence stream of spoken language that is usually prepared for delivery by a speaker to an audience for a specific purpose

on a political occasion”. Hence the definition of the term should consist of three essential and interrelated parameters: the actor—people who do politics, the medium—spoken language and the occasion—political purposes.

Previous research suggests that political speeches can be further divided into subgenres based on a number of parameters. In general, Ensink (1997, 10) believed political speeches covered “both an enormous quantity and a great multitude of forms, ranging from negotiations and formal meetings, to briefings, press conferences, press interviews, and speeches”. Schäffner (1997) suggested classifying political speeches by function and theme. The former, in particular, led to subgenres of inner-state (which can be internal [e.g., within the political or ideological group] or external [e.g., addressing the nation]) and inter-state political communication (e.g., remarks at state-visits). Charteris-Black (2018, xiii) proposed two overlapping categories based on the purposes of political speeches: one for policy making (“deliberative”) and the other consensus building (“epideictic”). Sauer (1997) suggested three criteria for the evaluation of political speeches in aspects of aesthetic norms (e.g., rhetorics), persuasiveness, and dialogicity. He proposed that situational contexts should also be taken into consideration, covering factors such as audience type (homogeneous or heterogeneous) and medium of delivery (through direct contact of mass media).

Among the various features of political speeches, issues of representativeness and sanction, or authority and acceptability are believed to be closely relevant to their pragmatical meaning. Ensink (1997, 10) specified that political speeches were supposed to be “authorised”, “acceptable”, and able to “win the favour of the public”. He concluded that political speeches, regardless of form, were “geared to being representative of something, and so may be liable to be sanctioned by a higher authority” (ibid.). Likewise, Schäffner (1997, 3) emphasised that politicians usually delivered speeches in representation of their political parities and were therefore “limited as to what they can do and say and how”. A similar view was shared by Sauer (1997, 41), who believed that orators of political speeches were “public persons”. Following the “representativeness” theory, Ensink (1997, 11) proposed a specific category of nationally representative speeches delivered by “specific persons”, or persons as “the incumbent of specific functions” (such as “a head of state, a prime minister, and the speaker of the parliament, or by persons immediately replacing them”) on “specific occasions” (e.g. on “events of national interest, or state visits”).

Apart from “representativeness”, the issue of “sanction” on political speeches mentioned by Ensink (1997) has further been complicated by the fact that political speeches receive growing public exposure both at home and abroad. They have been increasingly covered by outlets such as government websites and media reports, which sometimes also provide translation and/or interpreted transcripts of such speeches (cf. Schäffner and Bassnett 2010; Fertzler 2013).

According to Schäffner and Bassnett (2010, 13), “translation, although often invisible in the field of politics, is actually an integral part of political activity”. The translation or

interpreting of political speeches constitutes an important means for a government to “communicate its political aims and decisions to the outside world” (ibid.). It may even show shifts that “had an impact on the target society” (Gagnon 2010, 255). Pan (2019b, 257), in addition, suggests that “the study of translated/interpreting political language allows a unique lens on cross-cultural pragmatics”.

As a matter of fact, interpreting, particularly simultaneous interpreting, has been regarded a constrained mode of translation in aspects such as time, short-term memory capacity, and knowledge (Gile 1995, 2009; Gumul 2006). It is placed in a continuum of constrained language varieties (cf. Shlesinger 2009; Kruger 2012; Kruger and Van Rooy 2016). Such constraints are further complicated by the originally sensitive nature and setting of political meetings, challenges in cross-cultural communication (Pan 2005; 2007), and even the risks of interpreters being taken as scapegoats when things go wrong (Buri 2015).

Hence, political speeches and their translation/interpreting, among other genres of political discourse, carry substantial pragmatic significance (Fertzer 2013; Pan 2019b), and their delivery requires a high level of pragmatic competence (Blas Arroyo 2015) to convey the message and underlying attitude in an accurate way (Pan and Wong 2018, 2019). Xu (2000, 38, as in Yang 2012, 16), in particular, regarded a diplomatic translator “a diplomat”, who needed to “translate or interpret not only the leaders’ speeches but also their attitude and mood, and even the political atmosphere on the spot”. Yang (2012, 12) also emphasised that political interpreters should be able to “analyse the political meaning of the diplomatic language by reading between the lines”.

Given the importance of pragmatics in political speeches and political interpreting, general frameworks have been offered for the exploration of the nuances in meaning rendition by politicians or their interpreters/translators. Fretz (2013, 9), focusing on the contextual parameters of political discourse, suggested three ways to conceptualise “doing politics”: doing politics from above (by leading representatives of the government for official purposes), in the media (with interaction with or reported by journalists), and from below (with audience participation in the media, or on the internet). However, these three methods may not be always clear-cut, as political discourse, in particular political speeches, has increasingly been performed at all three levels. With a different focus on the layers of pragmatic meaning, Pan (2019b) offered an analytical framework to investigate the pragmatics of political discourse with the input of corpus linguistics, covering the meaning of meaning (i.e., “the realisation of [intended/implied] meaning production and reception in political contexts”, 254), the structure of meaning (i.e., “the organisation of (intended/implied) meaning at a text and discourse level”, 255), and meaning in extended spheres (i.e., “meaning of the above two layers in extended spheres of politics including culture, society and history”, 255). Her model covers the translation/interpreting of political discourse in the third layer, i.e., meaning in extended spheres, which constitutes a much-needed area of research.

Despite the importance of pragmatics in political interpreting, little empirical research has been done to compare the pragmatic strategies employed by politicians and their interpreters, the results of which can help to pinpoint the shared and different components of politician and political interpreter training, and contribute to communication studies at large.

2.2 The use of CMs in political speeches and political interpreting

CMs belong to a subset of pragmatic markers (PMs), defined by Fraser (1996, 168) as “the linguistically encoded clues which signal the speaker’s potential communicative intentions”. CMs, often used as adversative conjunctions, can be illustrated by the use of expressions including *however*, *but*, *on the contrary*, etc. The use of CMs usually signals that “the utterance following is either a denial or a contrast of some proposition associated with the preceding discourse” (Fraser 1996, 187), or with a subsequent utterance that is “contrary to expectation” (Halliday and Hasan, 1976, 250), or a “negative coherence relation” (Cuenca, Postolea, and Visconti 2019, para 1). They can even indicate “the unexpected, surprising natural of what is being said in view of what was said before” (Biber et al. 2002, 878).

Among different CMs, *but* and *however* constitute the two most frequently used in political speeches in English, and in interpreted policy speeches in English in particular (e.g., Pan and Wong, 2018, 2019), whereas *bat gwo* (不過, comparable to *however* in English) and *daan (hai)* (但(是), comparable to *but* in English) constitute the two most representative CMs in Cantonese (CUHK 2014) and also the most frequently-used CMs policy speeches delivered in Cantonese (e.g., Pan and Wong, 2018, 2019). The subtlety degree of these CMs is slightly different. In particular, *but* (and also *daan (hai)*) signals denial of expectation and contrast (Blakesmore 1989), whilst *however* (and also *bat gwo*) indicates concession (Quirk et al. 1985), the closing of a topic (of a digression) or reintroduction of a prior topic (Bublitz 1988), which is more subtle than *but* (and also *daan (hai)*).

The studies by Pan and Wong (2018, 2019) constitute perhaps the only research on the use of CMs (*but* and *however*) in interpreting. Through a corpus-driven survey of the use of different PMs in interpreted and non-interpreted political speeches, Pan and Wong (2019) found that CMs, a subset of PMs, were treated differently than the other types of PMs in interpreted language, including syntactic markers (e.g., *I know*, *I think*), lexical markers (e.g. *actually*, *kind of*, *sort of*, *then*), and elaborative markers (e.g., *above all*). Whereas the other categories of PMs were found to be underused in interpreter language, the use of CMs were found to be more complicated: *however* was overused while *but* and *instead of* were underused. Pan and Wong (2018) explored the use of *but* and *however* in Cantonese policy speeches and their English interpretations. The study reported the different use patterns in the two CMs in Cantonese and English and identified a possible trend of mitigation by interpreters when interpreting *daan (hai)*. Nevertheless, the contextual information and potential triggers of such mitigation remain unexplored.

Likewise, Bartłomiejczyk (2016), through analysing personal references and impoliteness based on a corpus of interpreting in the European Parliament, also identified a general mitigating effect on pronoun directness and most prominently on impoliteness. Her study results support in part the hypotheses that mitigation may be considered a norm in conference interpreting, an indicator of (self-)censorship or the interpreter's intervention(s), and an evidence of equalising.

In addition, the studies by Gumul (2006, 2010, 2017) and Tang (2018) on explicitation in interpreting, in particular explicitation of cohesive devices (Gumul 2008, 2012) or “textual explication” (Tang, 2018) offer interesting perspectives that nevertheless may indicate a possible tendency against mitigation. A potential reason may be that these studies were based on experiment data gathered from student interpreters and aimed to investigate interpreting in general instead of in the sensitive political settings. As a matter of fact, Gumul (2010) believed that explicitation, ranging from adding/shifting cohesive devices to meaning and lexical specification (also see Gumul 2006, 2017), served a linguistic marker of ideology, which made the very act of explicitation a political one. It is therefore useful to look into the ways how explicitation, if any, may act on political speeches and their interpreting occurred in naturalist settings.

Moreover, the aforementioned studies share the same limitation a comparatively small corpus size of no more than one million word tokens, due to difficulties in collecting and transcribing interpreting data. It is thus worthwhile to tap into bigger size corpora to see how CMs actually play in spoken political discourse, in particular through the unique cross-cultural lens presented by interpreting (Pan 2019b).

3. Material and Methods

Under such a background, this study aims to investigate and compare the use of two frequently-employed CMs, *however* and *but*, in interpreted and non-interpreted inner-state political speeches, termed as “policy speeches” in the study (cf. Schäffner 1997). These speeches can be delivered in two modes monologue (mostly manuscripted, involving no verbal communication on site, with the primary function of policy making, cf. Charteris-Black 2018) and dialogue (mostly memorised or impromptu, involving debates between politicians or questions from the audience, i.e., usually the media; with the primary function of consensus building, cf. Charteris-Black 2018). Speeches delivered during state visits were not included in the study as they involve different contextual variables (Sauer 1997; Schäffner 1997). They may thus be investigated in a separate study.

Speeches rendered in English were examined since the language is considered a lingua franca used in international politics (Breiteneder 2009). Contextual factors of delivery, e.g., monologues vs. dialogues, were taken into consideration (see Sauer 1997). Chinese-English

interpreting was investigated in the study as Chinese is regarded implicit and significantly different from English at the pragmatic level (Gu 1992). The two CMs, *but* and *however*, were chosen for analysis since they were the most frequently-used CMs in policy speeches interpreted in English (Pan and Wong 2018, 2019). In particular, *but* signals denial of expectation and contrast (Blakesmore 1989), whereas *however* tends to be more subtle and suggests concession (Quirk et al. 1985), the closing of a topic (of a digression) or reintroduction of a prior topic (Bublitz 1988).

The study centres on four research questions (RQs):

- 1) What are the differences (if any) in the frequency of the two CMs in policy speeches interpreted from Chinese to English, and those delivered in English?
- 2) What are the differences (if any) in the top collocates of the two CMs in policy speeches interpreted from Chinese to English, and those delivered in English?
- 3) What are the differences (if any) in the frequency of the two CMs in policy speeches delivered in a monologue mode as compared to those delivered in a dialogue mode?
- 4) What are the differences (if any) in the top collocates of the two CMs in policy speeches delivered in a monologue mode as compared to those delivered in a dialogue mode?

3.1 The corpus

Data used for the study was extracted from the Chinese/English Political Interpreting Corpus (CEPIC, Pan 2019a), an open-access corpus consisting of political speeches and their interpreting in both Chinese and English languages ranging from the period of 1997 to 2017.^[1] Speeches covered by the corpus were delivered by top government officials (state leaders, national/regional department heads, members of parliament, etc.) on official occasions (including presentations and press conference remarks/parliamentary debates on national/regional policies [i.e., “inner-state” speeches according to Schäffner 1997, 2], and bilateral meetings during state visits [i.e., “inter-state” speeches according to Schäffner 1997, 2]). The main locales of the speeches were Hong Kong SAR, Beijing, London, and Washington DC, as well as other places where bilateral meetings were held (ibid). According to Pan (2019c), the corpus, totalling over 6 million word tokens, included 16 sub-datasets, each consisting of a raw (provided by government websites) and annotated (verbatim transcriptions documenting various spoken language features [Pan forthcoming]) dataset respectively.

In this study, only the datasets consisting of public speeches and press conference remarks/parliamentary debates on national/regional policies were selected for analysis. Speeches delivered during state visits were excluded as they involved more complicated settings and variables

(see Schöffner 1997; Schöffner and Bassnett 2010). The selected speeches were delivered regularly on an annual basis and thus featured an even distribution and representativeness over time. These speeches were termed “policy speeches” in the study. In addition, only the annotated part of the datasets was included. The raw part was not taken into consideration since it contains texts collected from official government websites, the practice of which may vary across countries/regions (Schöffner and Bassnett 2010). Also, the annotated dataset included various spoken language features ranging from extralinguistic/paralinguistic information, gap fillers, pauses, to repetitions and self-corrections (Pan forthcoming), and therefore could provide more relevant findings regarding the spoken language dimension of political speeches and their interpreting.

As displayed in Table 1, the selected dataset was further divided into four sub-corpora, namely CEPIC(HK), CEPIC(PRC), CEPIC(UK) and CEPIC(US). The CEPIC(HK) and CEPIC(PRC) sub-corpora were parallel ones consisting of policy speeches (delivered in Cantonese [CEPIC(HK)] or Putonghua [CEPIC(PRC)]) and their interpreted versions into Putonghua (only in the case of CEPIC [HK]) and English (both CEPIC[HK] and CEPIC[PRC]). The CEPIC(UK) and CEPIC(US) sub-corpora only included policy speeches delivered in English for which no interpreting was provided on site. The CEPIC(PRC+HK) part is further coded as the Corpus of Interpreted Political Speeches from Chinese to English (CIPSCE), and the CEPIC(UK+US) part as the Corpus of Political Speeches in English (CEPS) in this study. The CIPSCE and CEPS subsets therefore represent interpreter speech and politician speech respectively. They were further divided into a monologue (manuscript-based) and dialogue (memorised/impromptu) subset, by using the abbreviation M and D, respectively, behind the sub-corpora names.

Table 1: Sub-corpora taken from the CEPIC (Pan 2019a)

	Speech Type	Code used in this study	Speaker	Speech Mode	Inter -preting Mode
1	HK SAR Policy Addresses (HKPA)	CEPIC(HK); CIPSCE_M	Chief Executive	Monologue; Manuscript-based	SI
2	Press Conferences of HK SAR Policy Addresses (HKPAPC)	CEPIC(HK); CIPSCE_D	Chief Executive & journalists	Dialogue; Memorised /impromptu	SI
3	HK SAR Budget Speeches (HKBS)	CEPIC(HK); CIPSCE_M	Financial Secretary	Monologue; Manuscript-based	SI

4	Press Conferences of HK SAR Budget Speeches (HKBSPC)	CEPIC(HK); CIPSCE_D	Financial Secretary & journalists	Dialogue; Memorised / impromptu	SI
5	PRC Reports on the Work of the Government (PRCWoG)	CEPIC(PRC); CIPSCE_M	Premier	Monologue; Manuscript-based	SI
6	Press Conferences of PRC Reports on the Work of the Government (PRCWoGPC)	CEPIC(PRC); CIPSCE_D	Premier & journalists	Dialogue; Memorised / impromptu	CI
7	US State of the Union Addresses (USSoUA)	CEPIC(US); CEPS_M	President	Monologue; Manuscript-based	NA
8	Press Conferences of US State of the Union Addresses (USSoUAPC)	CEPIC(US); CEPS_D	President & journalists	Dialogue; Memorised / impromptu	NA
9	US Budget Speeches (USBS)	CEPIC(US); CEPS_M	President	Monologue; Manuscript-based	NA
10	Press Conferences of US Budget Speeches (USBSPC)	CEPIC(US); CEPS_D	President & journalists	Dialogue; Memorised / impromptu	NA
11	UK State Opening Addresses of Parliament (UKSOoP)	CEPIC(UK); CEPS_M	The Queen	Monologue; Manuscript-based	NA

12	Debates on the UK State Opening Addresses of Parliament (UKSOoPD)	CEPIC(UK); CEPS_D	Members of Parliament	Dialogue; Memorised / impromptu	NA
13	UK Budget Speeches (UKBS)	CEPIC(UK); CEPS_M	Chancellor	Monologue; Manuscript-based	NA
14	Debates on the UK Budget Speeches (UKBSD)	CEPIC(UK); ; CEPS_D	Members of Parliament	Dialogue; Memorised / impromptu	NA

All of the data were collected from naturalist settings. A majority of them were interpreted in simultaneous mode (SI, dataset 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5), and a small part in consecutive mode (CI, dataset 6).

3.2 Data analysis

The selected data, CM annotated, were then put into WordSmith 7.0 (Scott 2016) for the calculation of basic statistics. The software provides the Standardised Type/token ratio (STTR), the calculation of which is needed for comparison of lexical density of sub-corpora of substantially different size. Apart from WordSmith, the corpora data were processed using other tools to address each of the research questions, including the Log-likelihood and Effect Size Calculator (Rayson and Garside 2000; for RQ1 and RQ3) and #Lancsbox 4.5 (Brezina, Timperley, and McEnery 2018; for visualisations created in response to RQ2 and RQ4).

4. Results

4.1 Basic statistics

Table 2 presents the basic statistics of the selected sub-corpora, totalling 2,434,070 word tokens. According to the table, the Putonghua part of CEPIC(PRC) and Cantonese part of CEPIC(HK) had 244,129 and 486,619 word tokens respectively. The English part of the sub-corpora CEPIC(PRC), CEPIC(HK), CEPIC(UK) and CEPIC(US) had 305,157, 591,923, 304,284, and 501,958 word tokens respectively. Due to the differences in the corpora size, STTR was calculated by WordSmith. As shown in the table, the Cantonese annotated data of CEPIC(HK) had the highest STTR of 52.08, indicating a higher lexical variety than the rest of

the sub-corpora. The high STTR of CEPIC(HK) is contributable by its inclusion of Cantonese spoken words that vary greatly from written Chinese. Results of the STTRs of the English subsets suggest that the sub-corpora of interpreter speeches (CEPIC[HK] and CEPIC[PRC]) in general had a higher lexical variety (40.47 and 39.28 respectively) than the reference sub-corpora of non-interpreted politician speeches (CEPIC[UK] and CEPIC[US]) did (39.22 and 37.92 respectively). The results suggest that politician speeches delivered in English may feature a comparatively more homogeneous glossary than interpreted political speeches do. Of course, follow-up studies need to be carried out in the future to test this hypothesis.

Table 2: Basic statistics of the selected CEPIC sub-corpora

	CIPSCE				CEPS	
	CEPIC (PRC)		CEPIC (HK)		CEPIC (UK)	CEPIC (US)
	PTH	ENG	CAN	ENG	ENG	ENG
Number of words (tokens)	244,129	305,157	486,619	591,923	304,284	501,958
Number of types	13,015	9,465	47,978	12,145	9,920	12,792
TTR	5.33	3.11	9.87	2.05	3.26	2.55
STTR	47.99	40.47	52.08	39.28	39.22	37.92

	CIPSCE_E	CEPS_E	CIPSCE_M	CIPSCE_D	CEPS_M	CEPS_D
Number of words (tokens)	897,080	806,242	585,579	311,501	361,017	445,225
Number of types	15,226	16,347	12,216	9,671	11,334	12,504
TTR	1.70	2.03	2.09	3.11	3.14	2.81
STTR	39.68	38.41	41.43	36.40	40.46	36.75

Likewise, as shown in the second part of the table, interpreter and politician speeches delivered in a monologue mode (41.43 in CIPSCE_M and 40.46 in CEPS_M) were found to feature higher STTRs than their counterparts delivered in a dialogue mode (36.40 in CIPSCE_D and 36.75 in CEPS_D). These results suggest a higher lexical variety of monologues than dialogues of both interpreter and politician speeches.

4.2 Frequency differences in the use of the two CMs in interpreter and politician speeches in English

In this section of analysis, politician speeches in English are represented by the combined sub-corpora of CEPIC(UK) and CEPIC(US), i.e., CIPSCE, and interpreter speeches by the combination of CEPIC(PRC) and CEPIC(HK), i.e., CEPS. Frequencies of the two CMs, *but*

and *however*, were extracted by WordSmith (Scott 2016) and then compared through statistics computed by the Log-Likelihood and Effect Size Calculator (Rayson and Garside 2000). Their closest Chinese counterparts (不過/不过 and 但(是)) were also extracted for comparison.

Table 2 shows the results. The use of *but* and *however* shows a clear pattern with statistical significance. The CM *but* appears significantly less frequent in interpreter speeches (CIPSCE) than in politician speeches (CEPS), with an average frequency of 15.88 and 45.12 per 10,000 tokens and a Log-Likelihood (LL) score as high as 1,251.40. By contrast, *however* has a significantly higher frequency in interpreter speeches (CEPIC[PRC+HK]) than in politician speeches (CEPS), with an average frequency of 2.91 and 0.92 per 10,000 tokens and a Log-Likelihood (LL) score of 91.61. Considering the lower degree of subtleness of *but* than *however*, results of the study confirm a possible tendency of mitigation in interpreter speeches (interpreted from both Cantonese and Putonghua) as a more constrained mode than politician speeches in English (cf. Pan and Wong 2019). These results may also indicate a cultural difference in treating CMs of different pragmatic meanings, wherein the speeches of CIPSE feature a Chinese inner-state context, and those of CEPS feature a British or American inner-state context.

Table 3: A comparison of the CM frequencies in the sub-corpora

Selected CMs	CIPSCE			CEPS			LL
	Total freq.	Avg. freq. (per 10K)	Observed freq. in percentage(%) ¹	Total freq.	Avg. freq. (per 10K)	Observed freq. in percentage(%) ¹	
不過/不过	122	1.67	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
但(是)	1,307	17.89	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
<i>however</i>	261	2.91	0.03	74	0.92	0.01 +	91.61*
<i>but</i>	1,425	15.88	0.16	3,638	45.12	0.45 -	1,251.40*

*: significant at $p < 0.05$ ($LL > 3.84$).

Note: The observed (absolute) frequencies in a normalised (percentage) forms are reported for the Log-Likelihood test (Rayson and Garside 2000).

If the number of the second corpus (CEPS) is followed by '+', it means that the PM is more frequent (on average) in CEPS than CIPSCE. If the number is followed by '-', it means that the PM is more frequent (on average) in CIPSCE instead.

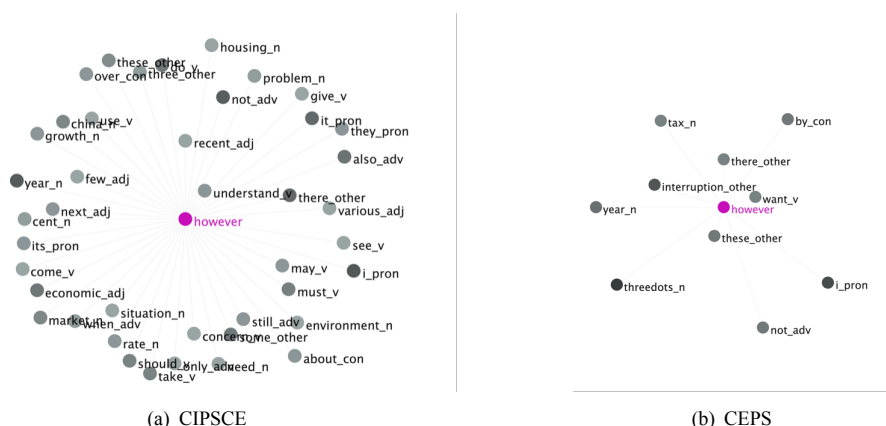
In the Chinese part of CIPSCE, much fewer cases of 不過/不过 (122 with an average frequency of 1.67 per 10,000 tokens) were identified, almost only 9.33% of the average frequency of 但(是) (1,307 with an average frequency of 17.89 per 10,000 tokens). A similar pattern was identified in the English part of CIPSCE, wherein the average frequency of *however* (2.91 per 10,000 words) constituted only 18.32% of the number of *but* (15.88). The smaller difference between *but* and *however* as compared to 不過/不过 and 但(是) also indicates a possibility of mitigation during the interpreting process. A close look at the renditions at a parallel level would allow more accurate interpretations. However, since this study focuses on the comparison between interpreted and non-interpreted political speeches, findings of the Chinese CMs

were only presented as references.

4.3 Top collocates of the two CMs in interpreter and politician speeches in English

The top collocates of *but* and *however* in CIPSCE and CEPS were compared. They were extracted using #LancsBox (Brezina, Timperley, and McEnery 2018), which provides a node-centred visualisation of the collocates in lemma forms that can be compared across sub-corpora. The same configurations were employed for the visualisations of each CM, to allow for meaningful comparison between the sub-corpora. The statistical settings are listed below each figure.

Figure 1 shows the top collocates of *however* in CIPSCE and CEPS with the range set as 5 words to the left and 5 to the right at a statistical threshold of MI of 4.0 and minimal frequency of 5. The distance between the node and the collocates indicates their collocation strength (the closer the distance, the stronger their collocation is), and the shade of the colour indicates the frequency of the collocate. Obviously, the CM *however* attracted more collocates in CIPSCE than in CEPS (also shown in Appendix 1). There were 5 shared top collocates of *however* in both sub-corpora, i.e., *these_other*, *there_other*, *not_adv*, *year_n* and *i_pron*, indicating that the CM was usually associated with the counting of years, the contrast of what the speaker (“I”, usually placed after *however*) did in comparison to others, and in certain negations in both interpreter and politician speeches. The use of the adverb *not* was featured more often on the right in CIPSCE but on both the right and left in CEPS, indicating a more flexible use of the CM in politician talk.



Note: 03 - MI (4.0)/ L5-R5/ C: 5.0-NC: 5.0

Figure 1: A comparison of top collocates of *however* in CIPSCE and CEPS

Apart from the similarities, *however* seems to easily draw verbs indicating concession (e.g., *understand*, *concern* or modal words showing (un)certainty (e.g., *may*, *must*, and *should*)

in CIPSCE, but a verb indicating strong will (i.e. *want*) in CEPS. When nouns associated with the CM were examined, *however* was seen often introduced by topics relating to *situation* (L), *rate* (L), *market* (L) and *growth* (L), and featured discussion on *need* (R), *environment* (R) and *housing* (R) in CIPSCE. The CM was usually triggered by topics relating to *tax* (L) in CEPS though. The adjectives and adverbs associated with the CM in interpreter speech seem to be largely neutral (e.g., *recent*, *still*, *next*, *various*, *when*, etc.) in CIPSCE. What is worth noting is that *however* seems to be significantly triggered by other people's interruption and the speaker's pauses (coded as *threedots*, whereas the number of the dots indicates the length of the pause) in CEPS. The concordance lines of these cases of interruptions and pauses were extracted and shown in Figure 2. Whereas interruption associated with *however* was more evenly distributed between monologues and dialogues, pauses associated with *however* occurred more often in monologues, which may indicate a speaker's possible intentional delay of introducing the contrast indicated by this CM. Given the larger number of but in the corpus,

The figure consists of two screenshots of a KWIC concordance tool interface. The top screenshot is titled 'KWIC: however > interruption_other' and shows search results for 'however' with 11/74 occurrences (0.14) across 4/8 texts. The bottom screenshot is titled 'KWIC: however > threedots_n' and shows search results for 'however' with 15/74 occurrences (0.19) across 5/8 texts. Both screenshots display a table with columns for Index, File, Left, Node, and Right, showing concordance lines for the word 'however'.

Index	File	Left	Node	Right
6	11_E_Annot_tury_NN	applause_NN interruption_cheers_the_DT system_NN	however_RB	on_in_its_PPS current_JJ path_NN be_VBZ head_VVN toward_JJ
7	11_E_Annot_o_offer_VV	applause_NN interruption_cheers_we_PP must_MD	however_RB	be_VBZ guide_VVN by_IN some_DT basic_JJ principle_NNS three
24	14_E_Annot_nd-eighty-nine_JJ	year_NNS interruption_laugh_threedots_NNS	however_RB	I_PP have_VHP decide_VVN not_RB to_TO follow_VV their_PPS
26	14_E_Annot_ar_NN	interruption_hear_threedots_NNS we_PP will_MD not_RB	however_RB	spend_VV more_RBR than_IN point-to-seven_NN per_IN cent_NN
28	14_E_Annot_one_CD	year_NN early_JJ interruption_inaudible_threedots_NNS	however_RB	the_DT likelihood_NN of_IN meet_VVCG the_DT supplementary_I
62	a13_E_AnnotDT	pub_NN after_IN him_PP interruption_laugh_threedots_NNS	however_WRB	I_PP doINt_VVPIRB rely_VV exclusively_RB on_IN my_PPS persi-
63	a13_E_Annotpeople's_NNS	POS legitimate_JJ concern_NNS interruption_hear	however_RB	unfashionable_JJ their_PPS view_NNS may_MD be_VB among_JJ
69	a14_E_AnnotJJ	way_NN forward_RB for_IN them_PP green_NN taxis_NNS	however_RB	should_MD be_VB revenue-neutral_NN interruption_hear
71	a14_E_Annotthe_DT	chancellor_NP growth_NN interruption_order_order_NN	however_RB	long_RB it_PP take_VVZ the_DT situation_NN be_VBZ very_RB
72	a14_E_AnnotJJ	year_NNS interruption_order_NN order_NN order_NN	however_RB	long_RB it_PP take_VVZ the_DT response_NN interruption_ord
73	a14_E_Annotr_WDT	be_VBZ necessary_JJ interruption_laugh_threedots_NNS	however_RB	long_RB it_PP take_VVZ the_DT response_NN like_IN the_DT

Index	File	Left	Node	Right
2	11_E_Annot_us_PP	proud_JJ applause_NN threedots_NNS this_DT be_VBZ not_RB	however_RB	just_RB america's_NNPIOS fight_NN threedots_NNS and_CC what_WP be
3	11_E_Annot_destruction_NN	threedots_NNS in_IN all_DT of_IN these_DT effort_NNS	however_RB	threedots_NN america's_NNPIOS purpose_NN be_VBZ more_JJR than_IN
4	11_E_Annot_laugh_JJ	supper_NN there_EE be_VBZ a_DT different_NNS	however_RB	the_DT coalition_NN of_IN many_JJ
5	11_E_Annot_ridge_NN	for_IN other_JJ state_NNS threedots_NNS activist_NN judge_VVZ	however_RB	threedots_NNS have_VHP begin_VVN defin_VVC marriage_NN by_IN cc
8	11_E_Annot_ca_NP	mean_VVZ title_JJ threedots_NNS member_NNS of_IN congress_NP	however_RB	we_PP feel_VVP about_IN the_DT decision_NNS and_CC debate_NNS
14	14_E_Annot_mortgage_NN	I_N rate_NNS go_VXP down_PP threedots_NP today_NP	however_RB	most_JJ people_NNS in_IN the_DT uk_NP have_VHP short-term_JJ
23	14_E_Annot_higher-than-expected_JJ	inflation_NN in_IN the_DT uk_NP threedots_NP	however_RB	the_DT obr_NP point_VVZ out_PP that_IN the_DT effect_NN
24	14_E_Annot_hundred-and-eighty-nine_JJ	year_NNS interruption_laugh_threedots_NNS	however_RB	I_PP have_VHP decide_VVN not_RB to_TO follow_VV their_PPS
26	14_E_Annot_next_JJ	year_NN interruption_hear_threedots_NNS we_PP will_MD not_RB	however_RB	spend_VV more_RBR than_IN point-to-seven_NN per_IN cent_NN so_RB
28	14_E_Annot_V	at_PP one_CD year_NN early_JJ interruption_inaudible_threedots_NNS	however_RB	the_DT likelihood_NN of_IN meet_VVCG the_DT supplementary_JJ debt_NN
30	14_E_Annot_weak_JJR	growth_NN here_RB in_IN the_DT uk_NP threedots_NP	however_RB	the_DT obr_NP have't_VPIRB revise_VVN down_PP britain's_NNPIOS
51	a12_E_Annot_sign_NN	of_IN continue_VVC to_TO grow_VV steadily_RB threedots_NNS	however_RB	as_IN our_PPS forecast_NN make_VVZ clear_VV the_DT path_NN
53	a12_E_Annot_as_IN	part_NN of_IN the_DT balanced_JJ plan_NN threedots_NNS	however_RB	by_IN include_VVC the_DT compromise_NN offer_NN in_IN the_DT
62	a13_E_Annotthe_VVN	a_DT pub_NN after_IN him_PP interruption_laugh_threedots_NNS	however_WRB	I_PP doINt_VVPIRB rely_VV exclusively_RB on_IN my_PPS personal_JJ
73	a14_E_AnnotN	whatever_WDT be_VBZ necessary_JJ interruption_laugh_threedots_NNS	however_RB	long_RB it_PP take_VVZ the_DT response_NN like_IN the_DT

Figure 2: Concordance lines of interruptions and pauses occurred before *however*

a slightly higher statistical threshold was employed ($MI \geq 4.0$ and $F \geq 8$) in the analysis of the CM. As shown in Figure 3, the top collocates of *but* show a similar distribution pattern that suggests a bigger variety of top collocates in CIPSCE than in CEPS. The shared top collocates between the two sub-corpora included *easy* (L), *only* (L in CIPSCE and R in CEPS) and *also* (R; more details are included in Appendix 2). This result indicates the common use of *but* in the introduction of exclusive (*only*) or additional matters (*also*), and that the CM is often triggered by some *easy* matters. The use of *but* was found strongly associated with topics relating to *time* (R), *course* (R), *wealth* (L), *fact* (R), and *concern* (R) in CIPSCE, and *name* (L) and *earth* (L) in

CEPS. It tends to draw close relationship to verbs relating to speculation (e.g., *seem, may, look*) or feelings (e.g., *feel, want*) in CIPSCE but a verb with more concrete sense (i.e., *recognise*) in CEPS. The adjectives and adverbs associated with *but* seem to indicate very often emphasis (e.g., *importantly, rather, never, always, and actually*) and sometimes had a slightly negative shade of meaning (e.g., *difficult, and short*) in CIPSCE. A similar semantic prosody can be found in the top collocates of the CM in CEPS, although with different collocates (emphasis: *generally, surely, and ultimately*; negative shade of meaning: *ordinary*).



Note: 03 - MI (5.0)/ L5-R5/ C: 8.0-NC: 8.0

Figure 3: A comparison of top collocates of *but* in CIPSCE and CEPS

Interestingly, the CM *but* featured *but* (L) as a collocate highest in strength in CEPS, indicating a strong tendency of repeating the CM in a sentence by English native speakers. Figure 4 shows the concordance lines of these cases of repeated *buts*, almost all of which were found in speeches delivered in a dialogue mode. The repeating of *but* in these cases may be considered a device to emphasise the contrast, or a speaker strategy for buying more time to organise thoughts. In one extreme case, *but* was used four times consecutively and followed by interruptions by other speakers as listed below (in the subset of UK parliamentary debates on budget speeches), which illustrates a possible power competition between different members of the parliament.

3,548	a14_E_- Annot_- CLEAN.txt	up_IN mr_- NP deputy_NP speaker_NP but_- CC but_CC but_CC	but_- CC	interruption_inaudi- ble interruption_or- der order_NN or- der_NN order_NP there be_EX VBZ a_DT
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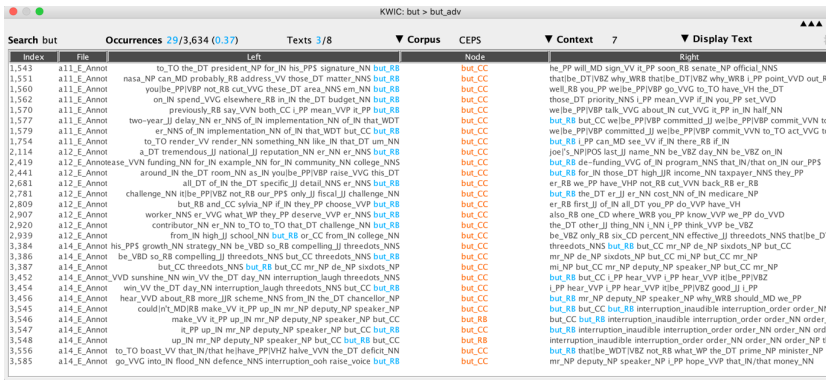


Figure 4: Concordance lines of cases of double *buts*

4.4 Frequency differences in the use of the two CMs in interpreter and politician speeches delivered in monologue and dialogue modes

Table 4 and 5 display the frequency differences of the two CMs between speeches delivered in monologue (subset 1, 3 and 5 of CIPSCE, and subset 7, 9, 11, and 13 of CEPS) and dialogue modes (subset 2, 4 and 6 of CIPSCE, and subset 8, 10, 12, and 14 of CEPS). The use of *but* seems to share a similar pattern in both interpreter (CEPSCE) and politician speeches (CEPS), both featuring a significantly higher distribution of *but* in a dialogue mode (with an average frequency of 36.15 and 49.53 per 10,000 tokens respectively), than in a monologue mode (with an average frequency of 5.11 and 39.69 respectively). The difference was more striking in interpreter speeches (with a LL score as high as 1,173.00) than in politician speeches (with a LL score of 43.12). The significantly reduced use of the stronger CM *but* indicates a possible tendency of mitigating the contrastive meaning of this CM in both politician and interpreter speeches delivered in a dialogue mode, and such a tendency may be more apparent in interpreter speeches and in politician speeches.

Table 4: A comparison of the CM frequencies in the sub-corpora of CIPSCE

Selected CMs	CIPSCE_M (1+3+5)			CIPSCE_D (2+4+6)			LL
	Total freq.	Avg. freq. (per 10K)	Observed freq. in percentage (%) ¹	Total freq.	Avg. freq. (per 10K)	Observed freq. in percentage (%) ¹	
<i>however</i>	164	2.80	0.03	97	3.11	0.03 -	0.68
<i>but</i>	299	5.11	0.05	1,126	36.15	0.36 -	1,173.00*

*: significant at p<0.05 (LL>3.84).

The case of *however*, nevertheless, seems to be more complicated. The CM had a slightly higher average frequency in a dialogue mode than in a monologue mode (3.11 and 2.80 respec-

Table 5: A comparison of the CM frequencies in the sub-corpora of CEPS

Selected CMs	CEPS_M (7+9+11+13)			CEPS_D (8+10+12+14)			LL
	Total freq.	Avg. freq. (per 10K)	Observed freq. in percentage(%) ¹	Total freq.	Avg. freq. (per 10K)	Observed freq. in percentage (%) ¹	
<i>however</i>	37	1.02	0.01	37	0.83	0.01 +	0.81
<i>but</i>	1,433	39.69	0.40	2,205	49.53	0.50 -	43.12*

tively) in interpreter speeches (CIPSCE), but a slightly lower average frequency in a dialogue mode than in a monologue mode (0.83 and 1.02 respectively) in politician speeches (CEPS).

In summary, the aforementioned frequency differences may be indicative of a general tendency among interpreters to reduce the use of both CMs in a monologue mode than in a dialogue mode, possibly due to the time and setting constraints of interpreting in the former. Meanwhile, politicians may tend to mitigate the contrastiveness in a monologue mode through employing the two CMs in different patterns. Given what has been said, the differences in the use of *however* did not carry significance and therefore could be caused simply by chance.

4.5 Top collocates of the two CMs in interpreter and politician speeches delivered in monologue and dialogue modes

The top collocates of the two CMs in interpreter and politician speeches delivered in monologue and dialogue modes were also analysed using #LancsBox (Brezina, Timperley, and McEney 2018). Figure 5 shows the top collocates of *however* within CIPSCE and Figure 7 those within CEPS, using the same statistic parameters: MI of 2.0 and minimal frequency of 3 (also see Appendix 3). In general, *however* attracted more collocates in interpreter speeches delivered in a monologue mode (CIPSCE_M) than in a dialogue mode (CIPSCE_D). Nevertheless, the CM had slightly fewer collocates in politician speeches delivered in a monologue mode (CEPS_M) than in a dialogue mode (CEPS_D). Of course, there were, especially at the MI score ranged between 2 and 4, quite a few shared collocates of *however* in CIPSCE_M and CIPSCE_D, featuring mostly topics such as *problem* and *people*. Pauses (*threedots*) were also featured in both sub-corpora.

A review of the different top collocates of *however* in CIPSCE_M and CIPSCE_D suggests that the former tends to feature topics relevant to *root* (R), *leadership* (R), *unemployment* (L), *pressure* (L), *challenge* (M), *risk* (R), *stability* (L), *progress* (M), *price* (L), *need* (M), etc., whereas the latter *cdma* (L, a telecommunication system mentioned in the PRC premier press conference), *day* (R), *view* (R), *situation* (L), *system* (L), *world* (L), etc. In particular, those top noun collocates of *however* in CIPSCE_M occupying a left position appeared to be negative (e.g. *unemployment*, *pressure*), and those in CIPSCE_D were in general neutral.



(a) CIPSCE_M

(b) CIPSCE_D

Note: 03 - MI (2.0)/ L5-R5/ C: 3.0-NC: 3.0

Figure 5: A comparison of top collocates of *however* in CIPSCE_M and CIPSCE_D

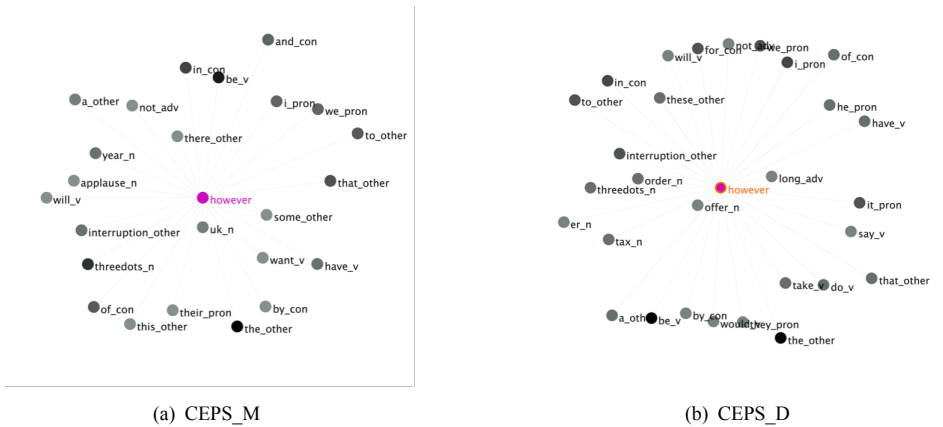
In addition, the disfluency filler *er* (6 Ls and 3 Rs) appeared as one of the top collates of *however* in CIPSCE_D. A close look at its use as shown in Figure 6 indicates the possibility of using *however* as a postponing strategy for the organisation of thoughts, possibly due to the time constraints inherent in interpreting. Figure 7 shows the collocates of *however* in

Index	File	Left	Node	Right
8	a1_E_Annot_3	attach_VVD importance_NN er_NNS to_TO their_PP5 view_NNS	however_RB	this_DT year_NN the_DT er_JJ group_NN of_IN pan-dems_NNS
14	a2_E_Annot_1	to_TO ride_VV out_RP this_DT economic_JJ er_NN difficulty_NN	however_RB	er_VVZ we_PP can_MD also_RB see_VV that_IN that_IN
49	a5_E_Annot_VDT	we_PP be_VBP work_VVG to_TO combat_VV corruption_NN	however_WRB	there_EX be_VBP certain_JJ various_JJ er_NN specific_NN and_C
55	a5_E_Annot_unication_NN	network_NN and_CC system_NN in_IN china_NP	however_RB	up_RB to_TO er_NNS to_TO this_DT to_TO this_DT
60	a5_E_Annot_oration_NN	er_NNS concern_VVG the_DT cdma_NP system_NN	however_RB	what_WP they_PP have_VHP be_VBN say_VVG be_VBZ not_RB
95	a5_E_Annot_4S	and_CC also_RB er_JJ investment_NN cooperation_NN er_NNS	however_RB	we_PP have_VHP not_RB see_VVN a_DT large_JJ inflow_NN

Index	File	Left	Node	Right
8	a1_E_Annot_h_VVD	importance_NN er_NNS to_TO their_PP5 view_NNS	however_RB	this_DT year_NN the_DT er_JJ group_NN of_IN pan-dems_NNS
15	a2_E_Annot_VBD	about_RB one_CD percent_NN of_IN our_PP5 gdp_NP	however_RB	er_VVZ we_PP can_MD also_RB see_VV that_IN that_IN
95	a5_E_Annot_CC	also_RB er_JJ investment_NN cooperation_NN er_NNS	however_RB	we_PP have_VHP not_RB see_VVN a_DT large_JJ inflow_NN

Figure 6: Concordance lines of cases of *er* and *however*

CEPS_M and CEPS_D, and both *interruptions* and pauses (*threedots*) were found to be top collocates in both sub-corpora. When collocates of *however* in the individual sub-corpora were compared, CEPS_M was found to feature a verb indicating eagerness (i.e. *want* [R]) and CEPS_D less emotional verbs (e.g. *take* [R], *say* [R], *do* [R]). In addition, CEPS_M featured the top collocate of *applause* as an interruption of the speaker's speeches in the left position, whereas CEPS_D featured *er* as a filled disfluency marker, also in the left position.



(a) CEPS_M

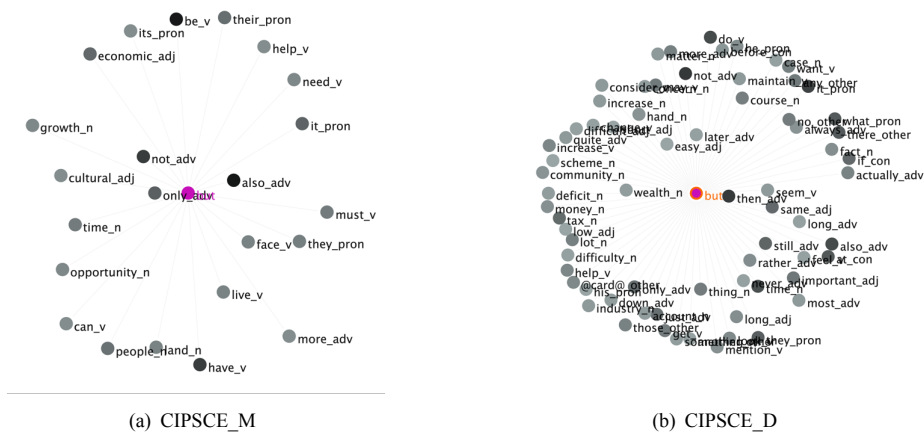
(b) CEPS_D

Note: 03 - MI (2.0)/ L5-R5/ C: 3.0-NC: 3.0

Figure 7: A comparison of top collocates of *however* in CEPS_M and CEPS_D

Likewise, Figure 8 shows the top collocates of *but* in CIPSCE and Figure 9 those in CEPS, using the same statistic parameters: MI of 4.0 and minimal frequency of 8. In contrast to *however*, *but* attracted fewer collocates in interpreter speeches delivered in a monologue mode (CIPSCE_M) than in a dialogue mode (CIPSCE_D), but slightly more collocates in politician speeches delivered in a monologue mode (CEPS_M) than in a dialogue mode (CEPS_D).

According to Figure 8 (also in Appendix 3), *but* seems to follow after slightly more positive nouns such as *opportunity* (L) and *growth* (L) in CIPSCE_M, whereas its top associated nouns in CIPSCE_D seem to have a mixture of both positive and negative semantic prosody (e.g. *wealth* [L], *concern* [L]) on its left.



(a) CIPSCE_M

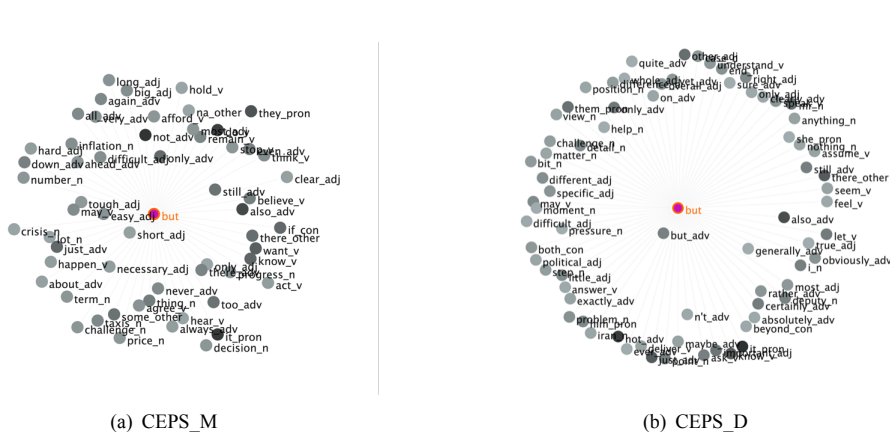
(b) CIPSCE_D

Note: 03 - MI (4.0)/ L5-R5/ C: 8.0-NC: 8.0

Figure 8: A comparison of top collocates of *but* in CIPSCE_M and CIPSCE_D

A further investigation of *but* as indicated in Figure 9 (also in Appendix 4) shows its

shared top collocates in CEPS_M and CEPS_D of slightly negative semantic prosody such as *difficult* and *challenge*. Noun collocates of *but* in CEPS_M tend to be negative (e.g. *pressure* [L], and *problem* [L]) or neutral (e.g. *help* [L], *detail* [L], *difference* [L], and *moment* [L]), and those in CEPS_D a mixed prosody ranging from negative (e.g. *inflation* [L], and *crisis* [L]), neutral (e.g. *term* [L], *taxis* [L], *price* [M], *number* [L], and *decision* [R]) to positive (e.g. *progress* [R]).



Note: 03 - MI (4.0)/ L5-R5/ C: 8.0-NC: 8.0

Figure 9: A comparison of top collocates of *but* in CEPS_M and CEPS_D

5. Discussion

The study set out to investigate the use of two CMs, *but* and *however*, in interpreter and politician speeches delivered in both monologue and dialogue modes. It tapped into the open-access corpus CEPIC and extracted policy speeches and their interpreting as the source of data. Cross-group comparisons of the CM frequencies and top collocates were compared using the following main parameters listed in section 3:

- 1) interpreter speeches vs. politician speeches; and
- 2) speeches delivered in a monologue mode vs. speeches delivered in a dialogue mode.

Findings of the study provide insights into how CMs perform in interpreted and non-interpreted political discourse across different speech delivery modes.

To start with, the study identified a completely different use pattern of the two CMs: the interpreted policy speeches featured a higher frequency of *however* but a lower frequency of *but* than the non-interpreted ones did; the statistical difference was more significant in the case of *but* (RQ 1). These findings are consistent with those of Pan and Wong (2019), which was based on a much smaller corpora set (with slightly over 200,000 word tokens of

the CEPIC). Again, a possible tendency of mitigation in interpreter speeches is confirmed, which goes against the usual tendency of explicitness (in general and at the textual level, in particular in the employment of cohesive devices) in both simultaneous and consecutive interpreting (cf. Gumul 2006, 2010, 2017; Tang 2018, see in particular her concluded tendency of clarifying, cohesion enhancement, and intensifying in consecutive interpreting by students). If explication is a political act of interpreters (Gumul 2010), mitigation may be deemed a preferred interpreting strategy or political choice employed by interpreters working in highly sensitive political arenas, as a possible practice of interpreting norm and (self-)censorship (cf. Bartłomiejczyk 2016). At a macro-level, mitigation may even be considered associated with issues of “sanction” on or “acceptability” (Ensink 1997) of political speeches.

It should be noted that the interpreter speeches of the selected corpus parts were all interpreted from Chinese to English in a *retour* mode, which, added a dimension of language constraints on top of the usual constraints of time, short-term memory capacity and knowledge in interpreting (Gile 1995, 2009; Gumul 2006), not to mention the extra pragmatic constraints imposed by the high profile political settings in which the interpreters were situated (see Pan 2005, 2007; Yang 2012; Bure 2015). Of course, these results do not rule out a possible influence of cross-cultural communication constraints (Pan 2005, 2007) whereby the two CMs are situated in two very different language contexts (Chinese and English), given their inner-state nature. These issues are worthy of further exploration under the framework of the extended spheres of meaning discussed in Pan (2019b).

The analysis of the top collocates of the CMs has led to very revealing results (RQ2). There seems to be certain shared consensus over the use of the CMs between interpreters and politicians. The study supports and adds new dimensions to the linguistic functions of the two CMs detailed in previous research. For instance, according to Blakesmore (1989), *but* signals denial of expectation and contrast. In this study, *but* was found to be strongly associated with the introduction of exclusive or additional matters, and often triggered by some *easy* matters in both interpreter and politician speeches, which might be more relevant to denial of expectation. In addition, previous research suggests that *however* indicates concession (Quirk et al. 1985), the closing of a topic (or a digression) or reintroduction of a prior topic (Bublitz 1988). It is regarded more subtle than *but*. In this study, politicians and interpreters both tend to associate *however* with the counting of years, the contrast of what the speaker did in comparison to others (i.e., contrast, an expected function of *but* by Blakesmore [1989]), and in negation of *things* (i.e., concession). In general, the study’s findings suggest a possible stronger shade of meaning of *but* and *however* in both politician and interpreter speeches to emphasise their “representativeness” (political speeches should be “authorised”; cf. Ensink 1997).

To this end, a general tendency of enabling more explicit functions of the two CMs in policy speeches, either by politicians or interpreters, can be tentatively summarised. This may seem contradictory to what has been mentioned in response to RQ1, but the issue of explicit-

ness should be treated at two levels. First, mitigating CMs (by underusing a strong CM and overusing a more subtle CM) remains a possible strategy or norm by interpreters instead of politicians (cf. the “principle of substitution” in consecutive interpreting carried in a *retour* mode; Tang 2018, 215). Second, there still seems to be a general tendency for politicians and interpreters to explicate the functions of the CMs under two possible institutional constraints – politicians under the representativeness constraint, and interpreters under the time constraint (assuming that the explicit function of a CM is more accessible to the interpreters under the pressure of time; cf. Gile 2009). Of course, these hypotheses need to be tested against close reading and annotating of each CM in its context, which may serve the topic of a future study. Nevertheless, the general observation made here may shed light on the categories to be included in further annotation of the functions of the two CMs in the corpus, as a possible next step of investigation.

The differences identified in the top collocates of the two CMs can be equally revealing. *However*, again, was found to feature explicitly very often its prescribed primary function of concession (Quirk et al. 1985) in interpreter speeches, whereas its use by politicians may tend to indicate strong wills which may be associated with the rhetoric of advocacy in policy speeches. In addition, *however* attracts discussion of general topics such as *market*, *environment*, and *housing* in interpreter speeches, and perhaps more sensitive topics such as *tax* in politician speeches. Such a result can provide possible further proof that mitigation constitutes a possible interpreting strategy in political settings.

In the case of *but*, a mixed semantic prosody, as suggested by its top collocates such as *time* (neutral), *wealth* (positive), and *concern* (negative), was shown in interpreter speeches, and a more neutral prosody, as suggested by its favoured nouns such as *name* and *earth*, was featured in politician speeches. These results indicate that *but* may be used in more semantically explicit cases by interpreters than politicians, which suggest the possibility of time and language constraints coming into play. Interpreters, especially in a *retour* interpreting mode, may resort to the prescribed rules of the language use, which may also be the most available use of the language under the time constraint (cf. Gile 2009).

The fewer top collocates of both CMs identified in politician speeches than in interpreter speeches suggest more flexible language use in politician speeches delivered by native speakers. The high frequency of the two CMs occurring together with disfluency markers such as interruptions (by others), pauses and self-repair (including an extreme case of repeating four times *but*) indicates that politician speeches may be delivered in a more contested arena than interpreter speeches do. In politician speeches, the competition for power may sometimes be intensive, especially in communication conducted in a dialogue mode, wherein more participants (e.g., members of parliament) may join and debate on issues of concern. This possibility opens up another interesting area of further exploration.

The study also presents findings to answer RQ3 regarding the frequency differences in

the use of the two CMs in interpreter and political speeches delivered in monologue and dialogue modes. A clear pattern was identified on *but*, which was used significantly more in dialogues than monologues by both politicians and interpreters. The findings relating to *however* were less clear and carried no statistical significance. Given that monologue speeches selected in this study involved mostly scripted speeches and dialogues included press conferences (with public engagement) and parliamentary debates (between speakers of similar statuses), the overuse of *but* in dialogues may suggest a more adventurous and perhaps even more aggressive use of the CM when the audience is brought into conversation (directly or indirectly through interpreters) with the politicians.

The aforementioned hypothesis has been partially tested in RQ4 when the top collocates of the two CMs were brought to close examination. In particular, *but* was found to be associated with positive nouns (in the left position) in interpreted monologues. By contrast, the same CM was found to attract negative nouns (also in the left position) in non-interpreted politician monologues. Nevertheless, a mixture of both positive and negative nouns was identified in both interpreter speeches and politician speeches delivered in a dialogue mode. These results suggest that, whereas politicians and interpreters use *but* more often in their rendition of policy speeches in a dialogue mode, the CM attracted a mixed semantic prosody which may be indicative of a wide variety of its contextual shifts in this communication mode.

The results of the top collocates of *however*, although smaller and statistically less significant, show a close relationship of the CM with disfluency markers (i.e., the filler *er*) in policy speeches delivered by both politicians and interpreters in a dialogue mode. This finding indicates the potential of *however* to be used as a delaying strategy by both politicians and interpreters to better organise their thoughts.

6. Conclusion

To conclude, the study offers rich findings relating to the use of the two CMs, *but* and *however*, in policy speeches rendered by politicians and interpreters, which may be indicative of the different constraints faced with by these two types of speakers in political settings. However, the study only focuses on policy speeches delivered in the English language and interpreted from Chinese (Cantonese and Putonghua) into English in a retour mode. It only studies two CMs, and hence the results cannot be overinterpreted or overgeneralised. Some of the hypotheses made in the above section need to be further tested by a close reading of the CMs in context, and perhaps need to be built on annotation of the various functions of the CMs in the corpus, which may constitute possible future steps of investigation. Nevertheless, the study provides food for thought, in particular for our reconsideration of the continuum of features of political speeches situated between the possibly conflicting yet harmoniously co-existing parameters of representativeness and sanction, or authority and acceptability (cf.

Ensink 1997). The situation may be further complicated by the introduction of internet and social media as new arenas for this particular genre of political discourse (see Schäffner and Bassnett 2010).

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Appendices

Appendix 1: A comparison of top collocates of *however* in CIPSCE and CEPS

CEPISCE					CEPS				
Position	Collocate	Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corpus)	Position	Collocate	Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corpus)
R	understand_v	7.11	7	169	L	these_other	5.51	6	1388
R	recent_adj	6.2	5	227	R	want_v	5.46	5	1191
R	there_other	5.61	20	1368	L	there_other	5.25	5	1377
R	may_v	5.6	7	483	L	interruption_other	4.9	11	3872
R	concern_v	5.44	5	385	L	tax_n	4.41	5	2473
R	still_adv	5.43	7	544	R	by_con	4.38	6	3024
L	few_adj	5.42	5	390	M	not_adv	4.13	6	3610
L	situation_n	5.4	5	396	L	year_n	4.11	7	4248
R	some_other	5.25	14	1228	R	i_pron	4.1	13	7970
R	must_v	5.24	12	1061	L	threedots_n	4.05	17	10777
R	not_adv	5.18	26	2400					
L	next_adj	5.07	7	695					
L	use_v	4.98	5	530					
L	rate_n	4.9	7	783					
R	various_adj	4.83	5	586					
R	only_adv	4.82	5	591					
R	need_n	4.74	5	624					
L	when_adv	4.71	6	766					
R	environment_n	4.67	5	658					

L	should_v	4.66	11	1448					
M	three_other	4.63	6	808					
R	do_v	4.59	14	1936					
L	china_n	4.59	10	1390					
R	take_v	4.54	11	1582					
R	problem_n	4.53	6	868					
R	see_v	4.51	5	732					
L	cent_n	4.5	6	887					
R	it_pron	4.47	20	3011					
L	its_pron	4.44	7	1075					
L	economic_adj	4.42	15	2341					
L	come_v	4.3	5	847					
R	also_adv	4.29	16	2737					
L	growth_n	4.29	7	1199					
R	give_v	4.28	5	860					
L	year_n	4.25	28	4926					
L	market_n	4.19	10	1824					
R	about_con	4.19	7	1279					
L	over_con	4.19	7	1285					
R	i_pron	4.18	30	5534					
R	housing_n	4.18	5	923					
L	these_other	4.17	9	1669					
R	they_pron	4.08	7	1381					

Notes:

1. 03 - MI (4.0)/ L5-R5/ C: 5.0-NC: 5.0

2. The shared collocates in both corpora were highlighted in pink.

Appendix 2: A comparison of top collocates of *but* in CIPSCE and CEPS

CIPSCE					CEPS				
Position	Collocate	Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corpus)	Position	Collocate	Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corpus)
R	importantly_adv	7.21	8	33	L	but_adv	7.14	31	47
R	then_adv	7.15	144	620	R	generally_adv	5.98	8	27
M	nothing_n	6.97	8	39	L	name_n	5.29	9	49
R	seem_v	6.54	11	72	R	n't_adv	5.29	11	60
R	rather_adv	6.27	18	142	R	surely_adv	5.24	8	45
R	thing_n	6.07	26	237	L	ordinary_adj	5.21	8	46
L	easy_adj	6.03	8	75	L	earth_n	5.15	8	48
L	only_adv	5.91	58	591	R	only_adv	5.1	81	502
R	never_adv	5.89	10	103	R	recognise_v	5.1	10	62

R	later_adv	5.87	9	94	R	ultimately_adv	5.09	8	50
R	still_adv	5.84	51	544	L	easy_adj	5.07	18	114
R	same_adj	5.76	43	483	R	also_adv	5.03	244	1586
L	not_adv	5.66	199	2400					
L	just_adv	5.6	40	503					
L	lot_n	5.56	22	285					
R	no_other	5.48	29	398					
R	long_adv	5.47	11	152					
R	time_n	5.47	94	1299					
R	also_adv	5.47	198	2737					
R	feel_v	5.36	9	134					
R	always_adv	5.35	16	239					
R	course_n	5.35	24	359					
L	wealth_n	5.35	10	150					
L	quite_adv	5.34	11	166					
M	something_n	5.33	10	152					
L	hand_n	5.33	13	198					
R	actually_adv	5.31	21	323					
R	fact_n	5.21	16	264					
M	get_v	5.2	26	431					
L	may_v	5.2	29	483					
R	he_pron	5.18	15	253					
R	want_v	5.14	23	398					
R	concern_n	5.13	14	245					
R	any_other	5.13	30	525					
L	difficult_adj	5.11	11	194					
R	what_pron	5.07	60	1089					
L	matter_n	5.05	11	203					
L	short_adj	5.02	9	170					
R	do_v	5.01	102	1936					
R	look_v	5.01	19	361					
R	if_con	5.01	44	836					
L	@card@_other	5	17	324					
R	before_con	5	14	267					

Notes:

1. 03 - MI (5.0)/ L5-R5/ C: 8.0-NC: 8.0
2. The shared collocates in both corpora were highlighted in pink.

Appendix 3: A comparison of top collocates of *however* in CIPSCE_M and CIPSCE_D

CIPSCE_M	CIPSCE_D
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Position	Collocate	Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corpus)	Position	Collocate	Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corpus)
R	root_n	8.48	3	29	L	cdma_n	9.88	3	10
R	feel_v	8.43	3	30	R	due_adj	7.59	3	49
R	understand_v	8.28	7	78	L	resource_n	6.24	3	125
R	aware_adj	7.78	3	47	R	day_n	6.08	3	140
L	compare_v	7.38	3	62	L	quite_adv	5.94	3	154
R	leadership_n	7.27	3	67	L	use_v	5.59	3	196
R	tackle_v	7.25	4	91	R	view_n	5.53	3	204
L	far_adv	6.83	3	91	L	situation_n	5.41	3	222
R	recent_adj	6.6	5	178	L	system_n	5.4	4	298
R	there_other	6.6	10	357	L	world_n	5.36	3	230
L	unemployment_n	6.54	3	111	R	still_adv	5.23	4	335
R	may_v	6.33	5	214	R	past_adj	5.17	3	263
L	few_adj	6.18	4	191	M	not_adv	5.1	18	1647
L	pressure_n	6.07	3	154	L	help_v	5.09	3	278
R	concern_v	6	3	162	R	see_v	5	5	493
R	external_adj	5.98	3	164	R	three_other	4.97	3	302
L	when_adv	5.79	4	250	L	china_n	4.96	10	1010
M	some_other	5.76	8	510	R	there_other	4.96	10	1011
R	must_v	5.75	11	707	R	actually_adv	4.89	3	318
M	challenge_n	5.66	4	274	R	only_adv	4.72	3	358
R	still_adv	5.63	3	209	R	some_other	4.72	6	718
L	operate_v	5.6	3	213	R	problem_n	4.65	3	376
R	risk_n	5.59	3	215	L	up_adv	4.63	4	508
L	stability_n	5.58	3	216	R	any_other	4.56	3	399
L	next_adj	5.49	6	460	R	give_v	4.46	3	428
R	keep_v	5.39	4	329	R	should_v	4.46	4	574
R	remain_v	5.39	3	247	R	also_adv	4.4	9	1346
M	progress_n	5.32	4	346	L	come_v	4.36	3	460
R	it_pron	5.29	12	1059	L	economic_adj	4.34	4	623
R	do_v	5.29	4	354	M	do_v	4.31	10	1582
M	rate_n	5.24	6	549	L	take_v	4.28	4	650
R	i_pron	5.23	19	1748	L	economy_n	4.27	3	488
R	not_adv	5.2	8	753	L	these_other	4.19	4	689
L	price_n	5.12	4	397	L	year_n	4.11	9	1638
L	those_other	5.1	3	301	M	time_n	3.96	4	809
M	need_n	5	4	431	L	make_v	3.95	4	815
R	environment_n	4.98	5	548	L	country_n	3.9	3	634
L	its_pron	4.94	7	786	R	we_pron	3.86	27	5833
R	about_con	4.9	5	578	R	two_other	3.86	3	650

R	public_n	4.87	3	353	R	go_v	3.86	3	652
R	they_pron	4.85	4	479	L	one_other	3.85	3	653
L	society_n	4.84	3	362	L	by_con	3.79	4	909
L	tax_n	4.82	5	612	R	it_pron	3.69	8	1952
L	should_v	4.79	7	874	R	be_v	3.64	44	11079
L	home_n	4.79	3	375	R	think_v	3.62	3	766
R	housing_n	4.73	5	652	R	have_v	3.58	19	4998
L	level_n	4.72	4	525	M	in_con	3.53	24	6532
R	take_v	4.7	7	932	R	the_other	3.52	72	19688
R	that_other	4.66	22	2999	R	policy_n	3.5	3	835
L	job_n	4.58	3	432	L	but_con	3.5	4	1116
L	market_n	4.57	9	1312	R	they_pron	3.39	3	902
R	supply_n	4.56	3	439	R	at_con	3.3	3	958
R	various_adj	4.52	3	451	L	to_other	3.28	29	9385
L	economic_adj	4.47	11	1718	L	of_con	3.28	24	7775
L	problem_n	4.4	3	492	M	a_other	3.25	14	4632
L	three_other	4.36	3	506	R	what_pron	3.23	3	1004
R	expenditure_n	4.34	4	680	R	threedots_n	3.22	6	2024
L	cent_n	4.34	5	851	R	i_pron	3.19	11	3786
L	growth_n	4.34	5	853	L	this_other	3.14	8	2855
L	year_n	4.32	19	3288	R	that_other	3.13	14	5018
L	can_v	4.3	5	876	R	er_adj	3.06	3	1133
R	under_con	4.3	4	701	L	on_con	2.99	5	1982
L	high_adj	4.17	3	575	R	people_n	2.87	3	1290
R	these_other	4.14	5	980	R	as_con	2.84	3	1318
L	their_pron	4.14	9	1765	L	er_n	2.64	6	3022
L	over_con	4.12	5	992	R	with_con	2.58	3	1582
R	also_adv	4.12	7	1391	L	our_pron	2.55	3	1615
R	be_v	4.11	51	10181	L	and_con	2.48	17	9565
R	than_con	4.1	3	603	R	will_v	2.41	5	2959
L	per_con	4.04	5	1046	R	for_con	2.08	4	2984
R	have_v	3.97	21	4617					
L	need_v	3.94	3	675					
R	as_con	3.93	11	2494					
L	financial_adj	3.77	5	1268					
L	kong_n	3.76	12	3058					
L	land_n	3.73	3	778					
L	this_other	3.68	9	2420					
L	as_adv	3.64	3	831					
L	industry_n	3.62	5	1402					
L	hong_n	3.61	13	3679					
L	by_con	3.47	8	2491					

R	the_other	3.45	120	37798					
L	education_n	3.45	3	945					
R	government_n	3.44	12	3821					
R	we_pron	3.44	28	8930					
L	or_con	3.42	3	971					
M	public_adj	3.39	4	1318					
L	economy_n	3.38	3	992					
L	at_con	3.33	4	1375					
L	in_con	3.23	34	12546					
R	of_con	3.23	52	19196					
R	all_other	3.22	3	1113					
R	people_n	3.16	4	1546					
L	on_con	3.09	9	3637					
L	for_con	3.02	19	8094					
L	threedots_n	2.99	14	6103					
L	development_n	2.92	8	3641					
L	to_other	2.91	41	18873					
M	an_other	2.9	4	1851					
M	a_other	2.84	16	7692					
L	our_pron	2.84	8	3853					
L	make_v	2.78	3	1503					
R	with_con	2.58	7	4046					
R	will_v	2.47	15	9319					
L	and_con	2.27	36	25751					
L	service_n	2.23	3	2212					

Notes:

1. 03 - MI (2. 0)/ L5-R5/ C: 3.0-NC: 3.0
2. The shared collocates in both corpora were highlighted in pink.

Appendix 4: A comparison of top collocates of *however* in CEPS_M and CEPS_D

CEPS_M					CEPS_D				
Position	Collocate	Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corpus)	Position	Collocate	Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corpus)
M	uk_n	7.79	4	172	L	offer_n	10.68	3	21
R	some_other	6.37	3	346	R	long_adv	9.32	3	54
L	there_other	6.35	3	349	L	order_n	7.5	4	255
R	want_v	5.64	3	574	L	interruption_other	6.12	6	993
L	not_adv	4.43	3	1329	M	these_other	6.01	4	716
L	year_n	4.42	5	2228	R	take_v	5.61	4	940
L	their_pron	4.41	3	1341	L	tax_n	5.14	4	1306

R	be_v	4.22	18	9169	L	threedots_n	4.74	4	1721
R	i_pron	4.22	6	3072	R	by_con	4.72	3	1307
R	by_con	4.06	3	1717	R	would_v	4.51	3	1516
L	interruption_other	4.05	5	2879	R	they_pron	4.38	3	1660
R	that_other	3.93	8	5004	R	he_pron	4.35	4	2253
L	applause_n	3.87	3	1947	R	say_v	4.32	3	1729
L	in_con	3.84	10	6628	R	it_pron	4.18	6	3798
R	have_v	3.79	5	3441	R	for_con	4.09	6	4048
L	threedots_n	3.77	13	9056	R	do_v	4.08	4	2725
R	the_other	3.76	26	18276	R	i_pron	4.04	7	4898
R	we_pron	3.29	6	5852	R	will_v	4.03	3	2113
L	this_other	3.27	3	2962	R	not_adv	3.92	3	2281
L	of_con	2.94	7	8709	R	we_pron	3.73	6	5220
L	will_v	2.86	3	3947	R	be_v	3.71	18	15866
L	a_other	2.67	4	5989	L	in_con	3.24	7	8523
R	to_other	2.41	7	12546	R	have_v	3.08	4	5438
R	and_con	2.29	6	11671	L	er_n	2.96	3	4448
					R	the_other	2.88	17	26632
					M	a_other	2.54	4	7940
					L	to_other	2.39	6	13158
					R	of_con	2.13	4	10537
					R	that_other	2.05	4	11128

Notes: 1. 03 - MI (2. 0)/ L5-R5/ C: 3.0-NC: 3.0 2. The shared collocates in both corpora were highlighted in pink.

Appendix 5: A comparison of top collocates of *but* in CIPSCE_M and CIPSCE_D

CIPSCE_M					CIPSCE_D				
Position	Collocate	Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corpus)	Position	Collocate	Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corpus)
L	only_adv	7.48	22	233	R	then_adv	6.10	144	568
R	also_adv	7.16	105	1391	L	easy_adj	5.69	8	42
L	not_adv	6.92	48	753	R	later_adv	5.66	9	48
R	face_v	6.46	10	215	L	wealth_n	5.47	10	61
R	live_v	5.82	10	335	R	seem_v	5.45	11	68
L	time_n	5.54	12	490	R	same_adj	5.35	41	271
R	they_pron	5.44	11	479	R	still_adv	5.21	46	335
L	cultural_adj	5.28	8	391	R	rather_adv	5.21	16	117
R	it_pron	5.16	20	1059	R	thing_n	5.04	25	206
R	must_v	5.01	12	707	L	hand_n	5.01	13	109
L	opportunity_n	4.84	9	593	R	never_adv	4.98	9	77
R	need_v	4.66	9	675	R	course_n	4.87	23	212

M	land_n	4.61	10	778	L	short_adj	4.87	8	74
R	help_v	4.43	8	701	R	long_adv	4.86	9	84
L	growth_n	4.32	9	853	R	time_n	4.78	82	809
L	economic_adj	4.31	18	1718	L	only_adv	4.76	36	358
R	have_v	4.27	47	4617	L	may_v	4.71	26	269
M	its_pron	4.27	8	786	R	no_other	4.66	25	267
R	be_v	4.22	100	1018	L	concern_n	4.66	10	107
L	people_n	4.20	15	1546	R	always_adv	4.64	13	141
R	more_adv	4.19	8	827	R	not_adv	4.63	151	1647
L	can_v	4.11	8	876	R	maintain_v	4.59	11	123
R	their_pron	4.10	16	1765	L	change_v	4.58	9	102
					R	feel_v	4.55	9	104
					L	just_adv	4.51	35	415
					R	important_adj	4.49	28	337
					R	long_adj	4.47	15	183
					L	account_n	4.46	10	123
					L	lot_n	4.43	22	276
					L	increase_n	4.41	11	140
					L	low_adj	4.38	8	104
					L	difficult_adj	4.37	9	118
					L	down_adv	4.36	10	132
					L	tax_n	4.32	39	529
					L	get_v	4.28	25	347
					L	quite_adv	4.27	11	154
					R	fact_n	4.26	15	211
					L	difficulty_n	4.26	9	127
					L	consider_v	4.24	11	157
					M	more_adv	4.23	22	316
					L	matter_n	4.22	11	159
					R	also_adv	4.22	93	1346
					R	another_other	4.20	9	132
					R	before_con	4.20	12	176
					R	at_con	4.20	65	958
					L	his_pron	4.20	8	118
					L	scheme_n	4.18	8	119
					M	something_n	4.18	10	149
					L	deficit_n	4.17	10	150
					R	most_adv	4.16	11	166
					R	look_v	4.15	17	258
					L	money_n	4.14	14	214
					L	those_other	4.14	21	322
					R	any_other	4.14	26	399

				L	help_v	4.13	18	278
				L	@card@_other	4.10	17	267
				R	he_pron	4.09	15	238
				R	actually_adv	4.09	20	318
				L	increase_v	4.06	18	292
				R	it_pron	4.05	120	1952
				R	there_other	4.05	62	1011
				L	community_n	4.05	13	212
				R	case_n	4.05	9	147
				R	mention_v	4.05	14	229
				L	industry_n	4.04	11	181
				R	if_con	4.02	41	681
				R	do_v	4.02	95	1582
				R	want_v	4.02	22	367
				R	they_pron	4.02	54	902
				R	what_pron	4.01	60	1004

Notes:

1. 03 - MI (4.0)/ L5-R5/ C: 8.0-NC: 8.0
2. The shared collocates in both corpora were highlighted in pink.

Appendix 6: A comparison of top collocates of *but* in CEPS_M and CEPS_D

CEPS_D					CEPS_M				
Position	Collocate	Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corpus)	Position	Collocate	Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corpus)
L	but_adv	7.22	31	40	L	short_adj	5.78	9	40
R	generally_adv	5.89	8	26	L	easy_adj	5.47	13	72
R	also_adv	5.24	143	730	R	only_adv	5.35	40	241
R	n't_adv	5.23	9	46	R	still_adv	5.22	33	217
L	help_n	5.16	8	43	L	necessary_adj	5.17	10	68
M	on_adv	5.03	10	59	R	only_adj	5.1	8	57
L	detail_n	4.99	22	133	R	there_adv	5.1	20	143
R	rather_adv	4.96	17	105	L	tough_adj	5.09	11	79
L	pressure_n	4.94	8	50	R	never_adv	5.08	17	123
L	only_adv	4.92	41	261	L	difficult_adj	5.02	15	113
R	certainly_adv	4.77	35	247	R	not_adv	5	174	1329
R	overall_adj	4.77	15	106	L	may_v	4.98	16	124
R	yet_adv	4.67	15	113	R	thing_n	4.89	25	207
L	specific_adj	4.65	17	130	R	also_adv	4.85	101	856
R	she_pron	4.59	8	64	R	remain_v	4.84	19	163
R	maybe_adv	4.56	11	90	L	ahead_adv	4.79	12	106

R	absolutely_adv	4.55	9	74	R	agree_v	4.79	13	115
R	most_adj	4.54	15	124	R	most_adj	4.78	12	107
L	little_adj	4.53	22	183	R	progress_n	4.74	12	110
R	still_adv	4.51	33	278	R	believe_v	4.72	23	214
R	i_n	4.5	32	272	R	afford_v	4.71	12	112
R	sure_adv	4.5	8	68	R	there_other	4.66	36	349
R	true_adj	4.5	8	68	L	just_adv	4.63	43	425
R	beyond_con	4.47	9	78	R	stop_v	4.63	12	119
R	only_adj	4.45	9	79	R	do_v	4.59	133	1355
R	nothing_n	4.45	10	88	R	too_adv	4.57	33	340
L	answer_v	4.44	9	80	R	know_v	4.57	47	485
L	different_adj	4.41	20	181	L	lot_n	4.56	8	83
R	clearly_adv	4.38	9	83	R	want_v	4.55	55	574
R	deputy_n	4.38	29	268	L	some_other	4.55	33	346
M	whole_adj	4.38	8	74	R	hear_v	4.54	8	84
L	exactly_adv	4.36	11	103	L	inflation_n	4.54	15	158
L	difference_n	4.35	13	123	R	na_other	4.53	8	85
L	moment_n	4.34	8	76	L	very_adv	4.46	14	156
L	not_adv	4.34	240	228	R	always_adv	4.45	10	112
M	deliver_v	4.31	10	97	L	happen_v	4.45	10	112
L	matter_n	4.31	10	97	R	even_adv	4.42	22	251
L	challenge_n	4.27	13	130	L	term_n	4.35	12	144
R	speak_v	4.26	16	161	L	taxis_n	4.34	18	217
L	may_v	4.25	23	232	R	think_v	4.27	15	190
R	end_n	4.23	18	184	L	all_adv	4.26	17	217
R	obviously_adv	4.23	18	185	R	big_adj	4.25	15	193
L	step_n	4.22	13	134	L	again_adv	4.25	18	232
R	anything_n	4.2	11	115	R	if_con	4.24	43	558
R	right_adj	4.2	23	241	M	price_n	4.22	12	158
R	important_adj	4.2	43	451	R	hold_v	4.21	8	106
L	him_pron	4.18	24	255	L	about_adv	4.18	9	122
R	assume_v	4.18	11	117	R	act_v	4.14	10	139
R	understand_v	4.17	15	160	L	number_n	4.1	12	171
R	ask_v	4.14	32	348	R	it_pron	4.09	152	2180
R	feel_v	4.14	9	98	L	challenge_n	4.09	12	173
L	them_pron	4.14	49	535	R	clear_adj	4.06	9	132
M	ever_adv	4.13	8	88	L	hard_adj	4.04	10	149
R	there_other	4.12	93	1028	L	down_adv	4.04	22	328
R	seem_v	4.1	11	123	L	crisis_n	4.02	8	121
R	point_n	4.1	30	336	L	long_adj	4.02	13	197
R	let_v	4.1	37	415	R	decision_n	4.01	12	182
L	political_adj	4.09	10	113	R	they_pron	4.01	77	1170

R	just_adv	4.09	96	1085				
L	both_con	4.08	15	171				
L	position_n	4.08	10	114				
L	difficult_adj	4.07	9	103				
L	iran_n	4.06	10	115				
R	it_pron	4.06	329	3798				
R	case_n	4.05	16	186				
R	other_adj	4.04	53	621				
L	view_n	4.04	11	129				
M	quite_adv	4.03	8	94				
L	problem_n	4.03	19	224				
R	mr_n	4.02	54	639				
L	bit_n	4.01	14	167				
R	know_v	4.01	88	1054				

Notes:

1. 03 - MI (4.0)/ L5-R5/ C: 8.0-NC: 8.0
2. The shared collocates in both corpora were highlighted in pink.

政治話語翻譯的語用充實與語境順應研究

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Abstract

A study of pragmatic enrichment and contextual adaptation in political discourse translation (by Chengtuan Li; Zhiwei Zhao)

The translation of political vocabulary is prone to semantic deviations due to contextual constraints. Therefore, it is worthwhile to study in depth how to bridge and compensate the information gaps or implicated meanings in the source language with the intrusion of context so that the pragmatic functional equivalence of the target language and the source language could finally be achieved. Drawing on linguistic adaptation theory (Verschueren 1999), this paper investigates how, in the translation of Xi Jinping the Governance of China (Volume 4), translators enrich the target language pragmatically through pragmatic narrowing and broadening, and how they obtain the pragmatic functional equivalence with compensation of or adaptation to the linguistic and communicative contexts (consisting of the physical world, the psychological world and the social world). The findings of this paper may provide a pragmatic perspective for the translation of Chinese political discourse.

一、引言

在政治話語的翻譯中，譯者和讀者受文化、社交、心理、認知等因素的制約，容易對原語與譯語的詞彙理解產生偏差。人們往往只停留在詞彙的表層意義而不理解、不探究其深層意義。實際上，政治話語詞彙在使用過程中不僅包含本身的表層意義，還有受到語用條件因素制約的深層意義，這些因素賦予這類詞彙以特定的篇章語用

功能，構成特定的語用意義。以往有關政治話語翻譯的研究，多聚焦于政治話語翻譯的策略及方法，政治話語翻譯理論的有效性以及語義翻譯研究等（劉宏、李明徽，2022），鮮有研究從語用視角探究如何實現政治話語翻譯的功能等效（Nida, 2002）。“等效翻譯觀”（Newmark, 1981）認為，譯語讀者對譯語的理解應等效于原語讀者對原語的理解。因此，只有在翻譯政治文本過程中真正實現譯語與原語的語用功能等效，才能拓寬政治話語翻譯的發展空間，使世界能夠“聽到”並且“聽懂”中國聲音。本文將語言順應論（linguistic adaptation theory, Verschueren, 1999）作為理論框架，分析《習近平談治國理政》第四卷英譯本的翻譯實例，重點探究譯者如何通過語用擴充與收縮補缺原語的資訊中斷點，實現語用充實，並進行語言語境和交際語境的資訊充實，最終達到譯語原語的語用功能等效。本文的發現可為政治話語翻譯理論提供范式，為翻譯實踐提供新路徑。

二、政治話語翻譯的語用視角

中國政治話語的翻譯涉及多學科，其中不可忽視的便是語用學。為了達到政治翻譯的“語用等效”，需要對譯語進行以讀者為基礎的語用充實和語境資訊充實（冉永平，2006，58）。下面我們將首先介紹政治話語翻譯的語用等效，然後綜述政治話語翻譯的語用充實及語境順應。

2.1 政治話語翻譯中的語用等效

如何實現“等效”是政治話語翻譯中歷來重視的研究問題。等效原則由翻譯學家奈達提出，指譯語與原語的功能對等（Nida, 2002）。對於政治話語的翻譯，楊明星（2008）提出“政治等效”的翻譯命題，“外交翻譯必須一方面準確、忠實反映源語和說話者的政治思想和政治語境，另一方面，要用接受方所能理解的譯入語來表達，使雙方的政治含義資訊等值，使譯文能起到與原文相同的作用和交際功能”（楊明星、閔達，2012，73）。從語用維度看，這一理論呼應了順應論的內涵：語言的使用是語言選擇的過程，而語言的選擇則指從語境、語言結構等方面，動態地根據不同的心理意識程度而做出的某種順應（Verschueren, 1999）。此外，“政治等效”在一定程度上反映了“語用等效”——“譯者領會原語、原義，尤其是原語作者/說話人的語用意圖或用意（如施事用意），再順應譯者對象（即聽話人/讀者）的社交文化語用習俗與規約，將原轉換成譯語，重現原語作者的語用意圖”（冉永平，2006，62）。本文認為，實現政治等效首先要實現語用等效。

以往研究從不同維度觸及政治話語翻譯中的語用現象（鄭闊，2022），但鮮有研究從語用維度探索如何實現政治話語翻譯中譯語與原語的語用等效問題。本文認為，要最大限度地實現政治話語翻譯譯語與原語的語用等效，譯者需要正確把握原語的非明示資訊和語用目的，選擇恰當的語言形式對原語進行語境補缺，並對譯語進行語用充實和語境順應。

2.2 政治話語翻譯中的語用充實和語境順應

政治話語翻譯的語用視角主要體現在譯者對譯語的語用充實和語境順應（冉永平，2005）。翻譯語言學家貝爾（Bell, 1991）在其著作《翻譯與翻譯過程：理解與實踐》中闡述了翻譯過程的“分析”和“綜合”兩大階段，每個階段又包括“句法、語義和語用”三個層面。孫藝風（2004）則認為貝爾的翻譯處理模式可以表述為“編碼-解碼-重編碼”。冉永平（2005）提出話語理解等信息處理不是一個簡單的資訊編碼與解碼過程，也非尋找原型意義或原型特徵的過程，作為交際主體的聽話人需根據語境條件對目標話語進行不同程度的語用加工，這一過程稱為“語用充實”（pragmatic enrichment），包括詞語、結構及整個話語在特定語境下的語用收縮和語用擴充。因此，語用充實體現了對語境的順應。

政治話語的翻譯具有極強的語境依賴性。Sperber & Wilson (1986, 1995) 提出認知語境觀，認為語境是存在於人們認知中的一系列假設，語言選擇必然涉及對這些假設的順應。冉永平（2005）提出，“語言使用與理解受制於語境因素，我們不能抽象地討論某一詞語或概念的原型特徵。而且，認知範疇的原型並非固定不變，會因語境的變化而不同。為此，話語理解必須參照特定的語境，特別是具有喻式用法的詞語、結構，同時還需結合相關的背景資訊等百科知識”。在翻譯中，語境因素對於譯者和讀者來說同等重要，脫離了語境，兩者的交際活動將無法進行。本文中，語境資訊充實來源於“順應論”（Theory of Adaptation），順應論把語境分為語言語境與交際語境，並認為語境不是靜態存在的，而是一個動態生成的概念，前者包括線性序列、篇內銜接與篇際制約，後者包括物理世界，心理世界和社交世界等語境（Verschueren, 1999）。本文認為，政治話語的翻譯正是對順應論中不同語境的順應與語用充實。

結合以上背景，下面我們將結合實例具體分析《習近平談治國理政》第四卷英譯本中譯者如何通過語用擴充與收縮補缺原語的資訊中斷點，實現語用充實，並進行語言語境和交際語境的資訊充實，最終達到譯語與原語的語用功能等效。

三、政治話語翻譯中的語用充實分析

在政治文本中，政治話語表層有時存在概括性或含糊性，有時存在“非刻意用法和近似用法或鬆散用法”（冉永平，2008），即某一詞語傳遞的資訊通常不是其詞典意義，也不僅是結構的組合意義，存在原型意義的語用弱化與擴散（冉永平，2005）。這都可能造成資訊理解的不確定性，需要譯者在順應語境（Verschueren, 1999）的基礎上進行語用收縮或語用擴充。

3.1 語用收縮

詞義的語用收縮指交際中某一詞語所編碼的意義在特定語境中的特定所指，是其意義在語境中所指範圍或含義的縮小（冉永平，2005）。根據詞典釋義，某一詞語或結構所表達的意義可能是多義的，且有的詞語所承載的資訊可能具有很強的概括性或含

糊性，但使用中該詞語的選擇及其意義的理解具有語境順應性，因而理解話語時聽話人必須進行語用加工（冉永平，2005）。因此，翻譯政治話語時，譯者需要根據語境對譯語進行語用收縮，使原語中的抽象概念更加具體，達到譯語與原語的語用等效。下面我們將根據語料分析譯者如何對概念較為抽象的政治詞彙進行語用收縮，請看下例。

例 1（《習近平談治國理政》第四卷第 8 頁）

原文：**初心**易得，**始終**難守。以史為鑒，可以知**興替**。我們要用歷史映照現實、遠觀未來，從中國共產黨的百年奮鬥中看清楚過去我們為什麼能夠成功、弄明白未來我們怎樣才能繼續成功，從而在新的征程上更加堅定、更加自覺地牢記初心使命、開創美好未來。

譯文：**Our Party's founding mission** is easy to define. **Ensuring that we stay true to that mission** is much more difficult. By learning from history, we can understand **why powers rise and fall**. Through the mirror of history, we can find where we currently stand and gain foresight into the future. Looking back on the Party's 100-year history, we can see why we were successful in the past and how we can continue to succeed in the future. This will ensure that we act with greater resolve and purpose in staying true to our founding mission and pursuing a better future on the new journey that lies before us.

本例中，三個詞彙“初心”、“始終”，“興替”所承載的資訊都具有抽象性，其表層資訊未有明確的所指，可有多種解讀方式。脫離語境的支持，讀者很難捕捉三詞所在話語單元的內涵意義。譯者首先掌握原語資訊，順應中國社會文化語境資訊理解“初心”即“黨成立的使命或任務”，在譯文中進行語用收縮，將之譯為“**Our Party's founding mission**”，減小了讀者的認知負荷；同理，譯者順應語境資訊與篇內銜接，將“始終”解讀為“始終牢記黨的使命”，將之譯為“**Ensuring that we stay true to that mission**”，對原語的資訊空點進行了補缺；依據前文既然“以史為鑒”，那麼“興替”的詞義可以收縮為“權力更迭的原因”，因此，譯者可進行語用收縮，將之譯為“**why powers rise and fall**”。本例中，譯者對三個抽象詞彙進行語用收縮，使譯語具象化，以補缺原語的社交文化資訊中斷點，最終達到譯語與原語的語用等效。從順應論的角度看，體現了譯者對社交文化等交際語境的順應（Verschuereen, 1999）。

以上情況是譯者對不同詞彙分別進行語用收縮，有些情況下，譯者需要對重複出現的同一詞彙進行語用收縮，以實現譯語與原語的語用功能等效。請看下列：

例 2（《習近平談治國理政》第四卷第 6 頁）

原文：黨的十八大以來，中國特色社會主義進入新時代，我們堅持和加強黨的全面領導，統籌**推進**“五位一體”總體**佈局**、協調**推進**“四個全面”戰略**佈局**，堅持和完善中國特色社會主義制度、推進國家治理體系和治理能力現代化，堅持依規治黨、形成比較完善的黨內法規體系，戰勝一系列重大風險挑戰，實現第一個百年奮鬥目標，明確實現第二個百年奮鬥目標的

戰略安排，黨和國家事業取得歷史性成就、發生歷史性變革，為實現中華民族偉大復興提供了更為完善的制度保證、更為堅實的物質基礎、更為主動的精神力量。

譯文：Following the Party's 18th National Congress, socialism with Chinese characteristics entered a new era. In this new era we have upheld and strengthened the Party's overall leadership, **ensured** a holistic **approach to** the Five-sphere Integrated **Plan** and coordinated **implementation of** the Four-pronged Comprehensive **Strategy**, upheld and improved the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics, modernized China's system and capacity for governance, continued to exercise rule-based governance over the Party, and developed a sound system of intra-Party regulations. We have overcome a long list of major risks and challenges, fulfilled the First Centenary Goal, and defined strategic steps for achieving the Second Centenary Goal. All the historic achievements and changes in the Party and the country have provided the cause of national rejuvenation with more robust institutions, stronger material foundations, and a source of inspiration for seizing the initiative.

本例中，“推進”與“佈局”都分別出現了兩次，但前後譯文各不相同，這是譯者根據兩詞的語義場進行語用收縮的結果。語義場理論“強調語言體系的統一性和語境對表達的意義的影響”（文旭 1995，27），認為詞彙之間在語義上能夠相互影響。反觀本例，“推進”和“佈局”第一次出現處在“統籌推進‘五位一體’總體佈局”中，第二次出現處在“協調推進‘四個全面’戰略佈局”中。因此，“推進”的翻譯會受先後與之搭配的“統籌”和“協調”語義場的影響，“佈局”的翻譯先後受“總體”和“戰略”語義場的影響。譯者順應上下文的邏輯語義關係，對兩詞彙進行解碼，伴隨語用收縮。經過重編碼，“推進”先後被譯為“approach”、“implementation”，而“佈局”先後被譯為“Plan”和“Strategy”。譯者通過語用收縮，將兩詞彙的抽象概念語境化，實現譯語與原語的語用功能等效，體現了政治話語翻譯中對語言語境的順應（Verschueren 1999）。在翻譯時，譯者首先對來源語言（source language）的編碼意義進行解碼，同時伴隨著對其意義的選擇和理解，並決定對其語義進行語用收縮，隨之再對來源語言重編碼，翻譯成目的語言（target language），那麼，在重編碼、選詞的過程中也包含了語用收縮，也就通過選擇不同英文詞彙來實現。

綜上所述，從以上政治話語翻譯的釋例看來，譯者在翻譯過程中，僅遵循“編碼-解碼-重編碼”這個翻譯處理模式是不夠的。譯者對來源語言理解時，在未知準確的詞義的情況下，充分利用語境因素去推測、獲取某一詞語或結構在交際中的語境資訊，在進行編碼的時候對多義性、指向性不確定的詞語進行語用收縮，再對編碼意義進行解碼，同時伴隨著對其意義的選擇和理解，最後決定對來源語言重編碼，翻譯成目的語言。總的來說，語用收縮是為獲取最顯著語境效果的一種語用資訊加工，對某一詞語或結構的意義進行語境條件下的語用收縮目的在於使其意義更加具體化、語境化（冉永平，2005），體現了譯者對語境的動態順應（Verschueren, 1999）。

3.2 語用擴充

詞義的語用擴充就是某一詞語的原型意義在特定語境中被弱化、泛化的過程（冉永平，2005）。語用擴充主要用於政治話語出現“語用鬆弛”現象時，即政治詞語或話語結構出現的近似、喻式等非刻意用法以及類別延伸（冉永平，2005）。我們把傳統修辭學中的換喻、提喻、隱喻、擬人、借代、誇張等詞語現象都歸為詞語的近似或喻式用法（陳昌勇，高蕾，2008）。下例為近似用法或喻式用法的翻譯情況：

例3（《習近平談治國理政》第四卷第40頁）

原文：領導幹部想問題、作決策，一定要對國之大者心中有數，多打大算盤、算大賬，少打小算盤、算小帳，善於把地區和部門的工作融入黨和國家事業大棋局，做到既為一域爭光、更為全域添彩。

譯文：Leading officials must **have a clear understanding** of matters of national significance in analyzing problems and making decisions. **Build a strategic vision and think about the overall situation, rather than being short-sighted and focusing only on local interests.** Learn to integrate local and departmental work into **the overall undertakings** of the Party and the state, contributing to both local and overall development.

本例中出現多處喻式用法，譯者都一一進行了語用擴充。讀者在理解本例中的政治詞彙或短語“有數”、“打大算盤”、“算大賬”、“打小算盤”、“算小帳”和“大棋局”時，並非去理解它們的原型意義或字面意義，而是在特定語境下理解其延伸意義。在本文探討的政治語境下，“有數”喻指“瞭解”。同時這也是以一種近似用法，因為“瞭解”是有程度深淺的。反觀“有數”譯文“have a clear understanding”，可以看出譯者順應語境對其進行了語用擴充，因為“clear”作為等級性形容詞其語義具有模糊性。在多數條件下，無論話語生成還是話語理解只需追求近似或含糊資訊，便可實現成功交際（冉永平，2005）。

再看其他喻式用法，“打大算盤”和“算大賬”都喻指“目光長遠或顧大局”，反之，“打小算盤”和“算小帳”都指“目光短淺或只顧短期利益”，還有“大棋局”喻指“總體事業”。由於社會和文化語境會影響人們對隱喻的理解（Pan et al. 2019），譯者在兼顧和順應原語與譯語社會文化語境的基礎上，都未將這些具體的“意象”翻譯出來，而是對詞彙的原型意義進行泛化和語用擴充，將它們譯為“a strategic vision”、“the overall situation”、“being short-sighted”、“focusing only on local interests”以及“the overall undertakings”。本例中，譯者通過語用擴充實現了譯語與原語的語用功能等效，此過程存在譯者對社會文化語境的順應（Verschueren, 1999）。

綜上所述，語用擴充體現了譯者和讀者在很多情況下並非刻意追求某一個詞義的準確資訊，存在著資訊表達的近似與鬆弛現象，某一詞語或結構所要表達的資訊已超出原型所指。因此，在翻譯過程中，譯者或讀者都需要在一定的語境下對某些詞彙進行語用擴充，使得譯文更銜接連貫、更容易理解。當然，這並不意味著對待所有的詞彙翻譯都可以採用語用擴充的方法，需要譯者順應政治話語的社會文化語境資訊。

四、翻譯中的語境順應分析

在上文的探討中，我們可以看出，在翻譯過程中，無論是詞語進行語用收縮還是語用擴充，譯者或讀者都要根據一定的語境進行判斷來確定政治話語意義，達到對語境的順應。接下來，我們重點探究譯者如何選擇合適的語言形式對譯語進行語言語境和交際語境(物理世界、心理世界和社交世界)(Verschueren, 1999)，從而取得譯語與原語的語用功能等效(曾文雄，2006)。

4.1 語言語境順應

依據順應論，語言語境包含線性序列、篇內銜接與篇際制約(Verschueren, 1999)：線性序列(sequencing)指交際者進行語言選擇時會順應語篇的邏輯語義關係，對話語或語篇進行主次排列；篇內銜接(cohesion)指交際者會通過使用連詞、指示語、關聯詞、重複以及結構關係等語言手段實現語篇內部的銜接與連貫；篇際制約(intertextuality)交際者的語言選擇會受到語篇類型以及語篇主題等情景因素的制約。在對政治話語的翻譯中，譯者存在對語言語境的資訊充實，使譯語與原語達到語言語境等效。下面我們結合語料分析譯者如何進行語言語境順應。

例4(《習近平談治國理政》第四卷第7頁)

原文：一百年來，中國共產黨弘揚偉大建黨精神，在長期奮鬥中構建起中國共產黨人的精神譜系，錘煉出鮮明的政治品格。**歷史川流不息，精神代代相傳**。我們要繼續弘揚光榮傳統、賡續紅色血脈，永遠把偉大建黨精神繼承下去、發揚光大！

譯文：Over the past hundred years, the Party has carried forward this great founding spirit. Through its protracted struggles, it has developed a long line of inspiring principles for China's Communists and tempered a distinct political character. **As time moves steadily forward, the spirit of the Party has been passed on from generation to generation.** We will continue to promote our glorious traditions and sustain our revolutionary legacy, **so that** the great founding spirit of the Party will be passed down from generation to generation and be carried forward.

本例中譯者順應了語言語境的篇際制約、線性序列與篇內銜接。本例屬於政治語篇，語篇圍繞“黨的精神”展開。因此，受篇際制約，譯文將“精神代代相傳”中的“精神”準確的譯為“the spirit of the Party”。並且，“歷史川流不息，精神代代相傳”一句小句鋪陳，小句流水，從表層看兩句屬於並列句，但譯者根據兩句邏輯語義關係，得出“隨著歷史的邁進，精神得以代代相傳”，由此對兩句進行了主從安排，譯為“**As time moves steadily forward, the spirit of the Party has been passed on from generation to generation**”，這正是順應了原語的線性序列因素。此外，譯文中的被動態“**been passed on**”，關聯詞“**As**”和“**so that**”等都補缺了原語的信息空點，順應了篇內銜接。總之，譯者通過對原語的語言語境資訊充實，取得了譯語與原語的語言語境等效。

歸結起來，由於漢語與英語兩種語言的形式差異，原語的表層形式存在資訊缺省，與內涵意義存在“資訊中斷點”，因此譯者翻譯政治話語時，需要發現這些中斷點，翻譯時進行語言語境的資訊補缺，才能實現譯文與原文的語用功能等效。

4.2 物理世界的語境順應

根據 Verschueren 的順應論，交際者的語言選擇會受到時間與空間所構成的物理世界的影響，可表現於時間指示語、空間指示語或時態等指稱關係的使用上。物理世界的變化可能會導致譯者對原文的理解偏差，因此不能準確地表達原文的物理世界的資訊（李成團，2010）。因此，譯者在翻譯時要留意原語所指稱的時空，對原語的物理世界進行資訊充實。下面我們結合政治話語翻譯實例來探討譯者如何對物理世界的語境資訊加以充實。

例 5（《習近平談治國理政》第四卷第 42 頁）

原文：要心懷“國之大者”，站在全域和戰略的高度想問題、辦事情，一切工作都要以貫徹落實黨中央決策部署為前提，**不能**為了局部利益損害全域利益、為了暫時利益損害根本利益和長遠利益。

譯文：We should be fully conscious of all matters of national significance, and analyze problems and take actions from an overall strategic perspective. In doing all our work, we must first and foremost implement the decisions and plans of the Central Committee. We must **never** damage overall interests for the sake of local interests, or harm fundamental and long-term interests for the sake of short-term interests.

本例中，“不能”的表層形式存在著對時間指稱的資訊缺省。依據語篇的現時語境，“不能為了局部利益損害全域利益”是從始至終都要恪守的準則，所以這裡的“不能”包含“永不”的時間指示，譯者發現了這一資訊缺省，並對原語物理世界進行時間語境充實，將“不能”譯為“must never”。因此，譯者通過對時間語境的資訊充實，實現了譯語與原語的時間語境等效。

因此，譯者在翻譯政治話語過程中，要順應事件及人物所處的時空物理世界，找出原語字面資訊在指稱物理世界時存在的資訊缺省或空點，然後選擇適當的語言形式進行物理世界的語境資訊充實，以實現譯語與原語在時空指稱上的語用等效（李成團，2010）。

4.3 心理世界的語境順應

Verschueren (1999) 的順應論認為，語言的使用順應交際者的心理世界，包括順應交際雙方的個性、觀念、願望和意圖等心理和情感方面的因素。交際一方選擇語言的過程正是順應自己和交際另一方的心理世界的一個動態過程（李成團，2010）。在翻譯政治文本的過程中，要想引起讀者的共鳴，產生移情作用，譯者首先需要正確把握原文作者的心理世界及寫作情感，然後選擇合適的視角站位元對原文進行心理世界的

語境補缺，順應原文作者、譯者本身和讀者心理世界資訊，實現譯文與原文的心理世界語境等效。視角站位元指交際者進行語言選擇時所使用的視角（冉永平，2007），是語言和語境的互動（Field, 1997）。譯者選擇合適的視角站位元有助於譯文準確的傳達原文的心理情感。下面我們結合語料分析譯者如何選擇視角站位元補缺原語資訊空缺，以實現原文與譯文的心理世界語境等效。

例 6（《習近平談治國理政》第四卷第 75 頁）

原文：中國人民不惹事也不怕事，在任何困難和風險面前，腿肚子不會抖，腰杆子不會彎，中華民族是嚇不倒、壓不垮的！譯文：**We the Chinese people do not provoke others, nor do we shy away from trouble. We do not give in to fear or yield in the face of difficulties and dangers. The Chinese nation will never cower before threats, or be subdued by oppressors.**

本例中，譯者在翻譯中利用“我們”這種群內身份視角站位元進行了心理語境補缺。本例首先出現的主語為“中國人民”，譯者在翻譯中並沒有直接採用第三視角，而是選擇了“我們”的群內視角站位元，譯之為“**We the Chinese people**”，並在之後的兩個小句中繼續使用第一人稱視角站位元“**We**”。這樣，作者作為中國人民的民族自豪感和民族凝聚感得以體現，因為譯者已然選擇了群內身份視角站位元，順應了作者、讀者以及自身的心理情態，這樣的站位調整補缺了原文“中國人民”一詞表層的資訊空缺，使譯語讀者能夠產生情感共鳴。總之，譯者通過對原語心理世界的資訊充實，實現了譯語與原語的心理世界語境等效。

楊俊峰（2005）也提及：語境中的非語言因素涉及作品人物所處的具體語言環境，這包括作品中人物的身份、地位，人物在具體語言情景下的心理情態等。所以翻譯政治話語時要注意把握原文話語的心理情感。同時，政治話語的翻譯也是一種“語用移情行為”（act of empathy），即譯者應與原語作者產生情感共鳴，進而使用合適的視角站位元或其他語言手段對原語進行心理世界的語境資訊補缺，以使譯語讀者產生心理情感共鳴。

4.4 社交世界的語境順應

Verschueren (1999) 的語言順應論認為，語言的使用會受到社交世界制約。這裡的社交世界指社交場景、社會規約、文化習俗等方面。交際者的語言使用並非抽象化和理想化的，他們的言語交際受到社會和文化規範的制約（Wolf & Fukari, 2007）。譯者在翻譯政治話語的過程中更需要注意到這點，首先應掌握原語中的政治詞彙或結構所承載的社交文化資訊，發現譯語與原語的資訊中斷點，對原語的動態語境進行資訊補缺，使譯語能夠傳達原語的非明示社交文化資訊，實現譯語與原語社交世界的語言語境等效。下面我們來看譯者如何進行對政治話語進行社交文化語境的資訊充實。

例 7（《習近平談治國理政》第四卷第 56 頁）

原文：黨的十八大以來，我們一以貫之全面從嚴治黨，堅定不移反對和懲治腐敗，堅持不懈整治“四風”，進行黨的群眾路線教育實踐活動、“不忘

初心、牢記使命”主題教育，就是要教育引導廣大黨員、幹部始終同人民群眾同呼吸、共命運、心連心。

譯文：Since the 18th CPC National Congress held in 2012, we have exercised full and strict governance over the Party. Firm action has been taken to combat corruption and **the Four Malfeasances of favoring form over substance, bureaucracy, hedonism and extravagance**. We have launched education campaigns among all Party members to increase awareness of honoring the Party’s mass line and its original aspiration and founding mission. Our goal is to educate and guide Party members and officials to share the future with the people, and stay truly connected to them.

本例中，譯者順應社交文化語境對“四風”進行了資訊充實。在中國的政治文化語境下，“四風”指形式主義、官僚主義、享樂主義和奢靡之風。然而，譯語讀者並沒有這樣的社交文化語境認知。因此，譯者發現原語“四風”的形式存在著資訊空點，對其進行社交文化的資訊補缺與充實，譯為“the Four Malfeasances of favoring form over substance, bureaucracy, hedonism and extravagance”。譯者對“四風”展開解釋，這不僅順應原文社交文化的資訊，也順應了讀者的所期待的、可接受的社交世界。

就此看來，在翻譯過程中，譯者應充分理解原文中某一詞或結構所隱含的社會文化資訊，在編碼時理解原文作者所要表達的社交文化資訊，然後解碼時進行以讀者為取向的語用充實，最後在重編碼時順應原文作者、讀者與譯者自己的社會文化世界進行相應的資訊補缺與充實，最終實現譯語與原語的社交文化語境等效。

五、結語

以上我們以政治文本《習近平談治國理政》第四卷英譯本為語料，從語用學視角探討了語用充實包括語用收縮和語用擴充理論在政治話語翻譯中的體現，且探索了政治話語詞義對不同語境的順應性。在翻譯過程中，漢英兩種語言在詞彙上的選擇和理解是多種多樣的，加之文化、社交、心理、認知等因素的制約，我們容易出現對詞彙理解發生偏差的現象，要在眾多選擇中選出較為合適的詞彙需要我們順應語境進行語用資訊充實：從語用充實的角度（Blutner, 1998；曾衍桃，2005）來看，我們可通過**語用收縮**獲取良好的語境效果，使某一詞語或結構的意義進行語境條件下的語用收縮後意義更加**具體化、語境化**；另外，通過把握社交文化等語境，對並非刻意追求精確資訊和原型資訊的某些詞彙進行**語用擴充**，可以使得譯文**更自然、更容易被接受**。政治話語的英譯對於語境的依賴性啟示我們應從順應論角度來加強語境順應：1) 語言語境順應：譯者翻譯政治話語時，需要順應線性序列、篇內銜接與篇際制約，進行語言語境的資訊補缺與充實。2) 物理世界的語境順應：翻譯過程中要順應事件及人物所處的時間空間語境資訊；3) 心理世界的語境順應：翻譯應考慮交際主體的個性、情緒、願望和意圖等認知和情感方面的因素，譯文要儘量引起讀者的共鳴；4) 社交世界的

語境順應：翻譯應通過社交世界資訊充實以實現社交場合、社會規約、文化習俗的突顯。總之，譯者在把握政治話語的語用語境和語用目的（Kirsten, 2005）的基礎上，對原語進行語用收縮與擴充，順應語言語境與三大交際語境進行資訊補缺與充實，才能最終實現譯語與原語的語用功能等效。

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政治話語翻譯與受眾輿情的認知關聯機制： 大數據分析與理論假說

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Abstract

The Neuro-Cognitive Mechanism of Correlation Between Political Translation and Public Opinion: Big Data Analyses and Theoretical Hypotheses (by Qing Chen and Lin Shen and Shan Zhu)

This study uses the methods and tools of natural language processing for sentiment analysis and big-data opinion mining to compare the sentiment effects between the different corresponding English words (potential translations) of two high-frequency Chinese words in Chinese-English political translation: “群眾” (qúnzhòng) and “宣傳” (xuānchuán). The sentiment variation among the potential translations is discussed with a diachronic analysis of the use of corresponding English words in China’s political translation. The mechanism of the variation is further interpreted with cognitive theories, including embodied cognition, framing effect, and mirror neuron hypothesis. The findings are expected to contribute to the monitoring and prediction of the public opinion affected by political translation.

一、引言

政治話語翻譯是國家對外話語的重要組成部分，與國際話語權高度相關，對塑造國際形象與提升國際地位發揮著重要作用（安豐存、王銘玉，2019，1），是觸發譯入語受眾輿情效應的重要因素之一。輿情反映的是對公眾態度和行為具有支配性的主流

意見（薛瑞凱，2021，128），譯入語受眾的主流意見是政治話語在該群體中意義生成和接受的決定性因素。因此，不論是人類譯員還是機器翻譯引擎都有必要加強輿情分析能力，對於何種譯語可能觸發何種類型的輿情應該具有一定的預判能力。此種能力的形成就必然涉及到對公眾情感的分析和解讀，因為公眾情感是產生輿情的基礎（周媛媛、王保華，2021），情感傾向性分析是輿情傾向性分析的重要組成部分（王英、龔花萍，2017），目前國內外多數輿情分析平臺與相關研究也都將情感分析作為關鍵內容（封超、杜娟，2021）。

由此可見，政治話語翻譯、受眾情感與受眾輿情之間存在著一條邏輯基本清晰的因果鏈：政治話語通過翻譯在受眾中產生某種情感從而觸發相關輿情。對於這條因果鏈的相關研究主要來自兩個領域，人文社會科學學者主要通過理論思辨進行質性研究，理論視角主要有修辭學（侯光輝等，2019）、文化語用學（毛延生，2019）與政治學（Adams-Cohen, 2020），分析話語認知建構（汪少華、張薇，2017，147-48）與認知趨同原則（龍新元、李秋霞，2020，104）等，此類研究主要採用定性分析，定量情感分析的應用不足（劉風光、石文瑞，2021，38），數據來源比較片面，偏向宏觀闡釋，觀察者偏差明顯。另一支研究主力來自於人工智慧與自然語言處理研究領域，該領域主要是基於大數據統計來進行情感與輿情分析（史偉等，2022；劉英傑等，2016），以相關關係為分析基礎，結果來自數據分析回饋，對於因果關係等內在邏輯聯繫缺乏解釋。總之，雖然有來自兩個方向的研究，但是對於政治話語翻譯如何通過情感觸發輿情的深層機制的解釋，仍然是一個“黑箱”。

有鑑於此，本研究嘗試將兩個方向的研究進行拉通和耦合，以情感為切入點和融匯點，一方面利用大數據輿情分析平臺，抽取代表性的政治詞彙和目標語對應詞彙進行量化和對比分析，同時引入認知神經假說等相關理論，探索性地解釋政治話語翻譯、受眾情感與輿情觸發之間的認知關聯機制，嘗試將宏觀闡釋向微觀觀察推進，以期加強解釋的顆粒度和深度，為提升輿情預測能力探討可能的思路和路徑。

二、研究方法

為了分析不同翻譯策略引發的輿情效應並探討其可能的觸發機制，本研究首先通過量化分析對比典型政治詞彙的不同對應詞在目的語中的輿情效應，隨後針對目的語對應詞的輿情差異展開輿情觸發機制的質性探討。研究方法具體如下：

- 1) 目的語選擇：鑒於英語不僅作為母語廣泛使用，而且也是非母語者的國際通用語（*lingua franca*），本研究以英語為目的語，如無特別說明，本文中提及的“目的語”皆特指英語。
- 2) 輿情與情感分析。本研究採用 TMXmall 的輿情檢索分析系統，分析和呈現各類政治話語翻譯的多維輿情效應。該系統已用於多語種輿情監測，覆蓋國外多家新聞網站及智庫門站，支持輿情趨勢分析，地域、情感、平臺、來源分佈及詞雲統計。相較於其他多種情感分析工具，該系統相對更

為便利 (Ribeiro et al., 2016)。對於輿情資訊的情感分類，TMXmall 採用的是情感分析領域普遍使用的三分法，即積極（正面）、消極（負面）與中性情感三類。在研究中，平臺的使用主要分為兩步，首先通過平臺得出特定對應詞各條輿情資訊的情感分類，再計算各個情感分類中輿情資訊的條數與占比，得出特定對應詞輿情的三類情感佔比。

3) 數據抽樣。本研究綜合既往研究關注的政治翻譯詞彙 (司顯柱、曾劍平, 2021; 張美芳、張簫雨、曾維欣, 2021; 梁志芳、邵璐, 2021; 竇衛霖, 2016; 陳明明, 2014)，遵循隨機抽樣與平衡抽樣原則，隨機選取“群眾”與“宣傳”二詞的各三個英語對應詞作為研究目標並針對對應詞抽樣的合理性進行了卡方檢驗。而且，二者與其他多個備選研究詞彙皆為政治文獻中較常出現的中國特色表達，具有較多種類的譯例，樣本量充足，且譯例觸發的輿情效應差異較大，既往討論較為豐富，具有對比研究價值。“群眾”的目的語對應詞為“masses”、“public”、“people”；“宣傳”的對應詞為“propaganda”、“promotion”和“communication”，在本研究中，三者的動詞和名詞的所有詞形皆納入統計分析，在圖表中用通配符 * 表示所有詞尾變化。另外，在 TMXmall 輿情檢索分析系統中“propaganda”的其他詞形輿情資訊條數為 0，對於“promotion”和“communication”則自動過濾詞尾，二者不同詞形的輿情資訊皆被納入。

目的語對應詞數據收集均始於 2000 年 1 月 1 日，截至 2020 年 3 月 31 日，來源為同一輿情分析檢索平臺，“宣傳”目的語對應詞數據來源囊括巴基斯坦、法國、肯亞、瑞典、日本、比利時等地的目的語新聞報導與智庫分析。“群眾”目的語對應詞數據來源囊括美國、肯亞、巴基斯坦、瑞典、日本與法國等地的新聞報導與智庫分析，二詞目的語對應詞的來源媒體及智庫包括民族報 (The Nation)、新聞報 (The News)、美國福克斯新聞 (Fox News)，美國國家公共廣播電臺 (NPR)、亞洲開發銀行研究所，蘭德公司 (RAND Corporation) 與卡內基國際和平研究院 (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace) 等。

4) 質性分析。在量化資料的基礎上，輔以案例分析，以此觀察中國政治文獻翻譯中的對應詞使用傾向與輿情考量；在政治話語翻譯與受眾輿情的認知的關聯機制分析方面，本研究嘗試借鑒體化認知、框定效應、鏡像神經元等認知科學的理論和發現 (Lakoff, 2014; Shapiro, 2019)，體化認知論可提供宏觀層次的歸因依據，框定效應論則進一步為聯想搭配提供輔助闡釋，鏡像神經元假設則可提供微觀層次的神經學關照，三者之間相互關聯，共同為神經認知機制和輿情效應差異的成因提出探索性解讀。

三、數據描述與分析

本研究抽取“群眾”和“宣傳”二詞的常見英語對應詞進行統計和案例分析。

首先呈現數據概況，如表 1 所示，本研究統計了不同的對應詞及其在輿情系統英語全庫中的所有輿情資訊條數，包括全部智庫與新聞媒體來源，不同對應詞的使用頻次不均，側面展現了內容創作者對於不同對應詞的態度差異。圖 1 展示不同對應詞的輿情資訊條數歷時變化，“masses”輿情資訊主要集中出現於 2009 年及以後，“public”輿情資訊條數隨時間推移小幅增長，“people”輿情資訊條數在 2015 年及以後呈現較大幅增長，“propagand*”出現頻次較低，主要集中於 2018 年，“promot*”輿情資訊條數主要集中出現於 2017 年後，“communicat*”輿情資訊條數則於 2016 年後出現增長。下文對不同對應詞在目的語中的輿情效應差異展開分析。

表 1: 所選政治詞彙的英語對應詞彙總

原語詞匯	目的語對應詞	輿情資訊條數	輿情資訊比值
群眾	Masses	29	0.71%
	Public	2,687	65.44%
	People	1,390	33.85%
宣傳	Propagand*	8	1.39%
	Promot*	215	37.39%
	Communicat*	352	61.22%

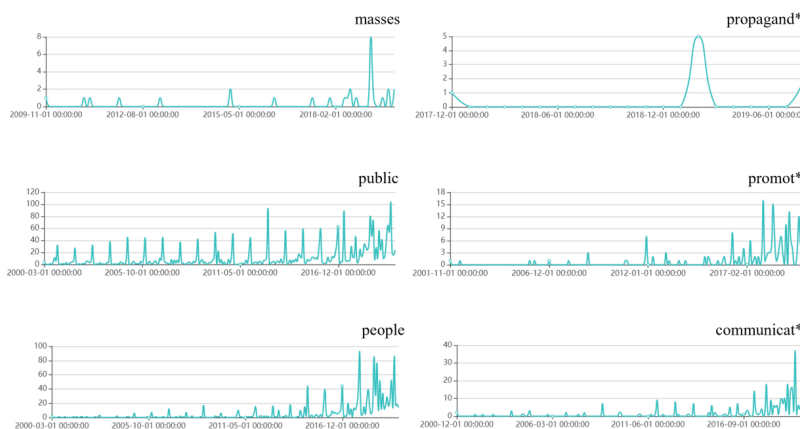


圖 1: 政治詞彙英語對應詞輿情資訊條數的歷時變化

3.1 目的語對應詞的輿情效應對比

3.1.1 群眾

經系統檢索和統計發現，“群眾”這一表達的中文輿情整體呈偏向積極（64.7%），負面輿情佔比 34.66%，主要和“糾錯”和“責任編輯”等關鍵詞相關（見圖 2）。“群眾”

一詞主要具有三種目的語對應詞，包括“masses”、“people”與“public”。對應詞與輿情類型均為無序分類變數，因而對二者相關性採取卡方檢驗，“群眾”對應詞與輿情類型的交叉列聯表可見表 2，得出結果為 $\chi^2 = 289.967(4, 4106)$ ， $p = 0.000 < 0.001$ ，對應詞與輿情類型顯著相關，不同對應詞間輿情具有顯著差異，排除不同對應詞輿情同質性過強的情況，確認對應詞抽樣的合理性。

表 2: “群眾” 對應詞與輿情類型的交叉列聯表

列聯表	輿情				
	negative	neutral	positive	總計	
對應詞	masses	10	2	17	29
	people	220	102	1,068	1,390
	public	138	26	2,523	2,687
	總計	368	130	3,608	4,106

對比三者之目的語中的輿情現狀（見圖 2），可見“public”這目的語對應詞的積極輿情強度最高，負面輿情強度最低，“people”中性輿情強度最高，積極與負面輿情強度均處中值，而“masses”積極與中性輿情強度最低，負面輿情強度最高。

進一步深入三種目的語對應詞的共現詞雲（見圖 3）對比，可見“people”的主要共現詞為“region”（地區）、“republic”（共和國）、“China”（中國）、“develop”（發展）、“sector”（部門、領域）、“project”（項目）、“manage”（管理）、“democrat”（民主）等，主要共現詞包括專案、管理及民主等，較常用於國家名字之中，具有較為中立的輿情語義。“masses”的主要共現詞為“people”（人們）、“year”（年）、“time”（時間）、“countries”（國家）、“nation”（國家）、“state”（州、國家）、“include”（包括）、“govern”（治理）等，與國家專政較為相關，具有較為負面的聯想意義，在政府與群眾之間形成割裂（高德勝，2011）。

“public”的主要共現詞為“sector”（部門、領域）、“develop”（發展）、“support”（支持）、“project”（專案）、“countries”（國家）、“economy”（經濟）、“service”（服務）等，呈現較為積極的輿情偏向，與部門、發展、服務、支援與經濟等高頻共現，往往與國家發展相關。

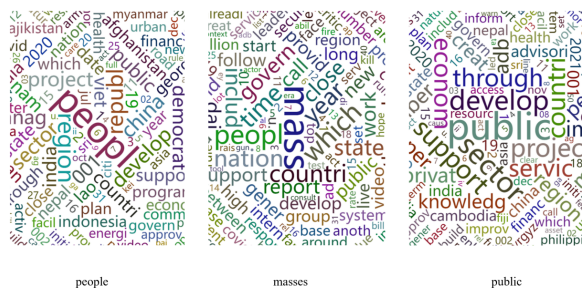


圖 2: “群眾” 的三種目的語對應詞共現詞雲對比

整體而言，「public」的積極及中立輿情與中文的群眾一詞最為接近，而「masses」的輿情往往與中文政治文獻中的「群眾」語義不符，且如上所述，「群眾」這一表達的中文輿情整體呈偏向積極（64.7%），負面輿情（34.66%），負面輿情主要與「糾錯」等關鍵字相關（見圖4），「masses」這一目的語對應詞與中文「群眾」一詞的負面輿情共現詞並不適配。



圖 3：“群眾”的原語輿情詞雲

3.1.2 宣傳

“宣傳”這一中文表達的輿情效應整體偏向積極（54.27%），負面輿情佔45.53%。本文對比的“宣傳”目的語對應詞為“propaganda”、“promotion”與“communication”。三者的輿情數據如表3所示，卡方檢驗顯示結果為 $\chi^2 = 10.421(4, 575)$ ， $p = 0.034 < 0.05$ ，說明對應詞與輿情類型顯著相關，不同對應詞間輿情具有顯著差異，並無不同對應詞輿情同質化的情況，印證對應詞抽樣的合理性。

對比三者为目的語中的積極、負面及中立輿情強度（見圖5），“propagand*”輿情效應偏向負面（62.50%），積極輿情僅佔25.00%，中性輿情佔12.50%，“promot*”輿情效應偏向積極（58.14%），負面輿情僅佔33.49%，中性輿情佔8.37%，“communicat*”輿情效應同樣將為積極（67.33%），負面輿情佔27.27%，中性輿情佔5.40%。可見“propagand*”的負面輿情強度最高，積極輿情強度最低，“communicat*”積極輿情強

表 3: “宣傳” 對應詞與輿情類型的交叉列聯表

列聯表	輿情				
	negative	neutral	positive	總計	
對應詞	communicat*	96	19	237	352
	promot*	72	18	125	215
	propagand*	5	1	2	8
	總計	173	38	364	575

度最高，負面輿情強度最低，而“promot*”的積極與負面輿情強度均處中值。慮及“propagand*”在目的語中的使用頻次顯著偏低，這可能是因為“propagand*”的負面輿情較強而抑制了該詞的普遍使用。

對比“宣傳”三種目的語對應詞的詞雲，可見“propaganda”的主要共現詞為“state”（州、國）、“time”（時間）、“year”（年）、“countries”（國家）、“new”（新）、“close”（緊密）、“people”（人們）、“govern”（治理）等，常用於政治語境，例如描述特定國家的政治宣傳。



圖 4: “宣傳” 的三種目的語對應詞共現詞雲對比

“promotion”（包括其各種詞形）的主要共現詞為“develop”（發展）、“support”（支援）、“region”（地區）、“project”（專案）、“countries”（國家）、“economy”（經濟）、“invest”（投資）、“finance”（金融）等，常見共現片語為 promotion of development 及 regional promotion 等，往往用於探討國家及地區的經濟發展，往往具有較為積極的語義。“communication”（包括其各種詞形）的主要共現詞為“people”（人們）、“develop”（發展）、“support”（支援）、“project”（項目）、“manage”（管理）、“region”（地區）、“countries”（國家）與“program”（專案）等。該目的語對應詞主要與地區國家的整體發展較為相關，呈現較為中立的語義。

整體而言，“promotion”和“communication”的積極輿情與中文的宣傳一詞較為接近，而“propagand*”的輿情負面效應較強，往往與獨裁專制、權力操控等負面意象相關（Lasswell, 1927），指“為（政治）利益服務卻（常作）貌似不含偏見的宣傳，明

顯帶有貶義在內”（楊阿娣，2005），所以在政治文獻翻譯中需要謹慎選擇使用。

3.2 政治話語翻譯輿情效應的譯例分析

量化分析呈現出的是整體趨勢，而縱深描寫需輔以實際案例分析。本研究選取具有代表性的中國政治文獻英譯本進行歷時翻譯案例對比，檢索出文本中“群眾”和“宣傳”二詞的英語對應詞及其句子層面的語境，觀察相關對應詞的輿情效應差異，探討英語對應詞在選擇轉變上的歷時變化及其背後的輿情考量。“群眾”一詞的對應詞來自2000年至2019年中國政府工作報告，“宣傳”的對應詞來源於十五大至十九大報告及中共中央宣傳部的1997年通知。

以“群眾”的對應詞 *masses* 為例，從2000年至2019年近二十年間出現頻次共為13（譯例詳見表4），用於英譯“群眾”，主要聚集出現於2000年、2003年、2010年、2011年與2012年，此後再無出現於中國政府工作報告的官方英譯本中，之後則以“*people*”、“*public*”等輿情效應更為積極的對應詞譯出。這一轉變背後具有部分輿情效應考量，例如外交部翻譯室原主任陳明明在2017中國翻譯協會年會上以“以與時俱進的精神做好新時代黨政文件翻譯——以黨的十九大報告英譯為例”為主題發言，曾分析道“*masses*”指“底層大眾”，為了避免出現黨與群眾割裂的語義及此種語義可能觸發的潛在負面輿情，已經不再於十九大報告等政治文獻英譯中使用。

表4: “*masses*”的歷時譯例

序號	時間	中文原文	英語譯文
1	2000	這些進展鼓舞了廣大幹部【群眾】戰勝困難的勇氣和信心，說明中央確定的國有企業改革和脫困三年目標是能夠實現的。	These achievements encouraged the cadres and the 【 <i>masses</i> 】 to continue working to overcome difficulties and demonstrated that the objectives set by the central authorities for reforming state-owned enterprises and turning around operations within three years are attainable.

2	2000	繼續進行愛國主義、集體主義、社會主義教育，引導廣大人民【群眾】特別是青少年樹立正確的世界觀、人生觀、價值觀，堅定建設有中國特色社會主義的理想信念。	Efforts to promote patriotism, collectivism and socialism should be continued to help foster in the 【masses】 , especially the young, the correct values and outlook on the world and life and give them a firm faith in the ideal of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.
3	2000	宣導文明健康的生活方式，開展豐富多彩的【群眾】性文化、體育活動。	Healthy and civilized lifestyles should be promoted, and varied and interesting cultural and sports activities should be developed for the participation of the 【masses】 .
4	2000	密切聯繫群眾，傾聽【群眾】意見，關心群眾疾苦。	They should maintain close ties with the 【masses】 , listen to their opinions and show concern for their weal and woe.
5	2003	在化解金融風險隱患過程中，國家拿出相當大的財力，解決與【群眾】個人利益相關的遺留債務問題。	Also, in tackling financial risks, the government spent a considerable amount of money ironing out troubles caused by old debts that were adversely affecting the interests of the 【masses】 .
6	2010	為應對各種困難，我們特別注意發揚民主、傾聽基層【群眾】意見，重視維護群眾利益。	To deal with difficulties of all kinds, we paid particular attention to promoting democracy, listening to the opinions of the 【masses】 , and protecting their interests.

7	2010	<p>一些工作人員依法行政意識不強；一些領導幹部脫離【群眾】、脫離實際，形式主義、官僚主義嚴重；一些領域腐敗現象易發多發。</p>	<p>Some government employees give too little consideration to carrying out their official duties in accordance with the law; some leading cadres are divorced from reality and the 【masses】 , and are excessively formalistic and bureaucratic; and some areas are prone to corruption.</p>
8	2010	<p>我們要以轉變職能為核心，深化行政管理體制改革，大力推進服務型政府建設，努力為各類市場主體創造公平的發展環境，為人民【群眾】提供良好的公共服務，維護社會公平正義。</p>	<p>With the focus on transforming government functions, we will deepen reform of the administrative system, work hard to make the government devoted to service, strive to create a fair development environment for all types of market entities, deliver quality public services to the 【masses】 , and uphold social fairness and justice.</p>
9	2011	<p>一些【群眾】反映強烈的問題沒有根本解決，主要是：優質教育、醫療資源總量不足、分佈不均；</p>	<p>Moreover, we have not yet fundamentally solved a number of issues that the 【masses】 feel strongly about, namely the lack of high-quality educational and medical resources, and their uneven distribution;</p>

10	2011	完善和推進醫生多點執業制度，鼓勵醫生在各類醫療機構之間合理流動和在基層開設診所，為人民【群眾】提供便捷的醫療衛生服務。	We will improve and advance the system whereby doctors are allowed to work in more than one practice, encourage the reasonable flow of doctors between all types of medical institutions, and encourage them to set up community-level clinics in order to provide convenient medical and health services for the 【masses】
11	2011	強化政府社會管理職能，廣泛動員和組織【群眾】依法參與社會管理，發揮社會組織的積極作用，完善社會管理格局。	We will strengthen the government's social administration functions, extensively mobilize and organize the 【masses】 to participate in social administration in accordance with the law, make use of the positive role of social groups, and improve the structure of social administration.
12	2011	加強信訪、人民調解、行政調解、司法調解工作，拓寬社情民意表達管道，切實解決亂佔耕地、違法拆遷等【群眾】反映強烈的問題。	We will strengthen the work related to the handling of petitioners' letters and visits and step up people's, administrative and legal mediations; expand the channels for people to report on social conditions and popular sentiment; and effectively solve problems that cause great resentment among the 【masses】 , such as unauthorized expropriations of arable land and illegal demolitions of houses.

13	2012	加強和改進信訪工作，健全【群眾】利益訴求表達機制。	We will strengthen and improve the handling of public complaints made through letters and visits and improve the mechanism whereby the 【masses】 express appeals concerning matters affecting their interests.
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對於“宣傳”的英譯，中共中央宣傳部於1997年發佈通知，將其從“propaganda”向“publicity”轉變，標誌著向近現代公共外交的過渡（鐘龍彪、王俊，2006：65），替換了在目的語中具有顯著負面輿情效應的“propaganda*”。此後，更為通用的“宣傳”英譯對應詞為“communicate”，在2017年的中國共產黨第十九次全國代表大會中，“宣傳”就是以“communicate”這一目的語輿情效應更為積極的對應詞譯出（具體譯例見表5），蘊含積極正面的情感色彩（王海萍、楊士焯，2020：132），有益於帶來更為積極的輿情效應。

表5：“communicate”的十九大譯例

序號	中文原文	英語譯文
13	要以提升組織力為重點，突出政治功能，把企業、農村、機關、學校、科研院所、街道社區、社會組織等基層黨組織建設成為【宣傳】黨的主張、貫徹黨的決定、領導基層治理、團結動員群眾、推動改革發展的堅強戰鬥堡壘。	We will work to ensure that primary-level Party organizations in enterprises, villages, Party and government departments, schools, research institutes, sub-districts, communities, and social organizations play a key role in 【communicating】 the Party’s propositions, carrying out the Party’s decisions, overseeing community-level social governance, uniting and mobilizing the people, and promoting reform and development. In doing so, we will focus on improving the organizational capability of primary-level Party organizations and give priority to enhancing their political functions.
14	黨支部要擔負好直接教育黨員、管理黨員、監督黨員和組織群眾、【宣傳】群眾、凝聚群眾、服務群眾的職責，	Party branches should fulfill their responsibilities for directly guiding, managing, and overseeing their members and for organizing, 【communicating】 with, uniting, and serving the people.

在“masses”的譯例中，相對“people”與“public”而言，“masses”的負面輿情效應更強，可能解釋了中國政府工作報告為何自2012年後停用“masses”；在“communicate”譯例中，相對“propagandize”與“promote”而言，“communicate”的積極輿情效應更強，

逐步替代二者成為黨政宣傳中更加通用的對應詞。綜合兩個案例可以觀察到具有負面輿情效應的對應詞逐漸被輿情效應更為積極的對應詞取代。這在一定程度上說明，當代中國政治文獻，尤其是黨政文獻的翻譯在不斷加強對跨語言輿情效應的關注，以提高政治話語對外傳播的效果。

四、討論：受眾輿情的認知機制探討

前文所述，情感分析是輿情傾向性分析的重要組成部分，公眾情感是產生輿情的基礎，政治話語通過翻譯在受眾中產生某種情感從而觸發相關輿情。當然，情感與輿情之間也存在一條回饋鏈，彼此相互作用，而非單向的決定。鑒於認知科學及其分支認知神經科學的理論和發現已經是研究和解釋情感現象的重要工具（Lane and Nadel, 2002; Panksepp, 2005），本研究綜合借鑒該領域的體化認知論、框定效應論和鏡像神經元理論，對政治話語翻譯觸發輿情的認知機制進行探索性解釋。筆者認為體化認知論能為特定對應詞產生輿情的原因提供宏觀文化環境差異層面的解釋，框定效應論進一步為聯想搭配在產生輿情之中的作用提供輔助理論闡釋，鏡像神經元理論則為輿情的產生提供微觀生物神經層面的解釋。

4.1 體化認知論

根據體化認知相關理論，另譯為“具身認知”（embodied cognition），環境對認知具有重要影響（Rowlands, 2013; Shapiro, 2019）。就政治話語而言，原語讀者與目的語讀者可能因受到社會、文化及政治背景差異的影響，對文本產生的認知不一。例如，對於中國受眾，“群眾”是政治文獻中較為常見的表達，本身並無褒貶偏向，但是對於其他語言的受眾群體而言，情感偏向可能因個體對語境的認知不同而有所改變。且據大數據輿情結果顯示，“群眾”在中文政治文獻中往往呈現積極輿情態勢，例如“中國共產黨一向積極奉行的群眾路線”，相關的負面輿情往往與群眾糾錯與追責相關。“群眾”的英語對應詞之一“masses”，根據輿情大數據顯示，整個英語受眾對“masses”普遍具有負面情感傾向，西方目的語受眾尤為明顯。西方目的語受眾因其社會文化的浸淫，對“masses”一詞的政治內涵較為敏感，往往聯想到政府與人民的割裂，對中國政治文獻選用此詞的意圖產生負面解讀，進而容易引發消極情感、觸發負面輿情。

4.2 框定效應論

框定效應 (framing effect) (Lakoff, 2014) 也在一定程度上為輿情的生成機制提供了理論依據。由於框定效應的存在，即便在翻譯中採用的目的語對應詞意義相似，卻因其常有的聯想搭配意義不同，導致框定效應，帶來不同的認知輿情。例如，“宣傳”的三種目的語對應詞（“propaganda”、“promotion”與“communication”）語義雖然類似，但在西方受眾的聯想中，“propaganda”一詞易將受眾認知意義錨定於政治煽動，將相關宣傳框定為具有消極政治意圖的活動，更可能觸發負面輿情效應。美國戰時情

報局局長喬治·克里爾 (George Creel) 就曾在宣傳工作專著 (1920) 中明確指出, “我們不稱之為 propaganda, 因為這個詞在德國人手中已經與欺騙、腐敗緊密聯結” (We did not call it propaganda, for that word, in German hands, had come to be associated with deceit and corruption)。

4.3 鏡像神經元假說

鏡像神經元既是體化認知的重要生物基礎 (Caramazza et al., 2014; Perlovsky and Ilin, 2013), 也為框定效應論提供了部分解釋。鏡像神經元發現於恒河猴大腦運動前皮層 F5 區, 發現在其執行運動與觀察運動時, 相似的神經元得到啟動, 聯繫起動作與認知, 且鏡像神經元對他人動作產生的反應並非機械反應, 而是基於對他人動作意圖的理解 (葉浩生, 2015)。將這一發現運用於翻譯審美之中, 鏡像神經元為審美共情效應與意象創構提供生物神經解釋 (胡俊, 2021)。而意象往往與情緒感知緊密相關, 神經美學的鐵三角理論 (運動-感覺、情緒-效價、知識-意義) (Chatterjee and Vartanian, 2016) 可進一步解釋意象與情感之間的關聯。

在政治話語翻譯中, 目的語讀者基於自身社會認知經驗理解後, 腦中出現詞彙關聯意象與情緒的映射。例如, 在西方社會文化語境中, “propaganda” 往往與獨裁專制、權力操控與政治利益等負面意象關聯 (Lasswell, 1927), 鏡像神經元系統促使讀者腦中出現此類負面意象與情緒的映射, 將語言解碼為高位者煽動誤導群眾的負面意象, 加以自身對源語語境的想像與認知, 推測還原政治話語的不良意圖, 對相關政治內容產生負面印象, 進而增加了觸發負面輿情的可能性。

綜上所述, 政治話語翻譯要預先考慮目的語受眾的社會、文化與政治等語境, 評估重要政治詞彙的目的語對應詞可能產生的框定效應, 同時考慮政治話語翻譯可能在目的語受眾心中創構的意象及其相關情感偏向與強度, 經過衡量對比後謹慎選擇對應詞, 或者適當依據目的語受眾的文化心理預期進行語言調整, 從而有效預測或應對政治話語翻譯在目的語受眾中可能觸發的輿情效應。

五、結語

本研究基於大數據輿情分析, 以“群眾”與“宣傳”的翻譯為例, 對比多種目的語對應詞的輿情效應, 並試以體化認知、框定效應和鏡像神經元等理論, 以情感分析為切入點, 從文化政治的宏觀語境、文本意象聯想再到生物神經層面進行探索性解讀, 以期為政治話語翻譯與受眾輿情的認知關聯機制提供一個跨學科的研究思路。

雖然本研究利用了大數據輿情分析平臺, 但是直接相關的語料規模仍然較小, 選材範圍較為局限, 且該平臺本身也處於開發過程之中, 情感強度的量化衡量有待完善。在後續研究中, 語料規模與選材範圍有待進一步擴大, 以提升研究結果普適性。另外, 本研究的探索性解釋是一種假定性理論推測, 所得的理論假設在後續研究中, 或可試以質性調研進行深入論證, 或予以實證的實驗研究進一步驗證, 夯實分析結果的自治性和可靠性。總之, 相關後續研究有望能夠為加強政治話語翻譯的國際輿情預

測和分析能力提供更具有操作性的理論和實證支撐，為中國的對外話語體系建設發揮效能。

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見微知著，譯路躬行—— 《筆尖上的文化碰撞：對外話語與翻譯》評述

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一、引言

《筆尖上的文化碰撞：對外話語與翻譯》（以下簡稱《筆尖》）是中國外文局互聯網新聞中心英文部編輯、副譯審劉強的新作，於2022年由外文出版社出版。說起劉強這個名字，很多讀者可能會感到陌生，但如果說起微信公眾號“外宣微記”和它的創始人文刀，很多國內讀者，特別是關注政治話語翻譯的譯界同行和學生可能就比較熟悉了。“文刀”是劉強的筆名。劉強以文刀之名創辦“外宣微記”至今，已發佈七百多篇政治翻譯、外宣翻譯相關的推文。每篇推文短小精悍、言辭犀利風趣，往往能直擊翻譯的重點和痛點，讓人在讀完拍手叫絕的同時又沉思良久。這本《筆尖》以“外宣微記”為作者名出版，便是公眾號推文的錦集，是作者多年從事對外傳播與翻譯的心得，也是“對外傳播的一項生動實踐”（王曉輝2022，V）。

作者文刀在自序中介紹了微信公眾號“外宣微記”的由來——“作為‘外宣戰線’上一名微不足道的小兵，筆者希望能以‘微言’解疑釋惑，說理明智”（外宣微記，2022，vi）。這裡要特別說明的是，“外宣”是一個政治性頗強的詞，具有特殊的本土意義（何國平，2009，25）。早期國內的政治外譯研究多稱為外宣翻譯，現在學界更多地使用“國際傳播”、“對外傳播”、“講好中國故事”等更為中性的表達。作者自稱“微”，所言卻旨遠。常年從事對外傳播工作的實踐經歷，使作者意識到，要對外講好中國故事，需要“對外表達”與“對內科普”兩條路走路，在對外講好中國故事的同時，加強國內公眾的國際傳播意識，這一理念也在《筆尖》一書中貫穿始末。建設中國對外

話語體系是一個非常宏大的話題，涉及話語內容、話語風格、話語主體、話語平臺以及多學科人才培養等層面（孫吉勝，2022，1-20）。作者在《筆尖》一書中沒有發表宏大高深的理論，而是另闢蹊徑，從翻譯細節出發，“以小見大，以點帶面”，為對外傳播工作的實踐與研究尋找到一個非常好的“切入口”。著名翻譯家、中國外文局原副局長兼總編輯、中國翻譯協會常務副會長黃友義對本書給予了充分的肯定，認為本書是通過翻譯講好中國故事的佳作。而中國互聯網新聞中心總編輯王曉輝更是用了“管用”二字形容本書，認為本書以“豐富鮮活的案例，細緻入微的研究態度，輕鬆幽默的寫作風格，讓枯燥乏味翻譯變得生動有趣”，為對外傳播工作者提供了有價值的參考。

《筆尖》一書“見微知著”，下面本文將從對外傳播的視角對本書內容進行“微”評述。

二、見微知著：任重道遠的對外傳播實踐

《筆尖》一書精選了微信公眾號“外宣微記”的四十篇推文，分別編入以下三大主題：戲說翻譯、細讀外媒、戲說中外。第一篇“戲說翻譯”共收錄推文 14 篇，以案例解析的方式探討了國際傳播中的一些難點問題，如中國特色時政話語的英譯、網路熱詞的英譯等。第二篇“細讀外媒”共收錄推文 13 篇，從外媒英譯中國特色話語的案例中，作者批判性地分析了外媒英譯背後的政治文化因素，提醒讀者要參考外媒英譯時要時刻保持警醒。第三篇“戲說中外”共收錄推文 13 篇，點出對外傳播的核心在於中西文化交流，譯者只有“融通中外”，才能肩負傳播中國文化的重任。

這三大主題，從對外傳播角度，分別對應了傳播主體、傳播受眾、傳播方式這三個層面，具體到《筆尖》一書所提倡的對外傳播實踐中，就是“知我”、“鑒他”、“融中外”。

2.1 知我

孫子兵法有言，知己知彼，百戰百勝。在對外傳播中，譯者需要先“知我”，才能做好翻譯，而“知我”就包括了與源語相關的語言、政治、文化等知識。例如中國的政治話語常常大量使用政治隱喻表達，這些隱喻表達給譯者造成了不少翻譯困難。針對這個情況，作者在 02 篇推文中，以中國政治文化中根深蒂固的“軍事隱喻”為切入點，通過分析“堅守崗位”的翻譯，提出了譯者“三思”：“思考原文的語言風格與內涵，思考能否在譯文中還原隱喻修辭，思考英文譯文在目標讀者中的感受”（外宣微記，2022，9）。作者認為，“堅守崗位”這句“軍事隱喻”一方面突顯了“崗位”的重要性與“站崗”的緊迫性，另一方面突出了“站崗人”的奉獻精神，賦予“站崗人”一絲淡淡的崇高感。也因此，對於這句隱喻的英譯，國內英文媒體相較於使用簡單明瞭的“work on a holiday”來翻譯，多用“stick to (your) post”這樣略帶革命色彩的中國特色表達。

時政話語的隱喻表達是中國特色政治話語的顯著特徵。政治話語外譯首先對譯者的理論水準和政治素養有著較高的要求，換言之，譯者只有理解中國特色政治話語的

特徵，領會原文話語的政治暗示，才能進一步討論如何傳達原文的立場。作者在第一篇中，列舉了“江山就是人民，人民就是江山”（04篇）、“逆行者”（05篇）、“在職未就業”（06篇）、“中國人民是惹不得的”（07篇）、建黨一百周年活動中的“紅色”詞彙（09篇）、“勿忘初心”（10篇）等中國特色政治表達以及討論了這些表達在不同語境下所應採用的翻譯策略。作者大聲疾呼，翻譯要擯棄“教條主義”和“官僚主義”，同一句話，在不同的語境和場合下需要調整措辭尋找最合適的譯法。作者一陣見血地指出，“千篇一律”搞不好翻譯，官方譯文莫亂抄。篇目最後，作者引用了著名翻譯家思果先生話，語重心長地告誡廣大翻譯學習者，特別是翻譯專業碩士（MTI）學子，要好好讀書，因為沒有讀中國書而談翻譯，自欺欺人而已（思果，2002）。

2.2 鑒他

他山之石，可以攻玉。《筆尖》第二篇“細讀外媒”，便是從他者視角來談對外傳播。外媒在中國的對外傳播實踐中就扮演了這樣一個他者的角色，從傳播的角度看，外媒既是由中到外傳播的受眾，也是由中到外二次傳播的主體。因受不同意識形態的影響，外媒往往在對中報導中暗藏“小心思”，佈下一個又一個“話語陷阱”，細讀外媒既有助於我們分析受眾、瞭解受眾，即，知彼，又有助於我們在對外傳播中保持警醒，不僅知其然，還要知其所以然。

國際傳播又名“對外講好中國故事”，用英文講故事，就離不開英文寫作。在第25篇推文中，作者借譯例指出，在國際傳播實踐中，譯者往往囿於中文故事素材，產出翻譯腔很濃的英文文章，造成令人啼笑皆非的傳播效果。相反，在第20篇推文引用的外媒報導中，**gang/mob** 這類靈活使用的小詞則完美表達了傳播主體暗示的情感色彩。通過對外媒報導的評點，作者試圖使讀者意識到中英寫作的敘事手法存在相當差異，寫作要尊重英文的句法結構和行文邏輯與中文大有不同的事實。因此，在對外傳播實踐中，如果想要提高傳播藝術，譯者就需要更好地發揮主觀能動性，摒棄“以翻譯思維搞英文寫作”的惰性思維。

作者同時也指出，要警惕外媒的“小心思”，不能不假思索地全盤照收。例如在第17篇推文中，作者以“應收盡收”為例分析了外媒的“錯譯”。“應收盡收”一詞出現在國內媒體對新冠疫情期間中國各級政府對新冠疫情出臺的政策的報導中，原意指的是“確保確診病例和疑似病例都能得到集中收治”，體現了中國在抗擊疫情中對生命的高度負責。這個“收”，本來指的是“收入醫院中接受治療”，外媒在報導時卻歪曲了這個意思。比如德國之聲就把“應收盡收”譯為“**round up everyone who should be rounded up**”（2020/6/17）。“Round up”一詞有點“不懷好意”，用在人身上表示“逮捕”，用在動物身上表示“聚攏”，與“收治”的原意相去甚遠。此時如果國內譯者不加甄別就選用了外媒的譯法，無異於給自己挖坑。類似的外媒“小心思”和“話語陷阱”在第16、18、22、26和27篇推文中均有體現，例子都是國內讀者非常熟悉的，比如華為任正非給員工信中寫到的“殺出一條血路”，還有外媒涉港報導常用的“**a semi-autonomous city**”。

外媒報導為我們提供了一個窺見英文讀者資訊需求與思維習慣的“視窗”。借助

這一視窗，我們能夠更加深入地瞭解對外傳播的受眾，以此採用更為合適、更為有效的傳播策略。有些外媒通過選詞用詞來設置議題，建構相應的中國國家形象，操控傳播受眾，攫取國際話語場上的話語權，這些都是國內對外傳播工作者需要警惕的。對此，作者指出，我們要增強自身的文化修養，不然讀英文報導，連被人罵了都渾然不知，另外我們要提高英文寫作水準，深入瞭解受眾，才能在國際話語場上佔據主動權。

2.3 融中外

“融通中外”是對國際傳播工作者的基本要求。跨文化意識，即對文化差異與共性的敏感性，對譯者“融通中外”至關重要。譯者對於原、譯語的文化差異要敏感、重視和尊重。作者認為，讀懂差異，才能真正做到擱置差異，進而在差異中找到共鳴點（外宣微記，2022，129）。

國際傳播中常常探索“講什麼”、“怎麼講”的突破之道，要更好地推進中國故事和中國聲音的全球化表達、區域化表達、分眾化表達，在理解中西文化差異的基礎上，還需在文化共性上做文章。而對於人類共通的情感，例如愛情、生死這類古今中外的永恆話題，最平常卻也最容易引起大多數人共鳴，是多元化傳播的今天可以更重視的話題。作者在第 34 篇推文中以毛姆 (W. Somerset Maugham) 筆下的“愛情的悲劇” (the tragedy of love) 為例，以“indifference”對“陌路”，講述中西方文化在愛情主題上的共通之處。

作者戲說中外，“毛姆”、“泰戈爾”、“辜鴻銘”、“金庸”等大家經典信手拈來，無一不需要從日常學習工作深入思考，無不靠著日復一日經年累月的點滴積累。除了呼籲譯者要熟讀中外經典，作者還宣導譯者要有傳播中國文化的意識，勇於擔起傳播中國文化的責任。

三、結語

正如作者名稱“外宣微記”所示，《筆尖上的文化碰撞》總共只有 148 頁，是一本名副其實的“微型”書。書雖“微”，裡面卻大有文章。44 篇精選推文圍繞對外傳播的三大主線層層鋪開，通過戲說翻譯案例，品讀中英文學經典，從文字透視文化，從文化反思文字，作者力圖跨越中西文化鴻溝，抓住人類共通的樸素情愫，在字裡行間擦亮文化碰撞的火花。

該書雖然定位為“翻譯理論與實踐”，但體例卻與傳統的學術寫作大不同。因是最初發表在公眾號上，作者多選取當下的時政熱點作為文章主題，同時控制文章長度，最大化傳播效果。這種“微記”的形式造就了案例的鮮活生動，加上作者犀利風趣的短評，讓讀者能在最短的時間內掌握對外傳播的精髓。然這樣的體例也不可避免地造成了文獻索引缺失的遺憾，與學術論文可以輕鬆找到引用出處不同，公眾號文章常常為了空間省去了文獻索引，讀者查找起來必是要費上一番功夫。此外，書中讀到最後一篇推文便戛然而止，如作者可以在最後加上一小篇總結，引導讀者進一步思考，那

便更加圓滿了。

誠然，瑕不掩瑜，《筆尖》一書選材鮮活，評點犀利，可常讀常新，是一本能對高校外語學院師生、時政話語翻譯愛好者以及國際傳播工作者有所啟發的作品。紙上得來終覺淺，絕知此事要躬行。譯路道長且阻，平淡之處暗藏風景正是廣大從事對外傳播實踐的譯者的真實照見。

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Review of The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Media

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Bielsa, Esperança (ed.) *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Media*. 2022. 550 pp. ISBN 978-0-367-02916-6. London & New York: Routledge.

1. A Brief Introduction to The Handbook

Media and translation is one of the popular topics in translation studies. “*The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Media*” (hereinafter referred to as *The Handbook*) is an edited volume that provides a comprehensive overview of the field of translation and media studies. It is one of the important handbooks in the series of *Routledge Handbooks in Translation and Interpreting Studies*. Edited by Esperança Bielsa, *The Handbook* includes 33 chapters by 42 leading scholars in translation and media studies, who address the literary, historical, social, cultural and political issues of media translation and interpreting raised by the new digital technologies.

2. The Contents of The Handbook

The Handbook starts with a brief introduction to Translation and/in/of Media by the editor, which indicates three different relationships between translation and media. The book is divided into four parts, each of which covers a different aspect of translation and media studies.

2.1 Part 1: General Theoretical and Methodological Perspectives

The nine chapters in the first part focus on the theoretical and methodological issues involved in studying translation and media and explore the challenges and opportunities that arise when these two fields intersect. It is noticeable that the editor crossed the boundaries of the concept of “translation proper” in translation field and enlarged the research field of media by including various forms.

Chapter 1 explores the various theories surrounding the relationship between media and translation and examines how different forms of media can affect the translation process and ultimately the final product. It includes considering how the medium used for composition and transmission can influence the translation’s form and impact, as well as the level of agency attributed to different types of media.

Chapter 2 outlines some important intermediary concepts that help to articulate how language, media and culture interact with each other. At the heart of this hyper-intertextuality, of course, are the processes of translation not just in terms of transfer between one language and another, or one code and another, but as a specific case of intertextuality in a hyperintertextual age.

Chapter 3 explores the relationship between politics and media translation in multilingual contexts. Translation is crucial in the production and dissemination of political communications, and its practices in media institutions bridge the linguistic gap between senders and receivers of political messages. The role of media translation goes beyond information transfer and involves political issues, creating a hierarchy that can lead to the manipulation of certain information through translation.

Chapter 4 explores the ongoing discussion in journalism studies regarding the globalisation of journalism, the characteristics of foreign news, and the domestication process of news. It also examines the evolving perspectives on the global, foreign, and domestic aspects of journalism, and challenges the notion of journalism’s so-called global turn in the early 21st century.

Chapter 5 examines the process of internationalisation and localisation of media content, specifically in the context of ready-made TV shows and formats, highlights the tension between global and local cultural production and consumption, and explores the ways in which media content is adapted and mediated to suit local cultural and linguistic contexts.

Chapter 6 sketches out the impact of digital technology before recalling the position of audiovisual translation (AVT) within translation studies (TS) – through the metamorphosis of the name of this sub-discipline. It also analyses the concepts of text, authorship, translation and quality in light of the fundamental change towards multimodal and interactive forms of communication in the digital age.

Chapter 7 provides an overview of how the figure of the translator in media translation has been discussed by translation scholars and how collaboration among agents has affected

media translation in terms of the ways in which it is perceived and carried out.

Chapter 8 centrally approaches the concept of paratext, demonstrating its productiveness not just in relation with literary texts, but also for the analysis of a variety of multimedia forms, including digital literature, transmedia storytelling, films, television, videogames, as well as print and online news.

Chapter 9 examines the multimodal nature of translation in media contexts and argues that translation in media contexts is not limited to linguistic translation, but also involves the translation of images, sounds, and other non-linguistic elements. It also proposes new ways of thinking about multimodal translation in media contexts.

2.2 Part II: Translation and Journalism

The second part examines the role of translation in various media contexts, including film, television, advertising, and social media. The eight chapters in this section highlight the ways in which translation shapes our understanding of media texts and how it influences the reception of these texts by different audiences.

Chapter 10 provides a historical overview of translation in the global journalistic field and examines the ways in which translation has been used to facilitate the circulation of news and information across different cultures and languages throughout history.

Chapter 11 explores the relationship between journalism and translation, highlighting the ways in which these two fields overlap and interact with each other. It also argues that translation plays a crucial role in the production and dissemination of news and information in a globalized world.

Chapter 12 examines the role of translation in news agencies, exploring the challenges and opportunities that arise when translating news content for different audiences. It also looks at the ways in which news agencies use translation to expand their reach and influence in different parts of the world.

Chapter 13 explores the role of translation in literary magazines, highlighting the ways in which translation is used to promote cross-cultural exchange and understanding. It also discusses the benefits of translation for both readers and writers, including exposure to new voices and ideas. It concludes by emphasizing the need for more literary magazines to prioritize translation and to support translators in their work.

Chapter 14 emphasizes the crucial role that fixers play in ensuring accurate and ethical reporting, as they are often the key to gaining access to sensitive information and building relationships with local communities. It also highlights the challenges that fixers face, including the risk of physical harm and the need to navigate complex political situations.

Chapter 15 proposes that news translation involves transforming and manipulating original texts to create a new version tailored to the needs of the publication and targeted readers. To make information understandable, institutions and individuals use domesticating strategies to

increase readership. Journalists-translators use strategies like omission, addition, substitution, and reorganisation to adapt texts to the target context. These strategies impact the construction of reality and public opinion.

Chapter 16 describes the similarities and differences between a translator's and a journalist's ethics. It concludes with a call for synergy between journalists and translators, as well as a renewed commitment to ethical standards in the news industry.

Chapter 17 summarizes the research on reader's response and the readability of the translated news. It offers three pathways to measuring the impact of translation on readers' ability to understand news reporting: examining the processing of news information at a cognitive level, asking participants to recall the content of a news report, and asking participants about their experience of reading the news report.

2.3 Part III: Multimedia Translation

The third part looks at the role of media in translation, including the ways in which media technologies are transforming the practice of translation. The eight chapters in this section explore the impact of new media technologies on translation, and examine the challenges and opportunities that arise when translating in a digital age. All chapters in this part are basically under the umbrella of audiovisual translation, but the researches certainly focus more on so-called "mediality".

Chapter 18 depicts diachronic development of AVT with the impact of technologies and summarizes various resources and methods that can be used to map out the history of AVT in different countries. The essay concludes with a call for more research on connected history of AVT.

Chapter 19 touches upon both conceptualisations of film translation but with an emphasis on its film-transformative aspects. It highlights approaches to film translation that focus on transformation rather than transfer. It proposes a growing interest in the non-representational and transformative qualities of film translation, aesthetics, ideology, and power.

Chapter 20 first looks at existing research, debates, and approaches to different modes of TV translation, and subsequently offers a few observations on how more recent distribution dynamics, technological developments and consumption modes have potentially affected the processes and products of TV content adaptation. It finally considers possible further avenues for research in the context of the global distribution dynamics of mediated TV content.

Chapter 21 goes beyond the existing conventional models and endeavors to offer a detailed portrayal of media interpreting, scrutinizes the current range of media interpreting methods and introduces interdisciplinary approaches such as critical discourse analysis to address the inherent intricacy which is closely connected with interpreting techniques, broadcasting categories and occurrences, working circumstances, and evaluations of quality.

Chapter 22 delves into the symbiotic relationship between the rise of the internet/WWW

and the development of new processes, trends and directions both in the practice of translation and its associated discipline, translation studies (TS). It also traces the interdisciplinary connections with related areas of inquiry such as media studies, web studies, internet studies, as well as globalisation and internationalisation.

Chapter 23 provides a snapshot of the current landscape in game localisation research with a focus on the features of video games and their impact on translation. Translators take the role of cultural mediators and co-creators in the process of game localisation.

Chapter 24 inverts the hierarchy, positioning translation studies and audiovisual translation as areas of specialisation within a wider field of media accessibility. It looks at translation, audiovisual translation and media accessibility from a social diversity approach, examining their normalizing function in the information society.

Chapter 25 explores the concept of audience in relation to audiovisual media and examines the evolution of media reception studies and development of audiences over time. It also provides insights into the methods and tools employed in audiovisual translation research and offers reflections on new trends in the field, including the inclusive shift in audiovisual translation research.

2.4 Part IV: Translation in Alternative and Social Media

The final part explores the ethical and political dimensions of translation and media. The eight chapters in this section examine the role of translation in shaping our understanding of cultural differences and identity, and they explore the ways in which translation can be used to promote social justice and political change.

Chapter 26 focuses on two main areas related to the online social media: one is online social translation and the other is alternative media nexus. It proposes social media can indicate the infrastructures with user-generated content itself. It also proposes that alternative media encompasses both the creation of content such as alternative online news media, and the outcome of that creation such as alternative online news stories.

Chapter 27 explores how non-professional translation is related to the media and how the media promotes its proliferation. It discusses various types of media where non-professionals translate, with a focus on audiovisual, activist, and fan translation. It generally demonstrates the scale and nature of non-professional translation and understands its underlying mechanisms and diversity.

Chapter 28 discusses theoretical approaches to the growth of alternative journalism, provides an overview of various types of alternative journalism and presents an overview of research on the relationship between translation and alternative journalism.

Chapter 29 carries out the research on subtitling through a case study of Islamic satellite television. The strategies translators take become more complex due to geopolitical reasons. It concludes that subtitling in Islamic television thus becomes at times a site of struggle not

only between competing epistemologies of translation and mediation, but also of critique.

Chapter 30 examines how international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) use media and translation to communicate with beneficiaries and the public. It provides an overview of INGOs' structure and translation work, and explores the role of translation in INGOs' media-related activities. It also discusses INGOs' position as alternative news providers and how new media tools allow them to communicate more directly with beneficiaries. It draws on literature from various disciplines, including translation studies, journalism, development studies, international relations, and disaster management.

Chapter 31 explores the role of a Deaf community model of interpreting and translation and examines its history in bi- and multi-lingual Deaf communities and its influencing role on media translation. It also explores the role of community membership in ensuring a target language text is constructed drawing upon the multimodal nature of the rendering of media broadcasts and pre-recorded programmes that satisfy the needs of sign language using deaf people.

Chapter 32 presents a limited overview of current studies on online translation activities that focus on user needs. By utilizing recent sociological research on convergence culture, the subsequent parts will place the themes of creating a community, ensuring translation accuracy, and social and industrial involvement within the larger framework of digital mediation to demonstrate the significant and growing trend of user-led global media sharing.

Chapter 33 advocates that translation plays an important role in the construction of the free online encyclopaedia Wikipedia. Meanwhile, Wikipedia constitutes a valuable object of study for translation scholars seeking to understand the impact of digital technologies on the world of translation in the 21st century.

3. The Merits and Demerits of The Handbook

As a comprehensive resource that provides guidance and information on the subject of translation and media, *The Handbook* bears several conspicuous merits as well as a few demerits. And obviously, merits overweighs the demerits.

3.1 The Merits of The Handbook

It is a great task to edit such a handbook that provides abundant resources, topics, methods, cases and theories in the field of translation and media. There are some conspicuous merits of *The Handbook*.

3.1.1 Comprehensive Topics

In recent years, both translation studies and media studies have been crossing their borders. Translation studies, which traditionally focused on the linguistic and cultural aspects

of translation, have begun to incorporate media-related issues into their research, such as the translation of audiovisual content and the impact of new media technologies on translation practices. On the other hand, media studies, which traditionally focused on the analysis of media content and its reception, have started to pay more attention to translation issues, such as the role of translation in the globalisation of media and the impact of translation on the reception of foreign media products. Therefore, the interwoven subjects have produced comprehensive topics as illustrated in *The Handbook*.

3.1.2 Instruction-oriented

The term “handbook” is defined by the Oxford online dictionary as “a book giving instructions on how to use something or information about a particular subject” which implies a handbook will be a publication that provides guidance on how to use something or offers information on a specific subject. In the context of *the Handbook*, although it contains theoretical creation, it emphasizes more on existing research. As a result, readers can find a plethora of referential papers or books on various topics. Each contributor endeavors to summarize all the essential and relevant resources, thereby providing sufficient information for further study and ensuring that readers can delve deeper into a specific topic and gain a thorough understanding of the subject matter.

3.1.3 Uniform Format

Despite comprising 33 chapters, excluding the introduction, *The Handbook* follows a consistent format throughout. Each chapter commences with an introduction and ends with a conclusion, followed by 4-5 further reading resources. The body part of each chapter has been summarized well with sub-headings. This uniform structure simplifies the process for readers to comprehend the key points of each chapter. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that each suggested further reading resource has been summarized by the chapter contributor. This feature is particularly advantageous for readers as it enables them to decide whether they wish to read the recommended resource or not.

3.1.4 Interdisciplinary Approach

The contributors come from a variety of disciplines, including translation studies, media studies, journalism studies, audiovisual translation, linguistics, cultural studies, etc. Just as the editor (p.2) writes in the *Introduction*, he intends to establish new links between what are currently separate disciplinary subfields and adopts an interdisciplinary perspective. This allows for a rich and varied discussion of the topics, and provides readers with a broad understanding of the field.

3.1.5 Practical Applications

Most theoretical discussions in *The Handbook* are complemented by real-world examples, which help readers to understand how the concepts being discussed are applied in prac-

tice. This approach enables readers to develop a deeper understanding of the subject matter and to apply their knowledge to real-world situations as well as gain better insights into different translation practices across different media forms and cultural contexts. This is particularly important in today's globalized world where media products are consumed across different cultures and languages. Therefore, *the Handbook* is an invaluable resource for students and practitioners alike who are interested in the intersection between translation and media studies.

3.2 The Demerits of The Handbook

Since the topics concerned are extremely broad and interdisciplinary, it seems to be difficult to logically arrange each chapter. Just as displayed in the *Introduction*, the editor classifies all the chapters in accordance with different clusters, which might confuse the readers to some degree. For instance, by mentioning conceptual aspects and alternatives, the editor (in the *Introduction*) put chapter 2,4,6,8,26 and 28 together; by discussing methodological matters, the editor put chapter 13,17,18,21,25 and 33 together. It seems that the current classification into four parts might not be clear-cut.

As a handbook, there are plenty of concepts and notions. Although in the index part, all important terms, scholars, concepts and notions are listed, it might be more convenient if all concepts and notions are listed separately.

4. Summary

Before the publishing of *The Handbook*, there are other three important paper collections on media and translation. The first one is *(Multi) Media Translation* edited by Yves Gambier and Henrik Gottlieb (2001), which collected many pioneering researches in the field of subtitling. The second one is *Media and Translation: An Interdisciplinary Approach* edited by Dror Abend-David (2014), which focused more on audiovisual translation though it also concerned topics on news translation and translation through new media. The third one is *Political Discourse, Media and Translation* edited by Christina Schäffner and Susan Bassnett (2010), which explored synergies among politics, media and translation from textual perspectives and institutional perspectives. Compared with the above-mentioned paper collections, *The Handbook* is more inclusive and in the wake of digital development. Overall, *The Handbook* is an excellent resource for anyone who is interested in the intersection of translation and media studies. It provides a comprehensive overview of the field, and its interdisciplinary approach and focus on practical applications make it a valuable resource for researchers, scholars, and students seeking to expand their knowledge and understanding of translation and media. This interdisciplinary handbook has led to a better understanding of the complex relationship between translation and media, and has opened up new avenues for research and collaboration. As these two fields continue to cross their borders and penetrate more with each other, we can

expect more insightful research.

Acknowledgement

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Translation Quarterly Editorial Policy

1. *Translation Quarterly* is a major international scholarly journal published by the Hong Kong Translation Society. We welcome academic articles, translated works and book reviews in all areas of translation studies written in Chinese and English, as well as research materials involving other language combinations.
2. All contributions should be hitherto unpublished and not being considered for publication elsewhere. Authors take responsibility for their views.
3. Translated works should be submitted with a copy of the source text and a brief introduction to the source-text author. It is the translator's responsibility to obtain written permission to translate.
4. All submissions are **peer reviewed by the Editorial Board members and double-blind peer reviewed** by referees before acceptance for publication. Care should be taken by authors to avoid identifying themselves or acknowledging others in the submission, including the main text, notes and page headers; such information should preferably be supplied when the submission is accepted for publication.
5. Once a contribution is published, its copyright is transferred to the publisher; any reproduction, distribution or display thereof is subject to the written consent of the publisher.

Guidelines for Contributors

1. Manuscripts, except for book reviews, should preferably be **no less** than 8,000 words (about 16 pages).
2. **Manuscripts should be accompanied by an abstract in English of 200–300 words**, with no more than **five** keywords, and a title page containing the author's name, affiliation, correspondence address, email address and telephone number.
3. Manuscripts written in a language which is not the author's mother-tongue should preferably be checked by a native speaker before submission.
4. Manuscripts should be submitted in word-processed electronic files to the Chief Editor at translationquarterly@gmail.com.

Manuscript Stylesheet

*Manuscripts should be consistent in their use of language, spelling and format. Once your paper is accepted for publication, it is essential that the final submission be formatted to

the specifications given in these guidelines to avoid publication delay. This journal uses the “Author-Date” style as described in the latest edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style*.

Overview

1. Manuscripts should be typed in **12** point-font, in Times New Roman for English and PMingLiU for Chinese traditional font. **Allow double-spacing throughout.**
2. Use **10** point-font for figures and tables, which should be numbered consecutively in Arabic numerals and provided with appropriate captions, e.g., Table 1: Interview subjects.
3. Subheadings within the main text should be aligned expressly according to the following order: 1. / 1.1 / 1.1.1
4. Start each new paragraph with a single tab.
5. Quotations longer than **five** lines should be set off from the surrounding text in block form, indented from the left margin with a single tab. **Use font size 10.**
6. Notes, to be provided in the form of endnotes, should be kept to a minimum. Endnotes should be numbered consecutively using Arabic numerals within square brackets in superscript, e.g., [1]. Note indicators in the main text should appear after punctuation marks.
7. Proper nouns and personal names, in English or otherwise, should appear in their full original form where they first appear in the main text. Chinese names and book titles in the text should be romanised according to the Hanyu Pinyin, “modified” Wade-Giles or other pertinent systems, and then, where they first appear, followed immediately by the Chinese characters and translations **in parentheses. Translations of Chinese terms obvious to the readers (like wenzue), however, are not necessary.**
8. Book and periodic titles should be italicised, while titles of articles, chapters, poem and songs, etc., should be placed within double quotes (“ ”). The same applies for titles within titles.
9. Double quotes (“ ”) are used for quotations and special terms; single quotes (‘ ’) are only used for quotations within quotations.
10. Ellipses come in three dots, with a space between the dots, e.g., “Jack and Jill went up the hill . . .” and “Jack and Jill went up the hill . . . And Jill came tumbling after.”
11. Please use **American** spellings and punctuation, including spellings like -ze, -or, etc.
12. Dates should be of the form “1 July 2022.”

References in the text

In-text citations in English and other languages should be as precise as possible, giving the author-date and, where applicable, page references. Here are some examples: (Bassnett 2014, 28-32); as in Chesterman et al. (2003, 198); (see Kurland and Lerner 1987, chap. 10, doc. 19); (Toury 1995/2012, 10).

References section

All in-text citations in English and other languages should be matched by items in the references section, instead of listed in note form. All and only references cited in the text must be listed. References should be listed first alphabetically and then chronologically. For Chinese names and titles, please start a separate list or use Hanyu Pinyin, Wade-Giles transcription, the translated title as published or the title in literal translation where appropriate. Below are some examples:

Book

Bassnett, Susan. 2014. *Translation Studies*. 4th ed. London & New York: Routledge.

Chan, Tak-hung Leo, ed. 2003. *One into many: Translation and the dissemination of classical Chinese literature*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi.

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Article (in book)

Fawcett, Peter, and Jeremy Munday. 2013. "Ideology." In *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, edited by Mona Baker, and Gabriela Saldanha, 137–141. London: Routledge.

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Article (in journal)

Even-Zohar, Itamar. 1990. "The position of translated literature within the literary polysystem." *Poetics Today* 11 (1), 45-51.

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Zhu, Xi 朱熹. 1270/2017. *Zhuyi yulei* 朱子語類 [Classified discussions of Master Zhu], compiled by Li Jingde 黎靖德. Chinese Text Project. <http://ctext.org/zhuzi-yulei/zh>.

*For further guidelines, please consult the latest edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style*.