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翻譯季刊

Translation Quarterly

香港翻譯學會

The Hong Kong Translation Society

Contents 目錄

編者的話：

本期收錄六篇研究論文和兩篇書評，涵蓋翻譯研究中的語言學、文學分析及跨文化交流等多個領域，展現了翻譯研究的深度與廣度。

余靜建立了2011至2020年間中國上映的英語電影標題資料庫，並設計分析框架，採用定量與定性相結合的方法，揭示了這十年間中國電影標題翻譯的微觀方法、宏觀策略及主導規範，反映了中國社會對外國文化產品的文化態度。

陳嘉恩研究了魯伯特·陳改編自莎士比亞劇作《第十二夜》的《元宵》，分析了其本地化翻譯策略，探討了這一改編與語言、國族及身份認同的關係，揭示了翻譯在劇作中的文化創造性。

強曉的論文深入探討了《論語》中“修身”譬喻及其英譯問題。研究發現，直譯不僅能形象、含蓄、全面地傳達原文的喻義，更能保留原文的多義性，並將相關意象系統性地聯結起來。

惠玲玉與劉曉峰合作的文章對“資本”一詞是否源自日語的傳統觀點提出質疑。通過分析中國晚清時期和日本經濟類著作的翻譯，文章重新考察了該詞的傳播路徑，發現“資本”一詞可能並非源自日語，其傳播方向或與傳統認知相反。

王曉鶯的論文聚焦古代中國女性譯者與口譯者的身份、角色及其歷史背景。通過歷史文獻考證，論文凸顯了古代中國女性譯者的重要地位，為理解她們在翻譯活動中的作用提供了新視角。

王仲良等學者運用Biber（1988）多維分析框架，對比研究了二語（英語）寫作（國際英語語料庫-香港，ICE-HK）和翻譯（平行學習者翻譯語料庫，PLTC）的語言特徵。研究發現，兩類語料在“一般敘事性表述”維度基本一致，但在“參與性與資訊性話語”、“公開表達說服意圖”和“線上資訊性闡述”等維度存在顯著差異，這一發現對英語寫作教學和翻譯培訓具有重要啟示。

李文靜等對《語料庫應用在文學和翻譯研究中的進展》一書中的多個案例展開述評，展示了語料庫方法在文學研究、翻譯研究及其他學術領域的廣泛應用價值，指出是數字人文領域學者和研究生的重要參考資源。

李雯等評述的《〈紅樓夢〉的文學和翻譯視角》一書，從敘事學、社會文化、女性主義和數字人文等多維度審視《紅樓夢》的人物、文化元素及其英譯。評述認為，該書為經典文學研究和翻譯研究樹立了典範，對從事中國古典小說翻譯研究、紅學研究及中國文學翻譯的學者具有重要參考價值。

本期的文章選題與內容安排既注重學術研究的深度，也關注翻譯研究的多元性與跨領域互動。編輯團隊精心挑選的六篇論文和兩篇書評，涵蓋了歷史研究、語料庫分析、文化翻譯、翻譯策略等多個方向，體現了翻譯研究在語言學、文學、歷史與文化研究中的豐富應用。本期特別關注翻譯在不同時代與語境中的創造性與實踐性，力求

呈現翻譯作為一門學科的學術深度與社會價值，旨在為讀者提供了從事翻譯研究豐富的學術視角，也為翻譯研究的未來發展提供了啟發。

李德超

二零二三年十二月

2011-2020 英語電影片名漢譯規範與影響因素研究

余靜

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Abstract

A Study on the Norms and Influencing Factors of Chinese Translations of English Movie Titles (2011-2020) (*by* Jing Yu)

The translation of film titles is a crucial aspect of cross-cultural communication and audiovisual translation studies. Despite numerous research outputs in this field within China, current studies primarily focus on prescriptive analysis, lacking descriptive studies based on extensive empirical data. This limitation hinders a comprehensive understanding of the current practices and tendencies in the translation of Chinese film titles. To address this research gap, this study constructs a database of English movie titles translated into Chinese, encompassing films released in the Chinese mainland cinemas from 2011 to 2020. An analytical framework for translation strategies and methods was designed, employing both quantitative and qualitative research approaches. This study reveals nine micro-level translation methods and three macro-level strategic tendencies, with revelation of governing norms over the decade. The article also discusses the multiple factors influencing the translation strategies and methods of movie titles. The findings uncover the cultural attitudes adopted by Chinese society in accepting foreign cultural products over the ten-year period, providing fresh insights for the localization of international cultural products.

一、引言

跨文化交流中，電影片名承擔著至關重要的角色，它不僅是作品的第一印象，也是構建觀眾預期和理解的關鍵入口。義大利著名符號學家安伯托·艾柯（Umberto Eco）所指出，標題是“解讀的關鍵之所在”（Genette 1988, 719），具有識別作品、明確主

題和渲染效果的三重功能（Genette 1988, 708）。電影片名作為“觀眾與電影之間的一種對話”（Shochat and Stam 2006, 116），是電影的名片，構建了觀眾對電影的預設立場，指導、暗示或是操控觀眾對電影的解讀。電影片名除了起到識別和引用的基本作用外，還能傳達題材、類型、情節、背景、主題等資訊, 在行銷推廣中發揮關鍵作用, 是影響觀眾觀影決策的重要元素（Jutronić and Karabatić 2016, 86)。全球化的進程中，電影片名翻譯在促進作品跨文化傳播中發揮了不可或缺的作用，而語言文化的差異導致電影片名在翻譯過程中不可避免遭遇到或多或少的改寫，使得同一部電影在不同的文化中滋生出不同的對話和解讀。對電影片名翻譯進行研究，有助於加深對語言、文化和翻譯之間複雜關係的理解，深化翻譯接受研究，提升翻譯研究對全球電影產業當地語系化和行銷策略的貢獻度。

目前，知網上“電影片名翻譯”有超過一千條檢索結果，相關研究大致分三類，一是規定性研究，指出電影片名翻譯中的錯誤和應該遵循的翻譯標準（李群 2002 等）；二是翻譯策略和方法研究，描寫電影片名翻譯的功能、原則和方法（賀鶯 2001；鄭玉琪、王曉冬 2006 等）；三是分析電影片名中的語言、文化和修辭等特定元素的翻譯方法（馮全功、洪丹瑩 2015）。這些研究對片名翻譯的分析大多集中在音譯、直譯、意譯和創譯這四大策略上（何欽、武淑葉、郭嘉欣 2023），或是圍繞歸化、異化的文化傾向展開（徐建國 2010），框架較為單薄，缺乏能夠充分體現中國電影片名漢譯特點的細化分析框架。

國外電影片名翻譯對策略的研究最常用的是兩分法的框架，第一層面分音譯、語意直譯、意譯、創造性翻譯四個策略大類，和國內研究策略分類比較接近，第二個層面細分多個子類別，意譯分增譯、減譯、改譯、替換四個子類別，音譯分完全音譯、音譯 + 增譯、音譯 + 減譯、音譯 + 替換四個類別（Gabric et al. 2017; Fakharzadeh 2021, 439-449）。這一分類框架雖然有欠平衡，直譯和創譯並無細分子類別，但音譯的細分之中提及了多種組合譯法，一定程度上體現了片名翻譯的獨特性和複雜性。另外較有影響的是羅斯（Ross 2013, 249）的分類，包括 14 個平行的類別，在上述分類的基礎上增加了“照搬原文”、“採用現存翻譯先例”、“改變詞類”這幾個譯法，分類框架更為細化，但略顯扁平，未能展現出譯法之間的層次差異。阿蘭達的分類也屬於平行類別，雖略顯雜亂，但頗能體現策略的效果，如創譯、擴展譯法、商業化譯法、歸化、浪漫化譯法、戲劇化譯法、誇張化譯法、挑逗型譯法以及說教型譯法等（Aranda 2007, 45-46）。

描寫研究視角下的電影片名翻譯研究除了勾勒譯者實際使用的各種策略方法之外，更加關注片名翻譯展現的較為普遍的傾向性，考察譯者遵循的翻譯規範。近年來國內不少論文嘗試探討電影片名翻譯的傾向性和規範，但大多依賴單個或幾個例子分析，缺乏大資料支撐，結論說服力不強。早期的一些研究曾經嘗試對電影片名的翻譯進行初步資料統計，認為中國電影片名漢譯超過半數傾向於“歸化”、“非直譯”（嶽峰 2000；李群 2002），但這些研究並未對語料的來源和統計方法以及策略方法的定義進行嚴格的界定和說明，一定程度上降低了資料的可信度和可比性。國外這方面的研究相對更為嚴謹一些，多基於大資料展開，聚焦國別和譯者身份對比研究。Ross（2013）

對 2009 年在斯洛維尼亞和土耳其上映的 390 部電影片名進行研究發現，兩國電影片名都傾向於採用直譯，但增譯法在土耳其使用更為廣泛；蓋布瑞克研究了 1923–2017 年間在克羅埃西亞和德國上映的 935 部電影片名的翻譯，發現克羅埃西亞傾向于採用直接翻譯，而德國則更傾向於照搬源語片名（Gabric et al. 2017）；法赫紮德對伊朗 2000–2019 年間引入的 206 部英語電影片名翻譯進行研究發現，官方譯者傾向于採用創譯，而民間譯者則偏好直接翻譯（Fakharzadeh 2022）。

綜上所述不難看出，基於統計資料的描寫研究有助於考察中國電影片名漢譯真實現狀、總體趨勢和典型特徵，揭示電影片名漢譯的操作規範和初始規範。根據圖裡的理論（Toury 1995, 56-61），預備規範主要指翻譯政策和是否直接從源語進行翻譯，主要涉及選材；初始規範決定了翻譯是以源文化規範還是目標文化規範為導向；操作規範影響翻譯過程中所做的具體決策。無論國內外研究，鮮少涉及電影片名漢譯的選材，本研究獲取的較為全面的片名資料恰好能有助於揭示哪些類型的電影更容易被引入中國市場，也能揭示電影翻譯的預備規範。本文搜集了 2011 年至 2020 年間在中國大陸院線公開上映的 552 部英語電影建立資料庫，對其片名翻譯進行研究，擬回答三個問題：1. 近十年中國引進了哪些類型的英語電影？2. 這些電影的官方漢譯名使用了哪些策略、遵循了哪些規範？3. 影響中國電影片名漢譯的因素有哪些？本研究旨在全面揭示近十年來英語電影片名翻譯進入中國市場現狀及其背後的影響因素，為電影產業的全球化行銷和當地語系化策略提供了理論依據和實踐指南。

二、資料統計和研究方法

資料庫包含的 552 部英文電影資訊源自歷年官方出版的《中國電影年鑒》、中國票房網、豆瓣電影網、IMDb 網站、電影從業者的博客以及其它相關的研究論文，幾乎包含了所有 2011–2020 年間中國大陸正式引進並公開上映的英文電影。資料搜集遵循三個原則，第一，電影的第一主導語言是英語。統計發現，很多英語電影由多國聯合出品，按照第一出品國進行統計，美國 380 部、英國 98 部，剩下 74 部由中國、德國、加拿大、澳洲、法國、義大利、日本、印度出品。第二，電影需在中國大陸院線正式上映。一些僅在中國港澳臺地區而未在中國大陸地區上映，或是通過錄影帶、電視臺、網路等方式在中國大陸傳播的英語影片不在統計範疇之內。第三，僅收錄院線電影公映時的官方譯名，字幕組等非官方管道產生的譯名不在統計範圍之內。

資料庫收入的資訊類型及統計方法具體如下：為 532 部電影建立表單，通過 Python 程式設計技術，把該表單上的電影輸入豆瓣電影網和 IMDb 網進行檢索，爬取電影英文原片名、官方中文譯名、在中國大陸的公映年份、原片主要語言、原片出品國、影片類型、片名字數等資訊，然後利用 Python 代碼清洗上述資訊並進行人工校對，最後根據設計好的翻譯策略方法分類模型，請兩位元不同研究者按照下文的翻譯方法的定義原則分別為每個片名人工匹配相應的翻譯方法，確保標注客觀準確。

本研究關注的是微觀層面的具體翻譯方法和宏觀層面的策略傾向兩個維度，因而採用了前人研究中最常用的二分框架（Ross 2013; Gabric et al. 2017; Fakharzadeh 2022），

對之進行了重新設計使之更符合中英語對的特點，具體如下：

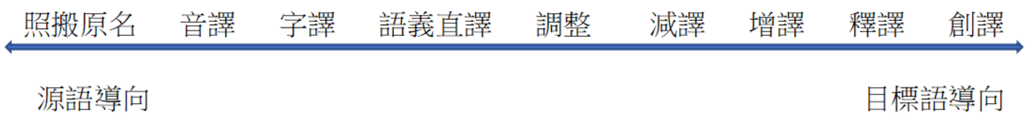

圖 1: 中國電影片名漢譯策略圖

如圖所示，翻譯方法按照其與源語和目標語的關係遠近進行排列，譯名貼近原片名表達方式的譯法有：

1）照搬原名，如原片名是 Anna Karenina，在中國上映的時候片名也用的是“Anna Karenina”。

2）音譯，Anna Karenina 譯為“安娜·卡列尼娜”。這一策略多用在原片名為人名、地名或其他專有名詞，且這些專有名詞在中國觀眾中的接受度比較高的情況下。原片名非專有名詞而採用音譯的情況在本資料庫中基本不存在。

3）字譯，即逐字對譯，如 American Hustle 按照原片名的語序譯為“美國騙局”，多出現在原文片名和譯名的語言結構高度吻合的情況下。音譯和逐字對譯都屬於較為嚴格的直譯。

4）語義直譯，基本完全保留原文字面意義，但可能需要根據目標語的語言規範改變原文語序或個別字眼。如 Doctor Strange 譯為“奇異博士”（對比字譯：“博士奇異”）。

脫離原片名的語義、完全根據目標語文化的需求來重新命名的譯法只有一種，即創造性翻譯。

5）創譯，即給電影重新取個中文名字，譯名很難看出和原片名有什麼聯繫。如 Coco 譯為“尋夢環遊記”, Coco 原本是法語女性名字，也是劇中男主的曾祖母的名字，而中文譯名描述的是電影的主要故事情節，和 Coco 關係不大。再如 John Carter 譯為“異星戰場”，原片名是男主人公的名字“約翰·卡特”，中文譯名介紹了電影主要故事情節。

介於二者之間，根據目標語的需求，對原片名的資訊、意義、重心、語言表達方式等進行不同程度調整或改寫的翻譯方法有：

6）調整，指的是基於原片名的意義，對部分資訊進行調整，改變原片名的資訊重心、焦點或敘述視角，或者把原片部分資訊替換成新資訊，調整之後譯名和原片名之間依然保留較高的資訊重合度。如 How to Train Your Dragon 譯成“訓龍高手”，原名是用第二人稱，講述“如何訓練你的龍”，譯名變成了第三人稱，客觀中立地描述電影的主人公是“訓龍高手”，無論是原片名還是譯名，傳遞給觀眾的基本資訊差別不大：電影講的是人如何訓練龍。Rise of the Guardians 譯成“守護者聯盟”，原片固有信息“崛起”被替換成新資訊“聯盟”，中英文片名的核心資訊都是“守護者”，但重心從原片名關注守護者的崛起變成了譯名關注這個聯盟本身。Sabotage 譯成“破壞者”，

將焦點從“破壞（的行為）”調整到“從事破壞活動的人”。

片名漢譯中對主副標題的結構進行調整也屬於“調整”譯法。將不帶副標題的原片名拆成主標題＋副標題的結構，如 24 Hours To Live 譯成“24 小時：末路重生”，或是將原片主副標題合譯成不帶副標題的漢譯名，如 My Little Pony: The Movie 譯成“小馬寶莉大電影”，或是顛倒主標題和副標題的順序，如 Kingsglaive: Final Fantasy XV 譯成“最終幻想 15：王者之劍”。簡而言之，譯名和原片名雖然並不完全吻合，但依然保留了較高的資訊重合度，就都屬於調整譯法。

7）減譯，原片名部分資訊被刪減，如 Three Billboards Outside Ebbing, Missouri 譯為“三塊看板”，Outside Ebbing, Missouri 這部分地名資訊被刪除。

8）增譯，增加了原片名沒有的新資訊，如 Black Sea 譯成“黑海奪金”，增加了“奪金”這部分情節資訊。增加副標題或是主標題也是增譯的一種，如 Alpha 譯成“阿爾法：狼伴歸途”，增加了副標題“狼伴歸途”。

9）釋譯，即摒棄原文的表達方式，用全新的語言結構對原片名的含意進行闡釋，或是將其在影片中的言外之意或內涵意義明晰化，多用在原文片名含有專有名詞或是中文觀眾難以理解的文化詞彙時。如 Dredd 譯為“特警判官”，Dredd 是電影男主角法官的名字，中文片名對原片名的這個專有名詞進行了解釋，即 Dredd 是位特警判官。同理還有 Wreck-It Ralph，原片名是男主拉爾夫的電子遊戲名字，中文片名“無敵破壞王”是對原片名含義的解釋，告訴觀眾電影講的是一個擅長搞破壞的反派的故事。區別於“創譯”，釋譯中譯名和原片名表達方式截然不同但所指向的基本資訊高度相關，而創譯原片名和譯名之間基本上沒有什麼直接聯繫。

標注語料的過程中還發現，不同於過往研究大多採用一個片名對應一個譯法的標注方法來進行分析，本資料庫近四成（38%）的片名採用的是多種譯法組合的翻譯方法，如 The Croods: A New Age 譯成“瘋狂原始人 2”，用到三個方法：增譯、減譯和釋譯。譯名增加了數字 2 表明這部電影是系列片之二；增加了修飾詞“瘋狂”；刪減原片名的副標題“新世紀”；原片名中 Crood 一詞是影片主角一家人的姓氏，The Croods 直譯是“克魯德一家人”的意思，直譯片名會導致觀眾不知所云，因而採用“釋譯”解釋了 The Croods 的身份意義：這家人是原始人類。此外，不少片名分兩個部分，主片名和副標題，這兩個部分如果採用不同方法來翻譯，則分開統計，如 Seventh Son 譯為“第七子：降魔之戰”，標注為兩個方法：字譯和增譯，因為譯名逐字對譯了原片名，還增加了副標題。再如 Maria by Callas 譯為“卡拉斯：為愛而聲”，標注為三個策略：增譯，減譯和音譯，因為譯名增加了副標題，刪掉了主標題中的主角的名字 Maria，音譯了她的姓氏 Callas。另外，同一個片名翻譯的時候相同的策略使用超過一次，都標注成一次。

三、英語片名漢譯的方法和策略傾向

552 部電影片名按照圖 1 的策略框架進行了標注，統計資料見表 1。

資料表明，中國英語電影片名漢譯更多傾向于採用兼顧原片名的資訊和目標語文

表 1: 英語電影片名漢譯策略和方法統計

源語導向				**兼顧源語和目標語的改寫**				**目標語導向**
34%				52%				14%
照搬原名	音譯	字譯	語義直譯	調整	減譯	增譯	釋譯	創譯
2	74	55	142	101	46	197	81	116
0%	9%	7%	17%	12%	6%	24%	10%	14%

化的需求而進行程度不同的改寫譯法（52%），而源語導向的各種方法則遠高於完全以目標語為導向的譯法。此外，採用單一譯法的片名佔優勢（62%）。

值得一提的是，照搬英語原名的譯法在歐洲國家具有壓倒性優勢，如德國 1923–2017 年間上映的 935 部英語電影中，39.7% 直接採用英文片名（Gabric et al. 2017, 16），而美國著名導演昆汀的電影在譯入西班牙語、加泰羅尼亞語、法語和德語的時候，也壓倒性採用這一方法 (Ruiz and Pardo 2014, 210)，但這一方法在漢譯片名中幾乎不存在——表 1 中僅有兩部電影“2012”和“1917”都是阿拉伯數字，原本無需翻譯。這種譯法的變體，雙語片名——“照搬原片名 + 直譯”——在上述歐洲國家也非常普遍，同樣在本資料庫也沒有出現過。這可能與中國的文字審查制度有關。中國實行較為嚴格的推廣普通話的政策，要求用字規範，不能夾雜外語、方言等非普通話元素，因而國外電影在中國流通必須採用普通話譯名，不能夾雜英語原片名，因而無論“照搬原文”還是“雙語片名”都無用武之地。

此外，英語片名譯入其他西方語言的時候，直接翻譯——也就是本文所談到的源語導向的幾個方法（音譯、字譯和語義直譯）——使用非常普遍，如斯洛維尼亞 2009 年的電影片名高達 65% 採用了直接翻譯策略（Ross 2013, 250、262）。本研究發現，漢譯片名直接翻譯占 34%，明顯低於歐洲國家。這一點可能與語言差異有關：歐洲語言和英語同屬印歐語系，直譯起來難度明顯比中英語對低得多，加上英語國家與歐洲國家之間的文化差異也比遠比英語國家與中國之間小得多，直譯自然成為首選。

剔除“照搬原文”，表 1 中的 8 種譯法使用次數見圖 1。

由圖 2 可見，增譯和減譯分別是使用頻率最高和最低的兩種方法。增譯能夠補充目標語文化背景知識、增加電影情節、人物、主題等可能吸引觀眾的資訊，滿足電影的商業需求，使用頻率自然比較高，與之相對應的減譯使用比較少，主要用在刪除一些觀眾無法理解的資訊上。上述統計資料包含組合譯法，為了更清晰地展現各種譯法的使用頻率，下文對使用單一譯法和組合譯法的電影片名翻譯方法分別進行了統計，見圖 3 和圖 4：

研究發現，減譯依然牢牢佔據最少使用的方法之首（只有 1 部電影），增譯占比略有下降但依然較受歡迎，但是創譯卻從 14% 上升到 29%，一躍成為最頻繁使用的單一譯法。也就是說，中國電影片名漢譯最青睞的單一方法是創譯。事實上，84% 的創譯都出現在使用單一方法的時候。這可能與電影片名翻譯屬於商業翻譯，更多注重吸引觀眾來提升票房有關，而創譯不受原片名的束縛，賦予譯者較大的發揮空間，不需要其他方法協助即可達到所需要的效果。當然，這也使得創譯較少出現在複合譯法

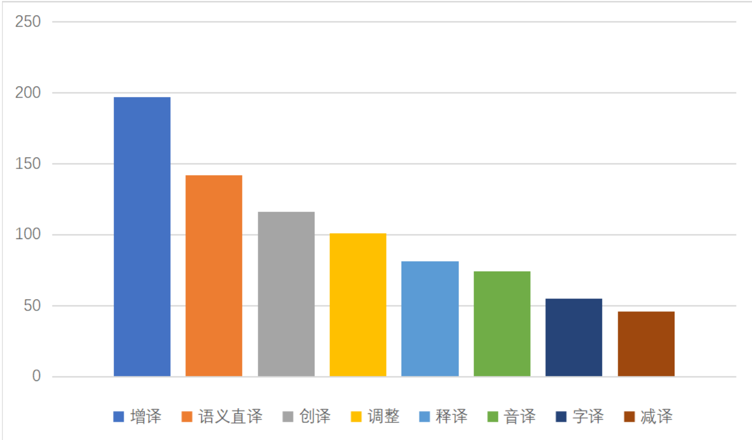

圖 2: 英語電影片名漢譯方法使用次數

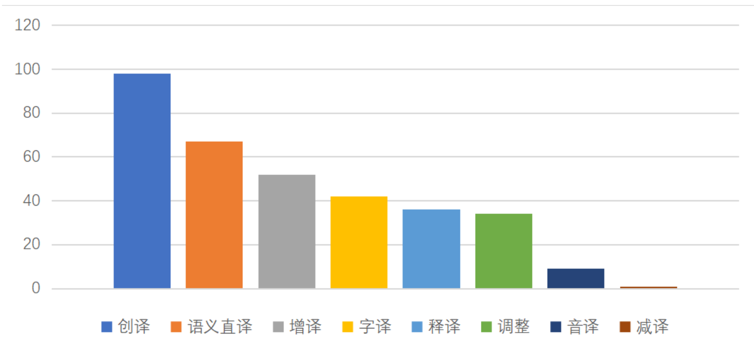

圖 3: 電影片名漢譯單一方法的使用次數

組合中，排名倒數第二，僅次於字譯（見圖 4）。

如圖 4 所示，在採用了組合譯法的 211 部電影中，字譯在複合譯法中使用最為少見。這是因為這一方法和其他譯法不相容，比如使用了逐字對譯就不可能再使用增譯或是減譯了，除非主副標題採用不同譯法需要分開統計。例如，Maze Runner: The Death Cure 譯為“移動迷宮 3：死亡解藥”，主片名用到“調整”和“增譯”兩個策略，副標題用的是“字譯”的策略，本研究複合譯法中出現的字譯僅有 13 個案例，大多是這種情況。

此外，減譯在組合譯法中的使用頻率明顯比單一譯法高（由 1 部上升到 45 部）。減譯最常出現的情況是刪除英語片名的副標題或是主標題，七成的減譯都屬於刪除副標題的情況。其次是因為組合譯法能夠充分利用增譯、調整和改寫等方法來彌補刪減帶來的資訊損耗，極大地彌補了單獨使用減譯可能帶來的缺陷，如 Johnny English Strikes Again 譯為“憨豆特工 3”，雖然刪除了“再度出擊”的資訊——這部分資訊其實並未提供有關電影的任何實質性內容，對觀眾用處並不大——但增加了數字 3 來標明電影的系列片身份，以便借用之前電影的影響，同時解釋了 Johnny English 就是中國觀眾熟悉的“憨豆特工”。這套組合譯法刪除了無效資訊，增加了電影主人公、電影類

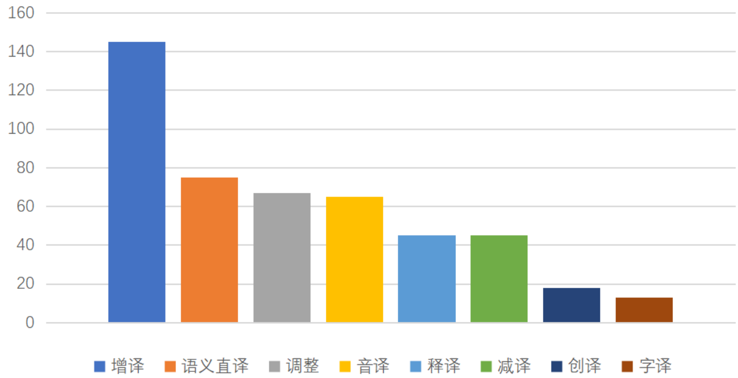

圖 4: 組合譯法在電影片名翻譯中的使用次數

型、電影系列片等有效資訊，效果明顯好於直譯“約翰-英格利希再度出擊”。這也引出了表 4 展現的另外一個特點，即增譯是最受青睞的組合策略，遠超其他策略。事實上，“增譯 + 其他”是複合譯法中最受歡迎的組合，增譯 + 調整的組合使用頻率最高（41 部），其次是增譯 + 直譯（38 部）、增譯 + 釋譯（33 部）、增譯 + 音譯（33 部）。

綜上所述，中國電影片名漢譯近年來多種譯法百花齊放，但總體而言更傾向于使用基於原片名的各種改寫譯法。大部分的電影片名多採用單一的翻譯方法，其中創譯備受青睞，也有不少電影使用組合譯法，其中增譯 + 其他方法的組合最為普遍。總體而言，增譯法和語義直譯是片名漢譯最受歡迎的譯法，而照搬原名和減譯法成為最少使用的譯法。那麼，這些翻譯方法和策略傾向又受到了哪些因素的影響呢？

四、英語片名漢譯的規範以及影響因素

研究發現，對電影片名翻譯翻譯策略產生影響的首要因素，是語言特性與結構差異的制約導致的語言規範。本文對英語原片名和中文漢譯名的字數進行了統計（圖 5）。

圖 5 可見，英語片名在 1-11 個字之間波動，一個字片名非常常見，高達 27.7%，其次是兩個字（26.2%），四個字以內的片名占 84.1%。漢譯片名則在 2 - 15 個字之間，四字結構占全部片名的 40.1% 以上，許多一個字的片名被譯為了四字結構：如 Abduction（2012）譯成“在劫難逃”，Serenity（2019）譯成“驚濤迷局”，Widows（2020）譯成“以寡敵眾”等。此外，許多五個字及以上的譯名中也常常包含了四字結構。事實上，大部分的中譯名集中在四個字及以上（88.8%），相比之下，一個漢字的中文譯名則完全沒有出現，兩個字的也只占 3.8%。

英語片名青睞一個字，而漢語片名喜歡四字結構，是增譯法備受青睞而減譯法無人問津的主要原因。英文語境下，一個字的片名更好記，更神秘，也更少劇透，能吸引觀眾，但這種神秘感隨著電影來到異域的中國，可能會被充分放大而使得觀眾產生過度的陌生和疏離感，不知所云，對之敬而遠之。英語片名崇尚少字的趨勢一方面使

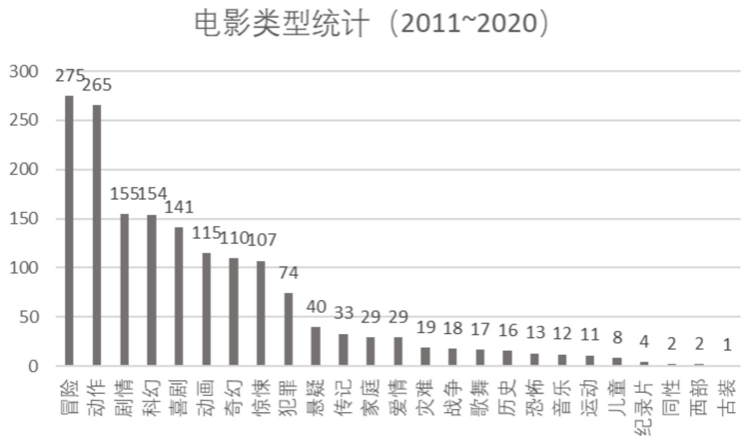

圖 5: 英語原片名與漢譯片名字數統計

得譯者很難對惜字如金的片名再進行刪減，另一方面不得不增補資訊來填補跨文化差異帶來的認知鴻溝，再加上中國語言喜歡使用四字結構，難怪減譯用武之地，而增譯法則大受歡迎。

需要指出的是，本資料庫裡的四字結構並無太多明顯的歸化色彩。雖然一些譯名使用了一些四字成語，如“金蟬脫殼”、“星火燎原”等，但總體而言數量並不多，且這類成語已經屬於熟語，雖然會模糊電影的異域身份，但並不會帶來強烈的中國色彩。這一點不同於解放前電影片名的漢譯，比如 1939 年美國影片 Stagecoach 的歸化譯名：“關山飛渡”，“關山”是中國古代的一個地名，具有濃烈的中國文化意象，後用來指代關隘、難關或家鄉，並出現在大家耳熟能詳的古詩“萬里赴戎機，關山度若飛”中。本資料庫中的“在劫難逃”、“摘金奇緣”等譯名，也只是語言上迎合中文觀眾喜歡四字結構的趨勢，並未在文化意象上過多歸化，確保片名中譯名具有陌生審美取向（單暢、王永勝 2013）。不難看出，英語電影的漢譯名雖然追求文字上朗朗上口，但同時也刻意避免文化上的歸化，這和這類影片在中國的市場定位有關：英語電影在中國主打的賣點就是展現西方文化的異域風情他國文化，如果被歸化，容易帶來文化錯位，損害自身價值，影響影片的接受。

影響漢譯電影片名漢譯的第二個因素，是商業考量與市場需求，這一點集中體現在片名漢譯的詞彙選擇方面。使用 Python 清洗本語料庫中的 552 個英文電影片名原名（去除 the 之類的停用詞），之後再用 Python 生成了英文片名的詞頻表，然後用 Python 對漢譯片名進行分詞，人工核對後再用 Python 製作了中文譯名的詞頻表，見表 2 和表 3（篇幅所限，僅列出前 21 位高頻詞）。

表 2 表 3 可以看出，排在前面的 21 個高頻詞中，只有黑體字標出的四對是基本可以對等的詞彙外（man/人/者, war/戰, world/世界, game/遊戲），中英文片名的大部分高頻詞並不一致。漢譯片名中頻率最高的是數位（2，3，4，5），這是因為，英文片名往往會用統一的主標題 + 不同的副標題的方式來給系列電影命名，而片名漢譯的時候比較喜歡增加數位將系列電影的排序補充出來，這種做法既能吸引系列電影的鐵杆

表 2: 英文原片名詞頻統計

次序	原片名語料	詞頻	次序	原片名語料	詞頻	次序	原片名語料	詞頻
1	**man**	13	**8**	Age	6	**15**	furious	5
2	**war**	12	**9**	Black	6	**16**	secret	5
3	movie	9	**10**	Monster	6	**17**	journey	5
4	day	8	**11**	Legend	6	**18**	life	5
5	**world**	8	**12**	Dog	6	**19**	spiderman	5
6	star	8	**13**	Avenger	5	**20**	woman	5
7	**game**	7	**14**	Fast	5	**21**	wonder	5

表 3: 中文漢譯名詞頻統計

次序	漢譯名語料	詞頻	次序	漢譯名語料	詞頻	次序	漢譯名語料	詞頻
1	**戰**	56	**8**	超	15	**15**	精靈	10
2	2	54	**9**	特工	13	**16**	5	8
3	大	34	**10**	冒險	12	**17**	隊	8
4	**人**	30	**11**	**世界**	10	**18**	美	8
5	者	24	**12**	**遊戲**	10	**19**	4	7
6	3	22	**13**	王	10	**20**	神奇	7
7	俠	19	**14**	驚	10	**21**	總動員	7

粉絲，也增強了電影的連續性，向觀眾暗示電影會在內容、品質及風格上與之前作品保持高度一致。

英語片名不喜歡用、而漢譯名比較喜歡增譯的另外三類高頻詞包括表示誇張的形容詞、電影類型詞和角色身份詞。表 3 中的“大”、“超”、“驚”、“瘋狂”、“驚天”和“極速”等詞，旨在刺激觀眾的獵奇心理，彰顯電影與眾不同，如 Man of Steel 不譯作“鐵人”而譯為“超人：鋼鐵之軀”，Zootopia 譯作“瘋狂動物城”而非“動物烏托邦”、Ford v Ferrari 譯作“極速車王”而非“福特對法拉利”等，無不令譯名更具情感表現力和感染力。

電影類型詞也被頻繁增譯到片名中，這些詞往往會劇透部分情節，如“冒險”、“神奇”、“總動員”、“歷險記”等。這類詞彙雖然能透露的情節資訊有限，但“冒險”暗示電影主角會上天入地，突破重重險境，而“總動員”則暗示一群人協同作戰完成任務，如 Yellowbird 譯作“飛鳥歷險記”、Rio 譯成“裡約大冒險”，能準確吸引類型片的觀眾，同時也不會破壞片名帶來的神秘感。

此外，“者”、“俠”、“特工”、“王”、“精靈”等角色身份類詞彙也被頻繁使用到片名漢譯中。本資料庫中 13 個帶有“特工”字眼的漢譯名中，只有 1 個原片名包含 spy，其餘 12 個案例的英文原名都沒有類似 spy/agent 的字眼。“特工”一詞屢屢被加入漢譯片名中，可能與 007 系列諜戰電影大獲成功有關，因而 Killers 譯成“整編特工”，American Ultra 譯為“廢柴特工”，Inside Out 譯為“頭腦特工隊”等等。同理，“俠”字也屢見不鮮，如 Green Lantern“綠燈俠”，Iron Man 3“鋼鐵俠 3”，Wonder Woman “神奇女俠”，大概率是希望喚起觀眾心中的武俠情結，複製“蜘蛛俠”、“蝙蝠俠”的票

房盛況。中國電影觀眾以青年為主，18—24 歲觀眾占了 33.1%, 25—39 歲的觀眾占了 53.6%（陳旭光 2015，5），冒險、動作、劇情、科幻等類型片顯然更受青年觀眾喜愛，有助於幫助他們充分釋放生活壓力，片名中增加的這三類詞對他們顯然有更大的吸引力。

第三個影響片名漢譯策略的因素，是文化適配與接受度，這一點集中體現在改譯方法的普遍使用上。例如，片名中涉及妖魔鬼怪的字眼，無論是 Troll （巨魔）、Monster（怪物），還是 Vampire（吸血鬼），都被翻譯成了更具親和力的“精靈”，如“魔發精靈”、“精靈怪物”、“精靈小王子”等，以便擴大影片受眾範圍。再如，Night at the Museum: Secret of the Tomb 被譯為“博物館奇妙夜 3”，副標題“墳墓的秘密”被刪除，則可能是因為“墳墓”二字在中國文化引發的聯想與主標題的奇幻色彩不太一致，對中國觀眾有比較強烈的勸退作用。同理，樸實無華的 Tomb Raider（“盜墓者”）很容易和中國本土的盜墓文化聯繫起來，所以被譯成了讓人浮想聯翩的“古墓麗影”。這類選詞上的斟酌能夠有效地與目標語文化做適當的切割，避免負面聯想和文化誤讀，最大程度地拓寬電影的受眾面。

五、電影類型與翻譯的選材規範

對 552 部電影的類型進行考察，可以看出英語電影在引進中國時的選材傾向和規範。本文提取了這些電影在豆瓣電影網的類型標記詞（見圖 6）。

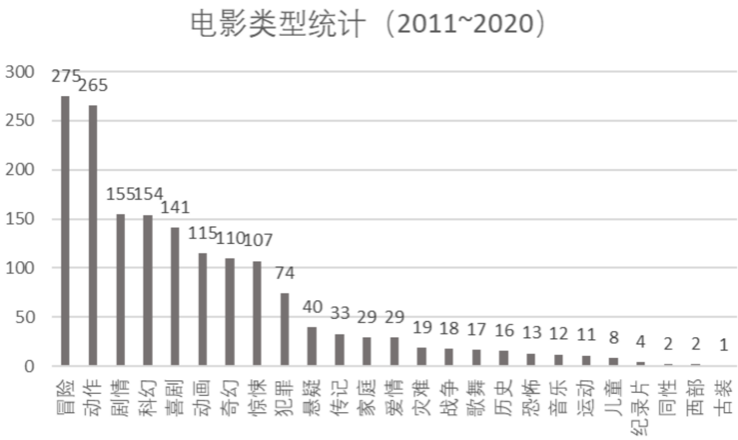

圖 6: 英語電影在豆瓣網標記的類型及頻率

圖 6 可見，中國院線上映的英語電影呈現多元化趨勢，有 25 種類型之多，但最受喜愛的電影類型大多主打冒險和動作元素，其次是劇情和科幻與喜劇元素，而較少涉及的是紀錄片、同性、西部和古裝類型。電影選材顯然與電影的功能直接相關：觀眾看電影主要是為了娛樂，排名前五的類型片顯然能最大限度滿足觀眾的娛樂需求。此外，中國電影觀眾以青年為主，18—24 歲觀眾占了 33.1%, 25—39 歲的觀眾占了 53.6%

（陳旭光 2015，5），冒險、動作、劇情、科幻等類型片顯然更受青年觀眾喜愛，有助於幫助他們充分釋放生活壓力。

那麼電影類型是否會對翻譯策略和方法產生影響呢？本研究將出現頻次高於 30 次的 11 種電影類型及其片名翻譯方法進行了統計，發現各種電影類型所採取的翻譯方法使用頻率與圖 2 展現的趨勢無顯著差別，只有創譯除外。在驚悚、犯罪和懸疑三類電影中，創譯的使用頻率都超過其他方法，這可能和這三類電影英語片名往往涉及較為血腥暴力和犯罪的字眼有關，引進中國的時候有可能需要遭遇比其他電影更多的意識形態審查，因而不得不捨棄原名另起爐灶。例如，驚悚電影 Bullet to the Head 直譯是“子彈爆頭”，較為血腥，於是被創譯成“赤警威龍”，從原片赤裸裸展現暴力的主題變成彰顯警方英勇打擊暴力的主題，只保留了“赤”字暗示有暴力元素來吸引觀眾。類似的還有 Killers 變成了“整編特工”而非“殺手”、Death Wish 譯成了“虎膽追凶”而非“死亡願望”。創譯方法的使用使得電影的主題和故事敘述視角發生了扭轉，發掘了電影的正能量，使之更符合中國的主流價值觀。

六、結語

本文設計了符合英語電影片名漢譯特點的細化的描寫分析框架，對 2011-2020 十年間 552 部院線電影的官方片名漢譯策略和方法進行了詳盡的統計與分析，明確回答了三個研究問題。首先，近十年中國進口英語電影的選材主要受到商業因素的制約，兼顧多樣化的前提下更側重于引進能迎合主要觀影群體娛樂需求的類型片。

其次，英語電影片名漢譯策略呈現多元化特徵，但總體而言英語電影片名進入中國市場時既不完全迎合源語文化也不徹底以目標語文化為中心，更多使用改寫策略來達到保留異域文化資訊與迎合本土市場需求之間的平衡。這一趨勢與新中國成立前的片名漢譯傾向迥然不同。有研究發現，1920 至 1949 年間美國影片在中國的譯名主要傾向於歸化，創譯的比例高達 60%，改譯略多於 20%，較少使用直譯，反映出當時中國文化的保守性和封閉性（趙晶 2017, 141、146）。如今，改譯成為主導趨勢，顯示出中國在引進西方文化產品時採取了一種更為平和與平衡的心態，不再一味追求歸化或盲目迎合，而是在不同文化之間努力尋求對話和共鳴。其次，研究發現組合翻譯方法中，增譯最受歡迎，而在採用單一翻譯方法時，創譯則更為普遍。增譯體現了中國觀眾對於電影片名中資訊豐富性的心理期待，而創譯則體現了中國文化市場在引入外國娛樂產品時，傾向於通過重塑電影主題來增強其教育意義和啟發性，使之更好服務于國內的文化和意識形態需求。這兩種策略的流行不僅揭示了跨文化交流的多樣性和複雜性，也彰顯了譯者在融合全球視野與滿足本土文化需求之間的權衡與創新。此外，本研究還發現，英語片名漢譯嚴格遵循國家語言文字規範、意識形態規範，片名中避免使用外語或雙語對照，並對不符合主流意識形態的片名進行創譯和改寫。

最後，研究揭示了影響中國電影片名翻譯的四大因素：語言習慣、市場需求、文化接受度和審查政策，這些因素共同構成了一個複雜的決策網路，指導譯者在尊重目標語的語言習慣、保證翻譯品質和文化適配度的同時，兼顧市場行銷的需要和主流意

識形態的期待。本研究深化了業界對電影片名翻譯的認識，揭示了片名漢譯在跨文化適配和市場策略中所起的作用，為制定更有效的國際文化交流和電影市場推廣策略提供了參考和指導。

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戲劇翻譯與身份認同：以陳鈞潤的莎劇改編《元宵》為例

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Abstract

Identity and Theatre Translation: A Case Study of Rupert Chan's Shakespearean adaptation *Twelfth Night* (*by* Shelby Chan)

Rupert Chan blazed a trail for the translated theatre in Hong Kong and gave a boost to localisation and adaptation of Western drama on the stage since the mid-1980s. In his translation of Shakespeare's Twelfth Night, which was re-titled Lantern Festival and performed on the Hong Kong stage in 1986, Chan used Hongkong-styled Cantonese and moved the story setting to Canton in the Tang dynasty. His rendering of Shakespearean dialogues can be termed "inventive compromise"—he made generous use of Hongkong-styled Cantonese in the translated dialogues, both phonetically and semantically, while he also managed to follow closely Shakespeare's literary content and style. His accentuation of the local language is not achieved through replacing or subverting English or standard Chinese, nor is the local identity highlighted at the expense of a broader national (or ethnic) identity. Chan extensively replaced the cultural markers in the source text and gives prominence to the local Chinese language and culture. His approach is pragmatic, and his localised translation can be considered, to borrow Ortiz's term, "neoculturation", as they go beyond the syncretic model of an uneasy fusion of two cultures and languages. By juxtaposing two cultures, he underlined the historic specificity and artistic originality of the neocultural product. Without concealing the fact that his work is an adaptation of Shakespearean drama, he artfully revealed the cultural divide and convinced the audience that it is indeed surmountable. The two cultures assimilate and substitute each other to (re)produce a third, hybridised cultural form. Chan figured an entry point for Hong Kong audience to re-understand and re-connect with the traditional Chinese art and culture. The neocultural product also helped establish a new cultural identity with

Chineseness as its forte.

話劇是即時即地的表演藝術，講求現場觀眾當下的理解和反應，否則戲劇的傳意功能失敗，因此演出台辭往往以最貼近本地的語言習慣。自 1910 年代起，香港話劇劇本，不論是原創劇或翻譯劇，皆採用標準書面漢語書寫，用語和語法以普通話為基礎，但演出時卻盡量以本地常用的粵語，貼近日常生活。香港話劇翻譯家陳鈞潤率先把西方劇本或小說翻譯為地道的粵語，甚至將故事背景遷至廣東或香港，開創了翻譯劇本地化的先河，並著書《港人自講》推動以粵語書寫。以粵語翻譯戲劇，對於香港人的身份認同有密切關係。陳鈞潤在劇本翻譯中展現出對外來文化的開放態度，以不同形式吸收、挪用和轉化，跟香港人身份認同的書寫極為相似。本文以陳鈞潤於 1986 年改編莎士比亞劇作《第十二夜》(*Twelfth Night*) 的粵語翻譯劇《元宵》[1]為例，探討本地化翻譯與語言、國族及身份認同的關係。

一、陳鈞潤

陳鈞潤（1949－2019），香港出生，於香港大學主修英文與比較文學，畢業後任職香港政府及大學行政，亦為中英劇團董事局主席、香港電台第四台《歌劇世界》節目主持及康樂及文化事務署戲劇及歌劇顧問。工餘亦為翻譯、編劇、作家及填詞人，自上世紀七十年代起翻譯歌劇中文字幕多達五十多部，至八十年代中為香港劇場翻譯舞台作品逾五十部，其中 40 部為粵語翻譯劇，五部為粵語音樂劇。陳鈞潤的翻譯作品裡，人物語言極具特色，而最為人津津樂道的，是他把舞台名著改編成廣東或香港背景的語境。他善用香港老式地道方言俚語，將西方劇作本地化及口語化，當中包括改編自莎士比亞（William Shakespeare）的《元宵》(*Twelfth Night*)、埃德蒙．羅斯丹（Edmond Rostand）的《美人如玉劍如虹》（*Cyrano de Bergerac*）、霍華德．亞殊曼（Howard Ashman）的音樂劇《花樣獠牙》（*Little Shop of Horrors*），以及珍．奧斯登（Jane Austen）的小說《初見》（*Pride and Prejudice*）把劇本無痕地移植育長，其作品是研究香港戲劇和語言文化的珍貴寶藏。

陳鈞潤多年來於戲劇界的表現屢獲殊榮，包括：1990 年獲香港藝術家聯盟頒發“劇作家年獎”；1997 年獲香港作曲家及作詞家協會“本地原創正統音樂最廣泛演出獎”；1998 年其散文集《殖民歲月──陳鈞潤的城市記事簿》獲第五屆“香港中文文學雙年獎”；2004 年以“推動藝術文化活動表現傑出人士”獲民政事務局頒“嘉許狀”；及獲香港特別行政區頒授榮譽勳章。此外，陳鈞潤一直在報章撰寫劇評，為華文劇場留下大量的資料素材。

二、翻譯劇與身份認同

個人的身份認同一般建基於“自然事實”，例如出生地、種族和母語，即把一個人的根源連結一個人的原居地，以連結這些自然事實的分母。香港前為英國殖民地，

歷史使然，所謂文化根源較為薄缺，往往以否定法來定義本我：非中非英，即為香港（方梓勳 1992: 99–118）。陳鈞潤的翻譯劇於 1980 年代及 1990 年代中期，時為主權回歸的前哨，香港人的身份認同模糊不清，傾向多變。翻譯劇對於理解身份認同起了重要作用，由於翻譯在本質上與當時香港的文化定位非常相似，同樣屬於"外位性" (exotopy)——在文化的外緣往內看，巴赫金 (Bakhtin 1986: 5) 認為，這種"外在"視覺可以克服處於地區或文化"內部"的視障和限制："惟有透過另一個文化的眼睛，外來文化才可顯露得更充分，更深入（但不一定最大程度地充分，因為總另有文化看得更多，明白得更多）。"而這種"外位性"並一定指"外面" (outside)，更準確是"旁邊" (to the side) (Weiss 2004: 82)。回歸前的香港處身主流中華文化與世界文化的"旁邊"：其一，香港跟中國的民族、語言及地緣連繫不容否定，但當時對於中國的觀察和認識無疑是隔着一段距離的；其二，香港依賴廣義的文化想像去理解和吸引各種文化，雖然融合東西，但態度不無懷疑和實用主義，往往將不同文化轉化，將之適應本地的情況 (Chan and Fong 2016: 173)。翻譯正好提供審視和輸入文化的功能，在 1980 至 1990 年代的香港戲劇界，翻譯劇一直佔全部舞台演出的兩成至三成（Chan 2015: 40–48）。對香港而言，翻譯劇是檢視和構建身份認同的透鏡和棱鏡，選擇外國劇本，察看各種文化元素，篩選適合自身的部分，然後以自身的語言和文化符號表達出來，當中涉及修訂和取代，是借助他者以揭示並建立本我的手段。在這個懸置、沉積與取替的過程中，留下來的"頑固塊頭" (stubborn chunks)，就是重要而顯著的核心認同。

薩依德（Edward Said, 2001: 176）認為，民族特性可被簡化為歸屬感，"假定歸屬於及歸屬向一個地方、一群人、一個傳統"，"認證了一個社群以語言、文化和風俗所創造的家"。當時香港的問題在於"學習如何歸屬於一個國家" (Mathews, Ma, and Lui)。科大衛指 1997 年前香港的情況，所謂民族中國性 (Chineseness) 之於香港，是一種"意識形態與宗教"，好比"基督教界之於西方" (Faure 1997: 103–120)，議題之深之廣，使得回歸前的香港要探討這種民族中國性，必須找到適合當時當地的切入點和表現方法。這裡所指的國族 (nation) 是一種"論述建構" (discursive construct) ，由人們"為國族、圍繞國族，或以國族之名"所作出的論述組成，亦即"人們基於這些論述的談話、思考和行動的方式，產生出集體身份認同，並動員參與集體項目，及評價人們和習慣" (Calhoun 1997: 5)，透過論述行動"參與、構成並傳播"其對國族意識 (nationhood) 的理解 (Dijk 1984; Wetherell and Potter 1992; Wodak et al. 1999)，不單描述社會現實，同時構成該社會現實，將以其命名的論述變成現實 (Bourdieu 1991: 223)。這種民族中國性普遍存在，但不一定活躍而自覺，如果不出現大的內憂外患，大約也就會基本維持在潛存的層面。

對 1990 年代的香港而言，國族主義譜系的概念複雜多面，難以捕捉一個穩定不變的意義介入到普遍的歷史。若要加深對這個議題的理解，更好的辦法或是另闢蹊徑，懸置對共同體性質的追問，並從宏大敍事、既定概念和自上而下的研究慣例走出，進入特定歷史時期一般香港人生活之中，去探究民族國家在日常的實存狀態？Billig (1995) 跳出宏大敍事，開始關注日常生活中各種平淡無奇的國族主義 (banal nationalism) 形式，譬如天氣預報的用語、報紙的標題、體育比賽的解說等。在此潮流的引

領下，“出現了一種在族群和民族問題研究上脫離僅關注精英方案的 ‘宏大敍事’，轉而系統地研究大眾信仰、情緒和實踐所起作用的趨勢”，研究的重心變成“普通人民以他們自己的方式，並在他們的日常活動及交流過中創建出民族和民族認同”(Smith 1986: 84) 。國族認同（national identity）形塑過程的一個重要關鍵議題，正是作為國族的“我們”（the national “we”）是如何被建構而成，而這個被建構的“我們”又被賦予何種意義。普通群眾在非官方場合如何通過話語喚起並構成民族國家意識，對於理解身份認同非常重要，此等話語不一定跟循精英話語程式化的輪廓，而回應了“我們”所處身的日常語境下的邏輯、需要和關注，亦即“我們”如何談論國家 (talk *about* the nation)，並以國家為談話內容 (talk *with* the nation)。這種“國族意識”可以由“我們”創意地和自覺地部署並操控，成為“我們”的實際成就，具體表達了“我們”對國族的理解，而不止潛伏於在潛意識的縫隙裡，形成談話的主題，不單定義了他們的談話，同時由他們的談話定義。由此，如果國族意識的理解被視為理所當然的話，他們就賦予了話語的形式和內容。這種國族認同的特徵是沒有激情的政治訴求與口號的，但國族作為被制度化的形式與實踐範疇，每天默默地被反覆踐履著。例如升降國旗、唱國歌、觀看國際運動比賽為本國選手加油等，就像“每日的公民投票”(Renan (1990[1882])，日復一日肯認國族的存在。

後來，學者改進了 banal nationalism 研究範式的文本取向，發展出一種以人的行動為主體的“日常的國族主義”(everyday nationalism) (Knot 2015; Fox & Ginderachter 2018) 。對此轉向，Fox & Miler-Idriss (2008a) 提出國族存在於以下實踐之中：”談論國族”(talking the nation)，在日常談話中完成對國族的話語建構；“選擇國族”(choosing the nation)，對國家的認同潛藏於人們所做的選擇；“表現國族”(performing the nation)，用儀式代的符號形塑對國家的感受；“消費國族”(consuming the nation)，以日常消費習慣建構和表達國家間的差異。“日常的國族主義”強調當下 (here) 當地 (now)，對環境敏感，把國族主義置於多重的時間和空間維度去理解，不排斥、不堅持探索多個世紀積累下來的國族意義，卻認同今天對民族地位的日常實例充滿了多年來積累的多層意義。但是，我們並不簡單地假設這些歷史意義在當代如何重要；相反，我們試圖根據經驗來具體說明 (Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008b: 574–575) 。

戲劇翻譯是“日常的國族主義”的一種實踐和表現，縱使戲劇家的初衷不一定有關國族。戲劇既然即時即地的表演，講求觀眾的反應，在表演的當下能有一定程度的理解，劇場的溝通才能成立。翻譯和表演之際，將外來劇本的語言轉換成本地的語言，甚或把故事的場境改為古代或近代的本地，選擇“語言的選擇，或語言的表達方式，傳達了國族社群的成員身份”(Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008a: 541)，既肯定了本地的語言、文化和情感，也在試煉本地語言文化和觀眾認知的普遍性，能否詮釋及演繹、媲美或取代外來的語言文化和情感，是“選擇國族”和“談論國族”的一種表現；而在“文化接觸”(Boudieu 語，Hanna 2009: 159)，戲劇家亦在審視自身和觀眾的 doxa，布迪厄 (Pierre Bourdieu) 的 doxa 指的是一組不容置疑的信念，通過這些信念，世界的各個方面及其組成部分（人、事物、一個人的社會狀況和實踐）理解為“自然的”和理所當然的 (Vakalopoulos 2023: 262) ，這些 doxa 在翻譯劇借助外來元素的對比和反映再表現

出來，亦即上文提及的“頑固塊頭”，是國族意識與身份認同的核心所在，翻譯劇表演也是“談論”、“表現”和“消費”國族。

三、香港翻譯劇的背景

在戲劇翻譯裡，翻譯標誌著多管齊下的變化，包括由一種語言文化轉移至另一種語言文化，並因此從一種身份話語轉變到另一種身份話語。每段譯文都是一個人主體性的片段，往一個人的家的一瞥：一個人如何自處於世上眾多語言文化之中。翻譯文本的選擇：再現、投射或再造原文的模式；翻譯風格在某一歷史時刻如何受到限制和調節；譯文如何被讀者或觀眾接收；在在描述了進行翻譯的文化族群的面貌 (Chan 2005: 39)。如果原本家園的景致模糊不清，透過戲劇翻譯的透鏡窺視外在可以找到家園的鏡像，儘管這個鏡像可能有如“萬花筒似的、扭曲的”鏡像 (Niranjana 1992: 81)。這個鏡像反映的不只外在，還有一個人所想見或希望的“家園”。由於其雙邊性質，翻譯既描述了他者，也刻劃了本我，我們要問的問題是：當這面鏡子被舉起來對著外在或內在，它反映的到底是甚麼？這些鏡像有多準確或有多扭曲？以不同形式使用這面鏡子（戲劇翻譯）的動機到底是甚麼？

研究主體性不止戲劇翻譯一途，而戲劇翻譯也不是唯一的翻譯體裁。翻譯在香港向來重要，幾乎所有政府公文和商業書函均以中英雙語書寫，但文學翻譯的產量一向不多，散文、小說及詩詞翻譯稀少，往往自中國內地或台灣輸入。縱有學術研究關於個別書目或作家，但少有視某一體裁的翻譯作為文學現象去研究。有關文學作品的讀者群及市場份額（比如，文學出版物當中多少是原創作品、多少是翻譯作品）的資訊很少。在芸芸文學體裁之間，戲劇最倚重翻譯。根據統計（Chan 2015: 40–41），在 1980 至 2007 年期間，香港約五分之一的戲劇演出來自翻譯劇本。假設翻譯反映了本土與外在的互動，戲劇翻譯則更清楚揭示了本土實際上怎樣與外在接觸。舞台演出結合台辭和動作，講求現場觀眾的即時理解；所以，借用中國內地或台灣的翻譯劇本（以普通話為基礎），有實際的演出困難，因為台上演員必須自行作語內翻譯，把基於普通話的台辭翻成廣東話。換句話說，為香港舞台翻譯，最理想是由本地人去做、為本地人而做，以期透過外來劇本，更清楚地顯示本地的面貌和聲音。

3.1 翻譯劇演出數字

先討論香港 1980 年代的戲劇演出概況。1980 年代，香港主權回歸日趨明朗，香港人充滿疑慮，急於叩問自己的文化身份認同，尤其香港與文化中國的關係：是香港中國人，是中國香港人，當中分別在於香港的身份認同有著較多西方和國際元素。在戲劇界，原創劇更趨時效性和話題性，尤其關注主權和身份認同，例如陳尹瑩的《花近高樓》、杜國威、蔡錫昌的《吾係香港人》。翻譯劇既引入西方，又迎合本地需要，似乎緩速了香港人對於身份認同的疑慮，變得流行起來。1980 年共有 33 個翻譯劇演出，等於 128 個戲劇演出的 26%；1981 年，翻譯劇演出升至 35 個，雖然比率稍降（18%），這是因為同期的原創劇演出由 95 升至 153。1982 年翻譯劇演出有 49 個，相

等於全年戲劇演出的 30%，同比增長高達 41%。1983 年翻譯劇演出升至 58 個，同比增長 22%，但同期的原創劇演出亦由 114 至 129。1984 年翻譯劇演出少了 15 個，跌至 43，原創劇演出亦由 129 減至 70，同比下跌 46%；因此，翻譯劇演出佔整體演出比例達到歷來新高的 38%。1984 年 9 月落實香港主權回歸中國，1985 年整體演出下降至一百左右。原創劇於 1986 至 1989 年連續三年的數量和同比均見回升（1987: 129/ 57%；1988: 190/ 47%；1989: 190/ 15%）。反之，1985 年翻譯劇演出急降至 19，同比跌幅為 56%；1989 年再跌至 14，為整個 1980 年代的低位。然而，翻譯劇演出在 1987 至 1989 年接連攀升（1987: 22/ 15%；1988: 40/ 17%；1989: 40/ 19%）。整個 1980 年代，原創劇與翻譯劇演出聯袂上升，此消彼長的情況並不嚴重，如果原創劇演出增加，反映香港人有意識探究和確認本身的中國性，翻譯劇亦步亦趨，既保留西方元素作緩衝和平衡，更以借助外來元素去質問香港人身份認同中的中國性到底如何。

翻譯劇一直為是香港劇壇的主要部分，必須留意其韌性和一致性。在三十年間，翻譯劇演出的數量持續的多，平均每年有 34 個，佔整體演出比例雖然有升有跌，但保持每年有五分至四分之一。演出劇目的數量以外，必須考慮演出的規模。香港觀眾區分“外國劇”與“翻譯劇”：外國劇指非華語表演，以劇本原本的語言演出，多數由本地外籍人士或外國藝團擔演，場地在中環藝穗會或各式藝術節，屬小眾表演，觀眾往往是外籍人士或本地較洋化的知識份子。翻譯劇演出則滲透本地社會，雖然實際觀眾人數並不可知，但從演出場地的座位數量推測出來。翻譯劇多在市區主要劇院或大會堂公演，平均座位達 800 人，通常由香港政府康樂及文化事務署管理。更重要的是，翻譯劇強調本地如何應對外地，把外來劇本調適至迎合本地觀眾口味；換句話說，翻譯劇的本地元素並不單薄，甚至可視為本地製作，多於外國輸入作品。另一方面，原創劇的演出規模往往較少，多在黑盒劇場或小劇院公演，座位數目介乎 50 至 300。由此可見，大型翻譯劇演出的觀眾人數，可能是小型原創劇演出的四倍之多。

翻譯劇往往為劇團的高成本製作，獲得較多資源作宣傳和製作。在香港，規模較大、資歷較深的劇團製作較多翻譯劇，在 1980 至 1990 年間，四個主要劇團（香港話劇團、中英劇團、海豹劇團及香港演藝學院）製作了 132 個翻譯劇演出，佔同期香港翻譯劇演出總數的 31.4%，而翻譯劇亦佔各劇團整體演出的一半（陳善偉 1992: 167–168; 174）。搬演翻譯劇涉及翻譯、版權，歷史劇本更有特別古裝、佈景和道具，所需資源和成本往往較原創劇多，意味著只有“大”團才有充裕的人力物力搬演翻譯劇，既為“重本”製作，翻譯劇是劇團的重頭戲，較能吸引媒體和觀眾的注意，影響也較大。

3.2 香港翻譯劇的風格

在香港劇壇，翻譯劇自 1960 年代興起，鍾景輝於 1965 年自美國耶魯大學畢業回港，歷任電視台演員訓練班主管及香港演藝學院戲劇學院首任院長，直至 1980 年代末一直向香港觀眾介紹近代美國戲劇，例如阿瑟・米勒、田納西・威廉斯、桑頓・懷爾德等劇作家的作品，是為香港翻譯劇早期的主流。他的翻譯劇傾向“異化”(foreignization)（方梓勳 2006：148），講求“忠於原著”，講求演出要“原汁原味”（鍾景輝

1964a），近乎一種“擬態”(mimicry)（方梓勳 2003：308），甚至是一種“功利主義的擬態”(utilitarian mimicry) (Chan 2016: 86)，因為鍾景輝熱衷於汲取西方話劇的長處和權威，認為當代美國戲劇的情節完整，具有極高的文學價值和戲劇性（鍾景輝 1965b）為香港劇壇樹立楷模，並試圖解決兩個實際的問題：其一，1960 至 1980 年代原創劇本缺乏，鍾景輝（1966）認為當時“香港話劇要比世界水平落後了五十年”，又指本地戲劇的保留劇目太狹隘，過時而重複，而且觀眾的品味僵化又落後，所以他希望引入荒誕劇場和史詩劇。其二，當時表演風格單一呆板。

在這個開始之後，香港翻譯劇場的導向，在本地身份認同的存在感和自信心來說，出現循序漸進的轉變，表現形式有二：第一，從直譯到意譯：，不論在語言、內容和表演形式，忠實一直是戲劇翻譯的黃金標準，劇本及舞台表演應該忠於原著。隨著翻譯劇場日漸流行，翻譯策略由模仿變為轉化，即是，由直接、忠於原文的翻譯，變為具創意的改編，側重於從目標語和目標文化角度進行翻譯。第二，本地元素在外來劇本的翻譯裡越來越顯著。早期的劇場翻譯和導演力求揣摩並查明原劇作家“原本”和“真實”的意圖，1980 年代後的戲劇翻譯家（如海豹劇團的黃清霞和黎翠珍、劇場空間的張可堅）往往假定本身的詮釋，真實性的概念得到修訂，由“應該是這樣的西方”變成“我眼中的西方”，當這種本地導向放進實際，外來元素就被本地化，本地對於外來劇本的詮釋亦益見自信，故事場景和語言尤其本地化，以增強觀眾的代入感。

四、為香港觀眾翻譯戲劇：《元宵》

陳鈞潤曾撰文〈為香港觀眾翻譯戲劇〉，揚言摒棄學究式翻譯策略（1992），“(翻譯和改編）手法或手段是本地化或中國化”，旨在“增進香港觀眾觀劇時的共鳴、代入、投入”（陳鈞潤 2007），同時“展示並確認香港作為本體於這些外來文本上的主導位置，這種轉化不再只是藝術上複製和引介，而是作為挪用者嘗試穿透挪用對象的表層功能，挖掘本土化在殖民文化上的意義”（陳國慧 2015: 10）。陳鈞潤（1992a: 210）相信，任何偉大的文學作品若要獲得世界認同，不單以原著的語言流通，而必須經翻譯成不同語言，才能接觸到更遠更廣的讀者群。他在譯作中強調他身為香港人的身份認同，彰顯港式粵語的不純正的起源、活潑多元，廣納不同語言文化，而且極富創造力（陳鈞潤 1991），以港式粵語翻譯戲劇實為不二之選。

在翻譯西方戲劇時加入本地元素，突顯本地語言文化，陳鈞潤並非第一人，亦非唯一一人，惟他跟中英劇團第三任藝術總監（1984–1988）高本納（Bernard Goss）將本地化翻譯劇發揚光大，試圖扭轉香港在 1980 年代忠於原著的常規，帶領粵語翻譯劇走向本地化與口語化，尤其把西方劇本的背景改為香港或廣東。高本納推翻翻譯必須仿效原著：

> 不要忘記，即使今日英國觀眾也不一定理解莎士比亞戲劇裡的一切。在香港，好的翻譯劇，更準確的說，改編劇能夠讓劇本流傳後世。透過更新劇本跟現時觀眾的連繫，觀眾可以透過總體劇場體驗來欣賞西方劇本。不少評論說翻譯不過次等，不能掌握原著神髓。如果你明白我的想法，你會看

> 到今天莎劇翻成其他語言，實際上達到更大的傳意功能，比英語原著更甚。（高本納語，摘自陳鈞潤 1992a：215）。

如果說，鍾景輝、海豹劇團和劇場空間以譯出語為導向，高本納與陳鈞潤則以譯出語為導向（見 Chan 2015 第四章）。鍾景輝的目標是要重構西方劇本的現實，高本納與陳鈞潤則透過目標語文化的視角試圖重新構想現實：如果情節發生在本地語境會怎樣？人物怎樣可以本地語言說好外國的故事？

在 1986 年陳鈞潤把莎士比亞的劇本《第十二夜》改編為以唐朝的廣州背景《元宵》，押韵詩句以唐詩格式翻譯，文本亦大量置入淺白生動的粵語俚俗語，是首部以粵語翻譯的莎劇。本文嘗試循著上述路徑，探討《元宵》的本地化翻譯策略，並探討其中如何換入並強調漢語和中國文化的元素，從而確立香港人的身份認同。陳鈞潤是香港首位把西方話劇翻成粵語供舞台演出的翻譯家，特色有二：一，本地化：他的翻譯劇作常以近代廣東或香港為背景，把故事場境由西方移植到本地，有時賦予虛擬的歷史掌故；二，口語化，他翻譯劇作中的粵語有鮮明的本地色彩，生動而富創造力，貼近香港人的日常生活。這種翻譯策略以中代西，重本地輕外地，肯定本地的重要性，並顯示香港文化如何重新認識中國，找到了建構國家意識的切入點，並將不同文化分隔成不同板塊，拼湊成香港獨特的身份認同，當中可以看到身份構建和國家意識中關於純粹和傳統的迷思。

4.1 《元宵》的本地化

柏格森 (Henri Bergson) 認為：“與語言有關的喜劇或可由一種語言翻譯成另一種語言，儘管在一個習慣、文學、尤其是聯想都不同的新社會裡，這齣喜劇的睿智大都會在習慣、文學、尤其是聯想皆不同的新社會裡消失”（翻譯及摘錄自 Karsky 2004: 226）。陳鈞潤（2009）認同這個說法，並認為觀眾手上沒有辭典和百科全書，帶領他們闖蕩莎士比亞充滿文字遊戲、文學及文化典故的迷宮，而譯者也不宜採用大舉註釋，因為戲劇是現場表演。然而，譯者應該如何確保喜劇在目標語裡損失最少的睿智？在《元宵》，陳鈞潤的翻譯策略是大舉本地化，讓香港觀眾喜愛莎士比亞的喜劇，容易產生共鳴，並理解台上展開的劇情（陳鈞潤 2000：109）。

《元宵》的本地化策略似乎自相矛盾：一方面，他力求“忠於”莎劇，保留所有場境、行動和對白；另一方面，他揚棄所有“西方性”的痕跡。除了場境由 16 世紀的意大利伊利里亞，轉成唐代的廣州，並把節日、地方和人物的名字全部漢化。他以截然是港式粵語的風格翻譯台辭，同時徹底把文化標記和頻繁出現的俚語和性暗示換掉，熟練地使改編貼近粵語觀眾的語言文化習慣。他把這種本地化策略比喻為“豉油乳鴿”──乳鴿是西方的，但陳鈞潤的（再）呈現是把乳鴿以中式方法“醃製”（陳鈞潤 2000：109）。要問的問題是：《元宵》到底有多中國化？異域性如何被取締？場境轉換如何影響主題發展和人物刻劃？如今穿唐裝、說中國話的人物又如何被重塑？

陳鈞潤的改編遭一位著名學者和戲劇家揶喻為“強姦”了莎劇，漢化的莎劇不單難看，而且可憎（陳鈞潤 1992a：215），但陳鈞潤不以為忤。他聲稱自己擁有“戲劇自由”，大可把故事背景改成唐代廣州，使劇情和人物行動更容易為觀眾接受。他認

為，莎士比亞的《第十二夜》本來就是糅合多個來源的改編，所謂原著其實是一個匿名作者的意大利錫耶納喜劇 GI’ Inganati，首先於 1531 年在一個嘉年華公演，其後在 16 世紀間屢被翻印、翻譯或模仿。莎士比亞可能認識班戴洛（Matteo Bandello）沿襲 *GI’ Inganati* 的故事，也可能讀過里奇（Barnaby Rich）的《阿波羅斯與新羅》（*Apolonius and Silla*, 1581），當中間接取材和改編自班戴洛的故事（Lothian and Clark 1975: xxxv）。《第十二夜》中不少場境也常見於自古典和中世紀的著作。陳鈞潤指《第十二夜》本來就來源不純，而且容易移花接木——如果意大利故事可以英文重新說一遍，為甚麼不可以再以粵語說一遍，並把背景移師廣東？假如《第十二夜》的伊利里亞人可以在台上說英語，那麼香港的漢化改編裡演員在台上說廣東話，委實合情合理（Chan 2009）。

4.1.1 故事背景

陳鈞潤把《第十二夜》的背景由意大利伊利里亞移師至中國嶺南，即廣東、廣西和港澳，時間是唐代（618–907）。時空轉移使《元宵》漢化變得合理和有需要：首先，人物的名字、官銜和出生地都漢化了，Orsino 本為伊利里亞公爵（duke），在《元宵》裡是嶺南節度使，Olivia 本是女伯爵（countess）成了廣州員外，兩人仍然是富裕的貴族，原著中公爵具將領權威，而女伯爵具貴族地位，兩者微妙的身份差距，陳鈞潤以唐朝節度使與高門望族的不同作契合；Viola 與 Sebastian 來自 Messaline，陳鈞潤改為潮州；Sir Andrew Aguecheek 現在名叫尉遲岸汐，來自杭州，所以他的廣東話說得不純正；Sir Toby Belch 現名為鮑菟鼙，來自玄菟，是“圓肚”的諧音。

第二，莎劇原名《第十二夜》（*Twelfth Night*）是異域性的明顯標記。“第十二夜”是聖誕節後第十二天（一月六日），為紀念耶酥出生後東方三博士來臨伯利恆，而定為十二日節（Twelthtide）或主顯節（Epiphany），本為天主教節日，到了莎士比亞的時代，則變成了眾人同狂歡的一天，僕人可以喬裝成主人，男穿女服，劇中許多錯摸、誤解和偶合，啟發自第十二夜的節日儀式和嘉年華式的顛覆和倒換習俗。1601 年莎士比亞為慶祝此日而寫，故把劇本名為《第十二夜》。陳鈞潤捉緊當中情人偶遇相會的元素，彷彿冥冥中自有主宰，即以這個男女結識、同時又代表農曆正月十五的佳節《元宵》替代，而元宵是農曆新年慶祝的最後一天，彩燈處處掛，青年男女在街上遊樂求愛，媒人努力撮合有情人，跟第十二夜相近，滿有《第十二夜》劇中縱情狂歡的喧嚷氣氛。原著中既有貴族，亦有種族、性別、嬉皮士元素，而唐朝的廣州是「思想民風相對開放的自由時代，留存五萬首唐詩的詩歌時代，能孕育出中國唯一女皇帝的女權時代，原著男女唸詩作樂自主求愛之情節方能發生」（江祈穎 2024），因此，改編裡人物可以隨意換位，錯配身份，胡鬧求愛，產生啼笑皆非的喜劇效果。陳鈞潤的改編裡，把意大利宮廷漢化得恰到好處，本來紳位和性別截然分明的系統，劇中先崩解，劇末重新結合，可謂大團圓結局，傳統愛情觀念依然昭彰。

《第十二夜》有不少男女易服的場面，不少學者從酷異的性別研究角度去考慮當中可能的同性情慾。然而，陳鈞潤在《元宵》輕描淡寫，不必刻意著墨，因為中國傳統戲曲、尤其粵劇和港式武術電影裡，女扮男裝或女角男演十分常見。原著中似乎離經背道的情節，在改編裡卻變得合情合理，本地觀眾可謂司空見慣，甚至覺得似曾相

識。

4.1.2 人物名稱

人名是異域性最明顯和最即時的異域性標記。戲劇翻譯常見五種更改人名的方法，即直接遷移、改編、替代、語義翻譯及藝術手法的直接遷移，各有不同的意義和功能，譯者的選擇取決於他對文化轉換和身化認同的理解（Schultze 2007: 92–94）。陳鈞潤認為，給人物取名是創作的一種（Chan 2009）。《元宵》中的人物翻譯多為局部或選擇性翻譯。直接遷移，即保留英文名字盡量音譯，在《元宵》的唐朝背景並不符合情理，而且讀音困難，冗長拗口，反而令觀眾覺得混淆。陳鈞潤的方法是糅合改編和語義翻譯，中文取名既有外延意義和內涵意義，從而突顯人物身份和性格。莎士比亞原著人物不是全部都有姓氏，陳鈞潤則在改編裡給予各人完整的姓氏和名字，僕人除外（見表 3）。同樣，個人銜頭亦全面漢化。陳鈞潤以中國傳統官銜或佛教或道教神鬼名稱，取代了《第十二夜》裡的銜頭，試圖在本源文化與目標文化之間找到相似或相稱的地方。Count 變成了“國公爺”、Satan 變成了“閻羅王”、Pythagoras 變成了鳩摩羅什，玩弄 Malvolio 的 Master Parson 變成了“龍虎山正一真張大師”（粵語諧音“緊張大師”），遺忘之河 Lethe 變成了“奈何橋”。

人名和官銜捨音譯而取語義翻譯，盡量淡化文化轉移的痕跡，陳鈞潤把故事牢置於廣東語境。他直言他效法了殖民時期港督取名方式（陳鈞潤 1991：110–111），使港督光聽中文名字會給誤會為本地華人。這是一種“逆向擬態”(reverse mimiry)（方梓勳 1998：420–444），即外來者（英國殖民主）模仿本地人（香港人），徹底的本地化儼然抹去異域性，使翻譯過程近乎隱形。

4.2 以港式粵語為主要譯入語

陳鈞潤不諱言他不會做學究式的戲劇翻譯，反而偏好口語化，旨在讓觀眾更能投入故事，確保演員能夠準確演說台辭（陳鈞潤訪問，摘自 Chan 2015: 13）。他把英文台辭翻譯成高度口語化的港式粵語，讓演員可以按照他的譯稿讀出，毫不客氣地“剥奪演員把台辭由書面漢語翻成口語粵語的樂趣”（陳鈞潤 1992a：216），這樣才能使台辭在音調、節奏或語義上合情合理。許多戲劇譯者相信向自己及/或原著負責，陳鈞潤卻著重翻譯劇的表演性，認為戲劇譯者應向導演、演員與觀眾負責。他把綵排時自己跟演員和導演的討論一一紀錄下來，不時修繕自己的翻譯，使台辭不致生硬刺耳（陳鈞潤訪問，摘自 Chan 2015: 13）。其一，不論原創劇或翻譯劇，陳鈞潤認為皆應該譯成港式粵語，反對為了“保留”原著神髓而在粵語台辭沿用英語句法。採用本地語言的要旨在於促進現場觀眾的即時理解，並發揚“本土特色”。陳鈞潤著名的雙關語、妙語、謎語和順口溜，均必須以港式粵語讀出，才有意思，才會靈動和尖刻。其二，把外來劇本的背景移至本地觀眾熟悉的語境。陳鈞潤的 44 部翻譯劇當中，11 部的背景搬到香港（見表 1），6 部到中國內地（見表 2）；他把前者稱為“香港化”，後者為“中國化”。然而，這種香港化或中國化的場境，並非當下的香港或中國內地，更多是二戰前的香港（1920 至 1940 年代），以及唐代或二十世紀初的廣東省。他偏愛二

戰前的香港，是因為他懷念他祖母的語言習慣，他形容她的粵語文白夾雜，偶有半咸不淡的英語，有趣又生動。另外，他酷愛唐詩的音樂性和敍事性，足以再現莎士比亞詩句的形式美。他認為唐詩以粵語唸出來，可以是替代古老的西方詩歌和民謠。他的譯詩稱不上完整的翻譯，充其量只是包含與原文大致相近的語義項。除了音樂性，陳鈞潤講究劇本新背景的表演性和可信性。這種轉換場境的策略本來旨在增添觀眾的親切感，但放棄當下環境，改為近代，這種時空的距離卻反常地促進了觀眾的接收，給予他們一份對傳統中國語言文化的傳承感和歸屬感，也加強了香港人身份認同的中國性。

表 1: 故事背景移至香港的陳鈞潤劇本翻譯 (1983–2007)

	中文翻譯劇名	原著劇本名稱	劇作家	首演		
				劇團	年份	導演
1	《女大不中留》	*Hobson's Choice*	Harold Brighouse	中英劇團	1986	黃美蘭
2	《禧春酒店》	*L'hotel du libre ex-change*	Georges Feydeau and Maurice Des Vallieres	中英劇團	1987	高本納 (Bernard Goss)
3	《半句晚安》	*'Night, Mother*	Marsha Norman	中天劇社	1987	麥秋
4	《木偶奇遇記》	*Pinocchio*	Brian Way	中英劇團	1987	Chris Harris
5	《狐狸品》	*Volpone*	Ben Johnson	中英劇團	1991	莊舜姬 (Chris Johnson)
6	《科班落難喜逢春》	*Room Service*	John Murray and Alan Boretz	沙田劇團	1993	張可堅
7	《風流醫生手尾長》	*It Runs in the Family*	Ray Cooney	中天劇社	1995	麥秋
8	《零時倒數》	*Towards Zero*	Agatha Christie	中天劇社	1995	張可堅
9	《窈窕淑女》	*Pygmalion*	George Bernard Shaw	春天製作	1997	古天龍
10	《飛越人間鎖》	*A Christmas Carol*	Charles Dickens	中天劇社	1998	麥秋
11	《花樣獠牙》	*Little Shops of Horrors*	Howard Ashman	中英劇團	2002	李鎮洲

表 2: 故事背景移至中國的陳鈞潤劇本翻譯 (1983–2007)

	中文翻譯劇名	原著劇本名稱	劇作家	首演		
				劇團	年份	導演
1	《元宵》	*Twelfth Night*	William Shake-speare	中英劇團	1986	高本納 (Bernard Goss)
2	《君子好逑》	*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*	William Shake-speare	中英劇團	1990	莊舜姬 (Chris Johnson)
3	《美人如玉劍如虹》	*Cyrano de Bergerac*	Edmond Rostand	中天劇社	1990	麥秋
4	《烏龍鎮》	*Fools*	Neil Simon	中天劇社	1992, 1993	麥秋
5	《上窮逼落下黃泉》	*Suicide*	Nicolai Erdman	中英劇團	1992	莊舜姬 (Chris Johnson)
6	《家庭作孽》	*A Small Family Business*	Alan Ayck-bourn	香港話劇團	2004	毛俊輝、司徒慧卓

4.2.1 粵語雅言和詩詞

陳鈞潤了解港式粵語的兩個面向：一是帶有唐未風格的古語音韻，二是落在民間的通俗口語，所以《元宵》的對白時而文雅古典，時而流俗市井，這種雅和俗參差呈現在不同人物的語氣上，即見不同人的身份和教養，把貴族平民的分別以粵語表現出來，使原著的文藝詩意和喜鬧氣圍都得以再現，例如：

ORSINO:

> If music be the food of love, play on; give me excess of it, that, surfeiting. The appetite may sicken, and so die. That strain again! I had a dying fall. Oh, it came o'er my ear like the sweet sound, That breathes upon a bank of violets, Stealing and giving odor! (I.1)

賀省廬：

> 若然音樂正是情愛食糧，且奏莫停；進我以過量，於是乎飽漲，食慾厭膩，以至消逝！此調又重彈，有一嬝嬝餘音漸細。在我耳邊，猶如薰風，輕拂蔓圃，呵氣如蘭，暗香偷送！(I.1)

陳鈞潤加入自己對文字的詮釋，以"消逝"代替"死亡"，以"薰風"代替"微風"，以四五文言句，重構出一種音樂感。

《第十二夜》中無韻詩的對白唱辭，陳鈞潤將之化為漢詩，如"五內既為情關鎖，此歌蕩氣更迴腸。"切合唐詩七言與平仄，而當中不單是唐詩，例如：

Viola:

> My heart yearns for you endlessly, but do you know? I sing for you, I wish to be with you. The long road may come to an end, but my love will never cease. If by fate we meet again, we would come together. And I would hold your sleeves. (II.4)

石蕙蘭：

> 悠悠吾心，子可知否？為爾高歌？盼可厮守。長路有盡，愛心不休。緣在相遇，且相近兮挽君袖。(II.4)

這二句不論字句用詞，風格意境，皆仿效了《詩經・鄭風・子矜》的"青青子衿，悠悠我心"，雖是改編，卻不帶半點翻譯味道，更加簡約凝練，混然天成。

4.2.2 轉換方言和語域

在《第十二夜》，莎士比亞因應角色不同的社會階層，適時以散文（prose）和韵文（verse）交雜；貴族如 Oliva, Orsino 和 Viola 以高雅的韵文說話，低下階層的角色則說散文，有時為了模仿高上階層的人說話，但沒有箇中涵養，弄巧成拙，貽笑大方。陳鈞潤在《元宵》裡著意使這種階級差異加倍明顯，上流角色出口皆是典雅的古文，草根人物則說淺俗的廣東話，夾雜俚語和下流笑話，例如：

Viola: What country, friends, is this?

石蕙蘭：借問船家，此處何州何府？

Captain: This is Illyria, lady.

船家：呢度係廣州呀小姐。

Viola: And what should I do in Illyria?

My brother, he is in Elysium.

Perchance he is not drowned. What think you, sailors?

石蕙蘭：我到廣州何所事？

胞兄已在廣寒宮！

若邀天幸，佢可能未曾淹死，船家意下如何？

Captain: It is perchance that you yourself were saved. （I.2.1–6）

船家：都係邀天之幸，妳方才幸而獲救。（I.2）

Viola（石蕙蘭）有禮地"借問"船家她身在甚麼地方，船家答以粵語口語答"呢度"；又問她的兄弟 Sebastian（石笆亭）在哪兒，暗忖已遇溺身亡，希臘神話裡英雄和好人的安息之所 Elysium 換成了"廣寒宮"（中國古代傳說中月亮上的宮殿）。Viola 祈盼 Sebastian 奇蹟生還，用了古雅的 perchance，船長回答時立即借用；陳鈞潤譯成"邀天之幸"，強調幸運的重要，那是相當中國的想法。這種有關生死的詞彙，譯者巧妙地換上了相應的中國概念。值得注意的是，Viola 在英文原著中說的只是散文，而不是無韻詩，在石蕙蘭在粵語翻譯中說的卻是文雅而有點古老的廣東話，甚至近乎文言，船長卻以廣東話口語回話。譯者刻意強調石蕙蘭和船長的遣詞用字，甚至重造船長拙劣的模仿石蕙蘭說話，比劇作家更生動地拉遠了兩人的階級差距。

表 3:《元宵》人物譯名

英文原名	**人物背景**	**中文譯名**	**註釋**
女士：花卉意象			
Viola	年輕貴族女子	石蕙蘭	
Olivia	伊利里亞富貴美麗的女伯爵	萼綠華	
男士：宏偉建築意象			
Orsino	伊利里亞具權勢的貴族紳士	賀省廬	
Sebastian	Viola 的孿生兄弟	石芭亭	
喜劇人物：名字是寓意頑皮和愚蠢的粵語諧音			
Sir Andrew Aguecheek	Sir Toby 的門徒，大頭傻瓜	尉遲岸汐	南北朝時北方鮮卑族有尉遲氏。"岸汐"是粵語"戇直"諧音。
Sir Toby	Olivia 的叔父，吵鬧又貪吃的酒鬼	鮑菟虀	"菟虀"是粵語"肚皮"諧音。
Malvolio	Olivia 家刻板的男僕	茅福祿	"福祿"是粵語"符碌"諧音。
僕人：沒有姓氏			
Feste	Olivia 家的小丑	吉慶	
Maria	Olivia 的機智而老謀深算的侍女	晚霞	
其他角色：按照職業或遭遇命名			
Antonio	從海難中救出 Sebastian 的船長	況東洋	
Cesario	沉船後 Viola 偽裝成的年輕男士	石沙鷗	

4.2.3 粵語俗語及笑話

伊里利亞的改造豈止重定位和重命名。陳鈞潤希望劇場裡的觀眾不單看得見本地，還要聽得見本地。莎劇部分的散文句式，具有許多通俗的平民語言，把戲劇觀賞由小數貴族的特權還給大眾，這種文藝賦權，在都鐸年代頗有革新和顛覆的意義。近五百年後，當莎士比亞變為西方經典，上昇為知識份子的高雅特產時，《元宵》不避流俗，陳鈞潤劇中不少地方以非常地道俚俗、甚至猥褻的語氣來譯對白。伊里利亞的改造豈止重定位和重命名。陳鈞潤希望劇場裡的觀眾不單看得見本地，還要聽得見本地。改編劇本的語言和語域明顯地本地化，並不是光把英語換成粵語那麼簡單直接。《元宵》的對白滿佈了許多常用的港式俚俗語，而不只是標準正統的廣東話。:

Captain: Be you his eunuch, and your mute I'll be. When my tongue blabs, then let mine eyes not see.

船家：你做近侍，我扮啞仔。如有多咀，保佑我冇眼睇呀。

原著是文雅的倒裝句，陳鈞潤翻譯成簡單直接的口語，猶如隨口而出，保留意思而減去比喻，不帶半點修飾文藻，合乎一般船家的市井口吻，例如：

晚霞：如果唔係天生有膽戥番匀佢嗰舖嗌交癮呀。

鮑菀虉：所有咁樣話佢嘅冚唪唥都係啲小人嚟嘅。

鮑菀虉：我去斟吓啦，你企响度，擺個威風嘅款。

《元宵》的對白滿佈了許多常用的港式俚俗語，而不只是標準正統的廣東話。在第二場第五幕有不少粵語罵人短語：

Maria: …Lie thou there: …(II.5.20)

晚霞：匿埋先……(II.5)

Feste: O, peace! …(II.v.30)

吉慶：咪嘈！(II.5)

Malvolio: …and after a demure travel of regard, …(II.v.51–52)

茅福祿：……對眼氹氹圈一掃……(II.5)

Sir Toby: Bolts and shackles! (II.v.74)

鮑菀虉：你去死啦！(II.5)

Sir Toby: Out, scab! (II.v.74)

鮑菀虉：混你個帳！(II.5)

上述粵語台辭採用的是近現代港式廣東粵語。陳鈞潤改譯莎劇對白的方法可謂"創新的妥協" (inventive compromise)，他在翻譯台辭裡採用大量港式粵語，在聲韻和語義上緊貼莎士比亞喜劇對白的神髓和風格。陳鈞潤喜歡玩字食字，例如"一早歸 '天' 呀有

‘份’ 咯”拆開“天份”二字，又把“鮑莵鼙”說成“飽肚皮”，把“天灑芳霖”說成“天灑荒淫”，這種俚俗以至下流的文字遊戲，寓莊於諧。

莎士比亞的喜劇充滿下流笑話和文字遊戲，陳鈞潤不避諱地照樣譯為廣東。在第二幕第五場，Maria（晚霞）寫信愚弄 Malvolio（茅福祿），使他誤信 Olivia （萼綠華）愛上了他：

> Malvolio: By my life, this is my lady’s hand. These be her
>
> very C’s, her U’s and her T’s and thus makes she her
>
> great P’s. It is, in contempt of question, her hand. (II.5.86–88)
>
> 茅福祿：哎吔，係小姐嘅手筆嚹。
>
> 佢嘅撇，佢嘅捺，佢嘅戙，仲有佢嘅鈎。
>
> 唔駛問，係佢嘅筆跡。（II.5）

Olivia（萼綠華）的英文筆跡在中文找到對等，英文字母 (C-U-T, cut) 變成了中文的撇、捺和戙。文藝復興時期有關女性私處 C 的委婉語給翻譯成“戙”，與“洞”同音；P 暗指男性陽具變成了“鈎”。Maria（晚霞）以 M.O.A.I, 暗示寫信人“the unknown beloved”，陳鈞潤把茅福祿的名字拆開為“茅”、“田”、“口”、“水”。陳鈞潤（1992b: 219）在譯稿中註明，演員必須強調這些雙關語，以突出喜劇效果，又憶述演出當時觀眾亦能會意，笑聲不絕。

4.3 表演香港性

陳鈞潤擁護中國性和香港性，並在戲劇改編裡標榜香港華人的身份認同，有意或無意地建立一個以日常語言為區分特徵的身份認同。Andrew Simpson (2007: 173) 認為“一種新的香港文化身份認同很大程度上由本地人日常生活（例如電影、流行曲、常見常用的多個 ‘言語形式’ 及口語交流所主導和標示”。假設港式粵語一直對香港身份認同建構起了重要作用，應該如何理解它在戲劇翻譯裡如何發揮作用？跟其他場合和用法又有甚麼分別？

4.3.1 語言選擇作為一種政治行為

陳鈞潤把西方戲劇翻譯成港式粵語，主要是盼望炮製出觀眾享受的表演，以及滿足自己對於廣東語言文化的熱愛；他的動機更多是出於藝術而非意識形態。不過，他不諱言，把莎劇劇本從英文翻成港式粵語，講求相當的努力、創作和語言才華（陳鈞潤 1991: 215 –216; 1992a: 213; 2006: 8; 2009）；他相信不論是翻譯劇或原創劇，只要是為香港觀眾演出的，都應該選擇本地語言〔港式粵語〕，以彰顯本地特色”，因為它不斷演變和創新，異常生動活潑（陳鈞潤 1991: 216; 2009）。這份對本地語言的熱愛，不一定跟國家語言對立，反而是對中國語言文化的一份認同和一個切入點。

陳鈞潤在戲劇翻譯裡採用港式粵語，既意味着他對於本地和本地人的歸屬和擁戴，這份強烈的香港身份認同也象徵了他對香港生活方式的依附。港式粵語的元素繁雜，顯示了香港日常生活有著許多外地元素，比如好萊塢電影、日韓影視和流行曲，

甚至是南亞裔保安員和工人。他著意縮短翻譯劇跟本地觀眾的文化差距，使故事和場境貼近本地生活方式，使他的戲劇翻譯超越語言的替換，而是把故事移植到本地語境。《元宵》的背景遷至唐代的廣州，並加插許多類近粵劇的唱白，表達了他對傳統戲曲的熱愛，同時，1990 年代傳統戲曲在港的流行程度下降，由於成本上漲，主要表演場地（如利舞台）關閉並改為商業中心，而且戲曲名伶和觀眾老化，陳鈞潤亦借《元宵》表達他的感嘆。任何語言皆自然而然地在不同程度上反映了人們的生活方式。在陳鈞潤的戲劇翻譯來說，他不單用上本地人的日常語言，還把故事場境遷移，以反映本地人的生活方式。這就比單純轉換台辭的語言多了層次，更能反映對中國文化和香港身份認同的肯定。

4.3.2 效忠文化中國

《元宵》的改編有著有趣的時間定向。他把故事背景移植至唐代的廣州，又把台辭譯成類近唐詩的打油詩，並採用近似粵劇的表演形式，顯然把演出連繫上前幾個世紀的中國文化傳統。這個轉變重新肯定並重新定義莎劇的“本土閱讀位置”(Huang 2009: 26) ，標誌了香港自覺地對中國源頭和英國連繫重新定位。陳鈞潤的本土化似乎使“本土”更加模糊，必須要質疑一般對於“熟悉性”的理解——漢化的故事背景會使莎劇對香港觀眾更親切——如果這種熟悉性是陳鈞潤改編《元宵》的目標，他明言他的戲劇翻譯本來就為本地觀眾服務，樂意投其所好，故選定台辭語言為港式粵語，而非現代標準漢語（陳鈞潤 1997：147），為甚麼不索性這個故事移植到現代香港？為甚麼在翻譯劇場裡古代中國可以代表當代香港的本地性？周蕾（Chow 1993：22）認為這是一種“干預策略”，一方認同中國文化，另一方面去政治化，可說“不即不離”地擁抱中國。杜維明 (Tu 1994: 25) 提出“文化中國”的概念，指全球華裔學人有一種共識，就是認為自己在種族上和文化上是華人，有著“共同的祖先和共同的文化背景”，這種連繫並非以地緣政治為導向的。一個稍有距離的文化中國強調共根同種，彰顯中國傳統與文化是政治中立的，而且歷久不衰。對香港人來說，中國性是避免完全淪入西方文化公民身份的手段；同時，他們可以與自己的種族血緣連繫上，亦跟全球華人網絡連繫上，以探問在全球語境下身為華人的意義。陳鈞潤強調戲劇是藝術與娛樂（Chan 2009），假如演出監製或論者希望從中得到政治評論，他亦會斷然拒絕，強調“借古喻今”或“借西喻東”並非他戲劇改編的要旨。以港式粵語翻譯是他突顯本地身份認同的方法，並非通過置換或顛覆官方的語言階級，或犧牲廣義的國家或民族身份。對陳鈞潤而言，中國是間隔分的概念，從若干間隔，他可以借用適合他的改編、觀眾口味和理解的元素，並幫助他確立他心中香港身份認同與中國的關係。他形容這種改編方法是局部和功能性的，而成果——包括他的戲劇改編和本地身份認同——既是連字符（hyphenation）也是混合物（hybrid）。

4.3.3 文化更新

戲劇翻譯本質上是文化更新的過程和成果，不妨考慮古巴民族學者奧爾蒂斯（Fernando Ortiz）如何區分“跨文化”(transculturation) 與“文化更新”(neoculturation)：

> 我們明白“跨文化”一詞更好地表達了由一個文化過渡至另一個文化的不

> 同階段，因為這不單吸納了一個不同的文化——這是英美詞彙“文化濡化”(acculturation) 的真正意思——而且包含了部分“文化萎化”(deculturation) 的意思，因為過程中亦一定隱含損失或缺乏控制第一文化，這亦指向接續產生新的文化現象，不妨名為“文化更新”(neoculturation)。實際上，正如馬林諾斯基 (Malinowski) 學派指出，在所有文化觸碰中，在個體的基因交配中發生了一些事情：孩子有兩個祖先的東西，但一定跟兩個祖先都不一樣。（Ortiz 的話；McKay and Wong 2000: 165 摘錄）

陳鈞潤的本地化戲劇翻譯可算是“文化更新”，因為它超越了兩種文化和語言之間突兀不穩定的融合模式，同時肯定了中西元素的共存，並強調當第三文化系統產生時，第一和第二文化必定各有損失。在損失之處，陳鈞潤大舉取締原文內的文化標記，換入並突顯本地語言和文化。透過並置兩個文化源頭，他標舉了跨文化產物的歷史特殊性和藝術獨創性，他沒有隱瞞《元宵》是改編自外國劇本，反而巧妙地揭示了中西文化的差異，說服觀眾那其實是不可克服的，解決一途惟有憑創意換入本地元素。與其說兩個文化濡化，更準確的是說兩個文化融合、取代並改變對方，以（再）生產出雜化的第三文化。這個過程有得有失，但得失都不是絕對的：失的只是部分，得的卻造成新的文化產物。陳鈞潤承認他的本地化改編確有“文化更新”的野心：

> 透過本地化改編，〔我〕把外來品種的葉和莖接枝到本地樹木的樹幹，製造一種“移植”的化學作用，所以新的雜化品種就會生成出來。（陳鈞潤 2006: 4）

陳鈞潤指出港式粵語的雜化本質，是廣泛的“合併”(incorporation)（結合不同語言的詞法創造新的表達）和“比擬”(analogy)（在矩陣語言的語法中模仿外文表達式的語法）（Pennington 1998: 11），並在戲劇改編裡大舉採用。《元宵》的表演形式也是中式戲曲和西式話劇元素的跨文化融合。陳鈞潤加求忠於原著《第十二夜》的音樂和歌曲主題，在《元宵》中保留半曲半台詞，把詩歌翻成猶如粵曲的小調和順口溜，猶如粵曲的形式，而台詞亦不論是描述性敍述和話語境，均文白夾雜。他把每一幕結尾的押韵對句翻成粵曲常見的滚花，又認為難以把原劇最後的歌曲 (“When that I was and a little tiny boy”) 翻成同樣的押韵的十六行詩，於是將之改為兩首律詩，並以洞簫伴奏（陳鈞潤 1992b：219）。這種在西方話劇裡加入中式戲曲元素的本地化手法並非首創，在香港 1930 至 1960 年代的粵曲電影十分常見；只是在《元宵》中重點在於話劇，說辭的比重依然較唱曲多。

《元宵》裡的港式粵語是一種奇特的語境組合，糅合了白話文、各種漢語方言和不同形式的書面漢語（例如唐詩和粵曲）及佻皮的英語音譯，非常貼近教語言和文化論者嘖嘖稱奇的香港常見的混雜式粵語，這可能是殖民歷史的結果、語言困境和失能，但也是正面的機會去建構一種自我定位的批判話語，尋找重新認識、歸屬和強化中國身份認同的途徑，並質問經典東西方二元對立（Lee 1994: 11–23）。

五、結論

戲劇翻譯本質上是借用的行為，但自多個來源借用——當中有源語文化，有譯入語文化，有古代，有現代——得出的成果是多元併合，而不是純粹的整體；過程中譯者衡量不同的文化元素和其代表的身份認同，將之雜混，繼而生成一份新的身份認同，過程和精神是求真務實的，也是機會主義的，更具有前瞻性。賀爾（Stuart Hall, 1990: 220–230）認為，身份認同的產生有兩個可能的路徑，一是"富有想像力的再發現"(imaginative rediscovery)（224），確立"一個共享的文化，一個集體的'單一真實本我'（one true self）"（223）；二是尋找"深刻而顯著的差異的臨界點，這些差異構成了我們是甚麼或者我們已經成為甚麼"（斜體為原著所加；225）；所謂"文化身份"，既是"存在"(being) 的問題，也是"成為"(becoming) 的問題，"超越地方、時間、歷史和文化"，而且"不斷轉化"（225）。在陳鈞潤的《元宵》中，建構身份認同的方法是二者兼容，一方面，選取莎劇翻譯，表現香港人對西方文學的欣賞，但坦承中西文化差異，不容易全盤挪用，照單全收，這代表了回歸前香港處於中西文化差異的臨界點，必須考慮將會及應該成為甚麼，以建立新的身份認同；另一方面，他展現對中國傳統文學和本地流行文化的信心，從古代詩詞戲曲和近代俚俗語吸取養份，把明顯的西方文化標記置換，從故事背景、表演形式，以至最重要的語言，全面漢化，從而找到香港歸屬中國文化的入口，這可算是"富有想像力的再發現"。

互文性 (intertextuality) 的概念帶來了權威原創觀念的不穩定，堅持不可能確定文本邊界，從而不可能確定最終的原始文本。翻譯作為一種書寫形式，總是固有於原文之中，因為所有文本都是作為已有文本的經改變形式而重複出現的，並以互文本的形式出現在譯文裡（Perteghella and Loffredo 2006: 4）。翻譯研究出現"創意轉向" (creative turn) 強調"文學翻譯的（自）傳記和創意層面……回溯見證翻譯文本個人化的主體性" (Nikolau 2006: 20)

> 〔翻譯是〕本我的延伸，而這個本我在一定程度上受到構建和轉化……另一方面，態度轉移：它是書寫減去本我，才使翻譯的成品是翻譯；自我假定的原則應該指導着翻譯的過程。譯者的身份意識無可避免地在場，不過蟄伏在另一個詩學的感性之下，一直塑造著雕像。（同上）

換句話說，文學翻譯是有條件的自我書寫，容許主體性在已然存在的文本中展現出來。在陳鈞潤的《元宵》而言，自傳的意圖和特徵是顯著的，挪用契合本地社會文化的外來劇本作為自我書寫的文本基礎，並把故事背景和台辭翻譯成港式粵語，突顯本地的生活方式和語言發展，這是"選擇國族"、"表現國族"與"消費國族"的表現，展示了香港人歸屬中國文化的切入點，強化了身份認同中的中國部分。

注 釋

[1] 本文所引用《元宵》主要來自陳鈞潤於 2008 年惠贈筆者的中英劇團 1986 年演出用的影印本，寫作本文之際亦有參考潘璧雲主編的《陳鈞潤翻譯劇本選集：元宵

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《論語》中“修身”譬喻英譯探賾 [1]

強曉

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Abstract

Translating Metaphors on Self-cultivation in the *Lunyu* into English (*by* Xiao Qiang)

As the earliest Confucian classic, the Lunyu used plenty of metaphors concerning self-cultivation, which constitute an essential part of the thoughts of Kongzi. These metaphors reflect the imagism, suggestiveness and embodied thinking of pre-Qin philosophy, which appeal to universal human experiences and, if translated accurately and aptly, can help English readers better understand the book in a more intuitive way. After studying the major English translations of some of these metaphors, the article finds that these metaphors often used images that are culturally universal and that they require a translation strategy that is as literal as possible, which means the translator should try to stay as close to the original image as possible, so that the layers, nuances, and networks of their metaphorical meanings could be better retained. In contrast, free translation—either by modifying the image or by abstracting the idea behind the image—can often narrow its interpretative room, disconnect meaningful networks of images, and even distort the meaning of the original. In order to successfully carry out the strategy of literal translation, the translator should have philological rigor, philosophical insight, and a perfect command of English, and moreover needs to be committed to the needs of the contemporary English readers of the book.

一、引言

作為儒家原典，《論語》千百年來為國人的修身提供了豐富的精神養分。程頤曾說，“學者當以《論語》、《孟子》為本。……只看得二書切己，終身盡多也。（朱熹 2011，47）”在英語世界，《論語》也較早受到關注，其譯本和論著都頗為豐富。然而，

不少英美讀者在初讀《論語》時，往往難以體會其中的精妙，甚至還會生出幾分反感。芬格萊特（Herbert Fingarette）曾說，他初讀《論語》時，覺得孔子不過是個“平淡乏味、目光偏狹的說教者”，《論語》之所記也毫無現代意義（1972, vii）。利思（Simon Leys）也認為，儒家強調的“禮”會讓很多西方讀者感到拘束不安、腦中浮現出滿臉堆笑的東方人彼此不停作揖行禮的情景（1997, xxv）。筆者以為，英美讀者對《論語》的低估和誤讀，原因固然是多方面的，但英譯文本身的不足也難辭其咎。本文就將以《論語》中有關“修身”的譬喻為例，詳細分析 21 個主要海外英譯本（1861—2017）的得失優劣，並在此基礎上提出其英譯的一般性策略。

二、譬喻對於《論語》的重要性

首先，有必要界定“譬喻”在本文的意義。本文所討論的譬喻，是最廣義上的“打比方”，包括明喻、暗喻、借喻、模擬等。它是在心理聯想的基礎上，抓住並利用兩種或兩種以上的不同事物之間的相似點，用其中一個事物來展現、闡釋、描繪相關事物。一般來說，所描繪的物件，也就是“本體”，是交際對象感到陌生的，比較抽象、深奧；而用來比方的事物，也就是“喻體”，是交際對象所熟悉的，比較具體、淺顯（王希傑 2018，390）。任何語言和文化都會使用譬喻，古代中國更是如此。《說苑·善說》就說，“無譬不能言”，《戰國策》所記載的當時遊說之士的言辭，也大半能以譬喻說理見長。在說理中善用譬喻，自然可以讓抽象的道理更生動、形象，不過，筆者想要說明的是，對於先秦哲學而言，譬喻卻不僅僅是修辭上的錦上添花，更是其哲學思想至為重要的載體，因此意義格外不同。紐馬克（Peter Newmark）曾說過，翻譯中最重要的“具體問題”（particular problem）就是隱喻（metaphor[2]）的翻譯（2001, 104）。筆者則想證明，在翻譯《論語》時，譬喻的翻譯既是最重要的“具體問題”之一，也是最重要的“全域問題”之一。

首先，譬喻的使用體現了先秦哲學的意象性。古代中國人注重“觀物取象”，立象盡意，設象喻理，取象比類。《易經》察覺到文字和語言難以表達意義，提出“立象以盡意”，借助陰陽卦象推斷天、地、人之間的變化之理，對中國傳統思維方式產生了深遠影響。中國的文字也有象形、會意和形聲的特徵。先秦哲學家慣用比喻來表述思想，也就不足為奇了。即便是以說理見長的《孟子》和《荀子》，和西方哲學家的著作比，使用的譬喻也明顯要多。

使用意象來說理，其中必然有不明確之處。所以，和意象性緊密相關的是先秦哲學的另外兩個特點——含蓄性和體悟性。意象帶來的暗示和聯想，與概念、判斷、推理所形成的明晰的邏輯論證不同，往往“言有盡而意無窮”，給讀者帶來很大的解讀空間，用安樂哲（Roger T. Ames）、羅思文（Henry Rosemont Jr.）的話來說，這是一種“productive vagueness”（1998, 42）。喻體和本體的共同點，常有待讀者的詮釋；多個譬喻之間的聯繫和融合，也需要讀者的融會貫通。與此同時，中國哲學探討的是“內聖外王”之道，它不僅是知識，更重要的是，它是生命的體驗（馮友蘭 2012，19）。《論語》中諸多語錄，都是提示、指導聽者如何去做的。而正如孔子所說，“能近取譬，可

謂仁之方也已”，譬喻借助人們最熟悉、最切身的事物，引導人們在玩味浹洽中體悟人生的道理，從而修身成仁，這也正是“能近取譬”的體現。

正是意象性、含蓄性和體悟性，使得《論語》在中國歷史上的解讀不斷推陳出新，有著歷久彌新的生命力。對英美讀者而言，這些特點也為其真正讀懂《論語》創造了條件。《論語》為語錄體，其內在連貫性遠非一目了然，對西方讀者更是如此。他們習慣了讀連貫的、線型[3]的語篇，不會像中國的讀書人一樣，將其中零碎的話語反復咀嚼、消化，再結合自己的親身實踐進行反思（Lin 1938, 39）。譯者需要給予西方讀者最大的協助，比如提供充分的歷史背景、歷代注疏，指出可相互發明的章節等等。與此同時，我們可以通過對譬喻的恰當翻譯，幫助西方讀者以更直觀的方式深刻理解這兩部經典。隨著西方學界對隱喻研究的深入，西方學者也認為，隱喻不僅是一種修辭，更是人類思想過程不可或缺的部分（Lakoff and Johnsen 2003, 7）。其中有一部分隱喻，即雷可夫和姜申稱作“原生隱喻”（primary metaphor）的，由於和人類日常“感覺運動”體驗（sensorimotor experiences）密不可分，已經寫入人類神經系統，幫助我們以一種“體知”（embodied）的方式，反思生活、改變行為（Lakoff and Johnsen 1999, 492、496）。《論語》中正是不乏這樣的“原生隱喻”，它們訴諸人類共同的體驗，直指人心，而且常常彼此呼應、交織，形成一整體。對於這類隱喻的理解、解讀、闡發和翻譯，是幫助西方讀者真正讀懂《論語》的契機和重要環節。

三、《論語》海外英譯的目標讀者和總體翻譯策略

在談論目標讀者時，《論語》英譯者常常會區分專業和非專業讀者（Waley 1938, 11; Ware 1955, 17; Dawson 1993, xvii; Leys 1997, xi; the Brooks 1998, vii; Slingerland 2003, xxv）。總的來說，專業讀者包括漢學家、研究中國歷史、文化、哲學的學者等，非專業讀者則指所有對譯本感興趣的一般讀者。那麼，我們今天英譯《論語》，到底是該為誰而譯呢？

首先有必要區分一下“普通”讀者和“非專業”讀者。美國漢學家杜潤德（Stephen Durrant）曾在評論華茲生（Burton Watson）《左傳》英譯時，對“intelligent general reader”的概念提出質疑，認為真正的“普通”讀者可能會讀約翰·歐文的小說，卻並不會選擇《左傳》這樣的中國古代歷史文本（Durrant 1992, 37）。的確，我們必須反思，在當今的英語世界，是否真的存在一個所謂的“普通讀者”群體，他們會在茶餘飯後，捧出一本《論語》的英譯本，像讀小說或勵志書（self-help books）一樣，輕鬆而有興致地翻看起來嗎？恐怕並沒有。普通讀者的要求，是用最少的努力，獲得最大的收益。從這個角度看，《論語》無論是思想內容還是呈現方式，都決定了英美讀者必須付出相當的努力才能從中獲益，即便譯者給他們提供充分的幫助。正因為如此，我們更傾向用“非專業”讀者（non-specialist readers）而不是“普通”讀者（general/common readers）來指代《論語》專業讀者之外的讀者群，他們是由於各種原因，對《論語》文本感興趣的、願意付出一定努力挖掘文本意義的讀者。他們或許是選修中國歷史、哲學的英美大學生，是出生在英美國家的華人，是在中國工作的英美人士，又或者只是想換個

文化角度反思、體味人生的英美哲學愛好者。

明確了這個區分後，我們想指出，對《論語》的英譯而言，專業讀者和非專業讀者的閱讀需求在很多方面其實是一致的。首先，非專業讀者和專業讀者一樣，都需要充分的注釋。有人錯誤地認為，非專業讀者喜歡乾淨、無注的版面，以追求流暢的閱讀體驗。比如林語堂譯《論語》時，也表示自己採用了文內加注的方法，儘量用最少的注釋讓讀者讀懂文義（1938, 52）。事實上，這種無注或少注的做法，表面上給讀者減輕了負擔，實際上常常會讓讀者雲裡霧裡，甚至產生誤解，已有學者對此有過批評（Durrant 1981, 111）。進入二十一世紀，越來越多的譯者和學者意識到，《論語》必須慢讀，必須結合歷代注疏[4]和個人實踐一起讀。森舸瀾（Edward Slingerland）、金安平、倪培民的《論語》譯本，都模仿了中國古代注疏的編排體例，在每一章節正文下面用小一號的字體附上較為詳細的評注。其中，倪培民特別指出，這樣的加注可以讓讀者“慢下來”（Ni 2017, xiv）。其次，從總體的翻譯策略來看，非專業讀者也和專業讀者一樣，需要譯者在準確、深刻理解原文的基礎上，最大程度地保留原文的特質和詮釋空間[5]。譯者不能因為面向非專業讀者，就任意使用歸化和意譯的翻譯方法，或簡單套用西方文化中現有的概念、抹殺儒家思想的特質，或隨意窄化原文的語義範圍、剝奪讀者自己解讀原文的權利。林語堂、辜鴻銘、利思（Simon Leys）的《論語》譯本都或多或少地犯過這類錯誤（Scharberg 2001, 128）。我們認同倪培民（2017, xiii—xv）的總體思路，也就是精選可以啟發當代讀者思路的注解，同時在譯文中儘量保留原文的多義性和模糊性，引導讀者自己解讀原文。雖然由於兩種語言、文化的巨大差異，這種保留不一定總能達成，但至少應該成為譯者努力的目標。

接下來的問題是，當非專業讀者和專業讀者的需求出現矛盾時，譯者應該照顧誰的需求？一般來說，專業讀者中的漢學家更關注文本的“歷史意義”，非專業讀者以及專業讀者中的哲學家更關注文本的“闡釋意義”[6]。當兩者無法同時譯出、譯者必須要二選一時，我們認為，應該要選擇“闡釋意義”。這其中的理由至少有三。首先，從最近的《論語》在英語世界的學術發展來看，越來越多的學者將其主要當成哲學作品而不是歷史文本來研究。有關《論語》的哲學闡釋在英語世界充滿學術活力[7]。所以，即便從專業讀者的角度看，哲學家的數量超過了漢學家，而哲學家雖同時關注“歷史意義”和“闡釋意義”，但在他們看來，前者是為後者服務的。其次，既然漢學家是研究“歷史意義”的專家，那麼他們應該有借助工具書和參考資料閱讀原文的能力，英譯對他們而言只是輔助。相較之下，很多哲學家並無閱讀古漢語的能力，非專業讀者更是如此，譯文對他們而言就相當於原文，一旦產生困惑或誤解，很難自己解決。最後，我們堅信，《論語》中蘊藏了豐富的修身處世的精神資源，對於非專業讀者大有裨益。而正如道森（Raymond Dawson）所說，我們不能只“對皈依者佈道”（preach to the converted），而是要積極面向更廣的讀者（1993, xxvii）。專業讀者不會因為對譯文不滿而放棄研究，非專業讀者卻很有可能在不斷積累的困惑與誤解中與儒家經典失之交臂。

四、《論語》中有關修身的譬喻及其英譯

談到修身，就不能不提及人性論。關於人性，先秦儒家有兩個相反的看法，一是孟子提出的性善說，一是荀子提出的性惡論。孟子認為人性本善，所以修身只是對本性的“發展”；荀子認為人性本惡，修身就必須對本性進行“改造”。正因為此，貫穿《孟子》的有關修身的譬喻是培育植物生長——“養端”，《荀子》中則是矯正天生彎曲的樹木——“直枸木”。孔子卻只說“性相近，習相遠”，可這“性”究竟如何，並未明說。一方面，他認為修身是一個長期艱苦、“克己復禮”、“死而後已”的過程，這一點和荀子類似；另一方面，他又認為修身可以充滿快樂，這一點又和孟子相似（Ivanhoe 2000, 2）。《論語》中和修身相關的譬喻也較為多樣，大致可分三類。第一類和行“道”有關，如“誰能出不由戶？何莫由斯道也？”，“士不可以不弘毅，任重而道遠”，“雖小道，必有可觀者焉；致遠恐泥，是以君子不為也。”等等。第二類和塑造、修飾天然材質有關，如“如切如磋，如琢如磨”，“朽木不可雕也”等[8]。第三類為雜類，涉及植物（“苗而不秀者有矣夫！秀而不實者有矣夫！”“歲寒，然後知松柏之後凋也。”）、器物（“君子不器。”“從心所欲，不逾矩。”）、人物（“鄉原，德之賊也。”“色厲而內荏，譬諸小人，其猶穿窬之盜也與？”）等等。

目前研究《論語》中譬喻英譯的文章很少，中國知網上的文獻一共不超過十种，且都只簡單考察了《論語》的兩到三個譯本，對於原文的解讀、目標讀者的考察和英譯文的辨析也都有待深入。接下來我們就選擇《論語》中一些典型、重要、有翻譯難點的“修身”譬喻，從訓詁、考據和義理多方面對原文進行文本細讀，挖掘《論語》的“闡釋意義”，同時結合紐馬克對隱喻翻譯的論述，並站在當代英語非專業讀者的角度，詳細分析 21 個主要海外英譯本（1861—2017）的優劣得失。

A.“德之賊”

17.13 子曰：“鄉愿，德之賊也。”

“鄉愿”指的是“沒有真是非的好好先生”（楊伯峻 2009，184）。“賊”的金文從“人持戈擊貝”，會“毀壞”之意，可見“賊”的本義是“用暴力破壞（某種寶貴的東西）”，後引申為“禍害”、“強盜”等義。本句中的“德之賊”，可解為“敗壞”或“破壞”道德的人。從譬喻的類型看，紐馬克曾將隱喻分為五大類，“dead, cliché, stock, recent and original”（2001, 84—96）。考慮到《論語》中也有“賊夫人之子”，“賊”也為“戕害”之義（楊逢彬 2018，205），可見“賊”在當時已有“害”的引申義，所以此處“賊”不算原創的譬喻，只是一個自帶意象和喻義的詞語，翻譯時譯出詞義即可。試比較以下譯文：

譯一：“The village worthy is the ruin of virtue.” (Lau 1979, 145)

譯二：“The village worthy is the spoiler of virtue.” (Dawson 1993, 71)

譯三：“The village worthy is the thief of virtue.” (Slingerland 2003, 205)

譯一和譯二中的“ruin”和“spoiler”，譯“賊”較準確。譯三卻誤取了“賊”的現代義, 將“德之賊”譯作了英文的比喻“the thief of virtue”。“thief of sth”的比喻義一般為“在不知不覺中”、“逐漸地”造成某事物的減少，強調一個較為長期、隱蔽、微妙的過程，而在原文中，“鄉愿”對德行的損害則是直接而迅速的。但在筆者考察的 21

個《論語》海外譯本中，使用“thief of virtue”的多達 12 個，除了上面列出的森舸瀾譯本，還包括了譯文總體品質較高的理雅各（James Legge）、華茲生、金安平和倪培民譯本。由此可見，在理解原文時，要審慎考證，防止被詞的後起義或今義干擾。

B.“苗而不秀”、“秀而不實”

9.22 子曰：“苗而不秀者有矣夫！秀而不實者有矣夫！”

“谷之始生曰苗，吐華曰秀，成谷曰實。”（朱熹 2011，109）漢人唐人多認為孔子此言是為顏回短命而發，朱熹則認為此章更側重策勵后生，既然“學而不至於成有如此者”，君子更加要及時勉學。錢穆認為此章既“惜顏子”，也“勵學者”——顏淵不幸短命，有志者更當學如不及。也有人認為“苗而不秀”、“秀而不實”指的是“半途而廢”（金良年 1995，99）。從譬喻的類型看，這裡的“苗”、“秀”和“實”都屬於紐馬克所說的“original metaphor”，這類隱喻一般來說在非實用類文本中應該儘量保留（Newmark 2001, 84-96）。而且，這些意象也沒有文化專屬性，直接保留原意象完全可行，將多重喻義留待讀者自行推演。筆者考察的二十多個《論語》英譯本，也的確都直譯出了這三個喻體。不過細節處理上仍有不同，試比較：

譯一：“Alas! There are sprouting crops which never come into ear. There are others which, having come into ear, never ripen into grain.” (Giles 1907, 101)

譯二：“Some only sprout up, but do not flower; some only flower, but do not ripen into fruit.” (Ku 1898, 64)

譯三：“There are shoots that bear no flower, and there are flowers that bear no fruit.” (Leys 1997, 42)

可以看出，譯一中的三個喻體翻得最精確，具體譯出了“莊稼抽苗”、“吐穗開花”和“結出穀粒”，這也是 21 個譯本中唯一精準譯出原文喻體的[9]。其餘的譯本都像譯二、譯三一樣，將喻體翻得更加泛化了。這种“泛化”的原因，有可能是譯者對原文的考證不充分。不過，從譯文的效果看，由於“泛化”後的喻體恰好也能表達原喻體的喻義，而且更簡潔易懂，更契合原文的警句風格，倒也不失為一種不錯的處理方法。當然，這也是因為本章不涉及《論語》最核心的思想，本章的譬喻也只是單獨出現，其意象沒有在其他章節有呼應或延伸，所以對於喻體的精確度要求沒有那麼高。

C.“由斯道”

6.17 子曰：“谁能出不由户？何莫由斯道也？”

此章的意思為“誰能出屋不從房門走過？為什麼沒有人從這條路上走呢?”（楊逢彬，110）這裡的“道”首先和“戶”、“出”、“由”形成意象的整體，組成一形象的畫面，比喻由此道而行是人生之當然，正如人出必由戶。行“道”的意象也贯穿了《论语》，如“士不可以不弘毅，任重而道遠”，“雖小道，必有可觀者焉；致遠恐泥，是以君子不為也。”彼此呼應。在“道路”的意象之下，此處的“道”也蘊含了有關人生和宇宙的“道理”、“真理”、“規律”的意思。這層意思和《論語》中“志于道”、“朝聞道，夕死可矣”、“吾道一以貫之”中“道”相同，是孔子思想中的重要概念，當代學者對此有豐富的解讀。有人認為“道”是“仁”和“禮”統一的心身秩序建構（董平 2015，44—56），有人認為“道”是人類文明延續的過程、是人類經驗的詮釋（Hall and Ames 1987, 230），也有人認為“道”關注的是人類存在的終極問題，在本質上是天人學（anthropocomic）的問題（杜維明 2002，503）。從譬喻的類型看，“道”在孔子之時已經有了“道路”和“道理”的雙重意思，不算原創的比喻，但此章的類比重新激活了“道”的意象，而孔子的學說又豐富了“道”的內涵，所以，此處“道”的英譯既要譯出“道路”的意象，又要相容意象背後豐富的內涵。試比較以下譯文：

譯一：“Who can go out of a house except by the door? In life, why not pass likewise through the door of virtue?”(Giles 1907, 98)

譯二：“The way out is via the door, how is it that no one will use this method.”(Pound 1951, 216)

譯三：“Who can go out without using the door? Why, then, does no one follow this Way?”(Lau 1979, 8)

可以看出，譯一把“道”的意象改成了“門”，並添加了“of virtue”的解釋；譯二則直接去除意象，提煉了其背後的內涵“this method”。但兩種處理方法都影響了原文的直觀性和形象性，也窄化了“道”的詮釋空間。相比之下，譯三“this Way”的譯法既譯出了“道”的意象，也保留了其背後豐富的內涵。

D.“如切如磋，如琢如磨”

1.15 子貢曰：“貧而無諂，富而無驕，何如？”子曰：“可也。未若貧而樂，富而好禮者也。”子貢曰：“《詩》雲：‘如切如磋，如琢如磨’，其斯之謂與？”子曰：“賜也，始可與言《詩》已矣，告諸往而知來者。”

此處“如切如磋，如琢如磨”為子貢引自《詩經・衛風・淇奧》。歷代注疏主要有兩解：一解以《爾雅·釋器》中的“骨謂之切，象謂之磋，玉謂之琢，石謂之磨”為據，認為四動詞並列組成博喻，“切磋琢磨，所以成器”，唐以前古注皆取此解（程樹德 2013，66—67）；另一解以朱熹為代表，認為“切、磋”、“琢、磨”分別為遞進，“治骨角者，既切之而複磋之；治玉石者，既琢之而複磨之；治之已精，而益求精也。”（2011, 54）從四字的本義看，“切”和“琢”更偏“雕刻”，“磋”和“磨”則更偏“磨制”，的確也可視為遞進；從義理看，雖然前解“平易”、後解“曲折”（錢穆 2011，18），但後解也講得通。

筆者認為兩解皆可，“切磋琢磨”比喻君子修身的過程，本體和喻體的共同點至少有三，一是君子立志修身為學，便獲得了“骨象玉石”般的“美質”，成為可塑之材；二是修身需要借助外力、“克己復禮”，如同“切磋琢磨”時需使用工具、克服阻力，三是修身需要堅持不懈、不斷精進，“學而時習之”、“日知其所亡，月無忘其所能”、“學而不厭”，正如“切磋琢磨”是一個長期、反復的過程。當然，這些喻義是隱含的，需要讀者自己理解。我們在英譯時，就是要儘量給英美讀者創造條件，讓他們也能自行演繹出這層層含義。

從譬喻的類型看，此譬喻屬原創性比喻，應盡量保留，而且“切磋琢磨”的意象並沒有多少文化專屬性，直接保留原意象完全可行。筆者考察的二十多個《論語》英譯本，也的確都直譯出了四個動詞。此處的難點在於：一、動詞的形式用被動還是主動？二、動詞是否需要添加動作對象？在這兩點上，譯者尚有分歧。試比較以下譯

文：

原文：‘如切如磋，如琢如磨’……

譯一：“As you cut and then file, as you carve and then polish.”(Legge 1861, 54)

譯二：“As thing cut, as thing filed, As thing chiselled, as thing polished…”(Waley 1938, 87)

譯三：“Like bone cut, like horn polished, Like jade carved, like stone ground.”(Lau 1979, 61)

譯四：“As cut, as filed, as chiseled, as polished.”(Dawson 1993, 5)

譯五：“Like carving horn, like sculpting ivory, like cutting jade, like polishing stone.”(Leys 1997, 5)

譯六：“Like carving, like filing; Like chiseling, like polishing.”(Huang 1997, 50)

首先看動詞的形式。譯二到譯四將其譯作“v-ed”形式，譯一、五、六則譯作原形或“v-ing”形式。譯二的譯者威利（Arthur Waley）是英國著名漢學家，學識淵博也不乏文采，也曾英譯過《詩經》，比他的《論語》譯本早一年出版。筆者注意到，此處他對“如切如磋，如琢如磨”的譯法和他《詩經》中的譯文完全相同[10]（1996, 46）。不過，原詩是讚美衛國一位“質美德盛”的君子的，一般認為是衛武公（程俊英、蔣見元 1991，155）。原詩的下文還有“如金如錫，如圭如璧”，聯繫起來看，原詩的“切磋琢磨”確實可理解為陶冶品行的結果而不是過程，可用“v-ed”形式來譯。然而，子貢引此句時，語境已經發生了變化，指代的是從“無諂無驕”到“樂道好禮”的過程。正如李零（2007, 71）所說，“孔子引《詩》，當時引《詩》，多半都是拋開原義，借題發揮。”李澤厚（2004, 45）也認為，“這種解詩，當然不符原意。但中國實用理性的一個特徵是不重邏輯推論，而重類比聯想。”那麼，在這種引用義和原意發生偏離的情況下，譯者該如何選擇呢？正如我們在第二部分所說，當“歷史意義”和“闡釋意義”只能二選一時，應以“闡釋意義”為重。同理，筆者認為，此處最好翻引用義，也就是用動詞的主動語態，以強調修身的過程性。從這個角度看，譯一、五、六更為合適。

再看是否要添加動作對象。譯五中，利思添加了動作對象“骨角玉石”，和原文相比突出了“君子質之美”這層比喻義。不過，這種凸顯並無大礙，畢竟“骨角玉石”為“切磋琢磨”固有之對象，並非譯者空穴來風。添加的真正問題在於，四個不同物件的加入，顯化了四個動詞的並列關係，無法包容朱熹對“切磋琢磨”的另一種“遞進式”解讀。相比之下，譯六中，黃繼忠使用了一貫的直譯策略，只譯動詞，對象留待讀者自行補充；“filing”後特意使用分號，既提示讀者原文中“切磋”和“琢磨”各為一組、含蓄指向朱熹的解讀，又不像譯一那樣直接添加“then”而明確取朱解；同時四個“like”的連用，也不排除“並列式”解讀。唯一的不足之處在於遞進關係仍過於隱晦，不妨稍作修改，譯成“Like carving and filing; Like chiseling and polishing.”，或許可以最大程度地保留原文的多義性，把闡釋權交給讀者。

E.“糞土之牆不可杇也”

5.10 宰予晝寢。子曰：“朽木不可雕也，糞土之牆不可杇也；于予與何誅？”子曰：“始吾於人也，聽其言而信其行；今吾於人也，聽其言而觀其行。於予與改是。”

此章的歷代評注焦點往往集中在孔子為何會“責小過以大惡”，以至於生出宰我“繪畫寢室”等牽強的別解（牛澤群 2003，109）。宋代學者劉敞還將“晝寢”理解為宰我白天行“床幃之事”（Ni 2017, 153—154）。其實，要理解此章，必須瞭解其語境和背景。首先，“晝寢”即“大白天睡覺”在孔子所處的時代是很不好的一件事。《韓詩外傳》中就有“衛靈公晝寢而起，志氣益衰。（錢穆 2011，109）”其次，宰我在孔門弟子中以“言語”著稱（參見 11.3），《論語》中與孔子對話三次（3.21, 6.26, 11.21），次次舌綻蓮花，卻次次都引得孔子不快。可以看得出，他是個聰明而不夠勤奮，有才華而不重修養的學生（李澤厚 2004，140）。所以，雖然很多人都以為“糞土朽木”是“質不美之譬”，實際上孔子是在責備宰我不能立志、昏沉怠惰。如“能立志以自強，則氣亦從之，何有於晝寢？”（程樹德 2013，362）而且縱觀《論語》，孔子從未因為誰天生“質不美”而否定其學習或者受教育的意義。相反，他更加強調後天的立志和主動學習的意願，比如“仁遠乎哉？我欲仁，斯仁至矣。”、“苟志於仁矣，無惡也。”、“自行束修以上，吾未嘗無誨焉。”、“不憤不啟，不悱不發”等等。如果我們把“朽木”和《荀子》中的“枸木”比較就可發現，“朽木”並非“枸木”那樣“先天不足”，而是正常的“木”在後天環境的影響下腐朽的結果。“糞土”也一樣，“土”作為一種天然材質，本身也並無問題——當時的牆本來就以土築成，問題出在“糞”上。注意“糞”表“糞便”是後起義，此處應解為“污穢”（楊逢彬 2018，79），古時以土築成，“歷久不免生穢”（程樹德 2013，359）。“糞土之牆”即“斑駁污穢的土牆”（楊逢彬 2018，79）。所以說，“木”本“可雕”，“土牆”本“可杇”，“不可”的原因不在先天材質，而是“朽”和“糞”所比喻的後天的學習態度。

從譬喻的類型看，此例也屬於紐馬克所說的原創型暗喻，而且“朽木”、“糞土”、“雕”和“杇”的意象也都有一定的文化普遍性，所以也應儘量直譯。試比較下列譯文：

原文：“朽木不可雕也，**糞土之牆**不可**杇**也；于予與何誅？”

譯一：“Rotten wood cannot be carved; **a wall of dirty earth will not receive the trowel**. This Yu,—what is the use of my reproving him?” (Legge 1861, 40)

譯二：“There is no use trying to carve on a piece of rotten wood, or to **whitewash a wall made of earth from a dunghill**. Why should I bother to scold him?” (Lin 1938, 175)

譯三：“A piece of rotten wood cannot be carved, nor can **a wall of dried dung be trowelled**. As far as Yu is concerned what is the point in condemning him?” (Lau 1979, 77)

譯四：“Rotten wood cannot be carved; **dung walls** cannot be **troweled**. What is the use of scolding him?” (Leys 1997, 20)

譯五：Rotten wood cannot be carved; **a wall of dung** cannot be **decorated**. What is there in Yu for me to reprove? (Brooks and Brooks 1998, 23)

譯六：Rotten wood can’t be carved; **a wall of stinking earth** can’t be **troweled**. What’s the use of trying to reprimand Yu? (Watson 2007, 37)

譯七：“Rotten wood cannot be carved; **a wall of mud and dung** is beyond **plastering**. What is the point of scolding Yu?” (Chin 2014, 65)

“杇”是抹牆的工具，用木頭或金屬製成，類似現代漢語中的抹子、泥刀，也可以用作動詞，指用泥將牆壁抹平（劉寶楠 1990，179），和英文中的“trowel”精准對應，“杇”像譯三中劉殿爵那樣，直譯為“be troweled”即可。譯七所用的“plaster”也相近，但其本義是抹牆用的材料，而“trowel”本義為抹牆的工具，更動感，能更好地和“carve”這一動作對偶。譯二中林語堂所用的“whitewash”和譯五中白氏夫婦所用的“decorate”皆為意譯，在直譯可行的情況下，意譯非但沒有必要，還常會“差之毫釐，謬以千里”。“whitewash”自帶“粉飾缺點和過錯”的比喻義，屬於“dead metaphor”，此處卻用作“original metaphor”的喻體，來比喻修身、進步，未免給讀者帶來認知混亂，干擾其聯想過程。“decorate”一般理解為“裝飾”，和“wall”搭配指在牆上掛上氣球、彩燈等，和牆的材質沒有發生直接關係，來比喻修身也並不貼切。更何況宰我本就屬於“文勝質”的類型，更加不需要外在的裝飾，內在德行的塑造才是關鍵。[11]

再看“糞土之牆”的譯法。除了譯一，其餘都將“糞”理解為後起義“糞便”，使用了“dung”[12]。這種喻體的偏差至少會帶來兩個問題。首先，“dung”作為一種材質，本身就“先天不足”，難以表現前文所說的“木”到“朽木”、“土”到“糞土”的對比和層次，無法表達出後天不肯精進、自暴自棄的比喻義。其次，“dung”還自帶“令人噁心、厭惡”的比喻義，把孔子深刻精洽的警醒之語，變成了帶有強烈主觀色彩的人身攻擊。相比之下，譯一中理雅各的譯文“a wall of dirty earth”比較準確。“earth”既不像“mud”、“dirt”會給人帶來貶義的聯想，也是現代讀者熟悉的材質，現在也仍可用來築牆，和上句中的“wood”也很對應；“dirty”則對應“糞”的“污穢”之意。不過，筆者認為，如果將“dirty”改為“soiled”，或許可以更好地強調從“土”到“糞土”的變化，說明“土”並非天生污穢，也可以更好地與“rotten”並列。

F.“從心所欲，不逾矩”

2.4 子曰：“吾十有五而志於學，三十而立，四十而不惑，五十而知天命，六十而耳順，七十而從心所欲，不逾矩。”

如果說前兩章談的是修身的條件和過程，那麼此章中的“從心所欲，不逾矩”描述的則是修身成德的最高境界，即經過自律到自覺的飛躍後（金良年，11），做到“安而行之，不勉而中”（朱熹 2011，56）。此處的“矩”本義為“畫直角或方形用的曲尺”。朱熹將其解釋為“法度之器，所以為方者”（2011, 56），皇侃的《論語義疏》則直接將其解釋為“法”，《爾雅釋詁》也說“矩，常也，法也”（劉寶楠 1990，45—46）。如果將“矩”直接理解為“法度、常理”，即認為“矩”在當時已有此引申義，那麼“矩”就算不上“original metaphor”。但《孟子·離婁上》中有“不以規矩，不能成方圓”，《荀子·不苟》中也有“五寸之矩，盡天下之方也”，都是以“矩”來比喻包含了“禮義”和“是非之道”的“先王之法”。這說明，即便“矩”在孔子使用之時已有“法度”的引申義，其中的意象還是相對鮮活的，不算“dead metaphor”，至少還是“stock metaphor”，所以英譯時仍應儘量保留意象。此處本體和喻體共同點在於，正如矩尺是前人製作好的、提供標準的測畫工具，其借代的法度也是傳統中已有的、可以指導人們行為的、具有普遍意義的準則。有學者認為，這裡的“矩”指代的就是“禮”（馮友蘭 2008，253）。筆者認為此看法有一定道理，只不過“禮”側重具體形式、兼具內在精神，而“矩”側

重內在標準、兼具具體形式，而且“禮”並非一成不變的、需要與時俱進[13]，而“矩”卻是恒常不變的。試比較以下譯文：

原文：“……七十而從心所欲，不**逾矩**。”

譯一：“At seventy, I could follow what my heart desired, without **transgressing what was right**.”(Legge 1861, 10)

譯二：At seventy could follow my own heart’s desire without **overstepping the t-square**. (Pound 1951, 198)

譯三：“…and now at seventy I can follow my heart’s desire without **violating custom**.” (Ware 1955, 25)

譯四：“…at seventy I followed my heart’s desire without **overstepping the line**.” (Lau, 1979, 63)

譯五：“…At seventy, I follow all the desires of my heart without **breaking any rule**.” (Leys 1997, 6)

譯六：“…at seventy, I was able to follow my heart’s desire without **overstepping the rules of propriety**.”(Huang 1997, 52)

所有的譯文中，譯二中龐德（Ezra Pound）所用的“overstep the t-square”是唯一完全保留了“逾”和“矩”意象的。不過，“t-square”恐怕並非當今英美讀者熟悉的事物，也沒有和“矩”相對應的引申義[14]，和“overstep”也不搭配。譯四中劉殿爵所用的“overstep the line”則保留了“逾”的意象，同時用意思接近、意象相關、讀者也更熟悉的“line”替代了“矩”的原意象，這種處理乍讀上去很巧妙，難怪之後的安樂哲、羅思文、華茲生、金安平、倪培民等都用了相同或類似的譯法。不過，“overstep the line”的意思是“go beyond the limit of what is polite or acceptable”，把原文中“矩”的含義大大窄化和簡化了——孔子所推崇的古聖先賢制定的、包含道義的、規範人們方方面面行為的法度，一下子變成了與人交往時不得罪人、舉止得體的分寸感。譯三、譯五和譯六則完全拋棄了“矩”的意象，只提煉出其中的抽象意義。然而，抽象往往也會帶來問題。譯三中的“custom”雖然強調了傳統，但卻只是某個特定文化、社群的慣例，未必有內在的合理性；譯五的“break the rule”在崇尚個性和自由的英美文化中，已然成為了不循規蹈矩、勇於挑戰權威的象徵；譯六中的“propriety”，是想譯出“禮”的內涵，只可惜“propriety”雖有“恰當、合理”的意思，但和“rules”搭配後，更容易被人理解為社交場合的“禮貌、禮節”[15]，“rules”又增添了幾分強加的意味，可謂大大扭曲了儒家以“仁”和“義”為內核的“禮”的精神。三種譯法，和譯四一樣，恐怕都會強化孔子因循守舊、拘謹古板的刻板印象。

相比之下，筆者以為譯一理雅各所用的“transgress what was right”最合適，因為“right”既可表示“直的、直角的”，也可表示“正確的”、“符合標準、要求的”、“恰當合理的”，不但和“矩”的本義“畫直角的工具”間接呼應，而且能概括出其比喻義中最主要的部分。只是“transgress”一詞，雖然意思準確、也包含意象，但略顯正式，而且有一定的宗教意味，該詞在美國當代英語語料庫（COCA）中只出現了 319 次，其中不少出自聖經。為了減弱說教的語氣，且更好地對應原文的口語語體，筆者建議將

其改為同義短語“go beyond”。該短語在 COCA 中頻次為 3194 次，更為常用，適用各種語體，“go”在意象上還能和上文中的“follow”自然銜接。

G.“遊於藝”

7.6 子曰：“志於道，據於德，依於仁，遊於藝。”

此章理解的難點在“據”、“依”、“遊”三個動詞，以及三者間的關係。三詞皆為譬喻。“據”德“如據城池自固，以為己有，固執之也”，仁乃“我之所以為生，一息不能離”，“如依物而立，失之則傾。”（程樹德 2013，513）“遊”字最有爭議，從字面義看，皇侃解為“遊歷”（2013, 157），錢穆解為“游泳”（2011, 158），朱熹則偏“遊樂”（2011, 91）；從比喻義看，有強調範圍之“博”（朱熹 2011，91）和“遍”（皇侃 2013，157）的，有強調“自如之樂”（李澤厚 2004，193）的，有強調“日用之不可闕”的（朱熹 2011，91），有強調“閒暇無事”、“不遽迫”的（劉寶楠 1990，257）。筆者認為，這些解釋都有一定的道理，但必須注意一點，那就是許白雲所說的，“遊藝與上三者不可全然作兩段看”，“遊藝即志道據德之方，而防其違仁之隙”（程樹德 2013，513—514）。六藝中的“禮”和“樂”，都是孔子教育體系中的重要部分。孔子認為“仁”是“克己複禮”，說明“禮”是為仁的途徑，又說“興於詩，立於禮，成於樂”，把樂放置於禮之上，認為樂才是人格發展的最高境界。所以說，“遊於藝”不僅是閒暇時的玩物適情，更是進德成仁的重要手段，由“藝”入“道”，和“據德、依仁”形成一整體，體現了孔子思想中“規範性和藝術性的諧和統一”（徐複觀 2019，5）。

從譬喻的類型看，“遊”也是原創型譬喻，翻譯時應儘量保留原意象，以便讓讀者體味其極其豐富的比喻義。任何拋開意象、提煉其意義的意譯法都難免以偏蓋全。試比較以下譯文。

原文：“……遊於藝。”

譯一：“Let relaxation and enjoyment be found in the polite arts.”(Legge 1861, 60)

譯二：“…and enjoy the pleasures derived from the pursuit of the polite arts.”(Ku 1898, 44)

譯三：“…move in art.”(Lyall 1909, 30)

譯四：“…seek distraction in the arts.”(Waley 1938, 124)

譯五：“Relax in cultural arts. ”(Pound 1951, 219)

譯六：“…Find recreation in the arts.”（Chan 1963, 31）

譯七：“…ramble among the arts.”(Huang 1997, 87)

譯八：“…and wander in the arts.”(Hinton 1998, 68)

譯九：“…and sojourn in the arts.”(Ames and Rosemont, Jr. 1998, 112)

譯十：“…and explore widely in your cultivation of the arts.”(Slingerland 2003, 65)

譯十一：“Immerse yourself in the six arts…”(Schiller 2011, 488)

譯十二：“…and get your share of play in the arts.”(Chin 2014, 99)

總體看來，直譯意譯各占一半，譯一、二、四、五、六、十為意譯，其餘六個譯文偏直譯。意譯的譯文中，譯一、二、四、五、六所提煉的“放鬆、娛樂和消遣”之意，恰恰犯了上文所說的把“遊藝”與其餘三者“作兩段看”的錯，譯六用的“recreation”

雖多了一層“調劑身心、恢復精力”的意思，但畢竟還是消遣，這五個譯文都大大降低了“藝”在孔門教學中的重要性。只有譯十中森舸瀾的譯文，強調了廣博和涵養——雖不至於偏差太大，但卻無法表現“遊”中蘊含的自在之樂趣。直譯的譯文中，譯三的“move”偏“遊動”，譯七、八、九的“ramble”、“wander”、“sojourn”偏“遊歷、遊走”，譯十一的“immerse”偏“游泳”，譯十二的“play”則偏“玩樂”。從訓詁上，這四種解釋都可以在同時代的文獻找到類似用法[16]，但從義理看，“玩樂”有把“藝”與“道、德、仁”割裂之嫌，不妥，所以譯十二所用的“play”恐怕要首先排除。“move”雖有“動”，卻少了“遊”的輕鬆自在；“ramble”和“wander”雖含有悠閒之意，卻多了原文沒有的“漫無目的”的含義；“sojourn”指在家以外的地方暫時逗留，強調的是“暫時”，而“藝”卻是“日用之不可闕”的，需要時時操練、悠遊涵養；“immerse”對應“游泳”，有全身心投入之意，卻難以表現“遊”的自由和動感。筆者建議，如果取“遊走”之意，不妨譯作“stroll”——比起不少譯者用的“wander”，“stroll”更強調輕鬆自在而不是無目的；如果取“游泳”之意，不妨就譯作“swim”。當然，必須指出，由於原文的“遊”既可指“遊走”，也可指“游泳”，所以無論“stroll”還是“swim”，都還是窄化了“遊”的詮釋，無法完美對應“遊”的多義性。儒家原典英譯之難可見一斑。

五、結語

綜上所述，要想為當代英美讀者翻好《論語》中有關“修身”的譬喻，至少要注意以下幾點：首先，準確理解譬喻的喻體和喻義。理解喻體涉及到訓詁，要審慎考證，尤其要提防被喻體的後起義或今義干擾。比如很多譯者在翻“蕢”時，都犯了“以今釋古”的錯，就連譯文整體品質極高的劉殿爵先生也疏忽了。理解喻義更是一個複雜的系統工程，需要結合喻體的本義、喻體出現的上下文和情境，並聯繫相關章節，將譬喻置於孔子的整個思想體系中去理解。要留心喻義的多義性。如果譬喻引自其他典籍，要在新的語境下理解其喻義。如果譬喻不只單獨出現，而是伴有意象的呼應，更要有全域觀，要在意象的“密網”中理解喻體的內涵。

其次，《論語》中有關“修身”的譬喻，多訴諸人類共同的體驗，往往為喻體具有文化普適性的原創型譬喻，要確立“直譯為上”的翻譯原則。直譯可以形象、含蓄、全面地表達原文的喻義，更好地相容原文的多義性，也能更好地將所有相關的意象聯結成體系。雖然從《論語》全文來看，的確有意譯效果優於直譯之處，好用意譯的林語堂、利思等譯者，在別處也不乏亮點。但對於《論語》中有關“修身”的譬喻，尤其是涉及孔子核心思想的譬喻，意譯——無論是改變喻體、還是直接提煉喻義——常常流弊叢生，輕則窄化原文的詮釋空間，割裂關聯的意象及其背後的思想，重則扭曲原義、誤導讀者。此外，即便對於比喻義已成為常用字義的非原創型譬喻，如“矩”字，追溯字義中原本的喻體，再儘量貼近喻體的意象將其譯出，效果也往往比直接譯出比喻義要好。而這一點就連一貫優先採用直譯策略的譯者也往往會忽略，比如劉殿爵、黃繼忠譯“矩”。

最後，在準確、深刻、全面理解了原文且明確了“直譯為上”的原則後，表達的環節也絕不可掉以輕心。譯者需要細緻地辨析英文同義詞，找到最恰當的英文表達。對於和喻體較為對應的英文詞，要考察其是否有自身固有的、偏離原文喻義的比喻義。要注意動詞的時態和語態、標點符號等細節對語義的微妙影響。在無法嚴格直譯的情況下，要在相近的意象中進行選擇。

總而言之，要譯好《論語》中有關“修身”譬喻的英譯，譯者需要明白譬喻對於本書的重要性，深刻認識到當代英美讀者的閱讀需求，既有文字學家嚴謹考證的態度，又有融會貫通的思辨能力，還要有出色的英文辨析和表達能力。可謂一步不慎，滿盤皆輸，譯者又怎能不“戰戰兢兢，如臨深淵，如履薄冰”？正因其難，難免有百密一疏之時，而無心之失又可能“失之毫釐，謬以千里”，直接影響到當代英語讀者“體知”儒家原典的精妙。筆者有感于此，斗膽站在巨人的肩膀上，提出一點自己的想法，希望拋磚引玉，引起更多譯者與學者的關注與討論，共同促進儒家原典在當代英語世界的傳播。

注 釋

[1] 本文得到中共中央宣傳部辦公廳文化名家暨“四個一批”自選課題“中華文化對外傳播之策略研究”（專案批准號：WEH3152004）的資助。

[2] 此處紐馬克指出，“By metaphor, I mean any figurative expression”，他對於 metaphor 的定義也是廣義的，和我們的譬喻類似。

[3] 杜維明認為《論語》的編排就像一個圓圈，不論從什麼地方切進去，都可以一窺全貌。參見：杜維明。2012。《體知儒學》，杭州：浙江大學出版社，147。

[4] 當然，從添加評注的類型看，非專業讀者和專業讀者的需求的確有不同。非專業讀者重義理而非訓詁、考據，專業讀者則會三者並重──其中的漢學家偏重訓詁、考據，哲學家則偏重義理。但這種需求的差異並不難解決。可以參考劉殿爵《孟子》譯本的做法，將專業讀者感興趣的注解單獨以附錄形式列在書尾，或參照森舸瀾《論語》譯本、萬百安《孟子》譯本的做法，將這類注解做成線上資源、讓讀者自行查閱。

[5] 參見：Raymond Dawson. 1993. The Analects. Oxford/ New York: Oxford University Press, xvii.

[6] 這兩個概念的定義和討論參見：Burton Watson. 1962. Early Chinese Literature. New York and London: Columbia University Press, 129—139; John Makeham. 2002. “A New Hermeneutical Approach to Early Chinese Texts: The Case of the Analects”. Sophia, 1: 56.

[7] 參見：強曉。2017。〈《論語》海外英譯中“禮”的詮釋的歷史演變──從理雅各到金安平（1861—2014）〉，《翻譯季刊》85：39—41。

[8] 參見：Edward Slingerland. 2003. Effortless Action. New York: Oxford University Press, 50—55.

[9] 除了林語堂也用了“rice plants”翻“苗”。

[10] 威利的《論語》英譯對之後的譯者有不小的影響。比如此處，在筆者考察的譯本中，威利之前的四個譯本全部使用了動詞的主動語態，威利之後的十五個譯本卻有七成以上像威利一樣，使用了“v-ed”形式。而華茲生的譯文則幾乎完全參考了威利的譯法。

[11] 即便孔子面對的是一位“質勝文”的學生、想要強調“文”的重要性，“文”譯作“decoration”、“adornment”之類的詞也並不合適，“refinement”更好，既能體現外在的修飾，又能體現對“質”的精煉和提升。

[12] 譯六中，華茲生雖未用“dung”，但“stinking”帶來的聯想與“dung”一致

[13] 參見《論語》2.23、9.3。

[14] “square”也可指“矩尺”，也曾有“規矩、準則、典範”之義，可惜此義現在已經廢棄不用了。

[15] 翟林奈（Lionel Giles）早就批評過理雅各用“rules of propriety”譯“禮”，說此種譯法荒謬而死板，給人留下女校校長說教般的印象（1907, 60）。

[16] 例如，《詩經·邶風·穀風》:“就其淺兮，泳之遊之。”《莊子·秋水》:“莊子與惠子遊於濠梁之上。”《漢書·晁錯傳》:“服習以成，勿令遷徙，幼則同遊，長則共事。”戰國·宋玉《九辯》:“雁廱廱而南遊兮，鵾雞啁哳而悲鳴。”

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“資本”是日源外來詞麼？
———從晚清譯入的經濟類著作對 capital 的翻譯說開去

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Abstract

Is ‘Zi Ben’ loaned from Japanese?—An Argument from the translation of ‘capital’ in the economic works translated in the late Qing Dynasty (*by* Lingyu Hui and Xiaofeng Liu)

Terminology is a fundamental issue of a discipline, and the collation of the history of its terminology is crucial to the history of the discipline itself. The late Qing Dynasty was the initial stage of the formation of the discipline of Political Economy of its modern sense in China. A considerable number of western political economic works were translated into China successively, resulting in a large number of economic terms, of which “資本” was one of the most important. According to the mainstream academia, “資本” is a foreign word from Japanese introduced by overseas Chinese students in Japan during this period. By a close reading of the economic works translated and published by China and Japan during the period, the article finds that the term “資本” is not a ”loan word from Japanese”, and its true transmission path may be just the opposite.

一、引言

術語的源頭問題是學術界討論的熱點，因為術語史的書寫是學科史書寫的基礎。學界一般都比較強調日源外來語研究，如有學者認為“離開了日語外來語，我們今天幾乎就無法說話（王彬彬 1998，72）”，另有如王立達（1958）、沈國威（2011）、廖七一（2017）等學者皆圍繞這一論題提出很多真知灼見。也有一些學者作反向研究，提出有些術語其實是中源的主張，如：孫遜（2015）考察了日語中“接吻、金剛石、審

判、天主、銀行”5 個術語，認為這些詞“源於漢語”；劉曉峰（2023，149–152）也認為“銀行、資本、現金、商業”等 12 個術語的日源身份存疑。本文以“資本”為個案，從術語史視角探討其源頭，以推動晚清經濟學術語史重寫研究。

二、“資本”術語來源之爭

“資本”術語的來源說法不統一。高明凱和劉正埮（1958）編寫的《現代漢語外來詞研究》中沒有把“資本”歸為日源外來詞。1984 年，劉正埮、高明凱、麥永乾和史有為（1984，409）在《現代漢語外來詞研究》所收詞彙的基礎上進行了擴充，所編的《漢語外來詞詞典》[1]把“資本”歸為音讀為 shihon 的日源詞“資本”[2]，認為在日語裡是用來意譯英語的 capital。史有為（2013，82）出版的《漢語外來詞》（增訂本）把“資本”歸為“可能為日語所創或賦予新義的詞”。2021 年勞特裡奇（Routledge）出版了史有為的 *Loan words in the Chinese Language*，著作中把“資本”一詞列為“1840-1948 年間”從日本引入的“可能是日語所創或賦予新義的詞”（Shi Youwei 2021，71），這是筆者掌握的最新把“資本”列為日源外來詞在英語世界出版的著作，最早一本是費德里科·馬西尼（Federico Masini 1993）的 *The formation of Modern Chinese Lexicon Evolution toward a Nation Language: The Period From 1840 to 1898*。沈國威（2011）編就的《新爾雅：附解題·索引》的第一章標題是“清末民初日語借詞研究資料：《新爾雅》（1903）”，該章有“資本”術語，可見沈國威是贊同“資本”日源說的。馮天瑜（2019）在光明日報撰文認為“嚴複‘一名之立，旬月躊躇’，苦心孤詣譯創的‘計學’‘群學’‘母財’‘腦學’固然準確、典雅，卻不及日譯漢字新語‘經濟學’‘社會學’‘資本’‘心理學’明快易懂。”因此，馮天瑜亦贊成此觀點，光明日報公眾號仍然可以看到該文，閱讀量達 2.2 萬（截止 2022 年 12 月 16 日）次之多。另外，在武漢大學研究生院網站“學術探索”欄目上仍然可見此文，題為“協力共創現代語文”，上傳時間為 2019 年 06 月 28 日。

值得注意的是，主流聲音之外亦有不同的觀點。黃興濤（1999，62）認為把“資本”當作日語回歸漢字借詞“頗可懷疑”；劉凡夫（2018，117–118）亦反對“資本日源說”，發現“資本”在《遐邇貫珍》[3]中有使用，並認為“資本”“是在近代中日文化互動中由漢語傳入日語的”。這種觀點值得肯定，是筆者掌握的資料中唯一明確反對“資本日源說”的。但是，對何時和如何傳入日本，劉凡夫等未能提供有價值的線索（筆者讀遍劉文提及的福澤諭吉 1866 年編著的《西洋事情》[4]，沒有發現漢字假名“資本”），而同時期至以後近 17 年（1867–1884）日語是把 capital 譯為“資財”和“財本”的，這在下文會有進一步論述。

可見，近一個世紀以來學界對於“資本”這一術語的來源問題形成了一邊倒的觀點。那麼，作為近現代政治經濟學中的最重要術語之一“資本”的日源外來詞說法是如何產生和發展的呢？

三、“資本”日源外來詞觀點溯源：從《新爾雅》談起

資料顯示，學界把“資本”歸為日源外來詞由來已久。從掌握的材料來看，學界流行的“資本”術語日源說的源頭最終指向有三條路線：一條路線指向 1903 年明權社發行的《新爾雅》（圖 1）；第二條路線指向建國前後的《新名詞詞典》《新知識詞典》以及王立達 1958 年的文章；第三類沒有標注出處，路線不明。

3.1 《新爾雅》中的“資本”術語

汪榮寶和葉瀾（1903，37）合撰了《新爾雅》，在“釋計”部分的第一篇“總釋”中指出“生財有三要素。勞力。土地。資本。是也。”

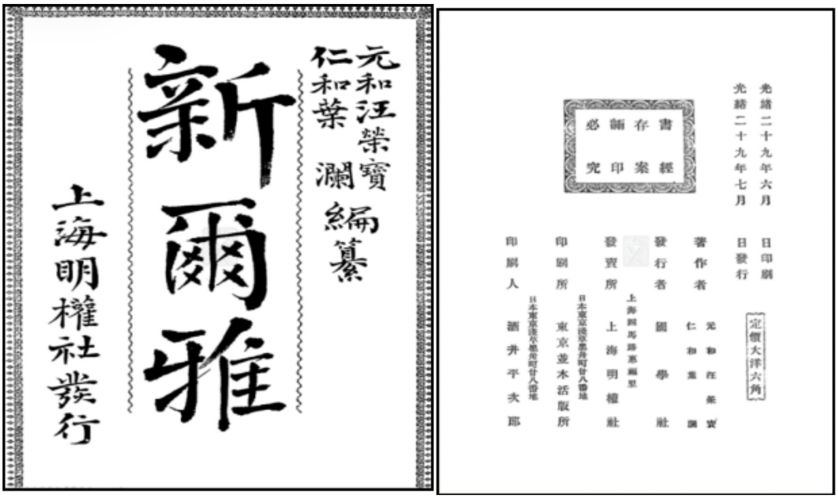


圖 1: 《新爾雅》

路線一：明確標出“資本”日源說觀點出處的是沈國威的《新爾雅: 附解題·索引》，沈國威（2011，2）認為，“本書（即《索引》）所收的《新爾雅》即與日語密切相關，如實反映了世紀之交中日詞彙交流、抗拒、容受的實際情況，在中日詞彙交流的研究上，是極為重要的資料。”這是“資本”日源說的“《新爾雅》——沈國威支線”。另外，文獻顯示，史有為也提及《新爾雅》，認為“汪向榮[5]、葉瀾編寫的《新爾雅》（1903）著眼於日源漢字詞引進的，以“爾雅”式百科工具書出現，實際引進科學新概念、新術語，同時介紹了日源漢字詞。此書引領新詞語之潮，影響極大。”（史有為 2019，78）1984 年，史有為參與編寫並負責日源詞彙部分的《漢語外來詞詞典》開始把“資本”列為日源詞。考慮到年代的差異，我們可以把這條支線定為“《新爾雅》——史有為線路”。廖七一（2017，28）[6]引用了高明凱和劉正埮 1958 年編寫的《現代漢語外來詞研究》，把“資本”這一術語歸為“先有日本人以漢字的配合去意譯（或部分意譯）歐美語言的詞，再由中國人改造而成的現代漢語外來詞”，也屬於這一條路線，只不過引用有誤，應該是 1984 年的《漢語外來詞詞典》。袁元（2018, 4、64）也是參考了《漢語外來詞詞典》把“資本”定為日源外來詞。故這條路線可以命名為“《新爾雅》——

史有為/沈國威線路”。

路線二：實藤惠秀（1983，333）根據高明凱和劉正埮 1958 年編寫的《現代漢語外來詞研究》及王立達發表在《中國語文》第 2 期的《現代漢語中從日語借來的詞彙》兩個資料源，在《中國人留學日本史》中專辟“中國人承認來自日語的現代漢語詞彙”一節，這些詞彙中就包含了“資本”。王立達的觀點主要參考新中國誕生時期最早的兩部字典《新名詞詞典》和《新知識詞典》。《新名詞詞典》收集了各種中外報章、刊物和書籍中有關政治、經濟、藝術、地理、哲學和科學等新名詞和新術語，截止日期是 1949 年 9 月底之前，該詞典有“資本”（胡濟濤、陶萍天 1949，9）詞條，並附詳細解釋。《新知識詞典》是顧志堅和簡明編著，上海北新書局發行的字典，反映的是表達“國際、政治、經濟、歷史、地理、哲學、文學、藝術、人物、軍事等十餘部門的用語”的新知識。該字典用了兩個頁面詳細介紹了“資本”這個新名詞（顧志堅、簡明 1948，285–286）。但值得注意的是，《新名詞詞典》和《新知識詞典》皆沒有明確注明“資本”這一“新詞”的來源是日語，應該是王立達基於兩者所作的判斷，“這些詞，大都是明治維新以後，在日本人翻譯西文書籍陸續創造出來的。”（王立達 1958，90）王立達的文章比劉正埮等的《漢語外來詞詞典》早了近 10 個月，故這可能是國內學界最早明確把“資本”這一術語歸為日語外來詞的文獻。又因為實藤惠秀參考的《現代漢語外來詞研究》並沒有把“資本”列為日源詞，所以這一發展路徑可以描述為“《新名詞詞典》《新知識詞典》——王立達——實藤惠秀線路”。

路線三：這是一條不明線路，因為涉及的文章並沒有注明出處，很難確定其資料參考源。比如：上述的馮天瑜（2019）的“資本”屬於“日譯詞”觀點就沒有標明出處；2018 年 9 月 13 日“翻譯教學與研究”公眾號從“中文幫線上教師”公眾號轉載了署名為姜老師的文章“這些詞竟然來自日本！”（截止 2022 年 12 月 17 日閱讀量達 7260 次）文中認為中文的“資本”來源於日語對”capital”的翻譯；公眾號“學人 Scholar”2020 年 8 月 11 日轉載了一篇題為“隔在中西之間的日本——現代漢語中的日語‘外來語’問題”（點擊量為 4286 次），作者為南京大學王彬彬。該文最初發表於 1998 年第 8 期《上海文學》，把“資本”列為日語生造詞，且沒有注明出處。史有為（2019，84）專門用一段的篇幅介紹了這篇文章及其影響：

> 日源詞的多維度網路爭論。特別要提到的是王彬彬《隔在中西之間的日本——現代漢語中的日語‘外來語’問題》（1998）一文，本是非專業人士的文章，2007 年卻在“國際觀察·論壇·天涯社區”網頁引發大爭論，焦點是在現代漢語中究竟有多少日源外來詞，日源漢字詞是否就是外來詞，現代漢語是否離不開日源漢字詞。人數眾多的年輕人捲進這場爭論，——從另外一面看，卻是一次外來詞知識的大普及。

真實情況確實如此，該文章在網路上隨處可見，超星讀秀裡面顯示出了較廣的閱讀和較高的引用率。王彬彬（2000，324、330）亦把此篇文章寫入了專著，重複了“資本”是日語的生造詞觀點。

可以推斷出，這 3 條路線最終彙聚為 2 條清晰可見的脈絡，一條是“《新爾雅》——史有為/沈國威線路”，最初起源是《新爾雅》；另一條是“《新名詞詞典》《新知

識詞典》——王立達——實藤惠秀線路”，可以斷定路線三就是參考了前兩條路線，只是沒有注明出處而已。需要指出的是，也有學者可能同時參考了這兩條路線的文獻，如劉禾（2002，407、486、493）同時參考了劉正埮等和實藤惠秀的觀點，把漢語中的“資本”定為“回歸的書寫形式外來詞：源自古漢語的日本‘漢字’詞語”（即 “Return Graphic Loans: Kanji’ Terms Derived from Classical Chinese” 見 Liu 1995，302）；馬西尼（1997，115、271、308、323）參考了劉正埮等、王立達和實藤惠秀，也認為“資本”是“來自日語的回歸借詞”（即“return graphic loan from Japanese”見 Masini 1993，220）。顧江萍（2011，5–7）也明確表明參考了“新爾雅”、“《漢語外來詞詞典》”、“《新名詞詞典》”和“《新知識詞典》”，把“資本”一詞定性為：

> 古漢語詞進入日語後承載了新的表義功能，成為與原詞義距離或遠或近的“日語詞”。當它們以“日語借詞”的身份再度回到漢語時，就成為漢語中似曾相識，有同源又有中途“出國”的漢語“新詞語”（顧江萍 2011，110）。

也就是說，劉禾、馬西尼和顧江萍繞來繞去，還是把“資本”定性為“日源借義詞”。“資本”一詞果真屬於“日源外來詞”或“先有日本人以漢字的配合去意譯（或部分意譯）歐美語言的詞，再由中國人改造而成的現代漢語外來詞”麼？下文根據掌握的史料，結合對晚清中日分別譯介的政治經濟學譯本的文本細讀，重新考證“資本”的詞形和語義的來源，以推進其術語史研究。

四、晚清譯作中使用的“資本”術語

本節主要考察 19 世紀下半葉晚清引進的西方經濟學譯著對 capital 一詞的翻譯，包括 1896 年前從西方譯入的《富國策》（1880 年）、《佐治芻言》（1885 年）、《富國養民策》（1886 年）和《保富述要》（1896 年）等。

4.1 《富國策》

洋務運動時期，京師同文館總教習丁韙良（William Martin）和其學生汪鳳藻翻譯 *Manual of Political Economy (MPE)*（直譯為《政治經濟學手冊》）為《富國策》，這是中國歷史上第一部系統介紹西方經濟學的譯著，且於 1881 年即傳入日本（見圖 2：《富國策》日本國立國會圖書館，日本岸田吟香訓點，明治 14 年岸田氏樂善堂出版[7]，圖 2 右是封面）。

MPE 為劍橋大學第一任經濟學領薪教授亨利·法思德（Henry Fawcett）撰寫的經濟學教科書。經濟學知識翻譯中最重要的當屬經濟學術語，因為術語和術語之間的關係是經濟學思想表達的載體，19 世紀 70 年代末的晚清中國學術界尚沒有經濟學學科，要找到傳達西方經濟學內容的術語應該是頗有難度的。《富國策》（圖 2）用來翻譯 capital 一詞的術語有“資本；本；財；本資；資”等。

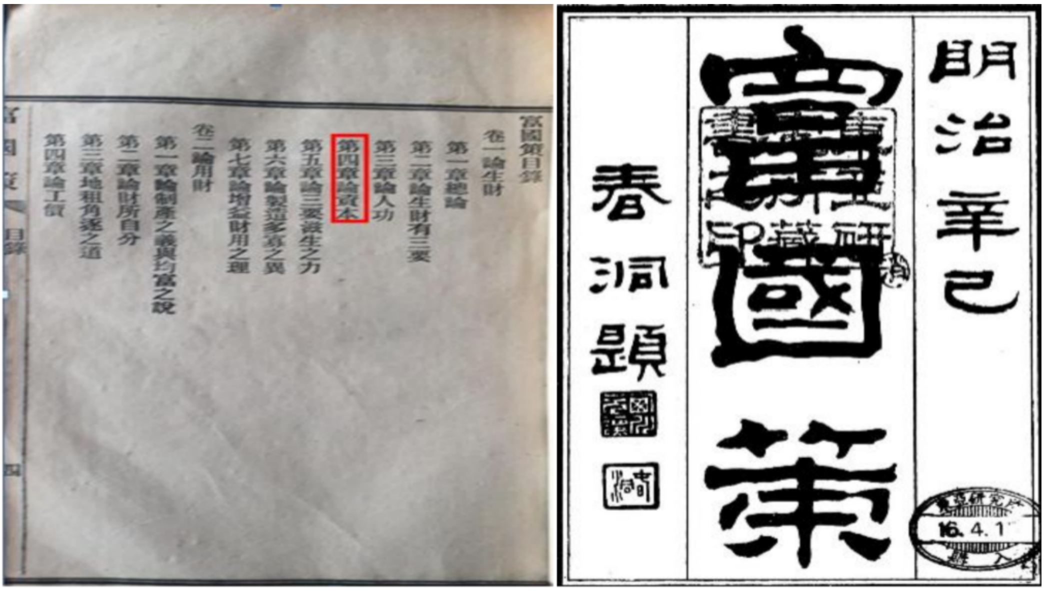


圖 2:《富國策》

4.2 《佐治芻言》

《佐治芻言》，英文名為 *Homely Words to Aid Governance*（直譯為《幫助治理的家常話》)，是英國人錢伯思兄弟（W. and R. Chambers）編輯的教育叢書的一種,1852 年出版，原書作者不詳。1885 年，該書的中文本由英國傳教士傅蘭雅（John Fryer）口譯、中國人應祖錫筆述，江南製造局翻譯館首次出版。《佐治芻言》（圖 3）大多把 capital 翻譯成“資（貲）本”，有部分譯成“資財、錢財和本財”。

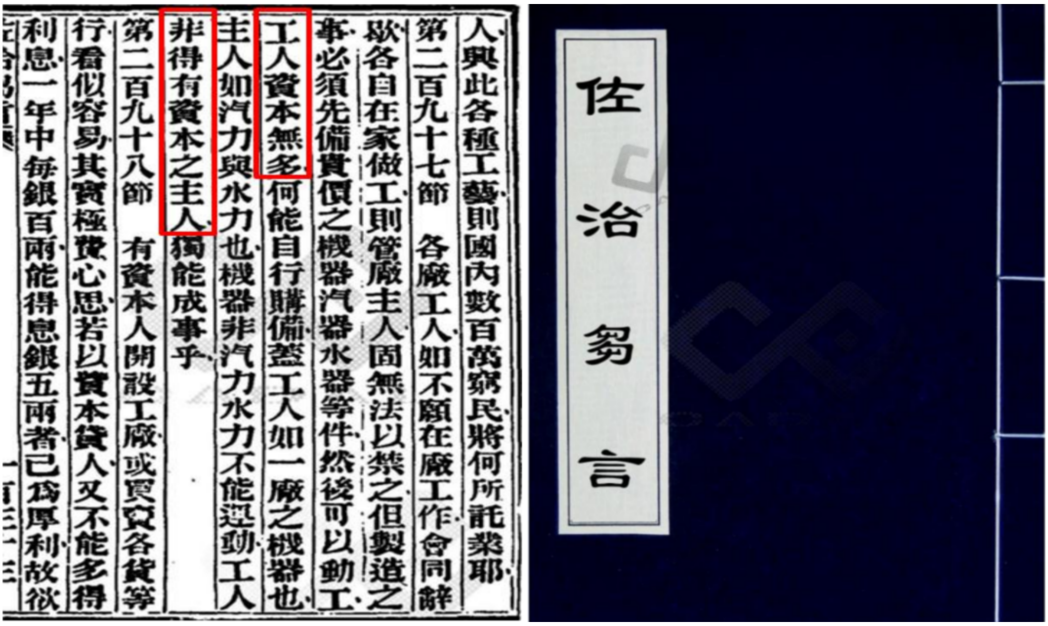
4.3 《富國養民策》

《富國養民策》底本為 *A Primer on Political Economy*，是英國哲分斯（William Jevons，1836-1883）撰，英國艾約瑟（Joseph Edkins，1823-1905）譯（1880 年，艾約瑟被中國海關總稅務司赫德（*Robert Hart*）聘為海關翻譯）, 光緒 12 年（1886 年總稅務司署刻本）出版。《富國養民策》（圖 4）主要把 capital 翻譯成了“資本”，少數翻譯成“本銀”、“資財”、“資”、“本”等。

4.4 《保富述要》

《保富述要》底本為布拉德（James Platt）的 *Money*，是中國第一部漢譯貨幣銀行學著作。英國人傅蘭雅（John Fryer, 1839–1928）1896 年口譯，無錫徐家寶筆述，江南製造總局刻本。《保富述要》（圖 5）主要把 capital 譯成“資本”。

可見，晚清 1896 年以前對 capital 的翻譯主要是“資本”，因為文言文體對音節的約束，時常有“本；財；資”的替代譯法出現。另外，始於 1884 年英國醫生馬林和李



人與此各種工藝則國內數百萬窮民將何所託業耶
第二百九十七節　各廠工人如不願在廠工作會同辭歇各自在家做工則管廠主人固無法以禁之但製造之事必須先備貴價之機器汽器水器等件然後可以動工工人資本無多何能自行購備蓋工人如一廠之機器也主人如汽力與水力也機器非汽力水力不能迻動工人非得有資本之主人獨能成事乎
第二百九十八節　有資本人開設工廠或買賣各貨等行看似容易其實極費心思若以資本貸人又不能多得利息一年中每銀百兩能得息銀五兩者已為厚利故欲

圖 3:《佐治芻言》

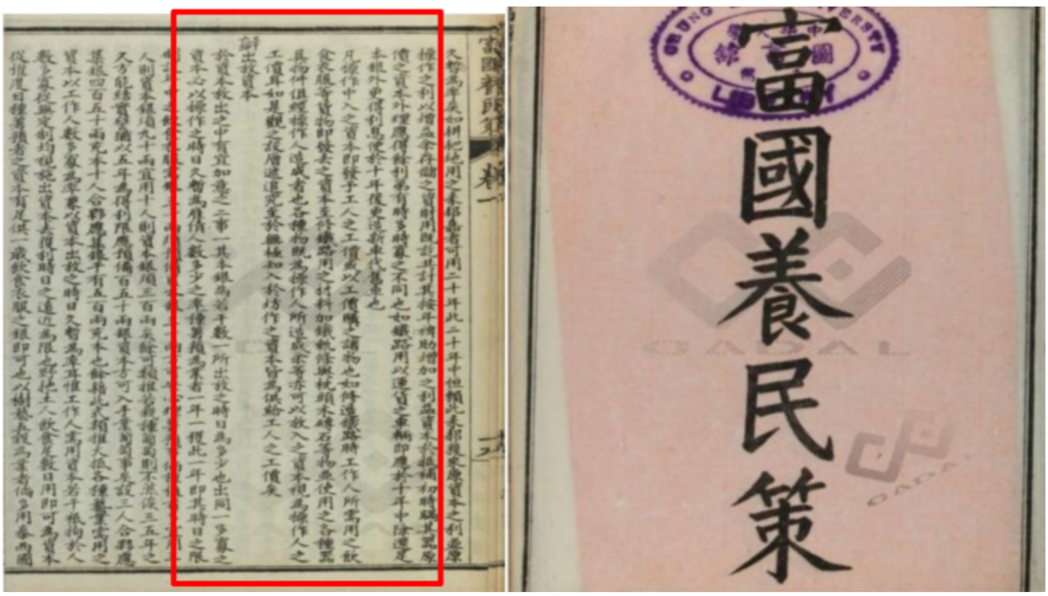
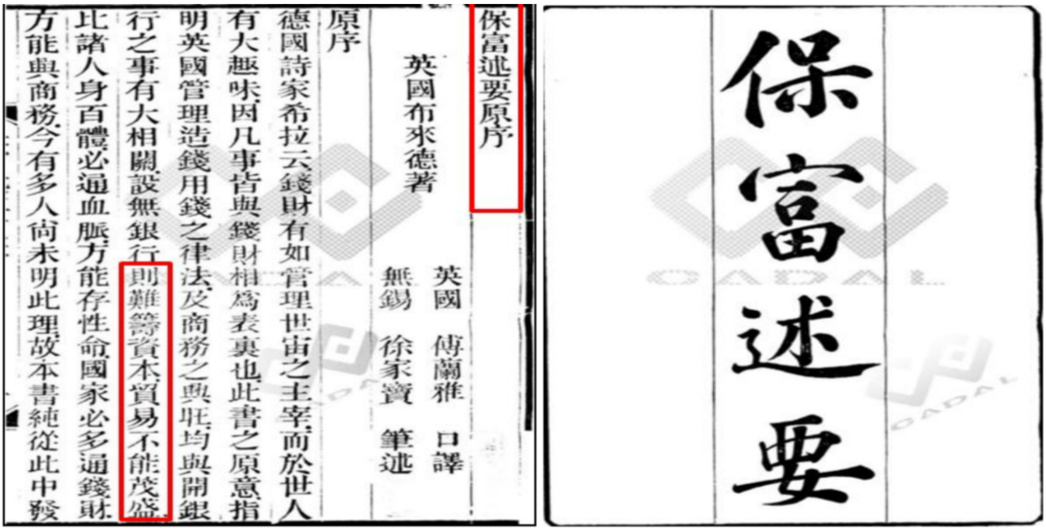


圖 4:《富國養民策》



保富述要

保富述要原序

英國布來德著

英國　傅蘭雅　口譯

無錫　徐家寶　筆述

原序

德國詩家希拉云錢財有如管理世宙之主宰而於世人有大趣味因凡事皆與錢財相為表裏也此書之原意指明英國管理造錢用錢之律法及商務之興旺均與開銀行之事有大相關設無銀行則難籌資本貿易不能茂盛比諸人身百體必通血脈方能存性命國家必多通錢財方能興商務今有多人尚未明此理故本書純從此中發

圖 5:《保富述要》

玉書合譯的《富民策》（1884 年起陸續在《萬國公報》刊登，1911 年出了合訂本）以及 1906 年奚若翻譯的經濟學教科書《計學》也把 capital 譯為“本資”、“本”和“資本”，見圖 6 和圖 7。可見，整個晚清時期用“資本”翻譯 capital 有歷史的延續性和繼承性的。

西歷一千九百十一年

富民策

宣統三年歲次辛亥

上海美華書館擺印

之工價爲盛衰而平常之工又視種地之工價爲盛衰耳讀書之士其教養之工固精甚也然必大衆富足人人可使子弟讀書則束修始能豐厚推之他項精細藝業亦皆賴大衆而存而非一二富室之所能養此所以必視平常之工價也至平常之工上文言如城中傭力之輩日僅得價百文倘鄉間耕種之人日可得百二十文於是舍其業而歸農至地滿人多其限又降則又返而入城此角逐之道也故工不論何等其源皆本於地如地爲己有合地工本主而爲一人其所得者皆歸己有自無不給之理如地既漸推漸佔租亦愈長愈增譬如四石之地工價四百文三石三百文二石二百文一石一百文限以降而愈低無怪工本之俱歸短少然則人觀於此亦可知工價之出於地而不由於本矣而且本之爲物非自天生之而不可多得之物也自人成之而隨意可有者也猶人口中之精液應念而生無慮短缺然亦視其地之人之多寡或能用不能用能保不能保假如人烟稀少貿易無多使就其地運用本資如開機器廠印書坊織布局等類其本必至短折以售之者少也若夫用之之道則試觀乎中國地大物博人民衆多而工價甚微本亦不足非無本也不能用也又觀印度最貧之國佔地之人既多刲奪之政尤甚亦非無本也不能保也蓋本無論多少要在用之者何如故中印二國之良田美礦未闢者甚多然材之廣若此民之貧若彼者其中必有故焉美國昔有數族野人賦性愚蠢不知本之爲何物惟以田獵爲生計其於美國奇巧精細之物桀驁弗顧而遇有極精之鎗則愛玩不忍釋手不惜重價以購之非鎗之勝於各

圖 6:《富民策》

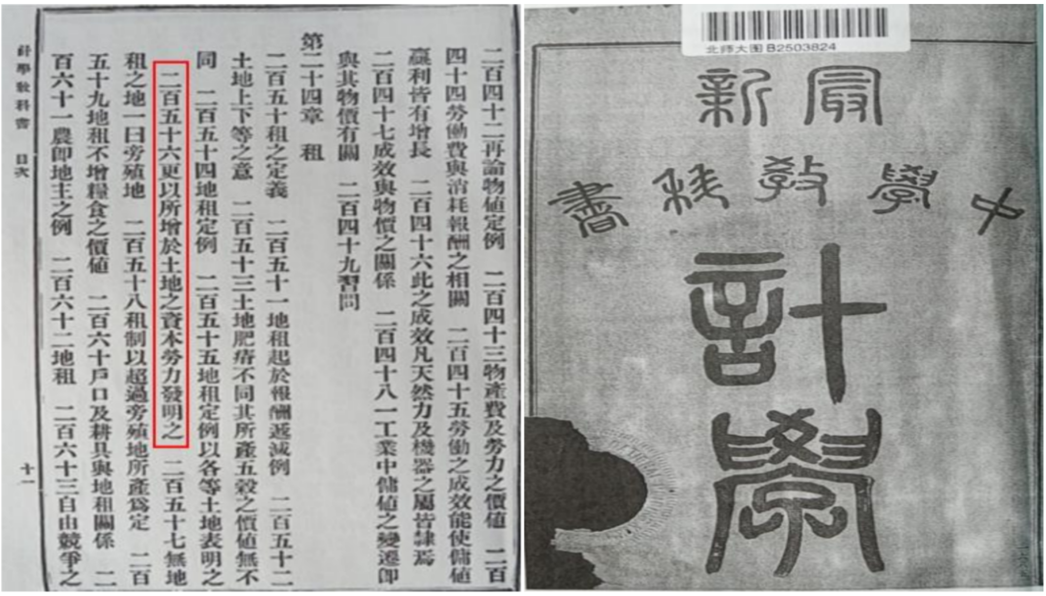


圖 7:《計學》

五、晚清同時期日本譯入的經濟學著作中對 capital 的翻譯

本節考察晚清同時期日本從西方譯入的《經濟小學》(1867)、《英氏經濟論》(1871)、《經濟便蒙》(1872)、《理財學講義》(1884)和《勸業理財學》(1887)等對 capital的翻譯。

5.1 《經濟小學》

《經濟小學》原文底本成書於 1846 年，書名為 *Outlines of Social Economy*，作者為英國經濟學家 William Ellis，1867 年神田孝平譯為日文。這是日本人出版的第一部系統介紹西方經濟學的譯著。以今天的中文眼光看，雖然《經濟小學》比《富國策》譯介早了近十三年，但其經濟學術語翻譯使用的漢字假名，比不上《富國策》經濟學術語翻譯使用的漢字，如《經濟小學》把 rent、wages、profit、division of labour、value in exchange、bills of exchange 分別譯為“地代、雇直、利分(利息)、分業、品味、為替”，而《富國策》把這些術語分別譯為“地租、工價、利息、分職、價值、期票”。《經濟小學》(圖 8)對 capital 的翻譯是“資財”或“財本”。

5.2 《英氏經濟論》和《經濟便蒙》等對 capital 的翻譯

日本明治維新後，還出現了由小幡篤次郎翻譯的《英氏經濟論》(明治 4 年)[8]、和出身唐通事世家的何禮之(1840-1923)翻譯的《世渡の杖》(又譯《經濟便蒙》)(明治 5 年)，二個日文譯本的底本皆為美國牧師威蘭德 (Francis Wayland) 寫的 *The Elements of Political Economy*(《經濟學入門》)。《英氏經濟論》(圖 9)和《經濟便蒙》(圖 10)

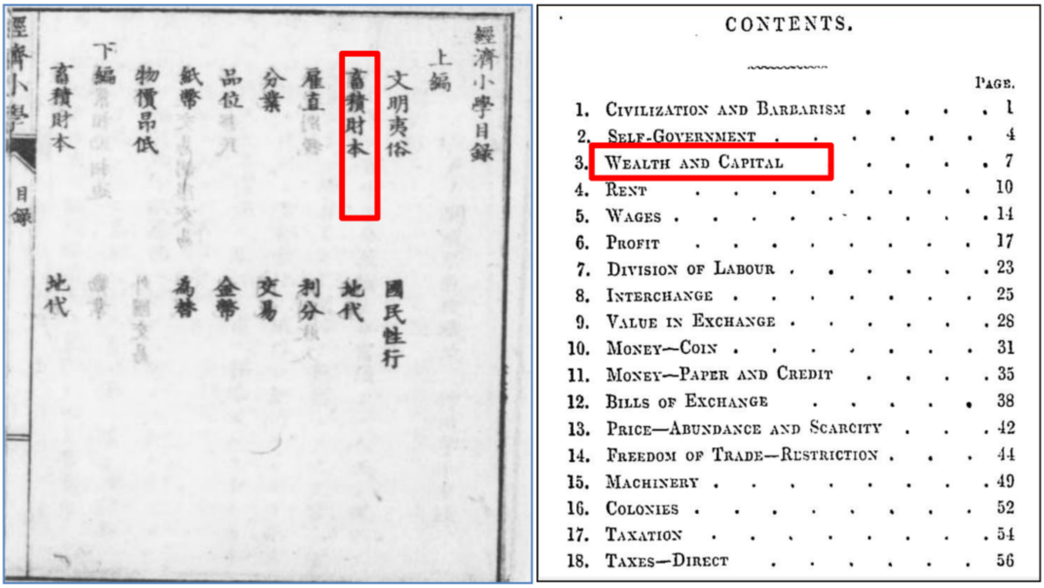

經濟小學目錄
上編
文明夷俗　國民性行
畜積財本　地代
雇直　利分
分業　交易
品位　金幣
紙幣　為替
物價昂低
下編
畜積財本　地代

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圖 8:《經濟小學》

開篇目錄就把 capital 翻譯為漢字假名“財本”，可見，以“財本”譯 capital 是 19 世紀 60-70 年代日本的通行做法，這一時代日本譯入的西方經濟類著作中沒有“資本”這一漢字假名的術語。

5.3 《哲學字彙》和《明治英和字典》等對 capital 的翻譯

在《富國策》傳到日本的同年（1881 年）出現了井上哲次郎編的《哲學字彙》[9]，第四年（即 1884 年）出現了尺振八的《明治英和字典》[10]，這是筆者掌握的日本明治維新後最先把 capital 翻譯成“資本”的兩處資料。前者把 capital 翻譯成“資本（財）”（圖 11）。這裡值得注意的是，《哲學字彙》譯法皆比較簡潔單一，是“為了有統一的術語”而編，本是源于“英人弗列冥氏哲學字典，……增加甚多，……，博參考儒佛著書而定，今不盡引證，……”（《哲學字彙》·緒言）。所以我們認為，儘管《哲學字彙》出現在 1881 年，但因為是譯自英文字典，還參考眾多“儒佛著書”，所以並不一定真實反映當時日語實踐中“資本”術語的實際使用情況，而且無論如何理解“儒佛著書”，這些供參考的著作都是與漢語有關的（《哲學字彙》附錄稗志文（J.G. Bridgman）翻譯的漢語同音字也能證明這一點），雖然，在 1884 年，日本人宇川盛三郎口譯、藤根富彌筆述了法國“佛蘭西大學”一位法學博士（Georges Appert 1850-1934）的講義，命名為《理財學講義》裡出現了漢字假名“資本”。（圖 12：《理財學講義第 1 回第 27 頁》）

1887 年日本文部省編譯局編譯了英國人馬紹爾（*Alfred Marshall*）著的《勸業理財學》（*Elements of Economics of Industry*）裡也出現了漢字假名“資本”（圖 13：《勸業理財學》第 1 卷第 3 章第 36-37 頁）。但從時間上來看，這兩者均比《富國策》1881 年傳到日本晚了 3 年及以上，只能理解為《富國策》對 capital 術語翻譯影響了宇川盛三

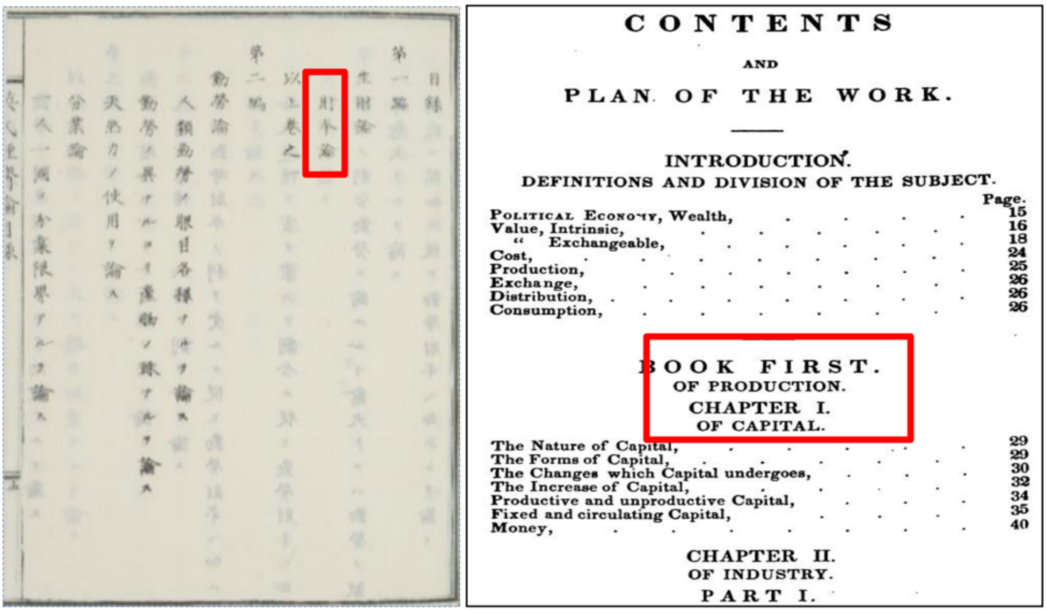

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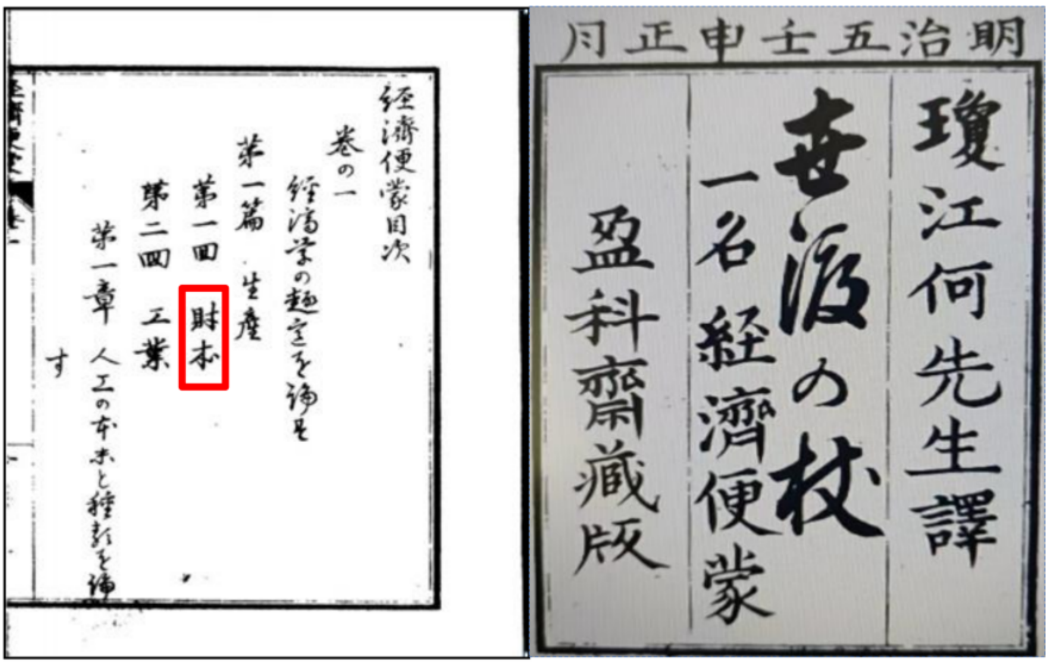
圖 9: 《英氏經濟論》



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第一回 財本

第二回 工業

第一章 人工の本來と種類を論ず

明治五壬申正月

瓊江何先生譯

世渡の杖

一名 經濟便蒙

盈科齋藏版

圖 10: 《經濟便蒙》

郎和日本文部省編譯局。可見，晚清日本同時期對 capital 的翻譯不具有歷史的延續性和繼承性的，而是有斷層，逐漸從“資財”、“財本”過渡到“資本”的。

圖 11:《哲學字彙》

六、“資本”一詞溯源及晚清中國本土語境中“資本”的使用

本節考察“資本”一詞的形和義在中國文化語境中的發展及使用簡況，以進一步糾正學界的“資本日源說”。

6.1 “資本”形和義的發展摭談

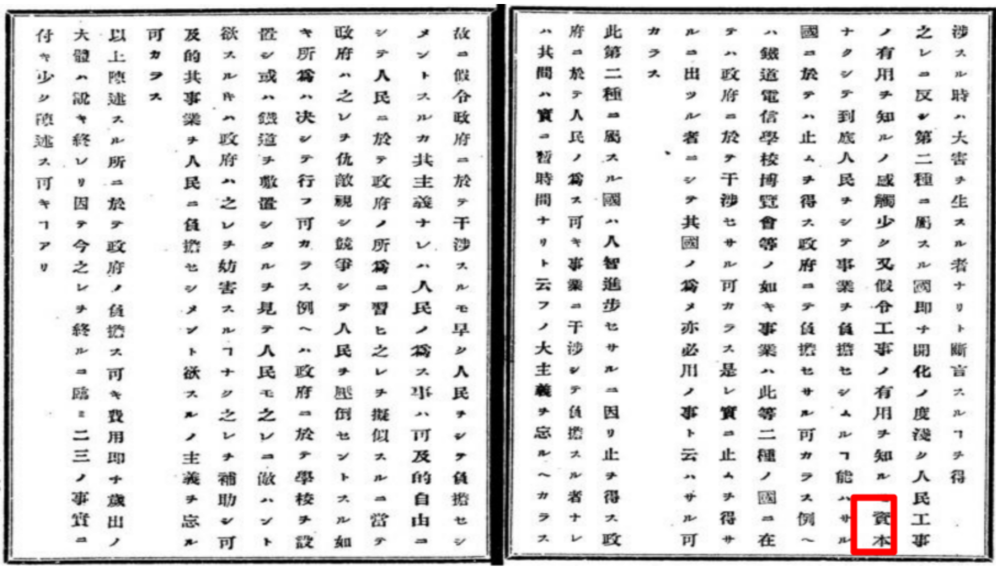
（1）本：寬所以保本也，肅所以濟時也。《國語》

（2）本資：本資少而末用多者，侈國之俗也。《管子》

（3）資本：“吾之鄰人，有一子稍長，因使之代掌小解。不逾歲，偶誤質盜物，資本耗折殆盡。”《春渚紀聞》

（4）資本：趙雲按敵樓，言天晚，來日入城。客人不肯，言：俺資本船貨物多，城外恐有失。《三國志評話》

可見，“本”和“本資”有 2000 多年的歷史。從語義來看，《國語》的“本”意思是立國的“基業”和“基礎”；《管子》中的“本資”指“農業產品”，這兩個例子中的“本”和“本資”與商業無甚關聯。但是，北宋的《春渚紀聞》記載了某人因為誤



渉スル時ハ大害ヲ生スル者ナリト斷言スルヿヲ得
之レニ反シ第二種ニ屬スル國即チ開化ノ度淺ク人民工事
ノ有用ヲ知ルノ感觸少ク又假令工事ノ有用ヲ知ル資本
ナクシテ到底人民ヲシテ事業ヲ負擔セシムルヿ能ハサル
國ニ於テハ止ムヲ得ス政府ニテ負擔セサル可カラス例ヘ
ハ鐵道電信學校博覽會等ノ如キ事業ハ此等二種ノ國ニ在
テハ政府ニ於テ干渉セサル可カラス是レ實ニ止ムヲ得サ
ルニ出ツル者ニシテ其國ノ爲メ亦必用ノ事ト云ハサル可
カラス
此第二種ニ屬スル國ハ人智進歩セサルニ因リ止ヲ得ス政
府ニ於テ人民ノ爲ス可キ事業ニ干渉シテ負擔スル者ナレ
ハ其間ハ實ニ暫時間ナリト云フノ大主義ヲ忘ルヘカラス

二十六

故ニ假令政府ニ於テ干渉スルモ早ク人民ヲシテ負擔セシ
メントスルカ其主義ナレハ人民ノ爲ス事ハ可及的自由ニ
シテ人民ニ於テ政府ノ所爲ニ習ヒ之レヲ擬似スルニ當テ
政府ハ之レヲ仇敵視シ競爭シテ人民ヲ壓倒セントスル如
キ所爲ハ決シテ行フ可カラス例ヘハ政府ニ於テ學校ヲ設
置シ或ハ鐵道ヲ敷設シタルヲ見テ人民モ之レニ倣ハント
欲スルトキハ政府ハ之レヲ妨害スルヿナク之レヲ補助シ可
及的其事業ヲ人民ニ負擔セシメント欲スルノ主義ヲ忘ル
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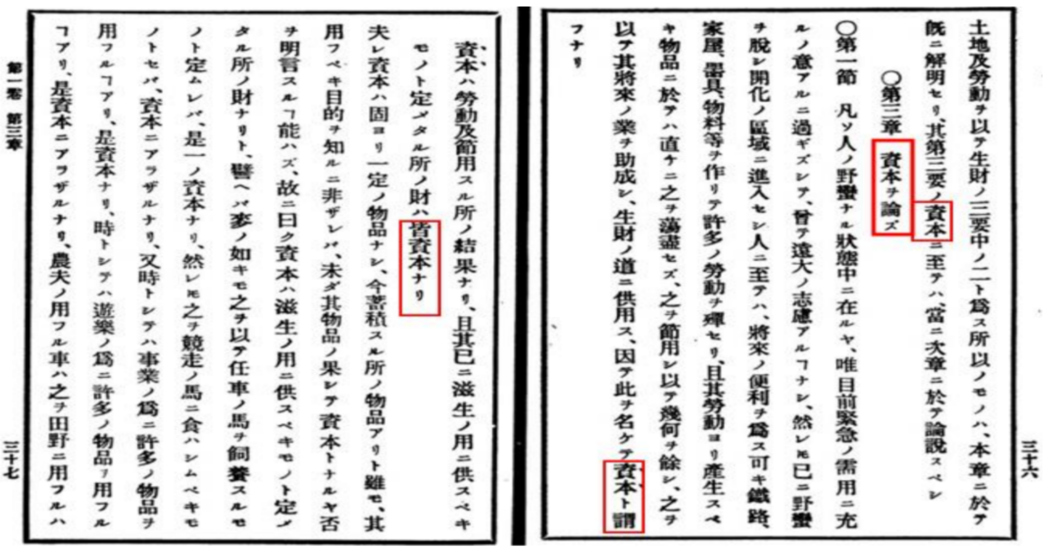
二十七

圖 12: 《理財學講義》



土地及勞動ヲ以テ生財ノ三要中ノ二トナス所以ノモノハ、本章ニ於テ
既ニ解明セリ、其第三要ノ資本ニ至テハ、當ニ次章ニ於テ論説スヘシ
〇第三章　資本ヲ論ズ
〇第一節　凡ソ人ノ野蠻ナル狀態中ニ在ルヤ、唯目前緊急ノ需用ニ充
ルノ意アルニ過ギズシテ、曾テ遠大ノ志慮アルヿナシ、然レドモ已ニ野蠻
ヲ脱シ開化ノ區域ニ進入セシ人ニ至テハ、將來ノ便利ヲ爲ス可キ鐵路、
家屋、器具、物料等ヲ作リテ許多ノ勞動ヲ殫セリ、且其勞動ヨリ産生スヘ
キ物品ニ於テハ直チニ之ヲ蕩盡セズ、之ヲ節用シ以テ幾何ヲ餘シ、之ヲ
以テ其將來ノ業ヲ助成シ、生財ノ道ニ供用ス、因テ此ヲ名ケテ資本ト謂
フナリ

三十六

資本ハ勞動及節用スル所ノ結果ナリ、且其已ニ滋生ノ用ニ供スヘキ
モノト定メタル所ノ財ハ皆資本ナリ
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用フベキ目的ヲ知ルニ非ザレバ、未ダ其物品ノ果シテ資本トナルヤ否
ヲ明言スルヿ能ハズ、故ニ曰ク資本ハ滋生ノ用ニ供スヘキモノト定メ
タル所ノ財ナリト、譬ヘバ麥ノ如キモ之ヲ以テ任車ノ馬ヲ飼養スルモ
ノト定ムレバ、是一ノ資本ナリ、然レドモ之ヲ競走ノ馬ニ食ハシムベキモ
ノトセバ、資本ニアラザルナリ、又時トシテハ事業ノ爲ニ許多ノ物品ヲ
用フルヿアリ、是資本ナリ、時トシテハ遊樂ノ爲ニ許多ノ物品ヲ用フル
ヿアリ、是資本ニアラザルナリ、農夫ノ用フル車ハ之ヲ田野ニ用フルハ

第一卷　第三章　三十七

圖 13: 《勸業理財學》

收了盜竊之物作為抵押物，從而使得家財耗盡的故事（因為當時官府規定，“盜物”是不允許質押的，一旦發現，即被沒收）（高玉玲 2016，173-174）。元代的《三國志評話》（作者不詳）中的“資本”是出自一個“客人”（即：客商；商販）之口。這兩處例子中的“資本”有較為清晰的現代語義了。可見，早在宋、元時期，“資本”一詞在語義上就與商業和做生意的本錢聯繫在一起了。

6.2 晚清中國本土著作中“資本”的使用

在鴉片戰爭前後，“資本”就在使用，且其內涵已經得到了擴展，基本上傳達的是現代意義的“資本”了，如《每月統記傳》中“明弘治年間，葡萄牙人精神湧發，營大圖艱，始尋水路到五印度國……由此立商會曰公班衙。公班衙者，為群商捐措資本錢共作貿易也。英吉利國于萬曆 26 年在印度創立公班衙，得利甚微。”（轉引自漢語大詞典編纂處 2010，163）；再如《海國圖志》中的“方荷蘭立公班衙于南洋，英吉利商慕之，于萬曆 27 年，糾國人合資本，且稟求國王設立公司，嚴禁本國散商之赴南洋者”（魏源 1999，181）。《續富國策》是晚清思想家陳熾 1896 年寫成的有關經濟類的著作，文中出現了大量的“資”和“資本”術語，考其上下文語境和語義，與近現代中西方的“資本”術語相當。如：

（1）商財不能積也，通而已矣。商人之資本太少也，則欲購何貨，遵何道，趨何利。雖能意中，力不從心。不得不讓人以先著矣。商人之資本而太多也。則操奇計贏，長袖善舞……（陳熾 2018，351）。

這句話出自陳熾《續富國策》卷四“商書”部分的“創開銀行說”一節，從語境看，陳熾筆下的“資本”就是現代意義的經濟學術語。

（2）此種種便益，是民生國計所交相依賴者也。況銀行之豐更有可得而言者：中國銀行錢莊資本不過數萬，開拓場面，聯絡聲氣，能者可歲獲餘利二三萬金，銀行資本既雄，流通中外，其獲利之可知者一也（鄭觀應語，見郭超、夏于全 2021，89）。有商業經歷的資產階級改良主義思想家鄭觀應首編《盛世危言》於 1894 年，1895 和 1900 年續編（郭超、夏于全 2021，6），考慮到此句話出於卷四，應當是 1894 年。

從語境可以看出，這裡的“資本”亦完全是現代意義的經濟學術語。另外，上文所提的 19 世紀 50 年代的《遐邇貫珍》就多次使用現代意義的“資本”。從歷史、晚清中日交往以及經濟學著作翻譯情況來看，魏源、鄭觀應和陳熾使用的“資本”術語應該是來源於中國本土，而不是日語。

七、結論

研究顯示，中國近代第一批譯介西方經濟類著作大多都把 capital 譯為“資本”，嚴複 1901 年翻譯的《原富》[11]把 capital 譯為“母財”例外，策略上應屬於“在目標語同類文獻中找尋源語術語的對應詞”（黃立波、朱志瑜 2016，89）。我們認為，《原富》以前的晚清經濟類翻譯活動一直為學界忽視是“資本日源說”謬誤產生的主要原因。其實單單就《富國策》而言，雖為近代中國第一本政治經濟學譯著，其經濟學術語翻

譯拿捏的相當準確，相當一部分術語的翻譯逼近現代經濟學通行術語。可見譯者們遵循了中國文化接受外來經濟學術語時的翻譯規範，在一定程度上建構了近現當代中國政治經濟學學科的術語框架。畢竟，《富國策》譯竟之後作為京師同文館等新式學堂的“富國策”課程教材，而且根據《富國策》凡例，中文版《富國策》是官員們的應讀之物，更有力的是：傅蘭雅根據《富國策》編寫了《富國須知》（張登德 2009，232）、晚清思想家陳熾的《重譯富國策》其實是對《富國策》的摘編（劉曉峰 2023，206）、葡舫濟據《富國策》編寫了《稅斂要例》（戴金珊 1998，188）、維新人士裘廷梁 1898 年改文言版《富國策》為白話版，而且，於 1881 年即傳入日本。《佐治芻言》等的影響更不必說。但常有學者忽視這段翻譯歷史，如石雲豔（2007，133）就說“日本明治維新以前，中國在文化交流過程中主要扮演施授者的角色，……，明治維新以後，則主要是中國學習日本。其他方面姑且不論，僅就語言文字方面來說，日本反倒成了輸出國。”作了此番論述後直接跳至 1898 年 9 月梁啟超流亡日本後的翻譯活動，30 年的時間被完全略過。也有學者引證別人觀點，認為現代經濟學傳入中國始于嚴複翻譯的《原富》（江娜 2018，5）。可見，《富國策》、《佐治芻言》、《富民策》等《原富》以前的經濟學類譯著理應受到更多的重視。

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注 釋

[1] 《漢語外來詞詞典》(1984) 是當代唯一一部比較全面、有分量的外來詞詞典，是經歷了二十一年的努力、兩次集體編寫 (1960－1968，1978－1982) 才得以成書的。（史有為 2016，73）

[2] 劉正埮等 (1984，2) 在序中指出，“我們所收的日語來源的漢語外來詞絕大部分是漢字詞，也即只借用其漢語書寫形式而不借用其讀音。所以，按照劉正郯等的說法，我們中文裡的‘資本’應該屬於只借日語詞形不借讀音‘shihon’日源外來詞”。

[3] 《遐邇貫珍》(Chinese Serial) 是由馬禮遜教育會出資、香港英華書院印刷發行，以文化交流為目的的一份中文月刊，自 1853 年 8 月 1 日創刊，到 1856 年 5 月終刊，前後出版 32 期。（熊宗武 2021，86）

[4] 《西洋事情》見 https://dcollections.lib.keio.ac.jp/ja/fukuzawa/a02/4，2023 年 1 月 19 日檢索。

[5] 似乎是史有為先生之誤，應該為汪榮寶。

[6] 此文發表在《中國翻譯》2017 年第 4 期，引用有誤。高明凱和劉正埮 1958 年編

寫的《現代漢語外來詞研究》（北京：文字改革出版社）並沒有收錄“資本”這一術語。同篇文章也引用了 1984 年的《漢語外來詞詞典》，廖七一教授似乎是把兩者混淆了。

[7] 見 https://dl.ndl.go.jp/pid/994134/1/1

[8] 《英氏經濟論》日文版見 https://base1.nijl.ac.jp/infolib/meta_pub/G0000203KDS_YUTK-00062（2023 年 1 月 18 日檢索）。

[9] 見 https://dl.ndl.go.jp/pid/752942/1/7.（2023 年 2 月 8 日檢索）

[10] 英文名為 An English and Japanese Dictionary, for the use of Junior Students, by SekeyShimpachi. With the addition of new words and their definitions, together with A Biographical Dictionary, Published by Riku-Gō-KUWAW Tokio, 17th year of MeiJi (1884)）。

[11] 1901 年嚴複翻譯的《原富》除外，把 capital 譯為“母財”。

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Women Translators/Interpreters in Ancient China: Identities, Roles, and Implications

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Abstract

This study addresses the lack of focus on early Chinese female translators/interpreters in scholarly studies. It first presents four women translators/interpreters in ancient China whose translation identities have eluded discovery. The four translators/interpreters are the anonymous daughter of Fu Sheng in the Western Han Dynasty, the "two women translators" recorded on a wooden slip of the Western Han, and the nun translator Facheng in the Tang Dynasty. Drawing on a variety of historical documents, the first part of this essay explores their translation identities, roles, and the historical contexts in which their translation activities had been situated. The second part of this essay addresses the modern-day implications of the four women translators/interpreters. This study argues, instead of being invisible translators in official documents, the four women translators/interpreters were important figures of translation in our history. This study also argues the importance of non-official archives and more research of women translators in ancient China in relevant studies.

1. Introduction

Recent years have seen a concerted effort for discovering the "'lost' figures of women translators" (Agorni 2005, 819) in translation studies (Bacardí and Godayol 2014; Hannay 1985; Hyun 2004; Krontiris 1992; Simon 1996; Ward 2012). In this scholarly move, many women translators, who had been unknown or obscure in their cultures or traditions, have been rediscovered or re-identified, including Hosokawa Tama Gracia (1563-1600) the religious translator in pre-modern Japan (Ward 2012), Princess Catarina the poetry translator in sixteenth–century Vietnam (DeFrancis 1977), and the group of literary translators in late-Elizabethan England (Krontiris 1992).

In China, the earliest known female Chinese translators/interpreters were claimed to be Xue Shaohui (薛紹徽 1866-1911) and Qiu Yufang (裘毓芳 1871-1902) in the late Qing period (Guo 2010; Ma 2006; Zhu 2007).[1] The two literary translators published their enlightening translations around or shortly before 1900. Currently, studies on China's translation history have not mentioned women translators/interpreters prior to the late Qing period (Cheung 2006; Cheung and Neather 2017; Li 2002; Lung 2011; Ma 2006; Wong 2018). [2] China has long been active with the outside world. In China's long historiographical tradition, the dense official dynastic histories had recorded a long line of male translators/interpreters, such as the eminent Buddhist translators Kumārajīva (鳩摩羅什 344-409) in *Jinshu* (晉書 History of the Jin Dynasty) (Fang et al. 648/2012) and Xuang Zang (玄奘 600-664) in *Jiu tangshu* (舊唐書 Old history of the Tang Dynasty) (Liu 945/1975), just to name the most famous. So, does the non-existence of earlier female translators/interpreters, both in official historical documents and in scholarly studies, mean that there were no woman translators/interpreters earlier than the late Qing period? If there were not, what are the reasons for this non-existence in ancient China, which had "a translation history of more than 3000 years" (Ma 2006,2)? If there were, who are they? What and why did they translate? Better still, what inspirations or significances could their translations have on nowadays translation studies? This study attempts to address these questions.

Drawing on a variety of historical documents unused on this issue, this study presents four women translators/interpreters ever found on record in ancient China. Building on a range of scholarship, this essay explores their life stories, their translation roles and identities, and the historical contexts in which their translation activities had been situated. It is found that, instead of being "invisible" (Venuti 2008, 1) figures of translation in official documents, the four women translators/interpreters had been important figures of translation in their times.

In this study, the first translator is called "Fu Sheng's daughter", the anonymous daughter of the early Western-Han (206 bce-8 ce) scholar Fu Sheng (伏勝) who interpreted the Confucian canon *Shangshu* (尚書 The book of documents). A number of unofficial documents in ancient China (cf. Yan 1962; Li 984/1997) record that she assisted the transmission of this Confucian canon by interpreting between her father and the official, who had been sent by Emperor Wen (文帝 r. 180-157 bce) to retrieve the canon. The second and the third translators are two diplomatic interpreters in the Western Regions area in the Western Han and their existence was recorded on one Han wooden slip unearthed in this area. The slip shows they joined the Western-Han envoy Fu Jiezi's (傅介子) coup against the King of Loulan (Kroraina) during Emperor Zhao's (昭帝 r. 87-74 bce) reign. The fourth translator is the Tang (618-907) Buddhist nun translator Facheng. Her tombstone inscription records that she engaged in Buddhist sutra retranslation in her later life. In Buddhist translation in imperial China, very few women ever entered this realm, and Facheng's Buddhist translation is a very rare case, if not the only one. In many ways, Facheng's Buddhist translation reveals the intriguing relationship between gender and power in Buddhist translation in ancient China.

The purpose of this study is twofold. Its immediate purpose is to discover earlier women translators/interpreters in China and, better still, to enable a fuller understanding of the history of translation in China which should be not only as recorded in official texts but also in unofficial documents. The second purpose of this study is to draw people's attention and stimulate further research in this important and neglected field. For this ongoing scholarly move of rediscovering "lost" female translators in different cultures and/or traditions, this study wants to join in this concerted effort and provide a response from China, of discovering the "lost" figures of women translators in ancient China.

2. Four women translators/interpreters in ancient China

2.1 Fu Sheng's daughter

She was the anonymous daughter of the erudite scholar Fu Sheng (268-178 bce). Her exact birth and death dates remain unknown, but it was recorded (cf. Yan 1962) that she lived during the reign of Emperor Wen, who had searched for the lost canon Shangshu, and helped to interpret Shangshu. For lack of further records, we do not know about the daughter's education experience, but it should be noted that in the Western Han, especially in Emperor Wen's reigning period, women generally had been rather active in social, cultural and even political lives (cf. Cui 2003) and women from aristocratic and scholarly families had been entitled to or even "encouraged" (Jin 2008, 148) with canonical learnings, especially of those ancient canons restored in Emperor Wen's period. So, in many senses, her canonical interpreting of *Shangshu*, done by the daughter of the renowned erudite scholar Fu Sheng, strongly resonated with this social and cultural environment which had been favorable to women's education, especially that of women from scholarly families.

Compiled by Confucius in the Spring and Autumn period (770-476 bce), *Shangshu* recorded ancient history prior to his birth. This canon had been banned and burned by Emperor Shi (始皇帝 r. 221-210 bce) of the Qin Dynasty (221-207 bce), who prohibited all non-approved books and learning. After the fall of the Qin Dynasty, Emperor Wen searched for the book, and an old scholar Fu Sheng in Qi (now Shandong Province) reported that he had hidden a copy of the canon, but he was too old to travel to the capital. Emperor Wen then sent his official Chao Cuo (晁錯 200-154 bce) to Fu Sheng's home to retrieve the canon. Since the old scholar could only speak Qi, a language incomprehensible to Chao Cuo, Fu Sheng's daughter interpreted his instruction to facilitate the transmission of the canon.

The restoration of *Shangshu* in the Western Han Dynasty was an important event, not only because the lost canon was found and the lost "history" restored, but also because the subsequent Emperor Wu (武帝 151-87 bce) used the widely-adored canon to establish Confucian order to rule the country. Due to its scholastic, cultural and political significances, almost all official historical documents of the Han history, such as *Shiji* (ca. 91 bce), *Hanshu* (漢書 History of the Han Dynasty) (ca. 70-80 ce), *Zizhi tongjian* (資治通鑒 History as a mirror) (1084 ce), made special points about Fu Sheng's teaching the canon to Chao Cuo, without mentioning Fu Sheng's daughter or that she was his interpreter. For instance, *Shiji* recorded the event as the following.

> 伏生者，濟南人也。故為秦博士。孝文帝時，欲求能治尚書者，天下無有，乃聞伏生能治，欲召之。是時伏生年九十餘，老，不能行，於是乃詔太常使掌故晁錯往受之。(Sima 2021, 2712)
>
> Master Fu Sheng was a native of Ji'nan and once served as an erudite at the court of the Qin emperor. During the reign of Emperor Wen a search was made for someone who had a knowledge of the Book of Documents, but no one could be found throughout the whole empire. The emperor then learned that Master Fu had studied the Classic and decided to summon him to court. However, Master Fu was by this time over ninety and was too old to make the journey. The emperor therefore ordered the master of ritual to send Chao Cuo, one of his officers in charge of precedents, to go to master Fu's home and receive instruction from him. (Watson, trans. 1993, 365) [3]

The quotation above mentioned the cause and some key figures in transmitting *Shangshu*, including the over-ninety-year-old Master Fu Sheng ("年九十餘" in the Chinese quotation) and the receiving official Chao Cuo from rather afar ("往受之"). It did not mention Fu Sheng's daughter or any interpreter who was tasked with interpreting the master's instruction in the scene, nor did any other part of *Shiji*.

The earliest mention of Fu Sheng's daughter's interpreting role appeared in an early Eastern-Han (25-220 ce) scholar Wei Hong's (衛宏 27-ca. 57 ce) article named "Zhaoding guwen shanghshu xu" (詔定古文尚書序 Preface to the book of documents). Wei's article clarified Fu Sheng's daughter interpreting presence in the puzzling transmission between Fu Sheng and Chao Cuo, which had not been mentioned in previous official accounts. Wei Hong's article had been popular in the Tang Dynasty and been still widely read in the late Tang Dynasty – according to the eminent writer Han Yu's (韓愈 768-824) (Han 816/1986) account – but then in the long war and the chaos that followed the Tang Dynasty's end, Wei's article was lost though some entries managed to be saved, such as in Yan Shigu's annotations.

Yan Shigu (顏師古 581-645 ce), one of the leading Confucian scholars in his time, quoted Wei Hong's clarification, in his annotations of *Hanshu*, to explain the reason why the daughter joined in the transmission as an interpreter.

師古曰："衛宏定古文尚書序雲 '伏生老，不能正言，言不可曉也，使其女傳言教錯'。齊人語多與潁川異，錯所不知者凡十二三，略以其意屬讀而已。" (Yan 1962, 3603)

(Yan) Shigu said: Wei Hong's article The Preface to the Book of Documents had said: "Fu Sheng was old and was unable to speak the standard language. His instructions were not comprehensible (to Chao Cuo). Fu Sheng then asked his daughter to interpret". The Qi dialect was mostly different from the Yingchuan language. What Chao Cuo did not get amounted to twenty or thirty percent of the whole book. He only took down what he could understand in proximity".

In the above quotation, the "Yingchuan" ("潁川") language referred to the standard language spoken by Chao Cuo and the "Qi dialect" ("齊人語") the language spoken by Fu Sheng. As the teacher and student spoke two different languages, the daughter's presence in the scene was certain, as she was destined to be a critical figure in the passing down of *Shangshu*—without her interpretation, the restoration of the canon would have been impossible. By quoting Wei Hong's work, Yan Shigu clarified Fu Sheng's daughter's interpreting presence in the puzzling transmission between Fu Sheng and Chao Cuo, which had not been recorded in previous official archives. Yan Shigu was the leading Confucian scholar in the Tang Dynasty and his annotations to the official *Hanshu* had been well kept in ancient China. In this sense, Yan Shigu's annotation helped to preserve the record of this important woman interpreter in the long war and the chaos that followed the Tang Dynasty.

In the Northern Song Dynasty, Fu Sheng's daughter had been mentioned in some non-standard texts. A case of example is that a Northern-Song (960-1127) miscellaneous document called *Taiping yulan* (太平御覽 Imperial readings of the Taiping Era) (Li et al. 984/1997) recorded her interpreting presence. Later, in the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279), Fu Sheng's daughter's role was more widely recognized, as Zhu Xi (朱熹 1130-1200), perhaps the most influential Confucian thinker during and after the Southern Song Dynasty, supported the opinion that the transmission of the canon was interpreted by Fu Sheng's daughter. *Zhuzi yulei* (朱子語類 Classified conversations of Master Zhu Xi) (Li 1270/1986), a book that recorded Zhu Xi's dialogues with his disciples, recorded Zhu Xi's clarification of the public suspicion about Fu Sheng's daughter's role, as the following.

伏生書多艱澀難曉，孔安國壁中書卻平易易曉。或者謂伏生口授女子，故多錯誤，此不然。今古書傳中所引書語已皆如此，不可曉。(Li 1270/1986, 1978)

Many parts in Fu Sheng's version of Shangshu are highly elliptical and incomprehensible, but the other version found in the walls of Confucius's residence is clear and comprehensible. Some said that because Fu Sheng entrusted a woman

> this kind of opinion, I do not agree. The quotations in Fu Sheng's version are all elliptical. There is no way for us now to know where these quotations are sourced from.

In the above quotation, Zhu Xi expressed his support of Fu Sheng's daughter by denying the "mistaken belief" that the daughter should be responsible for the mistakes in Fu Sheng's version of *Shangshu* ("或者謂伏生口授女子，故多錯誤，此不然"). The quotation also implied that, before Zhu Xi expressed his support, Fu Sheng's daughter's dubious role as a female translator was to blame for the many mistakes in the text. The source of this blame was based on two facts: (1) it reflected the gendered anxiety and uneasiness some scholars had towards Fu Sheng's daughter, who dared, as a woman, to interpret the master's canon; and (2) it reflected the difficulty of interpreting the canon, no matter who the translator was. Despite the complaints against Fu Sheng's daughter's role in interpreting the canon, there was no denying her interpreting presence in the scene.

In the Northern Song Dynasty, Fu Sheng's daughter's image began to appear in some literati paintings featured the theme "Fu Sheng Transmitting *Shangshu*". Literati painting is a kind of painting which had been extremely popular amongst scholars and poets since the Northern Song (Cahill 1976). The Northern-Song poet Huang Tingjian (黃庭堅 1045-1105) once commented Fu Sheng's daughter as "seriously-looking" on one painting, and this may be the earliest proof of her entry in literati paintings (Huang 1999, 72). Subsequently in literati paintings in the Southern Song, Yuan (1279-1368) and Ming (1368-1644) Dynasties, Fu Sheng's daughter's image appeared more frequently (cf. Liu 2015). The scroll painting "Fu Sheng shoujing" (伏勝授經 Fu Sheng transmitting *Shangshu*) by the Ming artist Du Jin (杜堇 c. 1465-1509) has been one of the most renowned literati paintings featured this theme. In this painting, Fu Sheng's daughter is interpreting her father's words to Chao Cuo—as she turns to him in the scroll and is kneeling between Fu Sheng and Chao Cuo.

In the Qing Dynasty (1636-1911), some unofficial documents, including a few scholarly writings and local chronologies, also recorded Fu Sheng's daughter's interpreting role. Amongst these records, the early Qing scholar Yan Ruoqu's (阎若璩 1636-1704) opinion was representative. Yan (1688/2013, 611) reasoned that Fu Sheng's daughter participated the transmission because "Fu Sheng's son had died long before and his grandson was still young, and Fu Sheng's students were not living nearby". Yan argued, in view of the father's old age, the daughter must "be elder enough so that there was nothing improper for her to teach Chao Cuo" (ibid., 614). Strictly in Confucian values, young women, especially unmarried, were not allowed to meet any men who were not those from her family. Yan's opinion won some wide scholarly support in his time (cf. Yang 2018). [4]

Figure 1: Du Jin, the scroll painting "Fu Sheng Shoujing", ink and colour on silk, courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York[4]

2.2 The "two women translators" in the palace coup of 77 bce

The record of the two women translators was found on one wooden slip in the over 10, 000 Han slips unearthed in 1930s in the ancient military town called Juyan (now parts of Inner Mongolia and Gansu Province). Later collected as *Juyan hanjian* (居延漢簡 Juyan Han Wooden and Bamboo Slips), *Juyan hanjian* was a typical private archive written by anonymous local low-ranking officials and beacon tower guardians; its content included daily reports of beacon towers, civilian lawsuits, private correspondences, the expense accounts of the town's government, and weapon stocks (cf. Chen 1986). The following quotation is from the wooden slip that recorded the two female translators' existence in *Juyan hanjian*.

> 詔夷虜候章 □ 卒曰持樓蘭王頭詣敦煌留卒十人**女譯二人**留守 □。[5]
> (Lao 1957, 10. Slip No. 303.18)
>
> Emperor Zhao ordered local officer Zhang with the title of Yilu to send soldiers (to Loulan), and (ordered Fu Zijie) to take the king's head to Dunhuang. (Fu Zijie) ordered ten soldiers and two women translators to stay and watch vigilantly. [6]

Originally written with twenty-five Chinese characters, this Western-Han slip features a clear reference to two women translators (“女譯二人”) in a military coup against the King of Loulan in 77 bce. During a diplomatic mission, the Han envoy Fu Jiezi found that the King of Loulan was disloyal as he had turned to the rival Xiongnu, the powerful nomadic tribes that intermittently controlled the vast area west of the Western Regions during the Han Dynasty. In a precipitous meeting, Fu Jiezi killed the king and supported a new king prone to the Han Court. This was a famous diplomatic event at that time with far-reaching consequences, as it significantly established the Han’s authority and weakened the Xiongnu’s power in the region. This quotation shows two women translators were involved in this event.

In an extremely concise writing style, this wooden slip did not mention what language roles the two women translators performed in the coup. However, the official Hanshu, while failing to mention any women translators, gave a more detailed account of the language performance of the interpreters involved in the coup:

> (介子輕將勇敢士) 介子與士卒俱齎金幣，揚言以賜外國為名。至樓蘭，樓蘭王意不親介子，介子陽引去，至其西界，使譯謂曰：“漢使者持黃金錦繡行賜諸國，王不來受，我去之西國矣。” 即出金幣以示譯。譯還報王，王貪漢物，來見使者。介子與坐飲，陳物示之。飲酒皆醉，介子謂王曰：“天子使我私報王。” 王起隨介子入帳中，屏語，壯士二人從後刺之，刃交胸，立死。其贵人左右皆散走。介子告諭以 “王負漢罪，天子遣我來誅王，當更立前太子質在漢者。漢兵方至，毋敢動，動，滅國矣！” 遂持王首还诣阙，公卿将军议者咸嘉其功。遂持王首还诣阙，公卿将军议者咸嘉其功。
> (Ban 2012, 2596)

> (Fu Jiezi headed a small party of soldiers11) Jiezi and his soldiers all took gold and silk. He declared that his purpose was to confer presents to the kings of western kingdoms. The King of Loulan did not trust him and did not want to approach, so Fu Jiezi made as if he were going to leave. When he reached the western border, he sent an interpreter to tell the King, “I the Han envoy am to confer gold and silk to the kingdoms of the region. If the King does not come to receive the things, I will take them away to kingdoms to the west.” Jiezi then showed the interpreter the gold and silk. The interpreter went back to report the event to the King. The King coveted the Han’s goods, so came to meet the Han envoy. Fu Jiezi drank with the King, showing him the goods. When everyone was drunk, Jiezi told the King, “The Han Emperor sent me with a private message for you.” The King stood up and followed Fu Jiezi into his tent. The King dispersed his men and the two spoke privately. Two strong soldiers stabbed the King in his back. The King died immediately; his followers all fled. Fu Jiezi announced, “The King is guilty (of infringing the Han), and the Han Emperor is sending me to execute him. You should make a new king, the younger brother of the executed King who is your hostage heir-apparent at the Han court. Han’s army shall come soon. You shall

> not act against the Han, or Loulan will be destroyed." Fu Jiezi then took the king's head to report this event in the capital. All the chamberlains and generals (of the Han court) praised Jiezi's heroic deeds.

The above more detailed account in *Hanshu* offers a better understanding of how important the translators' language duties were to Fu Jiezi's mission in the planned coup. In the passage above, the interpreter came back ("還"in the Chinese quotation) to report Han's gold and silk to the King of Loulan, and this indicates that this interpreter may not have been the same women translators shown on the *Juyan hanjian* wooden slip, as they seemed to have worked for different camps. However, later when the King followed Fu Jiezi into his tent and "dispersed his man" ("王起隨介子入帳中") and the two spoke privately ("屏語"), the interpreter(s) from Fu Jiezi's mission should largely be in the scene to facilitate the conversation. The above passage also recorded that Fu Jiezi made a critical announcement to pacify the King's men after he killed the King. In this circumstance, what could be inferred from this account is that the interpreter(s) from Fu Jiezi's mission "should have interpreted or facilitated Fu Jiezi's announcement" (Wang and Qiao 2013, 14) to control the situation after the coup.

There is a high possibility that the invisible interpreter(s) in facilitating Fu Jiezi's announcement, as mentioned in the official *Hanshu*, was from the two women translators recorded on the slip. Proof of the possibility is that the official account of the coup is extremely accordant with the details after the coup recorded on the wooden slip, such as Fu Jiezi's "small party of brave soldiers" ("介子輕將勇敢士") in Hanshu matches with the record of "ten soldiers" ("卒十人") on the wooden slip, and Fu Jiezi was ordered to send the king's head to Dunhuang before it was able to be sent to the capital. Considering that Fu Jiezi had, from the start, only a small party of soldiers in his mission and the two women translators occupied a rather high position among the ten soldiers after the coup, it is reasonable that the invisible interpreter(s) in facilitating Fu Jiezi's announcement in the official Hanshu was from the two women translators recorded on the wooden slip, who were also ordered "to stay and watch vigilantly" after the coup.

As the slip shows, the two translators were ordered, along with ten soldiers, to "stay and watch vigilantly" after the coup. In other words, they had to perform the non-linguistic duties of military vigilance and military defence just as routinely as their linguistic duties. This message resonates the historical findings that translators in ancient times were meanwhile tasked with non-linguistic duties in both the East and the West (cf. Li 1994; Mairs 2012; Zhu 2013). Significantly also, this message reminds us that the two women translators in ancient China, despite their gender, had been entrusted with important military duties.

With only four Chinese characters "女譯二人" (two women translators) written on the wooden slip, *Juyan hanjian* gave no further information about their identities. Who were they? Local women of Hu ethnicity? Chinese women who had immigrated from inland? Why were they allowed to take on a job traditionally reserved for males? To answer these questions, one must go back to the Han's administrative presence in the Western Regions prior to the coup in 77 bce.

During the reign of Emperor Wu (151-87 bce), after several decisive military successes over the *Xiongnu* tribes, the Western Han controlled most kingdoms in the region and began to deploy routine administration posts in them. In the official *Hanshu*'s records, in the twenty-five years from 102 bce to 77 bce, posts for interpreters had been set up in those kingdoms, including "(in) the Kingdom of Loulan … two chiefs of interpreters" (Ban 2007, 962). Though low-ranking, these interpreting clerks were all equipped with "official seals issued from the Han court" (ibid., 980). This meant that their rank was enrolled in the Han government system. Historical research on this area (Eqiong 2006; Wang and Qiao 2013) has revealed that the chief interpreters were chosen from local people with "bilingual or multilingual capabilities" (Eqiong 2006, 18). These chiefs were, foremostly, tasked with the duty of communicating and negotiating between the Han government and the kingdoms. During and after Fu Jiezi's coup, the two women translators obeyed and followed Fu Jiezi's order requiring them, together with the ten Han soldiers, to watch and guard against the King's men, so their political and military stances must have been the same as the Western Han's. In this circumstance, the two women translators could have been the two Han-appointed interpreting clerks in the Kingdom of Loulan, as the Han envoy Fu Jiezi, Han had legitimacy and reason to order them to "stay and watch vigilantly" after the coup.

Another possibility is that the two women interpreters were interpreters hired locally. Geographically afar from central administration, the Western Regions generally had a relatively open atmosphere for women (cf. Eqiong 2006) and women in this area "had a much higher social status than that of inland women" (ibid., 18) in China's history. Historical documents show that, throughout the Han Dynasty, women living in the region had engaged in highly varied professions and/or work posts, including the "diplomatic envoy" Feng Liao (馮嫽) (Hu and Zhang 2001, 140), "a prosecutor" in a lawsuit (Zhao 2018, 43) and "a war-horse broker" (ibid., 45), an unusual business even for inland civilian men. All in all, the Western Regions had a social, political, and cultural environment "all very different from that of the Central Plain in the Han Dynasty" (cf. Eqiong 2006, 18). A multilinguistic and multi-ethnic area, the Western Regions also provided fertile ground for "bilingual or multilingual people to engage in cross-linguistic communications" (Rezhaike 1995, 9). From this perspective, it is equally possible that the two women interpreters in Fu Jiezi's mission were civilian interpreters hired locally. In either possibility, the two women interpreters were largely of *Hu* ethnicity.

2.3 The Buddhist nun translator Facheng

Facheng (640-729) is currently the only known Buddhist nun translator, although there are many Buddhist monk translators in orthodox archives. Facheng's life deeds were recorded in "Xingshengsi zhuni Facheng taming" (興聖寺主尼法澄塔銘 Inscribed stupa epitaph of the presiding nun Facheng of Xingsheng Monastery) (Li 1991). This 864-word epitaph was written by Prince Peng Li Zhijian (李志暕) on her husband Prince Jiang's side. According to the epitaph, Facheng was born into an aristocratic family and had a strong devotion to Buddhism beginning at an early age. She was married to Prince Jiang, the seventh son of Emperor Taizong (太宗 r. 526-649), and was "probably the mother of Prince Wei, Prince Jiang's heir son" (Shi 2005, 1). In 675, the late reign of Emperor Gaozong (高宗 r. 649-683), Prince Jiang was forced to commit suicide on order of an appeal accusing him of betraying the emperor, an accusation that "later proved to be false" (Ouyang and Song 1060/1975, 3575). We should note that during Emperor Gaozong's late reign, the de facto ruler was his consort wife Empress Wu (武曌). In 675 or early 676, soon after her husband's death, Facheng became a Buddhist nun. The most likely reason that Facheng became a nun was attributed to a political pretext: though she immediately abandoned secular life after Prince Jiang's death, it was not completely the result of having a pious religious devotion (Chen 2002, 58).

After becoming a nun, Facheng became a disciple of the eminent monk-translator Fazang (法藏 643-712). Referred to as "Kangzang" in the epitaph, Fazang was a Sogdian monk and a master of Sanskrit. Fazang presided over large Buddhist Translation Assemblies and enjoyed very high prestige during Empress Wu's reign (Choe 1990). The epitaph shows that Facheng studied with Fazang for a long time and was constantly praised by Fazang for her thorough understanding of Buddhism:

> 于至相寺康藏師處聽法，探微洞悟，同彼善才，調伏堅持，寧殊海意。康藏師每指法師謂師徒曰："住持佛法者，即此師也。"(Li 1991, 158)
>
> (She) then went to Zhixiang Monastery to attend the dharma lectures delivered by Master Kangzang. She studied the dharma's subtleties, making them open up with a flash of enlightenment, just as Bodhisattva Shancai had. In steadfastly controlling her own three karmic actions, how could one see any difference between her and Bodhisattva Haiyi? Master Kangzang frequently pointed to our master (Facheng) and said to his disciples, "This master is exactly the person who is able to uphold and maintain the Buddhadharma!"

Approaching the end of the 680s, Facheng's life as a nun had taken a critical turn. She was accused of being involved with Prince Wei's conspiracy against Empress Wu, who later killed Prince Wei. As punishment for being related to Prince Wei, Facheng was confined in the palace prison in the year of Ruyi (如意 Empress Wu's reign title, 22 April-22 October 692 ce) and was forced to do humble palace services. As was written in the epitaph, Facheng adhered to Buddhist practices during her confinement and attracted a large number of followers. The epitaph did not mention how she survived the political event and had so many followers under the harsh palace environment. According to Chen (2002, 61), Facheng's Buddhist knowledge and her discipleship under Fazang might have attracted Empress Wu, "a devout and knowledgeable Buddhist laywoman" who deeply trusted and admired Fazang.

At some point after 705 ce, Facheng's life took another critical turn - a joyous one this time. In early 705 ce, Empress Wu, while too old to suppress a coup, was forced by her son Emperor Zhongzong (中宗 r. 683-684 and 705-710) to dethrone. After Emperor Zhongzong rethroned, Facheng immediately rose to power. She was first released from the palace prison after Emperor Zhongzong was reenthroned in 705 ce. Later, at the recommendation of some Tripitaka masters, she was appointed the presiding nun of the Shaotang Nunnery by Emperor Zhongzong. It was very unusual for a nun to have the open recommendation of Tripitaka monks. Later, during Emperor Ruizong's reign (睿宗 Emperor Zhongzong's brother, r. 710-712), she was appointed presiding nun of the more prestigious Xingsheng Monastery. Presiding over Xingsheng Monastery was an unusual honour for a nun since the monastery was transferred from one old residence of the Tang Dynasty's founding emperor, Emperor Gaozu (高祖 r. 618-626), and this residence had a symbolic position for the imperial family (Chen 2002). Facheng had been highly efficient at her presiding post. The epigraph said she completed the refurbishment of the nunnery in less than a month and engaged in a series of Buddhist construction projects.

As she approached the end of her life, Facheng withdrew from secular duties and concentrated on her Buddhist studies, including the translation of *Ullambana Sutra* and *Sutra of the Saunas and Baths of the Sangha*. Part of the epitaph reads:

> 不能祇理事塗，請解寺主，遂抄《華嚴疏義》三卷，及翻《盂蘭盆經》、《溫室經》等，專精博思，日起異聞，疲厭不生，誦經行道，視同居士。風疾現身，乃臥經二旬，飲食絕口。… 弟子嗣彭王女尼彌多羅等，恐人事隨化，陵谷遷移，紀德鐫功，乃為不朽。(Li 1991, 158)
>
> Master Facheng could not manage monastery matters, so she was required to resign from the presiding nun's position. After resigning, she transcribed three volumes of the *Notes and Commentary on the Avatamsaka Sutra*. Then she translated *Ullambana Sutra* and *Sutra of the Saunas and Baths of the Sangha*. She had intensive knowledge and comprehensive thoughts. She got up early, learned variously, and felt no boredom. She recited scripts, practiced Dharma, and saw herself as a Buddhist laywoman. Later, a stroke struck the master. She had to lie in bed for over twenty days, unable to eat and drink…. The master's disciples, including Prince Peng's daughter Miduoluo, on the occasion of moving the master's tomb, inscribed the epitaph to commemorate the master so that the master's name and accomplishments would not be forgotten.

Facheng died on 27 December 729, at the age of ninety. The epitaph stated that she was still elegant and beautiful in her old age, possessing eloquence and fluency in reciting and discussing sutras. As an eminent nun, Facheng's one major achievement was her translation of the two Buddhist sutras - *Ullambana Sutra* on filial piety and *Sutra of the Saunas and Baths of the Sangha* on Buddhist bathing rituals and goods. Facheng's translations were said to have been "popular at the time they were translated" (Chuo 2011, 174), but they are not available now. The prevailing Chinese versions of the two Buddhist sutras are translations by Dharmaraksa (竺法護 230?-316) and An Shigao (安世高 fl. Second Century ce), respectively, and their versions were translated much earlier than Facheng's translations.

The epigraph did not specify Facheng's learning or mastery of Sanskrit, the source language of the-then Buddhist sutras, but it mentioned some Buddhist key words and concepts in Sanskrit (such as "Bodhisattva" and "karmic") in Facheng's Buddhist practices and that Facheng's Buddhist knowledge was highly praised by Master Fazang. Another important clue of her Sanskrit knowledge is shown in the epitaph: one of her disciples was named "miduoluo" ("彌多羅"), a Chinese transliteration of the Sanskrit word "mitra" (literally "friend"). Traditionally in China, Buddhist mentors named their disciples and that Facheng named her disciple with Sanskrit infers her Sanskrit knowledge. These clues point to Facheng's Sanskrit knowledge and her eligibility to translate the two sutras directly from Sanskrit into Chinese. [7] At any rate, she was completely considered a translator, as the epigraph shows.

3. Implications

Women translators/interpreters had never been mentioned in official records in ancient China, and they have rarely drawn scholarly attention. Drawing on a variety of historical documents, this essay presents four women translators/interpreters in ancient China and explores their translational identities, roles, and the historical contexts in which their translation activities had been situated. The study shows that the four women translators are important figures of translation and their existence in our history have important modern-day inspirations and/or implications.

3.1 The importance of the four women translators/interpreters

The four women translators/interpreters were important figures of translation in their times. In the case of Fu Sheng's daughter, her interpreting made the restoration and a wider circulation of the canonical Shangshu possible, which further helped to establish a Confucius national order in the Western Han Dynasty. Invisible as her presence and role had been in official records, her linguistic meddling between the two leading male figures was critical in this far-reaching scholastic and political event — without her interpreting, this Confucius canon could not have been transmitted. In this sense, Fu Sheng's daughter was perhaps one of the most important translators in our history.

In the case of the two women interpreters in Fu Jiezi's coup, their roles and performances, linguistically and non-linguistically, had been vital for Fu Jiezi's mission. Considering the eventual success of Fu Jiezi's mission, as was recorded in official documents, the two female interpreters should have performed their roles successfully. As it was once pointed out, the successful coup would be hard to image "if not for the active involvement of the two anonymous interpreters" (Eqiong 2006, 19). In many senses, the two female interpreters were important figures in this significant event, although their names and gender were not mentioned in official documents.

Facheng was definitely a very important figure of translation in her time, and the importance of her translation straddles multiple fields. Facheng is the only female Buddhist translator ever found in ancient China. In China's Buddhist translation tradition, woman translating Buddhist sutras is very rare. Prior to her, Buddhist translation had been carried on, exclusively by male translators, for hundreds of years, and it would continue for another hundreds of years till the end of the Northern Song Dynasty. In a nation with large numbers of Buddhist nuns and female disciples, very few women ever entered the realm of Buddhist sutra translation—Facheng could not have done it if not for her powerful nun status and special circumstances in her life. Discipleship under the powerful master-monk Fazang was obviously no easy for a common nun. Chen Jinhua (2002, 58) believes that her "exceptional family background", including her husband Prince Jiang's ties in Buddhism, should have contributed to her growth into an eminent nun. So power was an entrance ticket for Facheng to enter this realm of Buddhist translation. In many senses, Facheng's Buddhist translation reveals the intriguing relationship between gender and power in Buddhist translation in ancient China. Seen from this perspective, Buddhist translation in ancient China was not a monolithic realm of translation conducted exclusively by male translators, as previous studies looked it (Liang 1920/2011; Ma 2006).

3.2 The importance of non-official archives in studies of early women translators

Early women translators in China have been extremely obscure figures, both in our history and in scholarly studies. In relevant scholarly studies, early women translators have been discussed either as legendary or fictional figures in our history (Mann 1997; Chuo 2011). At this point, one may wonder if the obscurity of early female translators in China has to do with the scantiness of the historical documents, so scholars on this issue tramp in a historical wilderness of material scarcity. In compiling her seminal work *An Anthology of Chinese Discourse on Translation: From Earliest Times to the Buddhist Project*, the late professor Martha Cheung lamented over the non-existence of any women translators in the long official history of imperial China which, however, have left rich records of many an influential male translator.[8] It is perhaps precisely because the identity of the four women translators, who belonged to two marginal groups—women and translators—in our history, that they were left blank in official archives in ancient China. In this circumstance, we need to look elsewhere.

In this study, all the four early women translators were found in non-official archives, mostly in raw historical materials and this fact shows the importance of non-official documents in relevant studies, especially those of early women translators. Non-official historical archives in imperial China refer to the documents not written by official historians and therefore deemed "unauthoritative or unacceptable" (Qu 2000, 54), including the rich and diverse unofficial documents like private documents (家史), miscellaneous documents (雜史), other documents (別史) and local chronicles (地方誌) in ancient China (Qu 2000). Highly complementary to official documents, the rich and diverse unorthodox historical archives recorded another part of history which was not recorded in official archives.

In *Charting the Future of Translation History*, Bastin and Bandia (2006, 3) points out that there remain "vast unknown territories and large empty spaces yet to be filled in" in the studies of translation history. If there are any unknown territories or empty spaces in the study of China's translation history (Li 2002; Ma 2006; Chen 2010; Lung 2011), in which official archives have long been the major material source, the study of early women translator and/or women's translation history would be just one. From this perspective, it is still necessary for this paper to stress the importance of non-official materials in those relevant studies of translation history and/or translators in our history, which contain critical information "that has only begun to be mined" (Bowen et al. 2012, 251).

3.3 The importance of the research of women translators/interpreters in Ancient China

The importance of the four invisible women translators/interpreters in China's official history immediately points to the importance of more and further research of women translators/interpreters in ancient China. In many ways, the article's surfacing of the four "lost" figures of women translators/interpreters in China's history is like the tip of an iceberg, with the immense part of the iceberg lying invisible under water and many more issues awaiting research. Say, if there are more invisible women translator(s)/interpreter(s) if more unofficial and/or historical raw materials are unlocked? What if we situate the four women translators/interpreters in the spectrum of history in ancient China and examine the ways and modes in which the four women translators had been recorded and unrecorded respectively in the unofficial and official records in ancient China? And what if we look closer and examine, again, the intriguing power struggles and politics, in China's history, encapsulating the four women translators from a gender perspective? The author believes these issues and more have their theoretical and practical values. From this perspective, the study of women translators/interpreters in ancient China deserves more scholarly attention.

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Notes

[1] The author uses, in some circumstances, “translator” and “interpreter” interchangeably in this paper to refer to, generally, the person(s) who engaged in the cross-languages activities in ancient China, because “translator” and “interpreter” and “translation” and “interpreting” were not distinguished in classical Chinese as they are in modern Chinese and English. In classical Chinese, “yi” could mean both translating and interpreting and translator and interpreter.

[2] Susan Mann (Stanford 997) and Chuo (2012) have written about early Chinese women translators, but they did not verify these translators’ existences and their real translation activities. In Chuo’s (2012, 42) work, some women translators were described as “not real persons in the real history”.

[3] Unless specified otherwise, all the English quotations in this paper were translated by the author, with reference to their punctuated Chinese editions listed in the References. The bold font and abridgements in the quotations are also mine.

[4] For details of this painting, please visit https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/39667

[5] The two “□” in this quotation represent two missing characters on the slip.

[6] This English translation is based on the leading Han-slip expert Chen Zhi’s (2006) interpretation.

[7] For different translation posts in Buddhist translation in ancient China, see Cheung (2006, 192-193).

[8] Professor Cheung mentioned the non-existence of women translators in her course “Chinese Discourse on Translation” opened in 2009.

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Linguistic Variation in L2 Writing and Learner Translation: A Corpus-Based Multidimensional Analysis

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Abstract

This study examines the linguistic features of L2 (second language) writing and L2 learner translation among Chinese learners, employing Biber's (1988) multi-dimensional analysis framework. The analysis is based on two corpora: 53 texts from the International Corpus of English - Hong Kong (ICE-HK) representing L2 writing, and 53 translated texts from the Parallel Learner Translation Corpus (PLTC), which were self-compiled for this study. Both corpora encompass six written genres—academic writing, popular writing, reportage, instructional writing, persuasive writing, and creative writing. Dimension scores were calculated for each text and compared between the two corpora using Wilcoxon signed-rank tests. Although both corpora primarily align with the "general narrative exposition" genre, significant differences were observed in Dimensions 1 (Involved vs. Informational Discourse), 4 (Overt Expression of Persuasion), and 6 (Online Informational Elaboration). Specifically, ICE-HK exhibited significantly lower scores on these dimensions compared to PLTC, indicating that L2 writing is more informational, less persuasive, and shows reduced online informational elaboration than L2 translations. These findings highlight the distinct constraints and pro-

duction processes inherent to L2 writing versus L2 translation, offering valuable insights into the linguistic variation between these two modes of L2 production and informing practices in second language writing instruction and translation training.

1. Introduction

Direct English composition and translation involve different linguistic skills and mental processes (Göpferich and Jääskeläinen 2009). However, research in applied linguistics has yet to fully explore the distinctions between these two modes of language production, particularly in the Hong Kong context. In direct composition, L2 (second language) speakers generate ideas and produce language simultaneously in English, while translation involves expressing pre-formed ideas originally conceived in Chinese, requiring a cross-linguistic transfer into English. These processes appear to engage distinct cognitive resources—immediate language processing for direct writing and cross-linguistic transfer for translation. Both skills are essential in academic and professional contexts where Chinese speakers may need to both compose directly in English and translate Chinese materials, yet current pedagogical practices often do not fully address the unique demands of each. Given that Chinese and English are typologically distant languages, a deeper understanding of their linguistic differences could greatly enhance teaching methods for both English writing and translation.

This study addresses this key research gap by applying the multi-dimensional analysis proposed by Biber (1988) to compare L2 learner translation with L2 writing, both in English. This approach facilitates a comprehensive examination of linguistic features across multiple dimensions, shedding light on how these two tasks differ. Previous research has explored differences between native and non-native writing (Vo 2019) and between professional and learner translations (Kunilovskaya et al. 2018). However, specific differences between L2 writing and L2 learner translation remain underexplored. A valuable theoretical framework for examining these distinctions is the concept of constrained communication. Both L2 writing and translation involve constrained language production, though each presents unique constraints (Chen et al. 2024; Lanstyák and Heltai 2012). In L2 writing, processing is inherently constraint-based (Wu et al. 2023) and influenced by factors such as limited linguistic resources in the target language, while in translation, constraints arise from the need to accurately convey the source text's meaning and style (e.g., Snape et al. 2023; Wetzel et al. 2024). This framework suggests that observed differences between writing and translation may reflect distinct ways L2 speakers manage these constraints. Understanding these linguistic differences is essential for advancing language acquisition and translation studies (Kwok et al. 2023). By comparing these two modes of L2 production through Biber's multi-dimensional analysis, this study aims to provide nuanced insights into how L2 speakers navigate the unique demands of writing and translation tasks. The findings have the potential to significantly impact second language acquisition theory, translation studies, and language pedagogy, contributing to more effective L2 instruction and assessment practices.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Constrained Communication

The concept of "constrained communication" was introduced to describe communicative situations where "one or several of the potential limiting factors play a greater than average role" (Lanstyák and Heltai 2012, 100). It suggests that various types and degrees of constraints affect all communication instances. Certain contexts, such as language contact scenarios—including translation and bilingual interactions—are particularly impacted by these constraints (ibid.). Expanding on this concept, some scholars have introduced the term "constrained language" to describe language output produced under heightened restrictions (Kruger and van Rooy 2016, 27). Both L2 production and translated texts are considered to share similar constraints, mainly due to the fact that they both involve the transfer of meaning from one language to another, which can result in similar linguistic and cognitive challenges, such as language interference, cultural differences, and limitations in expressing nuances and idiomatic expressions. This perspective provides a valuable framework for understanding the unique challenges and characteristics of language produced in bilingual contexts, whether through translation or direct second-language use.

L2 writing has long been recognized as a constrained form of writing, with L2 writers facing numerous limitations, such as restricted vocabulary, incomplete mastery of grammar, and interference from their first language (Hinkel 2011). This perspective suggests that L2 writers operate under unique constraints that shape their linguistic choices and overall writing performance, often resulting in distinctive features in L2 writing. Kormos (2011) argued that L2 writing is inherently more cognitively demanding than L1 (first language) writing due to the additional constraints imposed by limited linguistic resources. These constraints can affect various aspects of the writing process, including lexical retrieval, syntactic formulation, and discourse organization, leading to an increased cognitive load that may impact the fluency and quality of L2 written output. Wang and Wen (2002), through their think-aloud study on L1 use during L2 writing, found that linguistic constraints prompted strategic L1 use, especially for idea generation and organizational planning, though linguistic encoding in L2 remained challenging.

Translation is a key area where the concept of constrained communication plays a crucial role. In the translation process, there is continuous bilingual activation (Kruger and van Rooy 2016), as translators must frequently alternate between two linguistic systems, placing significant demands on working memory. Additionally, the lack of a shared communicative context—due to linguistic differences—can lead to breakdowns or misunderstandings. To address these challenges, translators often employ strategies to reduce cognitive load and mitigate risk. These strategies may include literal translation, explication, and simplification (Carl and Dragsted 2012; Pym 2015). Furthermore, the translation process is inherently constrained by the source text, which can influence the structure and content of the target language. This interference may manifest in various linguistic features of the translated output (Toury 2012). Collectively, these insights highlight the complex interplay between language activation, translation processes, and the constraints imposed by source-text fidelity in bilingual communication.

Despite the growing body of research in both L2 writing and translation studies, significant gaps remain in our understanding of the linguistic differences between L2 writing and L2 learner translation. While both forms of language production share the common characteristic of being constrained communication (Lanstyák and Heltai 2012), they present distinct cognitive and linguistic challenges that warrant further investigation. L2 writing has been extensively examined from various perspectives, including cognitive processes (Manchón 2012), linguistic features (Crossley and McNamara 2012), and developmental trajectories (Polio 2017). Similarly, translation studies have explored the linguistic characteristics of translated texts, often focusing on professional translations or comparing them to native language production (Baker 1993; Liu and Afzaal 2021; Liu et al. 2022; Wang et al. 2023; Wang, Liu et al. 2024; Wang, Cheung et al. 2024). However, the specific linguistic features that differentiate L2 writing from L2 learner translation remain underexplored. This gap is particularly noteworthy given that both tasks are commonly undertaken by L2 speakers in academic and professional settings. Furthermore, most previous studies on the linguistic features of translations tend to focus on isolated features, making it crucial to examine the linguistic characteristics of both text types systematically from multiple dimensions.

2.2 Multi-Dimensional Analysis (MDA)

MDA (Biber 1988) is a methodology for analyzing genre variation that utilizes 67 linguistic features and employs factor analysis to identify dimensions of language variation. The MDA process consists of three main stages: feature selection and frequency calculation, factor analysis for feature clustering, and dimension score computation. In the first stage, researchers select relevant linguistic features and calculate their frequency within a corpus. In the second stage, factor analysis is used to group these features into factors, which are then interpreted as textual dimensions based on the communicative functions of their constituent elements. Finally, dimension scores are calculated by considering the positive and negative factor loadings of the linguistic features within each factor. As McEnery et al. (2006, 288) explain, the dimension score is computed by adding together the factor scores of features with positive loadings and subtracting the factor scores of features with negative loadings.

Two primary approaches to MDA have been employed in linguistic and translation studies. The first is the standard MDA model (Biber 1988), which incorporates six dimensions and 67 linguistic features (e.g., Kruger and van Rooy 2016; Wang and Liu 2024). The second approach is customized, where researchers select their own linguistic features, conduct factor analysis, and interpret the resulting dimensions (e.g., Hu et al. 2016; Xiao 2009).

Over the past three decades, MDA has gained widespread adoption in genre studies, with applications across a variety of text types, including student writing (Gardner et al. 2019), annual reports (Ren and Lu 2021), fiction (Su and Liu 2022), diplomatic discourse (Yao et al. 2024), speeches (Xu and Li 2024) and academic articles (Liu and Xiao 2022). Liu and Xiao (2022) used MDA to examine the linguistic strategies employed in the conclusion sections of research articles across different disciplines. They found significant variations in writing styles between natural and social science papers, as well as evidence that the communicative intent of the conclusion sections influences linguistic features across multiple dimensions. Similarly, Gardner et al. (2019) applied MDA to investigate the British Academic Written English corpus, uncovering and interpreting four distinct dimensions of linguistic features. Their findings provided a framework for mapping academic disciplines, disciplinary groups, study levels, and genre families.

In recent years, MDA has found increasing applications in translation studies. Researchers have used this method to investigate translated language characteristics and L2 English varieties (Hu et al. 2016; Kruger and van Rooy 2016), as well as areas like financial translation (Wang and Liu 2024) and literary translation (Su and Liu 2022). Kruger and van Rooy (2016) applied MDA to analyze a translation corpus and a parallel set of texts from the International Corpus of English for East Africa, using the International Corpus of English for Great Britain as a control corpus. Their goal was to determine whether translated and non-native indigenized English variants share common features due to similar barriers in bilingual language production. The study found three common characteristics: enhanced formality, explicitation through elaboration and specification, and features resulting from processing strain. The key structural difference revealed that translated English tends to favor compressed and complex syntactic patterns, while the non-native indigenized variety predominantly uses clausal structures. Similarly, Hu et al. (2016) analyzed the Corpus of Translational English and the Freiburg-LOB Corpus of British English to identify linguistic features that distinguish translated texts from non-translated English writings. By examining 96 lexical, syntactic, and textual features, they found distinctive traits such as a higher frequency of the passive voice, greater use of abstract nouns, and more frequent explicit connectives. These features were shown to co-occur systematically, forming a “translational” dimension. Wang and Liu (2024) employed MDA to examine chairman’s statements in corporate annual reports, revealing significant differences between translated and non-translated English statements in dimensions such as informational density and context independence. These studies collectively contribute to a deeper understanding of linguistic variations across genres in both original and translated texts.

3. The Study

Both translation and L2 writing are forms of constrained communication, yet a key distinction exists between the two. Translation involves the production of text based on an existing source, whereas L2 writing requires creating content independently (Lanstyák and Heltai 2012). Student translators, who generally possess adequate L2 proficiency but are still developing their translation expertise, may face varying levels of constraint. These constraints can influence their selection and application of translation strategies during the text production process (Kwok et al. 2023). Despite the growing body of literature on both L2 writing and translation, there is a notable gap in systematic comparisons of the linguistic features of L2 learner translation and L2 writing. To address this gap, the present study seeks to investigate the linguistic differences between L2 learner translation and L2 writing, employing MDA (Biber 1988) framework. The study aims to answer the following research questions:

RQ1: In which language dimensions do L2 writing and L2 learner translation differ?

RQ2: What individual linguistic features characterize the differences between L2 writing and L2 learner translation?

RQ3: What are the potential factors that account for these differences if they are identified?

4. Methods

4.1 Corpus

The International Corpus of English - Hong Kong (ICE-HK) is part of the broader *International Corpus of English (ICE)* project, which was initiated by Greenbaum (1988). Specifically, *ICE-HK* was developed in the early 1990s under the direction of Bolt and Bolton (1996). This corpus was designed to collect comparable English language data from various regional varieties. In line with the overall structure of the *ICE* project, *ICE-HK* focuses on gathering English language samples from Hong Kong's Chinese-speaking population, who are native Cantonese speakers and have completed their primary and secondary education in Hong Kong. The corpus includes a wide range of text types, encompassing both spoken and written communication across various genres. Given its composition, *ICE-HK* is a representative corpus of English as a Second Language (ESL) as it is used in Hong Kong (Nelson 2006). As such, it serves as a valuable resource for studying the distinctive features of Hong Kong English within the global context of World Englishes.

The *Parallel Learner Translation Corpus (PLTC)* is a project at The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, developed to align with the written component (specifically the printed subcategory) of *ICE-HK* in terms of text categories and proportional size. The *PLTC* aims to document English translations produced by learners across various written registers in Hong Kong, including academic writing and fictional works. The corpus was developed through a systematic two-phase process. In the first phase, Chinese source materials were created through professional translations of *ICE-HK* texts from English into Chinese. Quality assurance was ensured through rigorous copyediting and collaborative review processes. The second phase involved learner translations from Chinese to English, contributed by undergraduate translation students from The Hong Kong Polytechnic University. These students, native Cantonese speakers who had completed their secondary education in Hong Kong, translated the texts into English. This methodologically sound compilation process resulted in a corpus that effectively captures the characteristics of learner translations in the Hong Kong context, making it a valuable resource for research in translation studies and second language acquisition. *PLTC* is a project at The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, designed to match the written component (specifically the printed subcategory) of *ICE-HK* in terms of text categories and proportional size. The *PLTC* aims to document English translations produced by learners across various written registers in Hong Kong, including academic writing and fictional works. *PLTC* has been developed through a systematic two-phase process. The first phase established the Chinese source materials through professional translations of *ICE-HK* texts from English into Chinese, with quality assurance maintained through rigorous copyediting and collaborative review processes. The second phase comprised learner translations from Chinese to English, contributed by undergraduate translation students from The Hong Kong Polytechnic University. Those translation students, were native Cantonese speakers who had completed their secondary education in Hong Kong. This methodologically sound compilation process resulted in a corpus that effectively captures the characteristics of learner translations in the Hong Kong context, making it a valuable resource for research in translation studies and second language acquisition. The development of *PLTC* involves a two-phase process. The initial phase focuses on preparing Chinese source materials. This is accomplished by having professional translators translate *ICE-HK* texts from English into Chinese. These translations undergo a rigorous quality control process, involving copyediting and collaborative review by both translators and copyeditors. The second phase centers on collecting learner translations from Chinese to English. Undergraduate students in their second to fourth year of translation studies at The Hong Kong Polytechnic University are invited to take part in via email. Interested students provide consent, and the researchers then select participants based on specific criteria. The eligible participants must be fluent Cantonese speakers who completed their secondary education in Hong Kong. This approach allows for the creation of a corpus that reflects the characteristics of learner translations in Hong Kong, providing valuable data for research in translation studies and second language acquisition.

The *PLTC* was initially designed to match the size and structure of *ICE-HK*. However, the recent emergence of Generative AI tools, such as ChatGPT, introduced an unexpected complication. Some participants began using these tools for translation tasks, leading to the inclusion of AI-generated content in the corpus. This AI-generated content, or “noise”, posed a potential threat to the integrity of the *PLTC*, as it could obscure the true characteristics of L2 learner translations. To address this challenge and preserve the corpus’ utility for studying L2 learner translation, we decided to focus on a subset of 53 translation samples from the *PLTC* (hereafter referred to as *PLTC*). These samples were specifically selected because they were completed without the assistance of Generative AI tools, ensuring they accurately reflect the L2 learners’ translation abilities. To ensure a balanced comparison, we selected a corresponding set of 53 writing samples from the *ICE-HK* corpus (hereafter referred to as *ICE-HK*). This paired approach allows for a more controlled and reliable comparison between L2 learner translations and L2 writing texts, while mitigating the potential bias introduced by AI-assisted translations. Both *ICE-HK* and *PLTC* encompass six genres: academic writing, popular writing, reportage, instructional writing, persuasive writing, and creative writing. Each text is approximately 2,000 words in length. *ICE-HK* contains 127,835 tokens and 12,704 types, while *PLTC* has 125,178 tokens and 11,880 types (see Table 1). In this study, *ICE-HK* represents L2 writing, while *PLTC* represents L2 learner translation.

Table 1: Composition of the corpora

Corpus	***ICE-HK***	***PLTC***
Genres	Academic writing, popular writing, reportage,	
	instructional writing, persuasive writing, creative writing	
Number of texts	53	53
	(A total of 53 printed written texts are extracted to match the 53 samples of *PLTC*)	
Tokens	127,835	125,178
Types	12,704	11,880
TTR	9.94%	9.49%
STTR	41.47%	41.05%

4.2 Data analysis

This study employed MDA (Biber 1988) framework, which examines 67 linguistic features. While more recent MDA models exist, such as Xiao’s (2009) 140-feature model and Hu et al.’s (2016) 96-feature model, Biber’s (1988) approach was selected due to its robust theoretical and methodological foundations. It is particularly well-suited for exploring the quantitative distribution of textual features across different registers using multivariate statistical techniques (Biber 2006). MDA identifies significant co-occurrence patterns of linguistic features within a language (Biber and Conrad 2001, 5). Biber's (1988) MDA framework encompasses 23 genres, including 17 written and 6 spoken genres (see Appendix). The model features six key dimensions: 1) Involved versus Informational Production, 2) Narrative versus Non-Narrative Concerns, 3) Explicit versus Situation-Dependent Reference, 4) Overt Expression of Persuasion, 5) Abstract versus Non-Abstract Information, and 6) On-line Informational Elaboration (p.115). Its versatility has been demonstrated in applications across a variety of registers, including annual reports (e.g., Wang and Liu 2024), novels (Su and Liu 2022), and scholarly articles (Liu and Xiao 2022).

For our analysis, we retrieved dimension and linguistic feature scores for individual texts from both the *ICE-HK* and *PLTC* corpora. To address our research questions, we adopted a systematic approach to data analysis. This began with assessing the distributional properties of the dependent variables. We conducted normality tests, including the Shapiro-Wilk test and visual inspection of Q-Q plots, to determine whether the dependent variables followed a normal distribution. The results of these normality tests are presented in Table 2. Four of the six dimensions deviated from a normal distribution. Consequently, the non-parametric Wilcoxon signed-rank test was employed to compare the ranks of *ICE-HK* and *PLTC*. We set the significance level at $\alpha = .05$ for all statistical tests, balancing the minimization of Type I errors (false positives) with maintaining adequate statistical power. This threshold indicates that results with p-values less than .05 were considered statistically significant, meaning we can be 95% confident that the observed differences were not due to chance. This comprehensive statistical approach allowed us to effectively quantify and compare the linguistic characteristics of learner translations and L2 writing, providing a solid foundation for addressing our research questions and drawing meaningful conclusions about the relationship between the two.

5. Results

Table 3 presents the descriptive statistics for the six dimensions of *ICE-HK* and *PLTC*, alongside the genre most closely associated with each dimension. Figure 1 provides boxplots of the six dimensions for both corpora. Although both *ICE-HK* and *PLTC* share the same closest genre, *general narrative exposition*, when considering the entire corpus, the two corpora are most closely aligned with this genre. However, a closer examination of individual dimensions reveals significant differences between the corpora in some areas. Specifically, they exhibit the same closest genre in four dimensions: Dimension 1 (Academic Prose), Dimension 2 (Conversation), Dimension 3 (Academic Prose), and Dimension 5 (Press Reportage). In contrast, Dimensions 4 and 6 show notable differences between the corpora. The results of the Wilcoxon signed-rank test indicate significant differences between *ICE-HK* and *PLTC* in Dimensions 1, 4, and 6, as shown in Table 4. In these three dimensions, *ICE-HK* demonstrates statistically lower values compared to *PLTC*.

Table 2: Results of Shapiro-Wilk (normality test)

	Statistic	df	Sig.
Dimension 1	0.864	106	< .001
Dimension 2	0.964	106	.006
Dimension 3	0.979	106	.090
Dimension 4	0.960	106	.003
Dimension 5	0.983	106	.194
Dimension 6	0.958	106	.002

Table 3: Descriptive statistics for *ICE-HK* and *PLTC*

Dimension	***ICK-HK (n=53)***					***PLTC (n=53)***				
	Mean	**SD**	**Min**	**Max**	**Closest Genre**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Min**	**Max**	**Closest Genre**
Dimension 1	-11.35	8.66	-27.08	24.30	Academic prose	-10.63	8.69	-21.26	27.13	Academic prose
Dimension 2	-0.49	3.24	-5.52	6.44	Conversation	-0.50	3.10	-5.29	5.83	Conversation
Dimension 3	4.77	3.38	-2.71	12.12	Academic prose	4.89	3.55	-3.19	12.62	Academic prose
Dimension 4	0.55	3.17	-5.00	10.43	Prepared speeches	1.07	3.32	-3.83	10.16	General fic- tion
Dimension 5	1.52	2.23	-3.29	7.37	Press re- portage	1.57	2.12	-2.52	6.23	Press re- portage
Dimension 6	-1.37	0.85	-2.57	1.57	Personal let- ters	-0.56	1.29	-3.02	3.15	Official doc- u- ments
Closest genre			General narrative exposition					General narrative exposition		

Dimension 1: *Involved Versus Informational Discourse*

In the context of multidimensional analysis, Dimension 1 examines the contrast between interactive and information-focused communication. This dimension assesses the extent to which a given text prioritizes the conveyance of information or engagement in interaction. Texts that score low on this scale tend to be rich in informational content, whereas those with higher scores typically exhibit a greater degree of interactivity between the author and the audience (Biber 1988). The mean scores of *ICE-HK* and *PLTC* on this dimension are relatively low, with *ICE-HK* at -11.35, *PLTC* at -10.63, indicating that both of them are largely informational in nature. However, the Wilcoxon test results reveal significant differences between them, with the *ICE-HK* being lower than *PLTC*, which indicates that L2 writing is more informationally dense than L2 learner translation. *ICE-HK* and *PLTC* differ significantly in 9 linguistic features on this dimension, with seven involved features and two informational features (see Table 5), the boxplots of which are shown in Figure 2 and Figure 3 respectively.

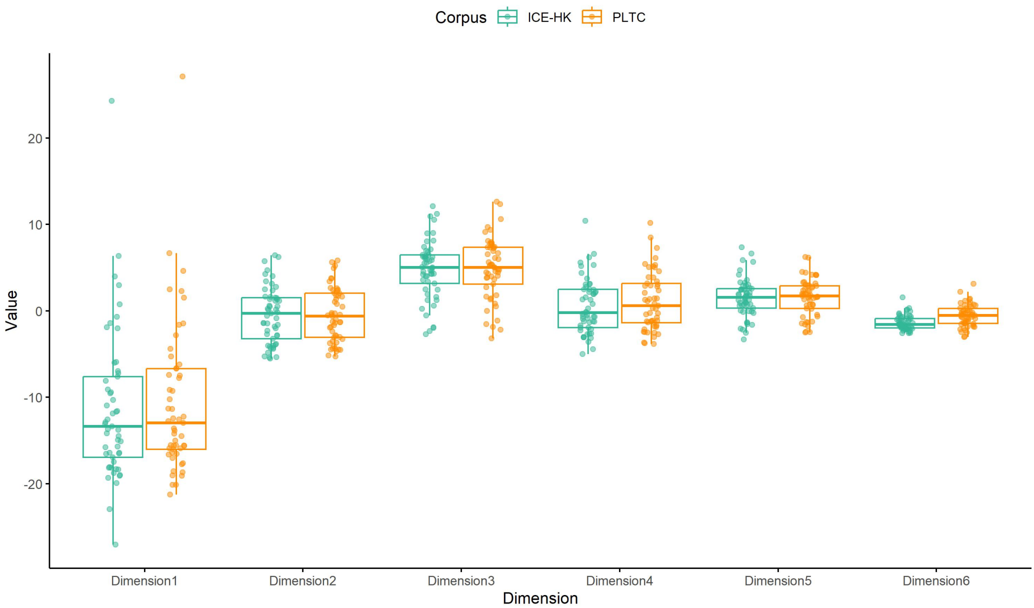


Figure 1: Boxplots of the six dimensions of *ICE-HK* and *PLTC*

Table 4: Wilcoxon test results for the comparison between the two corpora

Dimension	***PLTC (n=53) VS. ICE-HK (n=53)***						
	Negative ranks		**Positive ranks**		**Ties**	**Z**	***p***
	N	**Mean rank**	**N**	**Mean rank**	**N**		
Dimension 1	18	24.33	35	28.37	0	-2.457	.014*
Dimension 2	29	25.57	24	28.73	0	-.230	.818
Dimension 3	24	25.48	29	28.26	0	-.91	.357
Dimension 4	16	22.78	36	28.15	1	-2.955	.003*
Dimension 5	23	27.70	30	26.47	0	-.695	.487
Dimension 6	12	16.08	41	30.20	0	-4.626	<.001*

Note: Negative ranks indicate that scores for *PLTC* are lower than those for *ICE-HK*.
Positive ranks indicate that scores for *PLTC* are higher than those for *ICE-HK*.
Ties indicate no difference between *PLTC* and *ICE-HK* scores.
Significance threshold: $p < .05$.

Specifically, *ICE-HK* is significantly lower than *PLTC* in six involved features: second person pronouns, analytic negation, demonstrative pronouns, "be" as main verb, sentence relatives, possibility modals and in one informational feature (total other nouns). However, *ICE-HK* is significantly higher than *PLTC* in subordinator "that" deletion (involved feature) and in total prepositional phrases (informational feature). In sum, the comparison suggests that L2 writing tends to be more informationally dense than L2 learner translation, pointing to the possibility that these two types of texts are shaped by different communicative purposes and constraints. L2 writing, with its greater informational density, likely reflects a more formal, content-driven approach, while L2 learner translation may prioritize interactional strategies, possibly due to the influence of the source text or the learner's focus on conveying meaning within a bilingual context.

Example 1 illustrates differences in verb choice and pronoun usage between *ICE-HK* (L2 writers) and *PLTC* (learner translators). In describing a modern, tasteful setting, the L2 writer in the *ICE-HK* text writes, "such as one would find amongst the younger affluent professionals in a place like Hong Kong," using the impersonal pronoun "one" and a more formal, descriptive structure. In contrast, the learner translator in the *PLTC* text describes the same setting with, "It is like what you can see in young, rich, successful professionals in a place similar to Hong Kong", opting for the second-person pronoun "you" and a direct, conversational tone. The choice of "such as one would find" in *ICE-HK* conveys a detached, formal style, typical of informational discourse, whereas "it is like what you can see" in *PLTC* creates a more immediate, interactive effect. These shifts reflect the learner translator's tendency toward a more direct and engaging style, using both "be" as a main verb and personal pronouns, while the L2 writer maintains a formal, impersonal approach.

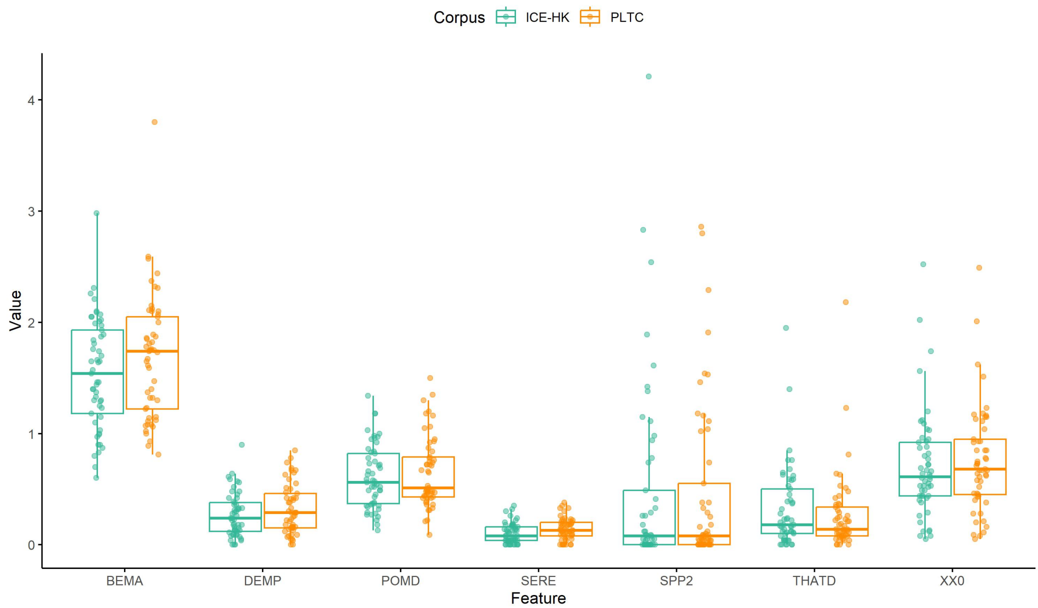
Example 1:

The backdrop and sidedrops (made up of vertical panels of cloth in a gradation of light colors from cream to yellow to gold to green) and the costumes (silvery gray silk with faint, simple designs for both sexes) suggest a modern setting which has good taste, such as one would find amongst the younger affluent professionals in a place like Hong Kong. (*ICE-HK*)

The background, side curtains (composed of vertical cloth panels, color changes from cream to gold, then to green) and costumes (made from silver-grey silk with simple pattern on both male and female costumes) showed an environment of a tasteful modern society. It <u>is</u> like what **you** can see in young, rich, successful professionals in a place similar to Hong Kong. (*PLTC*)

Dimension 4: *Overt Expression of Persuasion*

The fourth dimension of the analysis focuses on the explicit use of persuasive language. This dimension is distinctive in that it only includes features with positive loadings, which reflect the extent to which a text openly presents the author's viewpoints and arguments. Texts scoring high on this dimension tend to clearly express the author's stance, whether through direct argumentation, subjective assessment, or attempts to influence the reader's perception of events' likelihood or desirability (Biber, 1988). Analyzing the descriptive data reveals that both *ICE-HK* and *PLTC* show positive mean scores for overt persuasion, with *ICE-HK* at 0.55 and PLTC at 1.07. Statistical analysis using the Wilcoxon test highlights a significant difference between the two corpora, with *ICE-HK* scoring lower on this dimension (see Table 6). This suggests that L2 learner translation (*PLTC*) employs more overtly persuasive language than L2 writing (*ICE-HK*). Further analysis reveals significant differences in two out of the six linguistic features on this dimension. Boxplots of these features are presented in Figure 4.

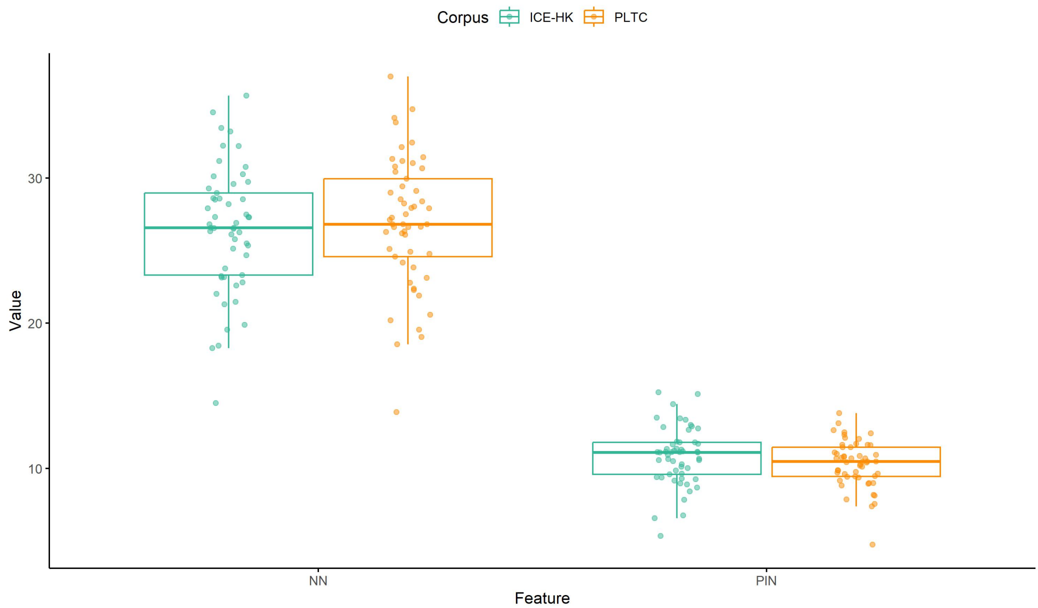


BEMA: "Be" as main verb; DEMP: Demonstrative pronouns; POMD: Possibility modals; SERE: Sentence relatives; SPP2: Second person pronouns; THATD: Subordinator "that" deletion; XX0: Analytic negation

Figure 2: Boxplots of the involved features exhibiting significant differences between the two corpora on Dimension 1

Specifically, *ICE-HK* is significantly lower than *PLTC* in the use of conditional adverbial subordinators and split auxiliaries. Conditional adverbial subordinators, such as "if" or "unless", are frequently used to express hypothetical or uncertain situations, which can be a strategy to introduce persuasive scenarios or arguments in translation. The lower frequency of these features in *ICE-HK* suggests that L2 writing tends to avoid direct hypothetical scenarios or conditional reasoning, which may be less persuasive in nature. Meanwhile, split auxiliaries—such as "do" in "do not" or "did not"—are often used in persuasive contexts to emphasize negation or to make a statement more forceful. The higher frequency of split auxiliaries in *PLTC* indicates that L2 learner translation may rely more on these structures to express negation and strengthen the persuasive impact of the text. In sum, the differences between *ICE-HK* and *PLTC* in their use of persuasive features suggest that L2 learner translation incorporates more overt strategies to influence the reader, possibly due to the nature of the task, where the translator's goal is to convey the source text's persuasive intent. In contrast, L2 writing, with its more measured use of persuasion, may prioritize clarity and objectivity over persuasion, reflecting a different communicative purpose.

Example 2 illustrates a distinctive pattern in the use of conditional structures between *ICE-HK* (L2 writers) and *PLTC* (learner translators). The learner translator in the *PLTC* text



NN: Total other nouns; PIN: Total prepositional phrases

Figure 3: Boxplots of the informational features exhibiting significant differences between the two corpora on Dimension 1

relies on a straightforward conditional structure, using the conditional adverbial subordinator ”if” twice, as in “if Hong Kong cannot catch up” and “if countries choose.” In contrast, the L2 writer in the *ICE-HK* text employs a more varied approach, using “if” once and incorporating the conditional “should” in a more formal expression, “should countries choose.” This shift from the formal, implicit conditional “should” in *ICE-HK* to the more explicit and repeated use of “if” in *PLTC* suggests a preference by learner translators for clear, accessible conditional markers. The *ICE-HK* text’s choice of “should” as an alternative conditional marker provides a nuanced, formal tone, aligning with informational discourse conventions, while *PLTC*’s repeated use of “if” creates a direct, easily interpretable structure. This pattern reflects the learner translator’s tendency toward explicit conditional relationships, which may enhance readability but with less syntactic variety than is found in the L2 writing.

Example 2: **If** Hong Kong does not keep pace with the green movement emerging in industrialised nations, trade performance here could decline should countries choose to use environmental issues to spark trade wars. (*ICE-HK*)

If Hong Kong cannot catch up on the Green Movement initiated by industrialized countries, Hong Kong could fail upon its trade performance **if** countries choose to use the environmental issues to trigger the trade war. (*PLTC*)

Dimension 6: *On-Line Information Elaboration*

The sixth dimension in Biber’s (1988) framework distinguishes between texts produced

Table 5: Comparison for linguistic features exhibiting significant differences between the two corpora on Dimension 1

Linguistic feature	***PLTC (n=53) VS ICE-HK (n=53)***						
	Negative Ranks		**Positive Ranks**		**Ties**	**Z**	***p***
	N	**Mean rank**	**N**	**Mean rank**	**N**		
Involved features							
Subordinator "that" deletion	29	28.53	19	18.34	5	-2.458	.014
Second person pronouns	9	13.94	20	15.48	24	-1.997	.046
Analytic negation	15	22.37	37	28.18	1	-3.222	.001
Demonstrative pronouns	19	19.63	31	29.10	3	-2.555	.011
"Be" as main verb	12	22.83	41	28.22	0	-3.910	<.001
Sentence relatives	13	15.38	28	23.61	12	-2.989	.003
Possibility modals	20	22.48	31	28.27	2	-2.002	.045
Informational features							
Total other nouns	17	21.79	35	28.79	1	-2.901	.004
Total prepositional phrases	37	32.32	16	14.69	0	-4.254	<.001

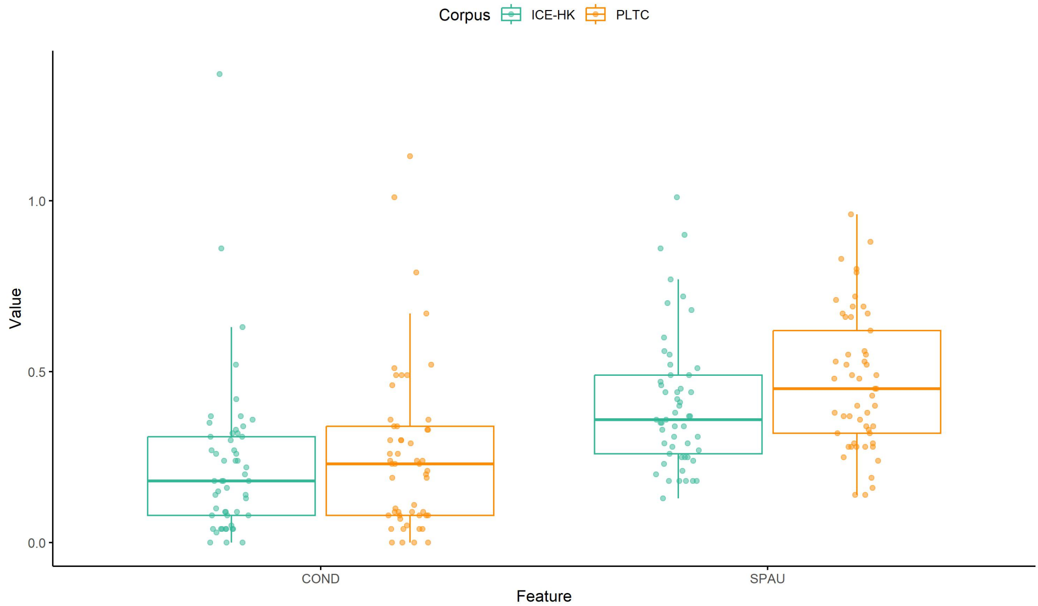
Note: Negative ranks indicate that scores for *PLTC* are lower than those for *ICE-HK*.
Positive ranks indicate that scores for *PLTC* are higher than those for *ICE-HK*.
Ties indicate no difference between *PLTC* and *ICE-HK* scores.

Table 6: Comparison for linguistic features exhibiting significant differences between the two corpora on Dimension 4

Linguistic feature	***PLTC (n=53) VS ICE-HK (n=53)***						
	Negative Ranks		**Positive Ranks**		**Ties**	**Z**	***p***
	N	**Mean rank**	**N**	**Mean rank**	**N**		
Conditional adverbial subordinators	12	21.63	29	20.74	12	-2.219	.026
Split auxiliaries	18	22.56	34	28.59	1	-2.578	.010

Note: Positive ranks indicate that scores for *PLTC* are higher than those for *ICE-HK*.
Ties indicate no difference between *PLTC* and *ICE-HK* scores.

under real-time conditions and those that are more carefully crafted. Texts scoring high on this dimension tend to feature an abundance of ”that” clauses in various positions, signaling a more spontaneous, less planned production process. As Kruger and van Rooy (2016) suggest, this dimension reflects less cognitively demanding elaboration strategies, akin to casual conversation, rather than the complex, integrated structures typical of carefully planned texts. The analysis of *ICE-HK* and *PLTC* reveals negative mean scores on this dimension (*ICE-HK*: -1.37; *PLTC*: -0.56). These negative values indicate that both corpora exhibit characteristics of planned discourse, rather than impromptu speech. However, a significant difference emerges between them, with *ICE-HK* scoring notably lower than *PLTC* (see Table 7). This suggests that L2 writing (*ICE-HK*) contains fewer linguistic features typically associated with spontaneous or real-time communication than L2 learner translation (*PLTC*).



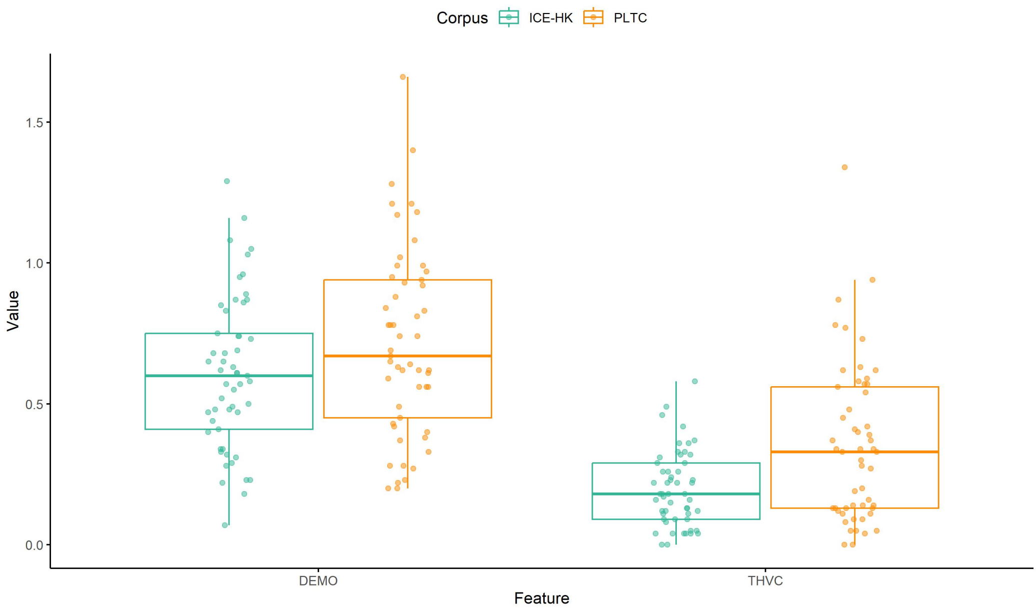
COND: Conditional adverbial subordinators; SPAU: Split auxiliaries

Figure 4: Boxplots of the linguistic features exhibiting significant differences between the two corpora on Dimension 4

ICE-HK and *PLTC* differ significantly in two out of four linguistic features on this dimension. Boxplots of these features are presented in Figure 6. Specifically, *ICE-HK* is significantly lower than *PLTC* in the use of “that” verb complements and demonstrative pronouns. The lower frequency of “that” verb complements in *ICE-HK* suggests that L2 writing tends to avoid constructions typical of spontaneous speech, such as those used in real-time conversation to clarify or specify actions. Similarly, the reduced use of demonstratives in *ICE-HK* further supports the idea that L2 writing is more formal and planned, prioritizing precision over immediacy. In sum, the significant differences between *ICE-HK* and *PLTC* highlight that L2 writing tends to feature more carefully structured, planned discourse, while L2 learner translation reflects a greater reliance on linguistic features indicative of spontaneous, less cognitively demanding production. Example 3 highlights differences in the use of referential language between *ICE-HK* (L2 writers) and *PLTC* (learner translators). In the *ICE-HK* text, the L2 writer uses the determiner “such” to refer to previously mentioned challenges, opting for the phrase “such potential hurdles.” In contrast, the learner translator in the *PLTC* text selects the demonstrative “these” with “obstacles”, resulting in “these potential obstacles”. This choice of a demonstrative in *PLTC* reflects a tendency observed in texts influenced by real-time constraints, where demonstratives serve as explicit cohesive devices, creating clear, immediate textual references. Although the translation process itself is not real-time, it mirrors such constraints, favoring direct and accessible referential strategies.

Example 3: Such potential hurdles notwithstanding, an industrial strategy can be formulated without too great a difficulty. (*ICE-HK*)

Despite **these** potential obstacles, there would not be much difficulty in developing an industrial strategy. (*PLTC*)



DEMO: Demonstratives; THVC: "That" verb complements

Figure 5: Boxplots of linguistic features exhibiting significant differences between the two corpora on Dimension 6

Table 7: Comparison for linguistic features exhibiting significant differences between the two corpora on Dimension 6

Linguistic feature	***PLTC (n=53) VS ICE-HK (n=53)***						
	Negative Ranks		**Positive Ranks**		**Ties**	**Z**	***p***
	N	**Mean rank**	**N**	**Mean rank**	**N**		
"That" verb complements	7	16.36	41	25.89	5	-4.858	<.001
Demonstratives	20	17.65	31	31.39	2	-2.906	.004

Note: Positive ranks indicate that scores for *PLTC* are higher than those for *ICE-HK*. Ties indicate no difference between *PLTC* and *ICE-HK* scores.

6. Discussion

The present study employed Biber's (1988) Multidimensional Analysis to compare L2 learner translations and L2 writing in English. The results revealed that L2 writing is characterized by greater informational density, less overt expression of viewpoints, and a more planned, rather than spontaneous, structure compared to L2 learner translations. However, it is important to emphasize that the significant differences observed between the two genres are specific to this study, which compared these two genres, and should be understood as relative along a continuum. These differences do not suggest that L2 writing is inherently more formal or sophisticated, nor do they imply that learner translations are deficient in other contexts. Rather, the differences reflect the relative characteristics of the two genres in this analysis and highlight their distinct features when compared to one another. The following discussion interprets these findings, examines potential underlying factors, and situates them within the broader domains of second language acquisition and translation studies.

The higher informational density observed in L2 writing, compared to translation, suggests that when composing original texts in English, writers tend to produce more content-rich and lexically dense language. This may be attributed to the academic contexts in which L2 writing is often situated, where concise expression and efficient information conveyance are emphasized (Hyland 2006). This finding is consistent with research indicating that advanced L2 writers typically aim to demonstrate linguistic sophistication through information-dense structures (Crossley and McNamara 2014). In contrast, L2 learner translations, produced by students working from Chinese versions of *ICE-HK* texts, exhibit lower informational density. This pattern aligns with the translation universal of simplification proposed by Baker (1996), which suggests that translated texts are generally simpler and less complex than their non-translated counterparts. Statistical evidence from this study supports Baker's simplification universal, showing reduced informational density in L2 learner translations. Moreover, L2 writing involves stages of planning, drafting, and revision, allowing writers to refine their ideas and enhance informational content (Manchón 2011). In translation, however, constraints from the source text and the need for semantic equivalence may limit opportunities for further elaboration (Dam-Jensen and Heine 2013).

The less explicit marking of points of view in professional L2 writing, compared to learner translation, may be influenced by factors such as explicitation in back-translation, proficiency level, and the particular demands of the translation process (Becher 2010). In this study, L2 English texts were first translated into Chinese by professional translators and then back-translated into English by learners, creating a parallel structure for comparing learner translations and professional L2 writing. This back-translation process can lead to an explicitation effect, which "spells things out rather than leaving them implicit" (Baker 1996, 180), as learners add markers like conditional adverbial subordinators and split auxiliaries to clarify logical relationships and convey the original intent more clearly. This explicitation reflects learners' tendency toward clarity and directness, as they may feel a need to use straightforward markers to capture the meaning of the source text accurately, potentially bridging gaps between languages (Blum-Kulk 1986). Learners' use of explicit markers, such as split auxiliaries and overt conditionals, may also be influenced by their English proficiency level (Hinkel 2003). Less experienced writers might lean on clearer structures to express complex ideas, which can introduce elements of spoken language into their translations (Biber and Gray 2010). These features create a more cohesive and accessible style, though sometimes with less subtlety (Halliday and Hasan 1976). In contrast, professional L2 writing, created directly in English without a source text's influence, often takes a more nuanced and implicit approach to conveying relationships and viewpoints. Professional writers tend to favor a subtler style, aligning with formal writing conventions that emphasize informational density and minimize overt cohesion devices. This difference in approach suggests that learner translators prioritize clarity and accessibility, while professional L2 writers rely on more indirect and refined linguistic choices appropriate for a formal register.

L2 writing contains greater informational elaboration under lower real-time constraints compared to L2 learner translation, a distinction that becomes evident in the differing use of "that" verb complements and demonstratives. In learner translations, "that" verb complements are frequently used to clarify logical relationships, making the text more straightforward and enhancing readability, especially under the demands of translation, where learners must balance accuracy and clarity across languages (Hansen-Schirra et al. 2007). Demonstratives also appear more frequently in learner translations, serving as explicit cohesive devices that make references clear and accessible to the reader. These features reflect the cognitive constraints of translation, where learners often prioritize directness and explicit markers to ensure that the meaning of the source text is preserved and easily understood in the target language (Halverson 2003). In contrast, professional L2 writing in *ICE-HK* tends to minimize these explicit markers, favoring subtler cohesion techniques that create a more integrated and elaborative structure. Without the influence of a source text, L2 writers can plan and revise their work, allowing them to avoid overt markers like "that" complements and demonstratives. This controlled, carefully crafted approach aligns with the conventions of formal writing, where implicit cohesion and informational density are valued over directness (Hyland 2004). These differences underscore distinct cognitive constraints: learner translations, shaped by the immediate need to transfer meaning accurately between languages, often lean toward accessibility and clarity, while L2 writing benefits from a single-language focus that supports more nuanced and implicit cohesion techniques, resulting in a denser, more sophisticated text structure.

7. Conclusion

This study applied Biber's (1988) Multidimensional Analysis to compare English texts produced through L2 learner translation and direct L2 writing. The findings reveal significant differences between these two modes of L2 production: L2 writing exhibits higher information density, less explicit marking of point of view, and operates under lower real-time constraints than L2 learner translation. These results offer valuable insights into the distinct nature of L2 language production across different tasks, with important implications for second language acquisition, translation studies, and language pedagogy. The observed differences suggest that direct L2 writing and L1 to L2 translation involve distinct cognitive processes, supporting theories of interlanguage variability and emphasizing the task-specific nature of language use in L2 production. This research contributes to our understanding of bilingual language processing, cross-linguistic influence, and the constraints imposed by various language production tasks. The unique linguistic profiles of L2 writing and learner translation underscore the concept of these tasks as forms of constrained communication, each imposing specific limitations on language production.

While this study offers valuable insights, some limitations should be acknowledged. First, the source texts for learner translation were based on professional translations of original L2 writing, which allowed for a direct comparison between the two modes. However, these professional translations may not fully capture the natural qualities of native English writing, as they still carry characteristics of translation. This aspect may limit the extent to which findings can generalize to naturally produced L2 writing. Second, this study focuses on the final written products by using a corpus-based approach to compare L2 writing and L2 learner translation, without examining the cognitive processes involved in producing these texts. Future research could explore these underlying cognitive processes more directly, employing methods such as think-aloud protocols or eye-tracking during writing and translation tasks to gain deeper insights into the mental activities and strategies that shape these outputs.

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Appendix: Genres in MDA (Biber 1988, 67)

	Written genres		**Spoken genres**
1	Press reportage	1	Face-to-face conversation
2	Editorials	2	Telephone conversation
3	Press reviews	3	Public conversations, debates, and Interviews
4	Religion	4	Broadcast
5	Skills and hobbies	5	Spontaneous speeches
6	Popular lore	6	Planned speeches
7	Biographies		
8	Official documents		
9	Academic Prose		
10	General fiction		
11	Mystery fiction		
12	Science fiction		
13	Adventure fiction		
14	Romantic fiction		
15	Humor		
16	Personal letters		
17	Professional letters		

Review of Advances in Corpus Applications in Literary and Translation Studies

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Moratto, Riccardo, and Defeng Li (Eds.). *Advances in Corpus Applications in Literary and Translation Studies*. 2023. xviii + 302 pp. ISBN: 978-1-003-29832-8. London and New York: Routledge.

Digital humanities in recent years has transformed humanities research, as scholars increasingly leverage digital tools and resources to analyze and interpret cultural texts. Within this evolving field, corpus linguistics has emerged as a key methodology, offering new avenues for quantitative and qualitative analysis. Particularly in literary and translation studies, corpus-based approaches have provided scholars with the ability to uncover patterns, stylistic features, and translation strategies that might otherwise remain hidden. *Advances in Corpus Applications in Literary and Translation Studies*, edited by Riccardo Moratto and Defeng Li, is a timely contribution to this growing body of work, aligning with other notable publications in the field (see Biber 2011; Liu 2020; Lavid-López 2021; Granger and Lefer 2022). By bringing together a diverse array of case studies, this volume not only highlights the versatility of corpus methods but also demonstrates their potential to deepen our understanding of literature and translation in the digital age.

The volume opens with an introduction that effectively argues for the suitability of corpus linguistics in analyzing literary texts. The authors review previous progress in corpus-based research within these fields, setting the stage for the following chapters. This part also provides an overview of the diverse topics and methodologies explored throughout the book. The book can be broadly divided into two parts. The first half focuses on corpus-based literary analysis, while the latter delves into corpus applications in translation studies.

In Chapter 1, Darryl Hocking and Paul Mountfort adopt a distinctive approach to investigating the evolution of fiction writing. Instead of the traditional diachronic corpora of narrative fictional texts, they construct their own corpus based on interviews with fiction authors. Through trend mapping and diachronic keyword analysis, the authors capture the overarching transformations in the conceptualization of fiction writing from the 1950s to the present. This method allows them to identify the most prominent conceptualizations of fiction writing practice that have emerged in each decade since the 1950s, offering valuable insights into the evolution of the field over time.

Chapter 2, authored by Marianna Gracheva and Jesse A. Egbert, investigates the functional reasons behind within-author stylistic variations. Their study unveils that an author's linguistic choices can indeed vary depending on the communicative purpose of the text they are producing. By showcasing the effect of functional considerations in literary production, their research validates the significance of understanding how authors adapt their style based on the specific communicative goals they aim to achieve.

The research methods employed in Chapters 3 and 4 provide an inspiring approach to corpus-based linguistic analysis of literary texts in the Spanish language. In Chapter 3, authored by Pablo Ruano San Segundo, corpus stylistics is used to underpin the long-held perception of Charles Dickens' influence on a prominent nineteenth-century Spanish novelist. To identify suspensions, a distinctive characteristic of Dickens' style, an annotation system is developed specifically for the novels of Galdós. These suspensions are then visualized using the CLiC tool. In Chapter 4, Guadalupe Nieto Caballero and Pablo Ruano San Segundo analyze the treatment of narrative space in four novels by the famous Spanish author Ruiz Zafón. Using WordSmith Tools, the researchers examine how spatial references contribute to the construction and characterization of fictional universes in these novels.

Another under-resourced language, Medieval Chinese text, is explored in Chapter 5. Taksum Wong and John Sie Yuen Lee's contribution centers around a historical corpus known as the Chinese Buddhist Canon. They demonstrate a methodology for enhancing the accuracy of information extraction despite having access to a limited amount of in-domain training data. By adapting a lexicon-based approach for named entity recognition on the Canon and then performing part-of-speech tagging and dependency parsing, the study successfully identifies significant relations between characters, verbs, and toponyms within the text.

The second part of the book commences with Chapter 6, which provides a comprehensive overview and outlook of corpus-based translation studies in literary translation. This chapter emphasizes the application of corpus technology in literary translation practice and its integration within the education of literary translators. The latter has received relatively limited attention in existing corpus-based translation studies. Literary translators' needs in terms of corpus technologies, including corpus-based CAT tools, are especially highlighted.

Chapter 7 sees Yanfang Su and Kanglong Liu expand research on orality in translated fictional dialogues, revealing that translated texts feature fewer orality markers due to standardization and source language influence. An innovative approach, multidimensional analysis, is adopted to broaden the scope of orality features being examined. By treating fictional dialogue as a genre in its own right, they compiled a corpus of fictional dialogues with one translated sub-corpus and one non-translated sub-corpus, each containing ten novels published between the 1970s and 2010s. A Python program has been developed to detect and extract dialogues from the corpus. The subsequent qualitative analysis corroborates the finding that translated dialogues exhibit fewer orality features compared to their non-translated counterparts. The study suggests that translators' efforts to standardize the texts and the influence of the source language may account for the reduced degree of orality observed in the translated texts.

Despite its central role in stylistics, repetition in translation has not been studied extensively, especially with data-based approaches. In Chapter 8, Lorenzo Mastropierro delves into a multifactorial analysis of repetition in translation that aims to describe the linguistic context in which a repeated ST item is replaced by lexical variety in the TT. Mastropierro probes into the avoidance of repetition of reporting verbs in the Italian translation of the Harry Potter series. Their research reveals that the frequency and type of the ST have a significant effect on the avoidance of repetition in translation, while polysemy and wider availability of target language options do not emerge as significant factors in determining whether repetition is avoided or not. This research contributes to a deeper understanding of the linguistic nuances and decision-making processes involved in creating variation and avoiding repetition in translated texts.

Corpus-based quantitative research is creatively used in Chapter 9 to identify the feminist translation strategies of sexual content. Xinyi Zeng and John Sie Yuen Le selected a classic feminist novel, *The Color Purple*, and its two Chinese versions, one feminist and the other non-feminist, as the object of study. By annotating translation strategies, the authors reveal that while faithful translation dominates both versions, the female translator tends to employ explicit strategies (e.g., explicit transcreation and substitution) slightly more frequently and conservative ones (e.g., deletion, implicit transcreation, and implicit substitution) less frequently compared to the non-feminist version.

In Chapter 10, Ronald Jenn and Amel Fraisse give a full account of the process of building a multilingual parallel corpus of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* using digital humanities tools. This approach propels the refinement of natural language processing techniques to literary texts and helps reserve rare and under-resourced languages. Different stages of an interdisciplinary and international project are presented as a blueprint for future collaborations. The authors also introduce existing scholarship on translations of the book in the field of dialects, broadening the scope of fine-grained textual analysis.

Chapter 11, authored by Kan Wu and Dechao Li, introduces a novel approach to capturing the stylistic characteristics of translated texts through the concept of a ”stylistic panorama.” This holistic approach combines various stylistic indices in relation to their functional purpose. The chapter conducts a stylometric analysis to examine the stylistic similarities between English translations of Chinese Wuxia fiction and Western heroic literature. The study includes six Wuxia novels translated by five translators, six popular Western chivalric stories translated into modern English, and six popular heroic fantasies written in modern English. The research findings indicate weak stylistic connections between translated Wuxia and Western heroic literature. The introduction of the stylistic panorama as a conceptual framework enables a comprehensive analysis of stylistic characteristics in translated texts.

Also focusing on the Wuxia novel, Chapter 12, authored by Jing Fang and Shiwei Fu, takes a closer look into the translation of personal reference of the main character in a Chinese Wuxia classic, *Legends of the Condor Heroes*. The aim is to study how the translated version conveys the character’s humbleness. The study categorizes translated references as either ”equivalent” or ”non-equivalent” to the original personal reference based on the equal or hierarchical status of the addressee. The research finds that the social status of the main character, Guo Jing, and his addressee is a significant factor in the translator’s choice to maintain or disregard equivalence in lexico-grammatical options.

Lexical bundle, as a reliable indicator of the translator’s style, is employed in Chapter 13 to reveal the translator’s idiosyncrasies beyond individual words. Kanglong Liu, Joyce Oiwun Cheung, and Riccardo Moratto focus on the fictional dialogues in the first 80 chapters of two well-known English translations of *Hongloumeng*, one of China’s classical novels. Their study aims to analyze the differentiating styles of the two translations by examining the functions, structures, frequency, and types of lexical bundles using WordSmith 8.0. The findings reveal that the Chinese translators adopt a more literal and seemingly rigid approach to the translation of *Hongloumeng*. They use fewer tokens and types of lexical bundles, verb phrases, and stance markers, while they exhibit an overuse of prepositional phrases and referential markers. Furthermore, the authors explore the potential connections between the translators’ style and their language backgrounds, life experiences, and translation purposes, contributing to their ongoing examination of the translation styles of this Chinese classic (Liu and Afzaal 2021; Chou and Liu 2024).

Chapter 14, authored by Linping Hou and Defeng Li, further explores the difference between L1 and L2 translators by comparing their translations of metaphors in Lu Xun’s short stories. Relevance theory serves as the theoretical framework for the analysis. The corpus consists of Lu’s ten short stories as the ST sub-corpus and their four English versions (i.e., multi-translations) as the TT sub-corpus, which is further divided into TT_L1Eng and TT_-L2Eng sub-corpora. The authors find that while both L1 and L2 translators prefer direct translation, L2 translators tend to use it more frequently. This suggests that L1 translators, as native speakers with a larger store of English items, exert more cognitive effort for optimal relevance, indicating a target-oriented approach to translation. The research testifies that the interplay between direct and indirect translation routes is regulated by the principle of relevance and modulated by external factors such as source texts and translation direction.

The final chapter (Chapter 15), written by Tak-sum Wong and Wai-Mun Leung, utilizes a public data repository, i.e. "Database of the 19th Century (1865–1894) Cantonese Christian Writings", to investigate the use of classifiers in the historical and contemporary Cantonese editions of the four canonical gospels in *Christian New Testament*. By conducting a contrastive analysis, the authors identify a significant difference in the number of classifiers used between the 1880s edition (80 classifiers) and the 2010 edition (94 classifiers). They note that while some classifiers have become more prevalent over time, others have decreased in frequency, which can be attributed to lexical replacement and change in translation strategy.

The book offers a comprehensive exploration of recent advancements in digital humanities, significantly expanding the research scope and presenting innovative research designs. Encompassing a diverse range of subjects in literary and translation studies, the contributors employ multiple methodologies to examine stylistic variations in literary creation and translation. While the introduction could benefit from providing a summary of the innovations covered in each chapter and improving overall organization and cross-referencing, the volume still makes a valuable contribution to the existing literature on corpus linguistics. Overall, this volume is an essential resource for scholars and graduate students in digital humanities, offering innovative approaches and insights that significantly contribute to literary and translation studies.

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BOOK REVIEW Dream of the Red Chamber: Literary and Translation Perspectives

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Riccardo Moratto, Kanglong Liu, and Di-kai Chao. London and New York, Routledge. 2023. 266 pp., £29.95 (Hardback), ISBN 9781032284309 (hbk).

As one of China's Four Great Classical Novels, *Hongloumeng* (known in English as *Dream of the Red Chamber or The Story of the Stone*), written by Cao Xueqin in the mid-18th century, is renowned for its vivid portrayal of 18th-century Chinese society, culture, psychology, aesthetics, and relationships. Translated into more than 20 languages (Fan and Minford 2017), both in full and abridged versions, the novel has captured the hearts of readers worldwide. Its significant contribution to world literature has garnered worldwide research across multiple disciplines, including literary studies and translation studies, for over a century. *Dream of the Red Chamber: Literary and Translation Perspectives*, edited by Riccardo Moratto, Kanglong Liu, and Di-kai Chao, is the first international volume focusing on the literary and translation aspects of *Hongloumeng*.

The volume begins with an introductory chapter authored by the editors, providing a fantastic resource for junior researchers who are new to the topic and assisting the readers to better understand *Hongloumeng* by uncovering many facets of the novel.

Chapter 1 studies the characterization of Wang Xifeng, a well-known member of the Twelve Beauties of Jinling in *Hongloumeng*, through the lens of Sandra L. Bem's theory of androgyny by evaluating the character's gender role behavior, personality traits, and management capability.

In Chapter 2, Louise Edwards investigates descriptions of clothing, dress, accessories, and fabric to aestheticize masculinity in the male protagonist Jia Baoyu and two macho feminine figures Wang Xifeng and Shi Xiangyun who are noted for rejecting traditional gender-sex standards and the fluidity of their *yin* (the female essence, obedient, humble, and shadowy) and *yang* (male essence, dominant, active, and bright) expressions.

Chapter 3 provides examples from the novel to demonstrate how foreign cultures, people, and artifacts such as watches, clocks, glass, and other home items contribute to the characters' social standing, personalities, and emotions. In light of this, the novel is the embodiment and essence of Qing Chinese culture blending Han, Manchu and foreign cultural elements.

The characterization of Jia Zheng is depicted in Chapter 4 and 5. Chapter 4 explores the phenomena of Jia Zheng being called the "Second Master," as well as the broader ramifications of this title for everyone who uses it in this novel. In Chapter 5, Barbara Bisetto provides a comprehensive examination of Jia Zheng, the strict father of Jia Baoyu, revealing a complex character often conflicting mix of duties, relationships, individual traits, emotions, and personal feelings.

Based on Chunshi Yang's theory of aesthetic intersubjectivity, Qian Cui analyzes the novel's three main characters, Xue Baochai, Lin Daiyu, and Jia Baoyu, as representing different models of subjectivity and their relationships with the world, with Baochai embodying the Neo-Confucian ideal, Daiyu embodying the Buddho-Daoist ideal, and Baoyu embodying the lyrical ideal. These models are both distinct and interconnected.

Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 look upon the publication and dissemination of English translations of *Hongloumeng* in the English-speaking world. In Chapter 7, Fan Jiang explores how the choices made by compilers in selecting English translations, which may partially explain the increased popularity of academic translations of Chinese classics in the 1970s and the lack of widespread acceptance of the English translation of *Hongloumeng* published by the Foreign Language Press. In Chapter 8, Jie Deng draws upon primary sources from the Penguin Archive, offering a unique perspective on the social agents, translation production process, title of the translation, and cover image. The findings shed light on the agents' identity, the power dynamics at play in the translation process, and the influence.

Based on Lin Yutang's English manuscript of *the Dream of the Red Chamber* as well as his personal correspondence about it, Chapter 10 describes Lin's translation process and provides examples of how Lin edited and translated the book utilizing explicitation strategies.

Chapter 9, 11-14 focus on the corpus comparison of the only two complete and unabridged renditions, *A Dream of Red Mansions* by Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang (hereinafter referred to as "Yangs' version") and *The Story of the Stone* by David Hawkes and John Minford (hereinafter referred to as "H&M's version") which have received much attention in academia. Chapter 9 reveals that the translatorial identities engaged in this paratextual comparison appear to be distinct. In Chapter 11, Wu Chunming discovers that the narrative mode of *Hon-*

gloumeng was telling-oriented by compiling a corpus of Daiyu's speech presentations (SP) and utilizing an integrated method that includes systemic functional linguistics, stylistics, and narratology. Based on a corpus of fictional dialogues extracted from the two translations, Chapter 12 finds out that H&M's version utilized a greater number of hedges and boosters, both in terms of frequency and variety, to strengthen or weaken the illocutionary force of the message (p. 193). In Chapter 13, Libo Huang conducts a comparative analysis of the verdict poems of the 12 female characters in two English translations. The differences are analyzed from multiple perspectives to better understand the representation of each character. Concluding the volume, Chapter 14 presents the use of topic modeling as a text mining technique to analyze reader reviews posted on Amazon.com of two English versions, which highlights the importance of faithful translation strategies, effective designs, and appropriate pricing and marketing for promoting Chinese classics in the English-speaking world.

It is refreshing to see a volume dedicated to researching *Hongloumeng* by global scholarship. Before ending the review, we attempt to provide a few comments on the volume. Literary and Translation Studies are relatively independent disciplines. With the same goal of exploring *Hongloumeng*, scholars from the literary or translation field present their most recent research findings to make their voices worldwide by drawing on a number of transdisciplinary areas, such as corpus linguistics, sociology, psychology, anthropology, aesthetics, and communication studies. Methodologically, the book makes a significant contribution by re-examining the novel and its translations through narrative, socio-cultural, feminist, and digital humanities approaches, which offers an exemplary picture of approaches to classical literature and translations from a dynamic and multidimensional perspective. On the whole, this book is of immense value to individuals studying translation, particularly those involved in translating Chinese classical novels, redologists, and others interested in Chinese literary translations. Despite the obvious merits, the book might baffle some readers who are expecting a deep integration of literary and translation studies. To be specific, the theories and approaches of literary studies can be interwoven with those of translation studies to render a disciplinary communication and set up a new angle for literary translation studies. Also, it would be more reader-friendly if there was clear stratification of the chapters in the book to guide readers through the literary and translation realm.

Overall, this volume offers fresh and insightful perspectives from various fields of research and can be considered as a promising and valuable recommendation to scholarship, not only within the area of literary studies and translation studies but also for other areas of academic interests, such as cultural studies as well as editing and publishing science.

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Reference

Fan, Shengyu, and Minford, John. 2017. "The Story of The Stone's Journey to the West—The history of the English translations of Hongloumeng." In *The Routledge Handbook of Chinese Translation*, edited by Chris Shei and Zhao-Ming Gao, 374–87. London and New York: Routledge.

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 wenxue), 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.

Chan, Tak-hung Leo. 2004. *Twentieth Century Chinese Translation Theory: Modes, Issues and Debates*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Toury, Gideon. 1995/2012. *Descriptive Translation Studies – and beyond*. Rev. ed. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Yang, Hsien-yi 楊憲益, and Gladys Yang 戴乃迭, trans. 1956. *Selected Works of Lu Xun*. Vol. 1. Peking: Foreign Languages Press.

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.

Liang, Qichao 梁啟超. 1984. "Fanyi wenxue yu fodian 翻譯文學與佛典 [Translated Literature and Buddhist Sutras]." In *Fanyi lunji* 翻譯論集 [An Anthology of essays on translation], edited by Luo Xinzhang 羅新璋, 52-67. Beijing: Commercial Press.

Article (in journal)

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

Keng, Shao-Hsun, Chun-Hung Lin, and Peter F. Orazem. 2017. "Expanding College Access in Taiwan, 1978–2014: Effects on Graduate Quality and Income Inequality." *Journal of Human Capital* 11, no. 1 (Spring): 1–34. https://doi.org/10.1086/690235.

Other materials

Liu, Zhengyan 劉正琰, Mingkai Gao 高名凱, Yongqian Mai 麥永乾, and Youwei Shi 史有為, eds. 1984. *Hanyu wailaici cidian* 漢語外來辭辭典 [Chinese dictionary of foreign-imported words]. Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe.

Zhu, Xi 朱熹. 1270/2017. *Zhuyzi 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*.