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Yes Prime Manipulator :
A descriptive study of a Chinese translation
of British Political Humour

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DECLARATION

The research work leading to this thesis has been undertaken in accordance with the safety policy of the University of Warwick.

The thesis contains material from the following paper by the author:

'Towards a Better General Theory of Equivalent Effect', *Babel*, 42:1 (1996), 1-17.

SUMMARY

This is a descriptive study of Chang Nam Fung's Chinese translation of Jonathan Lynn and Antony Jay's *Yes Prime Minister*, a text characterized by British political humour. Adopting a target-oriented approach, it aims primarily to uncover the regularities which mark the relationships between function, process and product of the translated text, thus adding to the limited inventory of case studies in the field.

Targeted mainly towards readers in mainland China, the translation was done at a time (1987-1992) when the political scene in the People's Republic went through cycles of repression and relaxation in the face of a democratic movement, while the translation tradition remained one that upheld the primacy of the original -- a poetics that is determined by the ideological concept of loyalty.

Working under the constraints of the ideological and poetological norms dominant in China, the translator nevertheless wished to produce a text with artistic value and a potential to function as a political satire in the Chinese context, posing a challenge to those norms. This skopos has determined the use of manipulative strategies in the translation process.

The translation product is thus found to have been overdetermined by the interplay of a large number of factors besides the source text: socio-political conditions, literary and translation traditions, and the translator's poetics and ideology.

Finally, the findings are brought to bear on a number of translation theories, especially Polysystem theory and other cultural theories of translation in whose frameworks the study has been carried out. An augmented version of the polysystem hypothesis is proposed, the gist of which is that the political and the ideological polysystems, each consisting of competing systems, normally assume central positions in the macro-polysystem of culture, issuing norms that influence norms originating from other polysystems, and that translation activities are governed by norms originating from various polysystems. It is hoped that this tentative 'macro-polysystem hypothesis', after refinement by theorists and test by researchers, can better accommodate investigations into the role of the translator together with other socio-cultural factors involved in translation, especially the power relations.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis arises from a sense of dissatisfaction with the underdeveloped state of Translation Studies in the Chinese speaking communities and a concern about this new discipline whose future seems to be imperilled by its subsumption under (applied) linguistics by some academic institutions and professional and government bodies.¹ Adopting a 'non-applied' and 'non-linguistic' approach, the thesis is intended to prove that Translation Studies is 'a serious discipline in its own right'² and an intriguing one as well, and also to add to 'the limited inventory of case studies, which is in such urgent need of enrichment, in sheer numbers as well as in terms of the variety of behaviours', as Gideon Toury wrote a few years later.³ The object of study chosen is 《好的，首相》，a Chinese version of Jonathan Lynn and Antony Jay's *Yes Prime Minister (YPM)*, translated by Chang Nam Fung from 1987 to 1992 and published by the Chinese University Press, Hong Kong in 1993.⁴ The Introduction will deal with the rationale for choosing this text for a case study, the pros and cons of conducting descriptive studies on one's own works, the scope and method of research, and the aims of the project.

0.1. The Object of Study

The choice of such a text as the object of a doctoral research could be problematic to the

¹ Such as the City Polytechnic of Hong Kong (now City University of Hong Kong), where in the late 1980s translation and interpretation were taught in a department called 'Applied Linguistics'; and the State Bureau for Technical Supervision of China since 1992 (see Section 2.4.).

² Susan Bassnett, *Translation Studies*, rev. edn (London: Routledge, 1991; 1st edn London: Methuen, 1980), p. xi.

³ *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995), p. 192.

⁴ In order to separate the investigator and the translator, third person narrative will be used in the thesis when describing the translator and his translation.

traditionalist on two counts: it is not worth studying in such detail because it lacks canonized status, and it is bound to be looked at from a biased angle because it is translated by the investigator himself.

Dirk Delabastita's criticism of the snobbishness of academia provides an answer in relation to the first count:

The reasons for this lack of scholarly interest in translation in the media are not far to seek. The social sciences tend to select their objects of study on the basis of cultural prestige, rather than intrinsic interest. It is often thought more prestigious to study Shakespeare than to study popular literature or, for that matter, derivative phenomena such as translations. Those who study translations would, therefore, rather study translations of Shakespeare than translations of TV soap operas *Sons and Daughters* or *Santa Barbara*.⁵

This snobbishness is unacceptable in a time when, as André Lefevere observes, "'high" literature is increasingly read only in an educational setting [...], but does no longer constitute the preferred reading matter of the non-professional reader'.⁶

Since the inventory of case studies is in urgent need of enrichment, any case, so long as it is a translational phenomenon, is worth studying by the translation scholar so as to add to that inventory, as Itamar Even-Zohar explains:

The historical study of phenomena as polysystems cannot confine itself to the prestigious segments [...] This kind of biased elitism cannot be compatible with cultural history just as general history can no longer be the life stories of kings and generals.⁷

The remaining question is whether this particular translation of *YPM* has sufficient 'intrinsic interest' or complexity to justify the scale and depth required of a doctoral

⁵ 'Translation and the Mass Media', in *Translation, History and Culture*, ed. by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere (London: Pinter, 1990; London: Cassell, 1995), pp. 97-109 (p. 97).

⁶ *Translation, Rewriting, & the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 3.

⁷ 'Polysystem Theory' (revised version) (Internet: <http://www.tau.ac.il/~itamarez>, 1997), pp. 4-5.

thesis.

Although a piece of popular fiction designed mainly to attract and entertain a large readership, the source text presents as many problems to the translator as many novels considered to be masterpieces: the kind of its humour, produced by the manipulation of language- and culture-specific resources, could be regarded by the traditionalist as hardly translatable into an unrelated linguistic and cultural system such as that of Chinese.

Yet 'every problem is an opportunity', as James Hacker the fictitious Prime Minister says.⁸ The many puns in *YPM* are a case in point. Because of the simple fact that in the translating of puns translators have to deal with '*so many* different and usually *such conflicting* constraints' 'in the narrow textual space of a few words',⁹

The pun forces translators to prioritize. It makes them show their cards: their understanding of the original text, their poetics, their concept of translation, even their politics. It follows that the pun does not only put translators to the test, it also poses a challenge to the views and concepts of those who study translation.¹⁰

Determined to produce a translated work with at least 'equal artistic value', the translator has used a variety of strategies in translating puns, some of which have never been systematically used before in translating into Chinese.

Moreover, the translation is intended to be a challenge to the Chinese traditional views on translation and a satire on Chinese politics by way of allegory, but within the limits tolerated by those in power. (The plan to publish it in mainland China was given up only after it was turned down by an originally willing publisher in the wake of the June Fourth Incident of 1989.) Since ideological considerations have been deeply involved in

⁸ *The Complete Yes Prime Minister: The Diaries of the Right Hon. James Hacker* (London: BBC Books, 1989), p. 263.

⁹ Dirk Delabastita, 'Introduction', in *Traductio: Essays on Punning and Translation*, ed. by himself (Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing & Namur: Presses Universitaires de Namur, 1997), pp. 1-22 (p. 11).

¹⁰ Dirk Delabastita, (advertisement for *Traductio: Essays on Punning and Translation*), *Wordplay and Translation*, special issue of *The Translator*, 2:2 (1996), ed. by himself, 356.

the making of translation decisions, the target text provides a rich and somewhat unusual source for the study of translation manipulation on the linguistic, literary and ideological levels, and of their determination by the translation skopos and various socio-cultural factors.

There have been two M. A. theses in Hong Kong examining this translation of *YPM*. One is a study of the transference of humour from the written version to the teleplay and from the English to the Chinese written version. The second part is in fact a study of the translatability of humour from English to Chinese in terms of equivalent effect, concluding that to overcome linguistic and cultural barriers, 'it is sometimes necessary to transcend rigid rules of the translation tradition and exercise one's own creativity'.¹¹ The other professedly sets out to '[evaluate] N. F. Chang's treatment of humour in *YPM*, with a larger aim of deriving from the discussion a hierarchy of equivalence requirements and some strategies for translating humour or comedy of similar nature'; but actually it lays down an a priori hierarchy first: 'Of the four types of equivalence that are relevant to the translation of humour in *YPM*, pragmatic and connotative equivalence should have priority over formal and denotative equivalence', and then proceeds to evaluate the translation in accordance with that hierarchy. It picks out what are thought to be unsatisfactory renderings and suggests 'improvements', without taking due consideration for the translation intention and the influence of the socio-cultural factors of the target system.¹² Indeed, its main task seems to be no more than 'to find fault with the translator' in line with the traditional 'translation criticism' approach.¹³ Under such circumstances, to

¹¹ Chiu Lai Wan, 'A Study of the Transference of Humour across Different Media of Expression: With Reference to the Teleplay, the English Written Version and the Chinese Translated Version of *Yes, Prime Minister*' (unpublished M. A. thesis, City Polytechnic of Hong Kong, 1993), p. 63.

¹² Liliane Wong, 'Translation of Humour: With Reference to N. F. Chang's Translation of *Yes Prime Minister*' (unpublished M. A. thesis, City University of Hong Kong, 1995), pp. 1, 8, and passim.

¹³ See Edwin Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 128.

have the story told by the translator will make the picture fuller and more balanced.

0.2. The Pros and Cons of Describing One's Own Work

The main difficulty of studying a translator's strategies -- or what Gideon Toury and Theo Hermans call 'norms'¹⁴ -- and the reasons for the adoption of these strategies is that they are not directly observable as we still have no access to the translator's head, where the process of decision-making takes place, and therefore all the researcher can do is to make retrospective inferences about them, formulating explanatory hypotheses based on two type of sources: textual and extratextual. The former consists of translated texts, which are the results of norm-governed behaviour, and the latter, statements made by translators, which are statements about norms.¹⁵

There are limitations to what the two types of sources can offer. Actual decisions and regularities can be traced through a study of translated texts, but as such a study does not provide hard evidence as to 'why the decisions were made and what induced the regularities',¹⁶ they can only be speculated upon.¹⁷ Statements made by translators offer explicit formulation of strategies, but they may not provide all information necessary for in-depth research.¹⁸ Furthermore, they may be 'partial and biased', and are 'likely to lean toward propaganda and persuasion'; 'on occasion, a deliberate desire to mislead and deceive may also be involved'. Therefore, 'intentions do not necessarily concur with any

¹⁴ The term 'strategy' rather than 'norm' is used in this thesis when describing the features of the work of a single translator because the latter always implies acceptance of a standard of behaviour by a group of people.

¹⁵ Theo Hermans, 'Norms and the Determination of Translation: A Theoretical Framework', in *Translation, Power, Subversion*, ed. by Romá Álvarez and M. Carmen-África Vidal (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1996), pp. 25-51 (pp. 28, 39); Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, pp. 65, 182.

¹⁶ See *ibid.*, p. 39.

¹⁷ See Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, p. 36.

¹⁸ For instance, Liliane Wong states that since 'Chang did not explicitly state in his work the aim and the target readers of his translation', she has to base her discussion on her 'own conjecture' ('Translation of Humour', p. 44).

declaration of intent'.¹⁹

A 'more problematic' 'inherent weakness' commonly seen in the study of other people's translation products is that --

there is no way of knowing how many different persons were actually involved in the establishment of a translation, playing how many different roles. Whatever the number, the common practice has been to collapse all of them into one persona and have that conjoined entity regarded as 'the translator'; this would appear to be the only feasible approach, if research applied to pairs of texts is to transcend superficial description.

And another problem is that 'a whole range of possible activities' entailed in the production process, including revising, (post-)editing and proofreading, 'has usually been collapsed into one'.²⁰

While conceding that 'these weaknesses are relatively inconsequential' 'as long as comparisons are only executed for *descriptive* purposes', Toury argues that 'once *explanations* are sought, especially in terms of decisions and what may have governed them', information about 'whether the same attitudes were shared by all those involved in the production of a translation or whether a (direct or indirect) normative negotiation, maybe so much as a struggle took place, and if so -- whose norms had the upper hand and on what grounds' 'becomes very helpful'. And he adds:

When attention is turned to the PROCESS as an issue in itself, the absence of this information can hardly be justified any longer: If dubious statements on translational procedures or strategies are to be avoided, ways should be found to break the fictitious constructs of both 'translator' and 'translation process' into their components and to start relating them to each other.²¹

¹⁹ Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, pp. 65-66.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 183. For example, Lilian Wong assumes that the use of the comma in the title of the translation is the translator's decision ('Translation of Humour', p. 28), but sufficient evidence could have been found to cast doubt on the assumption if she had so wished (see Section 4.2.).

²¹ Ibid., pp. 183-84.

Regrettably, Toury has not suggested what ways he has in mind, and no such ways can be found in the case study reports contained in his two books.²² But studying one's own translation process and product could be such a way. Of course problems still exist with regard to the extent to which any translator can possibly give an objective, truthful and full account of their processes and products, as Toury emphasizes:

To the extent that individual translators are able to recall what passed through their minds in the first place, there are too many factors which may intervene and tamper with the reconstruction even of those parts of which they were conscious, as they were translating. This in itself is enough to cast doubt on the reliability of translators' pronouncements as a source of data [...] Indeed, finalized translations can often be shown to be at odds with their translators' claims [...]²³

In spite of these reservations, there seems to be no better way to achieve the following objective laid down by Toury than having the translator as the chief informant:

One objective of Translation Studies is no doubt to offer as good and as full as possible an account of what real-life translation *processes* involve. Towards this end, it is not enough to establish lists of factors which may exert influence on a person as s/he is translating. It is no less essential to establish how that person manoeuvres between constraints of various types and sources as s/he goes along, and to assess their interdependencies and relative force, given the circumstances under which the activity takes place.²⁴

The role of the author in this study is not an informant telling his own story, or a translator evaluating his own work. Rather, it is that of a scholar conducting a descriptive study of a translator's work (the scholar and the translator happening to be one and the same²⁵), making every effort to keep subjectivity and imprecision to a minimum level,

²² *In Search of a Theory of Translation* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1980), and *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*.

²³ *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, p. 181.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

²⁵ The state of the scholar and the translator being one and the same should be hoped for rather than to be avoided because it is believed to be beneficial to the discipline and the profession (see André Lefevere and Susan Bassnett, 'Introduction: Proust's Grandmother and the Thousand and One Nights: The "Cultural Turn" in Translation

which should be deemed acceptable in Translation Studies as it is in all human sciences.²⁶

0.3. The Scope and Method of Research

Accepting as a point of departure Toury's conviction that 'the position and function of translations [...] and of translating [...] in a prospective target culture, the form a translation would have [...], and the strategies resorted to during its generation do not constitute a series of unconnected facts', this thesis aims to 'uncover the regularities which mark the relationships assumed to obtain between function, product and process'²⁷ where Chang's translation of *YPM* is concerned.

The examination of the translation product and the establishment of its relationship with the source text (Chapter Four) is therefore not an end in itself but a means to reveal how most of the actual translation decisions have been guided by translation strategies, which in turn have been governed by the goals or skopos of translation.²⁸ Since these goals, some in harmony and some in conflict with each other, have been determined by the interplay between the translator's poetics and ideology and those dominant in Chinese society, the major part of this thesis is devoted to investigation into the socio-cultural environment and immediate setting of the translation, such as literary policy, the patronage system, freedom for writers in general and for literary translators in particular, the characteristics of the intended readership (Chapter One), the history of translating and theorizing, the position and behaviour of translated literature in the target polysystem (Chapter Two), the tradition of humour, the change of text function across

Studies', in *Translation, History and Culture*, pp. 1-13 (p. 12).

²⁶ It should be noted that Gideon Toury also uses his own translation as one of his objects of study (see *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, p. 112).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 24. Acceptance is not without reservations here. For a detailed criticism of Toury's theory see Section 5.2.

²⁸ See Hans J. Vermeer, 'Skopos and Commission in Translational Action', trans. by Andrew Chesterman, in *Readings in Translation Theory*, ed. by Andrew Chesterman (Finland: Oy Finn Lectura Ab, 1979), pp. 173-87.

cultures (Chapter Three), the translation commission, and the translation and publication process (Chapter Four). It will then explain how all these factors together have defined the translation skopos (Chapter Four).

In contrast with the two above-mentioned M. A. theses, which show a source-oriented approach in their preoccupation 'with the source text and with the proclaimed protection of its "legitimate rights"' without much concern for 'target constraints',²⁹ the present study, focusing on 'the role of target factors in the establishment of a translation', must necessarily take an essentially target-oriented approach, which means that it is the target pole 'where its observations start', but not that it is 'where these observations would also be exhausted'.³⁰ It goes 'back to the source text', 'even establishing the target text's shifts from it', but, limited in scope as most individual research projects are, it does not go 'all the way';³¹ rather, when examining the source culture and the function of the text in it (Chapter Three), it takes an outsider's macroscopic perspective, which is nevertheless sufficient for the purpose of offering an account of the translation process and product.

While the source- and target-oriented approaches are different only in 'perspective and focus' and are 'not two diametrically opposed positions which would never converge', the latter has a definite advantage over the former for this study because it 'leads to an *extension* rather than reduction of scope, in keeping with actual reality', and provides a 'broader framework' that 'may facilitate the account of **compensation**', a mechanism that proves to 'offer a viable explanation' of the translation process of *YPM*.³²

According to Gideon Toury, the normal way of conducting descriptive study of a

²⁹ Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, p. 24.

³⁰ See *ibid.*, pp. 173, 36.

³¹ See *ibid.*, p. 173.

³² For example, the strategies to render non-puns and zeros into puns (see Subsection 4.4.1.) can hardly be accounted for if the source-oriented approach is adopted (see Gideon Toury, *ibid.*, pp. 173, 82-83).

translated text is to 'start with the observables', which are 'the translated utterances themselves'; then one may 'proceed to facts which are observational "in the second order" (i.e., facts which need (re)construction before they can be submitted to scrutiny), most notably the relationships which tie together the output and input of individual acts'; and the third step is to reconstruct 'the *non-observables* at their root', most importantly the 'norm of translation equivalence' for the text and 'the concept of translation underlying the text as a whole'; finally, after this concept is 'put within a broader context', 'it may also become possible to speculate on the considerations which may have been involved in making the decisions whose results were encountered at the beginning of the analysis, along with the factors which may have constrained the act'.³³

However, since this is a descriptive study of one's own translation, these discovery procedures can be reversed. We can start with non-observables at the deepest level -- the socio-cultural factors which do have (rather than 'may have') constrained the act; then the considerations actually involved in making the translation decisions, or, more specifically, the translation skopos; and the translation strategies. After these steps we may proceed to the observables -- pairs of replaced and replacing text segments.

0.4. The Aims of the Project

Against the use of single (pairs of) texts as objects of study Gideon Toury warns,

Needless to say, one assumed translation, or even one pair of texts, would not constitute a proper corpus for study, if the intention is indeed to expose the culturally determined interdependencies of function, process and product, not even for that one translation. Any aspiration to supply valid explanations would therefore involve an extension of the corpus [...] In this sense, single texts, or pairs of texts, can be taken as objects of study after all.³⁴

His grounds, which remain unexplained, may be that such interdependencies with regard

³³ Ibid., pp. 36-37.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 38.

to one text are too intricate to speculate upon without corroborating evidence provided by other texts, but it seems unavoidable to touch on these interdependencies if speculation is made on the considerations involved in making the translation decisions along with the factors which may have constrained the act.³⁵

The immediate aim of the present project is 'indeed to expose the culturally determined interdependencies of function, process and product' though no absolute objectivity is claimed. This aim should not be problematic because the explanations (made in the capacity of a scholar) are based on retrospection (made in the capacity of a translator) rather than speculation, and the translated text is put within the 'broader context' of the socio-cultural environment and sometimes compared with another translation of the same source text.³⁶

Nevertheless, extension of the corpus is necessary for more comprehensive and in-depth explanations of the translational phenomenon the present study is concerned with, and also for more systematic studies of a whole series of related phenomena. It is hoped therefore that this project will contribute to the accumulation of knowledge, which is a particularly urgent task in China because very few target-oriented descriptive case studies of translations into Chinese have been conducted (or published) so far.

In James S. Holmes' typology, where the discipline of Translation Studies is divided into a 'pure' and an 'applied' branch, and the former sub-divided into a theoretical and a

³⁵ It seems that Toury himself does not always refrain from doing so in studying single texts. After analysing a translation of Hamlet's monologue in Hebrew, he concludes that all the constraints reflect 'the interests and needs of the *recipient* culture at that particular time' (ibid., p. 204). This is an exposition on 'the culturally determined interdependencies of function, process and product', and yet it is based not so much on a single pair of texts as on a single pair of text segments.

³⁶ 'It is not at all absurd to study a single translated text or a single translator, but it is absurd to disregard the fact that this translation or this translator has (positive or negative) connections with other translations and translators', as José Lambert and Hendrik van Gorp point out ('On Describing Translations', in *The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation*, ed. by Theo Hermans (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1985), pp. 42-53 (p. 51)). Such an absurdity will be carefully avoided in this study.

descriptive branch,³⁷ this thesis belongs entirely to the last one; but as 'one of the aims of Translation Studies should definitely be to bring the results of descriptive-explanatory studies executed within DTS [Descriptive Translation Studies] to bear on the *theoretical* branch',³⁸ the concluding chapter (Five) will draw out the implications of the findings to translation theories.

A number of theories will be tested: firstly some of those formulations which are presented and/or accepted as translation 'theories' but are essentially prescriptions and directives for translators, and secondly some theories proper, i.e., those that concern themselves with the establishment of 'general principles by means of which these phenomena [of translating and translation(s)] can be explained and predicted'.³⁹ In fact, this study is intended to take part in what may be called the 'benign circle' in which --

the findings of a well-executed study will always bear on the theory in whose framework it has been performed, thus contributing to the verification/refutation/modification of this theory, whether theory-relevant implications are drawn by the researchers themselves or by empirically minded theoreticians. A theory thus refined will, in turn, make possible the execution of yet more elaborate studies, which will then reflect on the theory and render it even more intricate; and so on and so forth, towards an increasingly better understanding of the ways translation and translators, as individuals and members of societal groups alike, manoeuvre within the manifold constraints imposed on them, and produce texts which look and function the way they do.⁴⁰

Of course, a single case cannot verify a (hypo)thesis, but any falsification of it 'would shed considerable light on its validity'.⁴¹ That is why any theory must be 'constantly tested by case-histories'.⁴²

³⁷ *Translated!* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988), pp. 71-78.

³⁸ *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, p. 15.

³⁹ James S. Holmes, *Translated!*, p. 71.

⁴⁰ Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, p. 266.

⁴¹ Gideon Toury, *ibid.*, p. 192.

⁴² André Lefevere, 'Translations Studies: The Goal of the Discipline (Appendix)', in *Literature and Translation*, ed. by James S. Holmes et al. (Leuven: ACCO, 1978), pp.

Based on these tests and incorporating Theo Hermans' concept of norms,⁴³ a tentative 'macro-polysystem hypothesis' is presented as an augmented version of Even-Zohar's polysystem theory to better accommodate investigations into the role of the translator and other socio-cultural factors involved in translation. Put forward by an empirical researcher drawing mainly on the results of one case study, it is hoped that this hypothesis can be revised and refined by theorists and tested by other researchers.

No such contribution is claimed in relation to the applied branch of Translation Studies. It has now become the consensus of some schools of translation scholars that 'the purpose of translation theory' -- and by extension Pure Translation Studies -- 'is to reach an understanding of the processes undertaken in the act of translation and, not, as is so commonly misunderstood, to provide a set of norms for effecting the perfect translation',⁴⁴ but still 'it would be ridiculous and unfruitful to maintain that a better understanding of the phenomenon of translation, its process and its product, do not lead to the production of better translations',⁴⁵ and surely conclusions can be drawn from theoretical reasoning and scientific findings to actual behaviour.⁴⁶ As Toury himself does not mind whether 'theory-relevant implications are drawn by the researchers themselves or by empirically minded theoreticians', it is hard to see why drawing conclusions to actual behaviour is 'up to the *practitioners*, not the scholars' simply because it is the former 'who must bear the consequences anyway',⁴⁷ especially considering that 'to divorce the theory from the practice, to set the scholar against the practitioner as has happened in other disciplines, would be tragic indeed'.⁴⁸ However, such conclusions

234-35 (p. 234).

⁴³ See 'Norms and the Determination of Translation'.

⁴⁴ Susan Bassnett, *Translation Studies*, p. 37.

⁴⁵ Kitty M. van Leuven-Zwart, 'The Methodology of Translation Description and Its Relevance for the Practice of Translation', *Babel*, 31:4 (1985), 77-85 (p. 77).

⁴⁶ See Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, p. 17.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁴⁸ Susan Bassnett, *Translation Studies*, p. 7.

drawn from a case study of one's own translation would have been too partial and biased. What is presented here is just 'a retrospective account' of a practice rather than a 'formulation of guidelines for future practice',⁴⁹ with a description of strategies that a translator has made use of as its by-product,⁵⁰ which are somewhat unconventional in the Chinese context, especially at a time when 'faithfulness to the original' is extolled as the sole and only, or at least overriding, criterion for translation.

0.5. Limitations, and Suggestions for Further Work

While efforts have been made 'to meet the high standards of bibliographical exhaustiveness, conceptual and terminological precision, methodological explicitness, empirical verifiability, and whenever possible even statistical exactness such as one would traditionally associate with a doctoral research',⁵¹ it must be stressed again that there is no pretension to absolute neutrality or objectivity towards the main object of study and other topics. Historiography, like other forms of rewriting (such as criticism), is always influenced by a certain poetics and a certain ideology and therefore always remains 'partisan and subjective'.⁵² This is inherent in any descriptive study in the field of humanities, as Theo Hermans emphasizes, taking Translation Studies as an example:

As a scholarly text, and as a translation into scholarly discourse, the description, like other forms of cultural translation, is 'inevitably enmeshed in conditions of power -- professional, national, international'.⁵³ [...] Our own descriptions [...] are

⁴⁹ See Dirk Delabastita, 'Focus on the Pun: Wordplay as a Special Problem in Translation Studies', *Target*, 6:2 (1994), 223-43 (p. 229).

⁵⁰ Cf. André Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting, & the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, p. 101.

⁵¹ See Dirk Delabastita, 'Focus on the Pun', p. 235.

⁵² See André Lefevere, 'Why Waste Our Time on Rewrites? The Trouble with Interpretation and the Role of Rewriting in an Alternative Paradigm', in *The Manipulation of Literature*, pp. 215-43 (pp. 217-33).

⁵³ The quotation is from Talal Asad, 'The concept of Cultural Translation in British Social Anthropology', in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and the Politics of Ethnography*, ed. by James Clifford and George Marcus (Berkeley: University of

shot through with interferences stemming from the concept of translation inscribed in our own language and culture, and from our 'social persona', our position and position-takings [...] in an institutional context. As a social practice, that is, the study of translation itself, is always overdetermined.⁵⁴

This is particularly true for a descriptive study -- or historiography -- of one's own work and even one's own self, in which the two capacities as scholar and translator are not entirely separable, no matter how hard the investigator may try to separate them.

The limitations of a study of a single text and the need for extending the corpus have been discussed before. Indeed, the justification of this thesis is mainly that it may serve as one of the few foundation stones in Chinese-speaking communities for the 'comprehensive programme for historical research' drawn up by Theo Hermans:

One of the major tasks of the researcher wishing to account for translation as a social practice consists in identifying and interpreting the norms which governed the translator's choices and decisions. The task extends to accounting, in given communities, at certain times or over a period of time, for the system of norms governing particular domains of translation and the discursive models which inspired the norms.⁵⁵

The findings and explanations in relation to this translation of *YPM* can be brought to bear on research projects striving for higher-level generalization and explanations for extended corpora consisting of other texts, groups of texts or phenomena, the extension being made 'according to some principle: translator, school of translators, period, text-type, text-linguistic phenomenon, or any other principle which could be given a justification'.⁵⁶ And observations (which can be regarded only as preliminary) on the changes of translational norms in China and the discursive models that inspired these norms may serve as a starting point for more systematic and in-depth research.

California Press, 1986), pp. 141-64 (p. 163).

⁵⁴ 'Norms and the Determination of Translation', pp. 47-48.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 39.

⁵⁶ See Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, pp. 38-39.

It is obvious that a lot of work has to be done in China, where (Pure) Translation Studies have not yet begun because it is either not regarded as a discipline in its own right or regarded as only an applied discipline, and where the problem that Toury finds in his part of the world is even more acute:

Even when studied and established (which is still a rarity in itself), regularities of behaviour -- past or present -- have hardly ever been taken very seriously as a basis for normative pronouncements with respect to what the future holds in store; unless, of course, the findings happened to concur with the attitude the researcher came equipped with to begin with. In fact, a major motive for issuing directives has often been overall dissatisfaction with what was going on in the world of our experience, coupled with a wish [...] to effect changes in it. Very often, the recommended changes are not even drawn from the behaviour of a definable group of translators, not even from the subset comprising those regarded as 'competent', or 'qualified professionals' within a culture [...]⁵⁷

As the present state of Translation Studies in China can be compared to the state of the discipline in the West of the 1970s, which Susan Bassnett calls the 'evangelical phase', its most urgent task should be to pose 'direct challenges to the established discourse on translation',⁵⁸ not only through translations of Western translation theories⁵⁹ and original polemics,⁶⁰ but, most importantly, through large-scale descriptive-explanatory investigations that may 'draw the applied extensions of Translation Studies closer to real-life behaviour, thus mitigating whatever pretentiousness they are liable to display'.⁶¹

To realize this goal the joint effort of all Translation Studies scholars is called for.

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 264-65.

⁵⁸ *Comparative Literature* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), p. 145.

⁵⁹ Such as Chan Tak-hung Leo and Chang Nam Fung, eds, *Readings in Western Translation Theory* (in press).

⁶⁰ Such as Chang Nam Fung, 'On Translation Studies', *Chinese Translators Journal*, 4 (1995), 15-17 and 22; and 'From Dream to Reality -- On Translation Studies as an Academic Discipline in the East and the West', (paper presented at Shanghai International Studies University Conference on Translation 1997).

⁶¹ Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, p. 264.

CHAPTER ONE

ARTISTIC FREEDOM SINCE THE LATE 1970S

Chang's translating of *YPM* into Chinese began in the winter of 1987. The first draft was finished in the summer of 1989. Revisions were made many times, and the final proof was finished in the autumn of 1992.

A lot of water ran under the Yangtze River Bridge during this period, an account of which must begin from the late 1970s.

In this period, foreign literary works of nearly every kind were translated as translators normally enjoyed more freedom than writers in their selection of material, but still it could be politically and/or financially risky to publish works that went against the dominant ideology, or the taste of the reading public. In order to understand the freedom and fear of the translator and the publisher, however, we must first examine the changes that the Chinese political situation, the underlying policy towards literature and art, the patronage system, and the scope of artistic freedom in general have undergone.

1.1. Politics and Literary Policy

The People's Republic of China (PRC) has sometimes been regarded as one of the most authoritarian states of the twentieth century in the first three decades since her founding in 1949, especially in the decade of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), when intellectual freedom was virtually non-existent.¹

¹ At least in the first half of the Cultural Revolution, there was no freedom of silence, not to mention freedom of speech; no freedom to read or possess any books except those written by revolutionary leaders and a few revolutionary writers; no freedom of publication; and no freedom of religious belief (See Judith Shapiro and Liang Heng, *Cold Winds, Warm Winds: Intellectual Life in China Today* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1986), pp. 3-4, 59-60, 191). Also see Harry Harding, 'Political Development in Post-Mao China', in *Modernizing China*, pp. 13-38 (pp. 14-15), which compares Mao's totalitarianism with that of Stalin.

The death of Mao Zedong (毛澤東) in 1976 was a turning point in the history of the PRC. A new era was ushered in, heralding far-reaching changes to the country. After a series of power struggles Deng Xiaoping (鄧小平) returned to office and became the de facto supreme leader.² He proceeded to reverse many of the 'wrong verdicts' made under Mao and grant limited freedom to the people.³ The emphasis was now on political stability and economic development rather than ideological struggle and class conflict.⁴

On the economic front, in order to achieve the goal of 'Four Modernizations'⁵ by the end of the century, sweeping reform policies were introduced one after another, gradually taking in many features uncharacteristic of the socialist system.⁶

² Soon after Mao's death, the middle-of-the-road Hua Guofeng (華國鋒) had the Gang of Four arrested in a coup with the help of some of Deng's sympathizers, and he became Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Posing as Mao's chosen successor, he tried to carry on with the campaign launched by Mao to criticize Deng, and made a policy statement that 'we must resolutely uphold whatever policies made by Chairman Mao and unswervingly adhere to whatever directives given by him' -- from which he and his followers acquired the nickname of 'the whateverists' two years later. But under great pressure from Deng's supporters he had to restore Deng to public life in 1977. What Deng had in mind, however, was supreme power. Since his downfall was ordered by Mao himself, his greatest obstacle was Hua's whateverism. In order to remove this obstacle, and also to break out of the 'spiritual confines' set by the Gang of Four, Deng and his followers in 1978 launched an ideological campaign promoting a new theory that 'practice is the sole criterion for testing truth'. He succeeded in edging Hua aside and then forcing him to step down in 1980 (see Gao Gao, *Post-Cultural Revolution History: The Tide of Liberalization in China, 1: The Comeback of Deng Xiaoping* (Taipei: Lianjing Press, 1993), pp. 5-6, 11-12, 32-50, 450-69; Peter R. Moody, Jr., *Chinese Politics after Mao: Development and Liberalization 1976 to 1983* (New York: Praeger, 1983), pp. 30-44, 132; Milton D. Yeh, 'Ideological Flux and Intellectuals in mainland China Since 1978', in *The Aftermath of the 1989 Tiananmen Crisis in Mainland China*, ed. by Lin Bih-jaw et al. (Boulder and Oxford: Westview Press, 1992), pp. 191-205 (pp. 194-95)).

³ See Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, *China without Mao: The Search for a New Order*, 2nd Edn (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 30-53.

⁴ See A. Doak Barnett and Ralph N. Clough, 'Introduction', in *Modernizing China: Post-Mao Reform and Development*, ed. by themselves (Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1986), pp. 1-12 (p. 1).

⁵ Of industry, agriculture, defence, and science and technology.

⁶ Such as material incentives, foreign investment, importation of modern technology and management methods, emphasis on consumer goods, private enterprises and, most important of all, the turning over of a large share of the task of coordinating the

As a result, living standards in many parts of the country have greatly improved in the last two decades, but this has been accompanied by phenomena typical of a capitalist society -- insecurity of income, price rises, a widening income gap, a breakdown in social ethics, corruption, increasing crime rates, and, last but not least, a crisis of faith.⁷

If Deng was taking the capitalist road as some people might think, however, he did so in economic matters only.⁸ In political matters he remained a confirmed communist, and always insisted on the Four Cardinal Principles invoked in 1979 -- leadership of the Communist Party, the socialist road, proletarian dictatorship, and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.⁹

Inevitably, however, Western values came with Western science to influence the way of thinking of the people, and economic development stimulated a desire for political reform. So the mixture in Deng of economic progressivism and political conservatism led

country's urban enterprises to the market and a corresponding reduction in the scope for centrally planned coordination (see Dwight H. Perkins, 'The Prospects for China's Economic Reforms', in *Modernizing China*, pp. 39-62, (pp. 42-56)).

⁷ See Zhang Jiefeng, 'Confusion in the Heart of the People in Mainland China', in *Blood-sprinkled Flowers of Democracy*, ed. by herself (Hong Kong: Pai Shing Cultural Enterprise, 1989), pp. 241-45; Peter R. Moody, Jr., *Chinese Politics after Mao*, pp. 123-24; Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, *China without Mao*, pp. 123-27, 239-43.

⁸ As Immanuel C. Y. Hsü emphasizes:

In [Deng's] mind, economic reforms and an open-door policy were but means by which to borrow foreign technology, capital, and managerial skills. These were seen as tools with which to strengthen the Communist rule, but never as steps to move the country toward a Western-style democracy. [...] In short, he was interested in Western science, but not Western values. (*China without Mao*, p. 219.)

⁹ See Cheng Chu-yuan, *Behind the Tiananmen Massacre: Social, Political, and Economic Ferment in China* (Boulder and Oxford: Westview Press, 1990), p. 3. It must be noted that Deng's political conservatism was very much a product of traditional Chinese political culture which, as Benedict Stavis observes, 'has deep obstacles to democratic reform': 'the political ruler had as much right to rule his nation as a father had to rule his family', as indicated by the fact that the Chinese word for country (國家) includes the character for family (家); and Chinese culture 'did not accept concepts of popular sovereignty' or 'share Western religion's idea of equality in the eyes of God' (*China's Political Reforms: An Interim Report* (New York: Praeger, 1988), pp. 67-69).

to cycles of relaxation and repression from the late 1970s to the early 1990s.¹⁰

These political changes have induced moderation in China's literary policy. In the Maoist era, the policy can be summed up as 'Literature in the Service of Politics', which was laid down in Mao's 'Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art'.¹¹ This slogan was challenged after the death of Mao and replaced by 'Literature in the Service of the People and of Socialism' after some debate.¹² This was in fact a compromise, meaning that 'political considerations [would] continue to limit how matters [might] be treated',¹³

¹⁰ This is because Deng relied on the liberal faction in the leadership to carry on with his economic reforms and open-door policy while using the old guards from time to time to counter the capitalist and nascently democratic ethic that they had generated (see Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, *China without Mao*, pp. 119, 218; Orville Schell, *Disco and Democracy: China in the Throes of Reform* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988), pp. 21, 253). These cycles were marked by four important events: the Beijing Spring from 1978 to 1979, the Campaign against Spiritual Pollution in 1983, the 1987 Campaign against Bourgeois Liberalization, and the Tiananmen Incident in 1989.

¹¹ The gist of the talk is that literature and art are subordinate to politics and they must serve workers, peasants and soldiers, and that literary works are to be judged firstly by political criteria and secondly by artistic criteria ('Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art' (delivered in 1943), in *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), pp. 69-98 (pp. 72, 86, 89). Also see Perry Link, 'Introduction: On the Mechanics of the Control of Literature in China', in *Stubborn Weeds: Popular and Controversial Chinese Literature after the Cultural Revolution*, ed. by himself (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), pp. 1-30 (p. 1)). Perry Link sums up the function of literature and the roles of people in the literary circle under such a policy:

The primary relationship on the literary scene is that between readers and top leadership. The whole point of literature, so viewed, is to cause readers to think what the top leadership feels it is best that they think. Correct thoughts in turn serve Party policy as well as the interests of society as a whole. Party theorists, borrowing a term from Stalin, explain that literature is a tool for 'engineering the souls' of readers. Thus the prescribed roles [...] of writers, editors, publishers, and critics are to ensure in their various ways that the primary relationship is properly built and protected. Critics are supposed to mediate the thought of the top leadership for writers, editors, and publishers; these groups, in turn, mediate correct thought for the masses of readers. (ibid., p. 2.)

¹² See Perry Link, 'Introduction', pp. 21-22; Sylvia Chan, 'Chinese Literature since Mao', in *China: Modernization in the 1980s*, ed. by Joseph Y. S. Cheng (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1989), pp. 609-52 (p. 616).

¹³ Peter R. Moody, Jr., *Chinese Politics after Mao*, p. 88.

thus forbidding, for example, 'works that exposed social problems too badly',¹⁴ but that 'not all writing had to support current political goals', thus allowing for 'an acceptable apolitical area between support of and opposition to policy'.¹⁵

Stalin's saying that writers are engineers of the human soul, however, has never been abandoned, and was invoked repeatedly in the 1980s by top leaders like Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang (胡耀邦), General Secretary of the CCP.¹⁶ In fact, they were conservative in literary policy, reformers though they were reputed to be. This should not be surprising, given Deng's insistence on the Four Cardinal Principles.

With the leadership adopting such a policy, control over literary production by means of post-publication censorship has never been relinquished even in relaxed periods, and can be very tight in times of restriction, although the patronage system has been moving towards differentiation mainly as a result of economic reforms.

1.2. The Patronage System

Until the early 1980s, literary patronage in China was, to use André Lefevere's terms, undifferentiated; that is, its three components -- the ideological, the economic, and the status components -- were all dispensed by the same patron,¹⁷ in this case the CCP. A professional writer usually belonged to a writers' association. These associations, controlled by party officials, held conferences to discuss and study the policies of the Party, paid salaries to a small number of established older writers, published literary magazines, and gave prizes to distinguished works, the most important criterion being the reflection of the current party 'spirit'. Thus, the CCP had great influence over the

¹⁴ Perry Link, 'Introduction', p. 23.

¹⁵ Perry Link, 'Intellectuals and Cultural Policy after Mao', in *Modernizing China*, pp. 81-102 (p. 86).

¹⁶ See Judith Shapiro and Liang Heng, *Cold Winds, Warm Winds*, p. 180; Peter R. Moody, Jr., *Chinese Politics after Mao*, p. 85.

¹⁷ *Translation, Rewriting, & the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 17.

ideology and social status of writers, and to a lesser extent their income, through their professional associations. At the same time, these writers were generally employed by a work unit, mostly literary magazines and publishing houses, where they held editorial positions. Most publishing houses were controlled through an annual meeting held by the Propaganda Department of the CCP, where they were given a general guide as to what was to be published during the year, and in what proportions. Publishing had little to do with the market, and everything to do with the state plan.¹⁸

Contrary to what one might expect from a communist country, however, in the PRC there has never been a separate body for pre-publication censorship so far as literature is concerned. While the Propaganda Department has general responsibility for setting guidelines and overseeing what is published, it is the various publications themselves that usually make the day-to-day decisions on what actually goes to press.¹⁹

This created few problems for the authorities in Mao's time because there was always the threat of criticism by party leaders and professional critics,²⁰ and of harsh punishments. Thus a system of post-publication censorship had induced pre-publication self-censorship through the 'manipulation of fear'.²¹ Censorship began to slacken towards the end of the 1970s as the regime decided that writers should be controlled more

¹⁸ See Liang Heng and Judith Shapiro, *Intellectual Freedom in China after Mao: With a Focus on 1983* (New York: The Fund for Free Expression, 1984), pp. 79-82, 186-88. As Orville Schell remarks, since all publishing houses and bookstores were owned by the state, a book that sold well just created more work for everyone; on the other hand, a book that was politically correct but lost money disturbed no one and just helped managers build up a good fund of correct political karma with the Party (*Disco and Democracy*, p. 99).

¹⁹ See Parry Link, 'Intellectuals and Cultural Policy after Mao', p. 95; Orville Schell, *Disco and Democracy*, p. 100.

²⁰ That is, 'officials whose job is to analyse literary works [...] according to the political criteria the top leadership has chosen for the present day' (Perry Link, 'Introduction', p. 2).

²¹ See *ibid.*, p. 14; Anne Wedell-Wedellsborg, 'Literature in the Post-Mao Years', in *Reforming the Revolution: China in Transition*, ed. by Robert Benewick and Paul Wingrove (Hampshire and London: Macmillan Education, 1988), pp. 190-206 (p. 192).

through 'social opinion' than by 'administrative methods'.²²

Not only did the method of control become less high-handed, but by the early 1980s the ideology of the patron was in such a state of flux and confusion that it was not easy for writers, editors and publishers -- even those who wanted to follow the dictates of the Party -- to be sure where the boundary lines lay between what was correct or permissible and what was not. This ideological ambiguity allowed them a freedom greater than any time before to experiment with new literary and political trends without getting into trouble. As a result, 'what got published had become more a question of what editors wished to publish and less a matter of what the Party required'.²³

Literary criticism emerged as a serious academic endeavour, demoting the traditional status of the party critic, who was losing his influence because political condemnation was often the best way to arouse favourable public interest towards a work and enhance

²² See Peter R. Moody, Jr., *Chinese Politics after Mao*, p. 87. Since then ideological control has been exercised mainly through speeches by leaders at professional meetings, often conveying a new 'spirit' (though mostly shrouded in vague phrases) which is to guide literary production until further notice; and these speeches would be accompanied by editorials in major newspapers. In times of restriction, they would contain warnings against 'bourgeois liberalization', 'spiritual pollution', etc., leaving to publishers, editors and writers the responsibility to interpret the vague phrases and to judge how much can be risked in particular cases; then critics would follow up with articles pointing out 'errors' in certain works, and one or more writers would be named. The next step would be to pressure other famous writers publicly to support the party line and denounce their colleagues, who would have to submit a self-criticism confessing their 'errors' and promising to mend their ways. In some cases certain publications or works by certain writers may be banned, and editors may be disciplined, but no punishments approaching the severity of the Cultural Revolution have been applied again. This method of censorship has not been as effective as the old 'administrative methods'. An example of such punishments in 1982 is that an entire issue of *Flower City* (花城), a Guangzhou-based magazine, was recalled, resulting in heavy economic losses, because of one story that was deemed to have gone beyond the limits. (See Perry Link, 'Introduction', p. 14, 'Intellectuals and Cultural Policy after Mao', p. 95; Liang Heng and Judith Shapiro, *Intellectual Freedom in China after Mao*, p. 84; Anne Wedell-Wedellsborg, 'Literature in the Post-Mao Years', pp. 192-94).

²³ See Orville Schell, *Disco and Democracy*, pp. 99, 316.

the reputation of the writer at home and abroad.²⁴

Economic reforms also had an impact on the system of publication. In the new market-oriented economy, publishers were no longer dependent on centrally approved plans for publication, and as their staff were given bonuses partly in proportion to the size of the profit, competition grew fierce and public opinion and reading preference became influential. The proliferation of publications -- some of them run by privately-owned or even 'underground' houses -- also made close surveillance impracticable.²⁵ Freelance and self-employed writers also emerged in the 1980s, some of them enjoying great popularity and economic success without official blessing.²⁶

In 1987 in the wake of the Campaign against Bourgeois Liberalization, a State Press and Publications Administration was set up under the State Council in an attempt to retighten control on publishing, closing and merging a large number of publications in the next three years. In 1987-1988 it carried out its first nationwide review of the management of publishing houses, newspapers, and other periodicals, shutting down or

²⁴ See Anne Wedell-Wedellsborg, 'Literature in the Post-Mao Years', p. 195.

²⁵ See *ibid.*, p. 194; Orville Schell, *Disco and Democracy*, pp. 316-17.

²⁶ One of the most prominent self-employed writers is Wang Suo (王朔), whose writings have been condemned as 'riffraff literature' (痞子文學) because in a number of his works he uses their (and his) language, depicting the life of criminals and rogues, playing with everything and 'raping' everything with his pen (see Xiao Yuan, *More Criticism of Wang Suo* (Changsha: Hunan Press, 1993), pp. 69-172; Lao Yu, 'Introduction: I am a Scorpion', in *Wang Suo: A Master or a Rogue?*, ed. by Gao Bo (Beijing: Yanshan Press, 1993), pp. 1-3). His reaction to the contempt and disdain of those in power, both inside and outside the literary system, is to attack writers in general. The following are just a few samples of his technique (*Banter: Collected Works of Wang Suo, IX* (Beijing: Huayi Press, 1992)):

Don't you know that rogues are not called rogues anymore? They are called writers now. (44)

Don't worry. You are not the only writer, so you will have company when you go to hell (67).

My father would certainly beat me to death if he had lived to see me become a writer (75).

Interestingly, a moralist critic pays Wang Suo back in his own coin -- he uses Wang's riffraff language to write a book criticizing him (Xiao Sheng, *As I Am a Rogue, Who Do I Have to Fear: Criticism of Wang Suo* (Hunan: Shuhai Press, 1993)).

merging over 600 publications in the process. Soon after the Tiananmen Incident a second consolidation drive was launched in 1989-1990, resulting in the closing or merger of about 800 newspapers and journals; in addition, ten percent of the country's publishing houses had their licences revoked or suspended.²⁷

In times of repression, outright suppression did occur. The most severe in the 1980s was perhaps that after the June Fourth Incident of 1989, when, for example, the Shanghai government announced a set of *Temporary Provisions on the Banning of Harmful Publications*, an article of which reads,

Reactionary publications refer to those opposing the people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist system, and include publications containing one of the following contents:

1. Opposing the Communist Party of China and its leadership.
2. Attacking the People's Republic of China and opposing taking the socialist road.
3. Attacking and vilifying the people's democratic dictatorship.
4. Denying the guiding position of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung thought.
5. Seriously distorting historical facts, advocating division of the state and people, and vilifying the Chinese people.²⁸

On the whole, it can be seen that the system of literary patronage in China has been moving towards differentiation since the 1980s. Ideological control is still mainly exercised by the regime, though in a somewhat weakened form, while the economic component is dispensed mainly by the reading public, and the status component is split into two -- official status and public status.

The above-mentioned manipulation of fear in literary control, although quite subtle

²⁷ See Judy Polumbaum, 'Chinese Journalism Since the Tragedy of Tiananmen', in *China Briefing, 1991*, ed. by William A. Joseph (Boulder and Oxford: Westview Press, 1992), pp. 57-76 (pp. 73-74); Asia Watch, 'Punishment Season: Human Rights in China After Martial Law', in *The Broken Mirror: China After Tiananmen*, ed. by George Hicks (Essex: Longman, 1990), pp. 369-89 (p. 384).

²⁸ 'The penalties for infringing these regulations range from a maximum fine of 30,000 *yuan* to criminal prosecution and unspecified terms of imprisonment.' (Asia Watch, 'Punishment Season', pp. 384-85).

and apparently even gentle, is nonetheless penetrating and pervasive and sometimes even intimidating -- mainly in the 1980s and before, but also in the 1990s to a lesser extent -- as there is always the danger of criticism and punishment. Although political persecution of writers and artists has become rare, the regime still has a frequently used financial trump card in its hand -- to wait until a book or magazine is already printed and then forbid its sale, thus wiping out bonuses and even forcing the end of a publishing house, threatening the very livelihood of all the employees.²⁹ This mechanism of post-publication censorship could be more devastating to those who step too far out of bounds, and therefore be more effective, than a system of pre-publication censorship.

The reaction to such a system of patronage and to ideological ambiguity and changeability varied among editors and writers. As Orville Schell observes, for many the trickiness of knowing when and how far they could step over the line from orthodoxy to unorthodoxy created a perplexing uncertainty, but 'for others it was a licence to run free and to push the system as far as they could for political or financial gain'.³⁰

Given the underlying policy towards literature and art and the patronage system, one can speak of artistic freedom in the Post-Mao period only in terms relative to the situation in Mao's era, and the variation of its scope closely followed the cycles of relaxation and repression.

1.3. Variation of the Scope of Artistic Freedom

In Mao's era, there was an increasing restriction on the scope of artistic freedom -- apart from a few brief intervals of liberalization, and a gradual politicization of literature.

²⁹ See Perry Link, 'Introduction', pp. 14, 18, 'Intellectuals and Cultural Policy after Mao', pp. 86, 95-96.

³⁰ *Disco and Democracy*, pp. 99-100. Perry Link notices a practice among writers 'to submit their manuscripts according to editorial bent, even if it meant mailing them the length and breadth of China', and a tendency among the more liberal-minded editors 'to monitor one another informally so as to advance or retreat in concert and thereby to avoid someone's publishing an extreme view that might be singled out for attack' ('Intellectuals and Cultural Policy after Mao', p. 91).

As Anne Wedell-Wedellsborg comments,

Not only did literature become explicitly and directly linked to the implementation of official policies, serving mainly as propaganda in the repeated social campaigns, but it was also caught up in factional disputes among party leaders and bureaucrats. This extreme politicization [...] ultimately led to a situation in which nearly everything that would normally constitute literary material had become a 'forbidden area': love or other 'trivial' themes from the private sphere, feelings which ignored class, the psychological probing of character, the portrayal of people with a wavering attitude to communism, darker aspects of socialist society that could not be immediately attributed to class enemies, and so on.³¹

The politicization process culminated in the decade of the Cultural Revolution, when nearly all Chinese writing over the last half-century was denounced as worthless, and literary and artistic production was dominated by the Gang of Four.³²

Reform of the CCP's cultural policy followed the downfall of the Gang of Four. Controls on cultural expression relaxed: writers and artists were assured by Deng that they would be free to decide 'what subjects they should choose for their creative work and how they should deal with those subjects', and that there would be 'no arbitrary meddling' by party officials in these matters,³³ and their works were no longer required to conform so strictly to the communist ideology as Deng announced that 'the basic standard for judging all our work is whether it helps or hinders our effort to modernize'.³⁴ In other words, writers were promised more latitude mainly in poetological matters while

³¹ 'Literature in the Post-Mao Years', pp. 190-91.

³² See Bonnie S. McDougall, 'Introduction: The Yan'an "Talks" as Literary Theory', in *Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yan'an Conference on Literature and Art": A Translation of the 1943 Text with Commentary*, trans. by herself (Michigan: Centre for Chinese Studies, the University of Michigan, 1980), pp. 3-41 (p. 40); Anne Wedell-Wedellsborg, 'Literature in the Post-Mao Years', p. 190.

³³ Deng Xiaoping, 'Speech Greeting the Fourth Congress of Chinese Writers and Artists (October 30, 1979)', in *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (1975-1982)*, trans. by The Bureau for the Compilation and Translation of Works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1984), pp. 200-07 (p. 206).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 201. For a slightly different interpretation of Deng's speech, see Liang Heng and Judith Shapiro, *Intellectual Freedom in China after Mao*, pp. 97-98.

the ideological grip just slightly loosened up.³⁵

With this relaxation of controls and the encouragement writers received from the democracy movement of 'the Beijing Spring' (1978-1979)³⁶ to challenge authority, a flood of works was produced, intruding into previously forbidden areas and experimenting with new themes and new modes of expression. The first to appear was 'scar literature' (傷痕文學);³⁷ this was followed by 'exposé literature' (暴露文學),³⁸ or

³⁵ It can be inferred from Deng's speech that party officials used to 'meddled arbitrarily' in both ideological and poetological matters, though André Lefevere's observation that 'patronage is usually more interested in the ideology of literature than in its poetics, and it could be said that the patron "delegates authority" to the professional where poetics is concerned' is still valid (*Translation, Rewriting, & the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, p. 15).

³⁶ The movement was triggered off by Deng's campaign to promote the theory that 'practice is the sole criterion for testing truth'. 'Big character posts', or wall posters, appeared in the streets demanding for democratic reform (see Peter R. Moody, Jr., *Chinese Politics after Mao*, p. 112; Benedict Stavis, *China's Political Reforms*, p. 3). More than 150 underground journals emerged over the next two years to explore new political ideas (see Xu Xing, *Deng's Open Policy* (Hong Kong: Pioneer Publishers, 1987), pp. 172-174, 180; Benedict Stavis, *China's Political Reforms*, p. 3; Chiu Hungdah, 'Introduction', in *The Aftermath of the 1989 Tiananmen Crisis*, pp. 1-14, (p. 1)). One of these journals contained an article written by Wei Jingsheng (魏京生), calling for the addition of a fifth item -- democracy -- to the Four Modernizations scheme (see 'Democracy or New Dictatorship', in Wei Jingsheng et al., *Selected Poems and Essays from Beijing Spring* (Hong Kong: Pingming Press, 1980), pp. 1-7 (first publ. in 1979)). Human rights groups began to form, advocating freedom of speech and thought, constitutional safeguards for liberty, and a national referendum to elect state leaders (see Peter R. Moody, Jr., *Chinese Politics after Mao*, pp. 113-14). As the democracy movement was a great help to Deng's campaign against Hua at first, it had the blessing of Deng, but Deng's enthusiasm soon wore out as he found that it had 'gone too far' for his own good, and so he conjured up the Four Cardinal Principles, and put an end to it all by banning all big character posts and underground journals, which was followed by a witch-hunt for democratic activists (see Gao Gao, *Post-Cultural Revolution History*, 1, pp. 195-208, 271, 275-80, 347, 354-64; Xu Xing, *Deng's Open Policy*, p. 181; Peter R. Moody, Jr., *Chinese Politics after Mao*, pp. 117, 122). The end result of the movement was that Deng defeated all his enemies -- both on the left and on the right.

³⁷ That is, literary works which 'mainly depict the great hardship inflicted upon the people by the Cultural Revolution and the severe wounds they suffered in their body and mind' (Li Daren et al., *Dictionary of New Chinese Words* (Beijing: Commercial Press), p. 423). A well-known example is Bai Hua's film script *Unrequited Love*, which is about an American Chinese painter who returns to his motherland after the

works that expose the corrupt practices of high party bureaucrats,³⁹ and later by love stories with a humanistic spirit, emphasizing the value of the individual.⁴⁰

Literary 'models' new or even alien to the 'indigenous stock', to use Itamar Even-Zohar's terms,⁴¹ took the opportunity to fill the 'vacuum' created by changes in the ideological climate. 'Translations of foreign literature, with its inevitable complement of individualism, excitement, and eroticism' were printed 'in tremendous quantity'.⁴² And science fiction emerged as a new genre.⁴³

Communist takeover but is persecuted to death during the Cultural Revolution. It raises the question: 'You love this country of ours, [...] but does the country love you?' (in Bai Hua et al., *Unrequited Love: Selected Mainland Chinese Plays and Film Scripts* (Taipei: Youshi Wenhua Shiye Gongsi, 1982), pp. 1-87 (first publ. in 1979) (p. 72).)

³⁸ Which is defined by the *Dictionary of Modern Chinese* (Beijing: Commercial Press, 1979), one of the most authoritative dictionaries of the Chinese language published in the PRC, as 'literary works that only expose the dark side of society without being able to point to the bright future' (p. 42).

³⁹ Such as Sha Yexin et al., 'What If I Really Were?' (original publ. in 1979), trans. by Edward M. Gunn, in *Stubborn Weeds*, pp. 198-250, which is a play about a young man who impersonates the son of a high-ranking official, thus receiving all kinds of favours from party cadres, but is finally punished by law because he is not a real one.

⁴⁰ See Liang Heng and Judith Shapiro, *Intellectual Freedom in China after Mao*, pp. 11, 92. Some of these stories extol love between 'class enemies', such as between a Red Guard and a 'counter-revolutionary' poet (Dai Houying, *Man, Oh Man!* (Guangzhou: Guangdong People's Press, 1980)), and between a son of a Communist general and a grand-daughter of a Kuomintang one (Li Ping, 'When the Last Rays of the Sun Grew Dim', *October*, 1 (1981), 77-137). These works, as Sylvia Chan analyses, 'study the multiple facets of complex personalities and human situations', contrary to the 'theory of determinism which postulates that people's actions behaviour [*sic*], feelings and impulses are all motivated by their class interests' ('Chinese Literature since Mao', p. 619).

⁴¹ See 'The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem', *Polysystem Studies, Poetics Today*, 11:1 (1990), 45-51 (p. 48).

⁴² Liang Heng and Judith Shapiro, *Intellectual Freedom in China after Mao*, p. 23. For details of literary translation activities in the early 1980s, see Section 1.4.

⁴³ Liang Heng and Judith Shapiro explain how science fiction emerge as a product of the new socio-political factors:

Through the genre of science fiction, many writers hoped to escape the careful surveillance that was the norm for other forms of writing. [...] Furthermore, according to Marxist theory, the pure sciences could be considered apolitical, so

Modernist poetry, labelled 'obscure poetry' (朦朧詩) because of the high degree of abstraction in it, which seemed very different from the obvious literature of revolution, was also an alien model. Many such poems were offensive to the authorities not only because of their unorthodox way of expression, but also because of the veiled criticism of social realities contained in them.⁴⁴

Although rejected by old guards of the dominant poetics,⁴⁵ obscure poetry had 'a large following among young students', indicating that 'its message, thought to be dangerous, had quite effectively got through to its readers'.⁴⁶

From the partial explanations that the leaders have offered and from the way in which policy has developed, Perry Link infers five likely reasons for the relaxation of controls over literature: to 'heal the wounds' inflicted during the Cultural Revolution; to win popular support -- the content of uncontrolled expression would basically favour the new

science fiction, too, had its excuse for working in its comparatively independent world.

And they point out that in some works of this category a utopia is created to put the realities of China in contrast. (ibid., p. 142). An example is Meng Weizai's *Interview with Missing Persons* (Shijiazhuang: Huashan Literature and Art Press, 1983; first publ. in 1981), which tells of a planet where all people are equal and the president is not the 'First Citizen' but the 'Last Citizen', and where there is only pure love, words like 'envy' and 'hatred' being entirely unknown.

⁴⁴ An example is 'One Generation' by Gu Cheng (顧城) (original publ. in 1980, trans. by William Tay, in *Stubborn Weeds*, p. 185):

The black night has given me black eyes,
Yet I use them to search for light.

For Judith Shapiro and Liang Heng, 'the poem evidently refers to the scars of the Cultural Revolution and the tragedy's gift to its victims of an ability to seek a greater understanding' (*Cold Winds, Warm Winds*, p. 19).

⁴⁵ See the essays in Yao Jiahua, ed., *A Collection of Polemics on Obscure Poetry* (Beijing: Xueyuan Press, 1989), especially the one by Gu Cheng's father Gu Gong (顧工), a poet of the older generation who used to write poems 'like shells fired from a cannon' when he was in the army: he writes that he is displeased with the poems of his son because he fails to grasp their meaning while finding 'terrible' words in them, such as 'glacier', 'doubt' and 'the God of Death' ('Two Generations: On the "No Sense" of Poetry', pp. 35-43 (first publ. in 1980)).

⁴⁶ Sylvia Chan, 'Chinese Literature since Mao', pp. 625-26.

leadership; to win the confidence of people whose cooperation was essential to the success of the modernization drive, especially scientists and engineers, and educated youth; to make a good impression on foreigners and overseas Chinese; and to encourage cultural creativity, which was regarded by some top leaders as enlightened Marxism -- worthwhile for its own sake.⁴⁷ Link's argument is certainly valid, but in the final analysis, the ultimate reason for Deng to relax controls and encourage creativity, as Milton D. Yeh suggests, was to use literature and art to help him seize power from Hua Guofeng⁴⁸ in the same way as he was using the democracy movement at that time.

As the famous revolutionary writer of the early twentieth century Lu Xun (鲁迅) (1881-1936) commented, 'once the revolutionaries gain power, they no longer tolerate a "revolutionary" literature'.⁴⁹ While Deng was winning the battle against Hua and putting down the Beijing Spring movement, his attitude towards free literary expression changed in 1980. As Perry Link analyses,

First, the leadership felt that its goal of discrediting its predecessors had been adequately achieved. To continue excoriating the recent past encouraged spillover into discontent with the present and could undermine current leadership [...]. Second, [...] writers [...] had begun departing from their assigned role of transmitting received wisdom and were now expressing their own views on social morality and the fate of the nation.⁵⁰

In order to curb the tendency of 'bourgeois liberalization', negative examples had to be made, and so Deng and Hu personally picked on several works.⁵¹ In 1982, Hu even

⁴⁷ 'Intellectuals and Cultural Policy after Mao', pp. 85-86.

⁴⁸ 'Ideological Flux and Intellectuals in Mainland China Since 1978', pp. 194-95.

⁴⁹ Quoted in Cheng Chu-yuan, *Behind the Tiananmen Massacre*, p. 86.

⁵⁰ 'Introduction', pp. 4-5.

⁵¹ For example, *What If I Really Were?* and *Unrequited Love* were criticized and banned, the former in 1980 for 'choosing an atypical case of corrupt cadres to suggest that the Party itself had become a privileged class', and the latter in 1981 for 'compar[ing] socialist China unfavourably with capitalist America' and 'portray[ing] Mao's role in the Chinese revolution as purely negative' (Sylvia Chan, 'Chinese Literature since Mao', pp. 612-15). Also see Perry Link, 'Introduction', pp. 14, 16-17, 28; Liang Heng and Judith Shapiro, *Intellectual Freedom in China after Mao*, pp.

threatened non-conformist writers with charges of counterrevolution.⁵²

Then 1983 saw a great swing in the climate for artistic freedom. Taking heart from challenges to the official ideology,⁵³ scholars discussed the humanistic and humanitarian themes in literature in the first half of the year, but in autumn a Campaign against Spiritual Pollution was launched, and literature and art bore the brunt of the attack. The following is a brief account of what happened in the literary scene in that year.

In January, a national conference on 'humanism and humanitarianism in our modern national literature' was held, which provided theoretical support to non-conformist literary works of the past few years. Liang Heng and Judith Shapiro give the following report on the conference:

Advocates of humanism [...] felt there should not be overemphasis on class relationships, and that a 'good' character could also have bad characteristics [...], while a 'bad' character [...] could also have good qualities. Proponents of humanitarianism [...] felt literature should reflect people's ordinary lives, their loves, friendships, and families, their ideals and their setbacks. Thus both humanism and humanitarianism in literature suggested that human beings should be portrayed in greater complexity than they had been -- marked deviation from the tenet of socialist realism that characters should be types [...] rather than individuals.⁵⁴

Trying to retain the obedience of the people by exerting greater control, the 'Campaign against Spiritual Pollution' was launched in late October with the endorsement

101-06.

⁵² See Peter R. Moody, Jr., *Chinese Politics after Mao*, p. 154.

⁵³ Most notably by Wang Ruoshui (王若水), Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the *People's Daily* (人民日報), the official organ of the CCP, on questions of humanism and alienation. Wang's view, as summarized by Sylvia Chan, was that the socialist system 'had not provided sufficient legal safeguards to prevent leaders of the ruling Communist Party from becoming alienated from the Party', or the Party 'from the masses it was supposed to represent and lead'; that 'the Party must be subjected to the supervision of the people', and that 'the personality cult, social hierarchy and privileges, bureaucratic indifference to people, [...] went against the humanitarian principle and were therefore anti-Marxist' ('Chinese Literature since Mao', pp. 618-19).

⁵⁴ *Intellectual Freedom in China after Mao*, p. 117.

of Deng.⁵⁵ Among the main targets were 'pollutants' in literature and art, which included overemphasis on the dark or grey side, sheer fabrication, distortion of revolutionary history and reality, and propagation of abstract humanism and humanitarianism. These 'pollutants' were held responsible for contaminating the soul of the people and were regarded as having the potential to 'cause great harm to the whole nation'.⁵⁶

Among literary works, novels with humanistic themes were most severely criticized. Accusations included failure to depict characters 'from the standpoint of class struggle' (*Man, Oh Man!*); '[advocacy of] abstract human nature and bourgeois humanitarianism', 'show[ing] the socialist system as inhumane and therefore responsible for the unhappiness of the people' (*When the Last Rays of the Sun Grew Dim*), etc.⁵⁷

Some works of science fiction were regarded as spiritual pollutants with 'grave political errors'. Without naming names, a newspaper article accuses 'a few' science fiction writers of 'wantonly propagating Western-style love' and using the stories to 'express discontent with socialism'.⁵⁸ Meetings were held specifically to criticize the genre. While repeating the accusations, one of the meetings complained that over sixty percent of the works published in 1981 were about adventure and love rather than devoted to the exploration and development of science and technology.⁵⁹

Other meetings were held to criticize modernism in poetry for deviating from the

⁵⁵ See Gao Gao, *Post-Cultural Revolution History: The Tide of Liberalization in China, II: Hu Yaobang's Haste Made Waste* (Taipei: Lianjing Press, 1994), pp. 118-23.

⁵⁶ Commentator of *People's Daily*, 'Hold High the Flag of Socialist Literature and Art Firmly Prevent and Clear up Spiritual Pollution', *People's Daily*, 31 October 1983, pp. 1, 3.

⁵⁷ Judith Shapiro and Liang Heng, *Cold Winds, Warm Winds*, pp. 99-104.

⁵⁸ Fang Yatian, 'Beware of Spiritual Pollution in "Science Fiction"', *Guangming Daily*, 29 October 1983, p. 3.

⁵⁹ See Yang Yimin, 'Standing Committee of Chinese Association of Science and Technology Workers Proposes to Clear up Spiritual Pollution in Science Fiction', *People's Daily*, 2 November 1983, p. 3. Also see Xiao Rong, 'Editorial Department of *Literature and Art Journal* and Theoretical Studies Unit of China Federation of Literature and Art Circles Conduct a Seminar on Science Fiction Writing', *People's Daily*, 23 November 1983, p. 3.

direction of socialist literature and art, breaking away from the masses, and bringing poetry to a state of disorder.⁶⁰ It was claimed that 'those riddle-like poems' were a 'deformity of art' which had 'contaminated our poetry and the souls of readers'.⁶¹

Some translations were also judged to be pollutants: a newspaper article chastised some scholars for 'indiscriminatingly introducing literary works permeated with decadent bourgeois ideas to advocate bourgeois liberalization', and for their failure to 'criticize forcefully from the point of view of Marxism academic and literary works of the capitalist world that have already been translated and published'. Jean Paul Sartre was cited as an example: the article deplored the fact that Sartre's ideology was regarded by some students as better than Marx's, although his existentialism was subjectively idealistic and his works in fact advocated 'extreme individualism and absolute freedom'.⁶²

As victims of the campaign, some magazines were closed down,⁶³ and some heads rolled.⁶⁴ The campaign soon got out of hand: high heels, short skirts, and even photos of fiancées became 'pollutants'; in some places, the establishment of special economic zones was queried, and unlawful measures were taken to hit private wealth. Consequently, anxiety and even panic swept across the country, threatening social stability and Deng's reform programme. Realizing the danger, the authorities applied the brake, bringing it to

⁶⁰ Xinhua News Agency, 'Over Thirty Poets and Critics of Poetry Hold a Seminar in Chongqing to Criticize the Erroneous Theory of the Three "Rising ups" of Poetic Circles', *People's Daily*, 9 November 1983, p. 3.

⁶¹ See Du Zhimin and Li Yin, 'Armed Forces Forum on Poetry Writing Held in Beijing -- Participating Comrades Say: Never Allow the Tide of Bourgeois Liberalization to Contaminate Poetry and the Souls of Readers', *People's Daily*, 29 October 1983, p. 3.

⁶² Yue Ping, 'Marxist Stand Must Be Adhered to on the Ideological and Theoretical Front', *Guangming Daily*, 8 October 1983, p. 1.

⁶³ Such as '*Guangzhou Hygiene* (廣州衛生), which must have published articles on sex that were deemed unhealthy, and *Young Explorers* (少年探索者), which must have printed too many humanistic, modernistic stories', according to Liang Heng and Judith Shapiro (*Intellectual Freedom in China after Mao*, p. 130).

⁶⁴ Prominent examples are Hu Jiwei (胡績偉) and Wang Ruoshui, who lost their posts as Director and Deputy Editor-in-Chief respectively of *People's Daily* (Gao Gao, *Post-Cultural Revolution History*, II, pp. 128-29).

a halt in less than two months.⁶⁵ However, the campaign lasted longest in the literary realm -- after it was over in other fields, 'it continued against Freud, Satre [*sic*], Kafka, and modernism, and lingered on against writers and artists'.⁶⁶

Although 'the more cynical assert[ed] that literary production [was] reduced to "singing folk songs to entertain the party"', Peter R. Moody, Jr. concluded that 'the Chinese literary scene in the early 1980s remained freer, more varied, and more lively than it had been' since the founding of the PRC.⁶⁷

As Deng redirected the CCP's effort toward explicit repudiation of the Cultural Revolution, targeting 'leftist deviation' in order to protect his economic reform programme,⁶⁸ he opened the gate for another torrent of liberalization, and the Campaign against Spiritual Pollution was completely reversed around the New Year of 1985 during the Fourth Congress of the Chinese Writers Association. Hu Qili (胡啓立), who was later promoted to the Politburo, apologized to writers on behalf of the CCP for excessive political interference and unwarranted criticism. He promised full support for freedom of creativity, which was not to be confined to technical matters such as the choice of subjects and the method of presentation as granted by Deng in the late 1970s, but was to

⁶⁵ See Liang Heng and Judith Shapiro, *Intellectual Freedom in China after Mao*, pp. 159-62; Judith Shapiro and Liang Heng, *Cold Winds, Warm Winds*, pp. 145-46; Gao Gao, *Post-Cultural Revolution History*, II, pp. 130-33.

⁶⁶ Merle Goldman, 'The Intellectuals in the Deng Era', in *China in the Era of Deng Xiaoping: A Decade of Reform*, ed. by Michael Ying-mao Kau and Susan H. Marsh (Armonk and London: M. E. Sharpe, 1993), pp. 285-326 (p. 306). She further notes:

Freud's view of the unconscious, Sartre's existentialism, and Kafka's antiauthoritarianism, all of which had been translated and won an audience among intellectuals for their relevance to their own situations, were denounced as spreading pessimism, disorder, and anarchy, similar to that of the Cultural Revolution. (ibid.)

According to Benedict Stavis, Freud's 'writings that sexuality is a normal, integral aspect of life' have also been translated (*China's Political Reforms*, p. 28).

⁶⁷ *Chinese Politics after Mao*, p. 154.

⁶⁸ Cheng Chu-yuan, *Behind the Tiananmen Massacre*, p. 84.

include the freedom to express one's own feelings and thoughts.⁶⁹ In other words, writers were to be given more latitude in both poetological and ideological matters.

The speech presaged two years of literary freedom not seen since the 1950s. Although Hu Yaobang in 1985 used the 'engineer of the soul' metaphor again and made the remark that 'our Party still has the obligation to offer (the writer) suggestions and advice in an entirely comradely manner', which could sound ominous in the context of CCP political discourse, the pressure was cushioned by Zhu Houze (朱厚澤), the new liberal-minded Head of the Propaganda Department of the CCP.⁷⁰

Deng took a turn to the left again in early 1987. In view of the intellectual offensive led by such figures as the noted astrophysicist Fang Lizhi (方勵之), the investigative reporter Liu Binyan (劉賓雁), and writer and theorist Wang Ruowang (王若望), which challenged the authority of the CCP and of Deng himself,⁷¹ Deng granted the request of the conservative party elders that his protégé Hu Yaobang be forced to resign, and he launched a new Campaign against Bourgeois Liberalization.⁷²

⁶⁹ See Hu Qili, 'Congratulatory Speech at the Fourth Congress of the Chinese Writers Association', *Literature and Art Journal*, 2 (1985), 3-5 (p. 4); Sylvia Chan, 'Chinese Literature since Mao', pp. 627-28.

⁷⁰ See Judith Shapiro and Liang Heng, *Cold Winds, Warm Winds*, p. 180; Orville Schell, *Disco and Democracy*, p. 94; Sylvia Chan, 'Chinese Literature since Mao', p. 629. Hu's toughness might have been forced on him, or merely a posture to smooth the ruffled conservative feathers (see Merle Goldman, 'The Intellectuals in the Deng Era', pp. 309-10).

⁷¹ Fang compared Deng's Four Cardinal Principles with superstition, autocracy, conservatism, and dependency, and claimed that Marxism was 'obsolete'; Liu chided his countrymen for delusion with the fantasies that socialism is perfect, that the Communist Party is infallible, and that Marxism-Leninism is eternal truth; and Wang took on Deng himself, criticizing his statement that his economic policy would permit some people to get rich first but would not lead to polarity between the very rich and the very poor (see Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, *China without Mao*, pp. 215-17).

⁷² The three leading dissenters were expelled from the CCP, and Zhu Houze was replaced as Head of the Propaganda Department (see Gao Gao, *Post-Cultural Revolution History*, II, pp. 349-60). As the conservatives took over the Department, they called a meeting to publicly repudiate the literary line expounded by Hu Qili (see Sylvia Chan, 'Chinese Literature since Mao', p. 639).

Literary, cultural and journalistic circles were among the main targets of the Campaign.⁷³ A purge was conducted in the press and the publishing sector as a Media and Publications Office was created under the State Council. All newspapers and magazines were required to re-register, and a large number of them were closed down.⁷⁴

The works of some Western authors came under fire,⁷⁵ and some home-made films were accused of revealing China's 'dark side'.⁷⁶

Zhao Ziyang (趙紫陽), who succeeded Hu as General Secretary of the CCP, limited the counterattack of the hard-liners and, apparently under the auspices of Deng, turned the Campaign into an anti-leftist one, attacking the 'obsolete, static, and fossilized viewpoints' of certain unspecified groups in the Party. He gave writers and artists the most explicit assurance:

⁷³ Two literary journals were made victims of the power struggle higher up according to Gao Gao: one was *Literary Commentary* (文學評論) run by the Institute of Literary Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, which put out an issue after tearing out the pages that contained a paper written by Liu Binyan on literary criticism, because the issue had been bound before Liu was criticized and to rebind all copies would be too costly; the other was *People's Literature* (人民文學), for publishing a short story that could be offensive to the Tibetans (*Post-Cultural Revolution History*, II, pp. 360-62). The story, related in an 'impassive tone', consists of 'accounts of Tibetan incest, sexual abuse of teenagers, adultery, black magic, reincarnation, and the [...] Tibetan burial rites whereby the corpse is carved up to feed birds of prey' (Sylvia Chan, 'Chinese Literature since Mao', p. 638).

⁷⁴ Two of the best-known examples were the *Special Zone Workers' Daily* (特區工人報) of Shenzhen, which had published Wang Ruowang's 'Discussion with Comrade Deng Xiaoping', and the *Shenzhen Youth Daily* (深圳青年報), on the front page of which had appeared a leading article appealing to Deng to retire (Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, *China without Mao*, p. 222; Orville Schell, *Disco and Democracy*, pp. 315, 323; Gao Gao, *Post-Cultural Revolution History*, II, pp. 283, 362).

⁷⁵ Orville Schell (*Disco and Democracy*, p. 323) cites Friedrich Nietzsche -- whose 'views that political leaders are men, not gods, and that citizens have the power to change politics' had been recently introduced to Chinese readers through translation (Benedict Stavis, *China's Political Reforms*, p. 28.) -- and D. H. Lawrence, whose novel *Lady Chatterley's Lover* had become an underground favourite.

⁷⁶ Such as *Furong Town* (芙蓉鎮), which is about ultra-leftism in the Cultural Revolution), and *Acting Major* (代市長), which is about the troubles of a reform-minded official) (see Orville Schell, *Disco and Democracy*, p. 323).

In literary and artistic creation and in academic research, we should [...] continue to advocate freedom in creative and academic work, and the free exchange of views and criticism and counter-criticism; and we should encourage bold practice and exploration.⁷⁷

Held in October, 1987, the 13th Congress of the CCP turned out to be a victory for the reformers in several significant ways. But their victory was by no means clear because many questions were left unanswered, and a fine balance of power was maintained at the top level. Moreover, the issues of spiritual pollution and bourgeois liberalization were skirted, but they were bound to come up again as economic reforms went on, and the Four Cardinal Principles were still there inhibiting more thoroughgoing reforms.⁷⁸

As for intellectual freedom, a rather unstable equilibrium was maintained for the next two years. On the one hand, intellectuals were given a promise by Zhao that there would be no more expulsions from the Party, and those who had been expelled still enjoyed much personal freedom. On the other, a few were asked to quit the Party voluntarily.⁷⁹

After the June Fourth Incident of 1989, Maoist guidelines on art and literature were revived in another drive against bourgeois liberalization.⁸⁰ 'Negative, gloomy, demoralizing, and decaying works' were condemned for 'confusing' the people and encouraging their 'alienation from human society'. As engineers of human souls, writers and artists were once again exhorted to 'contribute the best cultural food' so as to 'give hope, enhance national confidence and dedication, and boost the people's morale'.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Orville Schell, *Disco and Democracy*, pp. 327-32; also Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, *China without Mao*, pp. 223-24.

⁷⁸ See Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, *China without Mao*, pp. 225-34.

⁷⁹ Including Wu Zuguang (吳祖光), a well-known playwright, who had written an article the previous year appealing for the abolishment of censorship of theatrical works (see Orville Schell, *Disco and Democracy*, pp. 357-62).

⁸⁰ See Edward I-hsin Chen, 'Egalitarianism and Class Struggle in the Soviet Union and Mainland China', in *The Aftermath of the 1989 Tiananmen Crisis*, pp. 67-112 (p. 100).

⁸¹ Lawrence R. Sullivan, 'Reactionary Modernism in China: Cultural Conservatism and Technical Economism in Communist Ideology and Policy Since June 1989', in *The Aftermath of the 1989 Tiananmen Crisis*, pp. 15-38 (pp. 24-25).

The trend of the early 1990s was apparently towards relaxation,⁸² But the situation tightened again in 1996 as a new drive to 'strengthen the construction of spiritual civilization' was launched.⁸³

In spite of the seemingly interminable cycles of repression and relaxation, 'the major overall trend since Mao's death', as Perry Link emphasizes, 'has been towards relaxation'.

⁸⁴ There is much more literary freedom today than two decades ago, and, as some observers have noticed, creative writers, who have the smallest audience, enjoy more freedom than reporters and spectator artists.⁸⁵

Given the close link between literature and politics, however, literary freedom in China has never reached a degree comparable to that in Western democracies, not even in the most relaxed periods; for example, political satire or caricatures of national leaders would be quite unacceptable.⁸⁶ Based on their observation in 1984 Liang Heng and Judith

⁸² People were allowed to discuss Wang Suo quite freely, and Wang Suo could boast in a press interview, 'nobody can stop my wild tongue.' (See Gao Bo, ed., *Wang Suo: A Master or a Rogue?*, especially pp. 86-88.)

⁸³ For example, after 200,000 sets of *The Complete Works of Wang Suo* had been put out since 1992, it was accused of being 'reactionary' and of 'laughing satirically at politics' and banned in 1996 ('Laughing Satirically at Politics: *The Complete Works of Wang Suo* Banned', *Ming Pao*, 12 October 1996, p. A11). The following passage on the mission of writers might be among those that the authorities found problematic:

Tell the people that [...] a really good fellow should help the Government make a good living too. For example, can't you spare one of your three daily meals when the Government can't keep the pot boiling? Can't you sacrifice your life when the Government's police force can't take care of all the bad guys on the street? Make it clear to the people that the most pressing matter now is to help the Government make a living. Just think, over two hundred million illiterates, and over fifty million disabled people... is it easy? (*Banter*, p. 69)

⁸⁴ 'Introduction', p. 83.

⁸⁵ Liang Heng and Judith Shapiro, *Intellectual Freedom in China after Mao*, p. 84; Liu Binyan, *China's Crisis, China's Hope* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1990), p. 83.

⁸⁶ In 1985 a veteran journalist expressed his regret that party and national leaders cannot be depicted in caricatures (see Hu Fanzhu, *Linguistics of Humour* (Shanghai: Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Press, 1987), p. 27). Then in 1986 caricatures of Deng and Hu did appear, when the tide of liberalization was at its peak. Intended to be gestures of friendliness and reverence, though in a rather un-Chinese way, they caused

Shapiro drew a gloomy picture of the future of literary freedom in China:

Relative 'looseness', or liberalization, occurs when it fits the needs of a controlling faction in its struggles against another faction; 'tightness', or restriction, quickly ensues when writers and artists go too far. There is little hope that literature and the arts will achieve any real autonomy from official political considerations even in the distant future.⁸⁷

And Perry Link made a similar though slightly more optimistic prediction:

Two underlying forces, major and basically opposed, appear likely to continue causing fluctuation in the Party line, at least for the next few years. First, the top leadership, even if it changes, will not want to relinquish literature and art as tools to 'engineer the souls' of readers. Second, as long as modernization remains a primary national goal (which it may not, if there is a change in leadership), the hand of the advocates of tolerance will be relatively strong.⁸⁸

These predictions have been proved correct by events of the last ten years and seem to still hold true today.

1.4. Relative Freedom for Literary Translation

The political climate also affects literary translation, but to a lesser extent because there is a larger 'acceptable apolitical area'⁸⁹ where translation is concerned. As André Lefevere remarks, 'translation awards some kind of limited immunity to those who write it (after

great offence to Hu (see Gao Gao, *Post-Cultural Revolution History*, II, pp. 280-81). No similar attempts have been heard of since then. Wang Meng's *Rigid Thin Congee* (Wuhan: Changjiang Literature and Art Press, 1992), a humorous short story about the failed reform in a family, was accused of being an allegory about Deng Xiaoping and his reform programme by an article in a journal run by the Chinese Writers Association (Shen Ping, 'Letter to the Editor', *Wenyi Bao*, 14 September 1991, p. 4). Such intolerance is also due to the patriarchalism and the lack of a sense of humour in traditional Chinese culture -- seniors are not to be made the butt of jokes, not even good-natured jokes. (For a detailed discussion about the Chinese tradition of humour, see Section 3.6.)

⁸⁷ *Intellectual Freedom in China after Mao*, pp. 76-77.

⁸⁸ 'Introduction', p. 23.

⁸⁹ See Section 1.1.

all, they are not responsible for what others wrote)',⁹⁰ so while writers were obligated to closely observe the tenet 'Literature in the Service of Politics' until the late 1970s, literary translators enjoyed a greater range of choice in terms of subject matter except during 1966-1976, the decade of the Cultural Revolution. It must be noted that this range of choice was heavily influenced by the Soviet literary system, especially in the first few years of the PRC. As Wolfgang Bauer describes, 'Soviet Russia became the model not only insofar as her literature was particularly translated but also as to the selection of all non-Russian items; many Western books were even directly translated from a Russian translation.'⁹¹ As a result, 'very few Western items were translated into Chinese which had not been translated into Russian before'.⁹² Nevertheless, translation of a fair variety of foreign classics continued -- although the lion's share went to Russian works⁹³ -- when original writings were all revolutionary. The *Bibliography of Foreign Classical Literary Works 1949-1979*⁹⁴ (hereinafter referred to as the *1949-79 Bibliography*) contains 1250 entries by 276 authors from forty-seven countries (including different translations of the same works and reprints of works published in earlier periods). Among these entries, 365 are Russian works, and 201 and 189 are French and British respectively.⁹⁵

Besides the dominance of Soviet/Russian works, Bauer, whose observation is based on literary translation in the first decade of the PRC but seems to apply also to those in

⁹⁰ 'Translation: Its Genealogy in the West', in *Translation, History and Culture*, ed. by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere (London: Pinter, 1990; London: Cassell, 1995), pp. 14-28 (p. 23).

⁹¹ *Western Literature and Translation in Communist China* (Hamburg: Institute für Asienkunde, 1964), p. 6.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁹³ In the first decade of the PRC, when Sino-Soviet relationship was at its closest, Soviet and Russian literature accounted for 65.8% of literary translation in terms of the number of works put out, and 74.4% in terms of the number of copies printed (Bian Zhilin et al., 'Translation and Study of Foreign Literature in the Last Ten Years', *Literary Commentary*, 5 (1959), 41-77 (p. 47)).

⁹⁴ Library of Different Editions, State Publication Administrative Bureau, ed. (Beijing: Zhonghua Press, 1980).

⁹⁵ *1949-79 Bibliography*, Editor's Notes, pp. 38-114, 149-91, 193-235.

the second half of the 1970s, though to a lesser extent, notes three 'peculiar tendencies':

- (1) The old-fashioned taste: the vast majority of Western writers belong to the 19th century; [...] modern or contemporary writers, however, are very much neglected.
- (2) The extreme emphasis on certain 'proto-Communist' or, as far as the few contemporary writers are concerned, really Communist writers some of them actually being very poor and almost unknown in their own country. [...]
- (3) The preference for writers of fairy tales [...] and science fiction [...]⁹⁶

The following data, directly or indirectly provided by the *1949-79 Bibliography*, may serve to support Bauer's observation: *The Plays of Shakespeare* was published as early as 1954,⁹⁷ and his *Complete Works* in 1978;⁹⁸ Charles Dickens boasts eighteen entries, thirty printings and about 400,000 copies; eight volumes are devoted to Bernard Shaw, containing eleven of his plays; the best-seller among British works is Ethel Lillian Voynich's *The Gadfly*, which was printed twelve times between 1953 and 1979,⁹⁹ totalling 1,358,000 copies; although Jules Verne has only eleven entries, they amount to 1,852,500 copies; the most popular of all Western authors is Hans Christian Andersen, who boasts 47 entries and 119 printings, totalling over 3,861,400 copies.

The reason behind Andersen's popularity is, according to Bauer, that 'he simply fills all three requirements'.¹⁰⁰ In contrast, modern or contemporary writers were largely neglected. For instance, Ernest Hemingway and Graham Greene each have only one title translated,¹⁰¹ and Agatha Christie was totally unheard of. In fact, the *1949-79*

⁹⁶ *Western Literature and Translation in Communist China*, p. 24.

⁹⁷ Zhu Shenghao, trans., 《莎士比亚戏剧集》, 12 vols (Beijing: People's Literary Press), containing thirty-one plays.

⁹⁸ Zhu Shenghao et al., trans, 《莎士比亚全集》, 11 vols (Beijing: People's Literary Press).

⁹⁹ Li Liangmin, trans., 《牛虻》 (Beijing: Chinese Youth Press, 1953). It is worth noting that it was translated from the English text while the Russian version was consulted.

¹⁰⁰ *Western Literature and Translation in Communist China*, p. 24.

¹⁰¹ Which are *The Old Man and the Sea* and *The Quiet American* respectively (Bian Zhilin et al., 'Translation and Study of Foreign Literature', p. 46, where no details of publication are provided).

Bibliography, as its title states, is restricted to 'classical' works only, which are mostly works of the last century and before.

The causes of these tendencies are obvious. Works canonized a long time ago 'tend to remain secure in their position, no matter how often the dominant poetics itself is subject to change', because 'while the work of literature itself remain canonized, the "received" interpretation, or even the "right" interpretation in systems with undifferentiated patronage, quite simply changes'.¹⁰² The 'preliminary norms' governing the choice of works¹⁰³ that favour (proto-)Communist writers were determined by the dominant ideology and poetics. Verne's works are mostly a-political, and the values that underlie a number of fairy tales, such as those by Andersen, can easily be interpreted in a way that justifies the communist cause, whereas most modern or contemporary authors have not been canonized and some of them may turn out to be politically dangerous.

¹⁰² See André Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting, & the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, p. 19. Lefevere is talking about changes over time, but this observation may also apply to changes across cultural borders. The mechanism of re-interpretation is that 'the works of literature canonized will be the same, but the rewritings by means of which they are presented to the audience differ, sometimes radically'; as a result, 'it is quite common for the classics to be presented as suited to different ideologies and poetics as these succeed each other, indeed to be pressed into the service thereof' (ibid, pp. 19-20). For Lefevere, forms of rewriting include 'translation, historiography, anthologization, criticism, and editing' (ibid, p. 9), and to the list one may attach prefaces, introductions and annotations. But these works may not need to have been canonized 'more than five centuries ago' (ibid, p. 19). A Chinese example is *Honglou Meng* (紅樓夢). Regarded as an obscene work when it was published in the last century, it was later canonized as a great naturalistic love story, and its canonized position survived the Cultural Revolution, but it was then re-read as an anti-feudalistic politico-historical novel through Mao's personal intervention (*Honglou Meng* Commentary Group, the 1972 Class, Chinese Department, Guangxi Teachers College, *An Elementary Introduction to Honglou Meng* (Nanning: Guangxi People's Press, 1976), pp. 1-23; Mao Tse-tung, 'A Letter on the Problems in *Honglou Meng* Studies' (written in 1954), in *An Elementary Introduction to Honglou Meng*, pp. 1-2). The new argument is that the work was 'about love in appearance, but about political struggle in essence' (Shi Daqing, *Honglou Meng and the Feudal Society in the Qing Dynasty* (Beijing: People's Press, 1976), p. 3).

¹⁰³ See Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995), p.58.

Apart from these tendencies, it should also be noted that some canonized works whose sentiments are generally deemed not to have very much in common with the communist cause were also translated, but they might be substantially 'rewritten'¹⁰⁴ to suit the dominant ideology. Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* provides an example. The translator of a 1956 version asserts in the translator's Preface that Austen's 'exact and meticulous writing' illustrates 'her keen insight and her materialistic world view', and that 'Elizabeth's challenge to Darcy represents in fact a strong protest by the women of that time against a series of phenomena of social corruption such as the marriage system and the obsession with rank, and it also represents the women's cry for independence as a person and for equal rights!'¹⁰⁵ A Hong Kong critic calls them 'extremely ludicrous arguments',¹⁰⁶ but they were only a natural product of the dominant ideology of society. So is the comment of the Hong Kong critic.

The notes to some of the entries in the *1949-79 Bibliography* are also illustrative. The one to Walter Scott's *The Surgeon's Daughter* reads, 'It depicts the life and the conspiracies of an illegitimate son. Through the story, the brutal, dark inside of the East India Company as an instrument for the aggression of capitalist countries is thoroughly exposed.' And *Woodstock*, another Scott novel, is said to have 'reflected the inevitability both of the collapse of feudalism and the rise of capitalism'.¹⁰⁷

Also translated were a few semi-canonized popular authors with problematic ideologies, mostly in the late 1970s. According to the *1949-79 Bibliography*, four volumes in the late 1950s were devoted to Conan Doyle, totalling 212,000 copies, and there was one more in 1978, of which 245,000 copies were printed although they were

¹⁰⁴ For the concept of 'rewriting', see André Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting, & the Manipulation of Literary Fame*.

¹⁰⁵ Wang Keyi, trans., 《傲慢與偏見》 (Shanghai: New Literature and Art Press, 1956), pp. 8, 10. Interestingly, the phrase 'and her materialistic world view' was deleted by an unknown hand in a 1980 edition (Shanghai: Shanghai Yiwu Press, p. 8).

¹⁰⁶ Lin Yiliang, *Literature and Translation* (Taipei: Crown, 1984), p. 49.

¹⁰⁷ p. 168.

marked for 'internal publication' only; and Alexandre Dumas's *The Count of Monte Cristo* was introduced to readers in the PRC in 1978,¹⁰⁸ which was unimaginable before the end of the Cultural Revolution.

However, there were some 'forbidden areas' besides modern and contemporary authors. Works regarded as written mainly to entertain were frowned upon: in contrast to the popularity of his contemporary Bernard Shaw, Oscar Wilde, who used to be much translated before 1949,¹⁰⁹ has only one entry in the *1949-79 Bibliography*, which contains reprints of a collection of his fairy tales rather than his plays;¹¹⁰ and Agatha Christie was not translated at all. Works containing any description of sex were strictly taboo, and one such work could cause the entire repertoire of the author to be banned: none of D. H. Lawrence's works appeared in this period.

After the downfall of the Gang of Four and the launching of Deng's political and economic reform programmes, literary translations increased dramatically, both in quantity and in variety. The *Bibliography and Synopses of Published Translations of Foreign Literary Works 1980-1986*¹¹¹ (hereinafter referred to as the *1980-86 Bibliography*) contains over 3,300 entries (including different translations of the same works and reprints of works published in earlier periods) by more than 1,640 authors from eighty-one countries,¹¹² and the emphasis was no longer on classical works alone.

¹⁰⁸ Jiang Xuemo, trans., 《基度山伯爵》 (Beijing: People's Literary Press, 1978; Guangzhou: Guangdong People's Press, 1979; first publ. in 1946).

¹⁰⁹ There were at least twenty-six translations of Wilde's works before 1949, including all his four comedies, *Salome*, and *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (see Chang Nam Fung, 'A Critical Study of the Chinese Translations of Oscar Wilde's Comedies: With Special Reference to *Lady Windermere's Fan* and *The Importance of Being Earnest*' (unpublished M. Phil. thesis, University of Hong Kong, 1987), pp. 233-37).

¹¹⁰ Ba Jin (巴金), trans., 《快樂王子集》 (translation of Oscar Wilde's *The Happy Prince and Other Tales* and *A House of Pomegranates*) (Shanghai: Shanghai Wenyi Press, 1959; first publ. in 1948).

¹¹¹ China's Library of Different Editions, ed. (Chongqing: Chongqing Press, 1989).

¹¹² Editor's Notes.

Among British works, for example, about half belonged to the twentieth century.¹¹³

The focus of attention seemed to have shifted to some extent from canonized works towards 'best-sellers'. Graham Greene, Agatha Christie and Sidney Sheldon, who had been little known or totally unknown to the Chinese reading public, were now in vogue, boasting nine, twenty-five and sixteen entries respectively in the *1980-86 Bibliography*. Perry Link complains that 'the selection of Western books [...] for introduction to China' in this period was 'less than ideal', and he describes it as a 'problem' that there was 'an undeveloped sense of the distinction between best-sellers and "serious" works in the West'.¹¹⁴ But his criticism is beside the point, because the intention of the publishers was mainly to entertain the reading public rather than to introduce 'serious' works.¹¹⁵

The relative popularity of older, (semi-)canonized works also changed in accordance with their readability and entertainment value. Oscar Wilde, Jane Austen and Conan Doyle were the rising stars in terms of the number of works translated, and Shakespeare and Bernard Shaw were the falling ones. Compared to the data provided by the *1949-79 Bibliography*, the numbers of entries under Shakespeare and Bernard Shaw fell from fifty-five to twenty-nine and from eight to two respectively,¹¹⁶ neither of the entries under Shaw being a play, while those under Oscar Wilde and Jane Austen rose from one to five and from two to thirteen. The top seller of this period was perhaps Conan Doyle. One of his volumes was reprinted ten times within ten months between 1980 and 1981 by eight

¹¹³ This is a rough estimate only, because the English name and the dates of birth and death have not been provided for all of the authors.

¹¹⁴ His cause of complaint is that 'a translation of Herman Wouk's *Winds of War* has been widely read in China and is widely regarded as a modern American classic' ('Intellectuals and Cultural Policy after Mao', p. 88). According to the *1980-86 Bibliography*, Wouk's novel was first put out in 1979 by the leading publisher of literary texts -- the People's Literary Press (Shi Hanrong et al., trans, 《戰爭風雲》), and was reprinted twice in 1981 and 1982, the two reprints totalling 105,000 copies.

¹¹⁵ One should also bear in mind that it is not impossible for a profit-oriented publisher to present a 'popular' work as a 'serious' one, or even a 'classic', in order to boost its sale.

¹¹⁶ Although their total outputs in terms of copies printed also recorded an increase, it was much more modest than that of Wilde and Doyle (see the table below).

publishers, totalling over two million copies, and his total output in this period was nearly eight million copies, greatly surpassing Voynich (282,000 copies), Jules Verne (about one million copies), and even Hans Christian Andersen (about 1.5 million copies), all the latter three recording a drop compared to the previous period under discussion. The change in relative popularity of these authors can be seen in the following table.¹¹⁷

	No. of entries		No. of copies (in thousands)	
	1949-79	1980-86	1949-79	1980-86
Agatha Christie	0	25	0	5714
Sidney Sheldon	0	16	0	1340
Oscar Wilde	1	5	24	198
Jane Austen	2	13	412	992
Conan Doyle	5	12	457	7778
Shakespeare	55	29	1936	2024
Bernard Shaw	8	2	28	100
E. L. Voynich	1	9	1358	282
J. Verne	11	16	2815	1097
H. C. Andersen	47	29	3861	1561

**Table 1. Translations of Some Authors
in the Periods 1949-1979 and 1980-1986**

Most notably, some erotic or politically sensitive works were also published in the second half of the 1980s. A 1936 translation of D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was reprinted in 1986,¹¹⁸ George Orwell's *1984* was translated in 1985,¹¹⁹ his *Animal Farm* in 1988,¹²⁰ and Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* in 1987.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ The statistics are based on data provided by the *1949-79 Bibliography* and the *1980-86 Bibliography*. They are less than 100% accurate because information on the number of copies printed is occasionally lacking.

¹¹⁸ Rao Shuyi, trans., 《查太萊夫人的情人》 (Hunan: Hunan People's Press).

¹¹⁹ Dong Leshan, trans., 《一九八四》 (Guangzhou: Flower City Press).

¹²⁰ Gong Zhicheng, trans., 《動物農莊》, *Ocean of Translations*, 5 (1988), 107-83.

On the whole, in the 1980s foreign literary works of nearly every kind in terms of genre, period and ideology were translated,¹²² although the domination of Russian/Soviet literature still remained.¹²³ However, a very important distinction has to be made: Soviet literature was now represented not by old 'revolutionary' works but by contemporary works that had been regarded in the PRC as 'revisionist', and by authors who had been neglected, banned or criticized in the Soviet Union.¹²⁴ Striking examples are Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's *The Gulag Archipelago*,¹²⁵ and three versions of Boris Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago*,¹²⁶ which total 160,000 copies, according to *The 1980-86 Bibliography*.

This variety is mainly due to the relaxation of ideological control and the movement towards differentiation of the patronage system. As profit had become important, publishers tended to cater for the taste of the reading public, and such questions as whether the works were canonized or ideologically acceptable carried less weight than before.¹²⁷ But there were people who would 'choose to oppose the system, to try to operate outside its constraints'.¹²⁸

¹²¹ Li Li, trans., 《美麗的新世界》 (Guangzhou: Flower City Press).

¹²² Cf. Orville Schell, *Disco and Democracy*, pp. 96-97.

¹²³ In the *1980-86 Bibliography*, Russian literature takes up 260 pages, among which about 200 are devoted to modern and contemporary literature, while British literature occupies only 154 pages.

¹²⁴ See Ye Shuifu, 'Translation of Foreign Literature in the Era of Reform and Opening up in Mainland China', in *Selected Papers on Translation*, ed. by Du Chengnan and Wen Jun (Chongqing: Chongqing University Press, 1994), pp. 240-45 (p. 242).

¹²⁵ Tian Dawei et al., trans, 《古拉格群島》, 3 vols (Beijing: Qunzhong Press, 1982).

¹²⁶ Li Gang and Ji Gang, trans (Guangxi: Lijiang Press, 1986); Lan Yingnian and Zhang Bingheng, trans (Beijing: Foreign Literary Press, 1987); and Gu Yaling and Bai Chunren, trans (Hunan: Hunan People's Press, 1987), all entitled 《日瓦戈醫生》.

¹²⁷ The publisher of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was apparently willing to take enormous political and financial risks when it printed 90,000 copies of the book (according to the *1949-79 Bibliography*) in the expectation of a large profit (see below).

¹²⁸ André Lefevere *Translation, Rewriting, & the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, p. 13. For example, the publication of the translation of *Brave New World*, while politically risky or at least offensive, was a moneyloser, for only 740 copies were printed (Li Li, trans., 《美麗的新世界》, inside front cover).

This freedom for literary translation, however, was not absolute. Forbidden zones still existed, including sex, and anti-communist and anti-China sentiments,¹²⁹ and government intervention did occur in times of repression: in 1983, during the Campaign against Spiritual Pollution, some publishing houses were chastised for publishing Western works without using a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint to criticize them, and in 1987, during the Campaign against Bourgeois Liberalization, D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was criticized and banned.¹³⁰ At the same time, translated literature as a whole, together with literature in general, seemed to have lost a substantial part of its readers in the second half of the decade, as can be seen in the next section, thus further limiting the choice for translators and publishers.

1.5. The Readership

With the low level of income, and the rarity of places of entertainment, it is only natural that reading was one of the favourite pastimes among educated people in the PRC in the first half of the 1980s.¹³¹ And as the country had just begun to open up to the outside world, translated literary works were in great demand.¹³² But the reading habits of the

¹²⁹ According to Anonymous, 'The Current State of Affairs in the Translating-publishing Sector in China' (中國翻譯出版界現狀) (manuscript of a lecture delivered at a University in China in the spring of 1989), pp. 8-9.

¹³⁰ See Section 1.3. An editor at Flower City Press in charge of literary translation told the author in a private conversation that *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was published in spite of an explicit prohibition by the authorities. However, some other works by D. H. Lawrence have not been censored, including Zhu Wan et al., trans, *Short Stories of D. H. Lawrence* (Shanghai: Shanghai Yiwun Press, 1983), He Huanqun and A Liang, trans, *Sons and Lovers* (Guangzhou: Flower City Press, 1986), and Wu Di, trans., *Selected Poems of D. H. Lawrence* (Guilin: Lijian Press, 1988).

¹³¹ Surveys conducted in the mid 1980s (when television sets had become common in cities) showed that urban workers read contemporary fiction nearly as much as they watched television and movies (Perry Link, 'Intellectuals and Cultural Policy after Mao', p. 81). Also see Han Jianhua, 'The Pastimes of the People in Mainland China', in Ye Hongsheng et al., *Mainland China in Transformation* (Taipei: United Monthly, 1986), pp. 171-86.

¹³² See Sections 1.4. and 2.5.

people underwent great changes towards the second half of the decade. The ultimate cause of these changes was Deng's open-door policy and economic reform programme, which on the one hand led to a devaluation of academic education, and on the other brought in a large variety of formerly unavailable or unaffordable pastimes to compete for the people's leisure time. One of the major victims was literature.

As part of the reform programme, elements of the market economy such as private enterprise and material incentives were introduced, and the policy was announced that some people would be permitted to get rich first.¹³³ The old virtue of plain living was discarded, and the replacement was the official slogan 'to get rich is glorious'.¹³⁴

Under these circumstances the authorities' exhortation to the people to 'look forward' (so as to forget the wounds of the Cultural Revolution) was turned into 'look toward money' in the mouth and deeds of many.¹³⁵ Fraudulent practices and economic crimes were rampant, and overcharging was common in the service sector.¹³⁶

Taking the lead in this scramble to get rich were corrupt officials and children of high-ranking cadres. Nepotism, bribery and other kinds of malpractice were the order of the day in government departments,¹³⁷ and later became institutionalized and semi-legitimate.¹³⁸ Many children of high-ranking cadres, who had a sense of immunity to

¹³³ See Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, *China without Mao*, p. 217; Anita Chan, 'The Social Origins and Consequences of the Tiananmen Crisis', in *China in the Nineties: Crisis Management and Beyond*, ed. by David S. G. Goodman and Ferald Segal (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 105-30 (p. 117).

¹³⁴ See Orville Schell, *To Get Rich Is Glorious: China in the Eighties* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), pp. 13-14.

¹³⁵ The two phrases are homonyms in Chinese: *xiang qian kan*.

¹³⁶ See Jiang Zhenchang, 'What are the Youth in Mainland China Longing for?', in *Mainland China in Transformation*, pp. 41-54 (p. 42); Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, *China without Mao*, p. 240.

¹³⁷ See Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, *China without Mao*, p. 239.

¹³⁸ Andrew J. Nathan has the following account:

By 1988, bribes had begun to be routinely required in big cities to install phones or to start electric services, and even to get mail delivered or to receive medical attention. Such bribes had become institutionalized and semi-legitimate, increasingly

the law, were involved in crime in the early 1980s, when business opportunities were not yet abundant,¹³⁹ and became business tycoons in the latter part of the decade by cashing in on their connections in the corridors of power.¹⁴⁰

Two groups of people followed on the heels of corrupt officials and children of high-ranking cadres in the scramble. The first group were peasants in the more prosperous suburban areas and in coastal areas, who benefited from the new rural policy that allowed them to use their surplus capital to acquire more extensive landholdings, and set up or invest in local enterprises.¹⁴¹ The second group were self-employed businessmen (個體戶),¹⁴² mostly of little education. A large number of them got rich through hard work, vision, judgement, risk-taking, and good management -- and imaginably lawbreaking and customer-fleecing as well.¹⁴³

Meanwhile, the incomes of other people engaged in physical labour in state-run enterprises also increased in the forms of wage raises and bonuses.¹⁴⁴

collected openly by offices or groups of office-mates. Throughout society, the Party's encouragement of a new ethic of entrepreneurship had led to a general blurring of boundaries between legitimate and illegitimate economic and social behaviour and to an increasing sense of normlessness (*China's Crisis: Dilemmas of Reform and Prospects for Democracy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), p. 108).

¹³⁹ For example, some of them ran rings of pornography, prostitution and wild sex parties (see Liang Heng and Judith Shapiro, *Intellectual Freedom in China after Mao*, p. 127).

¹⁴⁰ They secured huge consignments of commodities at a low state-plan price for resale at the free market price, monopolized military hardware sales abroad, or obtained lucrative import-export licences for goods in short supply. 'It is a rare leader who has not allowed relatives to enrich themselves in these ways.' (Anita Chan, 'The Social Origins and Consequences of the Tiananmen Crisis', pp. 116-17.)

¹⁴¹ See Andrew J. Nathan, *China's Crisis*, p. 108; Cheng Chu-yuan, *Behind the Tiananmen Massacre*, p. 24.

¹⁴² That is, people who own private businesses, mostly in handicrafts, light manufacturing, home appliance repair and sales, and transport and consumer services.

¹⁴³ See Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, *China without Mao*, pp. 241-42.

¹⁴⁴ See Anita Chan, 'The Social Origins and Consequences of the Tiananmen Crisis', p. 111.

Intellectuals,¹⁴⁵ however, were largely left out in this scramble to get rich, especially teachers and scholars. In fact, they 'were the only major segment of society whose living conditions had declined on the average during reform', as Nathan points out, because 'the government, which runs virtually all the institutions employing intellectuals, allowed their salaries to lag far behind inflation due to worsening budget deficits and the relatively low priority given to education'.¹⁴⁶

Consequently, the average income of the uneducated or semi-educated in prosperous areas not only overtook that of the educated but greatly surpassed it. Surveys showed that individual businessmen typically earned seven times more than secondary school teachers, and many of them, such as tea farmers and owner-drivers of taxis, earned ten to thirty times more than professors and surgeons.¹⁴⁷ This phenomenon is summed up by a new phrase: 'the reversal of the brain and the body' (體腦倒掛), which means that the reward for mental labour is lower than that for physical labour.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ This is a rough translation for the Chinese term 知識分子, which literally means 'people of knowledge', but is used to refer generally to people who have received tertiary education, and specifically to scholars, artists, writers, journalists, etc., that is, people whose professions involve 'independent mental activity' (see Liu Binyan, *China's Crisis, China's Hope*, p. 33).

¹⁴⁶ *China's Crisis*, p. 109. According to Fang Lizhi and his wife Li Shuxian (李淑嫻), Government expenditure on education in the mid 1980s accounts for only one to three percent of GNP, lower than that of Japan and India in percentage terms, and was only one sixth of that on sports. The highest monthly salary a full professor can earn was reduced from 345 *yuan* in the 1950s to 260 *yuan* by a 'salary reform' implemented in 1985 while prices had increased five times (Fang Lizhi, *My Selected Speeches & Writings* (Taipei: Commonwealth Publishing Co, 1987), pp. 232-34; Li Shuxian, 'Save the Children: Rescue Middle-aged Intellectuals and the Chinese Educational System in Crisis', in Fang Lizhi, *My Selected Speeches & Writings*, pp. 337-46 (pp. 338-39)).

¹⁴⁷ See Cheng Chu-yuan, *Behind the Tiananmen Massacre*, p. 24; Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, *China without Mao*, p. 242.

¹⁴⁸ Han Ming'an, *Dictionary of New Chinese Words and Phrases* (Jinan: Shandong Educational Press, 1988), p. 607. Another witty, sarcastic saying that has become proverbial is in the form of a couplet: 'Wielding a barber's razor is better than wielding a surgeon's knife, and peddling tea-eggs pays more than meddling with A-bombs' (cf. Andrew J. Nathan, *China's Crisis*, p. 109). The saying rhymes internally in the original: '拿手術刀不如拿剃頭刀, 搞原子彈不如賣茶葉蛋!'

In this atmosphere of 'looking toward money', education was commodified, that is, reduced to a set of economic transactions. In the traditional Confucian culture, education supported personal cultivation, but now most students and parents no longer treated school as a place for self-actualization and personal development; the worth of education to them was merely a function of what it could offer careerwise. And it could offer much less now in consequence of the economic reform programmes. In the pre-republic period, that is, before the turn of the twentieth century, (academic) education was 'the chief means for individual advancement in a civil service system built around examinations on classical texts', and in the first three decades of the PRC, 'schools still served as one of the key mechanisms of social sorting and prestige allocation', but in the 1980s,

in a period of economic expansion and growing market forces, schools [had] lost much of their comparative advantage as institutions that allocate privilege and opportunity. When peasants [could] make millions and factory workers [could] earn large bonuses while university professors [were] unable to make ends meet, schooling no longer [held] its traditional appeal. With the spread of economic reforms, students began to complain that 'schooling is useless'.

This resulted in a rise in the school dropout rates, particularly in the more developed coastal areas, where, 'acting as rational consumers in a market, students [found] little merit in continuing education when they [could] go immediately to work'.¹⁴⁹

Meanwhile, the education policy of the government shifted from the Maoist equal opportunity for all to one that emphasized its practical values -- also a manifestation of the commodification of education in fact. Thus, senior secondary school places were drastically reduced in the early 1980s, on the grounds that since only a small proportion of students were able to enter university, large senior secondary enrolments were

¹⁴⁹ Lynn Webster Paine, 'Progress and Problems in China's Educational Reform', in *China Briefing, 1994*, ed. by William A. Joseph (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), pp. 113-42 (pp. 125-27).

unnecessary;¹⁵⁰ whereas professional and vocational education at the secondary level was significantly expanded, although not to the same extent of contraction of senior secondary education, in order to meet the needs of the modernization drive.¹⁵¹

Vocational schools were rather unpopular at first, because students in the academic stream had a much better chance of going on to the tertiary level, and the relative benefits of a tertiary education were much greater than in the Mao era,¹⁵² but the situation took a turn in 1988 with the official announcement that new measures would be gradually implemented, under which new university students would have to pay tuition fees, and to find employment on their own upon graduation.¹⁵³ These new measures, coupled with the relatively low remuneration for jobs filled by university graduates, caused junior secondary school leavers to throng to the previously unpopular technical and vocational schools, which promised more secure employment prospects.¹⁵⁴

The 1980s saw a great expansion of tertiary education, with the university student

¹⁵⁰ See Suzanne Pepper, 'Educational Reform in the 1980s: A Retrospective on the Maoist Era', in *China in the Era of Deng Xiaoping*, pp. 224-78 (pp. 249-53). She notes that 'the number of senior middle school graduates declined from [...] 7.2 million in 1979 to 1.96 million in 1985', and that the total student population at senior secondary level dropped from 12.92 million in 1979 to 7.74 million in 1987 (ibid., pp. 250-51).

¹⁵¹ See Lynn Webster Paine, 'Progress and Problems in China's Educational Reform', pp. 122-26; Suzanne Pepper, 'Educational Reform in the 1980s', p. 253. According to Pepper, the student number of professional and vocational secondary schools increased from 1.7 Million in 1980 to 4.55 million in 1987, the objective being to have equal numbers of students in the academic stream and the professional/vocational stream at senior secondary level by 1990 (ibid., pp. 252, 253).

¹⁵² See ibid., p. 253.

¹⁵³ In the past, every graduate was assigned a job by the state. The new measure apparently gave them more freedom, but with nepotism and backdoor deals so rampant, there was no fair competition, and many people felt that 'the best opportunities are in fact reserved for male students from big cities whose parents have many "well-connected" friends and relations' (ibid., p. 265).

¹⁵⁴ For example, general secondary schools in Beijing planned to enrol 25,000 senior students in 1988, but received less than 14,000 first-preference applications; in contrast, technical and vocational schools received nearly 60,000 first-preference applications for their 10,000 places (ibid.).

population tripled in ten years' time on the advice of foreign experts,¹⁵⁵ but the growth was concentrated in commerce-related fields, such as management, international trade, foreign languages, and law, whereas there was a shortage of applicants in fields without an economic future and in graduate study in academically demanding fields to the extent that quotas for some programmes remained unfilled.¹⁵⁶

These developments in the social, economic and educational scenes led to great changes in the reading habits of the public.

With the rise of market economy and the trend towards liberalization in the second half of the decade, the mentality and way of life of the urban population were transformed. A survey showed that seventy percent of young people found drinking, eating and having a good time their most tangible ideal as they could see no worthwhile goal in their work, and seventy percent of old people followed the life style of the younger generations in the family.¹⁵⁷ Going to karaoke lounges and night clubs (which had become widely available and affordable) or staying at home playing mah-jong (which had become lawful) were now their normal pastimes -- so much so that a rhyming couplet appeared: 'Ninety percent of the one billion people are gambling, and the remaining ten percent are dancing'.¹⁵⁸ It is logical to infer that under such circumstances a substantial number of people would have less time for reading.

Apparently they were still fervent readers, if the country's output of books is any indicator,¹⁵⁹ but they now had different tastes. After an analysis of various reports by

¹⁵⁵ University enrolment was less than 700,000 in the 1960s and 1970s, but grew to over two million in 1988 (ibid., p. 263).

¹⁵⁶ See Lynn Webster Paine, 'Progress and Problems in China's Educational Reform', p. 129.

¹⁵⁷ See Wu Jian, 'Popular Culture in Today's Mainland China', in *Blood-sprinkled Flowers of Democracy*, pp. 246-49 (pp. 247-48).

¹⁵⁸ 「十億人民九億賭，還有一億在跳舞。」 See ibid., p. 246.

¹⁵⁹ According to a Chinese official, in 1985 China's output of publications ranked fifth in the world in terms of the number of titles published (45,000) and first in terms of the number of copies printed (6.6 billion) (see Pu Shuhua, 'The Myth of "the Kingdom of Publishing"', in *Mainland China in Transformation*, pp. 219-34 (p. 219)).

PRC newspapers and magazines, Pu Shuhua arrives at the conclusion that four kinds of books became best sellers in the mid 1980s: the first were practical books, such as textbooks, references, examination guides, and those closely related to people's daily life; the second were 'romances',¹⁶⁰ including what are called 'modern romances', which were actually detective stories, ghost stories, and rape-murder stories; the third was martial arts fiction; and the fourth was popular fiction by Hong Kong and Taiwanese authors.¹⁶¹ In consequence, political works and serious contemporary literature fell into disfavour together with scientific works of unpopular disciplines.¹⁶²

The translation sector was also in a trough,¹⁶³ which the decline of translated British literary works from 1980 to 1986 as shown in Table 2 may serve to illustrate:¹⁶⁴

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
No. of printings	62	96	96	98	108	81	116
Ratio to 1980	----	1.55	1.55	1.58	1.74	1.31	1.87
No. of copies (in millions)	11.22	13.12	4.38	4.04	4.25	2.65	2.29
Ratio to 1980	----	1.17	0.39	0.36	0.38	0.24	0.2

Table 2. Publication of Translated British Literary Works 1980-1986

As can be seen from this table, while there was a tendency towards variety, the number

¹⁶⁰ This is only a rough translation of the Chinese term '傳奇小說'.

¹⁶¹ 'The Myth of "the Kingdom of Publishing"', pp. 221-27.

¹⁶² The total circulation of seventy 'serious literary journals' run by the Chinese Writers Association and its local branches, for instance, dropped from about eight million copies in 1983 to less than three million in 1985, and over one hundred journals run by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences had stopped publication (ibid., pp. 227-28).

¹⁶³ *A Notice on the Convening of a National Conference of Young and Middle-aged Translation Experts* sent out by the Translators Association of China in 1990 announced that one of the purposes of the conference was to find a way for the translating-publishing sector to get out of the trough as soon as possible.

¹⁶⁴ The statistics are based on data provided by the *1980-86 Bibliography*. They are about 90% accurate because information on the year of printing and the number of copies printed is occasionally lacking.

of copies printed dropped steadily, reaching the lowest point in 1985 and 1986, which were years of relaxation.

These problems were so acute that a senior figure in the publishing sector deplored that there could be no other country where it was more difficult to publish, to sell, and to buy books.¹⁶⁵ Although an exaggeration, this remark reflects the great changes that took place after the mid 1980s.

¹⁶⁵ See Pu Shuhua; 'The Myth of "the Kingdom of Publishing"', p. 219.

CHAPTER TWO

TRANSLATION TRADITION

In China, there is a tradition of translation, especially literary translation which began at the turn of the century, to serve ideology. For this purpose source texts have often been manipulated. Yet the lack of liberality in the community as a whole has determined the tendency for theoretical translation studies to be dominated by conservative thinking, which has promoted 'faithfulness' as the overriding criterion, exerting a great pressure on translation practice. Consequently, translations in the past decades have tended towards the adequacy pole regardless of the actual position of translated literature in the literary polysystem, except where ideological matters are concerned.

As translation tradition is a component part of the literary tradition of a culture, a detailed discussion of the former must be preceded by a brief account of the latter.

2.1. Art for Ideology's Sake

The Maoist policy of 'Literature in the Service of Politics' was not only borrowed from concepts of Marxism, but also appropriated from some traditional Chinese assumptions about the relation between literature, morality and politics.¹ Two of them are, first:

Written Chinese embodies moral and political power. Mastery of classical learning [...] results in cultivation of one's own self, which, in turn, results in harmony within one's family, regulation of the kingdom, and pacification of the world. Ultimately, literary cultivation qualifies and enables one to rule, or at least to advise a ruler.

And second:

¹ See Perry Link, 'Introduction: On the Mechanics of the Control of Literature in China', in *Stubborn Weeds: Popular and Controversial Chinese Literature after the Cultural Revolution*, ed. by himself (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), pp. 1-30, (pp. 5-6).

A literary intellectual should take the world's well-being as his own responsibility. His learning gives him not only a special power but also a strict moral duty to care whether all is well in 'the world'.²

Thus, literature and literary studies are expected to serve ideological goals, as reflected by the Chinese saying that 'writings are for showing the way' (文以載道).

According to Perry Link, when literature primarily for entertainment emerged about a thousand years ago, 'its departure from serious moral-political purposes caused it to be denigrated -- together with visiting teahouses and brothels or watching itinerant jugglers -- as something that diverted people from their proper Confucian roles'.³ But this is only part of the picture, for some works that seem to have no 'serious moral' have been 'rewritten' in conformity with the dominant ideology and thereby turned into 'serious' literature.⁴

In line with this engagé tradition, some modern Chinese writers saw their works as instruments to criticize and change society. In feudal China, fiction was regarded as a

² Perry Link, 'Intellectuals and Cultural Policy after Mao', in *Modernizing China: Post-Mao Reform and Development*, ed. by A. Doak Barnett and Ralph N. Clough (Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1986), pp. 81-102 (p. 82). These assumptions were shared by dissenters, such as the famous poets Qu Yuan (屈原 ca. 340-278 B. C.), who drowned himself in protest against his weak and corrupt government, and Du Fu (杜甫 712-770), who spoke out for the cold and the hungry (see Perry Link, 'Introduction: On the Mechanics of the Control of Literature in China', p. 5).

³ Ibid.

⁴ A classic example is the ancient *Book of Songs*. A substantial number of the poems collected in it are generally believed to be folk songs by unknown authors, some of them are love poems if judged by their surface meaning, and a few have been considered 'obscene' by Confucian standards, but Confucian scholars have linked each of them to a historical person or event, and imposed a moral, turning these poems into preachings of Confucian values and eulogies to the benevolence and virtues of kings, saints and royal families. Thus the collection has been exalted to the position of a classic textbook, to be studied for the cultivation of one's moral character (see Xia Chuancai, *A Brief History of the Studies of The Book of Songs* (Taipei: Wanjuan House, 1993), pp. 40-57; Yuan Mei, *The Book of Songs with Translations into Modern Chinese and Annotations* (Shandong: Qilu Book House, 1985), pp. 1-27, 38-47; Jin Kaicheng, *The Book of Songs* (Beijing: Zhonghua Press, 1980)).

genre primarily for entertainment, and had always occupied a peripheral position in the literary polysystem, which was dominated by poetry.⁵ At the turn of the century, however, as the political activist Liang Qichao (梁啓超 1873-1929) put forward the new concept of 'political fiction', which means fictional works that convey the author's political message, the genre began to be used to enlighten the people, criticize the government and advocate revolution.⁶ Since then literature has generally been increasingly politicized -- from the May Fourth Movement to World War II, culminating in Mao's era, when writers had to be concerned with politics, whether by preference or out of necessity.⁷

Although a few writers cut down or ceased writing after the founding of the PRC,⁸ the sense of mission of many writers was not reduced during and after Mao's rule. Whenever an opportunity presented itself, they would come forward to speak their minds or use literary works to articulate their ideas.⁹ Hence the emergence of scar literature and exposé literature after the Cultural Revolution, and even science fiction and certain

⁵ As Han Dihou points out, 'the Chinese literati used to regard fictional works as light readings and look down upon their writers' (*Modern English-Chinese Translation: A Critical Survey* (Hong Kong: Swindon, 1969), p. 55).

⁶ See Liu Dajie, *History of Chinese Literature*, 3 vols (Hong Kong: Guwen Press, 1975), III, pp. 358-61; Liang Heng and Judith Shapiro, *Intellectual Freedom in China after Mao: With a Focus on 1983* (New York: The Fund for Free Expression, 1984), p. 77.

⁷ See Chen Yugang et al., *A History of Chinese Translated Literature* (Beijing: China Translation & Publishing Corporation, 1989), pp. 89-92; Perry Link, 'Intellectuals and Cultural Policy after Mao', p. 81; Liang Heng and Judith Shapiro, *Intellectual Freedom in China after Mao*, pp. 77-78.

⁸ Such as the playwright Cao Yu (曹禺), the prolific writer Shen Congwen (沈從文), who shifted to the study of the history of apparel, and Qian Zhongshu (錢鍾書), the author of *Fortress Besieged* (圍城) (see Cheng Chu-yuan, *Behind the Tiananmen Massacre: Social, Political, and Economic Ferment in China* (Boulder and Oxford: Westview Press, 1990), p. 86; Bonnie S. McDougall, 'Writers and Performers, Their Works, and Their Audiences in the First Three Decades', in *Popular Chinese Literature and Performing Arts in the People's Republic of China 1949-1979*, ed. by herself (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 269-304, (p. 270)).

⁹ See Cheng Chu-yuan, *Behind the Tiananmen Massacre*, pp. 86-88.

obscure poems, which contained explicit or veiled criticism of society.¹⁰

2.2. Translation for Ideology's Sake

Translation activities in China were mainly concerned with Buddhist scriptures in the first ten centuries in the Christian era, and then with scriptures of other religions, government documents, and science and technology in later centuries.¹¹ Large-scale translating of foreign works of literature and social sciences began only after China was defeated in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, with the purpose of building a strong nation by learning from Western sciences and culture.¹²

The first to introduce systematically Western thoughts on philosophy, politics, economics, law, etc., was Yan Fu (嚴復 1853-1921), who translated about ten English works¹³ from the 1890s to the 1910s with the aim of reforming the traditional Chinese school of thought and enlightening the feudalistic intelligentsia.¹⁴

Meanwhile, there was a sudden boom in the translating of foreign literary works. As Liang Qichao saw it, at the inception of reforms in European countries, 'people of great learning and lofty ideals' often wrote works of fiction to express their political views, and these works, having a wide readership, often 'changed the opinion of the whole country', so he concluded in 1898 that 'political fiction has made the greatest contribution to political progress in the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Austria, Italy and Japan'. As this genre was lacking in the indigenous stock, he announced that he

¹⁰ See Section 1.3. As Perry Link noted in 1986, in the post-Mao period 'literature continues to be widely regarded as a vehicle for important, if sometimes subtle, political expression' ('Intellectuals and Cultural Policy after Mao', p. 89).

¹¹ See Ma Zuyi, *A Brief History of Translation in China: The Pre-May Fourth Movement Period* (Beijing: China Translation & Publishing Corporation, 1984).

¹² See Chen Yugang et al., *A History of Chinese Translated Literature*, pp. 6-7.

¹³ Such as Thomas Henry Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics* and Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*.

¹⁴ See Ma Zuyi, *A Brief History of Translation in China*, pp. 259-65; Han Dihou, *Modern English-Chinese Translation*, pp. 8-11.

intended to 'choose works by famous foreign writers that have a bearing on the current political situation in China and translate them one after another'.¹⁵ In 1902, he went a step further and raised the radical argument that the renewal of a people, of morals, of a religion, of politics, of social customs, etc., must begin by a renewal of fiction, and that fiction was the highest form of literature¹⁶ -- in contrast to its traditional marginalization. His own translations of two Japanese novels, one attacking authoritarianism and the other about patriotism in ancient Greece, aroused widespread interest in the country.¹⁷ As a number of intellectuals followed his example, translated fictional works 'took over the literary arena and attracted a wide readership', outnumbering indigenous works by two to one and influencing the production of the latter.¹⁸

From Liang Qichao on a trend was firmly set in China for translation -- especially literary translation -- to serve politics.¹⁹ An example is provided by the most renowned literary translator of the time, Lin Shu (林紓 1852-1924), who translated about 180 works in the first quarter of the century.²⁰ As he did not know any foreign languages, he had to rely on his collaborators for the choice of source texts, and has been criticized for having wasted the major part of his labour on second- and third-rate pieces,²¹ but he

¹⁵ Ren Gong (Liang Qichao), 'Preface to Translated Political Fiction', *Scholar's Political Criticism*, 1 (1898), 53-54 (p. 54).

¹⁶ 'On the Relation between Fiction and Social Administration', in *Selected Works of Liang Qichao* (Shanghai: Shanghai People's Press, 1984), pp. 349-53 (first publ. in *New Fiction*, 1(1902)) (p. 349-50).

¹⁷ See Ma Zuyi, *A Brief History of Translation in China*, pp. 287-89.

¹⁸ See Chen Yugang et al., *A History of Chinese Translated Literature*, p. 42.

¹⁹ See *ibid.*, p. 44.

²⁰ For a list of Lin Shu's translations, see Ma Tailai, 'A Complete Bibliography of Lin Shu's Translated Works', in Qian Zhongshu et al., *Lin Shu's Translations* (Beijing: Commercial Press, 1981), pp. 60-103.

²¹ Zheng Zhenduo (鄭振鐸 1898-1958), who advocated 'literature of blood and tears' (see below), was one of the first to raise this criticism. His evaluation was that less than one third of Lin's translations were 'important, immortal masterpieces', and among the rest he particularly named 'second-rate novels of Rider Haggard and Conan Doyle' ('Mr Lin Qinnan', in *Lin Shu's Translations*, pp. 1-17 (first publ. in 1924) (pp. 11-12)). This view was echoed by David Hawkes ('An Introductory Note' [to Chinese

translated with the intention to save the nation, and in his prefaces often pointed out the lesson that he thought readers should draw from the story.²² Some of his translations had a political impact on society. One example is Harriet Becher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the title of which Lin translated as *Record of a Black Slave Pleading to Heaven* (黑奴籲天錄).²³ It aroused the indignation of readers because they associated the sufferings of Negroes with those of Chinese labourers in the United States and with China's helplessness against the invasion of Western powers.²⁴

In the ensuing decades literary translators, mostly those on the left, were even more conscious and purposeful in using translation as a weapon for political struggle. Lu Xun, who was 'generally recognized as the leader of left-wing literary circles' in the decade after 1927,²⁵ contends that as 'all literature is propaganda', it 'can naturally be used as one of the tools of revolution'.²⁶ He also asserts that every literary work has a class nature,²⁷

literature], in *The Legacy of China*, ed. by Raymond Dawson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), pp. 80-90 (p. 81)), Han Dihou (*Modern English-Chinese Translation*, p. 46), and Ma Zuyi (*A Brief History of Translation in China*, p. 305).

²² See Chen Yugang et al., *A History of Chinese Translated Literature*, pp. 66-70. David Hawkes has the following comments on the intention of Lin Shu and his readers:

The voluminous output of the great translator Lin Shu included a good deal of modish trash. But the people who read his elegant classical renderings of Rider Haggard and Conan Doyle were not in search merely of entertainment. They were in conscious pursuit of the Occident, and were constantly reminded in the prefaces to these translations of the morals they might be expected to draw from them. In introducing *Allan Quatermain* Lin Shu lectures his readers on the white Man's love of adventure and innovation; and in his preface to *People of the Mist* he reflects that if an Englishman would endure the sufferings and hardships that its hero underwent for the sake of a bag of rubies, the outlook for China with her vast resources of gold, silver, silk, and tea was very poor indeed. ('An Introductory Note' (to Chinese literature), p. 81.)

²³ Lin Shu and Wei Yi, trans (Beijing: Commercial Press, 1981; first publ. in 1901).

²⁴ See Ma Zuyi, *A Brief History of Translation in China*, pp. 299-300.

²⁵ Chen Fukang, *A History of Chinese Translation Theory* (Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press, 1992), p. 288.

²⁶ 'Literature and Revolution', in *The Complete Lu Xun*, 4 vols (Beijing: People's Literary Press, 1957), iv, pp. 61-68 (first publ. in 1928) (p. 68).

²⁷ 'The Class Nature of Literature', in *The Complete Lu Xun*, iv, pp. 98-102 (first publ. in 1928) (p. 100).

and that 'proletarian literature is one of the means of [...] fighting for the liberation of its own class and of all classes'.²⁸ But as he feels that the creative power of Chinese writers is weaker than that of foreigner writers because of the backwardness of Chinese culture,²⁹ he compares his translation work to the deeds of Prometheus, hoping that his readers may see 'fire and light'.³⁰

Lu's 'fire and light' were mainly borrowed from Russian/Soviet literature.³¹ On the publication of Lu's translation of Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Fadeyev's *The Rout*, Qu Qiubai (瞿秋白 1899-1935), a communist scholar, wrote to congratulate him, claiming that it was 'a very memorable event in the literary life of China' because the translation and systematic introduction of the classics of proletarian revolutionary literature, especially Soviet classics, was one of the important tasks of Chinese proletarian literary workers.³² A historian comments that Lu translated Soviet works with a purpose of introducing 'iron characters and bloody fights' to encourage the Chinese people in their struggle and to provide models for Chinese revolutionary writers.³³

Besides directly participating in China's political struggle, foreign literature was supposed to have another function: to help in the shaping of a 'new literature' (新文學),³⁴

²⁸ "'Rigid Translation" and "the Class Nature of Literature"', in *The Complete Lu Xun*, iv, pp. 155-73 (first publ. in 1930) (p. 169).

²⁹ 'On Translation', in *The Complete Lu Xun*, iv, pp. 422-24 (first publ. in 1933) (p. 422).

³⁰ "'Rigid Translation" and "the Class Nature of Literature"', p. 170.

³¹ See Chen Yugang et al., *A History of Chinese Translated Literature*, pp. 185-86.

³² 'Correspondence between Lu Xun and Qu Qiubai on Translation: Letter from Qu Qiubai', in *Essays on Translation*, ed. by Luo Xinzhang (Beijing: Commercial Press, 1984), pp. 265-73 (first publ. in 1931) (p. 265).

³³ Chen Fukang, *A History of Chinese Translation Theory*, p. 290. Lu himself states that *The Rout* is his own son, and that he thinks of the sons of his son ('Correspondence between Lu Xun and Qu Qiubai on Translation: Reply of Lu Xun', in *Essays on Translation*, ed. by Luo Xinzhang, pp. 273-79 (first publ. in 1931) (p. 278)).

³⁴ Which, formed after the May Fourth Movement of 1919, is characterized by the use of vernacular instead of classical Chinese, and an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal ideology (see *Dictionary of Modern Chinese* (Beijing: Commercial Press, 1979), p. 1267).

and for this purpose it must be able to bring in not just art but also modern thoughts.³⁵ Therefore, translators were particular about the choice of works to be translated. Besides Russian/Soviet literature, 'realistic' and 'naturalistic' modern writers of other countries were also favourites. In the early 1920s, Mao Dun (茅盾 1896-1981), another influential figure in left-wing literary circles, recommended to translators a list of authors and works that included Henrik Ibsen, Emile Zola, Nikolai Gogol, Anton Chekhov, Ivan Turgenev, Fyodor Dostoevsky, Maxim Gorky, Leo Tolstoy and Bernard Shaw³⁶ on the grounds that as very few 'contemporary masterpieces' had been translated into Chinese, top priority should be given to those works that were 'most important' and 'most urgently needed' by society -- that is, for shaping the kind of new literature that he had in mind.³⁷ Rejecting the view of literature as pure art, he criticizes the choice of texts by some translators, asserting that the translating of Oscar Wilde's works is 'uneconomical for the achievement of the aims of the New Literature Movement', because Wilde's aestheticism was against the 'modern spirit'.³⁸ So he suggests that Oscar Wilde's *Lady Windermere's Fan* should have been replaced by William Vaughn Moody's *The Great Divide* because the latter can contribute to 'our study of the issues of marriage and chastity -- the issue of women's independence'.³⁹

Echoing Mao Dun's views, Zheng Zhenduo, Mao's fellow member of the Literary Studies Society (文學研究會), advocates 'literature of blood and tears'.⁴⁰ Arguing that

³⁵ See Mao Dun, 'On the Responsibility and Effort of the Student of New Literature', in *The Complete Works of Mao Dun* (Beijing: People's Literary Press, 1989), pp. 66-72 (first publ. in 1921) (pp. 66-67).

³⁶ 'My Suggestions on the Introduction of Western Literature', in *The Complete Works of Mao Dun*, pp. 2-7 (first publ. in 1920) (pp. 3-6).

³⁷ 'Suggestions on the Systematic and Economic Introduction of Western Literature', in *The Complete Works of Mao Dun*, pp. 20-26 (first publ. in 1920) (pp. 21-23).

³⁸ 'On the Responsibility and Effort of the Student of New Literature', p. 68.

³⁹ 'Suggestions on the Systematic and Economic Introduction of Western Literature', p. 23.

⁴⁰ 'Literature of Blood and Tears', *Shishi Xin Bao*, 30 July 1921, 'Wenxue Xun Kan', p. 2.

even 'works with established value' should not be 'translated indiscriminately', and that works like *The Divina Commedia*, *Faust* and *Hamlet* may not be the most needed in China, he appeals, 'Oh, translators! Please open your eyes and take a look at the work and at present-day China before you translate.'⁴¹

Their criticism provoked Guo Moruo (郭沫若 1892-1978), a leading figure of another left-wing literary group called the 'Creative Society' (創造社), because he had translated passages from *Faust* and was considering translating the whole work and Tian Han (田漢 1898-1968), a member of his society, was translating *Hamlet*.⁴² He protests that to prejudge the effect of a translation is tantamount to the suppression of the free will of the individual by an autocratic monarch and is far beyond the duties of the critic. In his view, a 'true masterpiece of literature' has an eternal life, and if a translator, after a thorough study of a work, has empathy with it, regarding it as his own, and therefore feels compelled to translate it, then the translation is bound to produce a good effect and arouse the interest of the reader; and such translations are urgently needed by all times and are beneficial to all readers.⁴³ While repudiating the assertion by 'some people' that 'all art is quite useless',⁴⁴ and agreeing that art can awaken society and encourage revolution, he warns against 'utilitarianism' in art:

True art is bound to have the function of art, but if a creative writer works with a purely utilitarian motive, the utility of his works may be limited. If he caters to the needs of the time, he may gain transient success in society, but his artistic achievement can hardly be ensured.⁴⁵

⁴¹ 'Blind Translators', *Shishi Xin Bao*, 30 July 1921, 'Wenxue Xun Kan', p. 2.

⁴² See Guo Moruo 'On the Study and Introduction of Literature', in *The Collected Works of Moruo* (Beijing: People's Literary Press, 1959), pp. 134-39 (first publ. in 1922) (p. 134). Besides, Tian's translation of Wilde's *Solome* was published in 1922 (Shanghai: Zhonghua Press).

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 136-37.

⁴⁴ Guo Moruo must have Oscar Wilde in mind (see Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981; first publ. 1890), p. xxiv).

⁴⁵ 'On Critical Circles in China and My Attitude Towards Literary Creation', in *The Collected Works of Moruo*, pp. 104-08 (first publ. in 1922) (pp. 106-08).

In reply, Mao Dun emphasizes that the literary translator has a responsibility to society and should not translate a work just because he has a liking for it.⁴⁶ If it was not clear at that time which side had the upper hand, it became clear seventy years later: the verdict of history written in 1992 in the PRC was that Mao Dun's 'sharp criticism' of Guo's aesthetic views 'defended the right of progressive translators to take part in social reform', and that the argument of Mao Dun and Zheng Zhenduo 'put right the course of the translation of new literature'.⁴⁷

Some translated works in this period took on roles different from those in their source cultures. A typical example is Oscar Wilde. Although his aestheticism was not appreciated by some, he was nevertheless regarded by Chen Duxiu (陳獨秀 1880-1942), who later became the founding father of the CCP, as a serious, progressive writer on a par with Victor Hugo, Emile Zola and Charles Dickens.⁴⁸ Chen has not explained why, but in the same journal which he edited and where his article was published, a partial translation of Wilde's *An Ideal Husband* was serialized during the previous two years,⁴⁹ and so was a translation of *Lady Windermere's Fan* in the next two years,⁵⁰ which was introduced to the reader as 'the greatest dramatic masterpiece of Oscar Wilde'.⁵¹

In 1924, an adaptation of *Lady Windermere's Fan* became the first foreign play to be successfully staged, and it laid the foundation for the development of writing, directing and performing of modern drama in China.⁵² In the ensuing decades the play was staged

⁴⁶ 'The Aims of the Introduction of Foreign Literary Works: In Reply to Mr Guo Moruo', in *The Complete Works of Mao Dun*, pp. 247-50 (first publ. in 1921) (p. 248).

⁴⁷ Chen Fukang, *A History of Chinese Translation Theory*, p. 242.

⁴⁸ 'On Literary Revolution', *New Youth*, 2:6 (1917), 563-66 (p. 566).

⁴⁹ Xue Qiyong, trans., '意中人', *New Youth*, 1:2 (1915), 1:3 (1915), 1:4 (1915), 1:6 (1915), 2:2 (1916), no page numbers.

⁵⁰ Shen Xingren, trans., 'The Lost Fan', *New Youth*, 5:6 (1918), 596-610; 6:1 (1919), 41-53; 6:3 (1919), 289-310.

⁵¹ See the Introduction to the translation (Tao Ligong, *New Youth*, 5:6 (1918), 596-97 (p. 596)).

⁵² Xu Daoming, 'On Hong Shen's Theory on Playwriting', *The Art of Drama*, 4 (1981),

many times, made into films and adapted into a Shanghai opera and a Beijing opera.⁵³

What Chinese rewriters (that is, translators, producers, critics, etc.) and audiences appreciated most in *Lady Windermere's Fan* seems to be Wilde's treatment of social and family problems rather than his wit. The director-cum-translator Hong Shen (洪深) of the 1924 production states in the introduction to his script that 'the message of the play is forgiveness and kindness',⁵⁴ and Li Wanjun comments that the play has the function of 'purifying people's feelings'.⁵⁵ The programme of the Shanghai opera (first staged in the 1950s) quotes from *Manifesto of the Communist Party* so as to guide the audience to the moral intended by the rewriter:

As Marx and Engels point out in *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, the bourgeoisie 'has left intact no other bond between one man and another than naked self-interest, unfeeling 'hard cash', and 'has torn the pathetic veil of sentiment from family relations and reduced them to purely monetary ones'.⁵⁶

Similarly, a translator of Wilde's *An Ideal Husband* advertises in his foreword, 'How to be the ideal husband of a woman? How to find an ideal wife? There are detailed answers in this book.'⁵⁷

As the liberation of women was one of the key issues in the May Fourth Movement,

29-41 (pp. 38-39).

⁵³ See Chang Nam Fung, 'A Critical Study of the Chinese Translations of Oscar Wilde's Comedies: With Special Reference to *Lady Windermere's Fan* and *The Importance of Being Earnest*' (unpublished M. Phil. thesis, University of Hong Kong, 1987), pp. 8-9.

⁵⁴ 《少奶奶的扇子》, in *A Collection of Plays*, ed. by Shanghai Drama Society (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1925), 1, pp. 65-193 (p. 77).

⁵⁵ *Western Dramatic Literature* (Fuzhou: Fujian Branch of the Dramatists Association of China, 1982), p. 437.

⁵⁶ Quoted in Chang Nam Fung, 'A Critical Study of the Chinese Translations of Oscar Wilde's Comedies', p. 26. The English translation of *Manifesto of the Communist Party* is from Karl Marx, *Later Political Writings*, ed. and trans. by Terrell Carver (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 3-4. Also see Shanghai Opera Troupe of Shanghai, 《少奶奶的扇子》 (adapted from Oscar Wilde's *Lady Windermere's Fan*) (manuscript, n.d.), p. 1.

⁵⁷ Huai Yun, trans., 《理想丈夫》 (Shanghai: Qiming Press, 1940), 'Foreword' (no page number).

a famous translator Ge Baoquan (戈寶權) remarks, 'the social and family problems raised by Wilde [...] were bound to attract the attention of the various sectors of society and the reading public'.⁵⁸ In contrast, *The Importance of Being Earnest*, which is generally regarded in Britain as Wilde's masterpiece,⁵⁹ was little noticed in China until the 1980s.⁶⁰

Even the detective stories of Conan Doyle, which have been regarded by some translation historians as not worth translating,⁶¹ were in fact translated with the intention of introducing civilization and the rule of law, at least as Zhou Guisheng (周桂笙, 1873-1936), the earliest translator of Conan Doyle, was concerned. This can be inferred from Zhou's 'A Sherlock Holmes Detective Story: Introduction'. With the pseudonym of Zhixinzi (知新子), which may mean 'a person with new knowledge', he tells his readers that 'in Western countries, where human rights are highly respected, detective work plays an important role because the accused always have legal representation and they cannot be found guilty without hard evidence', in sharp contrast to the situation in China where 'constables are thieves and public servants are scoundrels', and where the frequent use of torture to extort confession has resulted in a gross lack of justice.⁶²

Thus one can see how radical leftist preliminary norms governing the choice of texts to be translated could sometimes be: Oscar Wilde's and Conan Doyle's works were largely translated to serve ideological goals, and yet these works were regarded as not

⁵⁸ 'Rereading Oscar Wilde's Dramatic Works', in Qian Zhide, trans., *Selected Plays of Oscar Wilde* (Guangzhou: Flower City Press, 1983), pp. 1-12 (p. 11).

⁵⁹ See *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, 5th edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 1067.

⁶⁰ For details of the reception of Oscar Wilde in China, see Chang Nam Fung, 'A Critical Study of the Chinese Translations of Oscar Wilde's Comedies', pp. 19-24.

⁶¹ Han Dihou, *Modern English-Chinese Translation*, p. 46. Also Chen Yugang et al., *A History of Chinese Translated Literature*, which asserts that the translation of detective stories by Conan Doyle and others 'to cater for the tastes of some readers' illustrates that literary translation activities before the May Fourth Movement of 1919 'still lacked a clear purpose' (p. 101).

⁶² *Xinmin Cong Bao*, 7 (1904), 85-86 (p. 85). Also see Chen Fukang, *A History of Chinese Translation Theory*, p. 164.

effective enough.

Translation as a political weapon was taken very seriously not only by proletarian literary workers, but also by their enemies. For example, Lu translated a Japanese work that exposes the social evils of Japan because he considered that China shared these evils, and his translation was attacked for 'slapping the Chinese people in the face with a Japanese hand'. Some members of the Weiming Society (未名社), a literary group that had a close relationship with Lu Xun, were arrested for their translation activities in the late 1920s when words such as 'Marx', 'Bolshevik', 'Russia', 'class', 'materialism' and 'dialectics' were banned in all publications.⁶³

After the Communist takeover in 1949, literary translation has been 'under the direct leadership of the Party' 'to serve the people and to serve socialist construction', as some translation historians put it.⁶⁴ In the relatively relaxed atmosphere of the 1980s, a large number of works began to be translated mainly for their entertainment or artistic value,⁶⁵ but the engagé tradition continued as reflected in the fact that modern and contemporary Russian literature still dominated the translation scene, and in the publication of some politically dangerous works.⁶⁶

2.3. Ideological manipulation in Translation

Given the fact that translation has nearly always been done in the service or under the constraints of this or that ideology, it comes as no surprise that source texts were often tampered with deliberately or unintentionally, not only when their content was in conflict with the ideology to be served, but sometimes also when it was not deemed to be good

⁶³ See Chen Yugang et al., *A History of Chinese Translated Literature*, pp. 152-53, 160-61, 170.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 345, 351.

⁶⁵ See Section 1.4. For example, Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* was translated twice in the PRC in the early 1980s: Rong Rude, trans., 《道連·葛雷的畫像》 (Beijing: Foreign Literary Press, 1982), and Peng Enhua, trans., 《道林·格雷的畫像》 (Taiyuan: Shanxi People's Press, 1983).

⁶⁶ See Section 1.4.

enough for the purpose.

When the translation of Buddhist scriptures began in about the second century, most translators used a literal approach, but in their translations they were influenced by Taoism and Confucianism, the mainstream ideologies of the time.⁶⁷ Xuan Zang (玄奘 600-664), the best-known translator of Buddhist scriptures in China, was acclaimed for faithfulness and meticulousness,⁶⁸ and yet he was unable to ward off entirely the influence of Confucian thoughts.⁶⁹ Besides, he 'melted away' the argument of the source texts and even changed the source texts in order to promote the views of his own sect, according to one critic.⁷⁰ Later in the same century, when Wu Zetian (武則天 624-705) became the first (and last) empress of the country, a scripture translator fabricated a story in order to provide justification for her usurpation -- the story goes that a Bodhisattva in the form of a woman takes the throne in China.⁷¹

Yan Fu was also an ideological manipulator. He dropped the second part of the title of Thomas H. Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics*, translating it as 'On Evolution' (天演論), in order to issue a clear warning to the weak Chinese nation that they were in danger of

⁶⁷ Ma Zuyi observes that Taoist terms and concepts were borrowed to 'translate' and explain Buddhist ideas (*A Brief History of Translation in China*, pp. 27-28). Hajime Nakamura gives a number of examples to illustrate 'The Influence of Confucian Ethics on the Chinese Translations of Buddhist Sutras' (in *Liebenthal Festschrift: Sino-Indian Studies (v, Parts 3 & 4)*, ed. by Kshitis Roy (Santiniketan: Visvabharati University, 1957), pp. 156-70); attributing the transliteration of words that mean 'embrace' and 'kiss' to a desire to mask their meaning, which was deemed 'vulgar' by the Confucian gentleman, he remarks that in those times 'the modification was probably necessary' (ibid, pp. 159-60).

⁶⁸ See Chen Fukang, *A History of Chinese Translation Theory*, pp. 38-44; Ma Zuyi, *A Brief History of Translation in China*, pp. 60-61.

⁶⁹ Although he made the meaning of 'embrace' and 'kiss' clear in his translation, he rendered 'laymen who practise the five precepts of morality take wives' as 'they take wives and concubines' (Hajime Nakamura, 'The Influence of Confucian Ethics', p. 160); Hajime Nakamura explains that Xuan Zang made the addition because while 'keeping concubines was not sanctioned by the Buddhist law', in Chinese society the practice was 'permitted as a matter of course' (ibid., p. 163).

⁷⁰ See Ma Zuyi, *A Brief History of Translation in China*, p. 58.

⁷¹ See ibid., pp. 62-63.

extinction,⁷² and it was perhaps also for this purpose that he rendered the following passage much more dramatic than the source text:⁷³

One year after another, an average population, the floating balance of the unceasing struggle for existence among the indigenous plants, maintained itself. (2)

數畝之內。戰事熾然。彊者後亡。弱者先絕。年年歲歲。偏有留遺。(1)

(Within a couple of acres the war rages on. The strong die later and the weak perish first. Year after year there are survivors.)

He changed the first person narrative into the third person narrative to conform to the Chinese convention of historical presentation⁷⁴:

It may be safely assumed that, two thousand years ago, before Caesar set foot in southern Britain, the whole countryside visible from the windows of the room in which I write, was in what is called 'the state of nature'. (1)

赫胥黎獨處一室之中。在英倫之南。背山而面野。[...]乃懸想二千年前。當羅馬大將愷徹未到時。此間有何景物。[...] (1)

(Huxley was alone in a room in southern England, with hills at the back and the field in front. [...] So he wondered what should have been there two thousand years ago, before the Roman General Caesar arrived. [...])

Chinese items were put in for Western ones in analogies and examples:

The pigeons, in short, are to be their own Sir John Sebright. (22)

此何異上林之羊。欲自爲卜式。汧渭之馬。欲自爲其伯翳。[...]案原文用白鴿欲爲施白來施英人最善畜鴿者易用中事 (1)

(This would not be different from the sheep of Shanglin wanting to be Bushi, or the horses of Qianwei wanting to be their Boyi. [...] Note: the original analogy, of

⁷² See Wang Kefei, 'On Yan Fu's Translation of *Evolution and Ethics*', *Chinese Translators Journal*, 3 (1992), 6-10 (p. 10).

⁷³ Cf. Wang Zuoliang, 'On the Intention of Yan Fu', in *On Yan Fu and His Famous Translations*, ed. by Editorial Department of the Commercial Press (Beijing: Commercial Press, 1982), pp. 22-27 (p. 24). Page numbers of the source text are in accordance with Thomas H. Huxley, *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays* (New York: Appleton, 1911), and those of the target text, with Yan Fu, trans., *《天演論》* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1933). Put in parentheses is back-translation done by the author of this thesis. The same below.

⁷⁴ And perhaps also in order to assume the role of writer rather than translator for the convenience of adding comments and explanations (see Wang Kefei, 'On Yan Fu's Translation of *Evolution and Ethics*', p. 7).

pigeons wanting to be Sebright, the best pigeon-keeper in England, is replaced by Chinese stories here.)

Moreover, Yan divided the text proper of the work into chapters giving a title to each, deleted parts that he regarded to be unimportant for his purpose, and expanded the text from time to time, adding his own comments and explanations (as can be seen in the examples cited above).

Putting emphasis on elegance of language, in his translations he chose to use the lexis and syntax of Classical Chinese rather than Modern Chinese.⁷⁵ This decision has been criticized by Liang Qichao, who, seeing translation as a means for introducing Western civilization to the general public in China, argues that academic works should be translated with a 'fluent and readable' style for the benefit of students. And he implies that Yan's decision may have been motivated by a desire for literary fame.⁷⁶ But it was in fact motivated by ideological considerations rather than just a personal stylistic preference. In answer to Liang's criticism, Yan states that his translations are meant to serve only those readers who have been well-read in Chinese classics, and that if other readers cannot comprehend them, it is their fault rather than the translator's.⁷⁷

A number of critics have suggested therefore that all these strategies were employed by Yan Fu with the intention to sugar-coat his medicine to make it palatable to his target readers -- members of the ruling class, who worshipped classical Chinese, clung to

⁷⁵ See Yan Fu, 'Notes on the Translation', in *On Evolution*, pp. 1-3 (p. 2).

⁷⁶ See Anonymous, 'Introducing New Books: *The Wealth of Nations*', *Xinmin Cong Bao*, 1 (1902), 113-15 (p. 115). It is generally believed that the article was written by Liang Qichao (see the editor's note in Yan Fu, 'Discussion with Liang Rengong on the translation of *the Wealth of Nations*' (first publ. as 'Discussion with *Xinmin Cong Bao* on the translation of *the Wealth of Nations*', *Xinmin Cong Bao*, 7(1902), 109-13), in *Essays on Translation*, ed. by Luo Xinzhong, pp. 140-42 (p. 140); Chen Fukang, *A History of Chinese Translation Theory*, pp. 121-22). Yan's decision is also criticized by later theorists such as Liu Zhongde, who regards it as a reflection of Yan's conservatism in the use of language (*A Collection of Unrefined Gold and Uncut Jade* (Beijing: China Translation & Publishing Corporation, 1994), p. 7).

⁷⁷ 'Discussion with Liang Rengong on the translation of *the Wealth of Nations*', p. 141.

traditional beliefs, and had a xenophobic ignorance of Western culture.⁷⁸

Besides trying to arouse readers' patriotism in his translator's prefaces, Lin Shu resorted to large-scale abridgement to enhance readability, conformed systematically with the stylistic norms of Classical Chinese so as to produce texts acceptable as literary in the target culture,⁷⁹ and he sometimes changed the text to give it more relevance to the Chinese situation. As Ma Zuyi observes,⁸⁰ when translating Miguel de Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, Lin rewrote the speech 'a quien Dios maldiga, y a todos cuantos caballeros andantes han nacido en el mundo'⁸¹ as '似此等俠客。在法宜駢首而誅。不留一人。以害社會。' (by law such knights-errant should be executed en masse, without leaving a single one to harm society), and then added a note saying that '吾於黨人亦然' (so should our revolutionaries).⁸²

An even more overt ideological manipulator around this time was Su Manshu (蘇曼殊 1884-1918). According to Chen Yugang et al.,⁸³ Su invented a character in his translation of Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* and used this character as a mouthpiece for his own comments on Chinese affairs. Some of these comments were quite shocking by current standards, such as:

那支那國孔子的奴隸教訓，只有那班支那賤種奉作金科玉律，難道我們法蘭

⁷⁸ See Wang Zuoliang, 'On the Intention of Yan Fu'; Han Dihou, *Modern English-Chinese Translation*, pp. 12-18; Wang Kefei, 'On Yan Fu's Translation of *Evolution and Ethics*'.

⁷⁹ See Ma Zuyi, *A Brief History of Translation in China*, pp. 306-09; Qian Zhongshu, 'Lin Shu's Translations', in Qian Zhongshu et al., *Lin Shu's Translations*, pp. 18-52.

⁸⁰ *A Brief History of Translation in China*, p. 309.

⁸¹ *Don Quijote de la Mancha* (Madrid: Afrodisio Aguado, S. A., n.d.), Part I, Chapter xxxi, p. 332. An English version by J. M. Cohen reads: 'God blast you and every knight errant ever born on the face of the earth!' (*Don Quixote* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1950), p. 276).

⁸² Lin Shu and Chen Jialin, trans, *The Life of the Magic Knight-errant*, 2 vols (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1933), II, p. 169. Lin became a loyalist after the Qing Dynasty was overthrown by the revolutionaries led by Dr Sun Yat-sen.

⁸³ *A History of Chinese Translated Literature*, pp. 78-79.

西貴重的國民也要聽他那些狗屁嗎？⁸⁴

(The slavish teachings of that Confucius of China are revered as virgin gold and solid rock only by the miserable, wretched Chinese. Surely we, noble citizens of France, need not listen to such shit!)

Yan, Lin and Su translated at the turn of the century, when free translation and adaptation were in vogue. After the founding of the PRC, when large-scale adaptation was rarely done, and, broadly speaking, translators strove for adequacy⁸⁵ as general matters were concerned, manipulation in the ideology of the source text did not disappear but just assumed a subtler form.

In the 1950s and 1960s, translators of foreign literature were required to 'analyse the work from the point of view of Marxism-Leninism and sterilize it for the reader'.⁸⁶ While emphasizing the utmost importance of faithfulness, an 'influential'⁸⁷ textbook on translation published in the 1950s nevertheless instructs:

There are, however, exceptional cases, where absurdities or mistakes from the socialist point of view, if any, in the original text may be corrected in the translation work, if it is to be published for the readers in general; [...] These alterations or corrections are necessary in making the translation healthful to the reader in New China.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ '悲慘世界', in *The Works of Su Manshu*, 2 vols (Guangzhou: Flower City Press, 1991), II, pp. 671-753 (first publ. in 1903) (p. 696).

⁸⁵ Gideon Toury's term, which means 'the reconstruction of the maximal relevant features of ST [source text]' (*In Search of a Theory of Translation* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1980), p. 29), or '[subscription] to the norms of the source text, and through them also to the norms of the source language and culture' (*Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995), p. 56), as opposed to 'acceptability', which is determined by 'subscription to norms originating in the target culture' (*ibid.*, p. 57).

⁸⁶ Fu Lei (傅雷), one of the best known translators of the 1950s and 1960s, who specialized in French-Chinese translation, once apologized in a personal letter to a Vice-Minister of Culture for not being able to do so (see Jin Mei, *The Biography of Fu Lei* (Changsha: Hunan Literature and Art Press, 1993), pp. 319-21).

⁸⁷ See Chen Fukang, *A History of Chinese Translation Theory*, p. 417.

⁸⁸ Lu Dianyong, *Translation: Its Principles and Technique*, 2 vols (Beijing: Times Press, 1957), I, p. 14.

Such ideological control has loosened since the late 1970s, but the dilemma it has created for literary translators still exists, as reflected in a lecture delivered in the spring of 1989 by an editor of literary translation who wishes to remain anonymous. While arguing that 'faithfulness, including the integrity of the translation, is indeed the target of a true translator', the editor gives translators-to-be the advice that 'any parts of a work that are in serious conflict with the "conditions" of our country must be diluted or deleted; otherwise it will be difficult for the translation to be published, and it will be banned even if it is published'.⁸⁹

A Chinese translation of Graham Greene's *The Human Factor* is a product of this dilemma. The following are examples of how anti-communist sentiments are diluted:⁹⁰

Most of the Communists I knew -- they pushed, they didn't draw. (106)

我所認識的大多數共產黨人都是一本正人君子的樣子，而不是招人喜愛。
(132)

(Most of the Communists I knew looked like persons of strict morals and did not make themselves loveable.)

He was a genuine Communist. He survived Stalin like Roman Catholics survived the Borgias. He made me think better of the Party. (106)

他是個真正的共產黨人。他使斯大林重新博得敬仰，就像羅馬天主教徒使羅馬教皇阿力山大六世的子女博吉亞復蘇一樣。他使我對共產黨有了好感。
(132)

(He was a genuine Communist. He enabled Stalin to regain reverence like Roman Catholics resuscitated the Borgias, sons and daughters of Pope Alexander VI. He made me entertain good feelings towards the Communist Party.)

I don't have any trust in Marx or Lenin any more than I have in Saint Paul. (107)

我對馬克思或列寧的信仰並沒有超過我對聖保羅的信仰。(133)

(My belief in Marx or Lenin doesn't exceed my belief in St. Paul.)

Is that your bloody socialism? (250)

難道這就是你們的社會主義？(326)

⁸⁹ Anonymous Editor, 'The Current State of Affairs in the Translating-publishing Sector in China' (manuscript), p. 10.

⁹⁰ Page numbers are in accordance with Graham Greene, *The Human Factor* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985) and Shang Ming and Zhang Lin, trans, 《人性的因素》 (Beijing: Qunzhong Press, 1981) respectively.

(Is that your socialism?)

Another interesting case for the study of manipulation is provided by two Chinese versions of Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*,⁹¹ translated by Wang Keyi in 1956⁹² and Sun Zhili in 1990⁹³ respectively. The following are some examples taken from what Elizabeth says to Darcy when he proposes to her for the first time in Chapter Thirty-four:

Ex. 1

I had not known you a month before I felt that you were the last man in the world whom I could ever be prevailed on to marry. (224)

我還沒有認識你一個月，就覺得像你這樣一個人，哪怕天下男人都死光了，我也不願意嫁給你。(Wang: 227)

(I had not known you a month before I felt that I would not marry such a person like you even if all the men in the world had died.)

我認識你還不到一個月的時候，就覺得哪怕我一輩子找不到男人，也休想讓我嫁給你。(Sun:182)

(I had not known you a month before I felt that (you) need not imagine it was possible for me to marry you even if I could not find a man in my whole life.)

Ex. 2

I have every reason in the world to think ill of you. No motive can excuse the unjust and ungenerous part you acted *there*. (222)

我有足夠的理由對你懷著惡感。你對待那件事完全無情無義，不論你是出於甚麼動機，都叫人無可原諒。(Wang: 224)

(I have enough reason to entertain ill feelings against you. You had absolutely no heart and no sense of justice in that matter. You are unforgivable whatever be your motive.)

我有充分的理由鄙視你。你在那件事上扮演了很不正當、很不光彩的角色，不管你動機如何，都是無可寬容的。(Sun: 180)

(I have ample reason to hold you in contempt. You played a very dishonest and dishonourable part in that matter. What you did is uncondonable whatever be your motive.)

⁹¹ Page numbers are in accordance with the 1972 Penguin edition in the following examples.

⁹² Shanghai: New Literature and Art Press.

⁹³ Nanjing: Yilin Press.

Ex.3

Under what misrepresentation, can you here impose upon others? (223)

你又將怎樣來顛倒是非，欺世盜名？(Wang: 225)

(How are you going to turn right into wrong, and deceive the world and win the name of an upright gentleman?)

你又將如何顛倒黑白，欺騙世人？(Sun: 180)

(How are you going to turn black into white, and deceive the people of the world?)

Ex. 4

so immovable a dislike (224)

深惡痛絕 (Wang: 227)

(a great repugnance)

深惡痛絕 (Sun: 182)

(a great repugnance)

Sun takes exception to Wang's translation of Ex. 1. Arguing that a well-bred lady like Elizabeth should not have used such vulgar language as 'even if all the men in the world had died', he attributes the fault to an emphasis on artistry at the expense of scientificity.⁹⁴

There may be some truth in Sun's criticism, but it seems that he has not exactly touched the heart of the matter. Given Wang's view of Elizabeth as spokeswoman for the oppressed,⁹⁵ it is only logical that he would tone up her accusations of Darcy the oppressor to make her more like the personification of justice.

It is revealing that although Sun has avoided the 'mistake' that Wang has committed in Ex. 1, his Elizabeth is at least as fierce and fiery as Wang's -- if not more so -- in the other three passages, especially in Ex. 2. This illustrates how even an honest, 'faithful' translator can be influenced by the dominant ideology without himself knowing it. As André Lefevere emphasizes:

⁹⁴ 'The Principle of Unity of Opposites Should Be Observed in Literary Translation', *Chinese Translators Journal*, 4 (1993), 4-7 (p. 5).

⁹⁵ See Section 1.4.

It is not my intention to give the impression that there is a ruthless, unprincipled, and excessively cunning band of translators, critics, historiographers, editors, and anthologists 'out there', snickering as they systematically 'betray' whichever work(s) of literature they are dealing with.

On the contrary, most rewriters of literature are usually meticulous, [...] and as honest as is humanly possible. They just see what they are doing as obvious, the only way [...]. Translators [...] have to be traitors, but most of the time they don't know it [...]⁹⁶

2.4. Conservatism in Theoretical Discourse

Although 'spirited' translators⁹⁷ have had their moments, and ideological manipulation has been common in translation, conservative thinking has prevailed in theoretical discourse in China, especially in recent decades.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Taoist terms were borrowed to 'translate' Buddhist concepts at the very beginning, but after the religion had carved a niche in Chinese culture, translators in the fourth century began to create new terms specially for such concepts;⁹⁸ and in the seventh century, when Buddhism had become one of the dominant ideologies in China, adequacy was emphasized more than ever before. The greatest Buddhist translator Xuan Zang, although rather flexible where linguistic considerations were involved, resorted to transliteration in five types of situations where he thought translation was impossible or undesirable -- when the meaning of a word was mystical, such as '陀羅尼'; when a word contained multiple meanings, such as '薄伽'; when an item was lacking in Chinese culture, such as '閻浮樹'; when there was an established transliteration, such as '阿耨菩提'; and when the solemnity of tone was deemed to be more important than clarity for evangelistic purposes, such as '般若'.⁹⁹ As a

⁹⁶ *Translation, Rewriting, & the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 13.

⁹⁷ As described by Frere and further discussed by André Lefevere (ibid., p. 50).

⁹⁸ See Ma Zuyi, *A Brief History of Translation in China*, pp. 35-36.

⁹⁹ See Luo Xinzhang 'Chinese Translation Theory: A System of Its Own', in *Selected Papers in Translation Studies (1949-1983)*, ed. by *Translator's Notes*, Editorial Department (Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press, 1984), pp.

result of this principle of the 'Five Untranslatables' (五不翻), the degree of adequacy was increased, and so was the burden on the reader.¹⁰⁰

The translating of Christian scriptures into Chinese took a parallel though longer path. In the eighth century, when Christianity was introduced into China by the Nestorians, their translators borrowed heavily from Buddhist and Confucian concepts, such as '佛' (the Buddha) for God, '諸佛' (Buddhas) for saints and angels, and '慈父' (the loving father) for the Father¹⁰¹ while their Buddhist counterparts were emphasizing faithfulness, but such borrowings have largely disappeared in translations of the Bible produced in the last two centuries.¹⁰²

Similarly, pioneers in the translating of Western literature and social sciences, such as Yan Fu and Lin Shu, systematically adapted the source texts to a readership with little knowledge of the West, but their successors generally put more emphasis on adequacy.

Thus it can be seen that in translation practice the emphasis is on acceptability when something totally unfamiliar to the recipient culture, whether it is a religion, a philosophy, a science, or a literature, is first introduced, and then it will gradually move towards adequacy as it gains in familiarity.¹⁰³

It seems, however, that the conservative side nearly always wins in the battlefield of

588-604 (pp. 589-90); Ma Zuyi, *A Brief History of Translation in China*, pp. 58-61; Chen Fukang, *A History of Chinese Translation Theory*, pp. 42-43.

¹⁰⁰ Lu Xun once commented that as 'faithfulness' was emphasized in the Buddhist translating of this period, 'one can hardly make any sense by a cursory reading' of the translations ('Reply of Lu Xun', p. 275).

¹⁰¹ Ma Zuyi, *A Brief History of Translation in China*, pp. 104-08.

¹⁰² See Chiu Wai Boon, *Tracing Bible Translation: A History of the Translation of Five Modern Chinese Versions of the Bible* (Hong Kong: China Graduate School of Theology, 1993), pp. 15-63. Nevertheless, one version of the Old Testament produced in the mid nineteenth century has been criticized for using 'terms with meanings closer to concepts in Chinese philosophy than to Christian doctrines' (ibid, p. 21).

¹⁰³ Cf. Itamar Even-Zohar, 'The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem', *Polysystem Studies, Poetics Today*, 11:1 (1990), 45-51 (p. 51): 'the process of opening the system gradually brings certain literatures closer and in the longer run enables a situation where the postulates of (translational) adequacy and the realities of equivalence may overlap to a relatively high degree.'

theorization. Zhi Qian (支謙), one of the earliest Buddhist translators, strove for a high degree of acceptability in his revision of existing translations, firstly by replacing transliterations with 'semantic translations' (that is, renderings which are meaningful in the target language), not only where Buddhist concepts were concerned, but also when personal names were involved, and secondly by the achievement of elegance in the language used.¹⁰⁴ According to a historian of Chinese Buddhism, although Zhi's naturalization was inevitably done at the expense of 'faithfulness', his 'translation style' remained influential for some time, and his translations made a great contribution to the popularization of Buddhism in China; nevertheless, his practice incurred severe criticism from hermeneuticists of the time, and his translation of a particular scripture triggered off a debate in about 224 on the question of simplicity (質) versus literariness (文) or literalism versus liberalism in translation, the first of its kind in recorded history. In the event, the literariness school did not even have the chance to fully argue their case before they were defeated, but it was they who produced the final version of the translation.¹⁰⁵

This debate seems to be symbolic of the whole history of translation theory in China. However bold they may be in practice, very few spirited translators have ever admitted what they have done to the source text, let alone justifying their strategies like Edward Fitzgerald, who felt no qualm in stating: 'It is an amusement for me to take what Liberties I like with these Persians, who (as I think) are not Poets enough to frighten one from such excursions, and who really do want a little Art to shape them.'¹⁰⁶ On the contrary, in theoretical discussions they sometimes have to conform to the orthodoxy, and to be defensive and even apologetic about their translations. In the 'Notes on the Translation'

¹⁰⁴ See Ren Jiyu, *History of Buddhism in China*, 2 vols (Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 1981), 1, pp. 171-72.

¹⁰⁵ See *ibid.*, pp. 172-75; Chen Fukang, *A History of Chinese Translation Theory*, pp. 14-17.

¹⁰⁶ 'Letter to E. B. Cowell' (written in 1857), extract repr. in *Translation/History/Culture: A Sourcebook*, ed. by André Lefevere (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 80.

of his *On Evolution*, Yan Fu lays down 'faithfulness' (信), 'expressiveness'¹⁰⁷ (達) and 'elegance' (雅) as the three criteria of translation, and explains at some length why the last two are necessary for the fulfilment of the first, but he offers no justification for faithfulness itself as a criterion as if it is an axiomatic truth. While claiming that he has not departed from the meaning of the source text, he confesses that he has not adhered to its words and structures, and for this reason the work has been marked 'ideas transmitted' (達旨) rather than 'translated' (筆譯) by so and so. He even states that his way of making expansions was 'not the proper way (to do translation) indeed', and warns other translators not to follow his example.¹⁰⁸

Yan's translation strategies received more blame than praise from translation scholars in the first half of the century. One comments that Huxley would have sued Yan if he had learned what Yan had done to his work because Yan has sacrificed the author in pursuit of his own fame,¹⁰⁹ another denounces him for actually using the elegance criterion to negate faithfulness and expressiveness,¹¹⁰ and yet another describes his *On Evolution* as an extreme case of 'lawless translation' (胡譯).¹¹¹

Recent critics tend to treat Yan more fairly by contextualizing his translations. They generally agree that Yan translated with a laudable intention and that his method was effective in achieving his goals, but some of them still quote Yan's own words 'not the proper way indeed' to criticize his method.¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ Or 'fluency'.

¹⁰⁸ p. 1.

¹⁰⁹ Fu Sinian, 'Reflections on the Translating of Books', in *Selected Papers in Translation Studies (1894-1948)*, pp. 59-63 (first publ. in 1919) (p. 60).

¹¹⁰ Qu Qiubai, 'Letter from Qu Qiubai', p. 267.

¹¹¹ Lin Yutang, 'On Translation', in *Essays on Translation*, ed. by Luo Xinzhang, pp. 417-32 (first publ. in 1933) (p. 420).

¹¹² Han Dihou opines that the fault of Yan's works 'lies in catering for the needs of the time' (*Modern English-Chinese Translation*, p. 14), and Wang Kefei that although his special translation method was understandable, being used in a special period of time and as the result of a special motive, it would not measure up to the 'usual', or 'modern', 'standard' translation criterion ('On Yan Fu's Translation of *Evolution and*

Interestingly, however, Yan's theory, that is, his three criteria, has met a different fate. Soon after its publication, it was held in esteem by academia and revered as the only guide for translators and the only yardstick for translation critics.¹¹³ Decades passed before it was seriously challenged. The necessity of the requirements of expressiveness and elegance has been queried from the 1940s onwards,¹¹⁴ and there have been attempts to reinterpret or modify the three criteria,¹¹⁵ the most influential one in recent years being to replace 'elegance' with 'closeness' (切), that is, to the style of the original.¹¹⁶ But, as Luo Xinzhang emphasizes, the three criteria have not been successfully refuted, and none of those who have probed into the question of translation criteria, Yan's exponents and critics alike, has ever gone beyond their shadow.¹¹⁷

Amidst all this obsession with the idea of faithfulness there was a dissenting voice raised in the 1930s by Zhao Jingshen (趙景深), who argues that the order of priority of the three criteria should be 'expressiveness, faithfulness, elegance' because an accurate but unsmooth translation would be worse than an inaccurate one if one is to have the reader's interests in mind.¹¹⁸ This view was severely condemned by two left-wing

Ethics', pp. 6-7, 10). But Yan's supporters contend that it is meaningless to criticize him for producing an adaptation rather than a translation after he himself expressly stated that he was not translating (Gao Huiqun and Wu Chuangun, *Translator Yan Fu* (Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press, 1992), pp. 74-75), and praise him for having 'done something truly meaningful, not being tied down by his own theory' (Simon S. C. Chau, 'Let's Don't Translate Anymore from Now on: On the Attitude and Method of the Translator in the Modernization Drive', in *Papers on Translation 1986*, ed. by Liu Ching-chih (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1986), pp. 70-85, (p. 85)).

¹¹³ See Luo Xinzhang, 'Chinese Translation Theory', p. 593.

¹¹⁴ Such as by Zhu Guangqian, 'On Translation', in *Essays on Translation*, ed. by Luo Xinzhang, pp. 447-55 (first publ. in 1944) (pp. 448-49), and Zhao Yuanren, 'Dimensions of Fidelity in Translation', in *Essays on Translation*, ed. by Luo Xinzhang, pp. 726-47 (first publ. in 1967) (p. 726).

¹¹⁵ See Chen Fukang, *A History of Chinese Translation Theory*, pp. 411-18.

¹¹⁶ Liu Zhongde, *A Collection of Unrefined Gold and Uncut Jade*, p. 9.

¹¹⁷ 'Chinese Translation Theory', pp. 595-96.

¹¹⁸ 'On Translation', *Dushu Monthly*, 6 (1931), 13-18, (pp. 13-14).

scholars: Qu Qiubai calls it obscurantism and scholar-tyranny that aims at a monopoly of knowledge,¹¹⁹ and Lu Xun picks at Zhao's own translations with a sarcastic tone.¹²⁰

In opposition to Zhao's emphasis on smoothness, Lu advocates 'faithfulness rather than smoothness' for translations that aim at educated readers, and the use of translationese as a vehicle to import new ways of expression so as to cure the 'impreciseness' of the Chinese language.¹²¹ In answer to his critics, he defends 'rigid translation' (硬譯) as an expediency when there are not many good translators around.¹²²

Lu's views have had a great influence on leftist discourse on translation. In 1956 Mao Zedong himself stated in unequivocal terms his support for Lu: 'Lu Xun is for naturalization, but he also advocates rigid translation. I am in favour of rigid translation as theoretical works are concerned; it has an advantage: accuracy.'¹²³ All the four anthologies of translation theory published in the PRC and Hong Kong that cover the pre-1949 period¹²⁴ have included the articles by Qu and Lu, but Zhao's is nowhere to be seen except in a five-line footnote in one of them,¹²⁵ and most of the writings that deal

¹¹⁹ And, playing the man, not the ball, Qu labelled Zhao 'a pitiful "special running dog"' and 'an enemy of proletarian literature' on the ground that he was alluding to some translated works of proletarian literature or proletarian literary theory ('Letter from Qu Qiubai', pp. 267-68).

¹²⁰ See 'A Few "Smooth" Translations', in *The Complete Lu Xun*, iv, pp. 270-72 (first publ. in 1931); 'Wind, Horse and Cow', in *The Complete Lu Xun*, iv, pp. 273-75 (first publ. in 1931). A historian claims that Zhao later 'sincerely' accepted Lu's criticism, and that in his advanced years, when some people tried to overturn the verdict on his view, he still insisted that Lu's criticism was correct although sharp (Chen Fukang, *A History of Chinese Translation Theory*, p. 297).

¹²¹ 'Reply of Lu Xun', pp. 275-76.

¹²² Lu Xun, 'On Translation', in *The Complete Lu Xun*, iv, pp. 422-24 (first publ. in 1933) (p. 423).

¹²³ See Chen Fukang, *A History of Chinese Translation Theory*, p. 383.

¹²⁴ Liu Ching-chih, ed., *Essays on Translation* (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co., 1981); Luo Xinzhang, ed., *Essays on Translation; Selected Papers in Translation Studies (1894-1948)*; China Translation & Publishing Corporation, ed., *A Collection of Papers on Translation Theory and Translation Technique* (Beijing: China Translation & Publishing Corporation, 1985).

¹²⁵ Luo Xinzhang, ed., p. 267.

with the debate take sides with Lu -- at least on the surface.¹²⁶

This does not mean, however, that leftist translation poetics is uniform or has remained unchanged after Lu. On the one hand, there have been attempts to turn translation into a science that aims at the standardization of translation products; for example, Lu Dianyong's textbook implies that the differences among translations done by different translators in China are only the result of imperfection of technique, and it claims that 'this is not the case with the trained translators in the Soviet Union, where the same article is generally translated almost in the same way, with slight variation in minor points'.¹²⁷ On the other, some of the writings mentioned above that avowedly take sides with Lu are actually attempts to modify Lu's extreme stand, with the argument that the union of accuracy and smoothness is not only desirable, but also possible and even necessary, for without smoothness accuracy cannot be said to have been achieved.¹²⁸

One of these attempts that has an official status is a speech given by Mao Dun, then Chairman of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, at the National Working Conference on Literary Translation in 1954, which contains a section entitled 'Literary Translation Must be Lifted to the Level of Artistic Creation'. It advises that on the one hand the features of the original must be preserved and on the other 'pure Chinese' must be used as far as possible to make the translation a work of 'pure native literature', and that this goal cannot possibly be achieved by mechanical, word for word and sentence for sentence translating that sticks to the original structure and sequence.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Such as Huang Bangjie, 'On the Unity of "Faithfulness" and "Smoothness" -- and Also on "Rigid Translation"', *Translators' Notes*, 4 (1980), 1-3; Jin Di, *In Search of Equivalent-effect Translation* (Beijing: China Translation & Publishing Corporation, 1989), pp. 31, 107; Chen Fukang, *A History of Chinese Translation Theory*, pp. 291-301.

¹²⁷ *Translation: Its Principles and Technique*, 1, p. 15.

¹²⁸ Huang Bangjie, 'On the Unity of "Faithfulness" and "Smoothness"'; Jin Di, *In Search of Equivalent-effect Translation*, pp. 107-11.

¹²⁹ 'Strive for the Development of Literary Translation and the Improvement of Translation Quality: Speech at the National Working Conference on Literary Translation on 19 August 1954', in *Selected Papers in Translation Studies*

This 'programmatic speech', stated a historian in 1992, 'supplementing and developing the discussion between Lu Xun and Qu Qiubai in the 1930s and modifying its biased parts', is of 'great and far-reaching significance' up to the present era.¹³⁰

Faithfulness, however, is still upheld by the dominant poetics as the overriding criterion. The majority view at a conference on literary translation held in 1992 attended by about seventy scholars from the PRC, Hong Kong and Taiwan is documented in a report entitled 'A Historical Conference'. The following is an excerpt of the report:

The prolonged controversy in translation circles with regard to the principle of literary translation has mostly been centred around the question of how to narrow the distance between the translation and the original. But Mr Chang Nam Fung, a representative from Hong Kong, observed that what the translator followed was not only the original as he had to pay attention to various factors. The title of his speech was 'The Original is not Everything'. [...]

Mr Chang's speech triggered off a lively discussion. Professor Lin Yaofu from the Department of Foreign Languages, University of Taiwan argued that 'the original is everything', and that the problem was how to interpret it. He introduced a view current in Taiwan, which regards translation as truthful transmission¹³¹ from Language A to Language B, and which holds that what needs to be studied is what is 'truth' and how to 'transmit' it. Mr Yuan Kejia, Research Fellow at the Institute of Foreign Literature, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, commented that there were ordinary translation and special translation. He suggested that special translation could be done with special methods taking into account the factors of society, of the reader and of the translator; but strictly speaking, this was non-translation; whereas ordinary translation should be faithful to the original.¹³²

It can be said nevertheless that while Lu advocates adequacy at the expense of acceptability, post-1949 discourse on translation seems to have paid more attention to acceptability, or rather, have put equal emphasis on the two poles at the same time. But

(1949-1983), ed. by *Translator's Notes*, Editorial Department (Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press, 1984), pp. 1-16 (pp. 11-12).

¹³⁰ Chen Fukang, *A History of Chinese Translation Theory*, pp. 380-81.

¹³¹ '傳真', which is a pun meaning 'truthful transmission' and 'facsimile'.

¹³² Zhang Xiaojun, 'A Historical Conference: Sidelights on the Both-Sides-of-the-Strait Colloquium on the Translation of Foreign Literature', *World Literature*, 1 (1993), 290-99 (pp. 293-94).

in a sense faithfulness to the original has always been the overriding criterion from Lu Xun to the present day, only that the concept of faithfulness has been enlarged to include smoothness, and there has been very few bold enough to speak against the primacy of the original like Zhao Jingshen did.

One of the exceptions is Simon S. C. Chau, who challenged the whole concept of faithfulness. In a provocative paper he calls for the rejection of Yan's three points as universal translation criteria,¹³³ and in another he contends that 'a truly responsible translator must juggle a lot of things' and that 'rewriting, compilatory translation¹³⁴, summary translation, paraphrase, adaptation... are all perfectly justifiable translation methods, as right and proper as "sentence-by-sentence and paragraph-by-paragraph" translation'.¹³⁵ But his writings seem to have produced little impact on translation circles in the PRC, and the verdict is passed by a historian, who concludes that one of the major contributions to translation theory made by Liu Ching-chih, Chairman of the Hong Kong Translation Society, is exactly to have criticized Chau's views.¹³⁶

What makes Chau's views unacceptable to Chinese scholars seems to be not only that he has challenged the criterion of faithfulness, but also that he has not proposed any other universal criteria to replace it,¹³⁷ for whatever the changes of translation poetics over

¹³³ 'Criteria and Objectives of Translation', *Chinese Translators Journal*, 3 (1986), 46-50.

¹³⁴ 編譯, which may mean the production of a target text by substantially changing what Gideon Toury calls the 'matrix' (*Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, p. 58) of a source text (or the matrices of several source texts), that is, a translation that involves omissions, additions and changes of location of relatively large segments, and manipulations of segmentation.

¹³⁵ 'Let's Don't Translate Anymore from Now on', p. 80.

¹³⁶ Chen Fukang, *A History of Chinese Translation Theory*, p. 448. For Liu's criticism, see his 'Preface: Language and Translation in Hong Kong', in *Papers on Translation 1986*, pp. 1-19.

¹³⁷ He contends that there should be different criteria for different types of translation works and different situations ('Criteria and Objectives of Translation', p. 49). A similar view, which advocates the establishment of 'multiple sets of criteria' for translations for different readers, has been criticized as a theory that will 'inevitably [lead] to having no criteria at all' (Fan Shouyi, 'Translation Studies in Modern China: Retrospect and Prospect', *Target* 6:2 (1992), 151-76 (p. 155).

time, and whatever the differences among rival poetics at any time, translation studies in China is characterized by an obsession with the search and establishment of a universal translation criterion, as amply illustrated by Fan Shouyi who, after a survey of the various criteria proposed since Yan Fu, sums up the common concern of himself and the majority of translation theorists in China: 'we need one set of criteria as a common measure for translators to abide by. It could be Yan Fu's ["faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance"] or any other set which is unanimously accepted.'¹³⁸

A similar conservative vein can be seen in the introduction and translation of Foreign translation theories, which began in the 1980s. So far eight foreign works on translation theory have been translated into Chinese (including adaptations and abridged translations), which are, in chronological order of publication:

Eugene Nida and Charles Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, trans. Tan Zaixi (Beijing: China Translation & Publishing Corporation, 1984).

L. Barkhudarov, *Language and Translation*, trans. Cai Yi et al. (Beijing: China Translation & Publishing Corporation, 1985).

Givi Gachechiladze, *Literary Translation and Literary Exchange*, trans. Cai Yi and Yu Jie (Beijing: China Translation & Publishing Corporation, 1987).

George Steiner, *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation*, trans. Zhuang Yichuan (Beijing: China Translation & Publishing Corporation, 1987).

Jean Delisle, *L'Analyse du Discours Comme Méthode de Traduction*, trans. Sun Huishuang (Beijing: International Culture Press, 1988).

Wolfram Wilss, *The Science of Translation: Problems and Methods*, trans. Zhu Jue and Zhou Zhimo (Beijing: China Translation & Publishing Corporation, 1988).

J. C. Catford, *A Linguistic Theory of Translation*, trans. Mu Lei (Beijing: Lüyou Jiaoyu Press, 1991).

Jan de Waard and Eugene A. Nida, *From One Language to Another*, trans. Tan Zaixi (Guangxi: Lijiang Press, 1993).

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 155.

And six of them, that is, except Gachicheladze's and Steiner's, are by theorists based in linguistics.¹³⁹ Thus, the overall image of translation theories in Europe and America projected in China has been one-sided and consequently distorted.

The most influential Western translation theorist in China is Eugene A. Nida.¹⁴⁰ If there are critics of him, their only complaint is that he has overemphasized the response of the reader at the expense of the original.¹⁴¹ Meanwhile, the Translation Studies School has been virtually unheard of at least until 1995.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ This bias towards linguistic theories of translation is also present in Tan Zaixi, *A Brief History of Translation in the West* (Beijing: Commercial Press, 1991), the only work of its kind in the PRC, which covers the following five topics under the section dealing with modern translation theories:

The Prague School and Jakobson

The London School and Catford

The American Structuralist School

The Communication Theory and Nida

The Literary and Linguistic Schools of Translation Theory in the Soviet Union

¹⁴⁰ Besides the two translations mentioned above, he has at least two books (Jin Di and Nida, *On Translation* (Beijing: China Translation & Publishing Corporation, 1984); Nida, *Language, Culture, and Translating* (Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press, 1991)) and several papers published in the PRC (such as Nida, 'Approaches to Translating in the Western World', *Foreign Language Teaching and Research*, 2 (1984), 9-15; Tan Zaixi and Nida, 'Approaches to Translation Studies', *Foreign Language Teaching and Research*, 1 (1987), 24-30; Nida, 'Sociolinguistics in Interlingual Communication', *Foreign Languages*, 1 (1995), 5-11).

¹⁴¹ See Qian Linsheng, 'Should Reader's Response Be Considered a Criterion in Assessment of Translated Works?', *Chinese Translators Journal*, 2 (1988), 42-44; Liu Ching-chih, 'Preface: Language and Translation in Hong Kong', pp. 12-15; Jin Di, *In Search of Equivalent-effect Translation*, pp. 17-21.

¹⁴² In 1995 the views of James S. Holmes, Itamar Even-Zohar, Gideon Toury, Susan Bassnett, André Lefevere, and Hans J. Vermeer and Christiane Nord were outlined in a paper (Chang Nam Fung, 'On Translation Studies' (the title in Chinese is '走出死胡同 建立翻譯學' (get out of the dead end and establish translation studies as a discipline)), *Chinese Translators Journal*, 4 (1995), 15-17 and 22), which has stirred up a debate in China (see Lao Long, 'My View on Translatology', *Chinese Translators Journal*, 2 (1996), 38-41; Xu Yuanchong, 'Ingenuous Translation Comes from "Getting the Meaning While Forgetting the Form"', in *Language, Literature and Culture: Studies in the Chinese Translations of 'Scarlet and Black'*, ed. by Xu Jun (Nanjing: Nanjing University Press, 1996), pp. 118-24 (pp. 121-22); Wang Dongfen and Chu Zhida, 'Translatology: To Be or Not to Be', *Foreign Languages*, 5 (1996),

Further and perhaps the strongest proof of the dominance of the linguistics school in the field of translation studies is that the subject has been officially classified since 1992 by the State Bureau for Technical Supervision (國家技術監督局) as a tertiary discipline subsumed under the secondary discipline of applied linguistics, although not without dissent among scholars in the discipline.¹⁴³

2.5. The Position and Behaviour of Translated Literature

Itamar Even-Zohar hypothesizes a link between adequacy-oriented translational norms and a central position of translated literature in the literary polysystem, but an examination of the situation in China seems to show that this is not always the case.

Viewed from a Polysystem theory perspective,¹⁴⁴ the Chinese literary polysystem is an old and established one, and is consequently independent and self-sufficient most of the time, developing within its own spheres. It has become a central literature in the 'mega-polysystem' of the region, interfering rather than interfered with, and therefore has been in no need for translated literature for centuries.¹⁴⁵

8-12; Xu Jun, 'My Opinion on Translation Studies', *Chinese Translators Journal*, 3 (1997), 4-7; Chang Nam Fung, 'From Dream to Reality: On Translation Studies as an Academic Discipline in the East and the West' (paper presented at Shanghai International Studies University Conference on Translation 1997). The scale of the debate would have been much larger if it has not been suppressed: Ms Shang Yan, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of *Chinese Translators Journal* (published by the Translators' Association of China), admits in a personal letter to Chang dated 4 March 1997 that they have received many contributions taking sides either with Chang or with Lao, but they have decided not to publish any more of these papers because they do not want to 'trigger a debate'. (And yet Xu's paper, which is critical of the views of both sides, was published in June 1997). However, Lao Long's paper, which is totally against Holmes's vision of translation studies, has induced a 'translation studies (or translatology) fever' (翻譯學熱), which means a widespread discussion on how it should develop as an academic discipline, according to Lin Zhang, 'The Development of Translatology in China in 1996', *Chinese Translators Journal*, 3 (1997), 42-45.

¹⁴³ See Chinese Association of Comparative Studies of Chinese and English, 'Summary of the Second Academic Conference of the Chinese Association of Comparative Studies of Chinese and English', *CACSEC Bulletin*, 5 (1996), 1-2.

¹⁴⁴ For a detailed discussion of the theory, see Section 5.2.

¹⁴⁵ The term 'mega-polysystem' is used in Itamar Even-Zohar's 1990 version of

But crises set in twice in the modern history of China. The first was brought about by its defeat in the Sino-Japanese war towards the end of the nineteenth century. As a strong desire was produced to modernize the nation -- culturally, technologically and economically, items in the old indigenous literary stock were no longer deemed acceptable by the progressive intelligentsia, and a literary vacuum occurred, generating an urgent need for foreign models. As a result, translated novels doubled indigenous ones in quantity, and exerted an influence on the latter.¹⁴⁶ It can be said that in this period translated literature did not only move into the Chinese polysystem, but occupied a central position in it.

Translated literature began to be gradually pushed to a peripheral position after the founding of the PRC,¹⁴⁷ and out of the polysystem completely during the Cultural Revolution. Then another crisis took place after the downfall of the Gang of Four as the country was opening up to the outside world and revolutionary literature of the past decades was rejected by the disillusioned, creating an opportunity for the comeback of translated literature. But as the vacuum this time was rather quickly filled by a large variety of home-made products such as scar literature, exposé literature, science fiction, obscure poetry, and other kinds of works, translated literature did not move into the centre; instead, it only managed to occupy a relatively important position in the first half of the 1980s, and was pushed outward again in the second half, when the literary

'Polysystem Theory' (*Polysystem Studies*, 9-26 (p. 24)) to mean 'one which organizes and controls several communities', but was dropped in the 1997 version (Internet: <http://www.tau.ac.il/~itamarez>). For literary interference between polysystems, see also his 'Laws of Literary Interference', *Polysystem Studies*, 53-72.

¹⁴⁶ Chen Yugang et al., *A History of Chinese Translated Literature*, p. 42.

¹⁴⁷ According to Wolfgang Bauer, the percentage of translations in the country's literary production decreased from 50.7 in 1949 to 3.3 in 1958, the year that marked the beginning of the 'Great Leap Forward' Movement, 'which was intended to make Communist China among other things also intellectually less dependent from Soviet Russia' (*Western Literature and Translation in Communist China* (Hamburg: Institute für Asienkunde, 1964), p. 20).

polysystem itself was pushed to the periphery of the cultural macro-polysystem.¹⁴⁸

The prediction made by polysystem theory about the behaviour of translated literature, however, seems to have only a limited applicability to the Chinese situation.

According to Even-Zohar,¹⁴⁹ when translated literature assumes a central position,

the translator's main concern [...] is not just to look for ready-made models in his home repertoire into which the source texts would be transferable. Instead, he is prepared in such cases to violate the home conventions. Under such conditions the chances that the translation will be close to the original in terms of adequacy (in other words, a reproduction of the dominant textual relations of the original) are greater than otherwise.

And when translated literature occupies a peripheral position,

the translator's main effort is to concentrate upon finding the best ready-made secondary models for the foreign text, and the result often turns out to be a non-adequate translation or [...] a greater discrepancy between the equivalence achieved and the adequacy postulated.

This hypothesis works nicely in relation to the history of religious translation in China.¹⁵⁰

After much research, Hajime Nakamura refutes the general assumption that 'after

Buddhism was introduced to China, it adapted itself to the Chinese way of thinking only

after much time had passed', and observes that the influence of Confucian ethics and

Taoism on the Chinese translations of Buddhist scriptures was strong 'even' in the earliest

period and was 'largely absent' later.¹⁵¹ While his findings may be a revelation to some,

¹⁴⁸ See Section 1.5. In Itamar Even-Zohar's terminology '(Macro-)polysystem' refers to 'a group of relatable national literatures' ('The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem', p. 48), and seems to be synonymous with 'mega-polysystem', but in this thesis the term (without the parentheses) is used to refer to a culture as a whole, which Even-Zohar calls 'the larger polysystem' (such as 'Polysystem Theory' (revised version), p. 10), or 'the overall polysystem of culture' ('System, Dynamics, and Interference in Culture: A Synoptic View', *Polysystem Studies*, 85-95 (p. 93).

¹⁴⁹ 'The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem', pp. 50-51.

¹⁵⁰ See Section 2.4.

¹⁵¹ 'The Influence of Confucian Ethics on the Chinese Translations of Buddhist Sutras', pp. 156, 170.

they only prove what the polysystem hypothesis sets out to explain and predict.

However, the hypothesis seems to be unable to account for the whole history of literary translation. It is true that at the inception of the crisis at the turn of the century, when translated literature was just leaving the periphery, pioneering translators such as Yan Fu¹⁵² and Lin Shu resorted to systematic adaptations of the source texts in conformity to home conventions so as to achieve a high degree of acceptability, and later translators such as Lu Xun usually put more emphasis on adequacy as translated literature had established itself in the centre of the polysystem. But it seems that it is the translations of Yan and Lin that have produced the greatest long-term impact on the Chinese literary polysystem and on the cultural macro-polysystem, and eventually, they have become canonized,¹⁵³ if any translated works are canonized at all, in the sense that they are 'preserved by the community to become part of its historical heritage',¹⁵⁴ whereas, as a result of Lu Xun's translation method, 'nobody bothers to read his

¹⁵² The works that Yan Fu translated are not literary in nature in the source culture, but his translations are regarded by historians as literary (see Chen Yugang et al., *A History of Chinese Translated Literature*, pp. 45-57; You Guoen et al., *A History of Chinese Literature*, 4 vols (Beijing: People's Literary Press, 1964), iv, pp. 1194-96), and some of them even as literary classics (see Han Dihou, *Modern English-Chinese Translation*, pp. 18-19). This is a case where Toury's second sense of 'literary translation' may apply: 'the translation of a text (in principle, at least, *any* text, of any type whatever) in such a way that the product be acceptable as literary to the *recipient culture*' (*Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, p. 168).

¹⁵³ See Han Dihou, *Modern English-Chinese Translation*, pp. 18-20, 54-57; Chen Yugang et al., *A History of Chinese Translated Literature*, pp. 54-57, 72-75. In the 1980s, all of Yan Fu's major translations were reprinted twice, first separately in 1981 and then together in 1986 in a collection of his works (see Preface to Yan Fu, trans., 《原富》 (translation of Adam Smith's *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*) (Beijing: Commercial Press, 1981; first published in 1902), p. ii; Gao Huiqun and Wu Chuangun, *Translator Yan Fu*, p. 138). Ten of Lin Shu's translations were also reprinted in 1981 (see Publisher's Note in Lin Shu and Wei Yi trans, *Record of a Black Slave Pleading to Heaven*, p. 2). Besides, scholars have never lost interest in the translations of Yan and Lin, as can be seen in publications such as Han Dihou, *Modern English-Chinese Translation*; Wang Zuoliang, 'On the Intention of Yan Fu'; Wang Kefei, 'On Yan Fu's Translation of *Evolution and Ethics*'; and Qian Zhongshu et al., *Lin Shu's Translations*.

¹⁵⁴ Itamar Even-Zohar, 'Polysystem Theory', p. 15.

translations any more, although his own writing is widely read everywhere and all the time'.¹⁵⁵

Nevertheless, Lu Xun's discourse on translation seems to be still exerting an influence on the thinking of PRC theorists and practitioners alike, and although the prevalent translational norms since 1949 have moved away from the adequacy pole, they have never come near the acceptability pole but seem to have settled somewhere in between -- with minor oscillations and individual variations, of course. This is evidenced by the linguistically and culturally exotic flavour that can be found in so many translations and by the scarcity of conscious attempts that result in, say, 'jokes added in compensation for jokes lost', as Douglas Parker has done to his English translation of Aristophanes.¹⁵⁶ Meanwhile, the position occupied by translated literature has been shifting to and fro between the periphery and the centre.

In the last two decades, although the fidelity school still dominates, it has mellowed somewhat, that is, become less extreme, and other views have been more tolerated, but this seems to be the result of political liberalization rather than changes in the position of translated literature.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ Fan Gao Chang, 'Cultural Barriers in Translation', *New Comparison*, 8 (1989), 3-12 (p. 5). Only three of Lu's translations have been reprinted after the 1960s: one in the 1970s, and two in the 1980s in collections of translations by different translators (see Lin Hui et al., *Dictionary of Chinese Translators* (Beijing: China Translation & Publishing Corporation, 1988), p. 409; China's Library of Different Editions, ed., *Bibliography and Synopses of Published Translations of Foreign Literary Works 1980-1986* (Chongqing: Chongqing Press, 1989), pp. 1138, 1158). And there have been hardly any reviews of his translations in recent decades.

¹⁵⁶ See André Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting, & the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, p. 51.

¹⁵⁷ Yan Fu's translating began to receive a more objective treatment in the PRC; and Zhang Guruo's version of *David Copperfield* (《大衛·考坡菲》, (Shanghai: Yiwen Press, 1989; first publ. in 1980)), the only full translation of the 1980s, is much more idiomatic than Dong Qiusi's 1950 version (《大衛·科波菲爾》, 2 vols (Beijing: Joint Publishing Co.)), the best known full translation of the 1950s; but translated literature (especially from English) occupied a more central position in 1980 than in 1950.

2.6. Three Apparent Contradictions

In the above review of the translation tradition in China, three apparent contradictions may be noticed: between the theory and practice of translation, between the position and behaviour of translated literature, and between the overriding criterion of faithfulness and the need for translation to serve ideology.

The contradiction between theory and practice is exemplified by the first debate on translation criteria in the second century, where the literariness or liberalism school who produced the final version of the translation was defeated by the simplicity or literalism school, and by Yan Fu, who resorted to systematic adaptation in his practice but prioritized faithfulness in his theorization. A possible reason for this contradiction is that while sometimes some translators see the need to do otherwise, theoretical discussions have been influenced by the concept of loyalty, which has always been very much valued in the traditional Chinese society -- to the emperor, to the supreme leader and the ruling party, and to one's parents and husband.

This gap between theory and practice also exists in other parts of the world. For example, Toury has observed the phenomenon where most actual translations 'adhere to norms which are different from the ones postulated by the existing theories of translation'.¹⁵⁸ But somewhat unique to the PRC is that the gap has been made narrower because the translational norms postulated by theoreticians, being closely linked to the dominant ideology, seem to have exerted pressure on practitioners, compelling them to adopt conservative strategies that may not be able to meet actual needs.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ *In Search of a Theory of Translation*, p. 73.

¹⁵⁹ The link between ideology and translational norms is further testified by Gladys Yang, a naturalized citizen of the PRC. In a discussion about *A Dream of Red Mansions* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1978-1980) that she and her husband Yang Hsien-yi translated in the second half of the 1970s under the shadow of the Cultural Revolution, she admits, 'we have been so conditioned by the circumstances in which we used to work that we are rather literal and pedestrian translators, and we are still suffering from what happened earlier.' (Henderson, K. R., Yang Hsien-yi, Gladys Yang, Wang Zuoliang and Yu Lin, 'The Wrong Side of a Turkish Tapestry' (transcript of a

In this respect one should bear in mind that the less democratic a culture is, the more influential are norm-setting activities, including prescriptive translation theories. In the PRC the type of prescriptive theories that promote 'faithfulness' has been made more so by the advocacy of Lu Xun and the support of Mao Zedong. Because of his status as 'a great literary scholar, thinker and revolutionary',¹⁶⁰ Lu's translation theory, which emerged at a time when translated literature occupied a central position, seems to have maintained an authoritative status independent of the changes in the position of translated literature. There has hardly been any open challenge to his views on translation, and theorists seem to regard the debate of the 1930s on the issue of faithfulness versus smoothness as closed -- that no more needs to be said about it -- on the grounds that 'the principle of "smoothness rather than faithfulness" has long since been in bad odour as the result of the criticism by Mr Lu Xun'.¹⁶¹

This has led to the second contradiction, which is between the position and behaviour of translated literature. When translated literature assumes a peripheral position, it is logical to expect the translator to conform to home conventions so as to cater for the taste of the reading public. It is on this logic that Even-Zohar's hypothesis about the

discussion), *Hemisphere*, July-August 1980, pp. 32-36 (p. 34)). And yet their literal approach has not prevented them from zero translation of some swear-words of the source text and from reshaping some of the characters in accordance with the Marxist literary convention (see Chang Nam Fung, 'Defile, Violate, φ , F---: On the English Translations of *Honglou Meng*' (paper presented at the Second International Colloquium on Literary Translation, University of East Anglia, Norwich, 1996, a revised version is to be published in *Babel or Translatio*). As the translation was initiated in the source system, the translational norms they adopted were naturally determined by that system instead of the target system.

¹⁶⁰ *Ocean of Words* (Shanghai: Shanghai Cishu Press, 1979), p. 2016.

¹⁶¹ Jin Di, *In Search of Equivalent-effect Translation*, p. 31. Another factor contributing to the narrowing of the gap may be the fact that most of the theorists are themselves translators, such as Mao Dun, Ma Zuyi, Wang Bangjie, Sun Zhili, Jin Di, and Liu Zhongde (see Lin Hui et al, *Dictionary of Chinese Translators*), and that many translators have theorized about translation (see Ba Jin et al., *A Hundred Contemporary Translators on Literary Translation* (Beijing: Beijing University Press, 1989)).

behaviour of translated literature is based. But it seems as though the logic of real life is not always perfect, as can be seen sometimes in the high price paid for the stubborn pursuit of an ideal without regard to reality. In the Chinese case that ideal is faithfulness, or loyalty -- an ideal that is 'inspired by a conservative ideology',¹⁶² and the price paid since the late 1980s is the loss of readers, or at least the non-attempt to win back a portion of the lost readers.¹⁶³

As to the contradiction between the overriding criterion of faithfulness and the need for translation to serve ideology, it turns out that the former is not always overriding after all. As André Lefevere points out, 'if linguistic considerations enter into conflict with considerations of an ideological [...] nature, the latter tend to win out.'¹⁶⁴ But seldom has anyone admitted in writing that this is the case or even that there is any conflict at all. While source texts are being 'sterilized', translation theorists go on emphasizing faithfulness as a moral principle, as the responsibility of the translator to both the original and the reader.¹⁶⁵ Some of these statements may have been made in good faith, but the illusion of faithfulness that they have helped to maintain is just as well from the standpoint of the patron, for manipulation is effective only when it is done without other people knowing it.

Ultimately, the translation tradition of China is characterized by the supreme position of ideology. It has created a conservative translational poetics that prioritizes faithfulness, forcing translators to comply, sometimes contrary to actual needs, but its creation is not to go against its own interests.

¹⁶² André Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting, & the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, p. 51.

¹⁶³ For the decline of translated literature and of literature in general, see Section 1.5.

¹⁶⁴ *Translation, Rewriting, & the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, p. 39.

¹⁶⁵ Such as Jin Di, *In Search of Equivalent-effect Translation*, p. 107.

CHAPTER THREE

FUNCTIONS OF THE TEXT IN THE SOURCE AND TARGET CULTURES

It can be said that *YPM* is a naturalistic situation comedy that depends on political humour for its appeal.¹ But what are the likely social functions of such a work?

Paraphrasing Terry Lovell², Michael Mulkey sums up the ambiguous effect of naturalistic situation comedies on the audience:

On the one hand, by exposing the inconsistencies and contradictions of the social world to laughter, naturalistic sitcom narrative may enable its audience to see flaws and inadequacies which would not otherwise have been so clearly visible. In this way, television sitcom may have a subverting influence and may provide an impetus towards social change. On the other hand, [...] realistic sitcom may strengthen recipients' sense that the existing social order, with all its problems, failures and incongruities, is more or less inevitable. If this is so, even realistic sitcom will be more likely to encourage amused detachment than serious concern.³

It is therefore essential to explore the possible functions of *YPM* in the source culture and also its potential functions in the target culture (since the functions of a text inevitably change across cultural borders⁴) before we embark on discussions about problems

¹ For a detailed discussion see Section 3.5.

² 'Television Situation Comedy', in *Introduction to Contemporary Cultural Studies*, ed. by David Punter (London: Longman, 1986), pp. 149-67 (p. 165).

³ *On Humour: Its Nature and Its Place in Modern Society* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988), p. 186.

⁴ As Christiane Nord contends:

Each text has its place in a configuration of particular, interdependent elements (= factors), whose constellation determines its function. If only one element is changed, the constellation of the other elements within the configuration will inevitably change as well. In any translation [...] which is intended to allow people to communicate across a cultural and linguistic barrier, at least one element is different every time, and that is the recipient. (*Text Analysis in Translation: Theory*,

concerning its translating. But as political humour is the main ingredient of *YPM*, an analysis of its functions must be based on an understanding of the what, why and how of humour as informed by humour theories.

3.1. Definition of Humour

The first question to be addressed in a serious discussion of humour is its very definition. The main problem is not that the word 'humour' is a polysemant that has developed a diversity of meanings over time, because it is obvious that only one of its meanings -- the one that is closely related to amusement and laughter -- is relevant for the theories of humour in question; it is rather that the boundary of this 'one meaning' is by no means clear-cut. Some theorists start their discussion about humour without giving a definition⁵ because they either find the concept too commonsensical to deserve a definition or too complicated to attempt one;⁶ Luigi Pirandello traces the etymology of the word without leading anywhere;⁷ and Antony J. Chapman and Hugh C. Foot list a number of definitions without committing themselves to any;⁸ but sometimes confusion is caused by the use of the same terminology to talk about different things or vice versa due to the complexity of

Methodology, and Didactic Application of a Model for Translation-Oriented Text Analysis (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1991; German version publi. in 1988), p. 16.)

⁵ Such as Sigmund Freud, *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious*, trans. by James Strachey (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966; original publ. in 1905); Leonard Feinberg, *The Secret of Humor* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1978); Walter Nash, *The Language of Humour: Style and Technique in Comic Discourse* (London: Longman, 1985); Victor Raskin, *Semantic Mechanisms of Humour* (Dordrecht: Reidel, 1985); and Michael Mulkay, *On Humour*.

⁶ In fact, there is a view that humour is indefinable (see Chen Xiaoying, *The Secret of Humour* (Beijing: China Drama Press, 1989), p. 71). According to Antony J. Chapman and Hugh C. Foot, 'amongst psychological humour theorists, there appears to have been a distinct reluctance to define humour and laughter ('Introduction', in *Humour and Laughter: Theory, Research and Applications*, ed. by themselves (London: John Wiley & Sons, 1976), pp. 1-10 (p. 6)).

⁷ *On Humor*, trans. by Antonio Illiano and Daniel P. Testa (North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1960; original publ. in 1908), pp. 1-8.

⁸ 'Introduction', p. 2-3.

the concept of humour and its change over time.⁹ And it seems that all the definitions offered by theorists may lead to one problem or another.

M. Wasson suggests that 'humour is something which causes a tickling of the brain' and 'laughter was invented to scratch it'.¹⁰ This definition is concise and may be ingenious, but the vagueness of its figurative language is of little help to academic investigation. From a psychologist's point of view, Arthur Koestler formulates a more scientific definition that provides us with a better starting point: 'humour can be simply defined as a type of stimulation that tends to elicit the laughter reflex'.¹¹ This definition has the support of a linguist, Delia Chiaro, who quotes it unreflectingly in her book *The Language of Jokes: Analysing Verbal Play*,¹² but the main problem is that, as Chapman and Foot point out, laughter 'is just as much a response to non-humorous stimuli as it is to humour stimuli'.¹³ In other words, this definition has the quality of inclusiveness, i.e., the ability to include all the items of the species being defined, but lacks the quality of exclusiveness, i.e., the ability to exclude all the items not belonging to the species. Thus it seems that a slightly more accurate definition would be 'a type of stimulation that tends to excite amusement'.

Two problems remain with this definition. The first lies in the ambiguity of the words 'tends to': can something be called 'humour' if it is only designed, but fails, to be amusing? If we accept Victor Raskin's view that 'it is the perceiver's presence [...] which makes a humour act a humour act, simply because it is the perceiver who laughs',¹⁴ then 'tends to'

⁹ For example, Victor Raskin (*Semantic Mechanisms of Humour*) has mis-interpreted Freud (*Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious*) because he equates the comic with humour, which are not identical for Freud. See the discussion below.

¹⁰ Quoted in Antony J. Chapman and Hugh C. Foot, 'Introduction', p. 3.

¹¹ 'Humour and Wit', in *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th Edn, 30 vols (Chicago: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1974), xx, pp. 739-45 (p. 739).

¹² (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 4.

¹³ 'Introduction', p. 3. For example, there is the laughter of joy, on winning a battle, getting a new job, etc.

¹⁴ *Semantic Mechanisms of Humour*, p. 3.

is unnecessary, at least for the present discussion.

The second problem is whether the stimulation has to be intentional on the part of the producer. In other words, can an action that only looks amusing in the eye of the perceiver but not meant to be so by the performer, such as an action of an animal, or an action of a human being out of naivety or ignorance, be regarded as humorous?

Victor Raskin identifies two kinds of humour: the unintended and the intended.¹⁵ Following this logic, one will have to regard some animal behaviour (such as a cat trying to catch the image of a fish in a television screen) as (unintentionally) humorous because there is no essential difference between it and the behaviour of a child (such as an innocent remark that touches taboos in the adult world), because both can be found amusing by some people.

Raskin enlists Sigmund Freud to support this view: 'Freud seems to make very much the same distinction when he says, "A joke is made, the comic is found...".¹⁶ But Freud has never said that jokes and the comic are two kinds of humour. For Freud the comic as a generic term has three sub-species: the comic (in the narrow sense of the word), jokes and humour.¹⁷ Among the many differences between the three, the following seems to be most significant:

The pleasure in jokes has seemed to us to arise from an economy in expenditure upon inhibition, the pleasure in the comic from an economy in expenditure upon ideation (upon cathexis) and the pleasure in humour from an economy in expenditure upon feeling.¹⁸

¹⁵ 'The former kind occurs when somebody says something (or something happens) and the observer perceives it as funny, usually unexpectedly for the speaker. The latter occurs when the speaker intends to be funny and actually makes an effort to be so.' (ibid., p. 27)

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 27. Also see Sigmund Freud, *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious*, p. 181.

¹⁷ See *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious*, pp. 181, 229.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 236.

Moreover, the feeling or emotion which is 'economized in favour of the humour' is always 'of an unpleasurable character': 'pity, anger, pain, tenderness, and so on'.¹⁹

As Raskin is aware, 'humour is something very different for Freud',²⁰ and therefore it is understandable that some of the theorists regard Freud's exposition on the comic and on jokes as equally applicable to humour in a non-Freudian sense of the word,²¹ but one must not confuse one's own notion of humour with that of Freud. In fact, if humour is seen as a substitute of unpleasurable emotions, then humorous acts must be strictly human, since only mature human beings are capable of such a substitution.

Hu Fanzhu also argues that the phenomenon of humour must necessarily be human behaviour, and that humour is a product of thought.²² The implication of this argument must be that humour is always intended. Take for example a story reported by Hu:²³ during the Chinese Cultural Revolution, an illiterate person mixed up the characters of a poster that should read '強烈要求張春橋當總理' ([We] strongly demand that Zhang Chunqiao be Prime Minister)²⁴ and put it up as '張春橋強烈要求當總理' (Zhang Chunqiao strongly demands to be Prime Minister). It seems that the act can be described as comic or ridiculous, but not as humorous. However, an onlooker may perceive humour potential in the incidence, and if this onlooker reports the incidence to a third person in a playful mood, the report can be said to have the quality of humour.

Of course it is only a matter of opinion whether unintended comicality can be classified as humour, and the recognition of unintended humour as a legitimate category as opposed to intended humour may not cause a problem as long as one bears in mind

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 232, 235.

²⁰ *Semantic Mechanisms of Humour*, p. 28.

²¹ Such as John Allen Paulos, *Mathematics and Humor* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), pp. 5-6, besides Raskin.

²² *Linguistics of Humour* (Shanghai: Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Press, 1987), pp. 4, 64.

²³ Ibid., p. 64.

²⁴ Zhang Chunqiao was a member of the Gang of Four.

the essential difference in their effects on the receptor, which Raskin has illuminated by quoting a comment by Henri Bergson on a distinction between the witty and the comic: 'A word is said to be comic when it makes us laugh at the person who utters it, and witty when it makes us laugh either at a third party or at ourselves'.²⁵

Nevertheless, under the circumstances that no definition of humour can satisfy every theorist or appropriate for every occasion, it seems necessary to modify Arthur Koestler's definition of humour for the present study: 'a stimulation that has fulfilled the intention to excite amusement'.²⁶ This definition seems to be more appropriate for the study of literary works, in which humour is usually intentional.

Having arrived at a working definition, we are now ready to explore the cause, function and mechanism of humour.

3.2. Three Groups of Theories of Humour

To avoid duplicating the effort of others in conducting a literature survey of the whole spectrum of humour theories,²⁷ focus will be put on a selected few which are on the one hand representative of the field and on the other necessary and sufficient for an explanation of political humour.

According to Victor Raskin, theories of humour fall into three large groups. One group is psychoanalytical, which is usually associated with suppression/repression. Another is social-behavioural, associated with a series of attitudes such as hostility, superiority, malice, aggression, derision, and disparagement. The third group is cognitive-perceptual, associated with incongruity.²⁸ Raskin refers to these three groups as

²⁵ 'Laughter' (original publ. in 1899), translation in *Comedy*, ed. by Wylie Sypher (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1956), pp. 59-190 (p. 128). Quoted in Victor Raskin, *Semantic Mechanisms of Humour*, p. 27.

²⁶ Cf. John Allen Paulos's 'formula' for humour: 'a perceived incongruity with a point, in an appropriate emotional climate' (*Mathematics and Humor*, p. 104).

²⁷ Such as Victor Raskin, *Semantic Mechanisms of Humour*, and John Allen Paulos, *Mathematics and Humor*.

²⁸ *Semantic Mechanisms of Humour*, pp. 31, 36. The order of the three groups has been

'release-based', 'disparagement-based' and 'incongruity-based' theories respectively,²⁹ but it seems that 'aggression-based theories' is a more suitable name for the second group because all the attitudes included in this group can be explained as special forms of aggression but not of disparagement as the former is more generic.

The basic principle of all release-based theory, as Raskin sums up, is that laughter 'provides relief for mental, nervous and/or psychic energy', which is required for conforming to 'a great number of constraints -- to be logical, to think clearly, to talk sense' -- under which human beings operate, and 'thus ensures homoeostasis after a struggle, tension, strain, etc.'³⁰

Freud's theory is chosen here as an illustration of this group of theories because 'the best known theory of this kind is apparently the one proposed by Sigmund Freud, though it goes well beyond a straightforward release theory'.³¹ But first a word of warning: Freud's exposition on jokes is regarded as equally applicable to humour as defined above.

According to Freud,

Civilization and higher education have a large influence in the development of repression, [...] under such conditions, the psychical organization undergoes an alteration (that can also emerge as an inherited disposition) as a result of which what was formerly felt as agreeable now seems unacceptable and is rejected with all possible psychical force. The repressive activity of civilization brings it about that primary possibilities of enjoyment, which have now, however, been repudiated by the censorship in us, are lost to us.³²

In other words, external repression has brought about 'internal inhibitions' in people's mind. For the erection and maintenance of such inhibitions some expenditure of psychical energy is required, but by the telling of jokes repression can be overcome, the inhibitions

rearranged for the convenience of later discussions.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 131.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 38.

³¹ Ibid.

³² *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious*, p. 101.

lifted, and the psychological expenditure becomes superfluous, or is saved. This 'economy in expenditure on inhibition or suppression' is the secret of the pleasurable effect of jokes, and 'this yield of pleasure corresponds to the psychological expenditure that is saved'. Finally, for the hearer to appreciate the joke, 'it is essential that he should be in sufficient psychological accord with the first person to possess the same internal inhibitions, which the joke-work has overcome in the latter'.³³

A corollary of this theory seems to be that the stronger the inhibition, the greater the pleasure derived from lifting it, provided that it can be lifted. In this respect a confusion of concepts of humour needs to be cleared up. Raskin asserts that Freud's statement 'the comic is greatly interfered with if the situation from which it ought to develop gives rise at the same time to a release of strong affect' is one of the negative accompanying factors for humour, and quotes Henri Bergson to support Freud: 'laughter has no greater foe than emotion'.³⁴ If this were true, the corollary would be false, and Freud would seem to have contradicted himself, for a strong affect presupposes a strong inhibition. However, Freud's statement is actually one of the (negative) 'conditions for the generation of the comic', not of humour.³⁵ If there were still possible doubts, they should have been dispelled a few pages later when Freud states that 'humour is a means of obtaining pleasure in spite of the distressing affects that interfere with it', and that 'the person who is the victim of the injury, pain, and so on, might obtain *humorous* pleasure, while the unconcerned person laughs from *comic* pleasure'.³⁶ As to Bergson's statement, it is neither here nor there with regard to humour, for there can be humorous pleasure without laughter, just as there can be laughter without humorous pleasure.

Freud's theory seems to be most suitable for explaining the right kind of soil for

³³ Ibid., pp. 103, 105, 118, 119, 149, 151.

³⁴ *Semantic Mechanisms of Humour*, pp. 12-13. See Sigmund Freud, *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious*, p. 220; Henri Bergson, 'Laughter', p. 63.

³⁵ *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious*, p. 218.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 228.

political humour. As Freud remarks, 'tendentious jokes'³⁷ are especially favoured in order to make aggressiveness or criticism possible against persons in exalted positions who claim to exercise authority', and 'who are protected by internal inhibitions and external circumstances from direct disparagement'.³⁸ From a psychological point of view, the reason why 'most political jokes in bourgeois democracies are a bloodless strain' and why 'dictatorship is a necessary condition for a flourishing political humour'³⁹ is simple: there are much stronger internal inhibitions in a dictatorship than in a democracy. Nevertheless, political humour 'requires a modicum of freedom',⁴⁰ otherwise the internal inhibitions would be too strong to be lifted.

The element of aggression in humour has been recognized by a number of theorists. Besides Freud, who regards tendentious jokes as a means of aggressiveness, Koestler also believes that humour 'must contain one ingredient whose presence is indispensable: an impulse, however faint, of aggression or apprehension';⁴¹ but among the aggression-based theories the one put forward by Leonard Feinberg seems to best explain humour as social behaviour.

According to Feinberg, most people are aggressive sometimes, and humour is one of the manifestations of aggression: 'whenever humor occurs, an element of aggression is present -- on a broad spectrum ranging from the mild satisfaction of twisting the language out of shape to the malicious pleasure of watching a humiliating practical joke'. Elaborating on the subject, he states that since so-called civilized society pretends it is not proper to express unjustified direct aggression, people tend to use indirection as 'a

³⁷ That is, 'jokes that have a purpose', as opposed to the innocent joke, which 'is an end in itself and serves no particular aim' (ibid., p. 90).

³⁸ Ibid., p. 105.

³⁹ Gregor Benton, 'The Origins of the Political Joke', in *Humour in Society: Resistance and Control*, ed. by Chris Powell and George E. C. Paton (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988), pp. 33-55 (pp. 34, 35).

⁴⁰ Victor Raskin, *Semantic Mechanisms of Humour*, p. 23.

⁴¹ *The Act of Creation* (London: Hutchinson, 1976; first publ. in 1964), p. 52.

hypocritical attempt to camouflage the aggression' in verbal humour. As to the question what makes aggression funny, his answer is that 'it becomes humorous when it is tempered by playfulness', and therefore he concludes his treatise by claiming that 'the secret of humor is playful aggression'.⁴²

Apparently Feinberg's theory can account for the most 'innocent' as well as the most 'tendentious' (in the Freudian sense of the words) kind of humour. On the one hand, nonsense humour is seen as aggression against logic and order, and wordplay, against linguistic conformity,⁴³ although one may argue that in its mildest form the aggression is pretended while the playfulness is genuine. On the other, even the most tendentious humour can be described as playful aggression, only that the playfulness is pretended while the aggression is genuine, as Feinberg observes:

Since society does not permit direct expression of resentment, or serious criticism of the official mirage, individuals have evolved a technique for expressing their disillusionment: humor. By pretending that they are playful in their criticism, that they don't really mean what they say, people manage to relieve themselves of frustration and repressions.⁴⁴

It can be said that the release-based theory explains the cause of humour as a phenomenon and the aggression-based theory explains its function, but they are not two different and separate theories. Instead, they are interrelated in the sense that they each look at one side of the same coin, for when humour is expressed, aggression is simply the external manifestation in behaviour of the internal, psychological process of lifting inhibitions. Neither theory, however, gives a detailed account of how something is perceived as humorous. For an explanation of the mechanism of humour we must turn to the incongruity-based theories, which may be represented by Koestler's bisociation theory and Raskin's script-based semantic theory.

⁴² *The Secret of Humor*, pp. 8-10, 205.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

According to Koestler, the 'routine skills of thinking on a single "plane"' have led people to expect that actions taken in a situation would be governed by a logic that is usually applied to that type of situation; in other words, we tend to associate one idea or event with a certain 'matrix', which means 'any ability, habit, or skill, any pattern of ordered behaviour governed by a "code" of fixed rules'. If another matrix of thought or behaviour actually takes place, one that is incompatible with the usual, expected one, the clash of the two matrices will produce laughter.⁴⁵ Koestler concludes:

The sudden bisociation of an idea or event with two habitually incompatible matrices will produce a comic effect, provided that the narrative, the semantic pipeline, carries the right kind of emotional tension. When the pipe is punctured, and our expectations are fooled, the now redundant tension gushes out in laughter, or is spilled in the gentler form of the sou-rire.⁴⁶

Such an incongruity-based theory has often been criticized for failing to account for instances of disharmony or ambiguity which do not cause laughter.⁴⁷ It is perhaps with this criticism in mind that Raskin puts forward his script-based semantic theory of humour.⁴⁸ His main hypothesis can be summarized as follows:

A text can be characterized as a single-joke-carrying text if both of the following conditions are satisfied:

- (i) The text is compatible, fully or in part, with two different scripts;
- (ii) The two scripts with which the text is compatible are opposite.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ *The Act of Creation*, pp. 33-38.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 51. Also see Arthur Koestler, 'Humour and Wit'.

⁴⁷ Such as Leonard Feinberg, *The Secret of Humor*, p. 3. The same criticism is implied in Victor Raskin, *Semantic Mechanisms of Humour*, p. 100.

⁴⁸ Raskin gives the following definition of script:

The script is a large chunk of semantic information surrounding the word or evoked by it. The script is a cognitive structure internalized by the native speaker and it represents the native speaker's knowledge of a small part of the world. (*Semantic Mechanisms of Humour*, p. 81.)

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

Condition (ii) is designed to exclude ambiguous texts which are not funny, and Raskin identifies 'three basic types of opposition between "real" and "unreal" situations': the actual situation versus the non-actual, non-existing situation; the normal, expected state of affairs versus the abnormal, unexpected state of affairs; and the possible, plausible situation versus the fully or partially impossible or much less plausible situation.⁵⁰

Although Raskin claims that 'script analysis provides a simple, homogeneous, and unifying basis' for all of the three groups of humour theories, and that 'everything that can be said about humour without scripts can be expressed in their terms but not vice versa',⁵¹ it seems that his is just another incongruity-based theory, perhaps a more comprehensive one. After all, a linguistic theory can hardly be expected to explain the psychological and behavioural aspects of humour.

As Raskin notes, 'many proponents of incongruity in humour as well as other theorists emphasize the importance of the element of surprise in a joke.'⁵² While some theorists take this element of surprise for granted or talk about it in highly figurative language,⁵³ Koestler gives a detailed psychological explanation why the bisociation, or the realization of incongruity, must be sudden so as to induce laughter:

It is *emotion deserted by thought* which is discharged in laughter. For emotion, owing to its greater mass momentum, is unable to follow the sudden switch of ideas to a different type of logic or a new rule of the game; less nimble than thought, it tends to persist in a straight line.⁵⁴

Two corollaries can be derived from this hypothesis. First, the receptor must be

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 100, 111.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 132.

⁵² Ibid., p. 33.

⁵³ Such as Walter Nash, who writes that 'the energies of humour, like those of a detonation, are both contractive and expansive', and that 'when the compressed meanings erupt and laughter bursts out, its waves and echoes persist, and one outbreak is only the signal for the next' (*The Language of Humour*, p. 13).

⁵⁴ *The Act of Creation*, p. 58; also see 59.

familiar at least with the expected, 'normal' matrix (or script) and sometimes also with the opposite one to be able to realize the incongruity suddenly. The particular relevance of this corollary to political humour can be seen in Koestler's comment on satire:

The comic effect of the satire is derived from the simultaneous presence, in the reader's mind, of the social reality with which he is familiar, and of its reflection in the distorting mirror of the satirist. It focuses attention on abuses and deformities in society of which, blunted by habit, we were no longer aware; it makes us suddenly discover the absurdity of the familiar and the familiarity of the absurd.⁵⁵

However, it seems that what first appears in the reader's mind is not 'social reality', but 'the official mirage' as described by Feinberg, that is, the official version of social reality, and it is the incongruity between this official mirage and the reality the reader rediscovers through the distorted version of the satirist that produces the comic effect.⁵⁶

The second corollary is that the incongruity must be implicit so as to be found suddenly by the receptor, just like a game of hide-and-seek. Koestler explains:

To a sophisticated audience any joke sounds stale if it is entirely explicit. If this is the case the listener's thoughts will move faster than the narrator's tale or the unfolding of the plot; instead of tension it will generate boredom. [...] instead of moving steadily on, the narrative jumps ahead, leaving logical gaps which the listener has to bridge by his own effort [...]⁵⁷

But on the other hand the joke 'should not be too hard to understand', as Raskin warns,⁵⁸ otherwise there will not be suddenness in the reader's realization of the incongruity.

The three groups of theories are not incompatibles. They 'actually characterize the complex phenomenon of humour from very different angles and do not at all contradict

⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 72-73.

⁵⁶ Cf. Victor Raskin, *Semantic Mechanisms of Humour*: 'The opposition between the script for what they (a leader or political figure, a political group, etc.) are supposed to be and the script for what they actually are is the opposition which forms the joke.' (p. 222)

⁵⁷ *The Act of Creation*, p. 84.

⁵⁸ *Semantic Mechanisms of Humour*, p. 18.

each other -- rather they seem to supplement each other quite nicely.⁵⁹

As these theories have seldom been used in applied studies of intra- and inter-cultural communication of humour,⁶⁰ it is necessary here to make an attempt to draw out the implications of these theories for the inter-cultural communication of humour in general, and that of political humour in particular.

3.3. Implications of Humour Theories for the Inter-cultural Communication of Political Humour

It has been emphasized at the beginning of this chapter that the functions assigned to a text inevitably change across cultural borders. With the help of humour theories and keeping the context of English-Chinese translation in mind, we may hypothesize on some of the factors which may contribute to such changes in a work of political humour.

The greatest problem for the inter-cultural communication of political humour is that the reader in another culture is often not familiar with the script(s) or matrix (matrices) involved and consequently unable to realize the incongruity. As Victor Raskin comments:

The most frequent complication in a political joke is an allusion to a particular event, slogan, mannerism, trait, etc. For this reason, some political humour tends to be accessible only to the contemporaries living in a certain country [...] -- all the others are likely not to have internalized the script(s) to which the allusion is made, and the joke will be lost on them.⁶¹

The translator may provide explanations, of course, but this would make the joke longwinded and probably explicit too. As a result, the humorous effect may be weakened in direct proportion to the reduction in suddenness of the bisociation.⁶²

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 40.

⁶⁰ For example, Walter Nash, *The Language of Humour*, and Delia Chiaro, *The Language of Jokes*, which contains a chapter on the translating of wordplay, have made very few references to theories of humour.

⁶¹ *Semantic Mechanisms of Humour*, p. 222.

⁶² Cf. Delia Chiaro, *The Language of Jokes*, p. 77; and Marlene Dolitsky, 'Aspects of the Unsaid in Humor', *Humor: International Journal of Humor Research*, 1/2:5 (1992),

Raskin also notes, however, that many political jokes 'are freely interchangeable from one country to another and from one epoch to another'.⁶³ As he has not expounded on this point, we need to explore the possibilities with the help of an example:

How do you tell when Harold Wilson is lying?
When his lips move.⁶⁴

It seems that there are two incongruities involved here, each with a pair of opposing scripts:

Surface-structure Incongruity

Script 1a	It is difficult to know when a person is lying because people are not always lying.
Script 1b	It is easy to know when a particular person is lying because that person is always lying.

Deep-structure Incongruity

Script 2a	It is difficult to know when Harold Wilson is lying because national leaders are not always lying.
Script 2b	It is easy to know when Harold Wilson is lying because he is a habitual liar (as most politicians are).

As the two surface-structure scripts are world knowledge, the incongruity between them can be realized by people in all cultures, and therefore part of the humour of the joke can be perceived even by those who have no knowledge of Harold Wilson. Moreover, part of the deep-structure scripts -- that national leaders or politicians are supposed to be honest but are actually not -- is also world knowledge to a lesser extent, and therefore a short footnote about who Harold Wilson is will make the joke fully comprehensible, and a

33-43, in which she argues: 'the proof of the joking is not in the explaining. Those who do not understand a joke and have it explained to them do not find it funny' (p. 33).

⁶³ *Semantic Mechanisms of Humour*, p. 222.

⁶⁴ Quoted in Giles Oakley, 'Yes Minister', in *Television Sitcom*, ed. by Jim Cook (London: British Film Institute, 1982), pp. 66-79 (p. 73).

change of name into some national figure familiar to the target reader will make it as effective as the original one.

Thus it can be seen that not all political jokes are entirely culture-specific, and their interchangeability depends on the degree of their universality. But the humorous effect of a joke about an event, etc., of a particular culture will be weaker on receptors of another culture for one more reason: the remoteness of the event means that these receptors may be less interested in it or, in Freudian terms, have a weaker internal inhibition about criticizing it.

The situation will be different, however, if the target culture receptor draws an analogy between the event joked about and a comparable event in the target culture. As Koestler remarks, 'the same (satirical) effect is achieved if, instead of magnifying objectionable features in customs and institutions, the satirist projects them by means of the *allegory* onto a different background, such as an animal society -- e.g. Aristophanes, Swift, Orwell.'⁶⁵ Since a translation can be regarded or treated as an allegory in the target culture, the only difference being that it is an allegory of a real, foreign society instead of an imaginary, animal society, there is no reason why it cannot achieve a similar satirical effect.

In cases where the receptor draws such an analogy, a target culture incongruity (that is, between the script for what things are supposed to be and the script for what they really are in the target culture) is generated alongside with the source culture incongruity. Then, if this target culture incongruity is found to be more serious than the source culture one (that is, if the script for what things really are in the target culture compares unfavourably with that in the source culture), the receptor may laugh at the target culture reality more than at the source culture reality because it is the inferior that we tend to laugh at.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ *The Act of Creation*, p. 73.

⁶⁶ Cf. Leonard Feinberg, *The Secret of Humor*, p. 14.

Sometimes this target culture incongruity is generated without the receptor of the target text being aware of or understanding the source culture incongruity, or even without the existence of a source culture incongruity at all. Such an incongruity can be triggered off by the script for what things really are in the source culture alone, whether this script is incongruous with the script for what things are claimed to be in the source culture being no concern for the target receptor. In such a case humour is perceived where it may not have been intended, and yet the receptor may laugh with the author and at a third party. Perhaps this is a special case where there really is unintended humour.

Moreover, when the receptor draws such an analogy, the pleasure derived from the joke depends more on his/her internal inhibitions about criticizing the target culture reality, and such inhibitions are stronger than those the source culture receptor may have about criticizing the source culture reality when the target culture incongruity is found to be more serious.

The extent to which the element of surprise and aggression is felt in a joke may also change across cultural borders in reverse proportion to the pervasiveness of (a sense of) humour. It has been emphasized by more than one theorist that a joke heard for the second time will lose most of its freshness and hence its charm.⁶⁷ It is not only the repetition of the same joke, however, but also the existence of a large number of similar ones, that may reduce its freshness.⁶⁸ This phenomenon may also be described by the term 'routinization of charisma' as used by some sociologists.⁶⁹ And the pervasiveness of a sense of humour also means that people will tend (or try) not to take the aggressive element in a joke too seriously, accepting that a joke is a joke. The following observation

⁶⁷ See Victor Raskin, *Semantic Mechanisms of Humour*, p. 33.

⁶⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 36.

⁶⁹ See Immanuel Wallerstein, 'The National and the Universal: Can There Be Such a Thing as World Culture?', in *Culture, Globalization and the World-system: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*, ed. by Antony D. King (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991), pp. 91-105 (p. 101).

made by Chris Powell may apply very well to a culture with a pervasive sense of humour:

The ultimate defence (and it is a very strong one) of the humorist is simply to assert incredulously 'I wasn't serious' or 'It's only joking'. This indicts the disbeliever or critic with the lack of a sense of humour implying that he or she is "oversensitive" and therefore not quite a normal human being.⁷⁰

But in a culture where a sense of humour is not so highly valued, the defence may not be that strong. Therefore, if there is a tradition of political humour in a culture, each of the political jokes may be less effective as a weapon of aggression than a similar one in a culture without such a tradition.

Finally, it must be realized that the consequence of a failure to convey the humour of a work across cultural borders is not just a loss of its humorous element. It may be the whole purpose of the work that is at stake because in what Freud calls 'tendentious jokes' humour is not just for humour's sake:

Sometimes [...] we over-estimate the value of the thought on account of the enjoyment given us by its joking envelope. [...] The thought seeks to wrap itself in a joke because in that way it recommends itself to our attention and can seem more significant and more valuable, but above all because this wrapping bribes our powers of criticism and confuses them. We are inclined to give the *thought* the benefit of what has pleased us in the *form* of the joke; and we are no longer inclined to find anything wrong that has given us enjoyment and so to spoil the source of a pleasure.⁷¹

Thus humour can be an excellent message-enhancer, in that it makes the message more attractive and persuasive than it deserves to be. So, to lose the humour is to reduce the force of the message to a certain extent.

The above discussion on humour theories and their implications for the inter-cultural communication of political humour has laid the groundwork for an exploration of the possible functions of *YPM* in the source culture and its potential functions in the target

⁷⁰ 'A Phenomenological Analysis of Humour in Society', in *Humour in Society*, pp. 86-105 (p. 102).

⁷¹ Sigmund Freud, *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious*, p. 132.

culture, but since such an exploration will involve the comparison of certain aspects of the two cultures at some length, the concepts of national cultures and their constituent parts must first be clarified before we proceed to it.

3.4. National Cultures as Polysystems and Their Constituents

The use of terms like 'the source culture' and 'the target culture' so far without qualification does not mean that they are viewed as homogeneous entities. As Susan Bassnett emphasizes, 'a culture might not be a single all-encompassing entity but a complex network of different systems, a Babel of different languages.'⁷² Taking the British Isles as a case in point, she argues that although politicians still refer to "the British people", a phrase that erases differences of race, ethnicity, religion, nation, age or gender in a bland generalization', the cultural scene has become so diversified that one should speak of British cultures rather than British culture.⁷³

Also stressing this trend towards cultural differentiation, Immanuel Wallerstein observes that 'each individual is in effect a unique composite of cultural characteristics', but she at the same time recognizes a 'second reality', which is a 'steady internationalization of culture' as a result of the 'diffusion process' brought about by the flows of commodities, capital and labour across state boundaries.⁷⁴

Therefore, in Wallerstein's definition of culture as 'the set of values or practices of some part smaller than some whole',⁷⁵ the 'part' can be as small as the individual, and can be as large as the human species to the extent that all its members share some common features which are absent in other species, with the family, the ethnic group, the religion, the gender, the age group, the region, the nation, the continent, etc., in between, which

⁷² 'Introduction: Studying British Cultures', in *Studying British Cultures: An Introduction*, ed. by herself (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. xiii-xxvii (p. xv).

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. xx-xxiii.

⁷⁴ 'The National and the Universal', pp. 96, 98.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

can be seen as the part in one study and as the whole in another, depending on the viewpoint of the observer. Hence the remark of Wallerstein:

The more foreign the visitor the larger the arena he may have considered to constitute the boundaries of a single culture. What may have seemed a 'Chinese' cultural zone to Marco Polo may have been visualized as a series of smaller zones to a merchant born within Marco Polo's 'Chinese' cultural zone.⁷⁶

However, it seems that the nation-state is usually more visible as a part of a whole than as a whole with different parts. Wallerstein elaborates on this point:

In the two parallel contradictions -- tendency to one world vs. tendency to distinctive nation-states, and tendency to one nation vs. tendency to distinctive ethnic groups within each state -- it has been the states which have had the upper hand [...] for one simple reason: they have controlled the most physical force. But the states have played opposite roles in the two contradictions. In one case, they have used their force to create cultural diversity, and in the other case to create cultural uniformity.⁷⁷

Consequently, the nation-state is a more distinctive cultural entity than the other groups in the hierarchy. In interlingual translation studies, it is more meaningful for the observer to take what Bassnett calls the 'outsider' perspective,⁷⁸ comparing and contrasting the cultural features of the two nation-states involved rather than looking for heterogeneity within each entity. So far as the present study is concerned, where a target-oriented approach is adopted, this perspective is necessarily and logically that of the target system. From this perspective, only those features that are regarded to bear on the translating of *YPM* will be examined.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 95.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 99.

⁷⁸ 'Introduction: Studying British Cultures', p. xviii.

⁷⁹ In other words, the 'truth' of 'British culture' will be seen differently not only by people from different cultures, but also by people from the same culture faced with different tasks of translation or of translation studies. A similar view is implied in an observation made by Lance Hewson and Jacky Martin: "'culture' is not some homogeneous and eternal truth, but a specific collection of features which have to be minutely examined

In order to prevent any possible misunderstandings, however, it seems desirable to apply Itamar Even-Zohar's concept of polysystem here. His Polysystem theory has been used mainly in the study of literature and literary translation, but it is essentially a theory of culture, which Even-Zohar regards as a 'larger polysystem' consisting of a number of 'semiotic (poly)systems' such as language and literature.⁸⁰

Viewing this polysystem of 'culture' from another angle, it may be equally valid for us to regard it as consisting of systems called 'sub-cultures'. Thus, when we speak of 'British culture', we mean not a homogeneous system but a polysystem of different, interdependent systems of sub-cultures that function as one structured whole. Moreover, the polysystem is a multidimensional concept. For example, British culture may consist of English, Welsh, Scottish and Irish cultures in the geographical dimension, of white, black and other ethnic cultures in the ethnic dimension, and of elite and popular cultures in the social dimension.

As Even-Zohar explains, the component systems 'are not equal, but hierarchized within the polysystem'. That is to say, some occupy central positions while other occupy peripheral positions.⁸¹ Thus one may say that English culture is in the centre and the other geographical cultures are in the periphery in the polysystem of British culture. In view of the heterogeneity of the polysystem, it is sometimes inevitable that when one refers to an item as a feature of a polysystem, that item may actually be a feature shared only by the majority of its members, or even a feature of one of its central systems only. One should also bear in mind that an item situated in the centre of one system may be situated simultaneously in the periphery of another; for example, situation comedy may be in the centre of a system of popular entertainment and at the same time in the

in each Translation situation' (*Redefining Translation: The Variational Approach* (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 123).

⁸⁰ 'Polysystem Theory', *Polysystem Studies, Poetics Today*, 11:1 (1990), 9-26 (p. 22). For more detailed discussions of the theory, see Sections 5.2. and 2.5.

⁸¹ 'Polysystem Theory', p. 14.

periphery of a system of entertainment for the educated elite.

With this polysystematic approach, we will proceed to explore the possible functions of *YPM* in the source culture and its potential functions in the target culture.

3.5. Possible Functions of the Text in the Source Culture

YPM can be said to be a sequel to *Yes Minister (YM)*, which was a very popular television series produced by the BBC in the early 1980s, and the first ever to win the British Academy Award for the Best Comedy Series for three years running.⁸³ *YM* is, according to Giles Oakley, 'in the classic situation comedy mould of two people locked into a perpetually adversarial relationship, in this case a politician and a civil servant': on the one hand James Hacker, the Minister, and on the other his Permanent Secretary Sir Humphrey Appleby,⁸⁴ with Bernard Woolly, Hacker's Principle Private Secretary caught somewhere in the middle.⁸⁵

Then, in the second half of the 1980s, the series was 'reborn without alteration to the basic formula', as *YPM*,⁸⁶ with Hacker becoming the Prime Minister and Sir Humphrey

⁸³ According to the blurb on Jonathan Lynn and Antony Jay, *The Complete Yes Minister: The Diaries of a Cabinet Minister by the Right Hon. James Hacker MP* (London: BBC Books, 1984).

⁸⁴ 'Yes Minister', p. 66.

⁸⁵ Michael Mulkey has the following comment on the situation comedy recipe:

Thus the basic recipe for creating a sitcom is always the same: Take two (a few) stereotyped characters whose views/interests/inclinations are discordant; place them in a context of interaction from which they cannot escape; set in motion a course of events which leads them to formulate interpretations which clash, but without serious consequences; vary the action from one episode to another, but maintain setting and the underlying patterns of conduct; provide clear and repeated signals of humorous intent; and arrange each episode in the form of a prolonged joke sequence with an 'unexpected' semantic reversal at the end [...] (*On Humour*, pp. 183-84).

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 186-87. For a detailed transmission history of the two series, see John Adams, 'Yes, Prime Minister: "The Ministerial Broadcast"' (Jonathan Lynn and Antony Jay): Social Reality and Comic Realism in Popular Television Drama', in *British Television Drama in the 1980s*, ed. by George W. Brandt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 62-85 (pp. 80-81).

the Secretary of the Cabinet and Head of the Home Civil Service.

Both series were revised and published in the form of the diaries of James Hacker, which are claimed to have been recorded on tapes by Hacker and transcribed and edited by Jonathan Lynn and Antony Jay. *YM* was first published in three volumes from 1981 to 1983 and then in an omnibus edition in 1984, and *YPM* first in two volumes in 1986 and 1987 and then in one volume in 1989, all by BBC Books. According to the blurb on Volume One of *YPM*, *The Complete Yes Minister* 'spent 75 weeks in the top-ten fiction list', and Volume One of *YPM* 'was never out of the top ten for its first six months and the number one best-seller for twelve weeks'. It can be said therefore that both the television series and the written version of *YM* and *YPM* occupy a central position in the British system of popular entertainment.

It would be difficult to seriously challenge the claim made by Jonathan Lynn and Antony Jay that *YPM* is a witty comedy and even has the quality of 'hilarity'⁸⁷ in the source culture. As to the theme of the work, John Adams comments:

The series is dedicated to a set of basic propositions about *government*: that Britain is largely governed by a manipulative and devious bureaucracy; that political decisions are dictated by the self-seeking motives and incompetence of politicians; and that the electorate is hideously incompetent to participate in the democratic process.⁸⁸

Thus *YPM* may be seen as a 'highly popular naturalistic sitcom'⁸⁹ that depends on political humour for its appeal, but opinions differ as to its social functions.

As Michael Mulkay sums up, *YM* 'has been widely credited with using the resources

⁸⁷ See the blurb on Jonathan Lynn and Antony Jay, *Yes Prime Minister: The Diaries of the Right Hon. James Hacker*, 2 vols (London: BBC Books, 1986-1987), II.

⁸⁸ 'Yes, Prime Minister: "The Ministerial Broadcast"', pp. 70-71.

⁸⁹ Michael Mulkay, *On Humour*, p. 186. In fact, Mulkay is talking about *YM*, but since the two series are nearly identical in terms of formula, theme and major characters, what is said about one series can in most cases be equally applied to the other. In fact, some critics (such as John Adams, 'Yes, Prime Minister: "The Ministerial Broadcast"', p. 70) even regards *YM* and *YPM* as one series.

of comedy to reveal damaging truths about the inefficiency of the state apparatus and about the hypocrisy of political actors in a democracy',⁸⁹ but it seems that this credit has been given mainly by promotional material and newspaper or magazine articles rather than by scholarly critiques. Nigel Hawthorne (who plays Sir Humphrey Appleby) is quoted in an article as saying 'I see it as a satire on the way the country is run',⁹⁰ and Paul Eddington (who plays James Hacker) in another that it 'reached such depths of cynicism that it gave me vertigo';⁹¹ a *New York Times* review lauds the series as 'the funniest, wittiest and truest piece of political satire to be published on either side of the Atlantic in the post-Evelyn Waugh era'.⁹² Blurbs on various editions of *YM* and *YPM* contain such words and phrases as 'an eye-opener', 'accurate observation of detail and penetrating insight into political and bureaucratic motivations',⁹³ 'a madcap combination of Jonathan Swift, George Bernard Shaw and the George Orwell of *Politics and the English Language*',⁹⁴ 'sharply satirical' and 'Dickensian stuff'.⁹⁵

Challenging these claims, Giles Oakley asserts that the series is essentially conservative/Conservative. The points he makes can be summarized as follows:

1. The identification of Civil Servants with cynical, manipulative self-interest in perpetuating 'wasteful bureaucracy' and 'inefficiency', which *YM* frequently makes, are clearly right-wing rather than left. And such notions have even been used by the Tories as

⁸⁹ *On Humour*, p. 186.

⁹⁰ See Naseem Khan, 'Men from the Ministry', *Radio Times*, 23-29 February 1980, pp. 12-13 (p. 12).

⁹¹ See John Adams, 'Yes, Prime Minister: "The Ministerial Broadcast"', p. 71.

⁹² Christopher Buckley, 'Sweet Are the Uses of Bureaucracy: *The Complete Yes Minister: The Diaries of a Cabinet Minister. By the Right Hon. James Hacker MP.*', *New York Times Book Review* 87 (1987), p. 11.

⁹³ Jonathan Lynn and Antony Jay, *Yes Minister: The Diaries of a Cabinet Minister by the Right Hon. James Hacker MP*, 3 vols (London: BBC Books, 1981-1983), I.

⁹⁴ Jonathan Lynn and Antony Jay, *Yes Prime Minister*, II.

⁹⁵ Jonathan Lynn and Antony Jay, *Yes Prime Minister: The Diaries of the Right Hon. James Hacker* (Topsfield: Salem House, 1988).

a stick to beat down calls for increased social spending on health and welfare. Attacks on the Civil Service have almost always come from the Right; for example, when it came to power in 1979, Mrs Thatcher's Government declared that it was going to reduce the size of the Civil Service by 10% in five years, and by March 1982 the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Geoffrey Howe, was able to announce in his Budget Speech that Britain now had its smallest Civil Service in fifteen years.

2. The view of politicians as inherently untrustworthy and unreliable, which is continuously invoked in the series, is only a conventional 'common sense' one. The old 60s gag about Harold Wilson⁹⁷ is evidence that this view is nothing new.

3. In order to avoid taking sides, the authors deliberately obscure what political affiliations James Hacker has.⁹⁸ As a result, the satire is cosy rather than cutting.

4. There is a conspicuous absence of harsh political conflicts and social tensions. The self-regulating balance between Civil Servants and politicians is left happily undisturbed by the serious social conflicts of the time.⁹⁹

On these grounds Oakley concludes:

Yes Minister, while absorbing several fashionably critical views of the political process, is essentially 'conservative'; it gently encourages people to accept things as they are, with a cynical smile of recognition and the shared feeling that yes, we all *know* politicians/civil servants are really like that, behind closed doors.

[...] The clearest 'messages' to be received by viewers will undoubtedly be hostile to 'politicians', 'politics', 'Government' and 'bureaucracy'. All are mainstream Conservative themes, and all are supportive of existing social relations and power structures in their discouragement of belief in political change.¹⁰⁰

As to the reason why a popular television programme like *YM* is bound to be

⁹⁷ See Section 3.3.

⁹⁸ In other words, there are no specific targets, persons and parties alike, in contrast to political cartoons, which 'tend to be highly personalized', as Mulkey observes (*On Humour*, p. 199).

⁹⁹ 'Yes Minister', pp. 68-78.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 76, 78.

conservative, Oakley offered the following proposition in 1982:

It is a symptom of its time, for we are in a period of great caution in the broadcasting institutions, particularly the BBC, beset as it has been by financial and political pressures. There has been a steadily growing tendency to play safe, to wait for consensus rather than challenge it. That is as true of situation comedy as it is of news and current affairs, and as such it is equally likely to be denied.¹⁰¹

Although conceding in his treatise *On Humour* that 'the images used to construct the narrative of "Yes Minister" are strongly negative and, thereby, implicitly critical',¹⁰²

Michael Mulkey is in total accord with Oakley's views. After repeating and elaborating on the points that Oakley has made, he adds that humour itself has a weakening effect on the force of criticism:

Even when 'Yes Minister' is apparently intended to convey a serious message, the effectiveness of that message is likely to be undermined by its location in the humorous mode. [...] In so far as laughter and amusement are substitutes for serious political action, it seems likely that action designed to produce political change will be stunted rather than stimulated by the political sitcom.¹⁰³

Consequently, he finds that 'the overall effect of this political sitcom seems to be that of confirming an existing negative image of the political process whilst, at the same time, discouraging recipients from undertaking remedial action'.¹⁰⁴

Although the conclusions drawn by Oakley and Mulkey seem to be convincing on the whole and in general terms can be applied to *YPM*, there are two points worth noting.

First, there is no consensus on whether the attacks on the Civil Service come more from the Right or from the Left. John Adams' opinion is that 'much of the criticism [of the Civil Service] came from the left wing of the Labour Party'.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 78.

¹⁰² p. 194.

¹⁰³ *On Humour*, p. 195.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 196.

¹⁰⁵ 'Yes, Prime Minister: "The Ministerial Broadcast"', p. 66.

Second, although there are no specific targets, the satire sometimes refers to actual events, some of which obviously involve the Conservative Party. For example, Oakley mentions the announcement of Sir Geoffrey Howe about Britain having its smallest Civil Service in fifteen years as proof that the series is pro-Conservative; but a footnote to Sir Arnold's private papers in *YPM* reveals how this was done:

Of course, *real* reduction in the size of the Civil Service would be the end of civilisation as we know it. The answer is much less worrying: stop calling some officials by the name of Civil Servant.

E.g. Turn all museums into independent trusts. Then all the staff stop being classified as Civil Servants. They will still be the same people doing the same job and still paid by government grants. But grants, like allowances and bonuses, do not count in the pay statistics. It will look like a cutback, a most impressive cutback, unless anyone enquires very closely.¹

¹ This procedure was followed in the 1980s, leading the British public to believe that the Civil Service numbered 680,000, its smallest size for many years. (154)¹⁰⁶

So, if the effort to reduce the size of the Civil Service is attributed to the Conservatives, and to Mrs Thatcher and Sir Geoffrey Howe in particular, the revelation that the Conservative Government gave misleading information to the public, whether knowingly or not, would be at least embarrassing to them, if not damaging.

Thus it seems fair to say that the series is not so conservative/Conservative after all, and that it has the function of enhancing rather than just 'confirming' an existing negative image of the political process as Mulkay asserts.

Nevertheless, political humour in a culture with relative freedom (such as Britain) is bound to be relatively mild in its aggressiveness if compared to political humour in a repressive culture for two interrelated reasons. First, with freedom of expression, people may be less inhibited about criticizing those in power and have therefore no urgent need of political jokes; consequently, political jokes have more or less become 'a bloodless

¹⁰⁶ Page numbers of *YPM* are based on *The Complete Yes Prime Minister*. The figure 680,000 is very close to the statistics provided by Oakley ('Yes Minister', p. 71):
732,000 - 57,000 = 675,000.

strain, told by professionals', as Gregor Benton contends.¹⁰⁷

Second, humour, or the sense of it, appears to be pervasive in British culture, or even in the mega-polysystem of Western culture. Indeed, it is so pervasive that in British discourse on humour there is sometimes an assumption that a sense of humour is a universal trait of the human species, as can be seen in Chris Powell's statement that the lack of a sense of humour in a person will imply that he or she is 'not quite a normal human being'.¹⁰⁸ Or, as Antony J. Chapman and Hugh C. Foot put it: 'The average man is also firmly committed to the belief that having a reputation for a keen sense of humour is something to be treasured and protected.'¹⁰⁹ But Delia Chiaro is aware of the fact that this may not be the case in all parts of the world: 'Accusing someone of not having a sense of humour is actually quite offensive in Western society'.¹¹⁰ And it is also Chiaro who, from an outsider's point of view, observes that wordplay (or verbal humour¹¹¹) 'is particularly pervasive in British culture',¹¹² and that 'in Britain it is permissible to play

¹⁰⁷ 'The Origins of the Political Joke', p. 34. Benton believes that 'a society with the vote has no urgent need of political jokes', but it seems that, strictly speaking, the key is not the right to vote, but freedom of expression, which one may safely assume to be in reverse proportion to the strength of internal inhibitions. Hong Kong is a case in point: the people do not have the right to elect the governor (or the legislature until the late 1980s), and yet they seem to have had little need for political jokes because they have had substantial freedom of speech for at least a few decades. See also Section 3.2.

¹⁰⁸ See Section 3.3.

¹⁰⁹ 'Introduction', p. 1.

¹¹⁰ *The Language of Jokes*, pp. 15-16. The importance of a reputation for a sense of humour in British or Western society is reflected in *YPM* by Hacker's remark: 'The one thing I can't afford is to look as though I'm a bad sport or have no sense of humour -- the British public never forgive you for that.' (p. 450)

¹¹¹ Chiaro seems to treat 'wordplay' and 'verbal humour' as near synonyms, as reflected in the following statement: 'So any joke, whether it contains a pun or not, by the very nature of its verbalization, necessarily plays on language.' (*The Language of Jokes*, p. 15)

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 122. In support of this assertion, one may point out that puns are frequently used in the works of some canonized or semi-canonized British authors, such as Shakespeare, Oscar Wilde and Lewis Carroll. In contrast, one can hardly name three canonized Chinese authors who have used puns to such an extent.

with words in a myriad of situations which are considered out of place in many other cultures'.¹¹³ This pervading sense of humour in British culture may have reduced the freshness of political jokes in a process of 'routinization of charisma', and caused people to take more seriously its playful side than its aggressive side.¹¹⁴

Charles E. Schutz's description of the political culture of the United States is perhaps also applicable to that of Britain:

Given the exaggerations and, oftentimes, grotesque distortions, politicians accept, and the public enjoys, humorous insults as a part of the American political game. The humour and the unreality of them make it easy to laugh off the seemingly deep slights.¹¹⁵

Hence the favourable reception of *YM* and *YPM* by the targets of its satire. Paul Eddington claimed that every politician and Civil Servant he met thought the programme gave 'a realistic picture of what goes on',¹¹⁶ and the blurb on Volume One of *YM* claimed that 'MPs, Cabinet Ministers and Senior Civil Servants are among the most devoted viewers, and the Prime Minister publicly listed it first among her favourite programmes'.

Of course it is not absolutely certain whether these politicians and Civil Servants were speaking from their heart: to take offence publicly may run the risk of being interpreted as an admission of guilt, or being regarded as 'a bad sport' or even as 'not

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 100. One example is a formal speech delivered by the Prime Minister John Major at a conference of the Conservative Party (Six O'clock News, BBC Radio Four, 11 October 1996):

(In a light tone) And it simply won't do for Mr Blair to say: 'Look, I'm not a Socialist any more, now. Can I be Prime Minister, please?' (Laughter and applause) Sorry, Tony, the job is taken. (Laughter and applause) And anyway, It's too much to ask for your first real job. (Laughter)

In many Asian countries, such a tone might be considered frivolous for the solemn occasion of a conference of a ruling party.

¹¹⁴ See Section 3.3.

¹¹⁵ 'Cryptic Humor: The Subversive Message of Political Jokes', *Humor: International Journal of Humor Research*, 8:1 (1995), 51-64 (p. 57).

¹¹⁶ Miriam Gross, 'The Secret Life of Jim Hacker', *The Observer*, 2 February 1986, p. 60.

quite a normal human being'. However, the very fact that they did not take offence publicly is proof of the relative harmlessness of the satire in *YPM*. It may be argued that the (ostensible) reaction of its target is an index of the magnitude of the damaging effect of satire, or even that the appearance of composure or even pleasure on the part of the target contributes to render the satire less damaging.¹¹⁶

Antony Jay, co-author of *YPM*, professes that 'there isn't any malice in the series'.¹¹⁷ But to a great extent malice is in the eye of the observer. In another culture where those in power do not have the sense of humour to laugh off such slights, much malice may be found in it. This possibility will be explored in the next section.

3.6. Potential Functions of the Text in the Target Culture

In China, the original series of *YM* and *YPM* has never been broadcasted.¹¹⁸ A translation of Volume One of *YM* containing the first seven chapters was published in 1986 by Xinhua Press of Chongqing,¹¹⁹ and the Shanghai-based Xuelin Press put out complete translations of *YM* and *YPM* in 1992.¹²⁰ The numbers of copies printed are small,¹²¹ all the

¹¹⁶ This point will be further discussed in Section 3.6.

¹¹⁷ See Peter Fiddick, 'The Makings of a Prime Minister', *The Guardian*, 6 January 1986, p. 11.

¹¹⁸ In 1986, shortly before the Campaign against Bourgeois Liberalization was launched, Shanghai Television announced that it was going to show *YPM*, but no more has been heard about the programme since then. In 1991, Ying Ruocheng (英若誠), a famous actor and translator known for his liberal tendencies, who had been dismissed from the post of Vice-Minister of Culture not long ago as a result of political struggles, acted the part of the Minister himself in a televised play of an episode of *YM* as part of a Chinese New Year entertainment programme. But it was believed that very few Chinese could understand the show as it was in English ('Ying Ruocheng Becomes Minister Again?', *Ming Pao*, 9 February 1991, p. 6; (caption of a picture showing Ying Ruocheng acting the part of Hacker in *Yes Minister*), *South China Morning Post*, 10 February 1991, p. 6).

¹¹⁹ Translated by Liu Yongan and Yang Baikui.

¹²⁰ The former translated by Chen Tifang et al., and the latter by Yang Liyi and Lou Bingkun.

¹²¹ 8,400, 1,500 and 3,000 respectively.

translators have adopted a literal approach, seldom taking it on themselves to render puns into puns,¹²³ and there are numerous cases of departure from the meaning of the source texts which can be attributed only to a limited knowledge of the English language and/or British culture rather than to any conscious translation strategies. The following are just a few samples:

(On Charlie Umtali, a fellow student with Hacker at the London School of Economics who has now become President of the fictitious African country of Buranda in a coup with a Marxist background)

Charlie was a red-hot political economist, I informed them. Got the top first. Wiped the floor with everyone. (*YM*, 44)

(It is mentioned a few paragraphs later that Sir Humphrey was concerned about Charlie's political colour and asked Hacker if he was speaking politically when he said that he was red-hot (45).)

查利是個熱心的政治經濟學者，先爬到最高層，再擊敗所有的人。(Liu Yongan and Yang Baikui, 53)

(Charlie is an enthusiastic political economist; he first climbed to the top level, and then beat everyone.)

查利是一個激烈的政治經濟學家。他首先到達制高點，然後打敗所有的對手。(Chen Tifang et al., 40)

(Charlie is a radical scholar in political economics. He first reached the commanding elevation, and then defeated every opponent.)

Although the (mis-)translations of 'got the top first' may make the reader puzzle a little, it seems that they do not affect the story very much; but their renderings of 'red-hot' clash with the metaphor in 'political colour', which is translated literally and 'correctly' in both versions as '政治色彩', for one can hardly associate '熱心' (enthusiastic) or '激烈' (radical) with any colour.

Later volumes under the title *Yes Prime Minister* will deal with Hacker's career as he failed upwards to Number Ten Downing Street, [...] (*YM*, 9)

以《是，首相》為題名的續集將涉及哈克未能爬到唐寧街十號的那段經歷 [...] (Chen Tifang et al., 4)

(A sequel with *Yes Prime Minister* as its title will involve Hacker's experience in

¹²³ See Subsection 4.4.1. for examples.

failing to climb up to Number Ten Downing Street.)

As this translation was published in 1992 simultaneously with that of *YPM* by the same publisher, the translators should know, if they had wanted to, that Hacker had later become Prime Minister.

We were most grateful to have had a few conversations with Sir Humphrey himself before the advancing years, without in any way impairing his verbal fluency, disengaged the operation of his mind from the content of his speech. (*YM*, 10)

我們十分感謝漢弗萊本人和我們進行了幾次談話，他的高齡沒有影響他語言的流暢性，也沒有使他的思路離開要談的內容。(Liu Yongan and Yang Baikui, 3)

(We were very grateful to Humphrey himself for conducting several conversations with us, his advanced age had not affected the fluency of his language, nor had it made his train of thought depart from the content of his speech.)

As a result of saying exactly the opposite to what is said in the source text, the two translated passages have lost the humour and the satire.

But General Howard saw this as an opportunity to put in a plug for *Trident*. He pointed out that we would have much more fire power at our disposal when it is delivered. And therefore we'd have a much greater deterrent. (emphasis added) (*YPM*, 62)

Yang and Lou translate 'Trident' as 'the Trident aeroplane',¹²⁴ although it should have been very clear from the immediate context that Trident is a weapon rather than a passenger plane. And a few pages later it is made absolutely clear that 'Trident' is a nuclear missile:

If you walked into a nuclear-missile showroom you would buy Trident [...], it is -- quite simply -- the best. [...] It is the nuclear missile Harrods would sell you! (*YPM*, 80)

The translators also make nonsense of the following passage:

In the world of the nuclear missile it is the Savile Row suit, the Rolls-Royce

¹²⁴ p. 73.

Corniche, the Château Lafite 1945. (YPM, 80)

在核導彈的世界裡，最好的東西是薩維爾·羅氏服裝、羅爾斯·羅伊斯濱海路式汽車、1945年拉斐德莊園的葡萄酒。(Yang Liyi and Lou Bingkun, 97-98)
(In the world of the nuclear missile the best things are the Savile Row suit, the Rolls-Royce Corniche car, the wine made by the 1945 Lafite Manor.)

And they seem unable to comprehend a clause as simple as 'I could afford to be nice', and make a literal rendering of the idiom 'in the driving seat', which is not likely to make sense to the Chinese reader:

I could afford to be nice -- after all, I'm in the driving seat now. (YPM, 77)

我不能容忍自己當老好人——畢竟我現在是坐在駕駛員的位置上。(Yang Liyi and Lou Bingkun, 93)

(I can't tolerate myself being nice all the time -- after all, I'm now sitting in the position of the driver.)

It can be seen from these examples that many of the shifts found in the three translations can be described only as translation errors, and they tend to err on the 'wrong' side, in the sense that these passages either make no sense rather than make a sense different from that of the source text, or lose some of the humour of the source text rather than add to it. In other words, they are translation errors not because they differ from the meaning of the source text, but because they constitute offences against the intended function of the target text¹²⁵ -- unless making no sense or reduction of humour is actually intended.

From the way they treat puns, and metaphors such as 'red-hot' and 'in the driving seat', it is clear that the 'initial norm'¹²⁶ they have adopted for their translating is adequacy, and their products are 'linguistically-motivated translations',¹²⁷ but the results

¹²⁵ See Christiane Nord, *Text Analysis in Translation*, pp. 169-70.

¹²⁶ Gideon Toury's term, which denotes the translator's basic choice between requirements of the source and target systems (*Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995), p. 56).

¹²⁷ 'A linguistically-motivated translation is any act of translation yielding a product which is well-formed in terms of the target syntax, grammar and lexicon, even if it does not fully conform to any target model of text formation', whereas at the other end of the

are neither adequate nor acceptable translations. The features of the translations being such, they are not likely to occupy any position in the target polysystem,¹²⁷ or to produce any great impact on the reader. But what would be the possible effect of a more acceptable translation on the Chinese person-in-the-culture?

While there may be some truth in John Adams's claim that television sitcoms have 'consistently shown a capacity to transcend their immediate social and cultural frames of reference -- a fact most clearly demonstrated in terms of overseas sales in the case of *Yes, [sic] Minister* and *Yes, [sic] Prime Minister*',¹²⁸ in the United States, which has a close cultural tie with Britain, the book *YM* was turned down by every major house because they thought it was too British, and Salem House was the only publisher that would take a chance on it;¹²⁹ and the American edition of *YPM*, also published by Salem, contains only thirteen chapters, leaving out the last four.¹³⁰ It seems therefore that the written version has a much smaller capacity of transcendence.

If even the Americans find *YPM* 'too British', the Chinese would certainly find it much more so, because there is a vast gap between the two national cultures. The whole universe of discourse of *YPM* is relatively unfamiliar to the Chinese people, including the structure of government, with the cabinet consisting of elected MPs appointed by the leader of the ruling party and a non-political Civil Service presumably ready to carry out

scale is 'literary translation', which 'involves the imposition of "conformity conditions" beyond the linguistic and/or general-textual ones, namely, to models and norms which are deemed literary at the target end' (Ibid., p. 171).

¹²⁷ This does not imply that a 'better', or more 'acceptable' translation will necessarily be able to occupy a position there. For a more detailed discussion of this problem, see Section 4.5.

¹²⁸ *Yes, Prime Minister: "The Ministerial Broadcast"*, p. 68. According to John Adams, the series had been sold to 57 countries in all five continents by early 1992 (ibid, p. 82).

¹²⁹ See Barbara Lovenheim, 'Britain's Best Comedy Series', *New York Times Book Review* 87 (1987), p. 11.

¹³⁰ Jonathan Lynn and Antony Jay, *Yes Prime Minister: The Diaries of the Right Hon. James Hacker* (Topsfield: Salem House, 1988).

the decisions of the central government formed by whichever party that has come into power; the daily operations of Parliament -- heated debates with frequent shouting, question times, divisions, etc.; the tradition of democracy and freedom; the pervading sense of humour; the geography; the educational system; the Anglican Church; and all the things that constitute daily life -- brand names, the mass media, the show business, food and cuisine, cricket, and so on and so forth. And most of the potential readers may not feel a keen interest in knowing this universe. On top of these barriers, the diminishing popularity of translated literature or literature in general towards the end of the 1980s¹³¹ poses another problem for the potential reception of *YPM* in China.

Given these problems, one may be led to conclude that if *YPM* is a mild satire in Britain, it would be uncontroversial in China. However, there are several factors that may lead to a different conclusion: that to some of its readers -- although small in number -- and the authorities, it may have the potential of becoming a biting satire.

Most importantly, in spite of the 'Britishness' of the series, the main targets of its satire -- bureaucracy and hypocrisy -- appear to be universal in civilized societies. An anonymous reader engaged by the Chinese University Press (CUP) to see whether Chang's translation was worth publishing shared this view:

The "Yes Minister / Prime Minister" series was immensely popular in the U. K., and deservedly so. While its humour, good and bad, is very English and its targets of satire inalienably British, its relevance is universal. Its thrust can certainly be directed at the world's other great bureaucracy, the Chinese, and without doubt at the offspring from the mating of both, the Hong Kong system. It is therefore highly desirable that a Chinese version should be produced.¹³²

Some target readers may feel that in 'the world's other great bureaucracy', political struggles, betrayals, corruption, obscurantism and totalitarianism are more deep-rooted social phenomena. Therefore, these readers may readily draw analogies between the

¹³¹ See Section 1.5.

¹³² Anonymous Reader, "'Yes Prime Minister': Translation by Chang Nam Fung' (1991).

stories in *YPM* and what they have experienced and witnessed.¹³³

The more unfamiliar the readers are with the universe of discourse of the source text, the more readily they may draw analogies. As André Lefevere observes,

Perhaps humankind's most immediate and predictable reaction to the unknown is that of analogy. The only way we can conceptualize what we do not know is to liken it to something we do know, and extrapolate from there.¹³⁴

For the translator who wishes to exploit this likely human reaction to the unknown, the readers' unfamiliarity with the universe of discourse of the source text may be turned from a problem into an opportunity.

Many of the potential analogies, however, are likely to be imperfect. For example, since the PRC has a one-party government, and nearly all high-ranking government officials are party members, some target readers may tend not to make a clear distinction between politicians and Civil Servants, and so in their mind the incompetence and hypocrisy of Hacker and the machinations and obstructionism of Sir Humphrey may all be associated with the doings of the cadres. Such a negatively funny image of the cadres is not conventional or stereotypical. Even if it were, the ability to openly talk or read about it would be a new experience, for public entertainment through criticism of the authorities would be a novelty for them.

Such analogies may generate target culture incongruities more serious than the source culture ones. Sir Arnold's advice to use armed troops during strikes¹³⁵ may appear to be nothing unusual to some target readers if they recall what happened at Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989. A number of incidents mentioned in *YPM* that are incongruous

¹³³ One of the subjects whom the translator engaged to read the draft of the translation to test reader response said that she found a number of the stories familiar and amusing because similar things happened in her 'work unit' in Beijing.

¹³⁴ 'Translation and the Creation of Images, or "Excuse Me, Is This the Same Poem?"', in *Essays and Studies 1997: Translating Literature*, ed. by Susan Bassnett (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997), pp. 64-79 (p. 76).

¹³⁵ p. 15.

with what democracy and equality are supposed to be in the source culture context may look less so if juxtaposed with the reality in China: the British Prime Minister complains about having to pay rent, and has to resort to arguing and manoeuvring in order to get a cook/housekeeper on government pay because he cannot afford one himself.¹³⁶

Sometimes a target culture incongruity may be generated where there is none in the source culture. An ex-Prime Minister can write memoirs mentioning the work of the Cabinet and making unfavourable comments on the serving Prime Minister, who dare not suppress them openly;¹³⁷ government documents can be declassified and released after thirty years;¹³⁸ national leaders have to care about public opinion¹³⁹ and yet it could be difficult for them to put pressure on the press¹⁴⁰... all these may compare favourably with the reality of the proletarian democracy (or dictatorship) of the PRC in the mind of some target readers, and produce a humorous effect unintended by the authors.

YPM contains a number of attacks on communism, even on the PRC Government, such as:

[West Berlin was an island of the West German Federal Republic, sixty miles inside the border of the German Democratic Republic. 'Democratic', in this context, naturally means communist -- Ed.] (67)

The guerrillas are going to be helped by East Yemen -- or, to give it its full title, the People's Democratic Republic of East Yemen. Like all People's Democratic Republics it is a communist dictatorship. (164)

You can't put the nation's interests at risk just because of some silly sentimentality about justice. If we took moral positions on individual injustices and cruelties we'd never have been able to hand Hong Kong over to the Chinese, or put Mugabe in power in Zimbabwe. (214)

¹³⁶ pp. 70-85.

¹³⁷ pp. 294-306.

¹³⁸ p. 8.

¹³⁹ Passim.

¹⁴⁰ pp. 304-06.

It talked [...] of the impossibility of *freedom* while most of the member states have one-party government (appealing though the idea is if you happen to lead the one party); (460)

In the source culture such anti-communist sentiments may be conventional and therefore the humour in these passages is more playful than aggressive, but it could be highly aggressive and hardly playful in the target culture, because these passages may be regarded as direct attacks on the authorities. As Chen Xiaoying predicts:

The same item of humour will induce vastly divergent emotional response from people with different customs, up-bringsings and moods: it will be highly amusing to one group of people, detestable and disgusting to a second group, and shocking, horrible and horrifying to a third group.¹⁴¹

Where these passages are concerned, the first group are the source readers, the second group could be the Chinese regime and their supporters, and the third group could be some of the target readers who have stronger external repression and internal inhibition about criticizing communist dictatorship.

In fact, one cannot be sure whether these passages would be tolerated by the Chinese authorities, for they have seldom tolerated open criticism, except in times of relaxation, and people who criticize the authorities in times of relaxation may be dealt with in times of restriction.¹⁴² Even allusions and allegories can be dangerous. The Cultural Revolution was triggered off by a historical opera *Hai Rui's Dismissal from Office* (海瑞罷官) written by Wu Han (吳晗), Deputy Mayor of Beijing. The opera is about a sixteenth century official in the Ming Dynasty who offended the emperor by speaking too frankly

¹⁴¹ *The Secret of Humour*, p. 4.

¹⁴² Wang Ruowang's criticism of Deng Xiaoping is very mild indeed if compared to what are seen everyday in the Western press, and the article that appeals to Deng to retire cannot be regarded as criticism at all by Western standards as retirement is Deng's own professed wishes, but the newspapers that published these articles were closed down during the 1987 Campaign against Bourgeois Liberalization (see Section 1.3.; Gao Gao, *Post-Cultural Revolution History: The Tide of Liberalization in China. Vol. II: Hu Yaobang's Haste Made Waste* (Taipei: Lianjing Press, 1994), pp. 277-84).

and was consequently dismissed. It was criticized for alluding to the dismissal of the Minister of Defence Marshal Peng Dehuai (彭德懷) in 1958 after he made a severe criticism of Mao Zedong through internal channels. The escalation of the criticism of the opera led to the death of Wu Han and the launching of the Cultural Revolution.¹⁴³ This can be described as a typical case of literary inquisition (文字獄) as there is no possibility to prove beyond any reasonable doubt that a historical story alludes to a contemporary event.¹⁴⁴ Deng's era showed some improvement in this respect, but science fiction was criticized for being used 'to express dissatisfaction with socialism', and Wang Meng's humorous short story 'Rigid Thin Congee' was accused of being an allegory about Deng's reform programme.¹⁴⁵

This intolerance is closely related to a lack of humour in the cultural tradition of China. According to Hu Fanzhu, the prerequisite for a socio-cultural atmosphere of humour is a substantial degree of 'freedom of the soul' and 'freedom of speech'; and the lack of humour as a national characteristic of the Chinese people is attributable, besides geographic isolation and the stable, immobile mode of agricultural production, to two major factors: the socio-political structure based on the patriarchal clan system, and the ideological structure based on the Confucian, feudal code of ethics, which jointly

¹⁴³ See Yan Jiaqi and Gao Gao, *Ten-Year History of China's Cultural Revolution*, 2 vols (Hong Kong: *Ta-Kung-Pao*, 1986), 1, pp. 2-19.

¹⁴⁴ In the PRC the burden of proof is sometimes on the defendant. As Yu Haocheng finds out, the principle of the presumption of innocence before conviction has never been accepted by the Chinese judiciary, and has been denounced as a bourgeois concept from time to time. He cites a case that happened in 1993 to prove the point: a fifteen-year-old girl suspected to have stolen money killed herself after she was interrogated several times in one night and her belongings searched; although no evidence against her had been found, 'the school authority maintained that she had not been proved innocent' ('On Human Rights and Their Guarantee by Law', in *Human Rights and Chinese Values: Legal, Philosophical, and Political Perspectives*, ed. by Michael C. Davis (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 93-115 (p. 111-12)).

¹⁴⁵ See Section 1.3.

imposed great constraints on the soul and the expression of emotions.¹⁴⁶ He adds that, under the two structures, the Confucian code that 'he who laughs at the sovereign deserves death' was extended to forbidding laughing at one's parents, superiors, teachers and seniors, and consequently 'gravity in speech and manner' has become the norm of behaviour.¹⁴⁷

While holding a similar view, Yan Guanglin puts more emphasis on the geography and the mode of production as determinants of national characteristics. Comparing the Chinese with the Greeks, he suggests that as agricultural production confined the Chinese people to one place, it has made them less willing to take risks and less curious, and has reinforced the clan system which restricted the sense of freedom and the liberation of the personality; therefore, the ancient Chinese lacked 'a sense of superiority and a playful mentality on which the comic spirit depends'. In contrast, as a fishing and seafaring people, the ancient Greeks were mobile, willing to take risks, open-minded, and keen on intellectual enquiries, which provided excellent conditions for the development of a comic spirit.¹⁴⁸

Humour is not completely absent in the Chinese tradition, but it has existed only in the periphery of the polysystem of literature and art: comic performances have been rejected by orthodox culture, comedians being held in contempt by Confucius,¹⁴⁹ and humour, though common in folk literature, has seldom been seen in canonized works.¹⁵⁰

If humour in general has existed, it has been largely a-political because laughing at the powerful has been forbidden. Gregor Benton has found the lack of strong tradition of popular humour with social and political themes to be a common feature of East Asia:

¹⁴⁶ *Linguistics of Humour*, p. 31.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹⁴⁸ *Laughter: Reservedness and Withdrawal -- The Intrinsic Properties of the Comic Spirit of the Chinese* (Beijing: International Culture Press), pp. 1-7.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

¹⁵⁰ Chen Xiaoying, *The Secret of Humour*, p. 5.

'East Asian folk humour is not entirely without social criticism, especially criticism of official greed and corruption. But its chief preoccupations are those of peasant humour everywhere: sex, ghosts, farting and delight in the misfortunes of others.'¹⁵¹

There are humorous literary writers in modern China. One of the most famous is Qian Zhongshu, the author of *Fortress Besieged*, who stopped writing literary works after 1949.¹⁵² Another is Lao She (老舍 1899-1966). But their works are basically a-political. There were political satires before 1949, the best-known being some of the works of Lu Xun, but from the 1950s to the 1980s there seemed to be very few published in the PRC (most of the exposé literature being serious in tone), except some works by authors such as Wang Suo¹⁵³ and Wang Meng, and some translated works.¹⁵⁴

It seems therefore that political satire is an item lacking in the literary repertoire of the PRC¹⁵⁵ because open challenge to the authorities is not allowed and because of the importance of being earnest that is attached to political matters -- mainly by the authorities,¹⁵⁶ but also by some of its critics.

¹⁵¹ 'The Origins of the Political Joke', p. 42.

¹⁵² See Section 2.1.

¹⁵³ See Section 1.3.

¹⁵⁴ Such as George Orwell's *1984*. See Section 1.4.

¹⁵⁵ In Itamar Even-Zohar's terms ('The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem', p. 48), there is a 'vacuum' in the 'indigenous stock'.

¹⁵⁶ Lu Xun once attacked the intolerance of the authorities of his time in a humorous way:

Nobody wants to be the chief target in a persecution of writers; but so long as a man is alive and has some breath left, he will want to work off his feelings under the pretext of laughter. Laughter should not offend anyone, and there is still no law that citizens must pull long faces. We can take it, then, that laughter is not illegal. [...]

But I am afraid this cannot go on for long. 'Humour' is not one of our native products, the Chinese are not a 'humorous' people, and this is not an age in which it is easy to have a sense of humour. ('From Satire to Humour', in *Lu Xun: Selected Works*, trans. by Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang, 4 vols (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1985), III, pp. 258-59 (first publ. in 1933) (p. 259).)

But it is even less easy to have a sense of humour in the present era than in his. As mentioned in Section 1.3., even caricatures of Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang intended to be gestures of friendliness and reverence caused great offence to the

In spite of the scarcity of published works, however, the PRC in the 1980s should have provided good soil for political humour. For Gregor Benton, there are two kinds of dictatorships: one is military regimes that 'depend on brute force' and 'have no concern to "reshape society's spirit" or "create a new man", and the other is those that 'demand the soul as well as the body':

They are not content that the people should merely give in to them -- they insist also on capitulation willingly, or at least with a convincing show of sincerity. To achieve such a conversion, ordinary political means are not enough. Such regimes therefore evolve a complex web of controls designed to stretch out into every area of human life. [...] In the cities, the pressure from this system remains great, and living under it creates tensions that would put society's collective sanity under intolerable strain if they could not quickly find some relief. [...] among the commonest and the least troublesome in its consequences is the political joke.

Thus, he asserts that it is 'not brute force but the special pain and outrage of spiritual violation' in this kind of dictatorship that 'produces widespread political joke-telling'.¹⁵⁷

But why was there little political humour in the first three decades of the PRC? Benton provides the following explanation on top of the more important factor of 'the lack of a strong Chinese tradition of popular humour with social and political themes':

During its first ten years the People's Republic was shaken by frequent crises, but it managed to avoid sowing the extremes of cynicism and disillusion on which the Soviet joke feeds. It more effectively 'touched people's souls' than the Soviet system, so that there was less place in it for the hidden resentment that wells up in the political joke. Then, by the 1960s, China had entered a prolonged phase of 'mass mobilisation' when joke-telling could get you into big trouble.¹⁵⁸

Benton also notes that there was a flood of jokes in China shortly after the fall from power of the Gang of Four, and that after Deng Xiaoping 'put right at least some of the worst abuses' of his predecessor, 'old masters of the comic art returned to delight

liberal-minded Hu in a most relaxed period because caricatures of national figures are 'un-Chinese'.

¹⁵⁷ 'The Origins of the Political Joke', pp. 35-36.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

audiences with quick-fire jokes that tore into society's faults'.¹⁵⁹

It seems, however, that the deciding factor for the existence of political humour is not cultural tradition or the kind of dictatorship, but the degree of freedom as discussed in Section 3.2. The Chinese Government of the 1930s was a dictatorship that did not care so much about people's souls, and yet there were political satires, such as those of Lu Xun, because there was a limited degree of freedom of expression. On the other hand, under the influence of the same cultural tradition but with a dictatorship that demands people's souls, political humour disappeared and emerged again in the People's Republic period depending on variation in the degree of freedom.

Thus one may argue that Deng's era was most conducive to the growth of political humour because it was a dictatorship combined with just the right degree of freedom (except in times of restriction).

But what is the social function of political humour in a dictatorship? While conceding that by 'puncturing the state's swollen pretensions and exposing the greed, stupidity, cruelty and hypocrisy of its leaders', political jokes 'contribute to the weakening of the state's authority and in that sense they play a subversive role', Gregor Benton contends that political jokes pose no real threat and he in effect advises dictators to tolerate them:

Political jokes [...] are moral victories, not material ones. To be sure, officials whose pride is wounded will smart for a while and may lash out at those responsible for the hurt. But the more cynical and far-sighted among them know that political jokes [...] are a useful means of dissipating tensions and of keeping people happy [...]

There can be no doubt that for getting society stable the 'liberal' tactic is the more effective one. The political joke is not a form of resistance. Revolutionaries and freedom-fighters are engaged in a serious and even deadly business, and are reluctant to make light of the enemy or to fritter away hatred through laughter. To permit jokes against the state is therefore a clever insurance against more serious

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 41, 37-38. Hu Fanzhu also claims in 1987 that 'in recent years our ability to create and appreciate humour has been "tapped" to an unprecedented extent' (*Linguistics of Humour*, p. 33).

challenges to the system.¹⁶⁰

There is certainly a great deal of validity in Benton's argument, but there may be a loophole in it. He has asserted that political jokes flourish only in dictatorships that demand people's souls, but for the dictator to ignore or tolerate political jokes is tantamount to relinquishing that demand. So his 'advice' would find no use anywhere -- especially not in countries where leaders still have the traditional patriarchal mentality. It seems, moreover, that the more seriously the dictator takes political jokes, the more effective they will be or prove to be as a form of ideological resistance.¹⁶¹ In fact, it is the only possible form of resistance in the PRC, where the few 'freedom-fighters' are either in jail or in exile.

At least in the context of Deng's era, when dictatorship was mixed with a limited degree of freedom, and when political humour had just emerged with all its freshness,¹⁶² there seem to be sufficient grounds to agree with Chris Powell that 'humour might have "consciousness raising" potential',¹⁶³ and even with Steve Linstead, who concludes that:

The power of humour to stimulate change should not be underestimated. [...] The feeling that 'nothing I do is taken seriously' or 'they're all laughing at me' has proved enormously disabling for individuals and for whole government on occasion. [...] Humour can have great impact in the world by having its content transposed and defined as serious, but also by transposing real-world content into the humorous frame, and defining it as humorous in an indelible and irreversible way. [...] it creates landmarks for other resistances and formulations which can offer potential

¹⁶⁰ 'The Origins of the Political Joke', p. 41.

¹⁶¹ Or one may say that the effectiveness of political jokes can be measured by the violence with which the dictator reacts to them.

¹⁶² Gregor Benton has the following view about China's political humour in the late 1980s:

The Chinese are not by nature a humourless people. On the contrary, they have a rich comic tradition, and since Mao's death are telling more and more political jokes (some based on Soviet originals). But compared to most Soviet-bloc countries China's political humour is still in its infancy. ('The Origins of the Political Joke', p. 41.)

¹⁶³ 'A Phenomenological Analysis of Humour in Society', p. 103.

for more substantial social change.¹⁶⁴

In the light of the above analysis, it is believed that although the number of Chinese readers a translation of *YPM* could reach would be rather limited in the late 1980s or the early 1990s given the peripheral position of translated literature,¹⁶⁵ the political humour as found in it, if translated in a more acceptable way, had the potential of an effective means of protest in the PRC in Deng's era, no matter what functions the work has in the source culture. And it was much safer than direct criticism, especially in a translation.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ "'jokers Wild": Humour in Organisational Culture', in *Humour in Society*, pp. 123-48 (p. 144).

¹⁶⁵ See Section 2.5.

¹⁶⁶ For Lefevere's comment on the relative immunity of the translator, see Section 1.4.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PROCESS AND THE PRODUCT

The textual-linguistic make-up of a translation is governed by the kinds of strategies that the translator has adopted, which is in turn determined by the purpose that the translation -- not the source text -- is intended to serve. This translation purpose is closely related not only to the poetics and ideology of the translation initiator-operator, but ultimately to the socio-cultural setting of the time too. This chapter gives an account of the commission of Chang's translation of *YPM*, its purpose, the constraints that the translator is subjected to, and the strategies that he has chosen to use, thus establishing the links along the chain of translation process and product.

4.1. Skopos Theory

More than one scholar has recognized the fact that translation has a purpose to serve,¹ but it was Hans J. Vermeer who first proposed a theory based on this 'discovery'.²

¹ Such as Gideon Toury: 'translating as a teleological activity *par excellence* is to a large extent conditioned by the goals it is designed to serve' ('A Rationale for Descriptive Translation Studies', in *The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation*, ed. by Theo Hermans (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1985), pp. 16-41 (p. 19). Also see Theo Hermans, 'Translational Norms and Correct Translations', in *Translation Studies: The State of the Art*, ed. by Kitty M. van Leuven-Zwart and Ton Naaijken (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1991), pp. 155-69; and Lance Hewson and Jacky Martin, *Redefining Translation: The Variational Approach* (London: Routledge, 1991).

² The theory is developed mainly for applied purposes, but as its major theses are descriptive, and only the 'practical and didactic conclusions' drawn from these theses are prescriptive (see Hans J. Vermeer, *A Skopos Theory of Translation (Some Arguments for and against)* (Heidelberg: TEXTconTEXT-Verlag, 1996), pp. 14-15, and p. 26, n13), its descriptive part is capable of providing a framework for conducting historical studies (see Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995), p. 25). It is in this capacity that the theory is used here -- for a description of the translation process of *YPM*.

According to Vermeer's skopos theory, translation is an action, and any action has an aim, a purpose, that is, a skopos. The translation skopos is defined by the commission and is not necessarily identical with the skopos attributed to the source text because the commission is basically independent of the source text function,³ and in some cases such identity is even impossible. In the light of this skopos, the translator can decide how to translate optimally, i.e., what kind of changes will be necessary in the translation with respect to the source text, or whether the source text needs to be 'translated', 'paraphrased' or completely 're-edited'. This theory does not exclude 'fidelity' to the source text as a possible and legitimate skopos; it only refuses to accept that 'fidelity' is the only legitimate skopos as it is sometimes claimed to be. This means that the decisive factor of the translation product is not the source text, but the translation skopos.⁴ Any meaningful account of the translation process and its product must therefore be based on the skopos.⁵

The 'commissioning' of a translation presupposes an initiator, which may be the publisher, the author, the translator, etc., who 'is the factor that starts the [translation] process and determines its course' and therefore 'plays a crucial role'.⁶ If the initiator is

³ In other words, 'the reasons for translation are independent of the reasons for the creation of any source text' (Roda P. Roberts, 'The Concept of Function of Translation and Its Application to Literary Texts', *Target*, 4:1 (1992), 1-16 (p. 7)).

⁴ 'Skopos and Commission in Translational Action', trans. by Andrew Chesterman, in *Readings in Translation Theory*, ed. by Andrew Chesterman (Finland: Oy Finn Lectura Ab, 1979), pp. 173-87. For more details of Vermeer's skopos theory, see his *A Skopos Theory of Translation*.

⁵ Cf. Gideon Toury:

The exertion of any single act of translating is to a large extent conditioned by the goal it serves. Thus, in order to be able to understand the process of translation and its products, one should first determine the purposes which they are meant to serve. (*In Search of a Theory of Translation* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1980), p. 30.)

⁶ Christiane Nord, *Text Analysis in Translation: Theory, Methodology, and Didactic Application of a Model for Translation-Oriented Text Analysis* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1991; German version publi. in 1988), p. 8. Also see Lance Hewson and Jacky Martin, *Redefining Translation*, p. 113.

someone else, the translator is a 'translation operator' working 'within a predefined set of conditions'; but if the translator him/herself initiates the translation in the sense that s/he chooses the text and sets the conditions, s/he can be said to be 'a craftsman or an artist -- one who is not primarily working for a mercenary motivation, but who is preoccupied by the transmission of an aesthetic message'.⁷ Such an initiator-operator may enjoy a high degree of freedom in setting the *skopos*, but as long as s/he does not have the means of publication and distribution, 'the problem of "commission" or at least "acceptance" of the translation by a publisher is only deferred to the next stage in the process', as André Lefevere points out.⁸ However, as Theo Hermans observes, 'an experienced and well-established poetry translator may feel more confident than the young aspiring novice in ignoring the wishes and suggestions of a particular editor or publisher'.⁹ Therefore, the freedom of the translator varies in individual cases depending on the process of commissioning and his/her position *vis-à-vis* the other parties involved.

4.2. The Translation Commission of *YPM*

The parties involved in the commissioning of Chang's translation of *YPM* included the translator, the publisher and the copyright holder.

Chang began translating *YPM* on his own initiative in the winter of 1987, and started looking for a publisher in China. As he happened to have an acquaintance with an editor in charge of translated literature at the Guangzhou-based Flower City Press, which had been publishing translations of politically sensitive works,¹⁰ he sent a sample to the editor.

⁷ Lance Hewson and Jacky Martin, *Redefining Translation*, pp. 113, 116, 161.

⁸ 'Translation: Its Genealogy in the West', in *Translation, History and Culture*, ed. by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere (London: Pinter, 1990; London: Cassell, 1995), pp. 14-28 (p. 14).

⁹ 'Norms and the Determination of Translation: A Theoretical Framework', in *Translation, Power, Subversion*, ed. by Román Álvarez and M. Carmen-África Vidal (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1996), pp. 25-51 (p. 35).

¹⁰ The Flower City Press is the house that run the magazine of the same name that had one issue recalled in 1982 because of a problematic story, resulting in heavy economic losses (see Section 1.2.). It has published George Orwell's *1984* and Aldous Huxley's

The editor responded favourably, saying that it would sell very well because political satires were lacking in China. Later in the year, she informed Chang that the Editorial Board of the Press had decided to publish about two thirds of the seventeen chapters on the grounds that a complete translation would make the book too thick, and also to publish an excerpt of Chapter One as a pilot in its journal *Ocean of Translations*. Shortly after June 1989, however, the publisher shelved the plan¹¹

The pilot was promptly published in 1989. But sensing that the book would not be published in the foreseeable future, the translator sent samples to about ten other publishers in the PRC in 1990 while carrying on with the translating of the whole work, but no one was willing. So he had to give up the idea of publishing it in the PRC and turned to the Chinese University Press (CUP) in Hong Kong instead. The CUP expressed an interest and proceeded to acquire the translation rights.

In the draft 'Memorandum of Agreement' sent to the CUP by the London-based Michael Imison Playwrights Ltd. in 1991 on behalf of the copyright holders, Clause Three reads:

THE TRANSLATION of the said Work shall be made faithfully and accurately; abbreviations or alterations may be made in the text thereof only with the prior written consent of the Proprietor.¹²

Since there are numerous passages in which abbreviations or alterations may be deemed to have been made, the translator found it virtually impossible to obtain 'prior

Brave New World in book form, and George Orwell's *Animal Farm* in its journal *Ocean of Translations* (譯海), showing an engagé tendency (see Section 1.4.).

¹¹ Apparently the publisher's apprehension has been proved unnecessary: other houses published translations of *YM* and *YPM* earlier or later without any serious consequence, but it is understandable given the fact that one can never be certain how far one can go as there are no clear guidelines and no mechanism for pre-publication censorship (for details see Section 1.2.); moreover, the publication of the politically sensitive works mentioned above might have made her house an obvious target for reprisal and therefore it was time for it to retreat.

¹² p. 1.

written consent' for all of them. Although most translation agreements may contain such a standard clause that is not meant to be taken seriously by anyone, it was still felt that as a matter of poetological and ideological principle such a 'standard' straight jacket was unacceptable. So the translator negotiated with Michael Imison and persuaded them to change the clause. The final version as contained in the Publishing Agreement is entirely the translator's suggestion:

THE TRANSLATION of the said Work shall be made faithfully and accurately and additions abbreviations or alterations may be made only on condition that the artistic and/or stylistic qualities of the Work are preserved as far as possible.¹³

Although the words 'faithfully and accurately' are still there, this provision effectively gives the translator all the freedom he needs because it would be virtually impossible to prove that any of the deliberate additions, abbreviations or alterations has not been made for the sake of 'artistic and/or stylistic qualities'.

Then the CUP engaged a reader, whose identity remained confidential, to evaluate the work -- a routine procedure for all books considered for publication. The reader's report is favourable. After confirming the worthiness of the source text, it comments on the translation:

The only question to be considered is whether in this instance it has been well translated. As the original is full of plays upon words, translation is a particularly difficult task.

I have been able only to sample the translation, which is very long. I found no obvious errors in interpretation, or mistaking of facts. The puns and innuendoes cannot normally be translated: substitutes have to be invented. On the whole this has been done quite cleverly. [...]

My reservations are only occasional and relatively minor. [...]¹⁴

And it goes on to pinpoint six places where the translation is considered unsatisfactory.

¹³ Chinese University Press and Chang Nam Fung (1992), Exhibit 1, p. 1.

¹⁴ "'Yes Prime Minister": Translation by Chang Nam Fung' (report to the Chinese University Press, Hong Kong, 1991).

There was no problem in accommodating his/her views as they did not involve any conflict of principles. Then an editor was assigned to oversee the technical details of the publication, such as proofreading, layout and art design. She also suggested some changes to the text, but only a few that were felt to be real improvements or harmless changes were accepted. It seemed to be the policy of the press to let the author make the final decisions.

However, there was a problem with the translation of the title. The original version was '好的首相' (literally 'Good Prime Minister'),¹⁵ which was intended as a pun with a double meaning of 'Yes, Prime Minister' and 'a good Prime Minister'. This would have added another layer of irony which is not there in the source text. But the Director of the CUP suggested putting a comma after '好的' (good), probably because he thought that the title would be ungrammatical without it.¹⁶ His suggestion was accepted out of respect, but became a cause of regret afterwards.

The responsibility is entirely the translator's, of course. On the whole the copyright holder, and the publisher as represented by the anonymous reader and the editor, played only a minor role in the commission of the translation, and the translator made all the major decisions.¹⁷

¹⁵ Which is used in Chang's paper 'The Nature of Literary Translation: A Discussion on the Translating of *Yes Prime Minister*' (從《好的首相》的翻譯看文學翻譯), *Chinese Language Bulletin*, 10 (1990), 10-15.

¹⁶ All of Chang's editors, and other translators or producers of *YM* and *YPM* as well, prefer the presence of the comma: the title of the pilot published in *Ocean of Translations* (28 (1989), 81-94) is '是的，首相大人', and those of the translations of *YM* and *YPM* published by Xuelin Press, Shanghai, '是，大臣' (Chen Tifang et al., 1992) and '是，首相' (Yang Liyi and Lou Bingkun, 1993) respectively.

¹⁷ This may not be totally unrelated to Chang's status as a lecturer in translation and a semi-established literary translator -- he had translated Robert Bolt's *A Man for All Seasons* for the Hong Kong Repertory Theatre (1985) and Oscar Wilde's *The Importance of Being Earnest*, which was included in *Two English Plays* (Beijing: China drama Press, 1987), pp. 1-110, and published *A Collection of Oscar Wilde's Comedies* (Fuzhou: Strait Literary and Art Press, 1990), and his name was apparently not shielded from the anonymous reader as it was mentioned in his/her report. Moreover, the sympathetic stance of the Director of the CUP and the reader is not to

4.3. The Skopos and Constraints

To say that every action must have a skopos does not necessarily mean that the performer is always absolutely conscious of his/her purpose. It only means that a purpose must be attributable to any action; otherwise it cannot be regarded as an action at all.¹⁸ In the case of the production of texts, including translations, it means that everyone of them 'can at least retrospectively be assigned a skopos [...] by an observer or literary scholar, etc'.¹⁹ Although the translator did not have a clear formulation of his skopos at the time of translating *YPM*, he was fairly conscious of it. In this section the scholar will try to reconstruct the skopos of the translator.

The motivation of all instances of literary translation is summed up in the following observation made by André Lefevere:

If a (re)writer in culture A is attracted to a text in culture B, often because that text has either ideological or poetological characteristics (or both) he or she feels are lacking in his or her own work or culture, he or she will champion the cause of that text in his or her culture, [...]²⁰

To put it the other way round, 'those who feel unhappy with the ideology and/or the poetics of their own system will plan to use (rewrite) elements taken from the other system to further their own ends'.²¹

In the case of *YPM*, both poetological and ideological considerations were involved. First of all, the translator was unhappy with the comparative rarity of (a sense of)

be neglected -- in conversation with the Director of the CUP, the translator expressed a concern that a reader with a conservative view on translation might find problems with the work; besides endorsing the translation strategies, the reader obviously shared the ideology of the text and recognized its relevance to the Chinese community, as can be seen in the passage of his/her report quoted in Section 3.6.

¹⁸ See Hans J. Vermeer, 'Skopos and Commission in Translational Action', pp. 177-78.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 182.

²⁰ 'Systems Thinking and Cultural Relativism', *Jadavpur Journal of Comparative Literature*, 26-7 (1988-1989), 55-68 (p. 65).

²¹ Ibid., p. 64.

humour in canonized Chinese literature and in Chinese culture as a whole, especially humour produced by puns.²² It was mainly for this reason that he translated Oscar Wilde's comedies, and *YPM* gave him another opportunity to fill this perceived vacuum with foreign material.

The rarity of humour produced by puns is also discernible in translated works, which is at least partly due to the translators adopting a conservative strategy.²³ Dissatisfied with the quality of these translations, the translator also wished that his translation of *YPM* could serve as an example of how 'equivalence in artistic value' can be achieved.²⁴

In fact, what the translator wanted to do was sense (b) of Gideon Toury's two sense of 'literary translation':

- (a) the translation of a text which is regarded as literary in the *source culture* [...]
- (b) the translation of a text [...] in such a way that the product be acceptable as literary to the *recipient culture*.²⁵

²² See Sections 3.5. and 3.6.

²³ The most popular approach to the translating of puns seems to be that adopted in all three translations of *YM* and *YPM*, that is, to translate them into non-pun plus the provision of extratextual gloss (For a typology of pun-translating, see Subsection 4.4.1.); other examples are Qian Zhide's translations of Oscar Wilde's comedies (*Selected Plays of Oscar Wilde* (Guangzhou: Flower City Press, 1983)), Lou Bingkun's translation of Oscar Wildes's *Lady Windermere's Fan* (in *Selected Foreign Plays*, ed. by Department of Dramatic Literature, Shanghai Academy of Drama (Shanghai: Shanghai Literary and Art Press, 1981), v, pp. 575-653), and Chen Fuan's translation of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (Beijing: China Translation & Publishing Corporation, 1981). There are translators who are more 'spirited', of course, such as Zhao Yuanren, and Guan Shaochun and Zhaomingfei, who have produced different versions of Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (Taiwan: Wenzheng Press, n.d., and Xinjiang: Xinjiang People's Press, 1981 respectively), and Yu Kwangchung, who has translated *The Importance of Being Earnest (No Trifling Matter)* (Hong Kong: Shanbian Press, 1994)), but the furthest they would go is to find a different pun that can fit in well with minimal adjustments of the immediate co-text, and none of them have made any conscious and systematic attempt to add puns in compensation for puns lost as Douglass Parker has done (see Section 2.5.), that is, translate non-puns/zeros into puns (see Subsection 4.4.1.), although their rates of success in translating source text puns do not seem to be very high.

²⁴ See Chang Nam Fung, 'The Nature of Literary Translation', pp. 14-15.

²⁵ *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, p. 168.

As Toury further points out:

Literary translation involves the imposition of 'conformity conditions' beyond the linguistic and/or general-textual ones, namely, to models and norms which are deemed literary at the target end. It thus yields more or less well-formed texts from the point of view of the *literary* requirements of the recipient culture, at various possible costs in terms of the reconstruction of features of the source text.²⁶

The problem is, contemporary China is one of those cases 'where the acceptability of translation *qua* translation does not fully concur with acceptability in general; that is, when the norms governing the formulation of translated texts differ from those which govern original compositions'.²⁷ Thus, to produce a literary translation in the second sense by conforming to the literary norms of the target system would involve a certain degree of inconformity with its dominant translational norms (or poetics), which regard the reconstruction of features of the source text as of paramount importance.

Chang did not enjoy very much liberty to do so when he was translating Oscar Wilde's four comedies as an undergraduate and later a postgraduate student. Although he used most of the strategies that he later employed in the translating of *YPM*, and he believed he had handled most of the puns and the spoken style of the dialogue quite successfully, what with his humble position and the high fame of the author, he still felt that he had not used these strategies consistently and systematically enough, thus hampering the play of his creative power.²⁸

²⁶ Ibid., p. 171. These 'possible costs' include 'the *suppression* of some of the source-text's features, on occasion even those which marked it as "literary"', '*reshuffling* of certain features', and '*addition* of new ones in an attempt to enhance the acceptability of the translation as a target literary text, or even as a target literary text of a particular type' (ibid.).

²⁷ Ibid., p. 71. For the conservatism in the translation poetics dominant in China, see Section 2.4.

²⁸ There were a few occasions when he thought he could write slightly better than the author, and others when he was tempted to tone down some of the bits in *Lady Windermere's Fan*, *An Ideal Husband* and *A Woman of No Importance* that he found boringly sentimental or to resort to zero translation for passages that he could not translate well anyway, but he 'dutifully' restrained these impulses. And yet his

With *YPM* he felt he could take more liberties. *YPM* is 'only' a contemporary, popular work rather than a classical or canonized one;²⁹ and he reckoned that publishers might be less hypercritical about his 'errors and omissions' now that he had become a lecturer with a modest track record of literary translating. What this amounted to was a desire to challenge the dominant translation poetics, or, in Gideon Toury's terms, 'to interfere with the "natural" course of events and to divert it' according to one's own preferences instead of remaining passive.³⁰

If Chang's translating of Wilde's comedies and publishing them in the PRC was not just a literary action but also a political one in the sense that the ideology of the plays was likely to be deemed bourgeois and decadent by the authorities at that time,³¹ his

translations were already out of bounds as delimited by the dominant translation poetics: the editor was at first reluctant to accept them, saying that a professor in English who was engaged to assess them had found numerous 'errors and omissions', which were in fact the results of a deliberate attempt to achieve performability. It was partly due to certain connections that Chang had with the publishing house that his *A Collection of Oscar Wilde's Comedies* was published in the end.

²⁹ As André Lefevere and Susan Bassnett remark, the higher the status of the text, the more literal will be its translation demanded by cultures ('Introduction: Proust's Grandmother and the Thousand and One Nights: The "Cultural Turn" in Translation Studies', in *Translation, History and Culture*, pp. 1-13 (p. 7)). It is also the view of Peter Newmark that one does not need to put so much emphasis on loyalty to the author when translating a popular literary work (*A Textbook of Translation* (London: Prentice Hall, 1988), pp. 39-48). But it is by no means certain to what extent this view is endorsed by the dominant translation poetics in China.

³⁰ *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, p. 62. Besides presenting a translation, Chang also engaged himself in norm-setting activities: drawing examples from his translation of *YPM*, he attacked the traditional translation criteria in a newspaper article entitled 'Challenging the "Standard Translation Criteria" -- Manifesto of the Translator of *Yes Prime Minister*', in which he declared: 'one of my aims in translating this work is to pursue my own ideals and challenge the "Standard Translation Criteria"' (*Hong Kong Economic Journal*, 21 February 1993, p. 12); and in a luncheon talk to members of the Hong Kong Translation Society (a summary of which is published as 'Improving on the Original -- The Right and Duty of the Literary Translator', *Bulletin*, Hong Kong Translation Society, 30 (1991), 3-4.), he asserted that it is the right and duty of the literary translator to improve on the original.

³¹ His translation of *The Importance of Being Earnest* was turned down by the director of a theatrical company in Beijing in late 1983 after the Campaign against Spiritual Pollution was launched.

translating of *YPM* was meant to be a more active form of ideological resistance. He lived in the PRC from 1964 to 1973 going through the Cultural Revolution first as a 'red guard' and later as an 'educated youth' sent to a farm for 'receiving re-education by poor and lower-middle peasants',³² and after returning to Hong Kong he still felt concerned about the affairs in the PRC.³³ The reading of *YPM* stimulated in his mind associations with what had happened and was still happening there: the Cultural Revolution and the events of the 1980s, especially the Campaign against Bourgeois Liberalization and the forced resignation of Hu Yaobang, and he hoped that his translation might stir up in the mind of the reader similar associations, so that it would become a political satire in the Chinese context -- the first of its kind in the PRC, making a contribution to the Democratic Movement. After June 1989, this became the overriding motive in the translation project, which was then in the middle stage.

Thus, on retrospection, the *skopos* (or *skopi*) of the translation of *YPM* can be summed up as follows:

1. To provide more creative freedom in literary translating, turning out a product that has an artistic value at least equal to that of the source text so that it has the potential of functioning as a worthwhile literary text in the target system;
2. To produce a work as entertaining to the Chinese reader as possible;
3. To challenge the translation poetics dominant in Chinese society; and
4. To produce a satire on Chinese politics by way of allegory, posing a challenge to the dominant ideology.

³² This was the pretext for sending most of the secondary school leavers and university graduates in the whole country 'up to the mountains and down to the countryside' (上山下鄉), that is, to be engaged in the agricultural sector. The real reason was that the Cultural Revolution had destroyed employment opportunities in the urban areas. This practice began in the autumn of 1968 and lasted until the end of the Cultural Revolution (see Yan Jiaqi and Gao Gao, *Ten-Year History of China's Cultural Revolution*, 2 vols (Hong Kong: *Ta-Kung-Pao*, 1986), I, pp. 310-12).

³³ For Chang's experience in China during and before the Cultural Revolution and his views on affairs in the PRC, see Connie Ko, 'No Need to Emigrate Says Survivor of Cultural Revolution', *The Hong Kong Standard*, 22 January 1990, p. 5; and also Xuan Heng, 'A Mainland Educated Youth Who Got First-class Honours at HKU', *Breakthrough*, 13-2 (1986), 34.

The four goals were actually interrelated. Taking liberties with the source text was a means to achieve all goals, and for the work to function effectively as a political satire, it had to be artistic and entertaining in order to attract readers at a time when translated literature was at the periphery of the literary polysystem, which was in turn at the periphery of the cultural macro-polysystem.³⁴

This skopos was closely related not only to the experience, personality, poetics and ideology of the initiator-operator, but also to the socio-cultural setting of the time. It was different from the skopos of the source text in that while the source text was intended to be, or at least perceived as, a piece of popular fiction mildly satirical on British politics,³⁵ the target text was desired to be a (semi-serious) literary work with the potential as a biting satire on Chinese politics by way of allegory.

It can be said that the translator was essentially one of those rewriters who, as Lefevere describes, 'choose to oppose the system, to try to operate outside its constraints [...] by rewriting works of literature in such a manner that they do not fit in with the dominant poetics or ideology of a given time and place', instead of 'adapt[ing] to the system' and 'stay[ing] within the parameters delimited by its constraints'.³⁶

To choose to oppose the system does not mean, however, that one can always operate totally outside its constraints. Sometimes one can only try to push these constraints to their limits. That is to say, if one chooses not to do what is 'encouraged or demanded by those who control the means of production and distribution and by the relevant institutions and channels in economic, social, ideological and artistic terms', one may have to do what is at least 'permitted' or 'tolerated' by them.³⁷

Where the present case is concerned, the translator could not tone up the direct

³⁴ See Sections 1.5. and 2.5.

³⁵ See Section 3.5.

³⁶ *Translation, Rewriting, & the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, p. 13.

³⁷ See Theo Hermans, 'Norms and the Determination of Translation', p. 27.

criticisms against communism and the PRC Government³⁸ even if he had wanted to -- to do so would have been deemed too offensive not only on ideological but also on poetological grounds if the work was to be presented as a translation, although to do the opposite -- that is, toning them down -- would be what the authorities encourage and demand and what the readers would understand.

The work had to be presented as a translation. It has been mentioned that in order for it to function as a political satire, it had to have the quality to be regarded as a literary text. This statement has now to be qualified: it had to be regarded not as an original literary text, but as a translated one, for what are considered to be anti-communist or anti-China sentiments are tolerated much more in translated works than in original ones, because one is not responsible for what other wrote.³⁹

If the work was to be presented as a translation, it must be acceptable as one; otherwise it would be turned down by the publisher, or, if it was published, the translator would lose his/her credibility and the work its effectiveness. And to produce an acceptable translation one cannot totally ignore the dominant translation poetics but must meet its minimum requirements at least, whatever the status of one as a translator or the status of the source text. In the Chinese context this is the reconstruction of a fairly high proportion of the features of the source text.

In other words, the translator was obligated to observe the 'constitutive norms' of translation, which 'mark the boundary between [...] what a given community⁴⁰ regards and accepts as translation and therefore agrees to call translation, and those modes of expression and of textual production or transformation which go by some other name',

³⁸ See Section 3.6. for such references.

³⁹ Another reason for the necessity of presenting a translation is that whatever social criticisms it may contain, they are directed ostensibly at another society. Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago* and Solzhenitsyn's *The Gulag Archipelago* were introduced into China in the 1980s, whereas no original works of a similar nature seem to be able to circulate. (See Section 1.4. for the relative freedom for translation in China.)

⁴⁰ In the present case the Chinese community.

although he had chosen to defy or disregard to a certain extent the 'regulative norms', which distinguish 'between optional forms of behaviour' regarded as appropriate or less appropriate in certain types of cases, resulting in 'good' or 'bad' translations:⁴¹ he did not mind if his translation was to be labelled a 'bad' translation by 'the institutions or agents who exercise normative control',⁴² but for it to be called by some other name would have defeated his purpose.

Therefore, a fifth item should be added to the list of translation skopoi:

5. To produce a translation that can at least be tolerated by the dominant ideology and poetics.

This goal, while determined by the fourth, was partly incompatible with all the others, but then translators are bound to work under a 'double tension'⁴³ created the two conflicting elements that make up the "'value" behind the norms of literary translation':

- (1) being a worthwhile literary work (text) in TL [target language] (that is, occupying the appropriate position [...] in the target literary polysystem);
- (2) being a translation (that is, constituting a representation in TL of another, preexisting text in some other language, SL [source language], belonging to another literary polysystem, that of the source, and occupying a certain position within it).⁴⁴

The translation skopos and constraints having been determined, we may now proceed to examine the strategies adopted in the production of the target text.

4.4. Translation Strategies

It is recognized that a comprehensive account of a translation product will have to be based on the mapping of the whole target text onto the source text, but as this is virtually impracticable, the present study has to confine itself to the mapping of selected text

⁴¹ See Theo Hermans, 'Norms and the Determination of Translation', p. 42.

⁴² See Ibid., p. 36.

⁴³ See Javier Franco Aixelá, 'Culture-Specific Items in Translation', in *Translation, Power, Subversion*, pp. 52-78 (p. 60).

⁴⁴ Gideon Toury, *In Search of a Theory of Translation*, p. 53.

segments, mostly sentences and occasionally paragraphs. While this necessity has theoretical justification in that 'no act of translation is conceivable without *serial* operations',⁴⁵ one must bear in mind the limitations of this method: first, only a few aspects of the features of the target text can be examined; second, as the pairing of replaced and replacing segments is 'subject to a *heuristic* principle' that 'beyond the boundaries of a target textual segment no leftovers of the "solution" to a certain "problem", posed by a corresponding segment of the source text, will be present',⁴⁶ segments where the technique of dislocation, that is, 'displacement in the text of the same reference'⁴⁷ has been applied beyond the distance of a few lines have to be avoided, thus running the risk of giving a false impression that the unit of translation has always been kept at a low level.

In the selection of aspects to be examined priority has been given to those where deliberate non-obligatory shifts are more abundant and easily discernible. This is in line with the traditional approach to translation criticism, where a major object of comparing source and target text segments is 'the identification of SHIFTS with respect to a maximal or optimal notion of the reconstruction of a source text',⁴⁸ but while the traditional search for shifts requires a '**totally negative kind of reasoning**', the one engaged in this thesis is 'in a weakened, and hence more realistic version', which aims at revealing what 'a translation *could have had* in common with its source but *does not*',⁴⁹ for it is deliberate non-obligatory shifts⁵⁰ that are most indicative of an 'initial strategy'⁵¹

⁴⁵ See Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, p. 87.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁴⁷ Javier Franco Aixelá, 'Culture-Specific Items in Translation', p. 64.

⁴⁸ Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, p. 84.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ The term 'non-obligatory shifts' is borrowed from Gideon Toury, who uses it in contradistinction to 'obligatory shifts'. While 'obligatory shifts', being 'objective and indispensable, due to inherent systemic differences between the two languages, and -- to a lesser extent -- the two literatures involved', and therefore '*rule-governed*', 'should not be considered as interfering with the adequacy of TT [target text]', non-obligatory

of acceptability.⁵²

This section gives an account of Chang's strategies in tackling puns, in dealing with culture-specific items, in the use of parallel structures and rhymes, in attempting to 'improve' on the text, and of how certain decisions have led to the skewing of political messages, because in his translation of *YPM* it is in these aspects that shifts are most obvious and significant.

In each subsection statistics are provided with regard to the number of times certain strategies have been used, but one must be forewarned that in such statistics absolute objectivity and accuracy are not to be expected.

The main obstacle is that items of the categories in question cannot always be objectively identified. The pun illustrates the problems clearly. Dirk Delabastita defines the pun, or wordplay -- he uses the two terms interchangeably⁵³ -- as follows:

Wordplay is the general name for the various textual phenomena in which

shifts constitute 'deviations from adequacy' (*In Search of a Theory of Translation*, pp. 55, 116-17). The two concepts seem to correspond with Kitty M. van Leuven-Zwart's two types of shifts -- 'purely language-bound shifts without semantic or stylistic consequences and shifts which are due to a translator's decision, which itself sometimes carries very important semantic or stylistic implications' ('The Methodology of Translation Description and Its Relevance for the Practice of Translation', *Babel*, 31:4 (1985), 77-85 (p. 79)). The modifier 'deliberate' is added to exclude shifts that are due to the translator's lack of linguistic/cultural proficiency or oversight because these shifts bear no relation to strategies.

⁵¹ Adapted from Gideon Toury's 'initial norm', which denotes the translator's basic choice between subscription to source culture norms or to target culture norms. In other words, it is a choice between adequacy and acceptability (*Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, pp. 56-57).

⁵² Cf. André Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting, & the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, p. 97: 'a recurrent series of "mistakes" most likely points to a pattern that is the expression of a strategy'. A corollary is that the absence or rarity of deliberate non-obligatory shifts probably indicates an adequacy-oriented strategy. Also see Kitty M. van Leuven-Zwart, 'Translation and Original: Similarities and Dissimilarities I', *Target* 1:2 (1989), 151-81 (p. 154): 'identifying shifts in translation may serve as a basis for hypothesizing the translator's *initial norms*'.

⁵³ See 'Translating Puns: Possibilities and Restraints', *New Comparison*, 3 (1987), 143-59 (p. 143).

structured features of the language(s) used are exploited in order to bring about a *communicatively significant confrontation* of two (or more) linguistic structures with *more or less similar forms* and *more or less different meanings*.⁵⁴

Several difficulties are encountered when using this definition to identify puns. To begin with, how different do linguistic structures have to be in meaning to qualify as a pun? For example, Sir Humphrey's speech 'yes, Prime Minister', which occurs at the end of most of the chapters of *YPM*, functions superficially to give an affirmative answer to a question, or show agreement with a statement, or express willingness to obey a command, and there seems to be no way to determine whether there are one, or two, or three literal meanings involved.⁵⁵

While a native speaker may not feel any differences in meaning between the three usages of 'yes', and there may perceivably be a one-to-one relationship between English and some languages as the translating of the word is concerned, it has several 'equivalents' in Chinese, which means that on the one hand a single token of it has more than one possible translation, and on the other that different tokens may have to be translated differently. Consequently, it poses the same translation problems as puns usually do, and in this sense it can be said that the identification of puns is sometimes language-pair-specific.

The term 'Prime Minister' has also two 'equivalents' in Chinese: '首相' and '總理', used mainly for the leader of government of a monarchical state and a non-monarchical state respectively, and so for a translator who wants to take every opportunity to encourage the reader to draw an analogy with the Chinese Prime Minister this term in the following passage has two meanings and therefore poses a problem:

⁵⁴ 'Introduction', *Wordplay and Translation*, special issue of *The Translator*, 2:2 (1996), ed. by himself, 127-39 (p. 128).

⁵⁵ While the *Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture* (Harlow: Longman, 1992) groups the first two usages into one meaning, the *Longman Dictionary of the English Language* (Harlow: Longman, 1992), which is a bigger one, groups all three into one meaning.

[His cassette recorder] was the only thing in the world that was willing to listen to him uncritically. And not only would it listen -- it would repeat his own ideas and thoughts to him, a quality that Prime Ministers find very reassuring. (8)

But the term has obviously only one meaning for the source culture reader and for a translator who does not have such an intention. Therefore, the identification of puns is sometimes even skopos-specific.

The concept of culture-specific items is at least as fussy as that of puns. Javier Franco Aixelá defines culture-specific items as --

those textually actualized items whose function and connotations in a source text involve a translation problem in their transference to a target text, whenever this problem is a product of the nonexistence of the referred item or of its different intertextual status in the cultural system of the readers of the target text.⁵⁶

But what constitutes a translation problem? For example, in the sentence 'If we took moral positions on individual injustices and cruelties we'd never [...] put Mugabe in power in Zimbabwe' (*YPM*, 214) there are two items closely related to British culture -- 'Mugabe' and 'Zimbabwe', but are they specific to it, or are they universal knowledge? Can one safely assume that the average Chinese reader is less familiar with these items than the average British reader? And to what extent? And will these items constitute translation problems? There are no objective answers to these questions.

Translation problems are often defined by the translation skopos. An example is 'a couple of bobbies appeared from nowhere in a panda car' (*YPM*, 20). If the translator decides that the allusion to Robert Peel and the colour of the car are information relevant to the purpose of the target text, then there are translation problems involved, and 'bobbies' and 'a panda car' are certainly culture-specific items. But if s/he decides somehow that they are not relevant, s/he may simply translate the terms as 'policemen' (or some other nicknames) and 'a patrol car', without being aware of any translation problem involved. In the latter case, it is doubtful whether the two terms still qualify as

⁵⁶ 'Culture-Specific Items in Translation', p. 58.

culture-specific items. If they do, such items may be uncountable, because most idioms and slang words have culture-specific connotations, which the author and the translator do not always exploit. But if they do not, one cannot always regard universalization, naturalization and deletion⁵⁷ as strategies to deal with culture-specific items, for in some cases these strategies are used exactly because the items in question (or a part of the information they convey) are deemed to be more or less irrelevant.

Similarly, there are no objective criteria whereby one may determine what are parallel structures, and what constitutes 'skewing of the political message' or 'improvements' on the text.

Therefore, the statistics provided in this section involve a certain degree of subjectivity, but still they may serve to reflect the translator's conscious use of strategies.

4.4.1. The Handling of Puns

From a certain perspective humour can be divided into two types. Cicero states that 'there are two types of wit, one employed upon facts, the other upon words'.⁵⁸ Sigmund Freud in a similar way distinguishes between conceptual and verbal jokes, the former playing with thoughts and the latter playing with words.⁵⁹ However, it seems that it is the latter type, or a special variety of it -- the pun -- that enjoys a higher literary prestige, as reflected in the following assertion by Jonathan Culler:

Puns are not a marginal form of wit but an exemplary product of language or mind [...] The pun is the foundation of letters, in that the exploitation of formal resemblance to establish connections of meaning seems the basic activity of literature;⁶⁰

⁵⁷ See Subsection 4.4.3.

⁵⁸ *De Oratore*, II, LIX, pp. 239-40, quoted in Delia Chiaro, *The Language of Jokes: Analysing Verbal Play* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 14.

⁵⁹ *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious*, trans. by James Strachey (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966; original publ. in 1905), p. 138.

⁶⁰ 'The Call of the Phoneme: Introduction', in *On Puns: The Foundation of Letters*, ed. by himself (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), pp. 1-16 (p. 4).

In many literary texts puns play a variety of functions besides displaying the wit of the author, as Dirk Delabastita comments:

Possible functions [of puns] include adding to the thematic coherence of the text, producing humour, forcing the reader/listener into greater attention, adding persuasive force to the statement, deceiving our socially conditioned reflex against sexual and other taboo themes, and so forth.⁶¹

The pun has aroused much discussion among translators and translation scholars.⁶² While all are aware of the important functions it may play in literary texts and of the desirability to preserve it in the translation -- to remove it would lose the humour completely, and to explain it would make it longwinded and explicit, thus weakening its effect,⁶³ some of them find special problems in translating it. The 'special (real or alleged, theoretical or practical) difficulties', as Delabastita points out,

lies in the fact that the semantic and pragmatic effects of source-text wordplay find their origin in particular structural characteristics of the source language for which the target language more often than not fails to produce a counterpart, such as the existence of certain homophones, near-homophones, polysemic clusters, idioms, or grammatical rules.⁶⁴

Indeed, 'the history of translation criticism seems to suggest that wordplay is virtually untranslatable'.⁶⁵ Of course there is hardly anyone who will deny that puns may be amenable to various forms of interlingual processing, since it can be safely assumed that

⁶¹ 'Introduction', *Wordplay and Translation*, pp. 129-30.

⁶² See for example Dirk Delabastita and Jacqueline Henry, 'Wordplay and Translation: A Selected Bibliography', *Wordplay and Translation*, special issue of *The Translator*, 2:2 (1996), ed. by Dirk Delabastita, 347-53.

⁶³ See Section 3.3.

⁶⁴ 'Focus on the Pun: Wordplay as a Special Problem in Translation Studies', *Target*, 6:2 (1994), 223-43 (p. 223).

⁶⁵ Dirk Delabastita, 'Translating Puns', p. 151. Representing this view are Roman Jakobson ('On Linguistic Aspects of Translation', in *On Translation*, ed. by Reuben A. Brower (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 232-39 (p. 238)), and Juliane House ('Of the Limits of Translatability', *Babel*, 19:4 (1973), 166-67 (p. 167)).

any language is capable of producing puns, but the obstacle is that many kinds of processes that puns will lend themselves to are for the traditional scholar just not 'faithful' enough to qualify as ('good' or 'genuine') translation.⁶⁶

The treatment of puns can therefore be said to be most revealing of the translator's initial strategy -- a touchstone of the intended position of a translated literary text along the adequacy-acceptability cline. The pun can push the translator 'to extremes',⁶⁷ in fact. This is particularly true in English-Chinese translating. On the one hand, 'translatability' of puns in the traditional sense of the word is low due to the lack of historical relation between the two languages and cultures;⁶⁸ on the other, the phonological structure of the Chinese language is such that it can be easily manipulated to form (near-)homophonic words or phrases.⁶⁹ Consequently, while the 'faithful' translator may feel frustrated in

⁶⁶ See Dirk Delabastita, 'A False Opposition in Translation Studies: Theoretical versus/and Historical Approaches', *Target*, 3:2 (1992), 137-52 (p. 146); 'Translating Puns', p. 151. For instance, the translating of puns into different puns, one of the strategies used by Zhao Yuanren in his translation of Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, is cited by a critic/historian to prove that 'the problem of "puns" cannot be solved by any translation theories' on the grounds that Zhao has simply 'turned "translation work" into "invention"' (or 'fabrication' -- the original word is '編造') (Han Dihou, *Modern English-Chinese Translation: A Critical Survey* (Hong Kong: Swindon, 1969), pp. 134-37). Part of the passage she cites is:

'If I'd been the whiting,,' said Alice, [...] 'I'd have said to the porpoise 'Keep back, please! We don't want *you* with us!'

'They were obliged to have him with them,' the Mock Turtle said. 'No wise fish would go anywhere without a porpoise.' (Ch. 10, 90-91)

In the translation 'porpoise' is rendered as '鯉魚' (*liyu*, meaning 'carp') (Ch. 10, 90-91), which is a near homophone of '理由' (*liyou*, meaning 'reason').

⁶⁷ Dirk Delabastita, 'Introduction', in *Traductio: Essays on Punning and Translation*, ed. by himself (Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing & Namur: Presses Universitaires de Namur, 1997), pp. 1-22 (p. 11). Also see his remark on the pun quoted in Section 0.1.

⁶⁸ See Dirk Delabastita, 'Introduction', *Wordplay and Translation*, pp. 135-36, 'Translating Puns', p. 151.

⁶⁹ While opinions differ with regard to the ease of rhyming in English -- Walter Nash argues that 'there are quite severe constraints', particularly when a feminine rhyme or a consonant cluster is involved (*The Language of Humour: Style and Technique in Comic Discourse* (London: Longman, 1985), pp. 156-57), but W. D. Redfern emphasizes that 'the availability of numerous similar monosyllabic words' in English 'obviously facilitate approximate wordplay' (*Puns* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984), p.

his/her search for the same puns, the 'spirited' translator may find an abundance of opportunities to produce at least phonetic puns by other interlingual processes.⁷⁰

As the aggregate of puns in *YPM* plays a key role for the overall humorous effect of the text, and may be regarded as one of the important features that mark the text as 'literary', the way these puns are handled by the translator is of crucial importance in determining the features of the target text. In the remaining part of this subsection a typology of the possible strategies for translating puns will be presented, then examples will be given to illustrate the solutions actually opted for in the translation, and finally some observations will be offered, which are based on statistics about the number of times each type of strategy has been used.

Possible strategies for translating puns from English into Chinese may be divided into eleven main types:⁷¹

160) -- (re)writers in Chinese are obviously more advantaged in this respect. Chinese characters are mostly monosyllabic to begin with, and their syllable structures are usually simpler than those found in English words. Having no consonant clusters, the Chinese syllable may have at most only one consonant in either the initial or the final position; whereas the maximum number of consonants that can occur in the final position of the English syllable is four, as in 'texts' /teksts/. Moreover, while in English most consonants can appear in the final position, in Modern Standard Chinese only the nasals can do so, resulting in all characters falling into just seventeen strict rhymes (see *Gimson's Pronunciation of English*, 5th edn, rev. by Alan Cruttenden (London: Edward Arnold, 1994), pp. 217-21; Hu Yushu et al., *Modern Chinese*, expanded edn (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 1992), pp. 111-12, 66-72; Qin si, *Modern Rhymes for Poetry* (Nanning: Guangxi People's Press, 1979)).

⁷⁰ The use of phonetic puns is particularly appropriate for translating *YPM* because of the pretension of the authors that the diaries were transcribed from Hacker's tape recordings.

⁷¹ While the names of the types are mostly adapted from Gideon Toury's categories of metaphor translating (*Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, pp. 82-83), the typology itself and the explanations of each type are modifications of the two different ones that Dirk Delabastita presents in 'Translating Puns' (pp. 148-49) and 'Introduction', *Wordplay and Translation*, (p. 134) in light of the context of English-Chinese translating. It should be mentioned in particular that the type '*PUN ST* = *PUN TT*', which means copying the source-text pun without actually 'translating' it (*ibid.*), has been excluded from the list because it is rarely seen in English-Chinese translating owing to the great differences between the two linguistic systems, although it is used in combination with extratextual gloss by Yan Liyi and Lou Bingkun in their

1. *Pun into the same pun (same type)*. A target language pun of the same type⁷² is found with the same two meanings.
2. *Pun into the same pun (different type)*. A target language pun of a different type is found with the same two meanings.
3. *Pun into different pun*. A target language pun with at least one of the two meanings different from that of the source text is used.
4. *Pun into related rhetorical device*. The pun is replaced by some wordplay-related rhetorical device (repetition, alliteration, rhyme, referential vagueness, irony, paradox, etc.) which aims to recapture the effect of the source-text pun to a certain extent.
5. *Pun into non-pun*. The pun is replaced by a non-punning phrase which may salvage both meanings of the pun but in a non-punning conjunction, or select one of the meanings at the cost of suppressing the other with possible loss of cohesion of the target text.
6. *Pun into zero*. The portion of text containing the pun is omitted.
7. *Related rhetorical device into pun*. A pun is used to replace some wordplay-related rhetorical device, with the aim of recapturing its effect to a certain extent.⁷³
8. *Non-pun into pun*. A pun is introduced into the target text where there is no pun in the portion of source text being replaced.
9. *Zero into pun*. Textual material containing a pun is introduced into the target text without any source-text counterpart in the immediate co-text.
10. *Extratextual gloss*.⁷⁴ Explanation of the source-text pun is provided outside the text proper, in footnotes, endnotes, preface, etc.⁷⁵
11. *Intratextual change*. A noticeable portion is changed, added or deleted, in order

translation of *YPM*, such as:

('I've got 4000 tobacco workers in my constituency.) What about my seat?'

('What about your lungs?' I said.) (198)

'我的 seat， 怎麼樣？'(252)

⁷² Types of puns may include, following one of Delabastita's classifications, homonyms (same sound and graph), homophones (same sound but different graphs) homographs (same graphs but different sounds), and paronyms (different sounds and graphs) (see 'Translating Puns', pp. 144-46).

⁷³ This is an addition to the list. It seems that if 'pun into related rhetorical device' is regarded as one type, it is logical that its opposite number should also be included.

⁷⁴ This term is borrowed from Javier Franco Aixelá, 'Culture-Specific Items in Translation', p. 62, which seems more exact than Delabastita's 'editorial technique'.

⁷⁵ Delabastita comments that all these strategies 'can moreover be combined in a variety of ways' ('Introduction', *Wordplay and Translation*, p. 134). It must be added that extratextual gloss is never used independently, for the pun has to be dealt with within the text one way or another.

to accommodate a different or new pun, or to gloss over the loss of a pun.⁷⁶

The following are some of the passages from Chang's translation of *YPM* in which these strategies have been used:

Type 1. Pun into the same pun (same type):

Ex. 1

Most people, of course, found Ulster a dead end (24)

大部分人都會發覺北愛是條死胡同 (20)

(Most people would find Northern Ireland a *sihutong*)

sihutong: dead alley, with exactly the double meaning of 'dead end'.

Sometimes the literal translation of a pun has resulted in an unusual collocation in the target language with a possible double meaning:

Ex. 2

[Bernard Woolly is advising Hacker on a safe topic for his first ministerial broadcast]

'well... litter!' Was he being serious? 'A stinging attack on people who drop litter. Or safer driving. Or saving energy. Lots of subjects.'

I made my own suggestion. I told him to save some energy himself. (102)

「嗯……垃圾！」他是說真的嗎？「把那些亂扔垃圾的人狠狠地批評一頓怎麼樣？或者安全駕駛，或者節省能源，好多話題呢。」

我也提出我的建議，叫他節省一下自己的能源。(117)⁷⁷

As the translator himself saw it, the necessity of rendering both instances of 'energy' as '能源' has resulted in unidiomatic Chinese in the second one, producing a pun that seems contrived and unnatural; the double meaning may still be there, but the humorous effect

⁷⁶ This addition to the list seems useful because it is often an important indicator of how far the translator is prepared to deviate from the linguistic make-up of the source text for the acceptability of the target text. Sometimes a translator is ready to translate puns into different puns, but does not succeed very often because of an unwillingness to make the necessary change -- especially a large-scale one -- to the co-text. But sometimes the change is so minor for the translator or the critic to notice, and therefore the modifier 'noticeable' is employed to denote a definite semantic shift involving, say, over half a line. Again this strategy is never used independently.

⁷⁷ Yang Liyi and Lou Bingkun translate 'saving energy' and 'save some energy' differently as '節約能源' and '留些精力' (p. 128).

may have been much weakened.

Type 2. Pun into the same pun (different type):

Ex. 3

[Referring to the Home Secretary who has been charged with drunken driving]

(I looked at Humphrey. 'What will happen to him?')

'I gather,' he replied disdainfully, 'that he was as drunk as a lord -- so after a discreet interval they'll probably make him one.' (24)

他輕蔑地答道：「我看，既然他喝得那麼醉醺醺的，等風平浪靜以後，他們會封他做勳爵的。」(19)

(He disdainfully replied, 'I gather that as he was so *zuixunxun*, when the wind and the wave calm down they will make him a *xunjue*.)

zuixunxun: very drunk, *xunxun* being a modifier emphasizing the degree of drunkenness.

xunjue: lord. But a single character *jue* can also mean 'lord', so if taken separately, the two characters sound like 'drunken lord' in this context.⁷⁸

While the source text pun consists of a pair of homonyms, the target text makes use of a pair of homophones to exactly reproduce the two meanings.

Type 3. Pun into different pun:

Ex. 4

Perhaps it was a case of blind man's bluff. Or bland mind's bluff. (453)

這叫做瞎唬，或者瞎虎的嚇唬。(523)

(This is called *xia'hu*³, or the *xia'hu*³'s *xia'hu*⁰.)

*xia'hu*³: blind bluffing, or bluffing to no purpose.

*xia'hu*³: blind tiger.

*xia'hu*⁰: bluffing.⁷⁹

Type 4. Pun into related rhetorical device:

⁷⁸ Yang and Lou use a footnote to explain the meaning of the pun (24).

⁷⁹ The superscribed figures here denote the tones in *putonghua* (or Mandarin). 1 to 4 denote the level, the rising, the falling-rising and the falling tones respectively, and 0 denotes the light tone. Tones will be indicated only when necessary in the examples. Yang and Lou's translation is as follows:

可能這是一個瞎子攤的牌，或是心中一抹黑的人攤的牌 (544)

(Perhaps this is a blind man's showdown, or the showdown of a man with a muddy mind.)

Ex. 5

[On the reason behind the Prime Minister's sudden resignation]

'So the resignation *is* to give time for the new leader to be run in before the next election.'

'Now that the Home Secretary's been run in already,' said Annie with a quiet smile. (26)

「這麼說來，[...]他辭職的確是爲了讓繼承人先把首相的席位坐穩哪！」

「不過得讓內政大臣先把被告的席位坐穩嘍！」安妮微笑著說。(22)

('So his resignation is indeed to let his successor to sit firmly on the seat of the prime minister first!')

'But he must let the Home Secretary to sit firmly on the seat of the accused first!'

Annie smiled.)⁸⁰

The source text pun 'run in' has been replaced by the repetition of the phrase 'sit firmly on the seat of'.

Type 5. Pun into non-pun:

Ex. 6

The responsibility for all errors, whether of omission or commission, remains entirely our own. (8)

不過，如有任何遺漏錯失，編者願負全責。(ix)

(But the editors are willing to take full responsibility for any omissions and errors.)

Type 6. Pun into zero:

Ex. 7

[On an accountant who has leaked information to Hacker]

She smiled. 'Apparently he's looking forward to reading the New Year's Honours List.'

*That seemed a fair deal. I asked her how we'd do that. In which section? Bernard leaned forward confidentially. 'How about through the Welsh Office? For services to leaks?' He is irrepressible. (372)*⁸¹

In the example above, the italic part has been deleted.

⁸⁰ Yang and Lou' translate the two 'run in' differently as '被推入執政' (pushed into power) and '被拘留' (detained) (27).

⁸¹ Yang and Lou's translation of Bernard Woolley's speech:

通過威爾士事務部怎麼樣？就因爲他透露了消息有貢獻？(448)

(How about through the Office for Welsh Affairs? Because of the contribution he has made by disclosing information?)

Type 7. Related rhetorical device into pun:

Ex. 8

I do not want the Queen to break the law, I merely ask the Prime Minister to bend it. (350)

我並沒有要求女王陛下違背法律，我只是要求首相閣下迴避法律罷了。(403)
(I haven't asked Her Majesty the Queen to *wei²bei⁴* the law, I merely ask Your Excellency the Prime Minister to *hui²bi⁴* the law.)

wei²bei⁴: to go against

hui²bi⁴: to get around⁸²

While alliteration is used in the source text, the sounds of the pair of words in the target text seem to be sufficiently similar to constitute a paronym, but such a classification has to be somewhat subjective.

Type 8. Non-pun into pun:

Ex. 9

[Hacker is talking to a newspaper editor about the former Prime Minister's memoirs, which contain some harsh comments on him.]

When I followed up by asking him to retract the story that I'd tried to suppress chapter eight of the damn book, he said that he couldn't. (305)

我接著請他撤回那篇說我企圖禁止胡憶錄第八章出版的報道，他卻推說不能撤回。[編者按：錄音帶很清楚，是「胡憶錄」而不是「回憶錄」。]
(354-55)

(Then I asked him to retract the news report that I had tried to suppress the publication of chapter eight of the *huyilu*, but he said he couldn't. [The tape is very clear. It is *huyilu*, not *huiyilu* -- Ed.]

huyilu: record of random (or wild, false) recollection.

huiyilu: memoirs, literally 'record of recollection'.

The following example is a natural extension of Ex. 9:

Ex. 10

[The former Prime Minister has died suddenly, and Hacker, while secretly rejoicing, comments that he will be sorely missed.]

'And so will his memoirs,' I added. (333)

「他的胡……回憶錄也太可惜了，」我補充說。(384)

⁸² Yang and Lou translate 'Break' and 'bend' as '違反' (*weifan*) and '變通' (*biantong*) respectively (425).

(And his *hu--iyilu* -- what a pity!' I added.)

Type 9. Zero into pun:

Ex. 11

This was *dreadful* news! It would be an incredible embarrassment. It would look as if I were trying to take the credit for something I didn't do! (233)

那可糟了！要是新聞界說了出來，大家就以爲我是搶別人的功勞了，那我怎麼下台呀？〔編者按：也許應該問：「怎能不下台？」〕 (275)

(That would be very bad! If it got into the press, people would think that I had snatched away other people's credit. Then how am I to step down from the stage? [Perhaps he should ask, 'how am I not to step down from the stage?' -- Ed.]

To step down from the stage: An idiom with two possible meanings: 1. To get out of an embarrassing situation; 2. To step down from a position of power.

Type 11. Intratextual change:

Ex. 12

('When there is a genuine conflict of interest, Bernard, which side is the Civil Service really on?')

This time he replied without hesitation. 'The winning side, Prime Minister.' And he gave me a winning smile. (153)

這次他毫不猶疑地答道：「有力的那一邊。」不知道他是說「力量」的「力」還是「利害」的「利」。不，我大概是聽錯了，他一定是說「有理的那一邊」。

伍利爵士接受本書編輯訪問時回憶道：

我是說「力量」的「力」。不過，哈克應該明白，無論他聽成哪一個字，其實意思都一樣。對公務員有利的那一邊自然有力量，也自然有道理。(179-80)

(This time he replied without hesitation. 'The side that has *li*⁴.' I don't know whether he meant 'power' or 'advantage' by *li*⁴. No, perhaps I have misheard him. He must have said 'the side that has *li*³.'

Sir Bernard Woolly recalled in an interview with the Editors:

I meant 'power'. But Hacker should have known that whichever word he had heard, the meaning was the same. The side that has advantage to the Civil Service naturally has power, and it naturally has justice.)

*li*⁴: 1. power. 2. advantage.

*li*³: justice, reason.⁸³

⁸³ Yang and Lou translate 'the winning side' literally as '贏方' and 'gave me a winning smile' as '動人地向我微笑了一下' (smiled charmingly to me) (192).

The translator judged that his rendering of the pun had necessitated the addition of an interview with Woolly because it was the practice of the source text authors to call on him to make clarification when it was in his ability to do so.

Among these processes, Type One seems to be most acceptable to the dominant translation poetics in China, but as the same pun (same or different type) can be found only by coincidence, most translators would resort to Type Five (pun into non-pun), sometimes in combination with Type Ten (extratextual gloss).⁸⁴ Types Two (same pun different type), Three (pun into different pun) and Four (pun into related rhetorical device) are seen in some translations and seem to be acceptable to some critics,⁸⁵ but they could be controversial.⁸⁶ The remaining types seem to be too out of bounds to deserve the critic's attention. But in Chang's translation of *YPM*, all types of strategies have been used except Type Ten.⁸⁷

The number of times these strategies have been used is summed up in Table 3:

⁸⁴ As can be seen in Yang Liyi and Lou Bingkun's translation. Delabastita asserts that many critics are unwilling to envisage '*pun* → *explanatory footnote*' rendering as a 'possible, let alone legitimate' translation strategy ('Introduction', *Wordplay and Translation*, pp. 134-35), but this seems to be often used by 'faithful' translators in China (see Sections 3.6. and 4.3.).

⁸⁵ For instance, both Xu Zhongbing ('Types of English Puns and Ways of Translation', *Foreign Languages*, 6 (1988), 29-32, 36) and Mao Guirong ('On Translation of Humour from English to Chinese', *Foreign Languages*, 1 (1992), 48-52) endorse Type Four as legitimate, and Mao endorses Type Three as well.

⁸⁶ Such as Han Dihou's objection as mentioned earlier in this subsection. The reader who assesses the translation comments that 'The puns and innuendoes cannot normally be translated: substitutes have to be invented' and cites Example 2, in which a pun is translated into the same pun (different type), and yet he approves of the strategy (see Section 4.2.), thus revealing the traditionalist's ambivalence towards such 'non-translations'.

⁸⁷ Commenting on the translation, Liliane Wong postulates without giving any reason that the strategies to translate puns into zeros and zeros into puns 'are problematic and should be used with great caution' ('Translation of Humour: With Reference to N.F. Chang's Translation of *Yes Prime Minister*' (unpublished M. A. thesis, City University of Hong Kong, 1995), p. 41).

Type	Strategy	Times used
1	Pun into same pun (same type)	39
2	Pun into same pun (different type)	4
3	Pun into different pun	115
4	Pun into related rhetorical device	13
5	Pun into non-pun	12
6	Pun into zero	7
7	Related rhetorical device into pun	1
8	Non-pun into pun	51
9	Zero into pun	8
10	Extratextual gloss	0
11	Intratextual change	26

Table 3. The Use of Strategies in Translating Puns

Based on these statistics some observations can be made:

First, among the 190 source text puns (1+2+3+4+5+6), 84% (158) have been translated into puns (1+2+3).

Second, 23% (43) of the source text puns have been translated into the same puns (1+2), and 61% (115) into different puns (3), which indicates that the latter may be a much more useful strategy than the former.

Third, there are 218 puns in the target text (1+2+3+7+8+9), or 28 more than in the source text, mainly owing to the translating of non-puns into puns.⁸⁸

Finally, if the potential acceptability of the translation can be considered high with respect to the handling of puns, thus fulfilling the first goal,⁸⁹ the main reason is the frequent use of strategies that could be deemed unconventional by the dominant

⁸⁸ These figures are intended to reveal the translator's basic orientation in the use of strategies rather than the actual rate of success. In fact, a certain percentage of the target text puns are bound to be less effective than their source text counterparts (such as the one in Ex. 2), but evaluation is outside the scope of this thesis.

⁸⁹ See Section 4.3.

translation poetics in China, such as the translating of puns into different puns and of non-puns and zeros into puns, occasionally in combination with intratextual change.

4.4.2. The Use of Parallel Structure and Rhyme

As there are many rhetorical devices that can produce a humorous effect, which are seldom in a one-to-one relationship between the source language and the target language, a translator with an initial strategy that tends towards acceptability usually opts for 'a more general compensatory strategy', 'seeking to reproduce an overall ST [source text] "flavour" by using all the [rhetorical devices available in the target language culture], at whatever level they [happen] to occur'.⁹⁰ Thus an account of the translator's strategies in (re)producing a humorous effect has to cover the use of the other rhetorical devices besides the pun. Prominent among these devices are the parallel structure and the rhyme, especially when the target language is Chinese.

Walter Nash sums up the humour potential of the parallel structure as follows:

The ordering of elements in a clause, the contrivance of parallel constructions, the imposition of a cohesive syntactic pattern on a sequence of sentences in a text, are all ways of creating, in prose, a frame for comic narrative comparable to the prosodic framing of humorous verse.⁹¹

But the literary convention in the use of parallel structure is different between English and Chinese. In English 'parallel' often means no more than 'syntactic parallel'. In an example provided by Walter Nash -- 'Mr Brown's bull mastiff barracked the bread man, Mrs Thompson's terrier taunted a passing tramp'⁹² -- it can be said that while the syntactic parallelism is essential, the phonetic parallelism (via correspondent alliterative patterns⁹³) is an optional extra. Besides, it seems that the use of parallel structure in English prose is

⁹⁰ Lance Hewson and Jacky Martin, *Redefining Translation*, p. 201.

⁹¹ *The Language of Humour*, p. 166.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 130-31.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

not very frequent, and when it is used, the parallelism is seldom phonological, that is, the numbers of syllables in the two parts are seldom equal, owing to the multisyllabic structure of many English words.

In Chinese, 'parallel structures' (平行結構, or 平行句⁹⁴) may also refer to syntactic parallels only, but because of the monosyllabic structure of most Chinese characters, the literary convention seems to be such that syntactic parallelism is not only frequently used, but also that it is usually used in combination with phonological parallelism, resulting in not just 'parallel structures' but 'even parallel structures' (平行整齊結構).⁹⁵

The rhyme is regarded by some theorists as a rhetorical device similar to the pun. For example, Debra Fried argues, 'Rhyme and pun are twins. They both "join words that have no association by sense but only by sound"'.⁹⁶ Indeed, it is sometimes difficult to say when the rhyme ends and the paronymous pun⁹⁷ begins.

Probably owing to the constraint put on rhyming by the presence of consonant clusters, alliteration is also recognized as a rhetorical device in English with humour potential: 'alliteration undoubtedly gives definition to the humorous design', and 'humorous language shares a characteristic of poetic language, in the frequent convergence of stylistic traits; rhyme or alliteration, for example, may sharply contour a striking grammatical structure that houses some form of lexical play', writes Nash.⁹⁸ However, rhyme and alliteration are also relatively rare in English prose; in *YPM*, for

⁹⁴ The former term used by Li Yude, *New Practical Rhetoric* (Beijing: Beijing Press, 1985), and the latter by Wang Dechun et al., *Dictionary of Rhetoric* (Zhejiang: Zhejiang Educational Press, 1987), pp. 116-17.

⁹⁵ See Li Yude, *New Practical Rhetoric*, pp. 16-17. Also see the examples provided later in this subsection.

⁹⁶ 'Rhyme Puns', in *On Puns*, pp. 83-99 (p. 88). Fried is quoting Arden Reed, 'The Mariner Rimed', in *Romanticism and Language*, ed. by himself (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), pp. 168-201 (p. 178).

⁹⁷ See Subsection 4.4.1. For a survey of views on the relationship between the rhyme and the pun, see Walter Redfern, *Puns*, pp. 99-102.

⁹⁸ *The Language of Humour*, pp. 132, 12.

example, only twelve obvious instances are noted, discounting those where the same word or words with the same root are used repeatedly.⁹⁹

Again the Chinese literary convention in the use of rhyme and alliteration is different: probably in consequence of the easy availability of rhyming characters, the use of rhyme is popular not only in poetry, but also in prose, although to a lesser extent, whereas alliteration is rarely noticeable in prose.

(Even) parallel structure and rhyme are not only much more frequently used in Chinese literary writings, but they are also often used together, even in prose, which sometimes prove to be more effective in producing humour than when only one of them is used,¹⁰⁰ for, as Walter Nash points out:

Often it is the apparatus of rhythm and rhyme that makes a declaration of comic intent, and in such cases it might almost be said that the prosody *is* the joke; rather as the clown's costume and make-up can legitimize the most feeble or dubious essays in humour. Prosodic dress can transform a sober proposition [...] ¹⁰¹

To the English-Chinese translator who aims at a high degree of acceptability with regard to the handling of parallel structure and rhyme, the implication of these differences

⁹⁹ Such as 'unofficially official but officially unofficial' (318).

¹⁰⁰ The following are examples from three contemporary prose writers (the italic type indicates even parallel structures and the underlines indicate rhymes). Of the eight passages, Chen Rong's three are serious, and the rest humorous.

Chen Rong (*Didn't Bother to Divorce* (Beijing: Huayi Press, 1991)):

來自外界的不是溫暖，而是冷淡；不是安慰，而是非議，(6)

遺棄自己嗎？不願意。消沉下去嗎？不甘心。(6)

看著時光在碌碌無為中流失，看著生命在一點一滴地消逝。(7)

Wang Meng (*I Dreamt of You Again* (Beijing: Huayi Press, 1991)):

餓起來腹腔一抽一抽的，腦袋一墜一墜的，腿肚子一沉一沉的，(37)

天天如此，年年如此，世世代代，永遠如此。(37)

自己與家人共同欣賞歡呼鼓掌(37)

Wang Suo (*Banter: Collected Works of Wang Suo, Vol. 4* (Beijing: Huayi Press, 1992)):

不出仨月，我讓你見飯就暈見飯就吐。再不出仨月我讓你們個個見妞就哭見妞就跑。(85)

你們就坐失良機束手待斃後悔莫及吧！(95)

¹⁰¹ *The Language of Humour*, p. 164.

is that the key is not so much how these devices should be translated or compensated for as when and how they are to be used where there is none in the source text, in order to measure up to the reader's expectation of 'literariness'.

The following are examples where (even) parallel structure and/or rhyme have been used in Chang's translation (even parallel structure in Ex. 13, rhyme in Ex. 14, even parallel structure and rhyme in Ex. 15, and parallel structure and rhyme in Ex. 16).¹⁰²

Ex. 13

[Startled by the rudeness of the Soviet ambassador, Sir Humphrey has spilled the wine on his trousers.]

(He was conspicuous by his absence.) I thought he was either recovering his dignity or trying to sponge the wine off his trousers. (349-50)

我猜他要不是驚魂未定，就是褲子未乾。(402)

(I thought he was either *jing hun wei ding*, or *kuzi wei gan*.)

jing hun wei ding: startled soul not yet settled.

kuzi wei gan: trousers not yet dry.

Ex. 14

[Bernard forbids Sir Humphrey to come to No 10, but is startled at his sudden appearance.]

Bernard leapt to his feet. 'My God!'

'No, Bernard,' snarled Humphrey, 'it's just your boss.' (133)

本納德跳了起來：「我的上帝呀！」

「不是你的上帝，是你的上級！」漢弗萊咆哮著說。(154)

(Bernard jumped up. 'My *shangdi*!')

'Not your *shangdi*, but your *shangji*!' Snarled Humphrey.)

Shangdi: (Christian) God.

shangji: superior.

Ex. 15

[Hacker on the Chancellor of the Exchequer]

They never see the other side of him -- mean-spirited, devious and malicious. (27)

他們從來都看不見他的另一面——老奸巨猾、陰險毒辣。(23)

(They never see the other side of him -- *lau jian ju hua*, *yinxian dula*.)

lau jian ju hua: a set phrase meaning the quality of a crafty old scoundrel.

yinxian dula: a set phrase meaning 'sinister and ruthless'.

¹⁰² None of these rhetorical devices have been used in the corresponding passages in Yang Liyi and Lou Bingkun's translation except a near-rhyme in Ex. 14 (pp. 424, 166, 29, 91-92).

Ex. 16

[Editor's Note quoting an old adage to comment on Hacker's proposal to lunch with one ambassador everyday]

One Prime Minister's lunch with an ambassador destroys two years of patient diplomacy. (75-76)

首相大使一頓飯，外交部白忙兩年半 (82)

<i>(shouxiang</i>	<i>dashi</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>dun</i>	<i>fan</i>
Prime Minister	ambassador	one		meal
<i>waijiaobu</i>	<i>bai mang</i>	<i>liang</i>	<i>nian</i>	<i>ban</i>
Foreign Ministry	in vain toils	two	years (and a)	half)

Like the translating of puns, the use of (even) parallel structure and rhyme often involves a loss or distortion of meanings: 'dignity' and 'trying to sponge the wine' in Ex. 13 and 'patient' in Ex. 16 have disappeared, and 'two years' in Ex. 16 has become 'two years and a half' for the sake of rhyme and rhythm, but the translator decided that he should be more concerned about gain in artistic effect.

While no statistics of the number of parallel structures in the source and target texts has been attempted because of the difficulty often encountered in identifying them and measuring their rhetorical effect,¹⁰³ the use of rhyme is summed up in the following table, from which it can be seen that instances of rhyme in the target text (47) is nearly four times as many as those of rhyme/alliteration in the source text (12):

Strategy	Times used
Rhyme/alliteration into rhyme	5
Rhyme/alliteration into non-rhyme	6
Rhyme/alliteration into pun	1
Non-rhyme/alliteration into rhyme	42

Table 4. The Translating of Rhyme/Alliteration

¹⁰³ According to Li Yude, only those with a certain rhetorical effect should be counted as rhetorical structures (*New Practical Rhetoric*, p. 16). This seems to be especially applicable to Chinese parallel structures, which can occur so frequently that it is sometimes not easy to determine whether they are intended to be rhetorical devices by the author or perceived to be such by the reader.

While the rate of conservation of source text rhyme and alliteration tells very little about their degree of translatability because of the small number involved, the big increase in the use of rhyme is indicative of an 'initial strategy' that aims at acceptability. There seems to be no semantic loss involved in some of these renderings, such as Ex. 14, but even pure gain could be problematic to some, for it has been claimed that a translation 'better' than the original is a contradiction in terms because it ceases to be a translation and becomes an independent creation.¹⁰⁴

4.4.3. The Handling of Culture-specific Items

As mentioned before,¹⁰⁵ the whole universe of discourse of *YPM* is relatively unfamiliar to the Chinese people, and most of the potential readers may not feel a keen interest in knowing this universe. This cultural gap presents a great problem for the translating of a work of humour, because a reader who is unfamiliar with the script(s) involved will not be able to realize the incongruity that causes the humour.¹⁰⁶ As Arthur Koestler puts it, 'a caricature is comic only if we know something of the victim' as 'the unknown cannot be distorted or misrepresented'.¹⁰⁷

Working under the double tension created by the conflicting requirements of producing a worthwhile literary work and presenting a translation,¹⁰⁸ the translator may opt for 'conservation or substitution of the original reference(s) by other(s) closer to the receiving pole' in dealing with culture-specific items¹⁰⁹ depending on his/her initial strategy, but it seems that the second requirement tends to exert greater pressure than the first in most cases, even for translators who otherwise lean towards acceptability.

¹⁰⁴ Han Dihou, *Modern English-Chinese Translation*, p. 132; T. S. Chiu, *On Translation* (Singapore: Cultural Press, 1993), pp. 54-56.

¹⁰⁵ See Section 3.6.

¹⁰⁶ See Section 3.3.

¹⁰⁷ *The Act of Creation* (London: Hutchinson, 1976; first publ. in 1964), pp. 70-71.

¹⁰⁸ See Section 4.3.

¹⁰⁹ Javier Franco Aixelá, 'Culture-Specific Items in Translation', p. 61.

James S. Holmes notices a 'marked tendency' among contemporary translators in the West towards 'modernization and naturalization of the linguistic context, paired with a similar but less clear tendency in the same direction in regard to the literary intertext, but an opposing tendency towards historicizing and exoticizing in the socio-cultural situation'.¹¹⁰

The translation history of China tells a similar story. Yan Fu, who adhered to the linguistic and literary norms of the target system, retained such items as 'Huxley', 'England' and 'Caesar'. Even when he resorted to naturalization, the original items were not abandoned altogether but were kept in footnotes.¹¹¹ After a period of extreme exoticization on all planes as advocated by Lu Xun, some theorists talked about 'pure Chinese' and 'pure native literature',¹¹² and some translators aimed at a high degree of acceptability where linguistic matters were concerned,¹¹³ but naturalization with regard to culture-specific items has rarely been found in works presented as translations, or contemplated by theorists as a possible translation strategy.

For Aixelá,

[There is] no explanation for the apparent contradiction of such a difference of treatment between the linguistic and pragmatic planes on the one hand, and the cultural plane on the other, i.e. the contradiction by which current translations tend to be read like *an* original on the stylistic level and as *the* original on the socio-cultural one.¹¹⁴

But to Holmes this is hardly surprising. He notes that although 'theorists have often argued that choices should be all of a piece: all exoticizing and historicizing, with an

¹¹⁰ *Translated!* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988), p. 49.

¹¹¹ See Section 2.3.

¹¹² See Section 2.4.

¹¹³ Such as Wang Keyi's translation of Charles Dickens's *Great Expectations* (Shanghai: Yiwen Press, 1979), or Zhang Guruo's translation of Charles Dickens' *David Copperfield* (Shanghai: Yiwen Press, 1989; first publ. in 1980).

¹¹⁴ 'Culture-Specific Items in Translation', p. 56.

emphasis on *retention*, or all naturalizing and modernizing, with an emphasis on *re-creation*', translators in practice 'perform a series of pragmatic choices, here retentive, there re-creative, at this point historicizing or exoticizing, at that point modernizing or naturalizing, and emphasizing now this plane now that, at the cost of the other two'.¹¹⁵

It seems that there can be an explanation for this 'apparent contradiction'. Readers expect between a translation and its source text a certain relationship, which usually includes a certain degree (which may be very high in some cultures) of 'faithfulness',¹¹⁶ but since many of them do not have the means of checking this relationship on the linguistic and literary planes, even exponents of 'the principle of equivalent effect' seem to allow translator much latitude there:

With highly creative literary works, [...] stylistic qualities are often far more important [...] than even faithfulness in content. Most readers of translations are not in a position to compare the originals anyway, and what they usually want [...] is to acquire something of presumably the same feeling which original readers must have had.¹¹⁷

However, if such culture-specific items as the names of characters and places in a literary work are naturalized, readers can easily realize that they have been let down. Therefore, literary translators are under great pressure not to go against readers' expectation on the cultural plane, and it can be safely assumed that many translators do not want to do so anyway, for their translation skopos usually includes the introduction of a foreign work.

¹¹⁵ *Translated!*, p. 48. Cf. Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, p. 67:

A translator's behaviour cannot be expected to be fully systematic. Not only can his/her decision-making be differently motivated in different problem areas, but it can also be unevenly distributed throughout an assignment within a single problem area. Consistency in translational behaviour is thus a *graded* notion which is neither nil (i.e., total erraticness) nor 1 (i.e., absolute regularity); [...]

¹¹⁶ Cf. Christiane Nord, 'Scopos, Loyalty, and Translational Conventions', *Target*, 3:1 (1991), 91-109; *Text Analysis in Translation*, pp. 28-29.

¹¹⁷ Jin Di and Eugene A. Nida, *On Translation* (Beijing: China Translation & Publishing Corporation, 1984), p. 98.

As Lance Hewson and Jacky Martin point out,

However much one believes in the 'virtues' of LC2[target language culture]-influenced translation, it is the LC1 [source language culture] context which usually prevails in any translation. [...] The play *No Man's Land* continues to be set in London, and not Paris, the main characters keep their names, and the cultural references are usually maintained. This being the case, one cannot simply convert LC1 references into LC2, but one has to 'bend' the LC2 in order to encompass such references.¹¹⁸

Moreover, as it is a traditional view in many cultures that translation is a linguistic operation rather than a cultural one,¹¹⁹ presenters of translations seem to have more licence for linguistic than for cultural manipulation.

Taking a diachronic perspective, one may also notice that while the linguistic gaps between most language-cultures remain largely unchanged, the cultural gaps have been narrowing as a result of international contact. Consequently, it is now less necessary than before for translators to naturalize culture-specific items.¹²⁰

Increased contact between cultures, however, is not always two-way. While the process of cultural internationalization is 'focused on the Anglo-Saxon pole' as Javier Franco Aixelá sees it from a Spanish point of view,¹²¹ it is focused on the Western pole if viewed from a Chinese angle. This can be seen in the fact that most translators, including 'faithful' ones, tend to change Chinese weights and measures into Western ones in their

¹¹⁸ *Redefining Translation*, pp. 151-52.

¹¹⁹ This view is reflected in the definition of 'translate' or 'translation' given by non-specialized dictionaries -- English or Chinese. Any such definition is bound to contain the word 'language', but not 'culture'. The view is also confirmed by Eugene A. Nida and Charles R. Taber, who postulate that a linguistic translation is legitimate but a cultural translation or adaptation is not (*The Theory and Practice of Translation* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969), p. 134), although one may wonder whether some of the translations Nida endorses are linguistic or cultural (see the examples queried by Jin Di below).

¹²⁰ Cf. One of the laws of translatability proposed by Gideon Toury: 'translatability is high when there has been contact between the two traditions' (*In Search of a Theory of Translation*, p. 25).

¹²¹ 'Culture-Specific Items in Translation', p. 54.

translations into Western languages,¹²² whereas nearly all keep Western weights and measures intact in the other direction.¹²³ Jin Di, a supporter of Nida's theory, is probably influenced by the norms of English-Chinese translation in taking a more conservative stance than Nida on the cultural plane: he criticizes the latter for not paying enough attention to what he calls 'actual facts', citing Nida's endorsement of 'give one another a hearty handshake all around' as a modern English translation of 'greet one another with a holy kiss'.¹²⁴

All these factors may have contributed to the 'double standard' many translators apply to linguistic and literary elements on the one hand and cultural elements on the other. But whatever the initial strategy of the translator, in dealing with items specific to the source culture s/he has eight strategies to choose from as English-Chinese translation is concerned:¹²⁵

1. *Linguistic (non-cultural) translation*. The translator chooses a denotatively close reference to the original, which can be recognized as belonging to the cultural system of the source text.
2. *Extratextual gloss*. Explanation of the item is provided outside the text proper, in footnotes, endnotes, preface, etc.
3. *Intratextual gloss*. Explanation is provided inside the text proper.
4. *Limited universalization*. The item is replaced by one that is less culture-specific

¹²² Such as David Hawkes and John Minford, trans, *The Story of the Stone* (translation of Cao Xueqin's *Honglou Meng*), 5 vols (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973-86); and Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang, trans, *A Dream of Red Mansions* (translation of Cao Xueqin's *Honglou Meng*), 3 vols (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1978-80).

¹²³ Such as Wang Keyi's translation of *Great Expectations*, Zhang Guruo's translation of *David Copperfield*, and also Siguo's translation of *David Copperfield* (Taipei: Lianjing Press, 1993).

¹²⁴ *In Search of Equivalent-effect Translation* (Beijing: China Translation & Publishing Corporation, 1989), pp. 19-21. The example, from Romans 16:16 of the Bible, is originally cited in Eugene A. Nida, *Toward A Science of Translating* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964), p. 160.

¹²⁵ These strategies are chosen from Javier Franco Aixelá's list of eleven ('Culture-Specific Items in Translation', pp. 61-64) with modification to their explanations. The remaining three -- repetition, orthographic adaptation and synonymy -- are rarely used in English-Chinese translation.

or more transparent.¹²⁶

5. *Absolute universalization*. The item is replaced by a non-culture-specific one.
6. *Naturalization*. The item is replaced by one that is specific to the target culture.
7. *Deletion*. The item is deleted.
8. *Autonomous creation*. An item specific to the target culture is introduced.¹²⁷

These strategies are listed in ascending order according to the degree of intercultural manipulation involved, and basically the first three are conservative and the last five substitutive in nature.¹²⁸ Extratextual and intratextual glosses are always used in combination with other strategies -- usually with linguistic (non-cultural) translation, but other combinations are also possible. In Chang's translation, all eight strategies have been used.

Type 1. Linguistic (non-cultural) translation:

This strategy has been applied to a large number of culture-specific items for a number of reasons. According to the judgement of the translator, some of the referents may have become familiar to the Chinese reader through other translated texts, such as 'Labour' and 'Conservative' (465), or through importation of the referents themselves, such as 'Christmas card' (9), which is becoming popular among young educated people in China; or they will become so through the co-text, such as Anglo-French relation (Chapters One, Nine and Twelve) and Civil Servants (every chapter), which are mentioned on so many occasions that the reader will have accumulated enough knowledge to comprehend the story after reading the whole text, although not always enough to appreciate the full

¹²⁶ 'Transparency' is defined by Peter Newmark as 'the SL [source language] term "shining" through [...] the corresponding TL [target language] term, thereby resembling it closely in form' (*Approaches to Translation* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1981), p. 78).

¹²⁷ Javier Franco Aixelá defines this as a strategy in which the translator 'put in some nonexistent cultural reference in the source text' ('Culture-Specific Items in Translation', p. 64), but it seems that it is more often for translators to put in items that belong to the target cultural system.

¹²⁸ See Javier Franco Aixelá, 'Culture-Specific Items in Translation', pp. 61-64.

force of the humour; moreover, some of these items are transparent through their translations so that even those readers who have little prior knowledge about them will be able to guess their meanings. Examples are: 'Conservative' → '保守黨', 'Labour' → '工黨', 'Christmas card' → '聖誕卡', and also 'constituency' → '選區'.

Sometimes the referents and/or the connotations of the items were deemed to be unlikely to seriously hamper the comprehension of the story, and not significant enough for the translation skopos to deserve footnoting or other manipulative strategies, such as 'sherry' as a Christmas gift (13) and '*Sunday Times*' as a newspaper to which the serial rights of political memoirs can be sold (8).

Linguistic (non-cultural) translation may also result from incomprehension or oversight on the part of the translator of the (hidden) meanings involved. For example, there is an episode in Chapter One (20-21) about Hacker driving from London to his constituency 'at approximately nine miles an hour' after getting drunk, and it is mentioned in Chapter Fourteen (389) (and also in *YM*) that his constituency is Birmingham. If the translator had put two and two together, he would probably have added a footnote explaining that Hacker was on a journey of about 120 miles.

Type 2. Extratextual gloss:

In order to help the reader understand the implications of the story, extratextual gloss -- in the form of endnotes as decided by the editor -- has been provided on many occasions. In the translation ten endnotes have been added to the following passage to explain the nature of each newspaper in an attempt to convey as much of the humour as possible to the Chinese reader (438):

Ex. 17

Humphrey knows nothing about newspapers. He's a Civil Servant. I'm a politician, I know all about them. I have to. They can make or break me. I know exactly who reads them. *The Times* is read by the people who run the country. The *Daily Mirror* is read by the people who think they run the country. The *Guardian* is read by the people who think they ought to run the country. The *Morning Star* is read by the

people who think the country ought to be run by another country. *The Independent* is read by people who don't know who runs the country but are sure they're doing it wrong. The *Daily Mail* is read by the wives of the people who run the country. The *Financial Times* is read by the people who own the country. The *Daily Express* is read by the people who think the country ought to be run as it used to be run. The *Daily Telegraph* is read by the people who still think it *is* their country. And the *Sun's* readers don't care who runs the country providing she has big tits. (355)

Type 3. Intratextual gloss:

As the translator was concerned that the reader might find endnotes (or footnotes) distracting, and therefore their addition might affect readability, sometimes the gloss was provided intratextually, as in the following two examples:

Ex. 18

(General Howard continued to explain the RAF mentality as he sees it. 'They want the Bomb to be carried around in an aeroplane, you see. All they're really interested in is flying around dropping things on people. Not that they're any good at it --) I mean, they couldn't even close the runway at Port Stanley. [...]' (81-82)

福克蘭戰爭那時候，他們就連斯坦利港的機場都炸不中。(90)

(During the Falklands War, they couldn't even hit the airfield at Port Stanley.)

From the point of view of the translator, the addition of background information ('Falklands War' and 'airfield') would make the passage comprehensible to most readers, and yet it does not seem to make the speech wordy or unnatural.

Ex. 19

[Hacker on his own plan to cancel Trident and use the money to expand the conventional army, and at the same time reintroduce conscription so as to solve the problem of unemployment]

It's a great policy. *A new deal for Britain*. I shall call it my Grand Design. Hacker's Grand Design. I already have notes for my House of Commons speech in which I shall outline the whole concept: 'From time to time, in our great island story, it falls to one man to lead his people *out of the valley of the shadows and into the broad sunlit uplands of peace and prosperity*.' (emphasis added) (69)

In the translation an editor's note has been attached to each of the italicized parts:

[編者按：哈克很希望給自己塑造一個羅斯福第二的形象]。

[編者按：哈克更希望給自己塑造一個邱吉爾第二的形象]。(74)

([Hacker hoped very much to build up an image as Roosevelt the Second -- Ed.]
[Hacker hoped even more to build up an image as Churchill the Second -- Ed.]

The translator's line of reasoning was that while 'new deal' is obviously from F. D. Roosevelt, it is not sure where the second italicized part comes from, but it bears some similarity with a speech made by Winston Churchill to the House of Commons on 18 June 1940: 'and the life of the world may move forward into broad, sunlit uplands';¹²⁹ as Hacker regards himself as a statesman (86) and is obsessed with the idea of a place in the history books (85), it is only natural to assume that he aspires to be on a par with great statesmen of the world and that he has Winston Churchill in mind when making this speech.¹³⁰ In order to convey what he saw as the hidden meanings of the passage to the Chinese reader while avoiding the boredom of endnotes, the translator invented two editor's notes in keeping with the style of the source text. They could have been called 'Translator's Notes', but he felt that a translatorial presence in the main body of the text might seem out of place.

Type 4. Limited universalization:

However, the translator had an apprehension that if everything unfamiliar to the Chinese reader was to be explained, whether extratextually or intratextually, the translation would become rather lengthy and the book unwieldy.¹³¹ Therefore, sometimes he preferred substitution, when a suitable substitute could be found. To him the advantage of this method is that it makes the translation not only comprehensible but also

¹²⁹ Churchill, Winston Leonard Spencer, 'Anticipates the Battle of Britain', in *100 Famous Speeches*, trans. by Shi Youshan, emended by Zhang Longxi (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1986), pp. 430-33, (p. 432).

¹³⁰ The reader is reminded of Hacker's ambition to be another Churchill several times in *YPM*: 'one of his ghastly patriotic Churchillian moods' (165), 'Churchillian outburst' (169) and 'I felt like Mrs Thatcher during the Falklands, only more so -- almost Churchillian really' (253).

¹³¹ While the text proper of *The Complete Yes Prime Minister* has 480 pages, that of Chang's translation takes up 564 pages.

as appealing as the source text without unduly lengthening the passage concerned, but the constraint is that, if one is to observe the culture-specificity of the text as a whole so as to maintain the appearance of a translation, one cannot normally use substitutes which are exclusively and obviously bound to the target culture but must find a more or less common ground shared by the two cultures.

The translator found that one of the most suitable kinds of substitutes was those that were specific to the source culture but were known or even familiar to people in the target culture.

Ex. 20

You didn't have to be Hercule Poirot to see that the agenda had been tampered with. (83)

你就算不是福爾摩斯也看得出來，議程給人做了手腳了。(92)

(You didn't have to be Sherlock Holmes to see that the agenda had been tampered with.)

Sherlock Holmes has long since become a household name in China while Hercule Poirot does not enjoy such a status although Agatha Christie's works have recently become popular.¹³² To the translator this instance of substitution seems to be rather neat in the sense that it only involves the replacement of a proper name. Sometimes several paragraphs have to be completely changed to accommodate the substitute:

Ex. 21

[On the tactics of defamation]

1. Take someone's idea -- say, a chap who believes that education subsidies should be funnelled through the parents rather than through the Local Education Authority.

2. Simplify it to the point of absurdity -- 'He believes in a complete free for all'.

3. Admit there was some truth in it *once*. 'But we've all realised that there is a less extreme way of solving the problem.'

4. Label him with the idea every time his name is mentioned. 'Ah yes, the educational vouchers man.' (364)

1. 把他的主張接過來，比方說，恢復死刑以對付殺人犯和恐怖分子吧。¹⁵

2. 將之簡化到荒唐的地步——他認為法律制裁必須以牙還牙，以眼還眼。

¹³² See Sections 1.4. and 2.2.

3. 承認他的主張本來有幾分道理。「可現在我們都知道，有一些沒那麼極端的方法，也同樣能解決問題的。」

4. 每次提到他，都用他的主張來作外號：「噢，就是嚴刑先生唄。」光叫他老嚴也行。

¹⁵ 當時的英國是沒有死刑的。(419, 438)

(1. Take his idea -- say, that capital punishment should be reintroduced for murderers and terrorists.¹⁵

2. Simplify it to the point of absurdity -- 'He believes in a tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye in legal sanction'.

3. Admit there was some truth in it once. 'But we've all realised that there is a less extreme way of solving the problem.

4. Use his view to nickname him whenever he is mentioned: 'Oh, that is Mr *Yan Xing*.' Or just Old *Yan* will do.

¹⁵ There was no capital punishment in the Britain of that time.)

Yan Xing: sounds like a Chinese name and means 'harsh penalty'.

The translator's consideration was that British problem of education subsidies would not make any sense to the Chinese reader, whereas capital punishment seemed to be a controversial issue both in the West and in the East. This is the passage where the largest-scale substitution has been made in the translation.

Type 5. Absolute universalization:

Culturally neutral items have also been regarded as suitable substitutes, such as '淺顯的字眼' (simple words) (10) for 'words of one syllable' (16), and '首相府' (Prime Minister's Residence) (25) for 'Number 10' (25).¹³³

Type 6. Naturalization:

Items which are specific to the target culture but not obtrusively so have also been

¹³³ 'Number 10' have sometimes been translated as '唐寧街十號' (Number 10 Downing Street) when the meaning has been made clear in the co-text, such as in the passage 'I went to the Palace and kissed hands. The next morning I moved into Number Ten. I'd read in the memoirs of past Prime Ministers that the staff line up in the front lobby [...]' (59, translation: 61), or when explicitization was not deemed desirable, such as in the passage 'Arnold was not at Number 10 with the present inmate' (188, translation: 224).

occasionally used as substitutes:

Ex. 22

[On the tactics the Russians may use to annex Europe]

'No, if they try anything it will be salami tactics.'

[*Salami tactics was the description customarily given to 'slice by slice' manoeuvres, i.e., not a full scale invasion of the West, but the annexation of one small piece at a time. [...] -- Ed.] (66)*

「不會的。他們一定會用蠶食戰術。」 [編者按：就是說，每次只吞吃一小片土地。 [...]] (71)

(No, they will certainly use silkworm nibbling tactics.' [That is, eating only a small piece of land at a time, [...] -- Ed.]

The translator saw an advantage in the use of the Chinese idiom 'silkworm nibbling tactics': its meaning seems much clearer than a linguistic (non-cultural) translation, and even clearer than 'salami tactics' in the source text so that the Editor's explanation can be simplified. And he trusted that the reader would not find it odd in a translation since silk has become a universally popular product.

Type 8. Autonomous creation:

Items of this nature have not only been used as substitutes, but also introduced into a few passages where there are no culture-specific items in the replaced source text segments, as in the following example:

Ex. 23

[Sir Humphrey is advising Hacker on how to govern the country]

'Have you considered... masterly inactivity?' (77)

「你考慮過……無爲而治嗎？」 (83)

(Have you considered... *wuwei er zhi*?)

wuwei er zhi: literally means 'govern by doing nothing', but is in fact a Taoist principle of government by letting things take their own course, and is sometimes taken to mean following the practice and system of one's predecessor.¹³⁴

As the translator saw it, the term '*wuwei er zhi*' is so rich in meaning that it adds humour

¹³⁴ See Language Research Centre, Hubei University, *Dictionary of Chinese Idioms* (Henan: Henan People's Press, 1985), p. 1234.

to the text, and it does not seem to be out of place as Taoism is known in the West.¹³⁵

Type 7. Deletion:

When no suitable substitute was handy and the culture-specific item seemed unimportant for the translation skopos, the translator chose to delete the item. In the following example, the italicized part has been deleted:

Ex. 24

[On Luke, a Foreign Affairs Private Secretary who is pro-Arab and anti-Israeli]
He is *the most Aryan-looking chap I've ever seen* -- tall, slim, blond -- rather attractive actually, [...] (170, translation: 203)

And the following passage is simplified:

Ex. 25

As always the claret was better than the food, the port was better than the claret, and the conversation was better than the port. (215)

就跟往常一樣，喝的比吃的好，談的比喝的好。(257)

(As usual, what we drank was better than what we ate, and what we talked about was better than what we drank.)

As the controversy over the Jewish nation or Zionism was of little interest to the translator (or the Chinese reader as judged by the translator), the deletion of the reference to the Aryan in Ex. 23 was not felt to be much of a loss whatever its significance in the source text.

As to Ex. 25. part of the humour is lost with the deleted items, but the translator saw a gain that is due to the cultural gap: the passage could be amusing for a reason that the source reader will not appreciate, which is the fact that British food is notorious in China and some other parts of the world. Besides, he felt that the use of parallel structure might also add to the humour.

¹³⁵ For example, Oscar Wilde wrote an essay advocating the philosophy of Chuang Tsu (莊子), one of the founders of Taoism (see Hesketh Pearson, *The Life of Oscar Wilde* (London: Macdonald and Jane's, 1975, first publ. in 1946), p. 130).

In these two cases, the translator was content with a solution which is just sufficient for his skopos, although after hours of research an optimal solution might be found.¹³⁶ Jiří Levý calls this the 'minimax strategy', which means that the translator intuitively 'resolves for that one of the possible solutions which promises a maximum of effect with a minimum of effort'.¹³⁷

Some figures¹³⁸ concerning the use of these strategies in the Editors' Note and the first two chapters are provided in Table 5, in which only the first appearances of culture-specific items are counted.

Type	Strategy	Times used	Accumulative total
1	Linguistic translation only	93	93
2	Extratextual gloss	23	116
3	Intratextual gloss	35	151
4	Limited universalization	4	155
5	Absolute universalization	22	177
6	Naturalization	7	184
7	Deletion	9	193
8	Autonomous creation	2	195
¹ Types 2 and 3 are used only in combination with linguistic (non-cultural) translation in these chapters.			

Table 5. The use of Strategies in handling culture-specific items

Seen from this table, the tendency in handling culture-specific items has been towards exoticizing if compared with the translating of puns: among the first appearances of such items (193), linguistic (non-cultural) translation has been applied to about 48% (93) without any kind of gloss, and about 78% (151) are conserved, whereas substitutive

¹³⁶ Cf. Jiří Levý, 'Translation As a Decision Process', in *Readings in Translation Theory*, ed. by Andrew Chesterman (Finland: Oy Finn Lectura Ab, 1979), pp. 37-52 (first publ. in *To Honour Roman Jakobson*, 2 (1967), 1171-82) (p. 49).

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹³⁸ Which can only be approximate for reasons stated earlier in this section.

strategies (Types 4-7) are applied to only 22% (42) plus two instances of autonomous creation. But the use of strategies with a high degree of linguistic and/or cultural manipulation (Types 3-8), though accounting for less than half of the times (79, or 41%), indicates a more re-creative than retentive approach if compared with the common practice in contemporary China,¹³⁹ where these strategies are rarely used consciously.¹⁴⁰

Generally speaking, the bottom-line of the translator with regard to the treatment of culture-specific items was comprehensibility instead of maximum acceptability, with the consequence that in many cases the humour has not been reproduced in its full force owing to unfamiliarity with the scripts, weaker internal inhibition, and/or explicitization caused by the gloss provided.

With all the manipulations that have been done, the translation turns out to be comprehensible only to those readers who have some knowledge about British culture, as proved by a small-scale experiment conducted by a student of linguistics on subjects with post-secondary education or above. She asked a group of native British to write down what they understand from the following passage, which was given to them together with a brief explanation of the co-text, and she asked two groups of Hong Kong Chinese to do the same, but they were given Chinese translations. One group was to read a more or less linguistic (non-cultural) translation done by herself, and the other was to read

¹³⁹ These strategies can perhaps be regarded as what Gideon Toury calls 'symptomatic devices': although they may be infrequently used, their occurrence is highly indicative of the translator's tendency (see *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, p. 68).

¹⁴⁰ Even Type 2 extratextual gloss is used only sparingly by 'faithful' translators. In their translation of the examples cited in this subsection, Yang Liyi and Lou Bingkun mostly use linguistic (non-cultural) translation alone, exceptions being Examples 20, 22, 24 and 25, where extratextual gloss is provided (pp. 430, 100, 83, 102, 441, 14, 31, 79, 93, 217, 274). And this seemingly 'orthodox' strategy can sometimes be controversial: a critic has complained about a Chinese translation of William Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury* for adding too many footnotes on the ground that they have reduced the degree of unreadability of the source text and the necessity for the reader to participate (Xiao Minghan, 'The Question of Faithfulness in Literary Works: On the Tendency to Explicitization in Li's Translation of *The Sound and the Fury*', *Chinese Translators Journal*, 3 (1992), 38-42 (pp. 39, 41)).

Chang's translation, in which intratextual gloss is provided for 'reshuffle' and 'get Northern Ireland', 'Ulster' is substituted by '北愛', a widely used abbreviation for 'Northern Ireland' in Chinese, and 'finishing up there in a blaze of glory' is translated into different, slightly more explicit puns.

Ex. 26

We discussed the inevitable reshuffle, although Mrs Hacker seemed uninterested. The only thing that concerned her was the fact that Hacker might get Northern Ireland, but we agreed that the Prime Minister did not appear to dislike Hacker enough for that. Most people, of course, found Ulster a dead end, though there was always the possibility of finishing up there in a blaze of glory. [*We feel sure that Sir Bernard intended no puns here -- Ed.*] (24)

我們又討論了勢在必行的內閣改組，但是哈克太太並不怎麼感興趣，她只是擔心哈克會被調任北愛爾蘭事務大臣，不過我們都認為，看來首相還不致於那麼討厭哈克。大部分人都會發覺北愛是條死胡同，不過還是可能有轟轟烈烈、光芒四射的時刻的。〔編者按：相信伍利爵士無意語帶相關〕。(20)

(And then we discussed the inevitable cabinet reshuffle, but Mrs Hacker was not very much interested: she was only concerned that Hacker might be transferred to the post of Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. But we all felt that the Prime Minister did not dislike Hacker that much. Most people would find Northern Ireland a *sihutong*, but still there may be moments of *honghong lielie, guangmang si she*.)

sihutong: dead alley, with exactly the double meaning of dead end.

honghong lielie: with vigour and vitality; a grand and spectacular scale. But if taken apart, *hong* is an onomatopoeic word meaning 'bombardment' or 'explosion', and *lie* may mean 'violent', 'raging'.

guangmang si she: literally 'shedding rays in all directions', a set phrase meaning 'glory', 'radiance'.

Some of the findings of the experiment are that while all native British understand what is meant by 'get Northern Ireland', equate Ulster with Northern Ireland, and detect the hidden meaning of 'being blown up by a bomb' behind 'a blaze of glory', only 30% of the first group of Hong Kong Chinese understand the first two points correctly, and none of them associate 'a blaze of glory' with bombing. Although all the subjects in the second group (who read Chang's translation) seem to understand the gist of the story because the two points have been made clear, only 30% of them associate 'a blaze of glory' with

bombing, and unlike some of the native readers, none of them attempted to make culturally appropriate elaboration on 'cabinet reshuffle' or on the reason why the Prime Minister would appoint the person he dislikes as Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. 'They just stopped at the textual level as guaranteed by the translation', as the investigator comments.¹⁴¹

4.4.4. The Skewing of Political Messages

In all the examples discussed so far, it is mainly the readability and the humorous effect of the text that are at stake, but in some other places political messages have been skewed in the translation as a result of linguistic or cultural manipulation.

First of all, Chinese political terms have sometimes been consciously used, especially in passages involving political struggles, most of these terms being particularly in vogue during the Cultural Revolution. In the following examples, these terms are indicated by the italic type.

Ex. 27

Government must be impartial. It is not proper for us to take sides as between health and cigarettes.

政府必須一碗水端平，不應在健康與吸煙之間支一派打一派。(241)

(Government must *hold the bowl of water level*, and should not *support one side and attack the other* as between health and smoking.)

一碗水端平: (hold the bowl of water level) to be impartial as between two factions.

Ex. 28

I have been asking myself: 'How do I ensure that this run of success continues?'

(77)

「我在想：『我怎麼樣才能從勝利走向勝利呢？』」(83)

('I've been thinking: "How do I *go from victory to victory*?"')

Ex. 29

I am now convinced that a dirty little scheme has been hatched behind my back. It is a disloyal, ungrateful and treacherous plot, and I will not tolerate it. (279)

¹⁴¹ Wong Mei Ting Janet, 'Cohesion and Coherence across Languages: Translating from English to Chinese (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Reading, 1993), pp. 55-90.

我現在完全相信，在我背後已經孵出了一個卑鄙的小集團，正在密鑼緊鼓地煽陰風、點鬼火 [編者按：哈克的混雜比喻，我們不再評論]，企圖搶班奪權，對此我絕不能容忍。(326)¹⁴²

(I am now totally convinced that a sordid *little clique* has been hatched behind my back, which, *wildly beating gongs and drums*, is *raising the evil wind to fan up the ghostly fire* [We will not comment any more on Hacker's mixed metaphors -- Ed.], and is attempting to *grab posts and seize power*, and I will absolutely not tolerate it.)

密鑼緊鼓: (wildly beating gongs and drums) to make an intense publicity campaign in preparation for some sinister undertaking; or to be busy making preparations.

煽陰風、點鬼火: (to raise the evil wind to fan up the ghostly fire) to stir up trouble secretly.

Ex. 30

sack (281)

罷[...]官 (328)

(dismiss from office)

Ex. 31

successor (14)

接班人 (7)

(successor)

Some of the terms used may seem to be just 'standard equivalents' that can be found in English-Chinese dictionaries, such as those in Examples 30 and 31, but they have in fact been chosen from a number of near synonyms. 'Sack' can be translated equally 'accurately' as '撤職', '開除' or '罷官', and 'successor' as '繼任人', '繼承人' or '接班人', but the last ones were frequently used during the Cultural Revolution.¹⁴³

Sometimes political terms of the 1980s have been used, as in the following two examples:

Ex. 32

[In answer to Bernard Woolly's question: 'Surely, in a democracy, power ought to be vested in the voters?']

Sir Humphrey put me right. 'This is a *British* democracy, Bernard. It is different.

¹⁴² No such Chinese political terms have been used by Yang Liyi and Lou Bingkun in their translation of the three passages cited above (pp. 257, 93, 350).

¹⁴³ Yang Liyi and Lou Bingkun have not made the same choices (pp. 352, 11).

(British democracy recognises that you need a system to protect the important things and keep them out of the hands of the barbarians. Things like the arts, the countryside, the law, and the universities -- both of them. And *we* are that system.) (393)

他開導我說：「本納德，這是有英國特色的民主，不是一般的民主。」 (454)

(He straightened me out. 'Bernard, this is democracy *with British characteristics*, not ordinary democracy.)

Ex. 33

'I don't think the nation's ready for total democracy, do you?' (He shook his head sadly. 'Shall we say next century?')

'You could still be Prime Minister next century,' Dorothy interjected.

'Well, the one after,' I said.) (403)

「我看哪，這個國家還不能搞全盤民主，時機不成熟，是吧？」 (463)

(It seems to me that this country cannot practise *wholesale* democracy yet; the time is not ripe, is it?)

The translator reckoned that 'Democracy with British characteristics' in Ex. 32 might remind the reader of a phrase frequently used by Deng's regime to justify the non-socialist elements introduced by the economic reform: 'socialism with Chinese characteristics', and that '全盤' (wholesale) in Ex. 33, as compared to some 'dictionary equivalents' of 'total' such as '全面' or '完全的', might carry a slightly derogatory tone, implying a negative attitude on the part of Hacker towards democracy, and 'wholesale democracy' might bring up associations of the authorities' criticism of the concept of 'wholesale Westernization' advocated by some dissidents.

One may say that the terms used in the preceding seven examples are there only to conform to the Chinese idiom, or to make concessions to the reader's universe of discourse like the substitutive strategies on the cultural plane -- to 'ensure that this run of success continues', for example, would sound rather modest to the reader who has been bombarded for decades by the pompous political language in China such as 'to go from victory to victory'; and personal grievances caused by 'ungratefulness' or 'disloyalty' to oneself do not seem to warrant the dismissal of a minister, while 'to grab posts and seize power' would constitute a crime that would justify such an action. These terms may thus

be regarded as naturalization or autonomous creation depending on whether or not the replaced segment is deemed to contain a culture-specific item, but it must be realized that although the characters and events remain British, the Chinese terms are bound to 'force attention away from the original cultural context', and have 'a distorting effect' on the source text 'as the original intracultural connections cease to operate', and target culture 'connections inevitably come into operation'.¹⁴⁴ In other words, they may, as the translator hoped, have the function of insidiously encouraging the reader to draw an analogy between the events joked about and comparable events in the target culture, inducing them to laugh at the target culture reality more than at the source culture reality if incongruity is felt to be more serious in the former than in the latter.¹⁴⁵

If the seven examples above constitute covert skewing of the political messages, there are other places where the skewing is more overt.

Ex. 34

[*Hacker, like many politicians, was apparently unable to distinguish between 'Urgent' and 'Important'. [...] -- Ed.] (9)*

[編者按：哈克跟許多政治家（其實，比較客觀而且中肯的說法是「政客」）一樣，看來都不知道「緊迫」和「重要」有甚麼分別。](1)

([*Hacker, like many zhengzhijia (in fact, a more objective and appropriate term is 'zhengke'), apparently did not know the difference between 'urgent' and 'important' -- Ed.]*)

There is a great difficulty in translating the term 'politician', which, according to the *Longman English-Chinese Dictionary of Contemporary English*,¹⁴⁶ has two meanings and two 'equivalents' in Chinese:

1 a person whose business is politics, esp. one who is a member of a parliament 政治家

2 *derog* a person concerned with party politics for his own personal selfish purpose or gain (貶義) 政客

¹⁴⁴ See Lance Hewson and Jacky Martin, *Redefining Translation*, pp. 249, 152-53.

¹⁴⁵ See Section 3.3.

¹⁴⁶ (Hong Kong: Longman, 1984).

But it seems that neither of these Chinese terms are completely suitable for translating 'politician' in the example above. The *Dictionary of Modern Chinese*¹⁴⁷ gives the following definitions:

政治家 (*zhengzhijia*): a person with a good sense and ability in politics and engaged in political activities, esp. a national leader.

政客 (*zhengke*): refers to a person who is engaged in political speculation and who plays politics and seeks self-interest.

Thus it can be seen that although both terms refer to a person engaged in politics, one is appreciative and the other derogatory, and there are no existing Chinese terms with the same denotation and a neutral connotation, but it is a neutral term that is needed in this context. Although the authors obviously have little sympathy with politicians, the use of a derogatory term would not have been able to preserve the humour and the satirical force, for any politician can say: 'I am not a *zhengke*. I am a *zhengzhijia*.' Therefore, the translator has decided to use *zhengzhijia*, and then add a comment that equates *zhengzhijia* with *zhengke*. But this rendering would satirize all statesmen and politicians alike, instead of just politicians.¹⁴⁸

In the following example, the skewing of the political message is due partly to the fact that the translator found 'handling' difficult to translate,¹⁴⁹ and partly to his desire to add puns to the text. Again the result is a translation that may be more satirical on politics than the source text.

¹⁴⁷ Beijing: Commercial Press, 1979, p. 1463.

¹⁴⁸ In another place in the source text, there is an Editor's Note saying that statesmen is 'the word that politicians use to describe themselves' (86) (deleted in the translation because it was deemed to be superfluous after what was added to the passage cited above), but the satire here seems to be milder than that in the target text, because what the former says actually is 'all politicians call themselves statesmen', without excluding the possibility that some statesmen are not politicians, whereas what the latter implies is that 'all statesmen are in fact self-seeking political speculators'.

¹⁴⁹ Yang Liyi and Lou Bingkun translate 'handling people' as '處理人的事情' (dealing with people's affairs) (443), which does not seem to make much sense.

Ex. 35

(I'm all for honesty, God knows, but there's a time and a place for everything.) And we are discussing politics. Handling people, that sort of thing. (366)

我們講的可是政治啊，整治人的藝術哇。(421)

(What we are talking about is *zheng⁴ji⁴*, the art of *zheng³ji⁴*[ing] people.)

zheng⁴ji⁴: politics.

zheng³ji⁴: repair (a machine); dredge (a river); punish, fix (a person).

In the above two examples the skewing of political messages is due to what is traditionally called 'over-translation', which has usually been preferred in Chang's translation when a choice has to be made between over- and under-translation where satirical force is at stake. In some places, however, the attacks on communism or China were deleted or diluted in the first draft when the translation was intended to be published in China.

Ex. 36

(*[West Berlin was an island of the West German Federal Republic, sixty miles inside the border of the German Democratic Republic.] 'Democratic', in this context, naturally means communist -- Ed.]* (67)

[編者按：[...]「民主」在這裡指的當然是你民我主了。] (71)

('Democracy' here means of course you demo and I cracy.)

Ex. 37

(The guerrillas are going to be helped by East Yemen -- or, to give it its full title, the People's Democratic Republic of East Yemen.) Like all People's Democratic Republics it is a communist dictatorship. (164)

就如其他民主人民共和國一樣，是個共產黨專政的國家。(195)

(Like all People's Democratic Republics it is a country under communist *zhuanzheng*)

There are two dictionary 'equivalents' in Chinese to 'dictatorship': 專政 (*zhuanzheng*) and 獨裁 (*ducai*). The definitions given by the *Dictionary of Modern Chinese* are:

zhuanzheng: the rule by force of the ruling class over hostile classes. All countries are *zhuanzheng* by a certain class.

ducai: the use of supreme power to practise autocracy.¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ And *ducaizhe*, a person who practises *ducai*, is defined as 'a reactionary ruler who arrogate state power to himself' (pp. 1503, 263).

Thus the first term is neutral in connotation and the latter is derogatory. It seems that *ducai* would reflect more accurately the political stand of the authors as the English word 'dictatorship' is also derogatory in the source culture, but the problem is that it is not necessarily so in the target culture,¹⁵¹ and therefore an apparently accurate translation could be controversial.

Ex. 38

(You can't put the nation's interests at risk just because of some silly sentimentality about justice. If we took moral positions on individual injustices and cruelties) we'd never have been able to hand Hong Kong over to the Chinese, (or put Mugabe in power in Zimbabwe.) (214)

我們就沒法跟南非維持友好關係，¹⁵²

(We would not have been able to maintain a friendly relation with South Africa.)

This substitution was later replaced by a linguistic (non-cultural) translation in the published version (255), whereas Examples 36 and 37 were left as they were for different reasons: the former was kept because the translator liked the pun; the latter, because *zhuanzheng* is derogatory for the Hong Kong reader, just as 'dictatorship' is for the British reader.¹⁵³

In the Chinese context anti-communist and anti-china elements may also be regarded as culture-specific items insofar as they pose 'a problem of ideological or cultural opacity, or acceptability, for the average readers or for any agent with power in the target

¹⁵¹ The PRC is a country with 'Proletarian Dictatorship', which remains one of the Four Cardinal Principles (see Section 1.1.). In the same way, the English word 'propaganda' is derogatory in British culture but not in communist countries: the 宣傳部 of the CCP is translated as 'Propaganda Department'.

¹⁵² Manuscript of Chang's translation, p. 415.

¹⁵³ The translator's caution is apparently proved unnecessary because Yang Liyi and Lou Bingkun have made no such adjustments in their translation (pp. 80, 209, 272), but one should bear in mind that it is very tricky for anyone, especially for people living outside the PRC, to know the limit of toleration of the authorities at a particular time, not only because that limit is always fussy, but also because it can change dramatically and suddenly as demonstrated by the changeability of the scope of artistic freedom in the 1980s (see Section 1.3.).

culture',¹⁵⁴ and their toning down is another strategy to deal with such items, which Javier Franco Aixelá calls 'attenuation' and defines as the 'replacement, on ideological grounds, of something "too strong" or in any way unacceptable, by something "softer"'.¹⁵⁵

There are about seventy segments where the political message has been skewed as a result of the introduction of PRC political terms, over-translation and attenuation.

4.4.5. 'Improving' on the Text

In the process of translating *YPM*, the translator felt he had detected some errors and defects in the source text, and used his judgement to 'correct' or 'improve' on them.

Some of these problems are relatively minor and obvious. For example, according to Chapter One, Hacker goes to the Palace and kisses hands on 18th January (57), but in Chapter Ten, in his account of his meeting with Hacker on 4 July, Jeffrey Pearson the Chief Whip comments that 'this job is taking a toll on him, and he's only been at it less than a year' (272). As it seemed to the translator that 'less than six months' is not only more accurate but also more effective in emphasizing the shortness of the time past, he translated the phrase in question as '還不到半年' (less than half a year) (322).

There is also some confusion with dates in Chapter Eleven. If Bernard is interviewed by the press on 14 August and the interview was reported in 'Nine O'clock News' the same day (312-14), it would have been impossible for *The Times* to publish the story also on 14 August (311). Therefore, the date of the interview and the television report has been changed to 13 August (361, 363).¹⁵⁶

In Chapter One there is an Editor's Note on Prime Ministers worse than Hacker:

¹⁵⁴ Javier Franco Aixelá, 'Culture-Specific Items in Translation', p. 58.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

¹⁵⁶ He also changed the entry of Hacker's diary which records Bernard Woolley's confession about his interview with the press from 14 August to 13 August, and consequently the following passage has been deleted as it has become superfluous: '[When Hacker wrote this entry in his diary he had not yet seen the TV news or the morning papers. This conversation with Bernard Woolley took place immediately after he spoke to the press -- Ed.]' (pp. 314)

Ex. 39

Sir Humphrey pointed out that there have been less likely Prime Ministers. I wonder who. [*Extensive research suggests that Sir Humphrey must have been referring to the Marquis of Bute -- Ed.*] (38)

In *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*,¹⁵⁷ there is no reference to the Marquis of Bute, but there is an entry for the Earl of Bute, who was a favourite of George III and the *de facto* Prime Minister. As the translator failed to find any other reference to the Marquis of Bute although he knew that there actually was such a historical figure, he decided to trust the *Encyclopaedia* (36).

In Chapter Two, Sir Humphrey states that it is impossible for Hacker to have a cook on government pay because for the Prime Minister to have no government cook is 'the way things have been done for two and a half centuries', and that this has been the clinching argument for two and a half centuries. The logic is faulty because two and a half centuries ago, when the practice of providing no cook for the Prime Minister just began, there was no clinching argument at all. So Bernard Woolly intervenes to correct him:

Ex. 40

'Um... with respect, Sir Humphrey, it can't have been the clinching argument for two and a half centuries, because half a century ago it had only been the clinching argument for two centuries, and a century ago only for one and a half centuries, and one and a half...' (76)

But Bernard's argument seems also faulty, because half a century ago it could not have been the clinching argument for two centuries that it is 'the way things have been done for two and a half centuries'; otherwise the Prime Minister would have had no cook for four and a half centuries. Since Bernard Woolly's logic is always 'impeccable and irrelevant' according to Hacker's comment (76), and this is proved by every other episode, the translator felt that it would be uncharacteristic of him to make a statement

¹⁵⁷ 15th Edn, 30 vols (Chicago: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1974), II, p. 681.

with a faulty logic on this occasion, and that real impeccability would only highlight his irrelevancy, so he rewrote the passage with the strictest logic:

「[...]這不可能二百五十年來一直都是壓倒一切的原因，因為五十年前，壓倒一切的原因是兩百年來情況一直都是這樣；而一百年前，壓倒一切的原因是一百五十年來情況一直都是這樣；而一百五十年前……」(82)

([...] it can't have been the clinching argument for two and a half centuries, because half a century ago the clinching argument was that it was the way things had been done for two centuries, and a century ago the clinching argument was that it was the way things had been done for one and a half centuries, and one and a half centuries ago...)

Although the translator was not absolutely sure of his interpretation, his concern was that preservation of what he perceived as a defect might result in unintended humour, inviting the reader to laugh at the author and/or the translator rather than at a third party,¹⁵⁸ whereas his alteration seemed to be safe on this account: he reckoned that even if it would result in a weakening of humour, the reader would not be able to detect it.

The greatest problem that the translator found in the source text concerns its overall structure. In the television version, all episodes end with the speech 'Yes, Prime Minister' by Sir Humphrey, with which the irony -- for the speech should be taken to read 'No, Prime Minister'¹⁵⁹ -- rises to a climax. In this way the series is a structured whole, not unlike a comic verse that ends every line with the same rhyme. Most of the chapters of the written version also end with the same speech, but the formula is broken in Chapters Three and Eight for no apparent reason. This was felt to be an inconsistency unacceptable to the reader as it spoils the symmetry of the text, whatever considerations the authors may have. So the ending of the two chapters has been changed to make them consistent with the rest. This is how Chapter Three ends in the translation:

Ex. 41

And then the minutes arrived.

¹⁵⁸ See Section 3.1.

¹⁵⁹ See Giles Oakley, 'Yes Minister', in *Television Sitcom*, ed. by Jim Cook (London: British Film Institute, 1982), pp. 66-79 (p. 67).

[...]

I have instructed Bernard that on TV I'd better have a light suit, high-tech furniture, a yellow high-energy wallpaper background, abstract painting -- and Stravinsky. (112-113)

這時候，漢弗萊把會議紀錄送來了。

[...]

我叫漢弗萊出去的時候順便通知本納德，我上電視的時候要穿淺色的西裝，配上高科技的家具、高能量的黃色牆紙和抽象畫——還有斯特拉文斯基的音樂。

「好的，首相，」他欣然答應。(127-28)¹⁶⁰

(Then Humphrey arrived with the minutes.

[...]

I asked Humphrey to tell Bernard on his way out that on TV I would like to have a light suit, and high-tech furniture, yellow high-energy wallpaper, abstract painting -- and Stravinsky's music.

'Yes, Prime Minister,' he answered gladly.)

It can be seen from these examples that objectivity has not been the aim of the translator.

And it is impossible anyway in the translation process as Lance Hewson and Jack Martin argue,

The whole process of reading and interpreting the ST is a culture-bound activity which, as far as the TO [translation operator] is concerned, *is carried out in the perspective of the Target Language and of the forthcoming translation.* [...] This means, in practice, (1) that a text is initially decoded -- at least partially -- from the LC2 perspective [...]; (2) that a degree of LC2-based explanation or commentary is immediately introduced; (3) that the TO simply cannot be blindly assimilated to the LC1 reader of the text; and (4) that the TO is not just any foreign reader of the ST, but a reader with a specific motivation.¹⁶¹

An extension of this argument can be that translator's reading of the source text is influenced not only by the target culture, but also by the translation skopos.¹⁶² As the translating of *YPM* is concerned, the translator was content with a reading that was

¹⁶⁰ In Yang Liyi and Lou Bingkun's translation, no such changes have been made to the passages cited in this subsection (pp. 348, 385-86, 44, 92, 139).

¹⁶¹ *Redefining Translation*, p. 136.

¹⁶² As Hans J. Vermeer points out: 'all interpretation is skopos-dependent' (*A Skopos Theory of Translation*, p. 36, n4).

relevant to and sufficient for the skopos rather than an exhaustive and objective one. Thus he removed all suspected defects (twelve in total) before he could prove them beyond doubt.

It is an unanswerable question whether all these changes, which are based on the translator's criticism of the source text, constitute real improvements, but this question is not the concern of the present study. From the point of view of an empirical researcher, what is significant is that the translator has taken upon himself to make such changes, which reflect his translation poetics and ideology.

4.5. From Skopos to Strategies

As the skopos in the translating of *YPM* is first of all to provide more creative freedom in literary translating and to produce a work that has at least an equal artistic value, a number of strategies were employed that may enhance the 'literariness' of the target text, such as the translation of puns into different puns, of non-puns/zeros into puns and vice versa, the use of rhyme and parallel structure where there is none in the source text, and the alteration of certain passages to remove what the translator considered as 'defects' in the source text.

All these strategies are also related to the intention to produce a work that can be entertaining to the Chinese reader. Moreover, considering the peripheral position of translated literature in the literary polysystem and the cultural macro-polysystem,¹⁶³ he has sometimes attempted, by means of intratextual and extratextual gloss, universalization and deletion where an item appears to be specific to the source culture, to narrow the gap between the universe of discourse of the source text and that to which the Chinese reader is accustomed, so as to enhance readability on the precondition that the work is to be presented as a translation.

Apart from being an end, the quality of being entertaining to the reader is also a

¹⁶³ See Sections 1.5. and 2.5.

means to maximize the satirical effect of the text in the Chinese context. In fact, in choosing a particular strategy to deal with a culture-specific item, the decision was sometimes partly based on the satirical value of the particular item in the target culture. Thus, the references to all the British newspapers in Ex. 17 were kept at all costs because the translator thought that the variety in the British press might bring the uniformity of the Chinese one into contrast, producing humour unintended by the authors, whereas some items regarded to be less important for satirical purposes were deleted, or conserved without being made fully intelligible.

The skewing of the political messages in some passages was also a result of the desire to produce a political satire in the Chinese context. For example, PRC political terms were used to stir up target culture connections. Lance Hewson and Jack Martin talk about such a 'distorting effect' as if it is something inevitable and a 'problem' for the translator,¹⁶⁴ but in this translation it is the desirable effect, and an opportunity to be exploited by the translator.

Most of the strategies used in the translating of *YPM* have been used by other translators, except perhaps the translation of non-puns/zeros into puns. In Chinese translation history there have been no lack of translations which are much less adequacy-oriented and much more manipulative, especially at the turn of the century, when the translation scene was dominated by Yan Fu and Lin Shu. So in a sense this translator has done very little that is really unique.

However, Yan and Lin translated at a time when there were not yet any formulated and well-established translation criteria, and although Yan put forward a set of criteria that is quite conservative compared to his practice, and stated that he was transmitting the ideas of the source text rather than translating it, probably as a calculated move to pre-empt his critics, yet his practice received more blame than praise.¹⁶⁵ In contrast,

¹⁶⁴ *Redefining Translation*, pp. 152-53.

¹⁶⁵ See Sections 2.4. and 2.5.

Chang's translating was undertaken at a time when conservative theories upholding the primacy of the original had become well-developed and dominant for decades, when it was claimed that a 'modern standard' translation criterion has been established to which Yan Fu's 'special translation method' cannot measure up, and when such a translation poetics was exerting pressure on translators.¹⁶⁶

One can imagine therefore how outrageous those translation strategies that result in deliberate non-obligatory shifts may look to the orthodox eye of the time, which sees the 'original' as 'everything', translation as 'truthful transmission' or 'facsimile', and 'special translation' as 'non-translation'.¹⁶⁷ This view is summed up by an influential translator, critic and theorist in Hong Kong when he postulates that no literary translator has the right to make any changes -- including addition, abbreviation and substitution -- to the original.¹⁶⁸ Thus this work represents a challenge to the dominant translation poetics as well as to the dominant ideology.

However, there are limits within which such a challenge can be made. Hence the conservation of the majority of the culture-specific items and with them the original cultural context in order for the work to be presentable as a translation, and also the occasional attenuation (in the manuscript) of items perceived to be too strong for the authorities.

While the fifth goal of the translation has required conservative strategies for most of the culture-specific items, the first four goals have determined an initial strategy of acceptability, which has in turn guided the 'operational strategies'¹⁶⁹ in the translating of

¹⁶⁶ See Sections 2.5. and 2.6.

¹⁶⁷ See Section 2.4.

¹⁶⁸ See Ho Wai Kit, 'Interview with Stephen C. Soong', in *Papers on Translation 1988*, ed. by Liu Ching-chih (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1988), pp. 103-38 (p. 122).

¹⁶⁹ Adapted from Gideon Toury's 'operational norms', which, directing 'the decisions made during the act of translation itself', 'affect the matrix of the text -- i.e., the modes of distributing linguistic material in it -- as well as the textual make-up and verbal formulation as such', and thus govern 'what is more likely to remain invariant under transformation and what will change' (*Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, p.

puns, the use of rhyme and parallel structure, the skewing of political messages, the 'improving' on the text, and in the handling of some culture-specific items. These manipulations have resulted in a large number of non-obligatory shifts, making the target text more acceptable than adequate on the whole.

It remains to be seen how effective this translation is as a political satire and as a means to challenge the translation poetics dominant in the Chinese society, because it is still waiting for an opportunity to reach the reader and the critic in the PRC. But that is beyond the scope of a target-oriented descriptive study that concerns itself only with what goes on during translation. In Gideon Toury's words,

It is not *acceptance* (or reception) which is the key-notion here, but *acceptability*. Thus, what may be said to operate in literary translation (in sense (b)) is not any *fact* about the reception of its product [...]. Only *assumptions* can be operative here, namely, as to the *chances* a text has of being accepted whose structure and/or verbal formulation would follow a certain pattern. [...] Where in the target culture the [text] will then be located is a totally different matter which may indeed form part of a research program in reception, literary or otherwise.¹⁷⁰

And even if at a later time it is found that the translation is not accepted by the target system, it will not invalidate the conclusion as to its acceptability, because

not only can translations which have been carried out according to strict requirements of literary acceptability *not* be accepted into the target literature, but translations which have *not* been executed under this mandate may nevertheless carve a niche for themselves in it [...] ¹⁷¹

In the above discussions there is no intention to imply that the examples cited in this chapter are flawless in terms of the translation skopos. In fact, whether there are flaws in them is quite beside the point. As manifestations of strategies, they serve only to provide a retrospective account of the process of the translating of *YPM* and to prove the fact

58).

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 172. For sense (b) of literary translation, see Section 4.3.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 172-73.

that the translation is the product of conscious manipulations on the linguistic, literary, cultural and ideological levels, which are determined by the interplay of a large number of factors besides the source text: the social, political and cultural conditions of the PRC in the 1980s, the Chinese literary and translation traditions, the characteristics of the readership, and, above all, the translator's poetics and ideology.

CHAPTER FIVE

THEORETICAL CONCLUSION

The foregoing chapters constitute a description and explanation of how a Chinese translation of British political humour has come into being in its socio-cultural environment. In this concluding chapter the findings of the descriptive-explanatory study will be brought to bear on a number of translation theories, firstly on Eugene A. Nida's principle of dynamic equivalence and Peter Newmark's semantic and communicative translation methods, which are typical of prescriptive formulations presented as translation 'theories' (which will be referred to as 'applied theories' hereinafter), and secondly on some theories proper: Itamar Even-Zohar's Polysystem theory and its translational wing -- the Descriptive Translation Studies approach of Gideon Toury, and André Lefevere's 'triad of poetics, ideology and patronage',¹ for it is mainly in their frameworks that the present study has been carried out.

The skopos theory of Hans J. Vermeer and Christiane Nord is somewhere in between these two types of theories. Its descriptive part may provide a framework for historical studies, especially of the translation process -- as it has been used in the present study, but it is developed with an applied purpose; it will therefore be tested in the first section together with other applied theories.²

Based on these tests a tentative 'Macro-polysystem hypothesis' will be proposed as an

¹ Theo Hermans' term ('Norms and the Determination of Translation: A Theoretical Framework', in *Translation, Power, Subversion*, ed. by Román Álvarez and M. Carmen-África Vidal (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1996), pp. 25-51 (p. 41)).

² Vermeer states that 'as a functional theory it [skopos theory] does not strictly distinguish between description and (didactic) prescription' (*A Skopos Theory of Translation (Some Arguments for and against)* (Heidelberg: TEXTconTEXT-Verlag, 1996), p. 26, n13). Nord's version of skopos theory, meanwhile, leans more towards prescription, as can be seen in later discussions.

augmented version of Polysystem theory and applied to the present case study. It seems to make possible more systematic and systemic explanations about the overdetermination of Chang's translation of *YPM* and some of the historical events discussed in the thesis, and it is believed that it can provide a better framework for investigations into the role of the translator and other socio-cultural factors involved in translation.

5.1. Reflections on Applied Theories

It has been mentioned in Chapter Four that most of the strategies used in translating *YPM* would be considered objectionable by the translation poetics dominant in China, but it would be interesting to see if they tally with Nida's 'dynamic equivalence' and Newmark's 'semantic' and 'communicative' translation methods, both of which are applied theories originating from the West but have some influence in China.

On the premise that translating is communicating, Eugene A. Nida puts forward a theory of dynamic equivalence based on the principle of equivalent effect, stating that 'the relationship between receptor and message should be substantially the same as that which existed between the original receptors and the message',³ or that 'the receptors of the message in the receptor language [should be able to] respond to it in substantially the same manner as the receptors in the source language'.⁴ For example, 'white as snow' may be rendered as 'white as egret feathers' or 'white as kapok down' for people who have no experience of snow,⁵ and 'greet one another with a holy kiss'⁶ may be rendered into modern English as 'give one another a hearty handshake all around'.⁷

With 'essentially a semiotic approach',⁸ focusing on the response of the reader, this

³ *Toward a Science of Translating: With Special Reference to Principles and Procedures Involved in Bible Translating* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964), p. 159.

⁴ Eugene A. Nida and Charles R. Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969), p. 24.

⁵ *Toward a Science of Translating*, pp. 158, 171.

⁶ Romans 16:16.

⁷ *Toward a Science of Translating*, p. 160.

⁸ Jin Di and Eugene A. Nida, *On Translation* (Beijing: China Translation & Publishing

theory attempts to put an end to the centuries-old contention between literalism and liberalism in translating, for it is claimed that the criteria for translation evaluation are no longer based merely on a comparison between the translated and the original texts, but on the relationship of the texts to their respective readers, whether it is a literal or a free translation being quite beside the point.⁹

Closely related to the principle of dynamic equivalence are the concepts of communication load and channel capacity of the receptor. As Jin Di and Eugene A. Nida point out,¹⁰ 'a message which has been properly formed by a source usually has a degree of difficulty which more or less matches the channel capacity of receptors', as illustrated in Figure 1, where M stands for 'message':

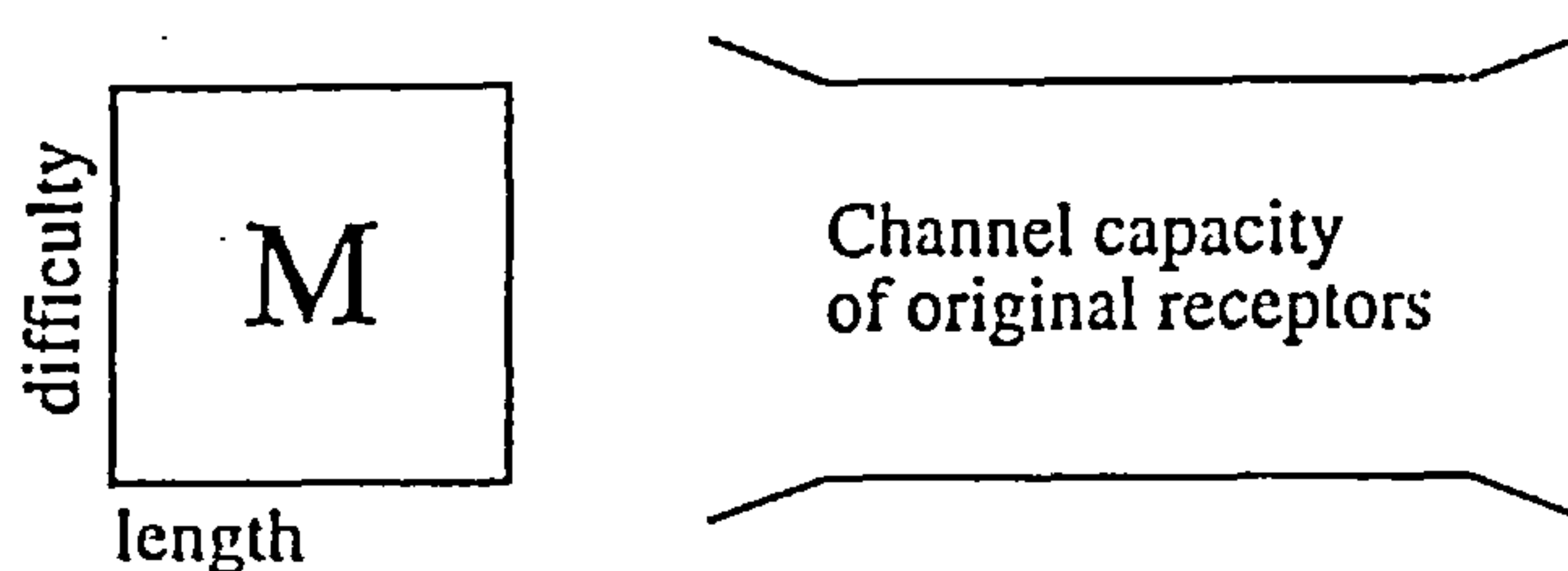


Figure 1

'If this original message is [...] translated with the same measure of length [...], it almost inevitably will have a considerably higher degree of difficulty'. 'At the same time the channel capacity of receptors of a translation is usually less than the channel capacity of the original receptors' owing to cultural differences. Therefore, 'it is usually necessary to build a measure of redundancy into the translation, so as to adjust the form of the translation to the channel capacity of receptors'.¹¹ As a result, the translated text will be

Corporation, 1984), p. 86.

⁹ See *ibid.*, p. 91.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 103-05.

¹¹ Examples of these kinds of additions are classifiers to identify proper names and borrowed terms, e.g., 'river Jordan' and 'sect Pharisees' (*Toward a Science of Translating*, p. 230).

longer than the original as illustrated in Figure 2.

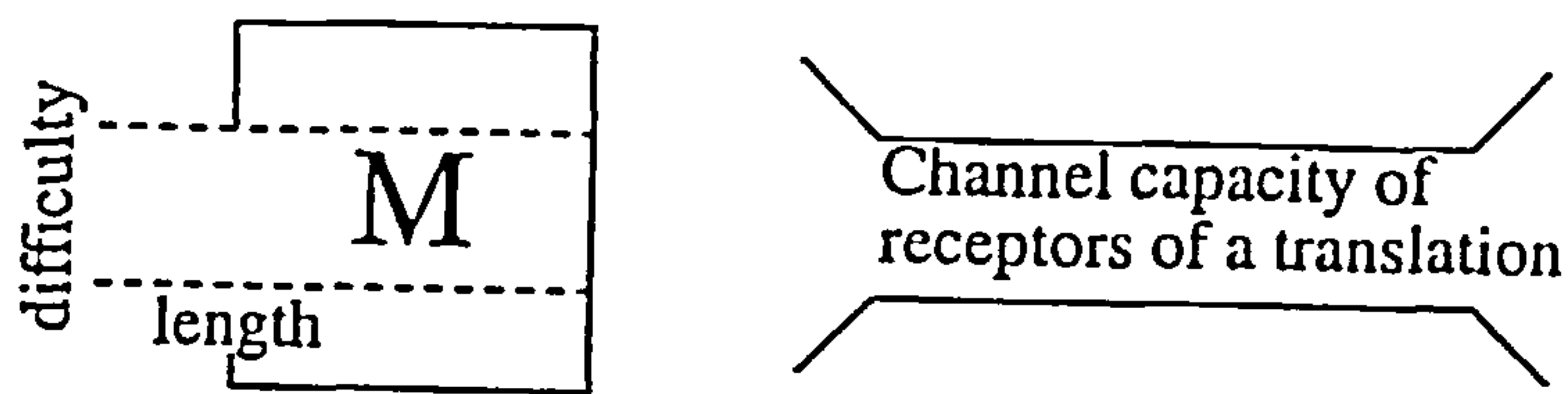


Figure 2

At first glance many of the strategies used in the handling of puns and culture-specific items in the translating of *YPM* seem to be justifiable by the goal of dynamic equivalence, but on closer inspection of Nida's theory most of them become problematic. Extratextual gloss would not be a problem; and apparently neither would the translation of puns into different puns, though one may wonder whether Nida himself would translate the Bible in the same way if the operation entails intratextual change. But the translation of puns into non-puns or zero is presumably not allowable because dynamic equivalence is not achieved as the particular part of the text is concerned, although no suggestion has been given as to what one should do when one is unable to translate the pun into a pun; similarly, the translation of zero into puns in compensation for zero translation of puns has never been sanctioned by the theory, because there seems to be an implicit assumption that equivalent effect should be achieved for the whole text through its achievement in every part.

The provision of intratextual gloss to explain culture-specific items would seem to be consistent with Nida's instruction to 'build a measure of redundancy into the translation, so as to adjust the form of the translation to the channel capacity of receptors', but it turns out that there are restrictions on this strategy, because, according to Nida, the translator is not free to add extra information, such as 'interesting cultural information',

not even 'information derived from other parts' of the text.¹² The translator may 'make explicit in the text only what is linguistically implicit in the immediate context of the problematic passage',¹³ thus 'simply [changing] the manner in which the information is communicated'.¹⁴ 'General and detailed background information' 'could be, of course, added to the text as footnotes or marginal references', but 'should not be incorporated into the text itself', otherwise it would 'make the text [...] anachronistic' or 'suggest that such explanations were necessary in the original communication in order for people to understand', thus '[falsifying] the implications of the original communication'.¹⁵

His caution is warranted sometimes. For example, it would have been unnatural and clumsy if background information about the ten newspapers in Ex. 17 were provided intratextually, because the reader of the target text would sense that the reader of the source text do not need such information to understand the passage. But the same is not true in all cases. '福克蘭戰爭那時候' (During the Falklands War) in Ex. 18 and the two editor's notes in Ex. 19 are apparently 'general and detailed background information' too, and yet the addition does not seem to 'make the text anachronistic' or 'suggest that such explanations were necessary in the original communication [...]'.¹⁶

It seems to be unclear whether the substitution and deletion of culture-specific items are acceptable, for Nida's views on this matter seem to be ambiguous or even self-contradictory. On the one hand, recognizing that 'differences between cultures cause many more severe complications for the translator than do differences in language structure',¹⁶ he seems to be willing to give the translator wide latitude in making cultural substitutions, as implied in the following two statements:

A dynamic-equivalence [...] translation may be described as one concerning which a

¹² *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, p. 111.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Toward a Science of Translating*, p. 231.

¹⁵ *On Translation*, p. 105.

¹⁶ *Toward a Science of Translating*, p. 161.

bilingual and bicultural person can justifiably say, 'That is just the way we would say it.'¹⁷

The receptor in the TL [target language] culture should be able, within his own culture, to respond to the message as given in his language, in substantially the same manner as the receptor in the SL [source language] culture responded, within the context of his own culture, to the message as communicated to him in his own language.¹⁸

Hence his approval of the substitution of 'snow' by 'egret feathers' or 'kapok down' and of 'a holy kiss' by 'a hearty handshake'.

On the other hand, he states that a linguistic translation is legitimate but a cultural translation or adaptation is not, that 'it is the job of the pastor and teacher, not of the translator, to make the cultural adaptation',¹⁹ and that 'paraphrase by addition, deletion, or skewing of the message' 'to conform to alien cultural patterns' is bad translation.²⁰

However, the most detailed and specific instruction of Nida on this issue is found in the following statement:

The provision of cultural conditioning always implies the entire problem of the extent to which certain adjustments can and should be made in the transfer. Basically, alterations are not employed unless (1) the text is likely to be misunderstood by the receptors, (2) the text is likely to have no meaning to the receptors, or (3) the resulting translation is so 'overloaded' that it will constitute too much of a problem for the average reader to figure it out. But even within the range of these three types of expressions, there are certain specific problems relating to the historical significance of the event and the importance of the religious symbolism involved.²¹

Then, at least some of the substitutions and deletions in Chang's translation should not have been done, such as those in Examples 20, 23 and 26, because if a more 'faithful' translation had been offered, the 'average reader' should still be able to 'figure it out',

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 166.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 149.

¹⁹ *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, p. 134.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 173.

²¹ Ibid., p. 110.

although the appeal might have been weakened.

The use of parallel structure and rhyme, the attempted 'improvement' on the source text, and the skewing of political messages are certainly not allowable by Nida's standard, because there are two important corollaries of his principle of dynamic equivalence. The first is that the translator is supposed to have 'purposes generally similar to, or at least compatible with, those of the original author',²² and he 'must be content to be like his author',²³ otherwise equivalence in effect will be impossible.

And a further corollary of the first one is that the translator should '[aim] primarily at "reproducing the message"',²⁴ and choose a rendering that serves 'essentially the same purpose or function in the target language as the original text served in the source language'.²⁵ He is not to make personal intrusion, not to edit or rewrite, not even when there are defects and errors in the original, and not to improve upon the original, even though it may be possible for him to do so.²⁶

Thus it would seem that some of the strategies used in the translating of *YPM* are illegitimate or at least problematic if judged by Nida's theory. This leads to a fundamental question: who is right and who is wrong when practice does not tally with theory? On the one hand, as there are innumerable prescriptive formulations which are contradictory to one other,²⁷ the translator is bound to violate some of them whatever s/he does, and as pure theories are concerned it is certainly valid to say that 'if theory cannot account for every phenomenon that actually occurs in translation, what is defective, and what should be corrected, is the theory and not the "problematic" phenomenon'.²⁸ On the other, this

²² *Toward a Science of Translating*, p. 157.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

²⁴ *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, p. 12.

²⁵ *On Translation*, pp. 90-91.

²⁶ *Toward a Science of Translating*, pp. 155, 225, 226; *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, p. 163.

²⁷ For example, see the list in Peter Newmark's *Approaches to Translation* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1981), p. 38.

²⁸ Gideon Toury, *In Search of a Theory of Translation* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University,

statement does not seem to be applicable to applied theories, which set out to prescribe rather than describe, and practice cannot justify itself merely by the existence of itself in view of the fact that there are translators who have failed to do their job. Therefore, a full answer cannot be attempted before the issue is investigated more thoroughly.

As the present case is concerned, there seem to be two main reasons for the contradiction between (Chang's) practice and (Nida's) theory. The first is a difference between the type of text actually dealt with and that to which the theory may be applicable. *YPM* is a literary work, and a non-canonized one, whereas the principle of dynamic equivalence is derived mainly from experience in the translating of a sacred text.

For Nida, experience in Bible translating enables him to recommend a principle to all kinds of translators:

Though the scope of translation theory in this volume is all-inclusive, the illustrative data are drawn primarily from Biblical materials [...]. This is not as great a disadvantage as it might appear at first glance, for no other type of translating has such a long history, involves so many different languages [...], includes more diverse types of texts, and covers so many distinct cultural areas of the world.²⁹

That is to say, what he proposes is presented as a general theory of translation rather than a theory of Bible translation.³⁰ But as these 'texts' are embedded in the Bible, they are inseparable from the Biblical text as a whole and should be regarded as belonging to the sacred, or religious type of text rather than, say, the literary type, because a Bible translator translating these 'texts' as integral parts of the Bible is bound to treat them in a way different from a literary translator translating them as independent texts. Mary Snell-Hornby's criticism seems applicable to Nida: 'This phenomenon, whereby a theorist makes global observations on translation in general, but actually means only one, often

1980), p. 62.

²⁹ *Toward a Science of Translating*, p. ix.

³⁰ This is further proved by the titles of so many of his works, such as *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, and *Language, Culture, and Translating* (Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press, 1991).

narrow area of it, still characterizes translation studies today -- to the detriment of a general theory of translation.³¹

The second reason is that Nida's theory does not allow for the translator to have a purpose different from that of the author of the source text. This conservative attitude limits the applicability of his theory to Bible translation with a certain purpose only, but not to Bible translation in general,³² let alone a translation of a non-canonized literary work with a purpose that is heavily influenced by a hidden poetological and ideological agenda and hence inevitably different from that of the authors of the source text.

At this stage of investigation the question posed earlier can be answered tentatively in this way: a translator does not (or need not, or should not) adhere to the instructions of a theory with limited applicability if the translation skopos dictates otherwise, and translation skopos is the decision of the translation initiator, whether or not it is legitimate being an ethical issue for which translation theory has no easy answer.

Partly due to his objection to the claim of universal applicability of the principle of equivalent effect, Peter Newmark puts forward a theory that postulates different translation methods for different types of texts.

Arguing that although the principle of equivalent effect 'has a degree of application to any type of text', it does not have 'the same degree of importance',³³ Newmark divides texts into three main types according to their functions:

1. Texts with an expressive function, the core of which is 'the mind of the speaker,

³¹ *Translation Studies: An Integrated Approach*, rev. edn (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995; 1st edn 1988), p. 14.

³² This is attested by Jin Di's disagreement with Nida's endorsement of rendering 'a holy kiss' into 'a hearty handshake': he asserts that the turning of an ancient atmosphere into a modern one is not acceptable to 'the translator of literature and art', although it may be so to the missionary (*In Search of Equivalent-effect Translation*, pp. 19-21, 59-60). The disagreement is caused by the fact that Jin Di is using his own criterion of translating the Bible as a literary text to evaluate a translation of the Bible as a religious text for missionary purposes.

³³ *A Textbook of Translation* (London: Prentice Hall, 1988), p. 49.

the writer, the originator of the utterance'. These utterances are used by the author 'to express his feelings irrespective of any response'. Examples are serious imaginative literature (including lyrical poetry, short stories, novels and plays), authoritative statements such as political speeches and legal documents, and autobiography, essays and personal correspondence.

2. Texts with an informative function, the core of which is 'external situation, the facts of a topic, reality outside language, including reported ideas or theories'. Typical informative texts are textbooks, technical reports, newspaper articles, scientific papers, theses, and minutes and agenda.

3. Texts with a vocative function, the core of which is 'the readership, the addressee'. Such texts "call upon" the readership to act, think or feel, in fact to "react" in the intended way. They include notices, instructions, publicity, persuasive writing, and 'possibly popular fiction, whose purpose is to sell the book/entertain the reader'.³⁴

He further proposes that the 'semantic translation method', with a source language emphasis, should be used for expressive texts, and the 'communicative translation method', with a target language emphasis, should be used for informative and vocative texts. Semantic translation is similar to what he calls 'faithful translation', which 'attempts to reproduce the precise contextual meaning of the original within the constraints of the TL grammatical structures', but it must take more account of the aesthetic value of the source language text, 'compromising on "meaning" where appropriate so that no assonance, wordplay or repetition jars in the finished version', and 'it may translate less important cultural words by culturally neutral third or functional terms but not by cultural equivalents', and 'may make other small concessions to the readership'; whereas communicative translation 'attempts to render the exact contextual meaning of the

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 39-41. He qualifies his classification with the following remark: 'Few texts are purely expressive, informative or vocative: most include all three functions, with an emphasis on one of the three. However, strictly, the expressive function has no place in a vocative or informative text' (p. 42).

original in such a way that both content and language are readily acceptable and comprehensible to the readership'.³⁵

Comparing these two methods, he comments that 'semantic translation is basically addressed to one 'reader' only, namely, the writer of the SL text, with the assumption that he can read the TL and will be the best arbiter of the translation's quality'³⁶, whereas communicative translation aims at, or is more likely to create, equivalent effect.³⁷ Moreover, 'a semantic translation is normally inferior to its original, as there is both cognitive and pragmatic loss', and 'a communicative translation is often better than its original' because the translator 'is trying in his own language to write a little better than the original' and has the responsibility to improve upon 'badly and/or inaccurately written passages'.³⁸

Newmark has listed eight translation methods in total, which are, in ascending order of target language emphasis: word-for-word translation, literal translation, faithful translation, semantic translation, communicative translation, idiomatic translation, free translation, and adaptation, but to him only semantic translation and communicative translation are worthy of theoretical discussion because only they 'fulfil the two main aims of translation, which are first, accuracy, and second, economy', and 'free translation' is already 'not translation at all', let alone 'adaptation'.³⁹

YPM is likely to be regarded by Newmark as 'popular fiction' more than 'serious imaginative literature' (whatever these categories really means) and therefore a 'vocative' text, because it is a best-selling book, but whether it fits entirely into that category is not absolutely clear, if popular fiction is limited to that 'whose purpose is to sell the book/entertain the reader'.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 45-47.

³⁶ *Approaches to Translation*, p. 44.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 39; *A Textbook of Translation*, p. 49.

³⁸ *Approaches to Translation*, p. 42; *A Textbook of Translation*, pp. 47, 48.

³⁹ *A Textbook of Translation*, pp. 45-47.

From the analysis made in Chapter Three, it is fair to conclude that in the source culture *YPM* basically aims to entertain the audience/reader, but still it has a satirical function, however marginal that function may be, and therefore there is an 'expressive' element in it, contradicting Newmark's claim that 'strictly, the expressive function has no place in a vocative or informative text'.⁴⁰

Moreover, whatever the 'real' functions of a text are in the source culture, its potential functions in the target culture may be different. This fact has been recognized by more open-minded theorists of the applied branch. As noticed by Katharina Reiss, who proposed a similar scheme of classification of text-types some years before Newmark did, text functions may be changed by the desire to translate, at least as certain subtypes of expressive texts are concerned, such as 'diaries, personal memos, notes, etc.', because while these texts 'in their source language form might not be thought to be truly communicative', there must be some will to communicate if they are translated.⁴¹ Besides, text functions also change across linguistic and cultural borders, whether automatically or by design of the translator.⁴² Especially in the latter case, a change of function may occur not only when, say, a vocative text is turned into an expressive text thus involving a change of text type, but also where no change of text type is involved, such as when a vocative text is translated to call upon the reader to react in a not entirely same way as the source text reader does. Very likely it is the potential functions of the target text that inform the translator's choice of strategies, but like Nida's, Newmark's theory does not

⁴⁰ In fact, one may imagine a highly entertaining work to have an expressive function to any extent, and so it is impossible to pin point when a text stops to be mainly vocative and becomes mainly expressive.

⁴¹ 'Text Types, Translation Types and Translation Assessment' (original publ. in 1977), trans. by Andrew Chesterman, in *Readings in Translation Theory*, ed. by Andrew Chesterman (Finland: Oy Finn Lectura Ab, 1979), pp. 105-15 (p. 107).

⁴² See Christiane Nord's comment quoted at the beginning of Chapter Three, and also her *Text Analysis in Translation: Theory, Methodology, and Didactic Application of a Model for Translation-Oriented Text Analysis* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1991; German version publ. in 1988), pp. 72-73, and Katharina Reiss, 'Text Types, Translation Types and Translation Assessment', p. 114.

take into account or allow for this possible change.

It has been made clear in Chapters Three and Four that the translator of *YPM* has a more 'serious' purpose than the authors; and therefore the target text can be said to have a stronger 'expressive' element than the source text. As a result of the ambiguities in Newmark's classification of text-types, it is difficult to decide whether *YPM* should be translated communicatively, or half communicatively and half semantically, even if one decides to follow his advice.

A further problem is to judge which method(s) has actually been used in translating the work. Take for example the handling of culture-specific items. The whole gamut of strategies have been used,⁴³ among which the most conservative types may count as 'faithful' or 'semantic' translation, the middle types as 'communicative translation', and the most substitutive types -- deletion and autonomous creation, probably as 'free translation' or even 'adaptation'.

It would seem then that in the translating of *YPM* nearly all the methods on Newmark's list have been used, but since the 'freest' translation may contain literally translated parts but not vice versa, so the usual method to label a translation as 'literal translation' or 'free translation' or 'adaptation', etc., is to see how 'free' it has gone, the translation would border on 'free translation' or even 'adaptation', which is not appropriate even for a purely vocative text, not to speak of one with an expressive element in it. Thus, the translation of *YPM*, or at least some parts of it, by not conforming to Newmark's postulate, would be judged 'not translation at all', as if translation 'were some kind of honorary title',⁴⁴ bestowing on the text a status superior to that of 'adaptation' or 'non-translation', regardless of the context in which it is produced and the purpose it is intended to serve.

Newmark is also presenting a general theory of translation, and it is derived from

⁴³ See Subsection 4.4.3.

⁴⁴ As Gideon Toury remarks in *In Search of a Theory of Translation*, p. 27.

experience in (or observation on) the translation of a large variety of texts instead of a single one, but his classification of both text-types and translation methods is problematic, the link of a particular method to a particular source text function regardless of the target text function is untenable, and the confinement of the main aims of translation to 'accuracy' and 'economy' may be based more on his own values than the actual needs of society.

A more definite answer to the question posed above can now be provided by quoting from Lance Hewson and Jacky Martin:

One is struck only too often either by the impractical nature of theories of translation, which can never really be applied to 'real' Translation situations, and [*sic*] by the unreliability of 'methods' advocating certain fixed rules for passing from one LC [language culture] to another.⁴⁵

The fatal weakness of source-oriented applied theories of translation, often based on some kinds of linguistics as exemplified by Nida's and Newmark's, is that they try to 'establish an *a priori*, static hierarchy -- either for translation in general [...] or for various 'genres' of translation defined in advance', never taking into consideration how translations '*function* to satisfy certain needs in the recipient pole, and how these needs and functions *contribute to*, or even *condition* their mode of production',⁴⁶ in disregard of the findings of the empirical branch of Translation Studies that 'translation, like all (re)writings is never innocent', and that 'there is always a context in which the translation takes place, always a history from which a text emerges and into which a text is transposed'.⁴⁷ As a result, they have led their particular brand of translation studies into

⁴⁵ *Redefining Translation: The Variational Approach* (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 229.

⁴⁶ See Gideon Toury, *In Search of a Theory of Translation*, pp. 40-41, 16.

⁴⁷ André Lefevere and Susan Bassnett, 'Introduction: Proust's Grandmother and the Thousand and One Nights: The "Cultural Turn" in Translation Studies', in *Translation, History and Culture*, ed. by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere (London: Pinter, 1990; London: Cassell, 1995), pp. 1-13 (p. 11).

'stagnation', or even 'a dead end'.⁴⁸

Dissatisfied with the divorce of applied translation theories from reality, Hans J. Vermeer presented a skopos theory, the gist of which is that in any translational action, the factor that decides everything, including the 'role a source text plays',⁴⁹ is the skopos of that particular action.⁵⁰

For Vermeer the contribution of the theory is threefold:

(1) the theory makes explicit and conscious something that is too often denied; (2) the skopos, which is (or should be) defined in the commission, expands the possibilities of translation, increases the range of possible translation strategies, and releases the translator from the corset of an enforced -- and hence often meaningless -- literalness; and (3) it incorporates and enlarges the accountability of the translator, in that his translation must function in such a way that the given goal is attained.⁵¹

He also claims that 'in the context of the skopos or the commission', it must now be possible to reach an agreement as to 'the best method of translating a given text', 'at least as regards the macrostrategy'.⁵²

This theory 'has managed to gain considerable ground lately, albeit almost exclusively in German-speaking circles', according to Gideon Toury.⁵³

It seems that all the strategies used in the translating of *YPM*, including those that result in the skewing of political messages, are fully endorsed by this theory since they

⁴⁸ Gideon Toury, *In Search of a Theory of Translation*, p. 15; James S. Holmes, *Translated!* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988), p. 100; Snell-Hornby, *Translation Studies: An Integrated Approach*, p. 14.

⁴⁹ Or, if restated in Gideon Toury's language, the type of 'TT [target text]-ST [source text] relationship' (*In Search of A Theory of Translation*, p. 48, and *passim*) that should exist.

⁵⁰ 'Skopos and Commission in Translational Action', trans. by Andrew Chesterman, in *Readings in Translation Theory*, pp. 173-87 (p. 174). For more details of the theory, see Section 4.1.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁵³ *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995), p. 25.

are employed with an intention to achieve the skopos of the particular translational action, although whether or not they constitute 'the best method' has to remain a mystery.

One may ask the questions, however, whether the translator is justified in doing anything with regard to the source text so long as the skopos of the translation is achieved, and if so, what differences there are between this theory and the Machiavellian principle that the end justifies the means. Christiane Nord, whom Toury regards as a 'second-generation skopos-theorist',⁵⁴ deals with this problem in some detail. In her *Text Analysis in Translation* she introduces the principle of 'functionality plus loyalty', which means that the translator should produce a text that fulfil the intended function in the target situation and remain loyal to the author and the reader:

We have to postulate a compatibility between ST intention and TT functions, if translation is to be possible at all.

Translation therefore depends on the compatibility of the TT skopos with the given source text, a compatibility whose definition is culture-specific. [...]

According to this view, the translator [...] is responsible to both the ST sender [...] and the TT recipient. This responsibility is what I call 'loyalty'. 'Loyalty' is a moral principle indispensable in the relationships between human beings, [...]⁵⁵

And what should the translator do when such an incompatibility is found? Nord's advice given in the book is that sometimes s/he 'can focus on particular ST aspects [...] and disregard others', provided s/he specifies exactly which ST aspects has been taken into account and which has been neglected, and sometimes s/he 'must ask for additional material or refuse to translate the text'.⁵⁶

In a paper entitled 'Scopos, Loyalty, and Translational Conventions', she presents a slightly moderated version of the concept of 'functionality plus loyalty', stating that since the conventions of a culture determine what kind of a relationship readers expects to exist between the original and the target text, and they are in no position to find out if

⁵⁴ *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, p. 25.

⁵⁵ p. 29.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

that relationship does not exist, the translator has to consider the conventional concepts of translation whatever the translating instructions, and if s/he has acted contrary to the conventions, s/he has the responsibility to tell the readers what s/he has done, and why.⁵⁷

Being aware that his translation of *YPM* is unconventional in Chinese culture, Chang has told the readers most of his strategies employed and his motives in employing them. In a paper entitled 'The Theory and Practice of Literary Translation -- A Discussion on the Chinese Translation of *Yes Prime Minister*', which is appended to the translation,⁵⁸ and in a newspaper article 'Challenging the "Standard Translation Criteria" -- Manifesto of the Translator of *Yes Prime Minister*',⁵⁹ the translator explains at some length how he has treated puns and culture-specific items and 'improved upon' the original, and the clause in the Translation Agreement that gives the translator the right to make additions, abbreviations and alterations⁶⁰ is printed opposite the copyright page of the book. However, the translator has concealed one thing: the intention for the translation to function as a political satire in China and the skewing of some political messages as a result of this intention. So he has not been entirely honest with the readers according to Nord's moral principle.

Nord has a point in stressing the importance of loyalty in the relationships between human beings, and some 'ethics of translation' is certainly necessary, for example, in the current practice of drama production in some cultures where, in a market-force economic climate, 'ethical considerations are diminished; texts are cut, reshaped, adapted, rewritten and yet still described as "translation"', as Susan Bassnett observes.⁶¹

Hans J. Vermeer has no problem with Nord's demand for the translator to be honest

⁵⁷ *Target*, 3:1 (1991), 91-109 (pp. 91, 94-95).

⁵⁸ pp. 567-75.

⁵⁹ *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, 21 February 1993, p. 12.

⁶⁰ See Section 4.2.

⁶¹ 'Translating for the Theatre: The Case Against Performability', *TTR*, 4:1 (1991), 99-111 (p. 102).

with the readers as he himself is of the opinion that 'the translator is basically free to deviate from source-text functions (and strategies) and source-text producer's/sender's intentions as long as he informs the target recipients about his procedure and its reasons',⁶² but he objects to the incorporation of the concept of loyalty into skopos theory.

For Vermeer, skopos theory is a general translation theory (and indeed 'may be considered the most general translation theory we know of at present'), and as such it 'cannot contain restrictions to the possible variety of skopoi'; in contrast, loyalty is just one of the possible and probable culture-specific restrictions to an unlimited application of the general skopos concept, and therefore should not form part of a general theory.⁶³

He concedes that 'translating involves an ethical aspect', but in his opinion ethics must not be mixed up with a general theory, which should be value-free.⁶⁴ He concludes:

My difficulty is how to formulate a *general* ethical theory of translating which would not be prescriptive. The difference between a general theory of translating such as skopos theory and a general ethical theory of translating is that there seems to be a general value-free reason for the former [...], but not for the latter (to which one can only say that *one man's food is another man's poison*).⁶⁵

The truth of Vermeer's parenthetical remark is proved by the present case study. It will be self-defeating for the translator to make known his intention for the work to function as a political satire in the Chinese context and the manipulation that has been done in the translation process to encourage the reader to draw an analogy between the events joked

⁶² *A Skopos Theory of Translation*, p.82.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 87, 107.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 107-08. Cf. Gideon Toury's criticism of Nord's concept of loyalty (*Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, p. 25):

[Nord] has made an interesting attempt to integrate a version of the notion of 'translational norms', so central to my own way of reasoning and its evolution [...], into an account which is basically Vermeerian. Unfortunately, while doing so, Nord (re)introduced the concept of 'loyalty', and as an a priori *moral* principle at that, which may well be opening a new gap between the two approaches as the old one seems to have been closing.

about and comparable events in the target culture, because the work will not be able to function in the intended way, and, even worse, it may be banned, and the translator may lose his credibility as a translator.

With regard to the gap between Nord's theory and Chang's practice, all that need to be said has been said by Vermeer: 'one *can* conceive of a general ethical theory of translating, and each one would be free to accept or reject it'.⁶⁶

On the whole, all the three prescriptive theories examined above -- of Nida, Newmark and Nord -- proved to be impracticable in some or other respects for Chang's translation of *YPM*. If one queries whether testing only three theories is sufficient for drawing any conclusion about applied theories in general, the answer is that the conclusion attempted in this section applies to only one kind of applied theories. They are those which share two characteristics: apriorism and prescriptivism (which seem to be an inseparable couple), and which are presented as theories of translation applicable to more than one type of situations, but that amounts to most, if not all, applied theories known so far, Vermeer's version of skopos theory being an exception.

The main problem with the theories of Nida and Newmark is not that they are source-oriented, because target-oriented prescriptive theories, such as Nord's version of skopos theory (to a certain extent), are also impracticable for some translation tasks.⁶⁷ And even if a prescriptive theory can be found that is perfectly practicable to a certain task, such as the Chinese translation of *YPM*, it does not mean that it will be equally applicable to all other tasks.

The crux of the matter is that every translation task has a context and a purpose,

⁶⁶ *A Skopos Theory of Translation*, p. 107.

⁶⁷ Another example of basically target-oriented prescriptive theory is the one proposed by lance Hewson and Jack Martin in their *Redefining Translation*. When discussing the translating of slang words, they postulate: 'The only option open to the TO [translation operator] is to try to judge the *overall* effect of the use of such words -- and thus to solve the problem at a macro-textual level.' (p. 131) Such prescriptions make their theory impracticable for translators who, for one reason or another, have opted for a source-language-oriented approach of translating.

which is bound to be different from those of any other task, and it is impossible for any *a priori* postulation to take into account all sorts of potential contexts and purposes, and to be applicable to all of them. Hence the contradiction between 'theory' and practice.

But are there no standards -- standards that all translations should measure up to, whatever their individual contexts and purposes? The answer is threefold.

Firstly, there are indeed standards, in the form of translational norms, or what Christiane Nord calls conventions, as determined by the particular configuration of a cultural macro-polysystem,⁶⁸ but the role of translation theory, whether applied or not, is to discover these norms and make them known to practitioners, not to set norms of their own and prescribe them to other people, as Theo Hermans points out:

Translation Studies, as an empirical division of the human sciences, should have no need to impose its own norms on the practice of translation. I would extend this principle even to the Applied branch of translation Studies. Teachers and researchers active in Applied Translation Studies are undoubtedly right in stressing the normative aspects of models and correctness notions in the socio-cultural systems for which translation caters. But they would do well to resist taking the shortcut of making those norms their own, or of deriving them directly from theoretical speculation, for doing so entails a fatal confusion between the discipline's object-level (translational phenomena) and its meta-level (the scholarly discourse about translational phenomena).⁶⁹

One may well go a step further and say that translation theorists have no right to set norms as if they were some sort of legislators, as presenters of prescriptive theories have been doing all along.

Secondly, even norms are not laws, and translation practitioners may choose to conform to them or not. Translations should be criticized not when they violate the prescriptions of a certain theory or the norms of a culture, but only when they fail to

⁶⁸ This will be further discussed in Section 5.3.

⁶⁹ 'Translational Norms and Correct Translations', in *Translation Studies: The State of the Art*, ed. by Kitty M. van Leuven-Zwart and Ton Naaijken (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1991), pp. 155-69 (p. 166).

serve the intended purpose.⁷⁰

Thirdly, 'the trouble with standards, it would seem, is that they turn out not to be eternal and unchanging after all', as André Lefevere and Susan Bassnett point out,⁷¹ for they change with the cultural configuration, and yet prescriptive theories based on *a priori* notions of translation are presented as eternal truth, or at least as attempts to search for it, while in fact it may be doubtful whether they truly reflect the standards of the particular culture at the particular time, or, being derived from mere theoretical speculation, just reflect the personal values of the theorists.

There is no doubt that Applied Translation Studies is needed by society, but so far it has been doomed by apriorism and prescriptivism. Vermeer's version of skopos theory seems to have proved that Gideon Toury is not entirely right in asserting that Applied Translation Studies 'cannot be anything but *prescriptive*; even if they are brought closer to reality, [...] and even if their pluralism and tolerance are enhanced',⁷² but the theory does not seem to go very far towards guiding practitioners to achieve their translation skopos.

Then how can Applied Translation Studies go further? The answer can be found in a statement made by André Lefevere:

The [translation] problem tends to disappear -- or, even better, to allow of attempts at solution that may be said to be 'productive' [...] -- as soon as the only reason for the problem's existence that can disappear does so: as soon as the translation poetics is no longer normative but descriptive in nature -- as soon as it no longer consists of a series of prescriptions, but of descriptions of possible strategies translators can make use of and have made use of.⁷³

⁷⁰ Cf. Vermeer's claim quoted above in Section 5.1.; and Susan Bassnett: 'any assessment of a translation can only be made by taking into account both the process of creating it and its function in a given context' (*Translation Studies*, rev. edn (London: Routledge, 1991; 1st edn London: Methuen, 1980)), pp. 9-10).

⁷¹ 'Introduction: Proust's Grandmother and the Thousand and One Nights', p. 3.

⁷² *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, p. 19.

⁷³ *Translation, Rewriting, & the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 101.

This is the direction applied translation theories -- not translation poetics⁷⁴ -- should go. Such strategies are not to be imposed on practitioners, but may serve as examples for their consideration. It is in this sense that 'a comprehensive theory [...] can also be used as a guideline for the production of translations'.⁷⁵ And it must be noted that there is a great difference between guidelines and prescriptions, as Susan Bassnett emphasizes.⁷⁶

Strictly speaking, the 'descriptions of possible strategies translators can make use of lies in the domain of Theoretical Translation Studies and, if they are not to be mere theoretical speculation, must be based on descriptions of strategies translators have made use of, which is the territory of Descriptive Translation Studies. Therefore, Applied Translation Studies must in the final analysis develop on the solid foundation laid by Descriptive Translation Studies that looks into the process, product and function of translation in its socio-cultural environment.⁷⁷

5.2. Reflections on Polysystem Theory and the Cultural Studies Approach

Polysystem theory, essentially a theory of culture, provides a broad theoretical framework for such descriptive studies. The theory has been briefly discussed before,⁷⁸ but a more detailed examination is necessary here.

According to Itamar Even-Zohar, 'socio-semiotic phenomena, i.e., sign-governed

⁷⁴ Lefevere's term is inappropriate in its own context because, as Theo Hermans points out, the urge for 'translation poetics' to abandon normativeness and embrace descriptivism 'cannot possibly be squared with the standard meaning of the term, or even with Lefevere's own definition of poetics as "the dominant concept of what literature should (be allowed to) be", which both imply a normative element' ('Translation between Poetics and Ideology', *Translation and Literature*, 3 (1994), 138-45 (p. 141)).

⁷⁵ André Lefevere, 'Translations Studies: The Goal of the Discipline (Appendix)', in *Literature and Translation*, ed. by James S. Holmes et al. (Leuven: ACCO, 1978), pp. 234-35 (p. 234).

⁷⁶ *Translation Studies*, p. 37.

⁷⁷ See Chang Nam Fung, 'On Translation Studies', *Chinese Translators Journal*, 4 (1995), 15-17 and 22.

⁷⁸ See Sections 2.5. and 3.4.

human patterns of communication (such as culture, language, literature)' should be regarded as 'systems rather than conglomerates of disparate elements'; 'a socio-semiotic system can be conceived of as a heterogeneous, open structure' rather than a 'uni-system', and is therefore 'a polysystem -- a multiple system, a system of various systems which intersect with each other and partly overlap, using concurrently different options, yet functioning as one structured whole, whose members are interdependent'.⁷⁹ Moreover, 'any socio-semiotic activity is a component of a larger (poly)system -- that of 'culture,' -- and therefore is inevitably correlated (or constantly liable to correlation) with other systems pertaining to the same whole'.⁸⁰

Referring to the literary (poly)system, Even-Zohar recognizes the 'institution' as one of the 'macro-factors' involved with its function,⁸¹ and indeed as the key factor:

It is the institution which governs the norms prevailing in this activity, sanctioning some and rejecting others. Empowered by, and being part of, other dominating social institutions, it also remunerates and reprimands producers and agents. As part of official culture, it also determines who, and which products, will be remembered by a community for a longer period of time.⁸²

But it is a variegated and dynamic body or system rather than a uniform and static one:

The institution includes at least part of the producers, 'critics' (in whatever form), publishing houses, periodicals, clubs, groups of writers, government bodies (like ministerial offices and academies), educational institutions (schools of whatever level, including universities), the mass media in all its facets, and more. Naturally this enormous variety does not produce a homogeneous body, capable, as it were, of acting in harmony and necessarily succeeding in enforcing its preferences. Inside the institution there are struggles over domination, with one or another group succeeding at one time or another at occupying the center of the institution, thus

⁷⁹ 'Polysystem Theory' (revised version) (Internet: <http://www.tau.ac.il/~itamarez>, 1997), pp. 1, 3.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 9.

⁸¹ 'The "Literary System"', *Polysystem Studies, Poetics Today*, 11:1 (1990), 27-44 (pp. 35-36).

⁸² Ibid., p. 37.

becoming *the* establishment.⁸³

The conditions prevailing in a polysystem are 'correlated with the overall polysystem of culture', and change factors in any particular polysystem 'cannot be dealt with as separated from change factors in culture ('society') as a whole'.⁸⁴

He views translated literature as a system within the polysystem of literature, and hypothesizes a link between its behaviour and its position in the polysystem: it tends to be adequacy-oriented when it assumes a central position, and acceptability-oriented when it assumes a peripheral position.⁸⁵

To Even-Zohar, the advantage of his approach over the traditional line of study is obvious:

As the researchers failed to see the connection between the position of texts and models (properties, features) within the structured whole (to which they belong), on the one hand, and the decisions made while producing them, on the other, local explanations ('mistakes,' 'misunderstandings,' 'bad imitation,' etc., for instance in the study of translation) became their only possible refuge.⁸⁶

In contrast, 'to the complicated question of how literature correlates with language, society, economy, politics, ideology, etc., Polysystem theory provides less simplistic and reductionist hypotheses'.⁸⁷

It has been recognized by a number of scholars that Even-Zohar's theory of culture has made a great contribution to Translation Studies. According to Edwin Gentzler,

The theoretical advance of Polysystem Theory for Translation Studies should be readily apparent: instead of having a static conception of what a translation should be, Even-Zohar varies his definition of 'equivalence' and 'adequacy' according to the historical situation, freeing the discipline from the constraint that has traditionally

⁸³ Ibid., pp. 37-38.

⁸⁴ 'System, Dynamics, and Interference in Culture: A Synoptic View', *Polysystem Studies*, 85-95 (pp. 93, 89).

⁸⁵ See Section 2.5.

⁸⁶ 'Polysystem Theory', *Polysystem Studies*, 9-26 (p. 15).

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 23. This passage is deleted in the revised version of 1997.

limited its previous theories.⁸⁸

And, as the theory has been adopted and/or adapted by many researchers for conducting descriptive studies, it has 'changed the nature of translation analysis and led to the great expansion in the field that has come to be known as Translation Studies', as Susan Bassnett sums up.⁸⁹

One of the most active and prominent among these researchers is Gideon Toury, a colleague of Even-Zohar, who, based on Polysystem theory and especially its prediction about the behaviour of translated literature, has developed a comprehensive target-oriented theoretical and methodological framework for Descriptive Translation Studies anchored on the concept of 'translational norms' that influence translation decisions, and conducted a large number of case studies of various scopes.⁹⁰

Several aspect of his theory has contributed to development in the field of Translation Studies, as Edwin Gentzler comments:

(1) the abandonment of one-to-one notions of correspondence as well as the possibility of literary/linguistic equivalence (unless by accident); (2) the involvement of literary tendencies within the target cultural system in the production of any translated text; (3) the destabilization of the notion of an original message with a fixed identity; (4) the integration of both the original text and the translated text in the semiotic web of intersecting cultural systems.⁹¹

On the whole, 'Even-Zohar's and Toury's system theory work has helped Translation Studies break down certain conceptual barriers and find a method for better describing translation',⁹² but the major weakness of their work seems to be that the theory has not

⁸⁸ *Contemporary Translation Theories* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 125.

⁸⁹ 'The Meek or the Mighty: Reappraising the Role of the Translator', in *Translation, Power, Subversion*, pp. 10-24 (p. 13).

⁹⁰ See his *In Search of a Theory of Translation*, and *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*. As his theory is well-known in the translation studies circle and has been extensively quoted in the preceding chapters of this thesis, especially the Introduction, it does not seem to be necessary to go into details here.

⁹¹ *Contemporary Translation Theories*, pp. 133-34.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 138.

been fully utilized to guide research into the correlation between the linguistic and the literary polysystems on the one hand and the other polysystems (especially the political and the ideological) on the other.

If 'Even-Zohar's own work and hypothesizing tend to focus primarily upon the literary'⁹³, it does not mean that he has totally ignored the extraliterary. For example, in his studies on 'The Emergence of a Native Hebrew Culture in Palestine: 1882-1948',⁹⁴ and on 'Language Conflict and National Identity',⁹⁵ which surveys the language scenes of France, Israel, Norway, etc., he identifies ideology as the determining factor in all cases. But these case studies do not seem to have been conducted strictly in polysystematic terms. In fact, although ideology and politics are, together with language, society and economy, recognized as 'cultural systems' in his 1990 version of 'Polysystem Theory',⁹⁶ the passage is deleted in the 1997 version, leaving the polysystematic status of ideology and politics very much in doubt.⁹⁷

Toury's Descriptive Translation Studies is more confined to the literary polysystem. Take for example his 'Norms of Literary Translation into Hebrew, 1930-1945'.⁹⁸ The analysis of the translated texts focuses on the linguistic, textual and literary levels only, and it is not mentioned whether the ideological content of the works has been changed or not. It reports that ideology has influenced the preliminary norms in relation to the choice of text, in that preference was shown for texts with either 'a pronounced anti-military, pacifistic and humane message' or 'a social, even socialistic orientation', and for 'Jewish

⁹³ Ibid., p. 120.

⁹⁴ *Polysystem Studies, Poetics Today*, 11:1 (1990), 175-91.

⁹⁵ In *Nationalism and Modernity: A Mediterranean Perspective*, ed. by Joseph Alpher (New York: Praeger, 1986), pp. 126-35 (also in Internet: <http://www.tau.ac.il/~itamarez>, 1997).

⁹⁶ pp. 22-23.

⁹⁷ The very word 'ideology' and its derivatives, which appears four times in the old version (pp. 16, 23), totally disappears in the new one.

⁹⁸ *In Search of a Theory of Translation*, pp. 122-39.

writers and subjects'.⁹⁹ But what are the socio-cultural factors that have influenced this preference, especially in terms of socialistic works? Has this ideology informed operational norms? How have culture-specific items, especially those incompatible with the values of the target culture (such as the descriptions of sex, if there are any in the three or more books by D. H. Lawrence that were translated¹⁰⁰), been handled? These questions, which would have been interesting to researchers of culture, have been left unanswered.¹⁰¹

Gideon Toury's scant attention to the extraliterary, especially the ideological factor, is apparently a deliberate choice, as can be seen in his suggestion that literary translation is a convenient phenomenon for a critical discussion partly because 'it evades many of the ideology-laden reservations which any discussion of the translation of national anthems or the Bible is bound to entail'.¹⁰² This a-political attitude has been criticized by some theorists,¹⁰³ but it is uncertain whether it is due to a simplistic view on literature and translation or to socio-cultural constraints on academic research.

What Toury tends to ignore is not just the broader socio-cultural environment of the translated text, but also certain aspects of the translation process in relation to its immediate setting. Just as 'Even-Zohar seldom relates texts to the "real conditions" of their production, only to hypothetical structural models and abstract generalizations',¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ pp. 125, 134.

¹⁰⁰ p. 124.

¹⁰¹ Extra-literary factors such as religious beliefs, censorship and ideological climate are sporadically touched upon in Toury's two books (such as *In Search of a Theory of Translation*, pp. 144-47; *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, pp. 42-44, 118, 131, 205), but the focus of research remains on the linguistic and literary levels.

¹⁰² *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, pp. 169-70.

¹⁰³ Citing Toury as an example, Tejaswini Niranjana comments that 'translation studies seems to ignore not just the power relations informing translation but also the historicity or effective history of translated texts' (*Siting Translation: History, Post-Structuralism, and the Colonial Context* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), pp. 59-60). Also see Theo Hermans, 'Norms and the Determination of Translation', p. 41.

¹⁰⁴ Edwin Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories*, p. 123.

Toury concentrates on the product, seldom investigating the 'whole range of possible activities' entailed in the production process such as revising and editing that may have been done by people other than the translator,¹⁰⁵ or the intention of the translation initiator(s), not to mention the (intended and realized) social functions of the translated text -- except in terms of its position between the adequacy and acceptability poles.

It is this position -- of a single text or a corpus of texts -- that Toury is mainly concerned about in his case studies, although he declared in 1980 that 'the study and description of translated texts' should 'include more than the mere establishment of their actual position between the two poles'.¹⁰⁶ And his findings seem to always prove the link between the position and behaviour of translated literature hypothesized by Even-Zohar. While in theory he allows for the concurrent existence of 'three types of competing norms' -- the mainstream, the trendy and the old-fashioned, and recognizes that 'non-normative behaviour' is not only a possibility, but it may even 'be found to have effected *changes* in the very system',¹⁰⁷ in his empirical studies he 'documents the conformity, not the exceptions',¹⁰⁸ nearly always finding the prevailing norms of the time operative in the object(s) of study.

Due to their structuralist origin, Even-Zohar' and Toury seem to set out to look for unity and conformity more than contradiction and deviation, as Edwin Gentzler observes,¹⁰⁹ but is this attitude realistic? Theo Hermans points out that 'the existence of a norm

¹⁰⁵ For the range of questions that Toury regards as pertinent to Descriptive Translation Studies but seldom attempts any answer in his case studies, see Section 0.2.

¹⁰⁶ *In Search of a Theory of Translation*, p. 55. Interestingly, this passage has disappeared from the corresponding chapter in *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, which is meant to be 'a replacement' of *In Search of a Theory of Translation* (p. 3).

¹⁰⁷ *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, pp. 62-64.

¹⁰⁸ Edwin Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories*, p. 133.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 133. This tendency is reflected not only in their research findings, but also in the emphasis of their theoretical generalizations. Toury predicts that 'at the end of a full-fledged study it will probably be found that translational norms [...] are all, to a large extent, dependent on the position held by translation [...] in the target culture' (*Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, p. 61); and Even-Zohar asserts in a

does not preclude erratic or idiosyncratic behaviour; nor can a norm prevent anyone from setting out deliberately to break it',¹¹⁰ especially 'in the literary field, with its relatively weak modalities of normative force and normative control'.¹¹¹ This statement seems to have been proved by the present case study as well as many others which indicate that translations can be used as 'a cultural weapon in a struggle to break down the norms of an established system',¹¹² or even as 'a radical form of social protest'.¹¹³ Are such cases entirely absent in Hebrew culture, or have they been overlooked?

An even more important question is: how are such cases to be adequately accounted for within the framework of Polysystem theory in relation to the behaviour of translated literature? They may happen any time regardless of the position of translation in the literary system, adopting translational norms that may not conform to the prevailing ones except by accident, and the product may occupy a position outside the range allowed for by Toury, who claims that 'a translated text can be located on an axis between the two hypothetical poles of adequacy (source text oriented) or acceptability (target language oriented)'.¹¹⁴

recent paper:

[Literature] produces also 'writer', who in their turn behave in accordance with models gradually established in culture at large. Such writers, often an obligatory commodity of power [...], are often also major distributors and supporters of the repertoire endorsed by power. ('Factors and Dependencies in Culture' (Internet: <http://www.tau.ac.il/~itamarez>, 1997, p. 11).

¹¹⁰ 'Translational Norms and Correct Translations', p. 162.

¹¹¹ 'Norms and the Determination of Translation', p. 43.

¹¹² Edwin Gentzler, 'Translation, Counter-Culture, and *The Fifties* in the USA', in *Translation, Power, Subversion*, pp. 116-37 (p. 120).

¹¹³ Susan Bassnett, 'The Meek or the Mighty', p. 13.

¹¹⁴ *In Search of a Theory of Translation*, p. 34. Although Palma Zlateva's criticism that 'such a statement seems to exclude the possibility that a translated text could ever be both adequate to the original and acceptable in the target language' ('Translation: Text and Pre-Text. "Adequacy" and "Acceptability" in Crosscultural Communication', in *Translation, History and Culture*, pp. 29-37, (p. 29)) seems to be unfounded as the two hypothetical poles in such a case can be said to be very close to or even touching each other, the statement does exclude the possibility that a translated text can ever be far from both the adequacy and the acceptability poles. As a matter of fact, there exist

These cases may even be misinterpreted if Even-Zohar's hypothesis about the link between behaviour and position is rigidly applied. Take for example Chang's translation of *YPM*. An examination of the translation product in isolation might have led to a conclusion that the initial norms of the translation are compatible with the position of translated literature in the Chinese literary polysystem, but in fact it is intended to challenge the prevailing translational norms, which are adequacy-oriented while translated literature occupies a peripheral position: every aspect of the hypothesis is thus turned upside down.

The fundamental problem is therefore that 'the practices encountered in one domain of culture can only be understood in the light of the practices which make up culture as a whole', as Theo Hermans stresses.¹¹⁵ while Even-Zohar's polysystem hypothesis in relation to the total culture provides a framework for such an understanding, his hypothesis about the link between the behaviour and position of translated literature and Toury's concept of translational norms, being confined to the literary system, are divorced from this overall framework -- Even-Zohar's own statement that 'it is the institution which governs the norms prevailing in this activity' seems to have been forgotten. Consequently, their findings and generalizations might have been, to a certain extent, 'decontextualized accounts of translation [...] without reference to its social environment' which 'necessarily underdetermine translation',¹¹⁶ or, in Even-Zohar's own words, 'local explanations', which run the risk of offering not just a partial picture, but

many such texts for a number of reasons. The purpose of translation may require the translator to deliberately deviate from the axis, in which case the product is neither source- nor target-oriented, but translator-oriented, for example, in a certain degree. Or the translator may lack the necessary skills to keep close to it (as exemplified by the other translations into Chinese of *YPM* and *YM*, which are discussed in Section 3.6.), because to produce an adequate translation requires a high level of at least bilingual competence, and to produce an acceptable one, bicultural competence as well. Again, is there not a single case of this kind among translations into Hebrew?

¹¹⁵ 'Norms and the Determination of Translation', p. 47

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

sometimes even a false one, as the latter hypothesis is proved to be by the present study.

Since theory needs to be tested and refined by the findings of empirical research in order to be rendered more intricate,¹¹⁷ the limitation in empirical research has also hampered the development of Polysystem theory in terms of the relation between (translated) literature and the total culture. The hypothesis about the link between the behaviour and position of translated literature is detailed enough (although proved to be not always true), but Even-Zohar's generalizations on the correlation between the literary polysystem and other polysystems within the same culture, especially what he calls the institution, seem to be comparatively scanty and crude.

The same holds true for Toury's Descriptive Translation Studies. On the one hand, an intricate framework for the analysis of translated texts in their relation to the source and target (linguistic and literary) systems has been developed, and it can be said to be over-intricate to a certain extent. The further division of operational norms into 'matricial norms' and 'textual (-linguistic) norms'¹¹⁸ seems to be unnecessary, and Toury himself makes very little use of these terms in the case studies reported in his 1995 book, although they are retained in the theory part. On the other, a framework for the description of the activities involved in the translation process and of the relation between translation activities and their extraliterary environment seems to be lacking. It is for this reason that in the present study the concepts of skopos, commission, and translation initiator and operator have to be borrowed from Hans J. Vermeer, Christiane Nord, and Lance Hewson and Jacky Martin, and the concepts of ideology, patronage and poetics, from André Lefevere.

Inspired by Polysystem theory, a large number of scholars, who later became known

¹¹⁷ As Gideon Toury remarks (see Section 0.4.).

¹¹⁸ The former 'govern the very *existence* of target-language material intended as a substitute for the corresponding source-language material [...], its location in the text [...], as well as the textual *segmentation*', while the latter 'govern the selection of material to formulate the target text in, or replace the original textual and linguistic material with' (*Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, pp. 58-59).

as the 'Manipulation School', began to be actively engaged in theoretical and descriptive studies in the early 1980s. Hence the 'great expansion' in the field. Later, while Even-Zohar and Toury still concentrated on the literary system, these scholars adopted a 'cultural studies model' in their research, correlating 'extraliterary factors such as patronage, social conditions, economics, and institutional manipulation' 'to the way translations are chosen and function in a literary system',¹¹⁹ thus taking a 'cultural turn',¹²⁰ and, as Susan Bassnett sees it, moving away from the 'overly structuralist origins' of the theory.¹²¹

This movement is most obvious in the work of André Lefevere, who is one of the leading figures in this group of scholars.¹²² In order to 'better analyze the influence of the extraliterary upon the literary', he 'introduces a new set of terms', and in his discussions his 'tone is very reader friendly, and he 'avoid the scientific vocabulary characteristic of Polysystem theory discourse'.¹²³ A typical example of such terms is 'translation poetics', which Lefevere defines as 'what Gideon Toury has been untiringly calling "translational norms"'.¹²⁴ And some of his passages look like 'translation' of Polysystem theory:

This attitude [of the translator toward the Universe of Discourse expressed in the original text in relation to the Universe of Discourse of their own society] is heavily influenced by the status of the original, the self-image of the culture that text is translated into, the types of texts deemed acceptable in that culture, the levels of diction deemed acceptable in it, the intended audience, and the 'cultural scripts' that audience is used to or willing to accept.

The status of the source text can run the whole gamut from central to peripheral in either the source or the target text.¹²⁵

¹¹⁹ Edwin Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories*, pp. 139, 120.

¹²⁰ André Lefevere and Susan Bassnett, 'Introduction: Proust's Grandmother and the Thousand and One Nights', p. 4.

¹²¹ *Comparative Literature* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), p. 146.

¹²² Lefevere's work 'is of central importance to the discipline' according to Theo Hermans ('Translation between Poetics and Ideology', p. 140).

¹²³ Edwin Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories*, pp. 140-41.

¹²⁴ *Translation, Rewriting, & the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, p. 104.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

There seems to be little in this passage that is new to those who have read Even-Zohar's *Polysystem Studies*¹²⁶ and Toury's case studies.¹²⁷

Theo Hermans regards Lefevere's emphasis on the close link between ideology, poetics and patronage as a new contribution, and yet he finds that these terms 'too apodictic, too few, and therefore too broad to be able to guide research in any meaningful way beyond a general orientation towards the social context of literature', and that Lefevere's approach as a theoretical apparatus 'remains far too rudimentary' and 'is not consistently elaborated'.¹²⁸

The inappropriate use of the term 'poetics' occurs more than once.¹²⁹ Another instance can be found in the following passage:

Two factors basically determine the image of a work of literature as projected by a translation. These two factors are, in order of importance, the translator's ideology (whether he/she willingly embraces it, or whether it is imposed on him/her as a constraint by some form of patronage) and the poetics dominant in the receiving literature at the time the translation is made'.¹³⁰

¹²⁶ Especially in 'The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem'. For example: 'as a system, translated literature is itself stratified [...]. This means that while one section of translated literature may assume a central position, another may remain quite peripheral'; 'when there is intense interference, it is the portion of translated literature deriving from a major source literature which is likely to assume a central position'; and 'not only is the socio-literary status of translation dependent upon its position within the polysystem, but the very practice of translation is also strongly subordinated to that position' (pp. 49, 51); and the two quotations in Section 2.5.

¹²⁷ Especially 'Norms of Literary Translation into Hebrew, 1930-1945', such as:

Only in marginal cases do omissions on a larger scale occur. In such cases a positive correlation can be shown between their very occurrence, and especially between the nature of the material omitted, and decisions concerning the position of ST within the source literary polysystem and/or the position of TT within the target literary polysystem (which do not necessarily coincide). (*In Search of a Theory of Translation*, p. 127.)

¹²⁸ Translation between Poetics and Ideology', pp. 139-40.

¹²⁹ Theo Hermans has cited one, in Lefevere's call for 'translation poetics' to embrace descriptivism (see Section 5.1.).

¹³⁰ *Translation, Rewriting, & the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, p. 41.

Besides the relatively minor question why the second factor should be 'the poetics dominant in the receiving literature [...]' instead of 'the translator's poetics (whether he/she willingly embrace it [...])', one may wonder whether 'poetics' means 'literary poetics' or 'translation poetics', or both. Without any pre-modifier it should be taken to mean 'literary poetics', but the two are different concepts, and do not fully concur with each other, as Toury has pointed out.¹³¹

Lefevere's avoidance of polysystem terminology is also accompanied by a slight deviation from anti-prescriptivism, which should have been the common ground between him and polysystem scholars. His 'description' of the 'faithful (or conservative) translator' and the 'spirited translator' in general seems to show a sympathy with the latter, such as: 'Whereas the conservative translator works on the level of the word or the sentence, the "spirited" translator works on the level of the culture as a whole, and of the functioning of the text in that culture'.¹³² In making this statement he seems to imply that in translating it is better to work on the level of the culture than on the level of the word, and he has ignored the fact that some conservative translators may also have the whole culture and the functioning of the text in mind while working on the level of the word or the sentence, as exemplified by Lu Xun.¹³³

Moreover, in his refutation of 'faithfulness' as the sole criterion -- "'Faithfulness" is just one translational strategy that can be inspired by the collocation of a certain ideology with a certain poetics. To exalt it as the only strategy possible, or even allowable, is as utopian as it is futile."¹³⁴ -- his use of the word 'utopian' seems to imply that 'faithfulness' is perfect although impractical. And after this 'attack' on 'faithfulness', he turns full circle and use it as the criterion to pass a positive value judgement on some particular 'spirited translators':

¹³¹ See Section 4.3.

¹³² *Translation, Rewriting, & the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, p. 51.

¹³³ See Section 2.4.

¹³⁴ *Translation, Rewriting, & the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, p. 51.

Only Sutherland [...] and Parker [...] opt for rendering the basic information by eschewing the concept that served as its vehicle in the original. By doing so, they may arguably be said to remain much more 'faithful' to that original than their colleagues who remain tied to the word and do not see the function of that word within the totality of the scene, or even the whole text.¹³⁵

One of these 'colleagues' who Lefevere refers to in the passage quoted above is

William James Hickie:

Hickie knows very well what he is translating wrong and why he is doing it. No supernatural force has suddenly smitten him with amnesia or removed the relevant page from his dictionary. His ideology quite simply will not allow him to translate what is on the page. By submitting to the dictates of that ideology he makes nonsense of the original [...]¹³⁶

It can be seen therefore that this 'faithful translator' is not that faithful after all, and that he does not work only on the level of the word or the sentence but has the functioning of the text in mind. Is it the business of the descriptivistic researcher to use his/her own poetics and ideology to judge those of any translators, if those translators embraces theirs with their eyes wide open, that is, if they knows what they are doing and what the consequences of their action are?¹³⁷

Edwin Gentzler observes that Lefevere 'stops trying to be purely objective in his investigations, arguing that nobody can escape one's own ideology, suggesting that those

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 55. Theo Hermans also finds Lefevere 'strongly normative -- and uncharacteristically naive' (Translation between Poetics and Ideology', p. 141) in his statement that 'there is one level on which translation remains a prescriptive operation: translators would be well advised to bow to the dictates of the dictionary, and not translate Catullus' "passer" (sparrow) by "hippopotamus," for instance' (*Translation, Rewriting, & the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, p. 101). An elaboration on Hermans' criticism could be that translators do not and need not always follow this advice, in the treatment of culture-specific items, for instance, as illustrated in Chang's translation of *YPM* and many other translations; and that lexicography is also a 'rewriting' of a language, 'undertaken in the service of power' -- to use Lefevere's terms (Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere, 'General Editors' Preface', in André Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting, & the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, pp. vii-viii (p. vii)).

¹³⁶ *Translation, Rewriting, & the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, p. 52.

¹³⁷ Cf. Hans J. Vermeer, 'Skopos and Commission in Translational Action', p. 176.

disciplines which claim objectivity are "dishonest".¹³⁸ Although Lefevere is referring to 'any kind of criticism', not any discipline,¹³⁹ his argument is valid even for a descriptive discipline. Even so, his value judgements contradicts his own statements made towards the end of the chapter that 'it is not [his] intention to evaluate the different translations' and that he has 'tried to describe, not prescribe'.¹⁴⁰ After all, should the scholar of a descriptive discipline not aim at objectivity and impartiality as Even-Zohar and Toury do, even if that goal is unattainable?

The movement away from the 'overly structuralist origins' of Polysystem theory is understandable and desirable, and yet the theory, if applied in a more flexible way, has the potential of a framework that accommodates for the study of translation in relation to its socio-cultural environment, only that this potential has not been tapped to the full either by Even-Zohar and Toury, who tend to concentrate on the literary system only, or by some scholars taking the cultural turn, who seem to have thrown the baby out with the bath water.¹⁴¹

An initial attempt has been made by Theo Hermans to augment Toury's norm concept with the fresh insight gained by those who have adopted a cultural studies approach so as

¹³⁸ *Contemporary Translation Theories*, p. 141.

¹³⁹ See 'Why Waste Our Time on Rewrites? The Trouble with Interpretation and the Role of Rewriting in an Alternative Paradigm', in *The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation*, ed. by Theo Hermans (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1985), pp. 215-43 (pp. 217-18).

¹⁴⁰ *Translation, Rewriting, & the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, p. 109.

¹⁴¹ Some leading figures in each of these two groups of scholars, whose works seem to be complementary rather than mutually exclusive, sometimes tend to ignore the research findings, theoretical achievements, and criticisms of the other group. Lefevere makes only one passing reference to Toury in *Translation, Rewriting, & the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (quoted above) and none at all to Even-Zohar, and Toury, in his turn, makes no reference to Lefevere in *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*. Although Toury denies the claim that his line of reasoning is 'a mere variation of good old "literary reception"' -- 'most notably' made by Mary Snell-Hornby according to him (*Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, pp. 172-3), no explicit response has been heard so far from Toury or Even-Zohar to the criticism that they have neglected extraliterary factors.

to build a larger framework for the better study of translational phenomena. He insists on the importance of 'focus[ing] on the social dimension of translating and on the place of translation in relation to power and ideology', and finds that 'empirical studies have yet to develop a comprehensive theoretical and methodological framework that can encompass the social and ideological embedding and impact of translation', in spite of Lefevere's offer of his 'triad of ideology, poetics and patronage as determining factors in translation' to address the problem.¹⁴² Therefore, he 'rediscovers' Toury's concept of norms that has been discarded by Lefevere. However, since 'Toury saw norms mostly as constraints on the translator's behaviour, and he gave only a brief indication of the broader, social function of norms',¹⁴³ Hermans extends Toury's concept by dropping the pre-modifier in Toury's term 'translational norms', and by increasing the scope and complexity of the term. His reinterpretation of the concept must be quoted in full:

Cultural systems are extremely complex and perpetually changing entities, embedded in other social systems, each with a history of its own. Translation is necessarily anchored in several of these systems at once. We can therefore expect to find a variety of competing, conflicting and overlapping norms and models which pertain to a whole array of other social domains. Their directive force will in each case depend on their nature and scope, on their relative weight, their centrality or marginality, their relation to other canonical or non-canonical models and norms. This is what determines, for both collectives and individuals, the modalities of normative force: what *must* be said, what *must not* be said, what *may* be said, what *can* be said [...]. But these various obligations and prohibitions in turn correlate with modalities of normative control [...]. It is only within such complexes that we can begin to assess the role of norms and models as opportunities or constraints, and the translator's activity as being both pressure-driven and goal-seeking at the same time.¹⁴⁴

This concept is very different from Toury's. It sees norms as originating from extraliterary systems as well as the literary system, putting conflicting demands on the

¹⁴² 'Norms and the Determination of Translation', pp. 26, 41. Also see his criticism of Lefevere quoted above.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

translator with varying weight depending on 'the stratified social context, and the hierarchy of the power relations in it',¹⁴⁵ with the result that some are binding, some are not binding, and some are overridden by others; and it sees the translator not as a passive conformer, but as 'an active participant in a complex exchange, a person with a particular expertise and hence a certain amount of power, and with all manner of private and public interests to look after'.¹⁴⁶

After such an extension of the concept, Hermans claims:

An approach to translation via the issue of norms can furnish a key component of such a framework. It can cope with the overdetermination of translation precisely because the norm concept has its basis in social interaction, and therefore in questions of ideology, social complexity, shared values and the unequal distribution of power.¹⁴⁷

This is no doubt a big step forward in the direction of developing the desired comprehensive framework, but the variety of these socio-cultural norms is so great that it seems what is needed is a typology rather than just a blanket term. Furthermore, a number of specific questions have yet to be answered: Which domains or systems exactly are the major sources of this variety of norms? What each of them demands from the translator? How does the mechanism operate that determines the relative force of these norms? And how do they relate to Toury's translational norms?

The underlying problem seems to be that what needs to be augmented is not just Toury's concept of norms in general terms, but first the whole concept of polysystems, and then the concept of norms within this augmented concept of polysystems, if these questions are to be answered, and if a comprehensive framework is to be built. The next section is another 'faltering step in that direction' after Theo Hermans.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 36.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 40.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 41.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 42.

5.3. A 'Macro-polysystem Hypothesis' for Translation Studies

As has been discussed before, Even-Zohar's Polysystem theory with regard to the correlation between the literary polysystem and other polysystems in the same culture is not yet adequately developed to serve as a comprehensive framework for translation studies. Nevertheless, a skeleton of the framework is already there, and what needs to be done is just to make it more substantial, as Edwin Gentzler points out,

The advantage of Polysystem theory is that it allows for its own augmentation and integrates the study of literature with the study of social and economic forces of history. Even-Zohar uses the term 'poly' just to allow for such elaboration and complexity without having to limit the number of relations and interconnections. The principles which he uses to describe relations within the literary system are also applicable to its relations with the extraliterary.¹⁴⁹

Therefore, the 'macro-polysystem hypothesis' to be proposed here is not entirely new. It is an elaborated version of Even-Zohar's polysystem hypothesis inspired by Hermans' extended concept of norms. And as it is based on research findings in the field of translation studies -- or, more precisely, literary translation studies, this version can only aspire to be an elaboration on those aspects of the theory that are considered to be most pertinent to the discipline, and is not presented as a general theory of culture.

Nor is it meant to be a finished product. It is still rudimentary, and it represents only the feedback of an empirical researcher on the theories in whose frameworks his case study has been performed, a suggestion to be considered, revised and refined by the theorist, who is in a much better position to do so.

The term 'macro-polysystem' is used here to refer to a culture for reasons already stated,¹⁵⁰ and also to put a greater emphasis on the complexity of cultural structures. But what are the components of a culture? In line with Even-Zohar's 1990 version of 'Polysystem Theory',¹⁵¹ it can be elaborated that the cultural macro-polysystem consists of

¹⁴⁹ *Contemporary Translation Theories*, p. 120.

¹⁵⁰ See Section 2.5.

¹⁵¹ For Even-Zohar's list of polysystems in a culture, see Section 5.2.

an open set of intersecting and overlapping polysystems -- of ideology, politics, economy, language, literature, translation, etc.¹⁵² The list may be extended infinitely, but for practical purposes a limited number of them must be selected for any individual study or discipline depending on their relevancy, and these six seem to be sufficient for the purpose of the present study because they are the major sources of norms that govern or influence translation decisions.

In Even-Zohar's Polysystem theory, the 'institution', subsumed under the literary system, seems to be synonymous with 'literary institution'¹⁵³ (just as 'translation' is synonymous with 'literary translation'), and is delineated as follows:

The Literary institution (constituted by, e.g., literary ideologies, publishing houses, criticism, literary groups, or any other means for dictating taste or norm-giving), while undeniably behaving as a semi-independent socio-cultural system obeying its own laws, must also be recognized as integral factors of the literary system proper.¹⁵⁴

In the macro-polysystem hypothesis this concept of the literary institution is expanded to a concept of the social institution, and it is further split into two parts: first, a political polysystem, which is constituted by 'institutions proper', such as publishing houses, periodicals, the mass media, professional and academic bodies, educational institutions and government organizations, and also by other marginalized groups, i.e., those that are outside the institution; and second, an ideological polysystem, constituted by the different ideologies upheld by these institutional and non-institutional groups and bodies and/or by individuals within them.

¹⁵² Even-Zohar, as well as a number of other Translation Studies scholars, tends to study literary translation only, and consciously or subconsciously equate it with translation. Consequently, he subsumes the system of translated literature solely under the literary polysystem (see 'The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem'). It seems more justifiable to regard translated literature as belonging to both the literary polysystem and the translational polysystem.

¹⁵³ See 'The "Literary System"', p. 38.

¹⁵⁴ 'Polysystem Theory', *Polysystem Studies*, p. 23.

Consisting of competing and conflicting ideologies of all sorts that exist in a culture, the ideological polysystem governs or influences the production of not just literary products, but all cultural products, consumer products, legal and judicial products, etc., and even the very structure of society, including the structure of the political polysystem. On the other hand, power relations in the political polysystem determine which ideology or ideologies become(s) dominant.

These two polysystems are no doubt closely correlated with each other, but they do not necessarily operate in unison. It is not impossible, for example, that sometimes a group or an individual occupying a central position in the political polysystem may champion, sympathize with, or tolerate an ideology that is peripheral in the ideological polysystem. Therefore, it seems more appropriate to make a distinction between them than to group them together under a blanket term.

Being an extension of Even-Zohar's polysystem hypothesis, the assumption of the existence of a political and an ideological polysystem seems to have a twofold advantage. First, it puts due emphasis on the functioning of ideology as a whole in any social activity, instead of on different sorts of ideologies taking part in the operation of different polysystems. Second, it helps to provide a more systematic explanation for products (such as Chang's translation of *YPM*) that reflect the ideologies of groups and individuals that should be regarded as 'anti-institutional' rather than as participating in 'struggles over domination' inside 'the institution' or as 'part of official culture',¹⁵⁵ and for the mechanism by which such products are rejected, ignored, tolerated or accepted by the institution.

Now an augmented polysystemic concept of norms can be put forward. It is hypothesized that the activities of a polysystem are governed not just by norms originating within that particular polysystem, but by a composite of norms originating from many polysystems. So, a distinction can be made between two senses of norms. First, norms originating from a certain polysystem means those that are derived from

¹⁵⁵ See Even-Zohar's expositions on the institution quoted in Section 5.2.

principles and models of that particular polysystem, more or less untainted by the interests of other polysystems. Second, norms adopted by a certain polysystem means the composite of norms that originate from a variety of polysystems and actually govern the activities of that particular polysystem. Thus, 'literary norms' may mean 'norms constructed in accordance with certain literary principles' or 'norms governing literary activities' depending on the context. Norms in the first sense are hypothetical constructs only, for they are not directly observable, or are even non-existent. When they manifest themselves, norms originating from any polysystem, and even the principles from which they are derived, are never totally unaffected by other polysystems.

Norms that originate from the political polysystem function mainly to determine which ideology is to dominate over others. In other words, they are usually more concerned with the 'well-being' of the ideological than that of other polysystems,¹⁵⁶ for it is ideology that constitutes the main buttress of political structure, besides brute force. They also govern the allocation of a certain amount of freedom or prestige to each group and individual for them to participate in cultural activities, including norm-setting ones, and even to defy norms. In spite of the concept of equal opportunities ostensibly valued by certain cultures, in reality this freedom or prestige is often in direct proportion to one's social status. A little-known translator, for example, may have great difficulty in finding a publisher for his/her translations even when all the dominant norms are observed to a high degree, especially when there are established translations of the same source texts, whereas a well-established or well-connected translator may easily get his/her works published, even if a large number of dominant norms are violated.¹⁵⁷ Similarly, an authoritative theorist is in a much better position than a nobody to find a venue to have his/her views expressed and noticed, whether they are norm-breaking or norm-observing.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. André Lefevere's observation that 'patronage is usually more interested in the ideology of literature than in its poetics' quoted in Section 1.3.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Theo Hermans' remark about the confidence of the experienced and well-established poetry translator in ignoring the wishes and suggestions of the editor or publisher quoted in Section 4.1.

Norms originating from the ideological polysystem would demand that, where translation activities are concerned, texts be selected and translated in such a way that the values upheld by a particular ideology are promoted or at least not violated, for the interests of the political group championing that ideology.

Norms originating from the economic polysystem would bind translation activities to certain 'economic principles' or 'laws'. An economic norm in its purist form untainted by considerations of other polysystems may require, or wish for, the provision of maximum utility to members of a community as a whole, with available resources. But the ideology-influenced economic norms in a typical capitalist market economy are to measure utility in terms of money, so that goods are sold to the highest bidder and the market price of a product is regarded as a reflection of its marginal utility value, whereas in a communist planned economy the utility value of a product may be measured in terms of the extent to which it is conducive to the physical or spiritual well-being of the consumer according to certain ideological criteria. Where the production of literary translations in a market economy is concerned, the all-important economic norm is usually that texts must be selected and translated in such a way that the products are appealing to the readers so as to be saleable. This hypothesis tallies with Even-Zohar's in relation to the link between the position and behaviour of translated literature: when translated literature occupies a peripheral position, translations have to be acceptability-oriented so as to be appealing; but when it occupies a central position, the motivation of the readers is so high that translations do not need to cater for their inbred cultural taste, or they may even have to be exotic in order to be appealing.

Norms originating from the linguistic polysystem would require conformity to the grammar, syntax, lexicon, etc., of a language or a variety of that language, and norms originating from the literary polysystem would require conformity to a certain 'recognized literary model' within the polysystem.¹⁵⁸ Since these concepts have been

¹⁵⁸ Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, p. 171.

well-developed by Toury, there is no need to further elaborate on them here.

It has been noted that conformity to target linguistic and literary norms may involve the suppression of some of the source text features,¹⁵⁹ but so may conformity to target political, ideological and economic norms.

Finally, it may be necessary to hypothesize norms that originate more or less purely from the translation polysystem. Such norms may be partially reflected in certain classroom translation exercises conducted for the purpose of foreign language teaching. In these exercises no actual use for the translated texts -- or, more often, not text, but paragraphs, sentences, phrases or even individual words -- is assumed, and students are instructed just to translate, as if in a cultural vacuum. They may even be reflected in exercises conducted for translator training, where the teacher adopts a set of norms for the 'perfect' translation, norms which s/he may not use as a practitioner. These norms are usually expressed in terms of (a maximum degree of) 'equivalence', or maximum reconstruction of source-text features.¹⁶⁰ Of course the reflection is only partial, because norms operative in the classroom are already affected by norms of other polysystems, though in a lower degree.

Nevertheless, it can be seen that norms originating from the translational polysystem are usually in conflict with the other five types of norms. These six types of norms, pulling the translator in different directions with different forces depending on the translation situation, will reach an equilibrium, which becomes the translational norms adopted by the translator, that is, preliminary norms, initial norms and operational norms, in Toury's terms.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Lance Hewson and Jack Martin, *Redefining Translation*, p.166:

Students of translation tend to think of the ST as a definitive and somehow untouchable entity which must be preserved in translation at all costs. This is, of course, the result of certain attitudes taught in translation classes, particularly at university level [...] the teaching of translation does tend to exploit certain values which the professional will rarely find of use.

It is further hypothesized that when the macro-polysystem is stable, the political and the ideological polysystems are in more central positions than the other polysystems (especially in a totalitarian country), and the dominant political and ideological norms jointly influence all other types of norms.¹⁶¹ But even under stable conditions, some cultural products, including (or especially) translations, sponsored by people inside or outside the institution and guided by norms of peripheral systems in certain polysystems (ideological, literary, linguistic, etc.), may challenge central systems in a covert or overt manner.

When a crisis happens to the cultural macro-polysystem owing to struggles in the political polysystem induced by internal or external factors (such as foreign invasions, economic problems and natural disasters), the central position of the dominant political and/or ideological system(s) may be threatened, producing a domino effect: the dominant political system or ideological system, or both, may be the first to move towards the periphery, and then the central systems of some other polysystems, losing their political and/or ideological anchor, may follow in their steps. While conflicting systems within individual polysystems struggle over domination, peripheral polysystems may move towards the centre of the macro-polysystem as they become more active in reshaping the whole culture. The crisis ends when, after a series of struggles, a new balance of forces is reached with a more or less different configuration of the macro-polysystem.

5.4. Applying the Hypothesis to the Present Case Study

It seems that this hypothetical typology and mechanism of norms may facilitate the provision of more systematic and systemic explanations about some of the important events in the history of translation in China discussed in Chapter Two and about the overdetermination of Chang's translation of *YPM*.

Buddhism, a foreign ideology, was introduced into China at a time of chaos and

¹⁶¹ This is only a logical extension of Even-Zohar's argument that it is the institution which governs the norms prevailing in literary activities (see Section 5.2).

impoverishment to promise the suffering people some form of amelioration and hope, which Confucianism and Taoism, the dominant indigenous ideological systems, were unable to give. But early translations of Buddhist scriptures were bound to be heavily influenced by the norms of the indigenous ideological, linguistic, and literary (poly)systems. Such influences began to diminish though never totally disappeared as Buddhism moved towards the centre of the ideological polysystem in strong rivalry with the indigenous systems, which it never succeeded in pushing to the periphery. This ideological rivalry was an accompaniment of bitter power struggles that sometimes caused serious bloodshed. The end result is the merging of Buddhism with the indigenous systems to become a dominant conglomerate of ideological systems, partly due to the tolerance of the liberal-minded Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty (唐太宗).¹⁶²

At the turn of the twentieth century, as the dominant ideology began its centrifugal movement caused by foreign invasion, again new ideologies had to be introduced to fill the vacuum. Hence the translations of Yan Fu, Lin Shu and others. But how is one to account for their adoption of acceptability-oriented translational norms? In terms of Even-Zohar's Polysystem theory this can be attributed to the total unfamiliarity of the source texts to a recipient culture that has been self-sufficient for centuries,¹⁶³ but it seems that the macro-polysystem hypothesis may offer a more systemic explanation.

In the social crisis induced by foreign invasion, the ideological polysystem was the first to be shaken, but in the inception period the central systems in the political, literary and linguistic polysystems were not yet affected owing to a delay in the domino effect. This is why Yan and Lin chose to use Classical Chinese, the canonized linguistic-literary

¹⁶² See Arthur F. Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), pp. 20-35; Hajime Nakamura et al., trans. by Yu Wanju, *History of Chinese Buddhism*, 3 vols (Taipei: Heavenly Lotus, 1984), 1, pp. 24-383; Tang Yongtong, *History of Buddhism in the Sui and Tang Periods* (Beijing: Zhonghua Press, 1982), pp. 10-18; Chan Kit Ying Elsie, 'Translation of Buddhist Scriptures into Chinese: A Power Governed Discourse' (paper presented at the Translation and Power Conference, University of Warwick, 1997).

¹⁶³ See Sections 2. 4.

model, which was a macrostrategy determined by acceptability-oriented translational norms. It was only after the political polysystem was thrown into chaos by the collapse of the imperial government that the whole cultural macro-polysystem became unstable, giving an opportunity for revolutionary writers/translators such as Lu Xun to use adequacy-oriented translations as a means to reform not only the indigenous ideological, but also the literary and linguistic (poly)systems.

It is within the framework of the macro-polysystem hypothesis that a seeming contradiction in the translation activities of Yan and Lin can be best explained. It seems to be a revelation to Lawrence Venuti that 'domesticating [translation] strategies, especially when used in situations of cultural and political dependence, *can still* result in a powerful hybridity that sets going unanticipated changes' (emphasis added), as demonstrated by 'the practices of late Qing translators',¹⁶⁴ for he assumes that domesticating (or, in polysystematic terms, acceptability-oriented) strategies are 'designed to reinforce traditional values in the domestic culture', and should therefore be normally expected to play a conservative role.¹⁶⁵ However, we can now see that translators may challenge mainly the dominant ideological norms while being more or less conservative where linguistic and literary norms are concerned, and they may be concessionary to indigenous ideologies when importing foreign ones. When a culture is under stable conditions or at the inception of a crisis this could be the furthest they can go on their way to socio-cultural reform. It is in this sense that, as Venuti sees it, Lin Shu was a 'reformist, not a revolutionary'.¹⁶⁶ But late Qing translators were bound to be such, for only when the above-mentioned domino effect has taken place can translators become revolutionaries and subvert central systems of all polysystems at the same time with any hope of success. By such time (e.g., Lu Xun's, but not before) domesticating translation

¹⁶⁴ 'Lin Shu: Translating for the Emperor', manuscript of a paper to be published in *Trans*, 2 (1997), p. 4.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

strategies may indeed play a conservative role. In other words, whether domesticating strategies are conservative or not depends more on the internal stability of the cultural macro-polysystem than on its dependence or independence vis-à-vis other cultures.¹⁶⁷

A few decades later, the rivalry between competing norms were intensified in all domains, so that battles in individual polysystems fused into a total war, and norms transcended polysystemic borders. With such a background, it is no surprise that the acid debate of the 1930s on the issue of faithfulness versus smoothness was between left-wing and radical scholars as represented by Qu Qiubai and Lu Xun on one side and more conservative ones such as Zhao Jingshen¹⁶⁸ on the other, and that the debate, which 'should have been' purely academic in nature, was politicized.

After the founding of the PRC, translational norms have been determined more by the central political and ideological polysystems, which have become particularly dominating, than by the position of translated literature in the literary polysystem. The prestigious political status of Lu Xun alone would have deterred any open query about the translational norms he advocated, even if he had not had the support of Mao Zedong.¹⁶⁹ Moreover, as loyalty (or faithfulness) is a much valued concept in the central ideological system, it remains the overriding translation criterion even when translated literature occupies a peripheral position. Although there have been social upheavals, which induced a vacuum in the literary polysystem after the Cultural Revolution, the position of the dominant political group and the ideology it sanctions, maintained by all kinds of means, have never been really threatened except for a few very short periods of time, and therefore all cultural products in the market have to conform to or at least be tolerated by

¹⁶⁷ The fact that under stable conditions translations employing domesticating strategies can, or have the potential to, function as forces of change is further proved by Chang's Chinese version of *YPM*, as can be seen in the discussion below.

¹⁶⁸ And also Liang Shiqiu (梁實秋). For the argument between Lu and Liang, see Chen Fukang, *A History of Chinese Translation Theory* (Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press, 1992), pp. 293-94.

¹⁶⁹ See Section 2.4.

the establishment and its ideology.

However, even under stable conditions, central political groups and ideologies are not immune to challenges by peripheral ones. In a repressive society, such challenges more often than not have to be posed indirectly so as to avoid retaliation, and therefore translation is one of the easy options. As Edwin Gentzler describes, 'many translators [...] consciously select the texts they wish to translate because they want to *use* translations to affect certain changes in a culture', and 'the tactics of using the system for one's own ends can be seen most dramatically in translation under rigid systems of oppression'.¹⁷⁰

Chang is one such translator. The skopos of and constraints on his translation of *YPM* have been discussed before,¹⁷¹ but now, in the framework of the macro-polysystem hypothesis, we can attempt a more systemic explanation of how his translational norms were arrived at as the equilibrium of different types of norms.

The norms that governed Chang's translation of *YPM* originated mainly from the following polysystems:

1. Political Norms: The dominant political norms in the PRC have sanctioned a Chinese version of Marxism-Leninism with little political and ideological tolerance. As the translator was (and still is) a nobody in the political polysystem of the PRC, he could not openly challenge the power or the ideology of the authorities. But his capacity as a Hong Kong scholar in Translation Studies has given him a certain degree of freedom from close observance of the political and ideological norms dominant in the PRC. This capacity has also empowered him to a higher degree to defy the dominant translational norms and to participate in norm-setting activities in the field of translation, mainly in Hong Kong, but also in mainland China, as proved by the fact that his translation was accepted by a prestigious publisher, that his translational poetics was respected by the editor, and that he had some opportunities to express his views on translation and

¹⁷⁰ 'Translation, Counter-Culture, and *The Fifties* in the USA', pp. 122, 125.

¹⁷¹ Section 4.3.

translation studies.¹⁷²

2. Ideological Norms: The ideology of the translator was a peripheral one, which would be labelled 'bourgeois liberalization' by the central ideology. As he could not afford to let his act of translation entirely guided by the former without paying any attention to the latter, the ideological norms adopted in the translation were a compromise that leaned towards the former. This is first and foremost reflected in his preliminary translational norms. For the basis for the production of his target text he chose a British work of political humour, which, satirizing the bureaucracy and false democracy of a foreign, non-communist government, is in harmony with the translator's own ideological norms and yet tolerable by the dominant ones.

The ideological norms adopted also determined that the target text was to function as a political satire in the Chinese context by way of allegory in a covert manner. Hence the skewing of the political messages in certain passages and the toning down of open attacks at communism and the PRC government.

In order to enhance the effectiveness of the satire, the translated work should preferably be entertaining. Thus the ideological norms indirectly determined the adoption of basically acceptability-oriented translation strategies.

3. Economic Norms: Since the translating was largely ideologically-motivated, financial gain was no concern for the translator himself, but still he had to have the interests of the publisher in mind so that his work could be accepted for publication. This means that the translation must be acceptability-oriented at a time when the economy was more or less market-oriented while translated literature was peripheral in the literary polysystem, which was in turn peripheral in the cultural macro-polysystem.

4. Linguistic and Literary Norms: The translator did not feel unhappy with the dominant linguistic and literary norms except for the comparative rarity of humour in canonized literature, especially humour produced by puns. He therefore chose to

¹⁷² See Sections 4.2., 4.3. and 2.4.

translate a work of humour and tried his best to re-create its humorous elements while conforming to these norms in general as far as possible, at the expense of certain source text features, so that his product may be acceptable as literary to the target culture.

5. Translational Norms: Chang was unhappy with the quality of most translated works into Chinese, and he believed in creative freedom on the part of the translator for the production of works with a high artistic value and for other purposes. His translation poetics was at odds with the dominant translational norms of his time, which upheld 'faithfulness' as the overriding criterion, and he intended his translation to be a challenge to the dominant norms, as he believed it was in his ability to do so. But again he could not afford to ignore such norms totally as his work had to be presented and accepted as a translation for it to function in the intended way.

On the whole, the political norms have given the translator a certain degree of freedom to choose the ideological and the other types of norms for his translation. The adopted ideological and literary norms have determined a preliminary translational norm that favoured a work of political humour; and these two types of norms, joining force with those originating from the economic and linguistic polysystems and with Chang's translation poetics, demanded an initial norm of acceptability, outweighing the dominant translational norms that attached much value to adequacy. The equilibrium was an initial norm that leaned heavily towards acceptability as reflected in the rendering of puns into puns, the use of parallel structure and rhyme, and the 'improvement' on the text, but the influence of the dominant translational norms is discernible in the conservative strategies used in handling a high proportion of culture-specific items. The final result is a product that may be highly acceptable to the dominant linguistic and literary norms but just tolerable to the dominant ideological and translational norms.

The case of the Chinese translation of *YPM* shows that, even in a repressive society under stable conditions, the translator can play an important role in determining the features of the translation product and its potential social function by his/her choice of

the source text, and by conscious manipulation during the translation process on the linguistic, literary and the ideological levels, in possible conflict with the norms dominant in various domains in the target culture; provided s/he enjoys a certain status and/or is willing to take some risks.

The role of the translator is stressed in the title of this thesis, which describes the translator of the Chinese version of *YPM* as a manipulator engaged in a primary rather than a secondary activity. Somewhat neglected in Even-Zohar and Toury's line of research as in the traditionalist's approach, this role should now be reappraised, as Susan Bassnett sums up:

Now, in the 1990s, drawing upon the work of the past two decades, the keyword is 'visibility'. The role of the translator can be reassessed in terms of analysing the intervention of the translator in the process of linguistic transfer. Once considered a subservient, transparent filter through which a text could and should pass without adulteration, the translation can now be seen as a process in which that intervention is crucial.¹⁷³

It is believed that this augmented version of Polysystem theory can better accommodate investigations into this role together with other socio-cultural factors involved in translation, especially the power relations. But since it mainly draws on the results of one case study, although the views and findings of some other scholars have been taken into consideration, it is hoped that this hypothesis can be further refined by theorists and put to the test in other case studies.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ 'The Meek or the Mighty', p. 22.

¹⁷⁴ Edwin Gentzler's criticism of Even-Zohar's 'tendency to propose universals based on very little evidence' (*Contemporary Translation Theories*, pp. 121-22) has not been forgotten here.

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