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**Power and the Translator:  
Joseph Conrad in Chinese Translations  
during the Republican Era (1912-1937)**

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## **Declaration**

I, Kwok-Kan Gloria Lee, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own.

Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

## Abstract

When he died in 1924, Joseph Conrad, who was named a ‘racist’ by Chinua Achebe (1977) and defended by others as taking an anti-imperialist stance (Brantlinger 1996), was a total stranger to the Chinese readers, whose country was made a semi-colony in the late nineteenth century. In the 1930s, however, four of his works were translated and published within four years, all commissioned by the Committee on Editing and Translation funded by the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture.

The thesis investigates the Chinese translations of Conrad’s works published during the Republican Era in 1912-1937, exploring the power relations between the translators as agents and the social structure in which they operated. The thesis is divided into six chapters. After the introduction, I describe, in Chapter 2, the translators’ practice in terms of their narrating positions on the textual and paratextual levels as reflected in the translations of the sea stories borrowing analytical models on narrative discourse devised by Gérard Genette and Roger Fowler. I proceed in Chapter 3 with an account of the commissioner, tracking down the organization of the China Foundation and the Committee on Editing and Translation which initiated the project of translating World Classics (including Conrad’s works) in the 1930s. In Chapter 4, I reassess the notion of ‘faithfulness’, a key concept in the discourse of translation in theory and criticism at the time. Using Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of practice as the theoretical framework, I argue that the practice of the translators, who created the image of Conrad through their translations, can be explained with reference to their relations with other agents (commissioners, theorists, critics, etc.) occupying different positions within the intellectual field, and the habitus which mediated their position and the social structure they were engaged in Chapter 5, followed by the conclusion.

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## Chapter One: Introduction

Early twentieth-century China played host to a rich tapestry of cultural activities which included the importation of a substantial number of works of fiction through translation. This movement to introduce the Chinese population to foreign literature started in the late Qing period. According to David Pollard, ‘Xinxi xiantan’ [A Garrulous Story], the first complete translation of a foreign novel was serialized from January 1873 to January 1875 in the Chinese literary magazine *Yinghuan suoji* [Scraps from Land and Sea] (Pollard 1998:6). Translations were not particularly well-received until the genre of new fiction was propagated by reformists such as Liang Qichao and successful works such as Lin Shu’s *Chahua nü* (*La Dame aux Camélias*) began to draw the attention of Chinese readers. A statistical survey carried out by Teruo Tarumoto shows that the 1,488 translated works of fiction published in book form or serialized in literary journals in the 1912-1920 period represented a significant increase on the 1,016 titles released between 1840 and 1911 (about 900 of which came in the 1903-1911 period). The sheer number of new translated works published in the later period is impressive, as is the wide range of authors represented including Arthur Conan Doyle, Nick Carter, Henry Rider Haggard, Washington Irving, Charles Dickens, Alexandre Dumas père, Jules Verne, Victor Hugo, Maurice Leblanc, Tolstoy, Chekhov, Oshikawa Shunrou, Shiba Shirou and Kuroiwa Ruikou, to name but a few (Tarumoto 1998:40).

Chinese translations of foreign literary works in modern China have long been a focus of scholars. Research on the introduction and representation of foreign writers in China can mostly be categorized into two types. The first type – quantitative reports on published translations – is best exemplified by Xie Tianzhen and Zha Mingjian’s *Zhongguo ershi shiji*

*weiguo wenxue fanyishi* [A History of Twentieth-century Foreign Literary Translations in China] (2007). The researchers provide what resembles a database as they give a detailed overview of the introduction of authors from the former Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France, Germany and other European countries, in addition to those from the U.S., Canada, Latin American countries, Australia, Japan, India, and other Asian and African countries since 1898, providing information such as the years and journals in which Chinese translations of their works were published, the publishers involved, and the possible initiatives behind the translation projects carried out, as well as describing how the translations were received by critics. In two of their 24 chapters, Xie and Zha assess the achievements of celebrated translators: Liang Qichao, Yan Fu, Lin Shu, Lu Xun, Zhou Zuoren, Mao Dun, Guo Moruo and Zheng Zhenduo. They also devote a chapter to outlining the contributions of literary groups, literary journals and publishers to the introduction of foreign literature to modern China. Such informative studies offer both a general picture of translation activities in different historical periods and resources that provide a basis for further examination of individual cases.

In the second type of research, scholars adopt a qualitative approach by focusing on literary texts or individual authors. This type of research can be launched on a textual level through a comparison of the original with the translation or among different Chinese versions of the same source text. The investigators examine translated texts to explore how the originals have been interpreted in China. Martha Cheung considers *Heinü yutianlu* [A Chronicle of the Black Slave], the Chinese version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* produced by Wei Yi and Lin Shu, as a discourse of Occidentalism after examining how the religious elements in the original are rendered through omission and substitution in the translation (Cheung 1998, 2003). Researchers taking a qualitative approach have also launched investigations based on paratextual materials. In Xia Xiaohong's article (1998), the subject shifts to the author as she

studies how the image of Harriet Beecher Stowe was reconstructed at the beginning of the twentieth century. Without referring to the Chinese translations as Cheung does, Xia relies entirely on articles published in literary journals in which the American author and her ‘works’ were introduced to Chinese readers. Stowe, referred to as ‘Picha’ (Beecher) and as the author of *Wuyue hua* [The Mayflower], an imaginary work, in an anonymous article entitled ‘Picha nüshi zhuan’ [The Life of Ms. Beecher] published in 1902 and, subsequently, in the writings of Wang Shaojin and Qiu Jin, was painted as a heroine who had ‘raised the black slaves from their slough of despond’ (Xia 1998:246) and dedicated her life to social reform. This ‘new’ image, which differed significantly from her general reputation in the West, was manipulated in the Chinese context to inspire the people, especially female readers.

Chu Chiyu relates the translation strategies used and the image of the poet projected in the Chinese translations to the historical context as he studies four translations of Lord Byron’s ‘The Isles of Greece’ by Liang Qichao (1902), Ma Junwu (1905), Su Manshu (1909), and Hu Shi (1914). After a detailed comparison of how the formal features and culture-specific items in these works are handled by the different translators, Chu finds that the poetic elements of the original are largely left out of the Chinese translations. While the four translators render the poem into different forms of verse, it is the political message which stands out in the texts, emphasizing Byron’s image as a revolutionary poet. Chu accounts for the findings by referring back to the translators’ identity as reformist intellectuals. He explains how it was due to political considerations that the translators ‘intended to borrow this new image of Byron to awaken the Chinese people’s love for freedom and justice, to encourage the oppressed to overthrow their feudal rulers’ (Chu 1998:102).

The three cases share two points in common. First, the translators involved were all

distinguished figures who were actively involved in the political or cultural movements of the time. The findings seem natural as the translation strategies observed in the texts are regarded as a direct result of the translators' affiliations (as Xia and Chu imply) or of ideological factors (according to Cheung). Second, the translators of these foreign literary works took what one may call 'extreme measures' to rewrite the originals to a large extent. This was possible, according to Pollard, because it was a period in the history of translation when 'the boundaries between translation, adaptation, rewriting and imitation do not seem to have been seriously discussed' (Pollard 1998:13). The translators were free to depart from the textual materials and 'create' images of foreign authors and literary texts through translation to serve their own purposes, while still retaining the ability to claim that their translations captured the essence of the originals.

### **Translators as Agents**

This conclusion that Chinese translators used their work to further their own ends might well have been the case in an earlier era. However, the situation was quite different coming into the second decade of the twentieth century, when a more influential academic community began to settle in. This new generation of intellectuals was characterized by their educational background: many were returned students from Western countries and Japan; others had received a Westernized education in missionary schools or modern universities in China. In both their language competence and Western knowledge, this group of students and university graduates was better equipped than their predecessors. This assumption is strengthened when we consider the increasing number of literary journals available at the time and the widespread discussion of foreign authors and their works. At the same time, we also see a more sophisticated translation discourse focusing on the quality and methods of translation; these debates appear in the form of journal articles, prefaces or postscripts to

published or serialized translations, and later to those published in book form, such as Wu Shutian's 1933 anthology on translation and Huang Jiade's *Fanyi lunji* [Selected Essays on Translation] published in 1940. The translation practice centred on the concept of *xin* or *zhongshi*, a notion of 'faithfulness' which could no longer be taken lightly by the practitioners.

The emerging academic community also brought in more bilinguals or multilinguals who were capable of or claimed to be taking up the task of translation. In contrast to the translators in the three examples above, many of these translators' ideological positions were not very clearly defined. They were not officially affiliated with any of the literary groups, even though they might have had some kind of association with their members. They could have been students of celebrated literary figures or have corresponded with them on academic topics. While these kinds of connection were not uncommon in modern China, this does not necessarily imply that the student-translators, if they may be referred to as such considering their self-identification, were followers of these cultural leaders. These translators seldom expressed their views on translation, and neither did they explain their strategies in paratexts. I would name them the practitioners, to differentiate them from those who actively participated in the construction of the discourse on translation. Some of this latter group of translators might have been bold enough to claim in one way or another that they translated for economic profit. Xu Baoyan, for example, lamented the experience of having to sell his translation in the essay 'Mai Shalemei qu' [Selling *Salome*] (1927). Peng Jixiang regarded translating for money as an unfortunate reality that all student-translators must face (1924). This was also used as an excuse when critics charged that some translators produced work that was not up to standard (Lou Jiannan 1933). Most of the time, however, practitioners translated only what the publishers or relevant literary groups or institutions commissioned them to work on.

This group of practitioner-translators has not received the attention it deserves. Referring back to the two types of research mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the names and works of practitioner-translators are often recorded in databases compiled in the first type of research (quantitative studies), which is a proof of their contribution to the introduction of foreign literature to China. By contrast, they are seldom the topic of study in the second type of academic research. Textual analysis based on a comparison between the source and target texts of these translators might not yield particularly interesting findings. One feature which characterizes these translators is the relatively conservative approach they adopted in their work. One does not find drastic changes made to the original, such as by omitting entire paragraphs or parts of the content, extensive editing, or adding personal interpretations. Translation scholars usually regard their commonplace style of translation as evidence of the 'norms' at work. Since there is not enough information available on the personal lives of these translators or their motivation for the task they undertook, it is difficult to connect the findings based on the texts to broader cultural or ideological factors. As a result, their undistinguished translations are consigned to oblivion.

I want to argue that this group of translators has not received sufficient attention, not because their works were insignificant but because we have looked in the wrong place for the wrong type of information. It is my contention that the object of research should be fixed on the translation practice, an object that should be studied within the context of the social structure within which the translators operated as agents. Applying Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice, I propose a research model through which we can observe translators' practice as manifested in their translations and locate their position in the field in which they operate. Their position-taking reflects the power relations that exist between translators and other agents operating and competing against each other within the same field, as well as those which exist between different fields in the social space. In the first half of the twentieth

century, Chinese translators' power to represent foreign authors and their works was not only vested in their language and academic competence (that is, their cultural capital), but also hinged on their ability to accumulate enough symbolic capital to ensure that they earned the recognition of Chinese readers.

## Scope and Structure

This thesis examines the practice of translation in early twentieth-century China through an investigation of the Chinese translations of Joseph Conrad's works, focusing on the project to translate the complete works of Conrad which was funded by the China Foundation. The three translators who worked on this project translated only four of Conrad's works: *Jimu ye* ('Master Jim' – a Chinese version of the novel *Lord Jim*) translated by Liang Yuchun (1906-1932) and Yuan Jiahua (1903-1980), *Heishui shou* ('Black Sailor' – a Chinese version of the novella *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*) and *Taifeng ji qita* ('Typhoon and Others' – a Chinese version of *Typhoon and Other Stories*) translated by Yuan Jiahua, and *Bu'an de gushi* ('Unsettling/Disturbing Stories' – a Chinese version of *Tales of Unrest*) translated by Guan Qitong (1904-1973), all of which were published between 1934 and 1937. This thesis combines a textual analysis of the translations and a historical research on the environment in which the translations were produced. It addresses three main questions. 1. How can we define and describe the translators' practice through their works? 2. How can we construct the translators' *habitus* which generates their translation practice? 3. How can we account for the translators' practice and assess the nature of their power through the data collected in answering the first two questions?

## The Translator's Practice

The first question concerns the object of study, that is, the translators' practice. Most textual analysis models are designed to look at the translation methods employed by translators or to identify shifts in the target text by comparing it with the source text. While such models can provide useful data for analyzing differences between the translation and the original text, they are not necessarily helpful in revealing how the translated text is received by the target reader and what the translator does to achieve that effect. Borrowing concepts used in narratology to examine narrative discourse, I propose to examine the translator's presence in the translated narrative in chapter two. The underlying assumption is that translators themselves become narrators as they relay a story originally told in another language. When and how they manifest their presence to the target reader through the translation is the issue of interest in this section.

The textual analysis is based on excerpts from stories that describe voyages and adventures at sea: *The Nigger of the Narcissus*, 'Falk, a Reminiscence', and 'Typhoon' from the collection *Typhoon and Other Stories*, as well as the first nine chapters of *Lord Jim*. Chapter two takes its cue from Seymour Chatman's diagram of the narrative communication situation which differentiates between the fictional world in which narrative agents such as the narrators and characters are located and the empirical world where the author, the reader, and the translator are found. Applying Roger Fowler's notion of point of view, defined as 'the position taken up by the speaker or author, that of the consciousnesses depicted in the text, and that implied for the reader or addressee' (Fowler 1996/2002:13), and his model for studying the combined effect a narrative has on the reader through the use of linguistic features, I analyze the excerpts from both the ideological perspective, which addresses the world-views projected in the text, and the perceptual perspective, which deals with the



psychological conditions of the narrative agents. I examine the narrators' presentation of the stories and their knowledge of the events and other characters through the mediation of the translators and address the following questions: how is the world-view projected in the Chinese translation different from that of the English original? Have the narratives in the translation been constructed from a different point of view? When does the voice of the narrator in the Chinese version come into conflict with the world-view conveyed in the original? Under what conditions and in what form does the translator manifest his or her presence in the translated narrative discourse? Drawing on the findings of this analysis, I argue that the conflicting voices in the translated narrative undermine the reliability of the translators, as the Chinese audience is alerted that they are reading the translation of a foreign text through the mediation of a third party. Chatman suggests that in cases when the narrator is rendered unreliable, the reader is prepared to go back to the author – or the 'implied author', to use Wayne Booth's term which points to 'the core of norms and choices' (1961:74-5) – for verification. Applying this concept to translation as narration and the translator as narrator, I want to suggest that the translators speak in their own voice in the paratexts to define the original and the image of the 'implied author' in an effort to secure the reliability of the narrative, hence reassure their readers of the faithfulness of their translation.

### **The Translator's *Habitus***

The second question concerns the social situation in which translation practice takes place. It examines the institutional structure through which translators interact with each other and the kind of social understanding that exists within the profession – the 'stakes' they are playing for and the social expectations surrounding their work. I will provide a historical study of the institution that commissioned the project to translate Conrad's works

in chapter three and reappraise the discourse of translation in the early twentieth century in chapter four before subjecting the findings to a critical analysis of the translators' position-taking as reflected in their practice. One point worthy of note here is that these two aspects are not presented merely as independent factors which have a direct influence over the translators' decisions, although I study their possible effects on the translation strategies. As I explain in chapter five, while the translation strategies adopted are devised by the agents themselves, they are conditioned by a practical sense internalized by the agents on a subconscious level. It is this practical sense, or the logic of practice, that Pierre Bourdieu identifies as the key to understanding the regular patterns in the practice of agents active in the same cultural field.

Chapter three begins with an historical account of the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture, which was officially established in June 1925. Little research has been done on the China Foundation. The only comprehensive investigation of the institution's efforts and achievements in promoting science in modern China was carried out by Yang Cuihua (1988, 1991). The institution is mentioned briefly by Sun Zen E-tun (1986) in her discussion of the role played by foreign countries in developing the academic community in the first three decades of the twentieth century. Ji Weilong (1995) and Shen Weiwei (2000) have also examined the same topic in their studies of Hu Shi's contribution to modern China. The chapter evaluates how the Foundation's positioning was prompted by the political situation in China and the tension between the Chinese and foreign communities in the major treaty ports at that time. Hu Shi played a significant part in securing the Foundation's independence from political control and interference. One way in which this was done was to enhance the position of intellectuals by propagating the image of 'specialists' or 'experts' who were committed to the betterment of the people and the Chinese nation. I argue that the world literature translation project launched by Hu Shi, then

the chairman of the Committee on Editing and Translation, was designed with this aim in mind. Instead of hiding behind source texts and foreign authors, translators had to make their presence felt in reproducing and presenting foreign works of literature as a kind of Western knowledge that catered for the Chinese readership.

Chapter four offers a reappraisal of the translation discourse in Republican China. Since the publication of Yan Fu's preface to *Tianyan lun*, his 1897 translation of Thomas Huxley's *On Evolution*, *xin* [faithfulness], *da* [comprehensibility], and *ya* [elegance] have together formed the framework for assessing the quality of translations. Of these three criteria, 'faithfulness' is generally viewed as the most important. However, theorists have diverging opinions on how it should be interpreted. Although the obscure nature of the notion of 'faithfulness' has been addressed by Chinese scholars including Wong Wang-chi, Lawrence (1997), Chang Nam-fung (1998), Chu Chiyu (2000) and Yip Wai-lim (2004), their discussion tends to rely heavily on theories proposed by major literary figures in modern China. I introduce new materials into the discussion in the form of translation criticism which has been largely ignored due to the scathing comments and sarcastic tone that characterize the articles in question. These hostile comments and, indeed, the abusive language itself, are significant in gaining an understanding of the conception and expectation of the translation practice at the time. Judging from the way in which published translations were reviewed and the polemics over the quality of translations, I argue that the notion of faithfulness did not point to the relationship between source and target texts. Rather, it can be understood as an attitude adopted by translators who sought to produce reliable translations. It was a code of practice regulating their power to represent the original in the Chinese context.

## The Translator's Power

How can we make sense of the translators' practice? By 'making sense of' I mean to go beyond an explanation of their behaviour or strategies and do justice to translators as social agents 'actively participating in the production and reproduction of textual and discursive practices', as Moira Inghilleri puts it (2005:126). While they are, of course, a product of the social structure in which they are born and operate, at the same time, they make decisions which reinforce the very social structure that regulates their practice and stabilizes the power relations among agents operating within the same cultural field. In chapter five, I apply Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice as a theoretical framework to contextualize and account for the translation practice of the Chinese translators involved in the project to translate the complete works of Conrad.

The practice of social agents, according to Bourdieu, is generated by their understanding of social reality. Agents occupying similar positions in the same cultural field are likely to be inculcated with a system of dispositions – the *habitus* – which implies a practical sense epitomizing the set of values shared within the field and accounts for the consistency of their behaviour. Considering the backgrounds of the three translators, their translation strategies, and the positioning of the China Foundation, I propose to study the translators' behaviour within the context of the intellectual field. I argue that the translators' practice is oriented by 'a sense of integrity'. As long as their behaviour conforms to this practical logic, they are able to accumulate the symbolic capital earned through the trust and recognition from their readers, which represents an endorsement of the translators' competence in representing the originals. This kind of symbolic power, however, requires a collective misrecognition on the part of Chinese readers.

Translation practices do not exist in a vacuum. By proposing a theoretical framework which focuses on translators and examines their position-taking in the social structure, and by applying this framework to the Chinese translations of Joseph Conrad's works published during the Republican period, I want to suggest a new perspective on the practice of translation, a practice that may seem commonplace and unremarkable in the context of this period, but is as meaningful and significant as any other.

## Chapter Two: The Translator in the Text

The translator's presence in a translated text is a topic which has received much attention since the last decade of the twentieth century. Some translation theorists have addressed the unequal power relations that exist between the source and target texts and between the source and target languages. Some go further by suggesting possible translation strategies that may strengthen the visibility of the translator. Other theorists start from a different premise in investigating the various forms of translators' presence in existing translations by looking for evidence of their intervention in terms of shifts found in the target texts and by identifying individual translational styles. Under this approach, the research focus shifts to the translator instead of presuming an equivalent relationship between the original and the translated text. A translation is no longer evaluated on the basis of whether the translator has 'successfully' transmitted a text to a different socio-cultural context. Attention is directed toward the translator as the central figure: how the translator interprets the original text and conceives the translation practice. This approach is adopted to analyze the translated texts in this chapter.

This approach, which allows researchers to examine the translators' decision-making processes by looking at the shifts in the translation, has its own drawbacks. It provides useful data if the research involves more than one translated version of the same source text. By contrasting the choices made by different translators, researchers can come up with a clear picture of the translation strategies adopted by individual translators. In this thesis, however, the three translators participating in the project were commissioned to translate different works of the same author. In other words, there would be little basis for comparison if we only address shifts found in the translations. To collect data for further analysis, I propose to

examine how the translators position themselves in the translated narratives. By studying the Chinese translations of four of Joseph Conrad's sea stories translated in the world classics project launched by Hu Shi in the 1930s (*Lord Jim*, *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*, 'Typhoon' and 'Falk, a Reminiscence'), I want to find out how the stories are presented and on what level(s) and in what form the translators make themselves known to their readers in the translated narratives. The translators may reveal their presence in covert form by speaking in their own voices. Readers can recognize translators (who do not express themselves in the name of the author) who feed them with additional information. The translators may also appear overtly as they reorganize the structure of the texts as the 'author' of the translated version. They normally speak through characters and narrators, but their voice can be detected by readers when it does not go with the general setting and layout of the novel. In such cases, Chinese readers are unavoidably drawn to the incongruities arising from the Chinese versions and begin to harbour doubts over the reliability of the narration as a whole. By conducting a comprehensive analysis of the translated narrative texts, we may be able to establish whether there is a recurring pattern in the positioning of the translators in the translations, and if so, how we can make sense of this practice by considering translation as a form of narration. In the following, I will give a literature review on the approaches suggested by scholars to investigate the translators' positioning in the translated texts and explain the models I use to examine excerpts in part two.

## **I. The Translator in the Text**

The invisibility of the translator in a translated text has long been regarded as an indicator of a successful translation. Translators should hide themselves behind the original text and the author. It would be meaningful to establish the form in which the translator can be detected in the presentation of a foreign text in the target culture. One method of

collecting data for further analysis is to compare the translated text with the source text and analyze the nature of shifts found in the translation. For instance, Kitty M. van Leuven-Zwart (1989, 1990) designs a model for comparing source and target texts in detail and examines the influence of such changes in translated narrative texts with reference to Geoffrey Leech and Michael Short's model (1981) for stylistic analysis. Kirsten Malmkjaer (2004) proposes a new methodology of 'translational stylistics', a writer-oriented model for studying translations from a stylistic perspective. The need for a specific model is based on the fact that the translator, in contrast with creative writers, 'commits to a willing suspension of freedom to invent, so to speak, and to creating a text that stands to its source text in a relationship of direct mediation' (Malmkjaer 2004:15). In this model, translations are assessed within the frames set by their source texts. The analyst considers how certain features or effects of the original are reproduced by the translator. Malmkjaer demonstrates the application of this model through an analysis of Henry William Dulcken's English translation 'The Little Match Girl'. The English version appears to be *more* sentimental than the original due to the choice of words, deixis, and the tense and aspect employed (Malmkjaer 2004:17-18). The issue at stake here is that while translators may suspend their freedom to create a text, they are still, to a certain extent, free to interpret the original and to preserve in the translation the features they consider to be crucial. Focusing on the translation itself as a narrative discourse without using the source text as the standard for judging the target text, we can see how translators read the original (for example, as an action-packed story or a novel that highlights a particular writing style) and present their interpretation to a different audience.

Scholars have made similar attempts to compare translations with their source texts in recent years. Rachel May (1994) applies Mikhail Bakhtin's notion of polyphony in her analysis of English translations of Russian literature, associating linguistic features with the



narrating voice, such as deixis, interjections, parentheticals, tense shifts and pragmatic connectors. The focus of the book, however, is on the translators' struggle for control of texts (May 1994:42). Charlotte Bosseaux (2004, 2007) studies the points of view projected in the French translations of Virginia Woolf's novels by examining linguistic features such as deixis, transitivity and modality, as well as the use of free indirect discourse. Hiroko Cockerill (2006) and Li Dechao (2007) also conduct their investigations on distinctive features of translations which predetermine the narratorial point of view to be acquired by the target reader. Cockerill establishes the significance of tense and aspect in creating a retrospective narratorial viewpoint in Shimei Futabatei's Japanese translations of Russian novels and explores how these features affected the writings of Futabatei himself, the founder of modern Japanese novels in the late nineteenth century (Cockerill 2006:25). Li starts from the premise of the omniscient author materialized in the traditional image of the storyteller in Chinese fiction before examining the narratorial commentary – both explanatory and evaluative in nature – in Zhou Shoujuan's translations of Western fiction in the early twentieth century (Li 2007). Both Cockerill and Li establish the narratorial point of view that is readily recognizable in the translations they examine before addressing the relevant linguistic features and describing how translators handle them. Bosseaux, Cockerill and Li consider the narratorial viewpoints reflected through linguistic devices in the translations they consider as being somewhat similar to the style of the original (or of the translation, in the case of Li's investigation). Jeremy Munday (2007, 2008) takes up the same stance in applying Boris Uspensky's definition of narratorial viewpoint to associate the psychological, ideological and spatio-temporal points of view with the authorial position in the text. Munday also goes further by applying the same concept in an examination of translated texts and comes up with what he calls the style of the translator.

Shen Dan (1987) explores the use of stylistics to evaluate translations of fiction. She

borrowed concepts from narratology and discusses how the viewpoints (of the narrators and characters) in a narrative text can be misinterpreted if the translator does not pay attention to relevant linguistic features. The point of view in the original is a function of the rhetorical devices found in the text and is again closely related to the author's style. A translation is said to achieve 'deceptive equivalence' if the translator retains approximately the same 'fictional "facts"' but fails to capture the 'aesthetic effects' harnessed by these devices (Shen 1987:9). Her investigation questions the concept of 'equivalence' as she differentiates between the story and the narration. The same prescriptive approach is adopted by Hu Guming (2004) and Zheng Minyu (2007) in their investigations of Chinese translations of Russian novels. Both Hu and Zheng look at the style of narrative fiction by focusing on the choice of words. Another focal point of their studies is the positioning of the translator within the translated text. Hu briefly raises the 'objective presence of the translator's characteristics /individualities' (譯者個性的客觀存在) which should be avoided (Hu 2004:5). In her analysis of three English translations of *Honglou meng* [A Dream of Red Mansions], Shen notes how the stance taken by the translator can affect the narrative point of view and its reliability:

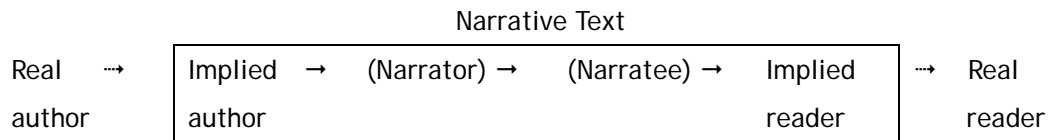
If the translator disagrees with a point of view, he may try and dissociate the author from it by attributing it explicitly to a character or characters, thus reducing the credibility of the narration. If, on the other hand, he shares a point of view, he tends to increase its credibility by changing the presentational mode into that of reliable authorial statement or commentary (Shen 1987:160).

While Shen disapproves of interference of this kind, she acknowledges the translator's involvement within the narrative levels in speaking to a different audience on behalf of the author<sup>1</sup>. She goes further by suggesting ways in which the translator's objectivity can be preserved: the translator should maintain a neutral position toward conflicting ideologies or other kinds of socio-political differences and remain emotionally detached (Shen 1987:145-6).

In the studies I have examined above, the researchers tend to put more emphasis on the point of view expressed in the original text. The point of view found in the translation is either interpreted as a personal style developed by the translator or as a form of interference which should not have been there in the first place. My contention, however, is that the translator's presence in the translation is inevitable and may take a number of forms. Sometimes, it is not even a conscious choice of the translator, who is conditioned by the target language system and its stylistic conventions. Instead of describing the strategies or devices adopted by translators to reproduce the original narratorial perspective, I am more interested in establishing how and in what forms translators, who are narrators in their own right as they rewrite a narrative in a different language, manifest their presence to their target readers.

The structure of this chapter is inspired by a pair of articles written by Giuliana Schiavi and Theo Hermans in *Target*. While Schiavi (1996) presents a theoretical framework for discussing the translator's position in a translated narrative communication, Hermans (1996a) gives examples of how translators expose themselves as a result of linguistic and pragmatic displacement in the translation. The model outlined by Schiavi is helpful in picturing the narrative situation in a translation and identifying the voices within and beyond the narrative levels. Narration is 'an act or process of production' (Rimmon-Kenan 2002:3) carried out by the author, who arranges the content as she composes the text. The author, however, does not speak to the reader directly. The narrative is related to the narratee(s) and the implied reader designed by the real author via the narrator's voice. The translator goes through the same process of communication as she reproduces the text in a different language. As the translator (re)writes the narrative for an audience from a different socio-cultural background, the voice in the narrative is bound to change, thereby altering the point of view projected in the translation.

I propose to analyze the translated narrative on two levels: within the narrative text in which the narrator speaks; and beyond the narrative levels at which the real author/translator addresses the reader directly. The narrative structure is exemplified by Seymour Chatman's diagram of the narrative communication situation (1978:151):



In the fictional world created in the text, the process of communication involves the narrators/characters on different narrative levels. Within the narrative levels, the question is ‘who is talking about what?’ It addresses the identity of the speakers and their viewing positions, and their knowledge of and comments on the events – all of which are attributes of the point of view<sup>2</sup> reflected in the text. The analysis focuses on ‘the relationships between narrative and story, between narrative and narrating, and (to the extent that they are inscribed in the narrative discourse) between story and narrating’ (Genette 1980:29). In contrast with Genette and Chatman, Roger Fowler is drawn to the combined effect the narrative has on the reader through linguistic features. In his own words, point of view concerns ‘all features of *orientation*: the position taken up by the speaker or author, that of the consciousnesses depicted in the text, and that implied for the reader or addressee’ (Fowler 1996/2002:13). As one of the pioneers of critical discourse analysis, which has its roots in the late 1970s<sup>3</sup>, Fowler considers the language user to be a product of society, and it is understandable that he ultimately attributes the language used in the text to the style of the author. By looking at the stylistic features of a text, one is able to locate the spatio-temporal dimension in which the speaker is found, her relation with the story, and her ideological orientation. As the focus of my investigation is on the point of view presented in individual

translated narratives, not how the same text is interpreted by translators from different perspectives, Fowler's model is used in the textual analysis.

### **Roger Fowler's Notion of Point of View**

Fowler's model for literary translation is elaborately expounded in his book *Linguistic Criticism* (1996/2002). He applies concepts and theories of modern linguistics to give an inclusive and systematic analysis of the structure of literary texts. The significance of his work lies not so much in establishing a model for a comprehensive examination of linguistic characteristics as in 'demonstrating the value to criticism of an analytic method drawn from linguistics' (Fowler 1996/2002:7). While Fowler utilizes ideas from functional linguistics, narratology, sociolinguistics, and psycholinguistics to provide a more objective description on the major levels of a text, he stresses a dynamic use of the method, which functions no more than a frame. The analysis, he reiterates, must be 'guided by some working hypotheses which will be checked against the linguistic evidence, and progressively modified and confirmed, as the analysis proceeds (Fowler 1996/2002:9). The critics are not confined to the linguistic properties of English even though almost all examples in his book are drawn from works of English literature. This is particularly useful as it allows flexibility to study the stylistic effects evoked by the linguistic techniques specific to the language systems or the individuals.

The notion of point of view explores the orienting devices of language used to construct the story. Fowler simplifies Boris Uspensky's viewpoint scheme into three planes of viewpoint: the spatial-temporal, ideological and psychological planes. The phraseological plane, which refers to speech characteristics according to Uspensky, is incorporated into the psychological plane. Fowler touches briefly on the spatial and temporal dimensions, which refer to the physical time and place in which an event takes place. These viewing positions,

however, are sometimes associated with the psychological conditions of the narrator or a particular world-view taken up in the narrative. For this reason, I propose that the translated narrative be analyzed on two perspectives: the psychological (or perceptual as Fowler prefers) and the ideological. In cases where the spatial-temporal perspective discloses the subjective narratorial angle of observation or the ideational structure of the text, they will be dealt with accordingly.

Fowler is again indebted to Uspensky in the general design of the perceptual perspective with reference to linguistic features including *verba sentiendi* (verbs of feeling) and words of estrangement (Uspensky 1973:85-87). He also integrates Genette's concept of focalization which differentiates the observer of the events (who sees) from the narrator (who speaks) (1996/2002:161-162; 169-170). This allows Fowler to examine the identity of the narrator (whether he or she is a mere witness or a participating character) and its impact on the narrative. He relies heavily on grammatical features such as tense and modality, as well as vocabulary to categorize different types of narration. The basic distinction is that between internal and external perspectives. When the events are reported from a position outside any of the protagonists' consciousness, it is an external narrative. If the story is told from within the consciousness of a character manifesting her feelings and judgment of the event, it is an internal narrative. Each type is further divided into two sub-types, making a total of four types of perspectives.

Type A and type B narratives are both internal narratives. Type A is the most subjective form of internal perspective and can be narrated by a participating character in either the first person or the third person. The narration is strongly coloured by 'personal markers of the character's world-view' (Fowler 1996/2002:170). It is also referred to as 'mimetic' narration (1996/2002:180) as it represents a simulation of the character's mental processes,

feelings, and perception of the events and other characters. It is marked by free indirect discourse; the prominent use of the first-person singular pronoun in the case of first-person narration; some use of the present tense which points to the 'present time' as the narration proceeds; a foregrounded modality emphasizing the judgment and opinions of the participating narrator; and the use of *verba sentiendi*. Type B narratives are characterized by an 'omniscient author' who is not a participating character and yet has access to the inner state of mind of the characters, reporting their motives and feelings. Through the use of deixis and modality, there exists an ideological, spatial and temporal distance between the author-narrator and other characters. The author-narrator is *speaking for* the characters, instead of mimicking them as does his or her counterpart in type A narratives. Another linguistic feature is the use of *verba sentiendi*. The narration can possibly be framed by the ideology of the implied author (1996/2002:173-4).

Type C and type D narratives are external perspectives. In contrast to the wholly subjective form of type A accounts, type C is the most impersonal form of third-person narration. The narrator is denied access to the inner processes of the characters which cannot be discerned by any onlookers. This explains the limited use of *verba sentiendi*. The narrator also declines to evaluate the actions of the characters by avoiding evaluative modalities as a journalist reporting the news. Modals and *verba sentiendi*, however, are not completely absent from the text (1996/2002:177). Type D is the estranged mode of narration. While it also stresses the narrator's limited knowledge of other characters' feelings and thoughts, the persona of the narrator is highlighted by explicit modality, generic sentences and evaluative adjectives. The narrator, who is often a participating character, conveys her personal views of the world, actions, and other characters. The narration appears in the form of an interpretation of 'facts' made available to the narrator/character as the story develops. This effect is created through the use of words of estrangement,

metaphors and comparisons. *Verba sentiendi* introduced by words denoting appearance or speculation may be found, along with descriptions of the physical characteristics and gestures of the characters (1996/2002:179).

Fowler addresses three aspects of the ideological perspective of a text – lexis (referring to the lexical structure of a text), grammar (focusing on transitivity), and certain syntactic patterns (1996/2002: 214). The central concept is lexicalization, an idea devised with reference to Halliday's concept of anti-languages<sup>4</sup>. This notion in its original form refers to the jargon, slang or secret languages spoken by members of what Halliday calls 'anti-societies'. These are social dialects of sub-communities which have an antagonistic relationship with the mainstream (Fowler 1981:146). There are three aspects of vocabulary usage within a narrative discourse: relexicalization<sup>5</sup>, overlexicalization, and underlexicalization. The first two concepts are directly taken from Halliday. Relexicalization is the provision of a new set of terms for new concepts or the adaptation of existing items to incorporate new meanings (Fowler 1981:147). The relexicalization process represents a new orientation for language users and marks 'a shift or an inversion of values' (Fowler 1981:147). The second process, overlexicalization, was first restricted to a profusion of specific terms for a particular object or concept<sup>6</sup>. Fowler adapted this concept to include the extensive and repetitive use of sets of terms for related concepts in linguistic criticism<sup>7</sup>. In so doing, the ideas and values associated with particular lexical systems are foregrounded. In some cases, overlexicalization can indicate an unusual preoccupation with a part of the culture or the experience of the characters/narrators, as in the nautical terms and jargon used by the seamen in Conrad's sea stories. Such technical items provide the settings and reinforce the world-view of the seamen projected in the narrative. The vocabulary usage that gives the opposite effect is 'underlexicalization', a term coined by Fowler to describe 'the lack of a term or of a set of terms' (1996/2002:216). Its effect is to give the impression that the



narrators/characters lack knowledge in certain areas. This is often achieved through the suppression of certain terms or replacing complex expressions. To convey an idea, a narrator/character resorts to circumlocution. By assessing the way in which the speaker depicts objects, one may discover how the speaker makes sense of an alien world.

In the empirical world, communication continues in a different form and involves different participants. Meaning is generated beyond the narrative text between the author and the reader, pointing to the world-view of the author. The questions to be addressed here are ‘what does the author say?’ and ‘how does the author say it?’ The reader draws inferences from the presentation of the book to formulate an image of the author which embodies her style and intent embedded in the novel. This matches the concept of the ‘implied author’, which conjures up the aesthetic and cultural values of the real author. The implied author can be inferred by following the traits laid out in the text to the implied reader. Direct messages can be delivered in the form of paratexts to ‘instruct’ the reader to form the intended impression of the work.

The corpus of the study presented in the following pages comprises three Chinese translations of Joseph Conrad’s works – a novel, a novella, and a collection of short stories – all of which were commissioned by the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture and were published in the 1930s. The first translation was *Jimu ye* (‘Master Jim’, a Chinese version of *Lord Jim*) which was translated by Liang Yuchun (1906-1932) and was published in 1934. Liang finished translating only the first fifteen chapters before he died from scarlet fever in 1932<sup>8</sup>. The rest of the novel and the project of translating Conrad’s complete works was then taken up by Yuan Jiahua (1903-1980), whose translations include *Hei shuishou* (‘Black Sailor’, a Chinese version of *The Nigger of the ‘Narcissus’*), which was published in 1936, and *Taifeng ji qita* (‘Typhoon and Others’, a Chinese version of *Typhoon and*

*Other Stories*), a translation released in 1937. Considering the wide range of settings and identities of the narrators found in Conrad's novels, only sea stories are examined to facilitate a more focused investigation. These sea stories include *Lord Jim* and *The Nigger of the Narcissus*, as described above, in addition to 'Falk, a Reminiscence' and 'Typhoon' from *Typhoon and Other Stories*<sup>9</sup>.

The excerpts I have selected from the original texts can be divided into two types. The first type includes the openings and endings of the novels in which the narrative passes from one level to another, as is the case in *Lord Jim*, 'Falk, a Reminiscence' and 'Typhoon'. In the openings, we are introduced to the protagonists and major characters. An exposition is given to outline the narrative situation. The second type refers to the key events which are often conceived as moments of illumination for the stories told. There are also conflicts between the protagonists and other characters or, in some cases, the protagonists' struggles against Mother Nature. These include the shipwreck in *Lord Jim*, critical moments such as when the ship encounters a storm as in *The Nigger of the Narcissus* and 'Typhoon', or in the case of 'Falk, a Reminiscence', the protagonist's self-revelation of his past experience. Such conflicts involve descriptions of actions, individuals' reactions to emergencies and even internal conflicts of the protagonists. Apart from *The Nigger of the Narcissus* in which the primary narrative starts at the beginning with the use of a homodiegetic narrator, the major events in the other stories on the intradiegetic level are framed within an extradiegetic narrative delivered by an unnamed heterodiegetic narrator (*Lord Jim*) or a homodiegetic narrator ('Falk, a Reminiscence')<sup>10</sup>. We can find traits that reveal the narrator's viewing position and knowledge of the events. The present tense and proximal deictic references are sometimes used to mark their comments.

In the next section, I will investigate the ideational structure and narratorial angle

projected in the Chinese versions of Conrad's stories. The analysis starts by considering the ideological point of view and examining the set of belief systems underlying the stories. It is followed by an examination of the perceptual point of view, which hints at the identities of the narrators according to their participation in the plot and their knowledge of the events and other characters. The focus of this chapter is on the narrating positions reflected in the translations according to the linguistic characteristics found in the Chinese texts. While the English originals are used as a point of reference, a comparison of features specific to the source and target language systems is beyond the scope of this investigation. I will argue that although the narrators in the Chinese versions are different from their counterparts in the original English works, Chinese readers are unlikely to notice the differences until the translators leave traces as they express their own world-views which clash with those of the real author. Following this line of argument, I borrow the notion of 'the reliable narrator' from narratology in part three to discuss the reliability of the translator-narrators and how they re-establish the credibility of their narration (that is, their translation) by constructing the image of the implied author. In the fourth part of this chapter, I explain how the translators make use of paratexts written in their own voice to instruct the reader to appreciate the stories in the 'correct' way.

## **II. Points of View in the Translated Narratives**

### **The Ideological Point of View**

Conrad's sea stories are filled with technical terms and seafaring jargon. The fictional world is made up of men 'who hath known the bitterness of the Ocean' (Conrad 1903/1998:105). They are connected to the sea and share the virility which is associated with sailors. The lexical specificity unites those who share the vocabulary and the knowledge

associated with it, building up a strong tie among the members and rejecting those who do not belong to the profession. Here, the processes of overlexicalization and relexicalization are at work. The same set of expressions is repeated in almost all the sea stories, including the parts of a ship (*deck, mast, bridge, galley, bunker, port* [the opening in a ship's side], *hatchway*, etc), the posts on board (*captain, first mate, boatswain* and *donkeyman*), the expressions used by the sailors to refer to different types of ship (*tugboats, steamers, barques, gunboats*, and *whalers*) and ship parts associated with specific operations (*astern, aft, aloft, port* [the left-hand side of the ship], *starboard, leeward, windward, square the main yard* and *wear ship*). The language here not only denotes objects or activities on board, but also constructs for the reader the world of the seamen and shows us how this world is organized as we share the sailors' experience using *their* language. This effect is at its strongest in *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'* and 'Typhoon', in which the sea and the fellowship bonding of the crew are compared with the corrupting power of the land. The adventurous voyage of the sailors is contrasted with the languid life of 'merelandsmen' and 'landlubbers', exemplified by the wives of Captain MacWhirr and the chief engineer in 'Typhoon', the sister and brother-in-law of Mr. Baker (the chief mate) and the 'old Board of Trade bird' at the shipping office in *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*. The two separate worlds should never overlap with each other ('Let the earth and the sea each have its own') (Conrad 1897/1984:172). Readers who are not competent in the signifying system and the set of values circulated in the world of the sea are alerted of their outsider position throughout the tale.

Most of the narrators announce their affiliation as either a proud sailor ['We' in *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*] or a captain [Marlow in *Lord Jim* and the English captain in 'Falk, a Reminiscence'] at the beginning of the story. For the unknown heterodiegetic narrators in *Lord Jim* and 'Typhoon', their bonding takes a comparatively less direct form – generic statements celebrating the high calibre of the seamen and their brotherhood. In *Lord Jim*

and 'Falk', stories in which the character of the protagonists is more or less problematic, the heroic qualities are established through other characters. Examples of this include the instructor on the training ship who organizes an operation to save the victims of a collision in the first chapter and the Malay helmsmen who remain at the wheel in the alleged shipwreck in *Lord Jim*, alongside the discussion about heroes and Captain Hermann's voluntary act in chasing the thief at the beginning of 'Falk, a Reminiscence'. The generic propositions are marked either by deontic modal auxiliary verbs in imperative mood showing a strong sense of duty, or in the present tense as if the statements were universal truth:

A water-clerk need not pass an examination in anything under the sun, but he must have Ability in the abstract and demonstrate it practically... To the captain he is faithful like a friend and attentive like a son, with the patience of Job, the unselfish devotion of a woman, and the jollity of a boon companion. Later on the bill is sent in. It is a beautiful and humane occupation. Therefore good water-clerks are scarce. (*Lord Jim*, Conrad 1900/2002:3; my emphasis.)

It relieved him as though that man had, by simply coming on deck, taken most of the gale's weight upon his shoulders. Such is the prestige, the privilege, and the burden of command.

Captain MacWhirr could expect no relief of that sort from any one on earth. Such is the loneliness of command. ('Typhoon', Conrad 1903/1998:39-40; my emphasis.)

Similar generic statements about the craft of seafaring are actually found on all diegetic levels in all the sea stories in the corpus, as seen in the following examples:

This has nothing to do with Jim, directly; only he was outwardly so typical of that good stupid kind we like to feel marching right and left of us in life, of the kind that is not disturbed by the vagaries of intelligence and the perversions of – of nerves, let us say... Haven't I turned out youngsters enough in my time, for the service of the Red Rag, to the craft of the sea, to the craft whose whole secret could be expressed in one short sentence, and yet must be driven afresh every day into young heads till it becomes the component part of every waking thought – till it is present in every dream of their young sleep! (Marlow on the intradiegetic level in *Lord Jim*, Conrad 1900/2002:32-3; my emphasis.)

By-and-by, when he has learned all the little mysteries and the one great secret of the craft, he shall be fit to live or die as the sea may decree; and the man who had taken a hand in this fool game, in which the sea wins every toss, will be pleased to have his back slapped by a heavy young hand, and to hear a cheery sea-puppy voice: 'Do you remember me, sir? The little So-and-so.' (Marlow on the intradiegetic level in *Lord Jim*, Conrad 1900/2002:33-34; my emphasis.)

Or are those beings who exist beyond the pale of life stirred by his tales as by an enigmatical disclosure of a resplendent world that exists within the frontier of infamy and filth, within that border of dirt and hunger, of misery and dissipation, that comes down on all sides to the water's edge of the incorruptible ocean, and is the only thing they know of life, the only thing they see of surrounding land – those life-long prisoners of the sea? Mystery? ('We' on the intradiegetic level in *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*, Conrad 1897/1984:6-7; my emphasis.)

But at times the spring-flood of memory sets with force up the dark River of the Nine Bends. Then on the waters of the forlorn stream drifts a ship – a shadowy ship manned by a crew of Shades. They pass and make a sign, in a shadowy hail. Haven't we, together and upon the immortal sea, wrung out a meaning from our sinful lives? Good-bye, brothers! You were a good crowd. ('I' on the extradiegetic level in *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*, Conrad 1897/1984:172-3; my emphasis.)

He who hath known the bitterness of the Ocean shall have its taste for ever in his mouth. ('We' on the extradiegetic level in 'Falk, a Reminiscence', Conrad 1903/1998:105; my emphasis.)

I prefer our way. The alliteration is good, and there is something in the nomenclature that gives to us as a body the sense of corporate existence: Apprentice, Mate, Master, in the ancient and honourable craft of the sea. (The English captain on the intradiegetic level in 'Falk, a Reminiscence', Conrad 1903/1998:107-8; my emphasis.)

Statements like these cut across the diegetic levels. This implies that the conviction about the upright qualities of seamen is common knowledge regardless of the temporal dimension.

Such pronouncements are not as notable a feature of the Chinese versions. While some are marked by modal auxiliary verbs such as 必得 [must] or emphatic words like 絕對

[absolutely], which underline the necessity expressed in the speech, the unmarked generic sentences become something akin to personal reflections blended into the narration, thereby contributing to the image of the story-teller who comments as he is telling the story. The Chinese versions of the above excerpts display an increased number of modal operators which compensate the lack of tense to indicate the speakers' judgment:

「這些話跟吉姆自然沒有直接關係，**我說出來為的是**他的樣子很可以代表那班有作有為的傻傢伙。我們**總**喜歡覺得一生裏身邊有這類人。他們絕不會為着自己太聰明了，或者——我們**就說是**神經錯亂罷，反弄得胡塗了。……我從前難道不是訓練出許多年青人，去紅旗下服務，去海上幹事情。那種職業的成功秘訣只要一句話就可以道破，可是你**必得**天天重新叫年青人牢牢記住，一直等到他們清醒時候沒有一個想頭不帶上那個色彩——一直等到他們睡眠時候沒有一個年青好夢不帶上那個色彩！(Malou in *Jimu ye*, Liang tran 1934:34)

他漸漸學會了這行職業裏種種小神祕同那個大秘訣，那時大海叫他活也好，叫他死也好，他**總是**合式的，人們跑到海上去，同大海賭個輸贏，每擲一次骰子，**總****是**大海勝利，這**真是**一場傻賭。可是當了賭徒的人却喜歡有個年青沈重的手，把他的背重重拍一下，聽到年青水手的一種愉快聲音：「你記得我嗎，先生？某某那個小孩子。」(Malou in *Jimu ye*, Liang tran 1934:35)

不然，難道這班超脫塵俗的人們，受了他這些故事底煽動，**便**彷彿猜透了一個謎語，發現了一個燦爛世界麼？而這個燦爛世界裏充塞着的是惡名與醜行，貫盈着的是污穢與飢餓，愁慘與荒淫，這一切**便**從四面八方注入這永不腐朽的海洋底濱涯。這一切**便是**他們所知道的生活全部，也**便是**他們所看見的周圍陸地底全部了。——這般被大海終身監禁的囚徒喲！神祕啊！(‘women’[we] in *Hei shuishou*, Yuan tran 1936:6)

但是有時候，記憶底高潮猛然湧上了一條黑暗的九曲河。(註四四)於是荒涼的流水上漂着一條船——一條陰影似的船被一班幽靈似的水手駕駛着。他們漂渺地招呼一聲，做了個手勢，**便**過去了，我們不是曾經聚合在不朽的大海上，從我們罪惡貫盈的生涯裏擠出一點意義來麼？再見啊，兄弟們！你們是一班好人啊！(‘wo’[I] in *Hei shuishou*, Yuan tran 1936:169)

誰祇要經歷過海洋上的辛苦，那股鹹腥味**便會**永遠留在他嘴裏了。(‘women’[we] in ‘Fu ke, yi ge hui yi’, Yuan tran 1937:133)

我**倒**喜歡咱們自己的稱呼。老大二字發音很響亮，並且我們在這種稱呼裏感得團

體生存底意義：『學徒』啊，『大副』啊，『老大』啊，從遠古以來光榮的海上生涯  
就是這麼個派頭。(The English captain in 'Fuke, yige huiyi', Yuan tran 1937:135)

Almost all of the sentences are marked by one or more of the following adverbs: 真 [really], 就, 便 [both of which mean 'exactly/naturally'], 總 [as always], 倒 [on the contrary/only], which function to accentuate the subjective tone of the speaker. With the help of the present tense in English, the ideas in the originals are presented as they are. In the Chinese versions, such comments are likely to be received by Chinese readers as the narrator's personal beliefs.

The ideological perspectives reflected in the Chinese versions hinge largely on lexicalization – how the world is constructed and described through the choice of words. The degree of lexical specificity naturally depends on the plot and the length of the text. Where the climax of the story centres on actions taking place on the ship, as it does in *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'* and 'Typhoon', there are more exchanges between the seamen concerning steering, manoeuvring of the sails or masts or operations on different sections of the ship. When a large part of the story takes place on shore or when a large proportion of the narration is devoted to describing the feelings or reactions of the characters, as in *Lord Jim* and 'Falk, a Reminiscence', there are relatively few specific references to such matters. Setting aside such inherent factors of the originals, we can still see that the different pictures of the world of the seafarers depicted in the Chinese versions have different implications for the ideology behind the narration.

A network of navigational terms is developed in the Chinese versions. The terms used in the four translations are more or less the same, centering around a few key concepts such as 艙面[deck], 桅杆[mast], and 艙口[hatch]. *Jimu ye* is an exception in that Chinese readers are presented with fewer technical items. Certain terms are frequently repeated but refer to



different items. 桅杆, for instance, is used as the translation for *yards*, *masts* and *spar* as they appear in the original; 船頭 is used for *bow*, *stem-head* and *stem*; 舵輪 is used as the translation for both *wheel* and *helm*. The same titles are used throughout for the ship's officers, including 船主 for *the captain* of the ship, *the skipper*, *the shipmaster* and *the commander*, 大副 for *the chief mate*, *the first mate*, and *the mate*, and 機車長 for *the chief engineer*, *the first engineer*, and *the chief*. Some instruments are rendered into noun phrases, with the pre-modifier explaining the function or describing the shape of the object. *Spoke*, for example, is translated into 舵輪周圍轉動的把柄 [handle(s) surrounding/revolving around the wheel]. This allows readers to familiarize themselves with different instruments and positions. As a result, Chinese readers are less likely to find the novel esoteric.

Another special feature of *Jimu ye* is the use of general terms in place of specific ones, such as in the use of 鍊[chain] as the translation for *mizzen-mast*, the choice of 間壁 [partition] for *bulkhead*; the use of 欄杆 [fence] for *rail* and *balustrade*, and the use of 短索 [short rope] for *lanyards*. The same applies to expressions used by the sailors on board. Phrases expounding details of the action are found, such as 快艇上趕快備人 [quickly get (a) man on the cutter] for the original instruction 'man the cutter', 大船已經走不動了 [(the) large ship already cannot move/can no longer move] for 'that ship without steerage-way'; and 熱帶水手守夜的辦法 [the method sailors use in the tropics to watch (during) the night] for 'Kalashee watch'. The translation undergoes a process of underlexicalization and the narrator in the Chinese version, as a person who is as unfamiliar with the world of the sea as the average reader, tries to depict the sea journey in layman's terms. At times, the translator even has to resort to periphrastic expressions. In other words, apart from the limited references to the ship, the Chinese version is now readily understandable to readers without specialist knowledge or explanatory notes.

The changes made in the Chinese version may, of course, be regarded as necessary, indicating knowledge gaps in the target culture. However, they can carry special significance if we consider lexicalization as a process of negotiation. By establishing a language which circulates only within a particular subgroup, the members draw a boundary between ‘us’ and ‘them’. In modifying Halliday’s concept of ‘anti-languages’ from the plural (referring to the varieties) to the singular, Fowler converts it into a process of ‘negotiation of status, identity and ideology between an official establishment and a group which diverges from its norms’ (Fowler 1996/2002:157). Fowler also puts this process together with idiolect, sociolect and dialect, as well as with occupational jargon, all of which function to identify the users associated with a particular region, class or occupation as opposed to members of the ‘standard’ culture. As the translator simplifies the vocabulary, the translation imparts a different set of social values, in this case that of the majority (that of the ‘legitimate’ or ‘standard’ culture) which is more readily understood by a new and wider readership. The professional technicality that makes the stories ‘convincing yet mysterious to the ordinary reader’ (Knowles and Moore 2000:368) is reduced to a form that is less symbolic than functional. Instead of leading readers to enter the professional dimension of the seafarers, the Chinese version is now largely simplified into a few basic ideas. The associating vocation, the uniting spirit and the ethical code binding the nautical craft are largely subdued so that the more important messages (as interpreted by the translator) become recognizable. The story becomes a tale about individuals who happen to be on board a ship and get caught up in a particular situation.

The world-view presented in *Jimu ye* is in stark contrast to that projected in ‘Fuke, yige huiyi’, a text with a similar theme and narrative structure. There are obviously more specific Chinese terms made up of characters related to ships, including 船 [boat/ship], 舵 [the helm of a ship] and 舷 [the side of a ship], such as in 舷壁 for *bulwarks* and 舷欄 for *rail*.

Special words matching specific parts of the ship are frequently employed. Parts that are generalized as 桅杆 in Liang's translation are now given separate names: 帆桁 for *yard*, 桅桁 for *spar*, 桅樯 for *mast*, 船頭斜桅 for *bowsprit*, 前高桅底轉桁索 for *fore-royal brace*, 舵輪 for *wheel*, 船舵 for *rudder*, and 舵柄 for *tiller*. Explanatory phrases are sometimes used to clarify more complicated concepts such as 載着壓艙的重物 [carrying loads to weigh down the hold] for *in ballast*; 夜泊值班水手 [nightshift sailors] for *anchor-watchman*, and 雙翼的拖輪 [tug with double wings] for *paddle-tug*. Such premodifications are usually followed by 的. A degree of variation can be found in the Chinese texts as in the case of *tug* or *tugboat*, which are translated as 拖領船 [tow lead boat/ship], 拖船 [tow boat/ship] and 拖輪 [tow ferry] at times. 船長 [head of the ship] mostly refers to *the skipper* or *the captain*, whereas 船主 [master/owner of the ship] refers to *the owner* or *the shipmaster* towards the end of the story. The use of synonyms to refer to the captains (which is the profession of the major characters in the story) and the tugboat (which enables the protagonist Fuke to establish a monopoly in the region) may be a sheer coincidence. However, the different terms used to represent these two key concepts in the text may draw the attention of Chinese readers in some way. Although the story does not centre on the lives or adventures of the seamen, the frequent appearance of nautical terms prepares the reader for a world in which a separate language is required to give an adequate description of events.

The effect of lexicalization is at its most intense in stories depicting adventures on a sailing ship. *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*, a novella which was initially given the subtitle 'A Tale of the Forecastle' (Knowles and Moore 2000:248), is about the unity and bondage among the ordinary seamen living in the forecandle of the ship '*The Narcissus*'. The whole novel is loaded with terms that refer to the parts of a ship and eye-dialects representing the accents of sailors from different part of the country. Chinese readers are required to learn the rich and precise vocabulary and formulate a picture of the ship as they read along:

船尾樓 *the poop*; 船橋 *bridge*; 船頭樓頂 *forecastle head*; 船頭水手艙, 水手艙 '*forecastle*'; 舷壁 *bulwarks*; 右舷壁 *starboard bulwarks*;

正甲板 *main deck*; 上下甲板, 甲板, 前後甲板 *decks*; 後甲板 *quarter-deck*; 甲板室 *the house*;

桅檣 *masts*; 主桅 *mainmast*; 桅梢上方 *mastheads*; 橫桁, 帆桁 *yards*; 主桅下桁 *main yard*; 前桅底橫桁, 前桅下桁 *foreyards*; 桁臂 *yard-arms*; 桅桁 *spars*;

帆篷 *sails*; 中桅帆 *topsail*; 主桅中帆 *main topsail*; 中帆下隅索 *topsail sheet*; 前桅和後桅底中帆 *fore and mizzen topsails*; 前桅帆 *foresail*;

升降口底蓋板, 艙口蓋板 *hatches*; 後甲板底升降口 *the after-hatch*; 前部艙口蓋板 *fore hatch*; 後甲板升降口蓋板 *quarter-hatch*;

船頭 *bows*; 船頭斜桅 *bomsprit*; 受風的船頭 *the weather bow*;

轉桁索 *braces*; 上風的轉桁索 *weather braces*; 前桅帆底上風下隅索 *foretack*; 前桅帆下隅索底鐵角 *foresheet cleat*;

勒船索 *check-ropes*; 後甲板上的勒船索 *quarter-checks*;

舷欄 *rail*; 捲索座 *fiberail*.

The ship is described as if she were a living creature. Body parts are incorporated into the Chinese terms for ship parts. *Midskip* is rendered as 船腰, in which 腰 [waist] is a character referring to a bodily part. 船殼 [ship shell] is used for *hull* and *bulk*, and 舵輪殼 [wheel shell] is used for *wheel box*. Major sections and parts of a ship such as 船頭 [ship head/bow], 船尾 [ship tail], 甲板 [deck], 艙 [cabin], 桅 [mast], 桁 [pole], 帆 [sail], 蓋板 [hatch] are repeated throughout the text, as well as basic nautical concepts like 上風 [up wind], 下風 [down wind], and 受風 [toward/facing the wind] in instructions such as 把船頭調到下風去 [lead/adjust the bow down wind] for the original *wear ship* and 到上風去 [go upwind] for *to windward*. Along with the technical terms used, Chinese readers are overwhelmed by the large number of notes given at the end of the translation. Of the 189 items, 83 are notes

describing ship parts, instruments, and ship types. 18 of the notes explain expressions used by sailors in steering or manoeuvring the ship. There are also 2 illustrations showing ship parts and the different kinds of masts used on ships. Readers are ‘lectured’ on the craft of seafaring, a knowledge of which is necessary to allow them to enter the fictional world of adventures experienced by the crew.

To familiarize readers with the characters, the translator seems to have chosen the titles given to the officers and seamen with a particular purpose in mind. Most of the time, the captain is addressed as 船長 [head of the ship], regardless of whether he is referred to as *the skipper*, *the captain* or *the master* in the original. This changes towards the end of the story when he is called 船主 [master/owner of the ship], a term which underlines his role as the leading figure and the respect accorded him as such after the voyage has ended. Another important character, the cook, is addressed as 廚師傅 [chef master] and 大師傅 [big/great master] for *doctor* in the original after he struggles back to the galley to prepare coffee for the exhausted crew. *The sailmaker* is referred to as 帆工 [sail worker] and is called 帆子 [sail boy] by Bai'erfa (the Chinese counterpart of Belfast) to add a degree of intimacy as they prepare the corpse of the West Indian sailor for the funeral. Tags used in different contexts to describe members of the crew appear on numerous occasions. These include 老水手 [old sailor] for *shellback*, 長老海員 [senior/honourable seaman] for *the patriarchal seaman*, 不中用的毛頭小夥子 [useless young guns] for *a skeary (scary) greenborn*, 長官們 [officers], and 小職員們 [petty officers]. The crew is mostly referred to as 水手 [water hands], but at times becomes 夥計們 [fellows] and 船友 [mates, shipmates] when a degree of affinity is emphasized. This presents a stark contrast to the less competent sailors who behave like land-dwellers. They are compared to 初次航海的陸地漢 [landsmen who are sailing for the first time] for *merelandsmen*, 剛下船的陸地漢們 [landsmen who have just disembarked from a ship] for *landlubbers* and even 城裏人 [people in the town] for *townies*. The new hands, or

*shore toffs*, are given the moniker of 岸上的闊少爺 [rich young masters on shore] before the voyage starts. The various names given to characters in different contexts and situations help to shape the hierarchical community on board the ship.

Although Chinese readers can still find the same kind of community in ‘Taifeng’, fewer characters are involved in the story and there are fewer endnotes as one would expect of a short story. 51 out of the total of 79 endnotes are used to expound terms related to navigation. ‘Taifeng’ basically shares the same glossary as that used in *Hei shuisbou* with the exception of 望臺 [lookout] for *bridge*. The captain is mostly referred to as 船長 [head of the ship] and occasionally as 船主 [master/owner of the ship] where the English original uses the term *the master*. When he is called *the old man* by his crew, the Chinese version reads 船老大 and subsequently 老大<sup>11</sup>, which means ‘the eldest’ or ‘number one’, a title commonly used by gang members to address their leader. The boatswain 水手頭兒 [leader of the sailors] also has an intimate title 水頭 (literally as ‘water head’, the shortened form of 水手頭兒) among the crew and is later referred to as 水頭兒 whereas the English version reads *bosun*.

In an approach which is quite different from that adopted in the English originals, the Chinese versions of the works examined here apparently target an audience who does not have a professional knowledge of navigation. Liang Yuchun tones down the specificity of the professional jargon to relocate the novel *Jimu ye* within a wider context. The story depicted in this novel is about an individual torn between an idealized version of himself and his true self who repeatedly flees in the face of a crisis. Yuan Jiahua, on the other hand, makes his readers aware of the fact that to enter the fictional world, they must acquire knowledge of nautical terms in order to feel sympathy for the protagonists given the situations in which they find themselves. With the help of Chinese technical terms and a

great quantity of footnotes, Yuan attempts to reconstruct the world in which the characters – the English seamen – and their actions and words convey a symbolic bondage. At the same time, through the endnotes, without which the technical terms would not be meaningful, Chinese readers are reminded that they are being kept at a distance from the narrative, which has to be mediated so that the average reader can begin to understand this unfamiliar world.

### Conflicting World-views

Another impression projected in the narratives is the racial superiority of the white men, and of the white English men in particular<sup>12</sup>. In almost all of the stories, the same message is delivered in different ways:

他們喜歡短距離的航行，艙面舒服的坐椅，一大羣本地的水手，同只有他們是白種人這個特色。( *Jimu ye*, Liang tran 1934:9)

ST: They loved short passages, good deck-chairs, large native crews, and the distinction of being white. (*Lord Jim*, Conrad 1900/2002:10)

你到處都可以聽見人家談論着，在港口樣的海關，在每家船經紀鋪子，在你的代辦處，從白種人嘴裏，從本地人嘴裏，從雜種人嘴裏，甚至於從你上岸時看見的半裸體蹲在石階上的船夫嘴裏，——天呀！(*Jimu ye*, Liang tran 1934:27)

ST: You heard of it in the harbour office, at every ship-brokers, at your agent's, from whites, from natives, from half-castes, from the very boatman squatting half-naked on the stone steps as you went up – by Jove! (*Lord Jim*, Conrad 1900/2002:27)

他是個富有經驗的人，他要「那位」白種的爺們知道 (*Jimu ye*, Liang tran 1934:81)

ST: He was a man of great experience, and he wanted *that* white Tuan to know (*Lord Jim*, Conrad 1900/2002:71)

白種人連望他們一眼都沒有，也許早已忘却世上有他們這兩個人了。( *Jimu ye*, Liang tran 1934:82)

ST: The whites did not give them half a glance, had probably forgotten their existence. (*Lord Jim*, Conrad 1900/2002:72)

頭一樣同情的表示便是有人扔給他一條被毯，其時他站在那兒，從古怪暗黑的破布裏露着他四肢底白皮膚，顯出他同旁人的種族關係。(Hei shuishou, Yuan tran 1936:12)

ST: And at first it took the shape of a blanket thrown at him as he stood there with the white skin of his limbs showing his human kinship through the black fantasy of his rags. (*The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*, Conrad 1897/1984:12)

再呢，大家自然也承認：遇到合適的時機，大副能夠『大喝一聲叫人不敢開口，按照西方海洋上的派頭。』(Hei shuishuo, Yuan tran 1936:21)

ST: Besides, all hands were ready to admit that on a fitting occasion the mate could 'jump down a fellow's throat in a reg'lar Western Ocean style.' (*The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*, Conrad 1897/1984:21)

他因人種底優越，態度未免粗暴，可是並不懷惡意。(‘Taifeng’, Yuan tran 1937:10)

ST: He was gruff, as became his racial superiority, but not unfriendly. (‘Typhoon’, Conrad 1903/1998:13)

The world created through the stories and such statements is one in which people are categorized by the colour of their skin, regardless of their disposition and ability. The white men at the top are the administrators who set the standards to be followed by all and are entitled to be oblivious to the existence of the coloured races because of their own assumed superiority. At the same time, the coloured people look up to them for approval. The message is unmistakable and can hardly be overlooked by Chinese readers of the time, considering the political situation in Republican China and particularly in Shanghai, where the translations were published<sup>13</sup>.

The target in *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'* is the West Indian James Wait, who is called 'the nigger' in a derogatory tone throughout the English text. In the first chapter, the Chinese narrator uses the more neutral version of 黑人 and 黑漢, meaning 'black man'. The more negative 黑鬼 (pronounced as *hei gui*) [black ghost/devil] and 黑奴 [black slave] are used later in the book by both the sailors and the narrator himself. In the scene where Belfast



and Wait argue with each other, the hostility between the two is made explicit as Wait protests against the use of the label ‘nayggur’ (nigger). The intent is inhibited in the Chinese version as the voice of the translator intervenes in the form of brackets:

——『我把我底油衣和短衣都蓋在那個半死的海（黑）鬼身上了——他還說他逼悶呢』，白耳發抱怨說。——『我要不是半死的話，你也不會叫我黑鬼了。你這愛爾蘭的小老化子』！（Yuan tran 1936:76, my emphasis）

For the first time in the text, the Chinese-speaking narrator imitates Belfast’s accent by using the term 海鬼 (pronounced as *hai gui*, meaning ‘sea ghost/devil’). The translator, however, feels obliged to provide a ‘correct’ interpretation to avoid misunderstanding. As a result, the word 黑(*hei*) [black] in brackets is inserted next to 海(*hai*) [sea]. The racial discrimination apparent in this passage is unlikely to appeal greatly to readers. The derogatory label used and the abusive language uttered would be considered justifiable if directed only at Wait, an irritating and lazy character, but not against the whole race. This may explain why a neutral term is used in the first chapter before the negative image is established.

The other target group in the first nine chapters of *Lord Jim* is Arab people. They are called ‘niggers’ by the chief engineer and ‘beggars’ by Jim. These terms are translated into 黑鬼 [black ghost/devil] and 叫花子 [beggar] respectively in the Chinese text. In comparison, the references to Chinese people are minimal. At one point, the narrator describes serving ‘Chinamen, Arabs, half-castes’ as being as despicable as working for the devil (Conrad 1900/2002:10). In another instance, the old Chinese ship owner is described as being ‘jovial, crafty’ (Conrad 1900/2002:17). In both cases, ‘Chinaman’ is rendered into a more neutral, yet literal, translation: 中國人 [China/Chinese man/people]. Chinese readers would not find this term objectionable.

The more direct confrontation appears in *Taifeng ji qita* [Typhoon and Other Stories] in which the stories ‘Taifeng’ [Typhoon] and ‘Fuke, yige huiyi’ [Falk, a Reminiscence] are

collected. Chinese people here are depicted in much more unpleasant terms. In ‘Fuke, yige huiyi’, the English captain, an intradiegetic narrator, is robbed by the Chinese servant hired to replace the steward, who is on sick leave. The description given is rather acerbic:

那個『伙計』，你說他四十歲也好，說他一百四十歲也好——反正是個長着僵屍式的面孔，奧妙難測的中國人。(Yuan tran 1937:142, my emphasis)

[Back translation: that ‘fellow’, you may say he is forty years old, (you) may say he is one hundred and forty years old – an inscrutable Chinese with a face like that on a corpse.]

ST: The ‘boy’ might have been forty or a hundred and forty for all you could tell – one of those Chinamen of the death’s-head type of face and completely inscrutable. (‘Falk, a Reminiscence’, Conrad 1903/1998:115)

He is then confirmed to be an ‘opium-devil’, a ‘gambler’, an ‘audacious thief’ and a ‘top-rate sprinter’: 他是個鴉片鬼，是個賭徒，是個膽大包天的賊，又是個咕咕叫的飛毛腿。(Yuan tran 1937:142). Though the same term 中國人 is used, a sickly and despicable image of the character is presented to Chinese readers, one who is associated with Schomberg, an equally irksome gossipmonger. The identity of the unsympathetic Chinese-speaking narrator is at once put to the test.

The most serious conflict hits the reader head-on in ‘Taifeng’ when Chinese people enter as a group. Just like the Arab pilgrims in *Lord Jim*, the Chinese coolies are ‘a cargo’ being shipped back to their home village. The Chinese people here are characterized by their dark clothes, yellow faces and pigtailed (前甲板給中國人擠滿了，淨是些暗黑的衣裳，蒼黃的臉，和豬尾似的髮辮) (Yuan tran 1937:4). They are called 天朝人民 [people of the heavenly dynasty], a translation of the English term ‘Celestial’ which is marked by Yuan as ‘a sarcastic expression’ in a footnote to the Chinese version. The Chinese clerk who acts as the interpreter on board is being mocked when Jukes, the chief mate, communicates with him in pidgin English. Jukes, who seems to be hostile towards Chinese people, calls them 蠻子 [barbarian] and 可憐蟲 [pathetic insects/bugs] in the metadiegetic narrative at the end of

the story. Compared with the original ‘brutes’ and ‘beggars’, these terms are somewhat moderated in the Chinese text. The original derogative term ‘these Johnnies’, which refers to people of a colonized country, is also moderated as it is rendered into a more neutral reference 中國人 [Chinese people]. The original has obviously been modified, though Chinese readers can still sense the unfriendly attitude of the character (Jukes) and even of the narrator who speaks in Chinese.

To distance himself from Jukes, the character who is responsible for such offensive remarks, the Chinese-speaking narrator wears the translator’s hat and gives a verbatim record of the conversation between Jukes and the Chinese interpreter. The English original is retained in the main text and is immediately followed by the Chinese translation provided in parentheses:

他粗率地說，『Come along, John Make [sic] look see!』。(來，老贛兒。去瞧瞧罷。)  
這話引得那個中國人跟在他後面走動了。

『Wanchee look see, all same look see can do.』(你想想瞧瞧的話，這就可以瞧瞧啦，) 朱可土說；他沒有說外國話的本領，便任意胡謔了一套洋涇浜英國話。他指點着敞開的艙口。『Catchee number one piecie place to sleep in, Eh!』(你瞧，這地方睡覺是再好沒有的了。呃！)

『No Catchee rain down there-savee?』(那下面漏不着雨——你明白麼？) 朱可土指點說。『Suppose allée same fine weather, one piecie Coolie-man come topside.』(假使天氣照現在這樣好，那麼你們這般苦力不妨輪流着到上面甲板來。) 他繼續講，興會似乎濃起來了。『Make so-phooooo!』(就這樣罷——呔——呼！) 他擴大了他底胸部，吹鼓了他底面頰。『Savee, John? Breath – fresh air, Good, Eh? Washee him piecie pants Chow-chow topside-see, John?』(你明白麼，老贛兒？呼吸——新鮮空氣。好呃？洗條褲子，待在上面吃吃飯——懂麼，老贛兒？) (Yuan tran 1937:10-11)

The juxtaposition of the English original in the main text is unusual in comparison with Liang’s translation, and even with Yuan’s early translations. That the Chinese translation is presented as a supplementary explanation in brackets makes Jukes’ whole speech all the more outstanding. It would appear to Chinese readers that the form of the message (which

is coded in pidgin English) is as important as its semantic content<sup>14</sup>. Shifting back to the original language in the main text, the narrator informs readers of his hidden identity as a translator who should not be held responsible<sup>15</sup> for the speech and consequently for the behaviour of the character. The distance created in the Chinese version is that between the original (in English) and the translation (in Chinese) instead of that between the narrator's own group and others<sup>16</sup>. The fact that the original text is juxtaposed with the translation also suggests that the translator relinquishes his authority to interpret the original on behalf of bilingual Chinese readers.

Distancing of a similar nature is also found in the Chinese version of 'Falk, a Reminiscence'. German words are inserted in the main text in the form of direct quotations from Captain Hermann:

我聽見他自言自語地咕咕道，『Himmel! Zwei dreissig Pfund! [sic]』(老天爺！三十二鎊呢！)我損失數目給了他深刻的印象。(Yuan tran 1937:144-145)

我聽見『Zwei und dreissig Pfund』(三十二鎊)這句話重複了好多遍.....(Yuan tran 1937:145)

他呆呆地直瞪着兩眼招呼他，喉頭咕嚕道「Wie geht [sic]」或者用英語『您好』？(Yuan tran 1937:149)

我好幾次聽得說『Mench』[sic] (人)；還聽得說『fressen』，末了這個字，後來我查了查字典，纔明白意思就是『吞吃』。(Yuan tran 1937:201)

In the original, the German words are there to reinforce the English captain's position as a narrator-focalizer. On three occasions the narrator emphasizes that the only bilinguals on the scene are Captain Hermann and Captain Falk, who speak in English throughout 'on his (the narrator's) account'. These statements are translated accordingly in the Chinese version:

可敬的海爾芒他自己，倒並不怎麼惹人喜歡，雖然他說的英國話還讓人聽得懂  
[Back translation: ...although the English he (Captain Hermann) speaks is still comprehensible]。(Yuan tran 1937:137)

ST: ...though his English was fairly comprehensible. (Conrad 1903/1998:112)

他從頭到尾都是說的英語，當然是爲我方便。

[Back translation: From the beginning to the end he speaks English, of course for my convenience] (Yuan tran 1937:198)

ST: Throughout he (Captain Falk) spoke English, of course on my account. (Conrad 1903/1998:177)

這詞兒在他也許很生疎，雖然他底英語不錯。

[Back translation: This word for him perhaps is quite strange, although his English is quite good] (Yuan tran 1937:207)

ST: Perhaps it was strange to him (Captain Falk), though his English was so good. (Conrad 1903/1998:186)

To convey the following speeches in the English original, the narrator tries to convince readers that they are direct quotes from the speakers in the language used (English or German), thereby emphasizing his status as an honest monolingual reporter. By adding Chinese translations next to the German words, however, the Chinese-speaking narrator can no longer pretend to be monolingual. His voice is merged with that of the multilingual translator who is capable of understanding and interpreting the German words and expressions. Later in the text, the English words are put in brackets next to the keywords 最好的 [the best] and 最強韌的 [the toughest]:

『那是個大不幸啊。可怕。可怕極了，』他說。『許多人都不行了，只有最好的 (The best) 人還活得了。』

『你所謂最好的，大概是指最強韌的 (The toughest) [sic]罷，』我說。他把「強韌的」這個形容辭仔細想了想。這詞兒在他也許很生疎，雖然他底英語不錯。(Yuan tran 1937:207)

By supplementing the English originals, the translator-narrator submits his translations for examination to readers who are competent in English.

The eye-dialects that appear in the originals have the function of differentiating groups of people who are attached to their own sets of social and cultural values. A buffer zone is set up as the narrator quotes directly from 'them' who speak differently. In 'Typhoon', 'Falk, a Reminiscence' and *Lord Jim*, for example, the foreign words and ungrammatical English

distinguish the groups of people of whose behaviour the narrator disapproves. As we can see in the case of Jukes in ‘Typhoon’, the narrator, on the one hand, objects to Jukes’ hostile attitude towards the Chinese coolies, while on the other hand, he also looks down on the ungrateful and uncivilized Chinese people. The Chinese interpreter, the only Chinese who has a voice in the story, communicates with Jukes in pidgin English, the language of the Chinese communities. The various dialects also mark the objects of observation such as the sailors in the fore-castle in *The Nigger of the ‘Narcissus’*. Only the speeches of Craik (nicknamed Belfast), Archie, and Donkin are marked with accents in contrast with those of the narrator and officers like Mr. Baker (the chief mate), Singleton (the revered old sailor) and Captain Allistoun. In *Jimu ye* and *Hei shuishuo*, the Chinese versions of *Lord Jim* and *The Nigger of the ‘Narcissus’*, the distancing between the observer and the objects of observation is totally ignored<sup>17</sup>. It is only in ‘Taifeng’ [Typhoon] and ‘Fuke, yige huiyi’ [Falk, a Reminiscence] that the translator includes the original text in English or German and reveals the narrator’s hidden identity as the translator. The translator-narrator becomes the mediator interpreting the original English or German text for Chinese readers. The image of the translator stands between the original narrative and the readers, reminding Chinese readers of the reality that *this* is merely a translation.

### **The Perceptual Point of View**

When Fowler inspects the position of the narrator or the author in a narrative work of fiction, all he can rely on are features found within the text. Within a narrative, the voices we can hear are those of the narrative agents – the narrators and characters when quoted in direct speech. Following Genette’s classification regarding the narrator’s relationship to the story (1980:243-245), the narrators in the Chinese translations can be considered under two headings: the heterodiegetic narrator who is absent from the story and the homodiegetic

narrator who is present as a character participating in the narrative.

The heterodiegetic narrator often acts as a reporter introducing characters who may take over the narration on a different narrative level. In the English original, the heterodiegetic narrator relays stories passed on to him in the past tense and makes comments on events or general remarks about the lives and qualities of seamen in the present tense. This practice distinguishes his two identities: as the reporter of past events and as the reflector from the present perspective, thereby emphasizing the different narrative levels on which he is engaged. Some narrators' positions are clearly defined, as is the case with the unnamed heterodiegetic narrators in 'Taifeng' (Typhoon), in the first four chapters of *Jimu ye* (*Lord Jim*), and with the homodiegetic narrators who identify themselves as 'we' in *Hei shuishou* (*The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*) and in the opening of 'Fuke, yige huiyi' (Falk, a Reminiscence). The more obscure narrators like Malou (Marlow) in *Jimu ye* and the English captain in 'Fuke, yige huiyi' are first introduced as participating characters by the heterodiegetic narrators on the extradiegetic narrative level and become the narrators of the protagonists' stories on the intradiegetic level. In these sea stories, both of them are presented as venerable captains with typically virile qualities – men of integrity and experience. The intradiegetic narrative takes off as they look back to the past, recounting the events they witnessed in person.

Apart from the narrative levels, Fowler's analysis is also concerned with the angle of observation. Genette attributes such discussion under the topic of narrative moods, which addresses the question of *who sees?* (1980:186). In contrast with the analysis of the ideological perspective, the perceptual position taken up by the narrator in one story can be very different from that in another, depending on the plot and the design of the author. The picture becomes more complicated when more than one narrator emerges at different stages

and on different narrative levels in the same story, as in the case of *Lord Jim*. For this reason, I will examine the perceptual points of view in the Chinese versions of the four sea stories separately. After that, I will summarize the performance of the Chinese narrators in comparison with that of their counterparts in the originals.

### ■ *Hei shuishou (The Nigger of the 'Narcissus')*

Of the three works covered in this study, *Hei shuishou* is the only story which is told chronologically by a homodiegetic narrator identified as 我們 [we]. The narrator makes his first appearance in the eighth paragraph of the first chapter in brackets – (照我們根據了他底履歷證明書來估計) [(as we calculated according to his resume)] (Yuan tran. 1936:6-7) – pointing to a member of the crew on board of 娜仙瑟使號 (*The Narcissus*). Chinese readers are soon reminded of the identity of the narrator in the eleventh paragraph: 我們絕想不到 [we absolutely never thought/could never imagine] (Yuan tran 1936:9), even though the original does not make such a suggestion: ‘nobody could possibly be supposed’ (Conrad 1879/1984:10). The narrator, as a member of a closely knit group, can also be identified from the Chinese collective pronoun 大家 [everyone/us], which points to a group of people within an area, mostly including the speaker. The use of the collective pronoun in the text is important in defining ‘us’ as the sailors in the forecabin as opposed to the other characters – the officers on the bridge (the captain, the first and second mates) and more importantly, the ‘others’ including Jimi (the Chinese counterpart of James Wait), the West Indian sailor who dodges work by feigning illness from his first day on board, and possibly Tanggeng (the Chinese counterpart of Donkin, a character who ‘can’t do most things and won’t do the rest’, as stated in the text) (Conrad 1894/1984:11). The story is witnessed and narrated by a representative of the whole group until the crew is disbanded in the last chapter, where the narrator redefines himself in the singular pronoun 我 [I/me] to give an



objective description of his former shipmates.

The narrator is presented as a witness to the events. While the narrator would set the time frames for certain actions, much attention is shifted to indicating aspects of the actions involved with the help of aspectual markers, especially from the perspectives of the speakers (who can be the narrators or characters). These markers such as the perfective 了 and the durative 在 and 着 give more substance to the verbs. When the perfective marker 了 is added to the verb, the action involved is often viewed 'in its entirety' in the sense that the action will now be closely linked to the temporal, spatial or conceptual limits placed on it (Li and Thompson 1981:185-186)<sup>18</sup>. Chinese readers are naturally drawn to the circumstances surrounding the event, as presented by the reporter on the scene. The durative marker 着 signals 'the ongoing posture or physical disposition of an entity at a location' (Li and Thompson 1981:219). The marker 在 carries a similar function, as both 着 and 在 reinforce the activity verbs to 'signal the active participation and involvement of an animate subject in an event' (Li and Thompson 1981:217), presenting a vivid description of the event. In the closing, however, one can see a significant increase in the use of the experiential aspectual suffix 過 after the ship enters the dock and the narrator resumes his identity as an individual. This is especially obvious in the first mate's recollection of his family after the crew has departed the ship and in Tanggeng's direct speech in which he protests vehemently after his fellow crew members refuse to go with him for a drink. The experiential aspect marker 過 is different from the perfective 了 in that it emphasizes the speaker's personal experience rather than the fact that an event has taken place (Li and Thompson 1981:232). The speaker's current state of mind is foregrounded as she recalls whether the same material, mental, or verbal process has taken place before. It helps to create a strong link between the character and the action delivered by the verb. One can also find a large number of adverbs indicating the perfective 已經, progressive 正, and imminent 快 aspects. Together, these

features form the impression of a narrator who impersonates the characters' voices. He sees through their eyes even at moments when he (as a crew member) cannot be there and is not in a position to know what is on the mind of the characters concerned. The use of verbs indicating perceptive and cognitive processes reinforces this image of a narrator who has perfect knowledge of what the other characters see, hear, feel and think.

That the narrator observes events from the prism of the omniscient author coincides with the general emphasis on the time frames within which the events are described. The Chinese version features a proliferation of temporal clauses marked by words such as 當時 [at the time], ...時候 and ...時 (both mean 'when'), 同時 [at the same time], 這時 [at this time], and 那時 [at that time]. Adverbs such as 隨後 [after that] are used to emphasize the sequence of events, conjunctions like 於是 [as a result/then] are employed to indicate the consequence of an action, and adverbs including 突然, 忽然, and 猛然 (all means 'suddenly') are used as signposts for critical moments. This is especially noticeable in passages describing major events such as when the ship is caught in the storm and when a rescue operation is organized to search for Jimi. Chinese readers are guided through the action in the rhythm prescribed by the narrator. Processes which are marked by verbs in passive voice or nominalization in the original are rewritten into operative clauses. The actors are also properly inserted, thereby enhancing the clarity and intensity of the story and helping to build it up to the climax.

Considering the limited number of emotive clauses in the text, the narration appears to be impartial most of the time. When the feelings and reactions of the characters are mentioned, such emotions are mainly conveyed by four-character constructions and Chinese idioms such as 心神不寧 [heart and spirit not (being) calm] for 'mental disquiet', 失魂落魄 [losing one's soul/spirit] for 'to lose heart' and 怒火直冒 [fuming with the flame of anger]

for ‘very angry’. Some of them are written in long nominal groups, a construction made possible by the practice of differentiating between the premodified 的 as in 一種提心吊膽的戰慄 [a shiver of a hanging heart and gall] (the original reads ‘a shiver of suspense’) and the possessive 底<sup>19</sup> as in 他們底忍耐和苦難 [their patience and suffering] (the original reads ‘their patience and their suffering’). Longer sentence structures such as 尙懷有永不消逝的恐怖底執念 [still harbour/carry the grip of a never-ending horror/fear] (the original reads ‘with the grip of an undying fear’) become clearer and relatively comprehensible to Chinese readers. However, the nominalization of processes in the text presents to readers a static picture painted in figurative language or slightly Europeanized constructions.

In comparison with the other three Chinese versions, *Hei shuishou* contains comparatively few modal verbs. There are even fewer verbs indicating ability, acceptability or possibility. The word 得 is used to render ability (‘could’) and volition (‘have to’ and ‘must’) as they appear in the original. Adverbs like 彷彿, 似乎, the verb 像 and the auxiliary 似的 are mostly used to project the narrator’s subjective interpretation of the setting or scene in the form of similes. ‘Jerky movements of a caged bird’ is rendered into 活像一隻關在籠中的鳥兒 [vividly like a bird locked in a cage]; ‘sent a wave of’ becomes 像一陣風也似地發作了 [start like a gust of wind]; ‘his little beady eyes’ is translated into 他那珠子似的小眼睛 [those bead-like eyes of his]; and ‘shone in pillars of light’ is rendered into 白色燈塔像光柱似的照耀着 [white light tower shining like a pillar of light]. Combined with the nominalization found in the Chinese version, the comparisons and figurative images used create for readers a buffer between the fictional world and reality. The narration is largely mediated by the reporter, who gives an account of the event concerned in the voices of the characters. The scenes and events are largely filtered by this storyteller.

## ■ 'Taifeng' (Typhoon)

The narrative structure of 'Taifeng' is similar to that of *Hei shuishou* in the sense that there is only one narrator telling the story on the diegetic level. However, where the narrative structures of these two translations differ is that the narrator of 'Taifeng' is an unnamed heterodiegetic narrator who does not participate in the story. Instead, he gives an account of the events in the third person and assumes an omniscient presence in the story. As a result, he does not need to mark the timing of the events to separate the past from the present until the last chapter, where more time adverbials appear. This arrangement may be necessary as the ending of the story is made up of the personal reflections of the captain, the chief engineer, and the first mate on the voyage which are delivered in the form of letters to their wives and friends in London. In the first mate's letter to his friend in the Western Ocean trade, we find a report on the conclusion of the crisis caused by the Chinese coolies. The scene shifts, therefore, make it imperative for the translator to reset the geographical and temporal dimension for each narrative. As the characters express themselves in direct speech, the voice of the narrator diminishes and is reserved solely for describing the wives as they read the letters.

The heterodiegetic narrator in 'Taifeng' places as much emphasis on the organization of the events as does the narrator in *Hei shuishou*. In 'Taifeng', there is more variety in the words used to describe the main actions in the Chinese version and to mark the imminent aspect through terms such as 馬上 [at once], 快 [soon]; turning points like 猛然, 猛, 突然, 驟然, 忽然 (all means 'suddenly'); and the sequence of events: 原先, 起先 (both means 'at first'); 以先 [before]; 終於 [subsequently], and 結果 [as a result]. The Chinese narrator completely takes over the presentation of the story and proceeds to narrate at his own pace. He appears to be an onlooker as the plot unfolds. This position is indicated by the proximal

deictics used in the descriptions of the major events. The same pattern can be found in the three letters mentioned in the last chapter, which are quoted in direct speech of the characters. When the Chinese proximal deictic 這 [this] is used, it usually appears in clusters, pointing to the current moment, the continuance of actions, and the participating characters.

The perceptive and cognitive processes of the characters are detailed in the narration, thereby disclosing both what they see and hear and what they know and understand. The narrator does show some signs of distancing. As he reports the inner feelings of the characters in the opening and at the onset of the typhoon, more nominal groups presenting the cognition and emotions of the characters are preserved as in 這些感覺 [these sensations] for ‘sensations of’ in the original; 一個沈悶的信念 [one dull conviction] for ‘a dull conviction’; and 他自身尙未完毀滅的信念 [his own not being utterly destroyed conviction] for ‘the conviction of not being utterly destroyed’. As the narrative reaches the halfway point, the narrator seems to become more assured and restores verbs indicating cognitive processes such as 認不得 [cannot recognize] for ‘lost to view’ in the original, 提醒了 [reminded] for ‘kept them in mind’, 瞧不起 [looked down on] for ‘full of scorn’, 躊躇 [hesitated] for ‘with a pause’, and 更親切地恍悟了 [more intimately understood] for ‘give him...knowledge of’. In the closing, the nominalization of mental processes as in ‘had a damn’ poor opinion’, ‘got a hint’, and ‘to give the impression’ are rendered into proper cognitive processes marked by verbs like 覺得 [feel] and 忘不了 [cannot forget]. There are more emotive processes indicating what the characters ‘love’ marked by the verb 愛, what they ‘wish for/want’ marked by the verb 情願, or what they ‘dislike’ marked by the verb 不喜歡. All these features indicate that the narrator is imposing his subjective feelings on the characters. However, the most interesting point is that while many of the abstract nouns used to express emotions are rendered into emotive processes in chapter three, they are

retained intact in chapter five, the section of the text in which the conflict between the seamen and the land dwellers, as well as that between the Chinese coolies and the Western crew members, reaches a climax. While the characters' inner state of mind is amply illustrated most of the time, a buffer zone is deliberately built up in the last chapter. The nominal clauses employed present a blurry portrayal of the reactions of the Chinese coolies and the Western sailors. As the story nears its conclusion, the narrator suddenly hides himself behind the characters' narration.

A notable feature of 'Taifeng' is that the narrator does not speak in an assertive tone throughout the story. His reporting of past events is sometimes interrupted by interpretive words like 好像, 似的, and 大概. This is especially obvious when offensive images are mentioned, such as references made to 'pigtails' (和豬尾似的髮辮 [plait like a pigtail]), 'a ridiculous Noah's Ark elephant in the ensign of one's ship' (跟小兒玩具似的象 [elephant like a kid's toy]) which refers to the pattern on the Siamese flag, 'coming from the far ends of the world' (彷彿是從世界遠遠的盡頭來的 [as if it came from the far ends of the world]) which refers to the hulk surviving the storm, 'something had moved him to express an increased longing for the companionship of the jolly woman' (他好像受了什麼感動 [as if he were moved by some type of emotion/feeling]) which describes the unusual expressions found in the chief engineer's letter, and the letter written by Jukes in which the phrase 'calculated to give the impression of light-hearted, indomitable resolution' (似乎故意叫讀者忘不了那輕鬆愉快 [as if deliberately asking the reader not to forget that lightness (and) happiness]) is found. While he retains the original references, the Chinese-speaking narrator shows a degree of reservation, or a hint of uncertainty, in the description. One notices a divergence between the Chinese narrator and the characters, and possibly between the Chinese narrator and the author, in their perspectives on events.

## ■ *Jimu ye* (Lord Jim)

The voices of the narrators in the two other narrative texts examined here are not as clearly defined as in *Hei shuishou* and ‘Taifeng’. The narrators on the intradiegetic level are introduced on the extradiegetic level by an unidentified voice in *Lord Jim* and ‘we’ in ‘Falk, a Reminiscence’. Both Marlow and the English captain are involved in actions on the intradiegetic level as they collect fragments of past incidents, including the personal experiences of the protagonists – Jim and Falk. The stylistic features of the Chinese versions of these two works also show that the positioning of the narrators is different from that in the two stories analyzed in the previous sections.

The heterodiegetic narrator in *Jimu ye* identifies himself as 我們 [we] on one occasion in chapter three as he reports the history of Jimu (Jim). This unnamed narrator has full knowledge of Jimu, whose position as the protagonist is secured as all the third-person masculine pronouns 他 refer to him alone. There is no use of the third-person feminine 她 or neuter 它/牠 pronouns which were gaining currency in the 1920s and 1930s. ‘She’ for the ship in the original is rendered as 船 [ship] or 這條船 [this ship] in the Chinese version. The narrator observes events through the eyes and ears of Jimu as he is endowed with a cognitive but predominantly perceptive consciousness marked by verbs like 看 [see/look], 聽 [hear/listen] and 感 [feel], indicating Jimu as the senser in these mental processes. The proximal determiner 這 [this] also points to the protagonist as in 這個人 [this man], 他這樣 [he in this manner/as he...in this manner] or 他這個人 [he this man/a person like this]. The abundant use of proximal demonstratives places the protagonist at the centre of attention, presenting him as the single active agent in the opening.

The narrator, however, does not identify entirely with Jimu. He functions more like a

spokesman who travels from one narrative level to another. He sometimes appears on the same temporal plane as Jimu and gives a contemporaneous report of the series of actions. Emphasis is placed on the durative aspect marked by -着 and on the perfective aspect marked by -了, differentiating actions in progress from those that are bounded and that must be viewed with reference to the context in which the actions are observed. Instead of stating whether the event is set in the past or the present, temporal clauses marked by words like 時候 and 當時 (both means 'during/when') are used to set the time frame for relevant actions. Time adverbials such as 起先 [at first] and 後來 [then/afterwards] are also added to indicate the sequence of actions. Events are therefore narrated in an organized manner by an observer who knows more than any of the characters in the story. Comments are mostly rendered into unmarked sentences as if the narrator were speaking on the extradiegetic level. Unlike readers of the original, who are given signposts enabling them to differentiate the reporter speaking in the past tense from the reflector commenting in the present tense, Chinese readers find themselves listening to a single voice. This impression is reinforced by the use of the modal adverbials 總是 and 老是 (both means 'always/all the time'), implying that events unfold as the narrator expects. The persona of the storyteller occasionally stands out when he uses the first person reflective 自己 [self] without using the first person pronoun 我 [I/me] in front. The inclusive collective pronoun 大家 [everyone here/us] and the second-person pronoun 你 [you] are sometimes used, hinting at the narratees or audience he addresses. As such speeches are neither encased with quotation marks nor accompanied by reporting clauses, Chinese readers can easily infer that the storyteller is addressing them directly.

The narrator presents himself as the storyteller in the opening two chapters and leads readers through the chain of events. He arranges and reports the events as he perceives them. He places the protagonist Jimu at the centre of the stage, exposing his inner world to readers.



His narration is characterized by the large quantity of interpretive words such as 彷彿 [as if/as though], 大概 [probably /possibly] and ...樣子 [the appearance of], as well as by words indicating comparisons such as 好像 and 像 (both mean 'like') followed by images conjured up by the speakers. We can also find in the Chinese version expressions of indefiniteness like 有點 [a little], 所謂 [so-called], 幾乎 [almost] and 也可以說 [(one) can say], suggesting a degree of uncertainty on the part of the narrator. These features, however, are somehow neutralized by the Chinese modal system which reinforces the narrator's judgement and ethical values on individual events and issues, identifying the narrator's opinions on what can be done (可以 [can/acceptable], 能够 [can/capable of]) and what should be done (應該, 該, pointing to what is expected/logically probable). Taking into account the presentation 'designed' by the narrator, he still appears to be rather assertive and his viewpoint dictates the story as it develops.

The unnamed storyteller continues to dominate until the last two paragraphs in chapter four, where the character Malou [Marlow] comes onto the stage. The transition is explicitly signalled by the sentence '他細述這段長故事也許是當大家用過晚餐了。' [He relates in detail this long story perhaps (at the time) when we have had dinner.] The adverb 也許 [perhaps] suggests that the upcoming chapters concern a hypothetical situation in which Malou may relay Jimu's story. The rest of the paragraph then reverts to a more assertive tone. The impression of uncertainty is further strengthened by the adverb 大概 [probably /possibly] in the reporting clause at the beginning of chapter five: '馬羅大概是這樣子開頭' [Malou probably/possibly begins in this manner]. The uncertainty dissolves as the narrating of the heterodiegetic narrator passes on to Malou, the homodiegetic narrator.

Malou takes up a comparatively objective position. He does not zoom in on Jimu as does the unnamed storyteller. Instead, he establishes himself as an investigator in the

intradiegetic narrative collecting information from different characters including the principal shipping-master, the German skipper, the chief engineer, and finally Jimu. He quotes them mostly in direct speech. As is the case with the unknown storyteller, not many time phrases or adverbials are found to enable readers to distinguish present comments from past events. They are used, again, to mark the sequence of events, as indicated by ...時候 [during/when], 曾經 [once/already], 已經 [already], 先 [firstly]...後 [next/then/afterwards]. Malou displays a reasonably good knowledge of the events and characters on both the intradiegetic and metadiegetic levels. Malou basically shares with the heterodiegetic narrator the same modal concepts, which are applied to assess the acceptability of the incidents and the capabilities and volatility of the agents involved. Hypothetical conditions are now interpreted mostly in terms of possibility, as indicated by the modal verb 會 [will].

As readers are led to Ji mu's account of his own experience in direct speech on the metadiegetic level, one can see a significant increase in the use of adverbs marking turning points: 突然, 忽然 (both mean 'suddenly'); 當時 [at the time]. Jimu the narrator now draws his audience (Malou and Chinese readers) into his narrative by raising the level of tension. The shipwreck becomes the highlight on this narrative level. Verbs indicating emotive processes such as 怕 [fear] and 恐怕會 [is afraid that] are more commonly used. At the same time, however, one notices the nominalization of a limited amount of processes in the narrator's speech, which creates an alienating effect. A large variety of expressions indicate his subjective interpretation, ranging from 好像, 大概, and 彷彿, which are also found in the previous chapters, to longer expressions such as 可算是 [can be considered as], 其實可以說 [practically can be said], 也可說 and 可以說是 (both mean 'can be said/so to speak'). There are also affirmative adverbs such as 的確 and 確然 (both mean 'really/honestly') which Jimu uses to reiterate the validity of his personal opinions concerning the dubious nature of the incidents observed through his own eyes. Among the three narrators in this

novel we have discussed – the unnamed heterodiegetic narrator, Malou the narrator on the intradiegetic level, and Jimu the narrator on the metadiegetic level – Jimu as the character-narrator is apparently the least informed and his narration is probably the least convincing.

### ■ ‘Fuke, yige huiyi’ (Falk, a Reminiscence)

The structure of ‘Falk, a Reminiscence’ follows the same pattern as that of *Lord Jim*. Both stories start with an extradiegetic narrative introduced by a heterodiegetic narrator. This unnamed narrator identifies himself as ‘we’ and introduces the character, an old English captain in ‘Falk, a Reminiscence’, who begins the diegetic narrative in the form of free direct speech. The captain’s narration starts with a simple word ‘said’ in English. The Chinese version carries a dramatic effect which is marked abruptly by the reporting clause ‘他忽然開言道’ [he suddenly speaks/spoke]. The homodiegetic narrator then takes over and continues to recount his personal encounters with Fuke (the Chinese counterpart of Falk) and other characters before relaying Fuke’s confession of ‘having eaten men’ in indirect discourse towards the end. In contrast to Jimu, however, Fuke never gets to tell the story in his own words. Only his reflections on the incidents are quoted directly before and after the narrator relates his tale. As the protagonist of a story that carries his name, Fuke is presented as merely one of the characters (as opposed to Jimu’s status as the character-narrator) in the intradiegetic narrative.

There are fewer time adverbials found in the narrative of the English captain, possibly because of the nature of the story. In comparison with the other three sea stories discussed above, ‘Falk, a Reminiscence’ involves fewer actions. Instead, the story is composed of a series of episodes experienced by the narrator himself. In the intradiegetic narrative of these

episodes, as well as in that of Falk's past, the emphasis is placed on the personal experience of the participating characters, as highlighted by the frequent appearance of the adverb 已經 [already] and the excessive use of the experiential aspectual marker 過. Apart from the usual combination in 當過 [have/had been], 殺過 [have/had killed], 聽說過 [have/had heard] and 吃過人 [have/had eaten], there are some unusual collocations associated with short-lived actions as in: 吞吃過 [have/had gulped], 掃蕩過 [have/had swept], and 招呼過 [have/had greeted], actions which indicate a change of state as in 恢復過 [have/had recovered], and individual feelings as in 難受過 [have/had felt bad/suffered]. The narrator positions himself in the present, retrospectively relating the events and depicting the reactions of the characters, and of Fuke in particular, in a highly sympathetic tone. In comparison, the durative aspectual marker 着 and the adverbial 正 which signals an ongoing action, are not used as frequently as they are in the other three Chinese translations. Words marking a sequence including 於是 [then], 之後 [afterwards], and ...時 [during] are also used less frequently, as are adverbials such as 忽然 and 突然 (both mean 'suddenly'). Expressions which signal the temporal dimension such as 'now' and 'for an instant' are omitted in the Chinese version. The English captain as the narrator is not as knowledgeable as his counterparts in the other sea-stories. He simply relates the unfortunate incident Fuke has lived through and, at the same time, distances himself from the actual events and characters of the past, without seeking to dramatize the narration.

This tendency corresponds to the use of the distal deictic 那 [that] in the text. While the proximal 這 [this] and distal 那 are more evenly distributed in the opening, there is a shift to the use of 那 towards the end of the story. This is especially noticeable in the narrator's description of Fuke's past experience. Proximal deictics used in the original such as 'this' and 'these' are also rendered into distal deictics: 那些可愛的孩子 [those lovely children]; 那些...德國水手 [those German sailors]; 那些孩子 [those children]; 你那回

[that ...of yours]; 那祇知五官感受的無情的戀人 [that ruthless lover of the five senses].

This technique suggests a distance between the narrator and the story which takes place in a different temporal dimension. Processes which describe the feelings of the characters are sometimes nominalized as in the following cases: 懷有敬意 [have respect], 很懷好感 [have good feelings], 含有過度的感傷 [have too many emotions], 受了...苦惱 [affected by troubles/sorrows], 擺出...神態 [show...appearance], ...裝模作樣的神風 [feigning a manner], and 僵冷的感情 [freezing emotions]. As a result, these are fewer mental processes which grant readers access to the inner world of the characters. These Europeanized constructions may together have a slightly alienating impact on Chinese readers.

In a manner similar to that of all the other Chinese-speaking narrators, the narrator in 'Fuke, yige huiyi' also gives his subjective interpretation of the details of events. Interpretive words including the following are found: 似乎, 好像, 彷彿, 大概, ...似的 (all mean 'like/as if), as are expressions that have a similar effect like 可算是 [can be said], especially in the narrator's depiction of the facial expressions and reactions of other characters. 'Heavy eyelids' is rendered as 擡不動似的眼瞼 [eyelids (so heavy) as if (you) could not lift (them up)]; 'she would blush in girlish confusion' is translated as 她總像女孩兒家着了慌似的紅漲了臉 [she is like a girl who is scared/confused and blushes]; 'had a severe and statuesque quality' is rendered as (這些摺子)整齊嚴肅得好像彫刻的模樣 [so neat and tidy that (they) look like (they have been) carved (into that shape)]; 'with an air of civic virtue' becomes 面上一本正經守職奉公似地看着 [looking as if (they are) serious and obedient]. In all these Chinese expressions, the narrator conjures up a figurative image to present an animated picture of the object. On other occasions, as in 'and in Platt-Deutsch' rendered into 大概是北日耳曼語 [probably in Northern German language], 'the only trace on board' translated into 可算是它唯一的遺跡 [one can say it is the only trace...], and 'they were exercising' which becomes 他們大概要借這啞吧人兒 [they probably want to borrow this dumb figure],

he signals his personal speculation. Like the narrator in ‘Taifeng’, the narrator in ‘Fuke, yige huiyi’ deliberately distances himself from the experience of other characters, and at times even distances himself from his own observations of other characters and events.

Nevertheless, the narrator in the Chinese version does not take up an entirely external perspective in his narration. He uses more perceptive verbs expressing visual sensations (such as 看見, 望見, and 瞧, all mean ‘see/look’) and audio sensations (like 聽見 [can listen]) as well as those used to express the subjective feelings of the characters (as in 感得 and 覺得, meaning ‘feel’). There are also more cognitive and emotive processes as many of the nominalized processes are rendered into operative clauses. As a result, the narrator appears to have access to the internal state of mind of certain characters. Emotive meanings are also conveyed via four-character idiomatic expressions such as in the use of 欣然色喜 [pleasant with a happy facial expression] to render ‘of a gay complexion’, 大發慈悲 [showing mercy] to render ‘work up their compassion’, 心煩意亂, 不知所措 [heart troubled and confused, not knowing what to do] to render ‘covered with confusion’, 驚心動魄 [hearted frightened and soul disturbed] to render ‘impressive and alarming’ and 心痛得直掉眼淚, 饒涎欲滴, 卻又無可奈何 [heart (in) so much pain that tears ran down (her face), slobbering (at the mouth), but (feeling) helpless] to render ‘with tears of regret, covetousness and despair’.

### **The Narrators in the Chinese versions**

Genette identifies three areas in which a narrative discourse can be analyzed: the temporal dimension(s) of the narrative, modalities (forms and degrees) of narrative representation, and the narrator’s voice which refers to ‘a relation with the subject of the enunciating’ (Genette 1980:31-2). A narration is not necessarily focalized through the eyes of the speaker. A narrative may have an omniscient narrator who knows more than any of the

characters. It may be delivered through a character-narrator who knows as much as the character should know or it may give an objective account through which the narrator tells readers much less than the character actually knows. The three types of focalization are referred to as zero focalization, internal focalization and external focalization respectively.

Of the four English texts, the narrator who speaks in the first-person collective in *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'* is the only one to adopt the internal focalization approach. The character-focalizer himself has a participating role as the story develops. However, as a member of the crew, the narrator has knowledge of events from which the other crew members announce their absence, such as the actions and inner thoughts of the chief mate after the sailors have left the ship towards the end of the story. The narrator delivers information which can only be supplied by the author. The unknown narrator in 'Typhoon' also has perfect knowledge of the whole voyage until the last chapter, in which the characters – Captain MacWhirr, Solomon Rout the chief engineer, and Jukes the chief mate – take over the narration in the form of letters, filling readers in on the conclusion of the scuffle among the Chinese coolies. The narrative situations in *Lord Jim* and 'Falk, a Reminiscence' are similar in the sense that the primary narrative is framed by an extradiegetic narrative. The narrator-focalizers – Marlow and the English captain – introduce the stories reported by the characters on the metadiegetic level through either direct speech or indirect speech. The narrator has only restricted access to the 'facts' of the past. We can see that as long as the translator recreates the same narrative situation and maintains the position of the narrator without changing the pronouns, replacing or relocating the characters, the narrative structure should be more or less preserved. In a translated narrative, however, the narrator now speaks a different language and delivers a story filtered by a third person (the translator). The Chinese-speaking narrator now gives a different representation of the relations between the narration and the story, and also between the narration and the reader.

How exactly does the change of language affect the points of view expressed in the Chinese versions? Certain linguistic features provide hints on the quantity and quality of the narrative information provided or, in other words, on how much detail is supplied to the reader and how reliable such information is. As the observers, Marlow and the English captain describe only actions they have witnessed with their own eyes and speculate on the reactions and feelings of the protagonists. To create this image for readers, the events are mostly depicted and projected from the narrators' viewing position. Subjects are often obfuscated as their observations are phrased using passive voice or through nominalization of certain mental processes. The narrators use the hypothetical past tense every now and then to reiterate subjective conjecture on their part. The position of the narrator-focalizer is firmly established throughout the text and a contrast is drawn between factual reports and subjective speculation.

Without the assistance of tense on the grammatical level, the hypothetical situations in the Chinese versions are mostly conceived as real events. The original passive voice and nominalization of mental processes, especially those concerning the cognitive and perceptive processes of the characters or of the narrators themselves, are rendered into operative clauses in which the sensors are restored. In the case of *Jimu ye (Lord Jim)*, the translator even connects emotive verbs with the corresponding characters, thereby showing that the narrator has access to their inner feelings. Subjective interpretation marked by speculative verbs such as 'appear' and 'suggest' are rendered in a more assertive tone as cognitive or perceptive processes are the sensors inserted. With the exception of the English captain in 'Fuke, yige huiyi', the narrators in the Chinese versions generally project a more self-assured image in the narrative. Any uncertainty on the part of the narrator over the events or the characters' reactions can be detected only occasionally through the use of words indicating subjective



speculation.

The style of the narrators in the Chinese versions is also different in terms of the distance separating the story from the reader. In the English originals, events in the past are marked by the use of the past tense and distal deictics. The reader is clearly located on the same narrative level as the narrator in the here and now. The Chinese narrators, and particularly those in *Jimu ye* and *Hei shuishuo*, shorten the psychological distance which separates the story and the audience by using proximal deictics, especially in describing events that build up to the climax of the story. Chinese readers are drawn into the temporal dimension of the intradiegetic or even of the metadiegetic narratives in which the actions proceed (as opposed to the timing of the extradiegetic or intradiegetic narratives in *Lord Jim* and 'Falk, a Reminiscence' when Marlow and the English captain tell their own stories, as is the case in the English originals) to allow them to visualize what is happening. Liang Yuchun and occasionally Yuan Jiahua use time adverbials indicating the present moment such as 現在 [now] and 如今 [now/at this moment] to refer to the timing of the story:

灰色的吊桶跳盪着，碰到火艙氣筒銀鑼地響；這個錫桶的嘩啞聲到提醒了他，叫他想起現在快有人來接他的班了。 Make him think [that] now someone will soon come to take over his shift]。 (The heterodiegetic narrator in *Jimu ye*; Liang tran 1934:15)

現在我看那個年青人在那兒。 Now I see that young man there]，我喜歡他的樣子，從他的神氣我曉得他的性情是怎麼樣；他是打好所在來的，又是僑們這樣的人。 (Malou in *Jimu ye*; Liang tran 1934:33)

我現在應該什麼也不表示 [I now should not express anything]，怕的是一不小心，只要一個姿勢或者一個字就够暴露出我對於這場公案持了什麼態度，弄得我自己也牽連到裏頭去，無法擺脫了。 (Malou in *Jimu ye*; Liang tran 1934:89)

他打去年起一直欺騙他到現在。 [He since last year has been lying to him till now] (The English captain in 'Fuke, yige huiyi'; Yuan tran 1937:20)

他顯然很擔心我不能承允，因為，雖然他昨晚上的意見和痛切的憎恨，似乎已經忘了十分之九了，可是現在，他卻顯然很害怕別遭了我底拒絕呢 [But now, he is obviously scared that (he will) get my rejection]。 (The English captain in ‘Fuke, yige huiyi’; Yuan tran 1937:218)

One should note that in the above cases, the time adverbial 現在 [now] freezes the action at that moment to allow the reader to probe the state of mind of the character or narrator, who ponders the situation at hand. In other words, the reader is invited to identify with the narrator or characters in the fictional world. Combined with the intensive use of adverbs and aspectual markers to report completed and ongoing actions, Chinese readers are drawn in to witness the actions as they proceed. In the case of ‘Fuke, yige huiyi’, they get even closer to the characters through the use of the experiential marker -過, which highlights the characters’ personal experiences. Since all the narrators place a great deal of weight on depicting the psychological condition of the characters, readers are able to establish a direct connection with the characters as constructed by the narrator. The narrator is in total control of the narrative as an author would be, conflating the focalizations into those of the omniscient author.

In all the Chinese texts, there is clearly a dominant voice which creates a narrative situation. Apart from the unknown narrator in ‘Taifeng’, the others can be identified by the names or titles attached to specific identities (such as Malou, the English captain) or as ‘we’ or ‘I’ in *Hei shuishou* and ‘Fuke, yige huiyi’. In the case of *Jimu ye*, the supposedly unnamed narrator identifies himself as ‘we’ on one occasion in chapter three. This identification of the narrators changes the tone of the narration at once. While the reader can still more or less distinguish the narrative levels from one another as the story develops, the voices are less clearly differentiated. As the narrative now concentrates on the intradiegetic level where the actions are found, we can be more precise in describing the Chinese versions as simultaneous narratives according to the temporal determination of the narrator, which Genette defines as

‘narrative in the present contemporaneous with the action’ (1980:217). Given the temporal dimension in which the single voice of the narrator is found, Chinese readers are most likely to interpret any general statement that resembles an opinion as a kind of running commentary. The narratives on all levels create a centripetal force that pulls the reader into the intradiegetic narrative. Instead of passing from one narrative situation to another in different temporal dimensions, Chinese readers notice only the transition from one storyteller to another.

If the narratees targeted by the narrators in the originals are compared with those targeted in the translations, the extent to which the narration is mediated by the translator becomes even more apparent. As soon as the narration enters the intradiegetic level, the narrator-focalizer, such as Marlow in *Lord Jim* and the English captain in ‘Falk, a Reminiscence’, addresses a group of the audience (‘you’) which can be traced as friends at a gathering mentioned at the beginning of the story. The Chinese versions are clearly different from the English originals in this respect as the Chinese narrators also target readers beyond the narrative levels. In *Jimu ye*, Malou addresses the reader (rather than his friends at the gathering) directly when he first takes over the narration:

這種心境我說不出，只好讓讀者去意會罷。[This state of mind I cannot tell/I cannot express in a more explicit way, (I) will leave the reader(s) to grasp the meaning (between the lines)](Liang tran 1934:33, my emphasis)

ST: ...if you understand what I mean... (Conrad 1900/2002:32)

In the Chinese version, the original second-person pronoun ‘you’ is replaced by 讀者 [the reader(s)]. In ‘Taifeng’, the Chinese narrator does the same as he comments on Zhukeshi’s (the Chinese counterpart of Jukes) letter to his friend. He acknowledges in black and white the presence of the reader, whereas it is merely implied in the original:

信裏有好些詞句，似乎故意叫讀者忘不了那輕鬆愉快，百折不回的果斷精神。[In the letter a few words and phrases seem deliberately to ask the reader(s) not to forget that lightness and happiness...](Yuan tran 1937: 92, my emphasis)

ST: There were phrases in it calculated to give the impression of light-hearted, indomitable resolution. (Conrad 1903/1998:97)

Apparently, ‘the reader(s)’ in both excerpts refers to those who are reading the Chinese translations. Chinese readers are therefore invited to communicate with the narrator of the text. Even though the narratees are not specified in *Hei shuishou* and ‘Fuke, yige huiyi’, the use of the third-person feminine and neuter pronouns – 她[*she*] and 它[*it* for an inanimate object]/ 牠 [*it* for an animate object] – which all share the same pronunciation *ta*, also unavoidably defines the narrative as a written text rather than an oral one. The Chinese narrators somehow ignore the narratees implied in the narrative texts and aim to establish direct contact with the reader.

While one may say that the structural differences between English and Chinese do not give the translators much choice to reproduce the same features in the Chinese narratives, I would argue that the question to ask here is not *what* the translators could do or could have done but *why* the translators behaved as they did. If we address the issue from the stance of the general reader in Republican China, we see that the reader would not acknowledge such changes in perspective in terms of the identity of the narrators in the Chinese versions. Most of them were unlikely to have access to the English versions and certainly would not think of comparing the Chinese translations with the originals in normal circumstances. Chinese readers would naturally regard the Chinese versions as the ‘original’. This image of the Chinese versions would be reinforced by the voice of the assertive omniscient narrator. Nevertheless, the occasional Europeanized sentence structure, unfamiliar words and Western concepts, as well as the conflicting world-views may undermine the authenticity of the Chinese versions. These features remind the target readers that the narrator, who is reporting and commenting at the same time, is located in spatial and temporal dimensions that are different from their own. The estranged effect is more likely a result of the translator’s

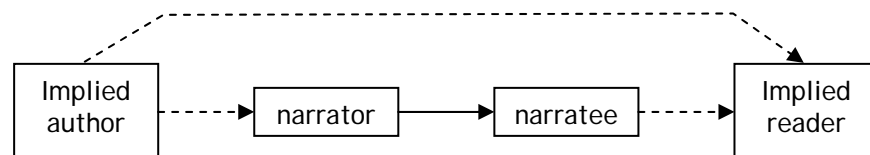
attempt to reproduce the point of view on the ideological plane in the target culture. This double voice of the Chinese narrators takes a form which is not intended by the author.

### III. The Unreliable Narrator

Not all translations arouse suspicion among readers. By ‘suspicion’, I am not thinking of the classical metaphor of *‘les belles infidèles’* in which the fidelity of the translation / translator is assessed by a bilingual or multilingual reader capable of comparing the translation with the original. The reader questions the reliability of a narrative discourse when contradictions or conflicting views crop up. Here I am using the notion as proposed by Wayne Booth in his 1961 discussion of the narrator. Booth describes a narrator as ‘reliable’ ‘when he speaks for or acts in accordance with the norms of the work (which is to say, the implied author’s norms), unreliable when he does not’ (Booth 1961/1983:158-159). This concept was further clarified by Seymour Chatman, who looks into the elements that make a narration unreliable. A narration, he said, is unreliable when ‘the implied reader senses a discrepancy between a reasonable reconstruction of the story and the account given by the narrator’ (Chatman 1978:233), and the causes of this unreliability can be cupidity, cretinism, gullibility, psychological and moral obtuseness, perplexity and lack of information, innocence, or simply some ‘baffling mixtures’ (ibid). Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan transforms these abstract nouns into concrete situations in which the narrator’s limited knowledge, her personal involvement, and a problematic value-scheme cause doubts to form among readers:

when the facts contradict the narrator’s views, the latter is judged to be unreliable...; when the outcome of the action proves the narrator wrong, a doubt is retrospectively cast over his reliability in reporting earlier events; when the views of other characters consistently clash with the narrator’s, suspicion may arise in the reader’s mind; and when the narrator’s language contains internal contradictions, double-edged images, and the like, it may have a boomerang effect, undermining the reliability of its user (Rimmon-Kenan 1983/2002:100-101).

Considering the elaborations provided by Chatman and Rimmon-Kenan, we may define ‘the norms of the work’ as the content of the narrative which can be isolated from the narrator’s subjective voice; that is, the part of the narrative which is not focalized through the narrator. The crux of the question is the narrator’s positioning in the narration. When the narrator presents herself as an individual straying from the voice of a higher order (where the author is assumed to be found), she no longer enjoys the authority conferred on her. Therefore, when the narrator shows limited knowledge of what should have been known, false judgment of the events and characters in the narration, or his or her own set of values is not compatible with that endorsed in the work, the narrator’s role as an honest and competent reporter will no longer stand. Chatman points out that to say a narration is unreliable, the reader has to be aware of the existence of the implied author who sends messages or hints bypassing the narrator, as shown in the following diagram (Chatman 1978:233):



Whenever there appears to be an obvious credibility gap between what the narrator says and what the narrative is believed to be, the reader is prepared to go back to the higher order, the implied author, for verification.

We can apply this notion to translated narrative discourse and consider the act of translating to be one of narrating. Just like the narrator discussed above, the translator can choose to imitate the original and hide her voice behind the characters/narrators or to relay the original in a more mediated way. I would like to reiterate that for the moment, the concept of ‘mediation’ has nothing to do with the kind of translational problems caused by

cultural differences during the actual translation process. Instead, I am looking at the translator as narrator and the ‘narrative situations’ she creates through the presentation of the translated narrative text. The translator of *Jimu ye* (Lord Jim), for example, speaks through the voice of the narrator, who takes on the role of a storyteller. Most of the time, he shows himself to have full knowledge of the characters and events and speaks in a confident tone. The Chinese text is not interrupted by direct quotations in the original language. German words such as ‘Schwein’ and ‘Ewigkeit’ are rendered directly into the Chinese words 豬 [pig] and 永生 [eternal life] respectively. Only Liang Yuchun is acknowledged as the translator on the cover and title pages, although the translator’s preface is written by Yuan Jiahua, whose work is acknowledged only in the ‘Editor’s Note’<sup>20</sup>. Despite the fact that the translator intervenes extensively to modify the text for the Chinese audience, there are few traces left on the textual level that reveal it to be a mediated version of the original. We may even go so far as to suggest that the translator assimilates himself into the text and speaks for the narrator and the characters, narrating the original from an internal perspective.

The translator of *Hei shuishou* (*The Nigger of the Narcissus*) takes up a similar position. The pun on the name ‘James Wait’ and the imperative form of the verb ‘Wait!’ in the scene where the chief mate musters the crew is reproduced. The name of the black sailor is translated into 詹姆斯·惠特 (pronounced as *jimusi huitē*). The request is rendered into 回頭, which is pronounced as *huitou*, to recreate the effect of the pun on the surname *huite*. ‘Wait’ is replaced by a different action - 回頭, literally means ‘turn back (your) head’ or ‘look back’. However, the Chinese version is presented so naturally that it does not stir up suspicion. The major difference between *Jimu ye* and *Hei shuishou* is that the latter is heavily annotated. The narrative is constantly interrupted by a voice which carries authority and speaks beyond the narrative levels, a voice which resembles that of the author in the sense that it addresses

readers directly and guides them through the reading, providing information which is necessary for a 'correct' understanding of the text. In these paratexts, the translator separates himself from the narrator and speaks for the author in a didactic tone.

In contrast with this authoritative position, the translator of the two stories, 'Taifeng' (Typhoon) and 'Fu ke, yi ge hui yi' (Falk, a Reminiscence), which are collected in the same book entitled *Taifeng ji qita*, reveals himself in both Chinese texts in parentheses following direct quotations from the source texts. The act of the translator-narrator in distancing himself from the objects of observation in 'Taifeng' should also take into account the use of words like 好像, 似的 and 似乎 which are added to indicate subjective interpretation. The translator-narrator modifies metaphors Chinese readers may find offensive, especially in the scene where the Chinese coolies are brutally subdued by the white men. Apart from 'pigtales', which is rendered into a simile 豬尾似的髮辮 [the pigtail-like plait], there are also descriptions of the operation as 'an altogether fiendish business' (translated into 這事好像是地獄裏的魔鬼勾當 [this thing/business is like a devilish deal in hell]) and the special 'quality' of the Chinese people after being beaten up – 'something about him that is deuced tough' (translated into 中國人似乎來得特別粘韌 [Chinese people seem to be particularly tough]). The wording prompts the Chinese-speaking translator-narrator to keep a distance from the speakers – the character *and* the character-narrator in the original text. At the same time, however, he wishes to remain impartial and report truthfully the original story together with the attached value system. The resulting Chinese version will only expose his difficult position if it is contrasted with the English original.

Translated discourse is not unreliable by nature. Considering the fact that most translations of literature are presented as the only version available to the reader, just like any original narrative work of fiction, the narrator should enjoy the same kind of trust until



proven to be untrustworthy. However, there are cases in which the translator relinquishes the authority to speak on behalf of the author. In such cases, the translator may choose to juxtapose the original text with the translation so that any competent bilingual reader can challenge the reliability of the translated text. Some translators choose to adhere closely to the original sentence structures, producing highly foreign or even unintelligible translations for the target readers. In such cases, the translator admits that the translation is but one of many interpretations of a superior text. But how can translators defend their works as one of the many 'faithful' interpretations of the original? How can the reader trust the translator to be a reliable narrator of the original when she is not the only narrator to speak for the real author? As discussed earlier, the reader tends to seek proof from the author when the reliability of a narrative is called into question. To defend their work against the criticism of being 'unfaithful', some translators seek to establish their credibility by giving an authentic definition of the 'implied author', which Ansgar F. Nünning considers to be 'the only yardstick' for evaluating a narrator's unreliability (2005:91).

The notion of the implied author was first designed by Booth to serve as the definitive image of the author. It refers to the second self of the real author as projected in a novel as opposed to the 'real' author, which Booth later called the flesh-and-blood person (FBP). It is the sum of the decisions made by the author in terms of the style of the author's language and ethical judgments – an idealized version of the author attached to a particular piece of work. It is 'the core of norms and choices' (Booth 1961:74-5) and points to the only correct interpretation dictated by the FBP. In similar terms, Chatman defines the implied author as 'the invention and intent' of the novel (Chatman 1990:85). Based on this image inferred from the novel, the reader receives directions on how to understand and appreciate the piece of work, as it is designed by the 'author'. It is the label given to the properties of a novel and has no voice (hence 'it' instead of 'she'). It is 'implied' in the sense that the reader has to

‘reconstruct’ this image following the traits laid out in the narrative (Chatman 1978:148; 1990:74). Preferring the word ‘reconstruct’ to ‘construct’, Chatman agrees with Booth that the construction of a text ‘pre-exists’ any individual act of reading, thereby emphasizing the directing function of the implied author.

Gérard Genette takes issue with Booth in arguing that the implied author described by Booth is identical to the real author provided that the image presented is faithful. The ‘faithfulness’ of the author’s image hinges on two factors: (1) its production by the (real) author; and (2) its reception by the reader. The ‘real’ author, in Genette’s description, is not the FBP to which Booth refers, which is an entity independent of the novel. On the contrary, the author cannot be separated from the text. The author is the agent who produces the text and the person who is responsible for its reception. Regardless of how much authority she enjoys, the author cannot dictate how the reader interprets the text. Genette goes further by suggesting that the reader can provide a more accurate reading of the work and construe a more reliable/faithful image than the FBP (Genette 1988:143). The task of interpretation is vested entirely with the reader. What Booth and others refer to as the ‘implied author’ should be replaced by the concept of the ‘inferred author’ and should not be considered a narrative agent (ibid:148). This means that the implied or inferred author has neither a voice nor a position within the narrative, as Chatman suggests.

The above discussion is significant for understanding the concept of the ‘faithfulness’ of translated discourse. For Booth and Chatman, the faithfulness of an interpretation rests entirely on the reader’s ability to decode the hints laid out in the narrative. As Harry E. Shaw points out, there is a ‘rhetoric’ informing a narrative work which the reader must decipher to ‘inhabit a world of internality’ as constructed by the author (Shaw 2005:300). Unless the author provides explicit instructions or guidelines, there is no objective standard by which to

assess the ‘accuracy’ of any interpretation. In most situations, this is not even necessary. However, the case is different for a translated discourse. The translator, by definition, is supposed to reconstruct the world inhabited by the author into another written text for a different readership if the translation is to be claimed as the work of the same author. What starts as a product of an ‘external observation’ as perceived by the reader-translator must be transformed into an ‘authentic’ version of the original narrative. The prerequisite for a successful transformation is to establish the image of a reliable translator who is capable of interpreting both the novel and the author in a faithful manner. The translator must gain access to the implied author.

The (re)construction of the ‘implied author’ relies on the translator’s interpretation of the narrative text, which starts with the rhetorical devices found in the text. Franz Stanzel compares this concept of the ‘implied author’ to terms such as ‘the spirit of narration’ and ‘narrative function’ and called it ‘the deep structure’ of a narrative work, which can be brought to the reader only through ‘theoretical operations’ (Stanzel 1984:16). Only readers who are capable of such ‘theoretical operations’ are in a position to gain access to the implied author, which represents ‘the results of the investigation of the meaning of a text, and not the *source* of that meaning’ (Bal 1985:120). As we shall see in the next section, the translators of the works of Conrad establish themselves as qualified readers who are competent to define the implied author by presenting themselves as educated scholars in English literature. They collect data from English language books and academic articles on the original and the author. They also prepare commentaries for the translations on behalf of the original author. The implied author described by the translator is exactly the ‘meaning’ of the narrative text which is preserved in the translation. As the translator-narrator illustrates what the original is and defines the image of the implied author, the reliability of the narration – now in the form of a translated text – can withstand a challenge from any

average reader.

#### IV. The Translator's Authentic Voice

The construction of the implied author takes place on both the textual and paratextual levels. As noted in previous sections, the translators mostly speak in the voice of the narrators or characters within the narrative texts. Their presence can be detected only when there is a conflict between their views and those expressed in the original, most (but not all) of which concern ideological differences. However, to reinforce the image of the implied author they construct on the textual level and to secure their authority to establish that image, the translators use paratexts to define the 'author' in their own voice. These paratexts should therefore be considered as part of the translators' effort to represent the original and the author. Paratexts refer to accompanying productions which are regarded as belonging to a text 'in order to *present* it' and 'to *make present*, to ensure the text's presence in the world, its "reception" and consumption in the form of a book' (Genette 1997:1). They include covers, titles, dedications and inscriptions, prefaces/postscripts, notes, and even texts which are not attached to the book itself and can be grouped under the term 'epitexts' such as reviews, interviews, correspondence, etc. The function of paratexts is to influence the public and to facilitate 'a better reception for the text and a more pertinent reading of it' (Genette 1997:2). Paratexts therefore carry a directing force aimed at drawing the attention of potential readers to certain aspects of the book.

The three books covered in this chapter have an almost identical layout. On the cover, the Chinese title is arranged vertically in the middle of the page and appears in a larger font size than the other characters. The name of the publisher 商務印書館 (The Commercial Press) is printed in the bottom left-hand corner. In the top right-hand corner, the Chinese

transcription of the author's name, 康拉德 (*kānglāde*), is juxtaposed with the name of the translator next to it on the left. From the outset, the translator is honoured as much as the author, whose name is represented in Chinese characters. All the words are hand-written in the form of Chinese calligraphy, a feature of the production that is likely to impress the reader. The title page repeats the details that appear on the cover. The name of the author is now printed in English as 'Joseph Conrad' and the editor 中華教育文化基金董事會編譯委員會 (The Committee on Editing and Translation of the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture) is added next to the publisher's name. The translator's preface appears before the author's preface and the translation proper, functioning as the 'reporting clause' to introduce the author and his work.

At the beginning of *Jimu ye*, Hu Shi, the Chairman of the Committee on Editing and Translation, writes a note in memory of the late translator, Liang Yuchun. He endorses him as a talented young writer and as a faithful and enthusiastic translator. He also introduces his successor, Yuan Jiahua, who translated half of the novel after Liang's unfortunate death. In spite of this, Yuan's name is neither recorded on the cover page or in the colophon, nor does he sign the translator's preface written by him. In the preface, Yuan gives a biographical account of Joseph Conrad and a description of his major novels, short stories, essays, and a play. In defining his works, Yuan identifies the ocean as the common background to the stories. The author writes about ocean-going ships, sailors, merchants, and indigenous people in the East (Yuan 1934:5). The purpose of the technical nautical terms that appear in the stories is described as purely functional and the theme of his novels as the loneliness of the soul and the fatalism exhibited through the losing battle human beings fight against Nature (Yuan 1934:6). He draws attention to the melancholy mood which colours both the novel *Lord Jim* and its protagonist. This brings the reader down from a state of excitement to one of deep sadness as the sense of fatalism develops (*ibid*). Readers of the Chinese translation

are led to focus on the theme, which is universal in nature and can be readily appreciated without further assistance. Yuan presents Liang Yuchun as the only translator of the Chinese version and depicts him as a friend whose life was too short, a desolate figure, and the first and only translator of Conrad's works at that time. Even though Liang does not speak in person in the preface, he is the only translator presented to readers, a translator who is capable of sympathizing with the protagonist's fate and bringing out the 'spirit' of the piece. The preface sets the frame not only for this translation, but also for the others to come as the project progressed<sup>21</sup>.

The official introduction comes with the translation of *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*, which was published in 1936. On the one hand, the writer aims to establish the translator's position as the spokesman endorsed by the author. On the other hand, he also has to work on the portrayal of the author who was not widely known in China at that time. Immediately after the title page there appears a photograph of Joseph Conrad with his autograph beneath it. This arrangement ensures that the author is no longer just a name on a piece of paper. His image and handwriting bring in a personal touch, strengthening the ties between the author and his representative (the translator) in the Chinese context. Yuan wrote the thirteen-page preface at the foot of which his own name appears. His qualification for the task is further consolidated at the end of the preface. Twelve English books are provided as references, implying his intellectual competence in the author and in English literature in general. Yuan starts by listing Conrad's achievements in the literary field. The author is described as an 'international writer' who travelled widely as a sailor. Possibly because of Conrad's early career, which involved him in the sea trade, and due to the fact that Conrad was Polish by origin, Yuan identifies him as a 'cultural invader, at the same time assimilated by other races' (Yuan 1936:1). Yuan does not elaborate on the sensitive term 'invader'<sup>22</sup> and instead concentrates on Conrad the writer. His achievements and his view of fiction as a form of art

are compared to those of novelists who were more famous in China such as Thomas Hardy, Henry James, Robert Louis Stevenson, John Galsworthy and Arnold Bennett. That Conrad is comparable to these well-known foreign writers shows that Chinese scholars have not done justice to this accomplished novelist and, more importantly, Liang Yuchun, the translator, is one who appreciates the value of his works. According to Yuan, Conrad's concept of the novelist's mission is to discover the truth of the universe and human life and to convey it in the most efficient and skilful way. The novelist traces emotions back to their sources. Once again, the emotions and feelings expressed in Conrad's works are considered to be the distinctive features of his style as a writer. Such sentiments, Yuan writes in the preface, can be comprehended only by as sympathetic a reader as the translator. Throughout the preface, Yuan reports Conrad's ideas on fiction and describes his style in third-person indirect speech. His account of Conrad's style is supported by Conrad's own writings in direct quotations which are translated into Chinese. Without supplying the original English text, the translator creates the illusion that the author is elucidating his own views in person despite the fact that it is Yuan who gives a diegetic report on Conrad the author, an image which is largely created by him<sup>23</sup>.

The translator again quotes directly from Conrad on the theme of *The Nigger of the Narcissus*, which is to explore the depth of the mind and the essence of life (心底深處, 生命底核心). In his own words, Yuan proceeds to analyze Conrad's narrating skills – 斜曲的敘述法, which is followed by an English version in brackets: '(Oblique method of narration)'. The essence of Conrad's art is depicted in figurative language:

旁敲側擊，若即若離，幾使讀者陷於迷離恫恍的異境，末後，驀地裏電光一閃，人物底輪廓和姿態映照得畢清，意外的一瞥給你留下永遠不可磨滅的印象。(Yuan 1936:8)

[Back translation: Hitting and knocking at the sides, as if coming close, then drifting away, (it) traps the reader in a mesmerized alien land. At the end, suddenly a flash of light, the profile and demeanour of the characters are projected clearly.

(This) accidental glimpse leaves you with an impression which can never be erased.]

On the narration's impact on the reader, Yuan writes:

船友們底情趣，正是作者或故事敘述者底情趣，也變作我們讀者或旁觀者底情趣了。(Yuan 1936:8)

[Back translation: The shipmates' delights are the author's or the narrator's delights, which also become those of the readers or observers like us.]

To say that the reader experiences the same feelings as the narrator and the characters indicates that the whole narrative is delivered from an internal perspective. The author-narrator intends that the mental processes the shipmates go through are to be shared by the reader. In other words, there is only one diegetic level on which all parties, including the author and readers (who are not narrative agents by definition) converge.

He further elaborates on the focalization in the novel in part three:

至於故事敘述者，常在書裏用第一人稱，明明是船員們之一，事實上彼此卻不生關係，時隱時現，出沒無定，宛似個神明的超然旁觀者，許是馬羅底童年罷。這個旁觀者，是透視鏡底本身，是藝術家底氣質和感情和理解底總代表，是康拉德自己；不過這部小說是康拉德早年的第一篇傑作，所以這種技巧還不十分鮮明。(Yuan 1936:10)

[Back translation: The narrator usually uses first person in the book. Apparently, (he) is one of the members of the crew, but in fact they are not actually related to each other. He disappears and reappears from one moment to the next. His entrances and exits do not follow a regular pattern, (and he acts) like an omniscient detached observer, possibly the young Marlow. This observer is the magnifying glass itself, the totality of the temperament, feelings, and understanding of the artist, (he) is Conrad himself. However, this novel is Conrad's first masterpiece in his early years, and this technique is not yet clear/recognizable.]

Yuan identifies the unnamed first-person narrator with Marlow, who also appears in the first Chinese translation of *Lord Jim*, and Conrad the author. He points out that the narrator as the omniscient author is a typical feature of Conrad's novels, implying that the same perspective is adopted in other works by the same author. The inner world of the seamen is



summarized in the preface:

海員底性格與生活往往是苛刻而又溫柔，殘酷而又寬洪。詼諧與諷刺只是個假面具，隱藏在後面的是深厚的同情。(Yuan 1936:10)

[Back translation: The characters and lives of the seamen are harsh yet gentle, cruel yet generous. Humour and sarcasm are only a mask behind which lies deep sympathy.]

The translator once again draws attention to the intensity of sentiments expressed in the text.

The translator also goes back to Conrad's style by addressing the abstract idea of the ambience (霧圍) built up in the novella:

所謂霧圍，原是心理的狀態，同時又是瀰漫在空間的色調，不知不覺間使我們浸潤，滲透，迷醉在一種精神的氣體裏。(Yuan 1936:11)

[Back translation: What is called 'ambience' is originally the psychological condition, (which is) also the colour tone which fills the space. (It) leads us unconsciously to immerse (ourselves), to become permeated in and drunk on a spiritual gas/smoke.]

Such an ambience, he continues, is accumulated through the description of the setting and the natural environment, as well as of the actions of the sailors. In other words, it is the poetic quality of the language which holds this 'magic' (魔力), in Yuan's words, and it is not easy to translate:

大家知道詩歌是不能譯的，那麼這樣詩的散文至少也是不易譯的了。保留風格誠談何容易！(Yuan 1936:11)

[Back translation: We know that poetry is untranslatable. In that case, poetic prose, to say the least, is not easy to translate. Retaining the style (of the original) is easier said than done!]

The translator does not go on to elaborate on the language of the original in concrete terms.

He again resorts to figurative language:

我們讀時只覺字字燦爛濃烈，字字顫震鏗鏘，同時詞句底配搭和體態都那麼勻稱優美。(Yuan 1936:11)

[Back translation: As we read, (we) only find every single character ablaze and rich, every single character shivering/clinking and sonorous, while at the same time, the collocation and shape of words and phrases are beautiful and balanced.]

Chinese readers are not encouraged to attend to the more technical aspects of the original text such as the specific rhetorical devices which contribute to the writing style, a topic which scholars and theorists have reiterated was the main purpose of translating Western literature during the Republican period. The translator explains neither the translation method adopted nor the principles regulating his work. The only remark concerning the translation is the statement: 'Naturally, translation is an honest job' (Yuan 1936:11). While the mood of the narrative and its impact on the reader are explained in some detail, the author's style and its reproduction in the translation are wrapped up in language commonly used in traditional criticism of Chinese literature. The use of words like 'ablaze and rich' and 'sonorous' to describe the literary effect is mostly subjective and impressionistic and the key feature invariably falls back on the text's power to affect readers and to appeal to their emotions. Although he starts by assuming the persona of the FBP, Joseph Conrad, the translator gradually slips out of this persona to adopt the image of the implied author, initially based on his interpretation of the English original, and later through a gradual shift to the features retained in the Chinese version he translates.

The endnotes to the translation are written in a similar tone. The content of the endnotes coheres with the packaging of the novella of sea adventures. Over two-thirds of the notes are used to expound operations and concepts related to navigation and geographical knowledge which is essential to an understanding of the dangers to which the seamen were exposed, though many are not necessary for an understanding of the texts. Notes are also provided to illustrate the cultural concepts and intertextual references to Greek mythology and the Bible. In some of these items, the translator speaks in the voice of the author to explain certain intended effects of words or expressions that appear in the text. We find an example in the note on 'Pelham': 'Conrad, to contrast life at sea with that on land, uses this novel to show the sailors' special curiosity about the darkness of life on land.' (Yuan

1936:176). Sometimes, the subject (that is, the author) is hinted at implicitly as in the note provided for the expression ‘could have been expressed in six words’: ‘to express Xinge’erdun’s (Singleton’s) naivety’ (Yuan 1936:178). Even in the endnotes, the translator seldom discusses his own translation or explains his choice of words. On limited occasions, Yuan illustrates his knowledge of the English words used in the original and points out the differences between the Chinese and English versions. On his translation of ‘Dutchman’ as 侏子<sup>24</sup>, Yuan analyzes the original in detail, explaining that ‘that blooming Dutchman’ can either refer to the Norwegian sailor or can be used as a pun to hint at ‘*The Narcissus*’. He justifies his own choice by using the determiner 那個 (that)<sup>25</sup>. The translator also uses the endnotes to give specific guidance to readers so that they can correctly decode individual clauses found in the translated text and gradually build up an image of the ‘author’ that tallies with the one constructed and dictated in the preface and created through Yuan’s translation. This is necessary to enhance the translator’s prestige (as an expert who understands the English text and discerns the true intention of the ‘real’ author) and hence his authority to interpret the original.

The preface to *Taifeng ji qita* is structured in a similar way – as a combination of personal opinions and scholarly reviews. The text, however, is written in a rather different tone in that the authoritative voice is somehow weakened. The preface starts with a personal review of *Typhoon and Other Stories* and provides factual background information. There are only two quotations in the five pages that comprise the preface, both of which are translated into Chinese: one is a statement about the close relation between Conrad’s style and his former profession as a sailor, while the other is from a letter written by George Gissing in 1903 that discusses the female characters in Conrad’s novels. Five endnotes are included in the preface. Apart from the second direct quotation just mentioned (the source of the first one is not revealed), two of the notes are about English references on Conrad’s works and

the other two list sources for Conrad's views on Galsworthy's fiction and his own work. The whole text appears to be a commentary on the English original and the author's style when he composed the stories. The translator tends to maintain an independent voice that separates him from the author and identifies him as a reader. When he comments on Conrad's play 'One Day More', which is adapted from the story 'Tomorrow', we see for the first time Yuan's criticism of Conrad's monotonous style and lack of organization. As Yuan appraises the author's literary achievement in 'Typhoon', he unavoidably points out the redundancy and verbiage exhibited not only in the play, but also in the author's early works. While he does not name any names, it is not difficult to see that readers are likely to make an association with the Chinese translations published in the past few years.

It is also in this preface (in the last two paragraphs) that Yuan first reveals that he considers himself a humble translator. He acknowledges help from his wife and the possible blemishes readers may find in the text as a result of his incompetence. At the same time, however, the author's style is reproduced in his translation:

但是這幾篇譯文裏，我知道仍有許多生硬的地方，這當然得歸我自己負責。倘有晦澀的地方，有的也許是我了解得不徹底，或譯筆的不條暢，有的也許是康拉德底本來面目。只要晦澀並非是不可解，晦澀未嘗不是一種風格底特點——說是缺點當然也可以。一種文字自有它底特性，自有它暗示的能量。(Yuan 1937:5)

[Back translation: But in these few translations, I know that there are still parts in which (the language) is not natural. This, of course, is my responsibility. If there are parts which are obscure, perhaps it is because I did not understand (the text) thoroughly, or my translation is not idiomatic, or perhaps it is the true face of Conrad. As long as the obscure parts are not incomprehensible, obscurity can be a unique style – or (one) may say shortcomings. A language has its own characteristics, and its own suggestive power.]

Here, Yuan clearly considers the Chinese text to be an interpretation of the original. The translator is but one of many readers. The success of the translation largely depends on his understanding of the original and his rendition into the Chinese language. There is a gap

between the two languages which cannot be bridged during the translation process because of the uniqueness of each language. His remarks echo the German words and pidgin English left intact in the Chinese version. The translator cannot speak for the author; readers have to decide for themselves what the original means. In the end, he surrenders his authority by admitting that he is but a meek translator:

再說，這些註釋對於讀者不見得就有幫助，有時反引起障礙也說不定，所以我希望讀者非必要時最好是不去理會它。……我得承認，一個譯者底詮釋不見得就能比讀者底了解高明。(Yuan 1937:5)

[Back translation: Besides, these explanatory notes do not necessarily help the reader. Sometimes (the notes) may cause hindrance. Therefore, I hope that readers will ignore them if they can help it...I have to admit that a translator's interpretation is not necessarily superior to the reader's understanding.]

This may explain why the preface to this translation was renamed the 譯者附記 [Additional note from the translator] to underline the humble position the translator now assumes.

In comparison with the impression given in the preface, the image of the translator projected in the endnotes is not as inferior. Among the 79 items, there are more intertextual references to Conrad's other works such as 'A Personal Record', The Schombergs in *Victory*, 偉大的彼岸 (The Great Beyond) in *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*, and 'Nan-Shan' in 'Freya of the Seven Isles'. These hints may, to a certain extent, emphasize the translator's knowledge of Joseph Conrad and his works. There is another type of endnote concerning the discriminating expressions found in the texts. The translator identifies these possibly offensive expressions and provides explanations, such as in the term 'Celestials' mocking the Chinese people, 'brass-bound uniform' used against the 'ship's boy' (Yuan tran 1937:262-3), and the Chinese expression '你將大拇指……搖擺' [you wave your thumb] used against another character, meaning 'you are an ass' (Yuan tran 1937:263). Having identified himself as a reader in the preface, such interpretations would appear to be personal opinions put forward for the reference of Chinese readers.

The three prefaces we have discussed so far were written by the same translator, Yuan Jiahua. In the first two prefaces, the translators are entitled to a degree of authority equal to, if not greater than, that of the author. They are depicted as reliable and competent mediators who are capable of communicating with the author and the original work, considering their ability to sympathize with the protagonist in the novel and their knowledge in the relevant areas. As readers accept their authority to interpret the original and to prescribe the image of the author established in the preface, the Chinese translations too are likely to be accepted as reliable even though the characters speak fluently and even use colloquial Chinese expressions. In the preface to *Taifeng ji qita* (Typhoon and Other Stories), Yuan gives up an authentic position and refuses to assimilate into the image of the original. As I have just demonstrated, the translator no longer sides with the author and maintains his position as a privileged reader. The image of the implied author projected in the stories becomes a variable to be determined by Chinese readers. While certain parts of the original text are supplied in the translation, Chinese readers, and monolingual readers in particular, can only follow the traits laid out in the Chinese version prepared by the translator. Although the translator may have kept his distance from the author and the source text, he does not relinquish the power to define the effect of the original.

## V. Conclusion

In a translated narrative, the translator functions as a narrator as she recounts the author's story in a different language. The difference between the narrator and the translator is that the former is a narrative agent designed by the author, whereas the latter can choose to establish herself as one or more of the narrative agents or to exist beyond the narrative levels by commenting in paratexts. With the help of Roger Fowler's concepts of ideological

and perceptual points of view, the analysis in this chapter demonstrates that the translators of Joseph Conrad's sea stories are selective in how they position themselves within their translations. Liang Yuchun renders the novel originally narrated from an estranged perspective into an internal narrative told by a storyteller in the image of the omniscient author. The ideological plane has also been negotiated for the average reader who is not familiar with the world of seafaring. Even though the plot and the content remain largely the same, the voices in the Chinese version are merged into one of a single narrator, who effectively takes over the original story and reshapes the narrative in the Chinese model, producing a lively account of events highlighting the tension between the characters as the tale unfolds and the mental conditions of the protagonist. Yuan Jiahua assumes a similar position in his translation of *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'* in the sense that the narrator, also in the image of the storyteller, has full knowledge of the storyline and of the characters and their state of mind. He makes use of the different aspectual markers, and of the experiential markers in particular, to present the actions vividly so that Chinese readers feel as if they were experiencing as the characters did in person. The Chinese narrators' positions in the translated narratives conform to the introductions to the novel and novella found in the prefaces. The translations 'accurately' reproduce the theme of man's battle against the ocean and the fragility of humankind. In *Hei shuishou (The Nigger of the 'Narcissus')*, the Chinese narrator successfully dramatizes the adventure of the crew on the 'Narcissus' and shows their determination to weather the difficult situation in which they find themselves. Once the translators successfully define the implied author, any change in the narratorial perspective adopted in the Chinese version can easily be justified.

The translator does not necessarily adopt a sympathetic position and impersonate the narrator or author. As we see in the translations of 'Typhoon' and 'Falk, a Reminiscence', Yuan separates himself from the narrator within the text and from the author on the

paratextual levels. To describe his position as ‘antagonistic’ may be an exaggeration, but Yuan obviously refuses to speak for the author in his interpretation of the stories. Now identifying himself as just another ordinary reader, the translator puts himself on an equal footing with other Chinese readers. We note that the Chinese narrators in these two stories lose confidence in their narration considering the large number of words for interpretive words inserted into the Chinese version. On certain occasions, the original texts are included in the main text or are supplemented in brackets for the reference of competent bilingual readers. This image of a humble translator stands in stark contrast to that of the self-assertive spokesman seen in the other two translations, despite the fact that the reader relies on him to translate these sea stories.

Why does the same translator seek to place himself and, indeed, his translation in a seemingly vulnerable position? If we consider translation as a kind of narration and compare the translator to the narrator, the reliability of the translated narrative largely hinges on the position taken up by the translator-narrator. Whether we call it the ‘implied author’ according to the term coined by Booth or the ‘inferred author’ following Genette’s argument, the translator-narrator has to identify with the author if she is to smooth away the inherent incongruities between the Chinese language and the original exotic setting. In other words, if the Chinese translation is to be considered reliable, and hence faithful, the translator-narrator must convince the reader that the narrator in the Chinese version and the author are speaking in the same voice and share the same set of social and cultural values. It is possible that Yuan chooses to drift apart from the narrator of the original text in order to dissociate himself, the Chinese translator, from the characters whose world-views clash with his own. By taking up such a stance, Yuan also imposes his interpretation of the source text on his readers by drawing their attention to details which may be considered repellent in the Chinese context.



Whether the translators choose to adopt a sympathetic, apathetic, or even antagonistic position, their presence at different levels in the translated text is a significant factor in how Chinese readers receive the original text and their perception of the authors and their works. If we consider the translators' positioning in translated narratives as one way to describe their practice, how can we account for such a practice as reflected in their work? In the next two chapters, I will examine two factors which have an impact on shaping the translators' behaviour: patronage and discourse on translation.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Shen draws examples from English translations of Chinese traditional realistic fiction, in this case *Honglou meng*. She does not differentiate the narrative agents from the non-narrative agents in a narrative discourse. 'The author' is interchangeable with 'the authorial narrator', 'the dramatized narrator' and 'the implied author'.

<sup>2</sup> I use the term 'point of view' here according to Fowler's definition illustrated later in the same paragraph. The definition, however, is challenged by the narratologists. Gérard Genette considers it to be misleading and replaces it with focalization (1980:29-30). Rimmon-Kenan also adopts a narrow definition, referring to it as the 'prism', or 'angle of vision' through which the story is perceived (2002:72). Throughout the analysis, 'point of view' is used as a general term, whereas the more specific viewing position is referred to as 'focalization'.

<sup>3</sup> Fowler considers language to be part of, as well as a result of, social process and that it helps consolidate social structure 'along with the power of state agencies, corporations and other institutions' (Fowler and Kress 1979b:190). While most scholars apply CDA to contemporary texts such as political statements and journalistic articles (Fowler and Kress 1979a, Fairclough 1995, 2001 and 2003, Kuo and Nakamura 2005), Fowler is one of the few who use the model to examine literary texts.

<sup>4</sup> The notion of anti-languages was coined by Halliday in 1976 in a paper entitled 'Anti-languages' (*UEA Papers in Linguistics*, 1, 15-45; also a shorter version in *Language as Social Semiotic* in 1978).

<sup>5</sup> Relexicalization was not included in Fowler's scheme in 1996, but it is discussed at length in his other articles, for example, in Fowler 1981.

<sup>6</sup> Halliday draws his example from Elizabethan rogues' cant. A wide range of terms were available to name outlaws of different natures, their specific roles in the crime, the tools used, and the penalties imposed (Fowler 1981:147).

<sup>7</sup> In his own analysis of Keats's poem 'To Autumn', Fowler points out that the word 'fruit' is used three times (twice as 'fruit' and once as 'fruitfulness'). Different kinds of fruit ('apples', 'gourd', 'vines', 'hazel', 'flowers'), words describing the maturing process of the fruits ('swell', 'plump', 'fill', 'o'er-brimm'd'), and near-synonyms for the concept ('maturing', 'ripeness') are found in abundance in the poem (Fowler 1996/2002:219-220).

<sup>8</sup> I will only discuss the first fifteen chapters here because Liang Yuchun is the only translator mentioned on the cover page and in the colophon.

<sup>9</sup> 'Amei · fuside' (Amy Foster) and 'Mingzhao' (Tomorrow) from the translation *Taifeng ji qita*

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and *Bu'an de gushi* ('Unrest story' – a Chinese version of *Tales of Unrest*) by Guan Qitong published in 1936 are generally classified as 'land stories', so they are not covered in this chapter.

<sup>10</sup> The story 'Typhoon' also starts with the primary narrative. The conclusion of the crisis caused by the Chinese people on board, however, is disclosed in the form of a letter which Jukes, the first mate, writes to his friend.

<sup>11</sup> In *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*, the crew also use the term 'the old man' to refer to the captain. It is rendered literally as 老頭子 by Yuan Jiahua.

<sup>12</sup> This is quite obvious in the four stories. Europeans are seldom shown communicating in direct speech. The Russian Finn and the Scandinavians in *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'* remain mute. Those who do speak are portrayed in a negative or flawed light, like the villainous German captain of the 'Patna' in *Lord Jim*, the squeamish German Captain Hermann, the unfeeling Scandinavian monopolist Captain Falk, and the untrustworthy Alsatian humbug Schomberg in 'Falk, a Reminiscence'. In contrast to Jim, they are not given the opportunity to defend themselves and in Falk's case, he is not given the opportunity to do so in his own voice.

<sup>13</sup> Foreign concessions were established in the major treaty ports following China's repeated defeats in wars with foreign countries in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In these regions, the Chinese authorities were not able to restrict, regulate, license or tax foreign nationals directly. The foreign community enjoyed self-jurisdiction. Under the clause of extraterritoriality, defendants could be tried only in the courts of their own countries and according to the laws of those countries even where they were engaged in disputes in which the plaintiffs were Chinese people (Feuerwerker 1983:150). Such rights were often backed up by the armies and navies stationed in China. In Shanghai, there were two large foreign concessions: the International Settlement and the French Concession. They continued to expand in the name of development, which aroused anti-foreign sentiments in the Chinese community. Huang Fu's inaugural speech as the mayor of the Shanghai Special Municipal Government delivered on 7 July, 1927 sheds light on the general atmosphere at that time:

The imperialist powers had shown by the very failure of their colonial administration in the International Settlement and French Concession that foreign domination, and especially extraterritoriality that gave haven to Chinese criminals fleeing the central government's justice, only sided and abetted crime...now that the Nationalists had taken power, this corruption would be cleansed – at least in the portions of the city under Chinese domination (Wakeman 1995:45).

<sup>14</sup> 'Pidgin' is defined as a simplified language which comes into being when people from two 'mutually unintelligible speech communities are attempting to communicate' (Crystal 1991:264; Burchfield 1998:596). In this sense, the resulting language is a shared property of both communities. Until the early twentieth century, however, it seems that the pidgin English used in China or among the overseas Chinese communities was largely considered to be invented and owned by the Chinese:

Pidgin English came into being in China in the seventeenth century when the pioneer foreigners established themselves in Canton. Although they were there to court trade with the Chinese, the idea of mastering an Oriental tongue appealed to very few of them. So, in time, the natives obligingly accepted the mental responsibilities necessary to relieve the situation and set about trying to converse in the foreigner's which was, for the most part, English. The Cantonese did not make this concession without reservations. Apparently they retained the right to discard from English certain disagreeable elements having to do with structure and sound and to substitute for them some highly delightful and fantastic features reflecting their own ingenuity. The result was pidgin (Armstrong 1928:240).

In some cases, the language was more than a communicating tool. In another article published in the *China Weekly Review* on 9 February 1929, Arthur A. Young quotes an advertisement for a Chinese dealer in oriental goods in America who drew the attention of American readers using pidgin English. In his conclusion, Young considers pidgin English to be an 'advertising weapon' which 'derives its value essentially from the American passion for

novelty, and if such novelty is tinged with humor, its effect is all the more electric' (1929:456). In the eyes of Chinese bilingual readers, pidgin English, when it was not used for the purpose of communication between two 'mutually unintelligible' groups of people as in novel writing, could have a mocking effect.

<sup>15</sup> The concept of responsibility in the case of quotations has been discussed by Clark and Gerrig (1990), who point out that it is the original speaker who is accountable for the content in the quotation (Hermans 2007:67). The concept is crucial to establishing the reliability of the translated narrative, which is discussed below.

<sup>16</sup> In other stories, Conrad also uses eye-dialect to mimic the speeches of other characters, as in the case of Belfast, Archie and Donkin in *The Nigger of the Narcissus*. Yuan Jiahua simply translates the semantic meaning without attending to the phonological features. In *Lord Jim*, the direct speech of the German skipper in a rage is written as follows:

Look at dese cattle (Conrad 1900/2002:11)

Bahl! The Pacific is big, my friendt. You damned Englishmen can do your worst; I know where there's plenty room for a man like me: I am well aguaindt in Apia, in Honolulu, in...

...I don't want the certificate. A man like me don't want your verfluchte certificate. I shpfit on it...I vill an Amerigan citizen begome. (Conrad 1900/2002:31)

Such features are also not translated or reproduced in the Chinese version by Liang Yuchun:

你看這羣牲口 (Liang tran 1934:11)

「呸！太平洋大着哩，我的朋友。你們這班該死的英國人，讓你們儘量兇狠罷；我知道像我這樣的人有的是地方去；我又可以過得很好了，在亞比亞，在檀香山.....」

我不要這證狀了。像我這麼一個人用不着你們這張廢紙。我要來吐口水了。」.....

「我將去當美國人民了，」 (Liang tran 1934:32)

<sup>17</sup> While the onomatopoeic word 'br' is kept intact in the Chinese text without any adornment, the gesture did not necessarily arouse suspicion as it was an accepted practice in modern Chinese writings at that time.

<sup>18</sup> Li and Thompson define 'perfectivity' not simply as a completed set of actions. The event is viewed in its entirety, and is *bounded* temporally, spatially or conceptually. An event can be bounded in four ways: '(a) by being a quantified event; (b) by being a definite or specific event; (c) by being inherently bounded because of the meaning of the verb; (d) by being the first event in a sequence' (1981:185-186). In their summary, they point out that the perfective aspect in Chinese does not mean the past tense. It seems to offer more details on the state of the action or how the action is perceived by the speaker on the spot. In this sense, it is similar to the function of the perfective aspect expressed by the *-ta* form in Japanese, which Cockerill recognizes as showing 'the narrator's presence in the story more clearly than that which expresses the past tense' (2006:36).

<sup>19</sup> Both are pronounced as '.de' in Putonghua/Mandarin Chinese. As Lin Zhenghua discusses in the article '*bei ping ban yu "de, dei, di, de" deng zi wen ti zong lun*' [Discussion of Beijing Chinese '.de, dei, di, de'], the use of '.de' 底 as a marker of possessive can be traced to ancient Chinese texts from the Song Dynasty. It was commonly found in novels written in Republican China in the 1930s, but it was not considered standardized usage. In fact, in the translations by Yuan, there are 'grammatical mistakes' in which '底' is used in premodification.

<sup>20</sup> A more detailed analysis of the paratexts will be given in the next section.

<sup>21</sup> The project to translate the complete works of Joseph Conrad launched by the Committee on Editing and Translation of the China Foundation will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

<sup>22</sup> The original reads, '他是個文化侵略者，同時也被旁的民族同化了。' (Yuan 1936:1). Yuan does not give any further explanation, possibly for two reasons. First, having identified Conrad as a man who worked as a seaman for twenty years who had sailed widely to the American continents, East and Southeast Asia, Chinese readers in the Republican period would most probably have set him alongside the imperialists of the U.S. and European

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countries who had invaded China by sea since the nineteenth century. Second, the China Foundation was funded by the American government. The board members were also closely connected with the local and international foreign communities. To explore this topic would have put the translator and the institution in an embarrassing situation.

<sup>23</sup> Hermans gives an in-depth discussion of the eight types of reported speech based on Kristiina Taivalkoski-Shilov's categorization (Hermans 2008:72-75). The examples used are representations of individual texts. I borrow the concept to the translator's introduction of the author, which is often a mosaic, a collection of fragments from the author's own accounts or relays of such accounts in biographies. To a certain extent, this is also a representation of the author's words in indirect speech.

<sup>24</sup> According to *Hanyu da cidian* [Chinese Dictionary], 侂子 is a derogatory word refers to a person who speaks in a different accent from that of the locals.

<sup>25</sup> The original reads, '那個大侂子(that blooming Dutchman):按上下文義，Dutchman 也許暗射那個望落日而興嘆的挪威人。Dutchman 原意為荷蘭人，或指日耳曼民族，引申為北歐人，略寓譏諷，所以譯作『侂子』；『侂子』一辭，前已屢見，多半是 Dutchy 的意譯；Dutchy 與 Dutchman 在俗談裏疑均指粗野的北歐人。...娜仙瑟使號當時的處境，同這條荷蘭怪船底情景不無相似，疑是一語雙關，暗射娜仙瑟使號亦未嘗不可，『侂子』便應改作『荷蘭妖船』了但是 'Dutchman'之前尙冠以 'that'指示形容詞，似仍以第一解較為切近。'(Yuan tran 1936:188)

### Chapter Three: The Translators in the Institutions

Translations of Joseph Conrad's novels were first made available to Chinese readers in 1929. Of the six translations published in book form before 1937, four were sponsored by the Committee on Editing and Translation of the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture. Although the translators did not say much about how the translation project as a whole came into being, it seems that Liang Yuchun, who translated one of the first Chinese versions of Conrad's short story 'Youth', published by the Beixin Bookstore<sup>1</sup>, initiated and intended to complete the project. In contrast to the authors whose works were translated in other projects funded by the same programme, Joseph Conrad was not among the eminent English writers who were celebrated in Republican China including William Shakespeare, Charles Dickens, Jane Austen, Bernard Shaw, and Thomas Hardy, to name but a few. The first mention of Conrad's name in the literary journal *Wenxue* [Literature] was a report of his death that appeared on 11 August 1924. It took another five years for the first Chinese translation of his work, a translation of 'The Lagoon' by Li Qi, to come out in *Xinyue* [Crescent Moon], another literary journal. Unlike the translation projects for the works of Shakespeare, Austen, and Hardy, the project to translate Conrad's complete works was not in any sense attached to a prominent literary figure or returned professor of foreign literature. Although Liang Yuchun had established a reputation for himself as an essayist in literary circles, he was not on a par with Liang Shiqiu (who translated Shakespeare's plays into prose), Chen Yuan (who was reported to have started translating Jane Austen's novels) or Xu Zhimo (an enthusiast who promoted Hardy's poems and other works even though he was not personally involved in their translation).

In the previous chapter, I have depicted the practices of two of the three translators

involved in this translation project with an analysis of their translations of Conrad's sea stories. When the translations are considered within the historical context, however, we would see that these Chinese versions would not have come into existence without the support of the patron. If we regard the project to translate Joseph Conrad's works as just another ordinary literary translation undertaking, it is difficult to explain why a foreign-funded institution such as the China Foundation, which was first established to advance scientific knowledge among the Chinese people, came to finance the translation of foreign literature including novels written by a lesser known writer like Conrad. By providing a historical account of the composition and operation of the China Foundation during the Republican period, this chapter investigates the role played by institutions in translation practice. Rather than considering them as patrons who financed the relevant work, the focus of analysis is the intricate relationship between the translator and the institution and examining how the Foundation integrated its translation projects into the scientific education programme it launched at a sensitive time when the nation was in crisis in all respects. Further issues of interest examined here include how the initiators of such translation projects and the translators who worked on them operated under the aegis of an institution which strove to preserve its financial and political independence against external interference, and how the translations of Conrad's works responded to the social and political orientation of the Foundation.

I will start with background information on the China Foundation, after which the focus shifts to the establishment of the Committee on Editing and Translation. I seek to demonstrate that the translation projects launched by the Committee were largely steered by Hu Shi, its Chairman, and his groups of friends, who advocated the idea of having specialists run the country to oppose the monopoly held by the militarists in the government. In the final section of this chapter, the translation strategies employed by the three

translators of Conrad's works are examined on the basis of the 'specialists' concept. The overall aim of this chapter is to relate the translators' behaviour, as reflected in their translations, to the institution which commissioned the project.

## **I. The Institution**

The China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture was established at a time of political instability. In the early twentieth century, China faced both external and internal threats. During the Warlord Era (1916-1928), China was effectively divided among warlords who were generals of the former Qing court. They were mostly profit-oriented, constantly challenged each other, and sometimes joined forces to extend their territories and influence. Their regional rule was only transitory in nature. This administrative transience also applied to the central government in Beijing as the president of the day was restored or supported by individual warlords and was challenged by others. The lack of a stable administration meant that China remained open to exploitation despite the diminishing influence of the treaty powers, which were preoccupied with the situation in Europe. It was not until after the National Government was proclaimed in Canton in 1925 that officials of the Guomindang (the Nationalist Party) started negotiations with Western countries to recover China's sovereign rights. On a national level, the first half of the 1920s witnessed the burgeoning of social discontent as a result of a combination of events: famines in Northern China, exploitation by warlords and undisciplined soldiers, and the activities of missionaries in society, especially the influence they wielded through education. In comparison to the broadly privileged position they enjoyed in the first two decades of the twentieth century, foreign residents faced a surge in anti-foreign sentiment in the 1920s. The nationalist sentiment of the Chinese people had been stirred. As Walter Williams, the President of the World Press Conference, observed in a speech he delivered in 1927, 'the Chinese nation is

losing its inferiority complex, and is attempting to do away with the sense of social superiority of Westerners visiting there' (Williams 1927). Evidence supporting this view included the increasing number of incidents in which foreign nationals were abducted or assaulted. Such events culminated in the May Thirtieth Incident, a national strike against the imperialist countries held on 30 May 1925, in which students and workers protested against the unequal treaties. Demonstrators were shot in the International Settlement in Shanghai. This incident sparked off anti-foreign demonstrations and riots across the nation.

Against this backdrop, it is not surprising that the remission of the Boxer Indemnity aroused a great deal of concern in the Chinese community. After the government of the United Kingdom suggested a rebate of the Boxer indemnity in 1922<sup>2</sup>, the United States assented to the proposal and in 1924 was the first to organize a committee made up of members from both the U.S. and China to oversee the administration of education funds. Other countries - France, Belgium, Italy, Holland and Japan - followed suit and set up enterprises of different natures. The gesture was generally welcomed as it resulted in the injection of a large sum of money to strengthen and reconstruct China. The public response was not, however, unanimous. Charles C.S. Wang's reaction was a typical example of the mixed feelings found among Chinese intellectuals. While he supported such settlements, which would provide funding needed for the construction of railways and other productive enterprises in China, he had reservations about the money being 'wasted in training Chinese students to become merely colonials or compradors instead of good Chinese Citizens' (Charles C.S. Wang 1931). Many Chinese were suspicious about the intention of the foreign governments. The founding of schools was regarded as an advancement of the foreign governments as the missionary scholars offered 'sanctuary for spies' (Guang Yi 1925; Guo Shuxun 1925:7). Apart from educational undertakings, the projects to be funded also included the building of railway systems and water conservancy projects<sup>3</sup>. The terms



stipulated that raw materials and expertise were to be imported from the country of origin of the funds, providing foreign countries with an opportunity to probe the social and geographical conditions of inland regions and even to exercise control over transportation facilities. The unequal terms of the settlements and the intention of some countries to colonize China further were acknowledged by the Ministry of Education in *Diyici zhonghua minguo jiaoyu nianjian* [The First Yearbook on Education of the Republic of China] published in 1934. The process of negotiations between the Chinese authority and the British and French governments was documented. Japan was severely reprimanded for seeking to further malicious ambitions on Chinese soil.

The composition of the committees was another cause for concern. While some held the opinion that the funds should be placed at the disposal of the Chinese people and that foreign countries should not interfere with their appropriation, others queried the inclusion of government officials of doubtful character such as Gu Weijun, the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Cao Kun's administration and the acting Prime Minister before he retired upon the resignation of the Cabinet en bloc in October 1924 (Guang Yi 1925; Hu Qinye 1925).

In addition to being the first Boxer Indemnity advisory committee, the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture was also the only foundation which committed its efforts entirely to education and academic pursuits. Before it adopted a policy of retrenchment in 1937 due to the termination of funding from the U.S. government and the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, the Foundation financed a wide range of programmes to facilitate science teaching and encourage academic research in areas other than the natural sciences. After the reorganization of the Advisory Committee on Science Education in 1930, it is obvious that the Foundation further widened its scope to subsidize projects in subjects such as history, linguistics, architecture, and archaeology. In the following

section, I will give an account of the origins of the Foundation and the composition of its Board of Trustees. The focus is on its management and its delicate positioning in modern China due to its makeup and the sensitive political environment in which it operated. This is followed by an outline of the various programmes funded by the institution to establish the background for an analysis of the programme initiated in 1929-1930 by Hu Shi, then the Chairman of the newly founded Committee on Editing and Translation, to translate world classics including the works of Joseph Conrad.

### **Origins and Organization**

In 1909, the government of the United States remitted the excessive Boxer Indemnity to China for the purpose of education in a move designed 'to show her magnanimity towards China' (*First Report* 1926:1-2). Chinese students were awarded scholarships to study in American universities and the Qinghua School was set up in 1911 to prepare candidates for their studies abroad. The second remission in 1924 can be considered a further step taken to assist China. In contrast with the first remission, which was 'devoted to a single purpose and had a very restricted policy' (*First Report* 1926:23), the second remission was founded on a more diversified basis. The large amount of money involved aroused interest in academic circles. It is not clear how the decision to support programmes promoting scientific knowledge was made, but there were obviously lobbying activities underway. Ren Hongjun and Zhu Jingnong from *Zhongguo kexue she* [The Science Society of China] sought help from Hu Shi, then already a young scholar who had gained fame for his contribution to the New Culture Movement, in persuading the American representatives to vote in favour of science education in China in May 1925 (Ji Weilong 1995:188). The final result was announced at the meeting held on 2 June 1925. The funds remitted to the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture by the United States were to be devoted to the

promotion of science in China, a purpose which was specifically defined as

the development of scientific knowledge and the application of such knowledge to conditions in China through the promotion of technical training on scientific research, experimentation and demonstration, and of training in science teaching, and to the advancement of cultural enterprises of a permanent character, such as libraries and the like (*First Report* 1926:40).

The Foundation also set itself a goal of fostering educational and cultural enterprises in what were called 'areas of national significance' (*First Report* 1926:24). Some of the relevant programmes were initiated by the National Government, which was officially inaugurated in Nanjing in 1928 with Jiang Jieshi as the President, or by divisions operating under the aegis of Academia Sinica, an organization set up in the same year. It is certain that the China Foundation was, in many ways, closely linked to the Jiang administration and there are records of government officials approaching members of the Board – Hu Shi and Cai Yuanpei, for example – for grants. It would be too hasty to come to the conclusion that the Foundation was no more than a subsidiary of the Ministry of Education or of the National Government. In fact, the Board of Trustees tried to maintain a respectable distance between the Foundation and political circles and to uphold its independence as an educational and academic institution<sup>4</sup>.

### **The Personnel and Positioning**

The Foundation was run by its Board of Trustees. Issues were discussed in the Executive Committee and decisions were then submitted to the Board at the annual meeting for approval. The Board comprised fifteen members, five of whom came from the United States and ten of whom were Chinese. The founding members - Yan Huiqing (W.W. Yen),

Gu Weijun (V.K. Wellington Koo), Shi Zhaoji (Sao-ke Alfred Sze), Fan Yuanlian (Fan Yuan-lien), Huang Yanpei (Huang Yen-pei), Jiang Menglin (Chiang Monlin), Zhang Boling (Chang Poling), Guo Bingwen (P.W. Kuo), Zhou Yichun (Y.T. Tsur), Ding Wenjiang (V.K. Ting), Paul Monroe, John Dewey, John Earl Baker, Roger S. Greene, and C.R. Bennett - were appointed pursuant to the mandate issued by Cao Kun, then the President of the Republic of China, on 17 September 1924. The constitution issued in August 1925 stipulated that any vacancies that arose would be filled by members elected by the board members. The result would be reported to the Chinese government. W.W. Willoughby, J.L. Stuart, Cai Yuanpei (Tsai Yuan-pei), Hu Shi, and Weng Wenhao (Wong Wen-hao) were recruited in this manner<sup>5</sup>.

Apart from Fan, Ding, and Cai, the Chinese members were all students who had returned from the United States or former officials who had spent time there<sup>6</sup>. Most of them had ties with previous administrations or were leading figures in the education field. Some were invited to serve in the newly established National Government. Yan, Shi, Gu, Fan, and Cai were experienced politicians and diplomats<sup>7</sup>, whereas the rest were 'educators' by profession<sup>8</sup>. The connection with the administration did not fade with the Nationalists' accession to power. Cai Yuanpei was appointed to head first the Ministry of Education and Research and then the National Central Academy (later renamed 'Academia Sinica'), the highest-ranking cultural organization of the Republic. Ren Hongjun, the Director of the Foundation since 1928, had been a candidate to be the second president of Academia Sinica and was invited by the government to 'undertake the important task of directing and developing the National University of Szechuan [Sichuan]' in 1936 during the Japanese invasion (*Eleventh Report* 1936:5). With its personnel and their experience in the diplomatic and political arenas, the Foundation was well-informed of the domestic and international situation and was well-equipped for any foreseeable negotiations with the authorities.

The China Foundation had established itself as an independent organization from the beginning, a stance deemed necessary given the transient nature of the governments that had held power since 1916. The autonomy of the institution was held in high regard, a view highlighted in Hu Shi's letter to Cai Yuanpei dated 11 August 1928. The third of the Foundation's six principles of funding stipulated that 'no distinction shall be drawn between government and private institutions' (*First Report* 1926:39). Although the government was entitled to send observers to Board of Trustees meetings, it was not until 1930, after head-on clashes between the Board of Trustees and the National Government in 1928-29, that representatives from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education were in attendance at stated meetings and annual meetings<sup>9</sup>.

The Foundation's background as an American funding body might have provided the footing required for an autonomous organization outside the jurisdiction of the Chinese government, maintaining such a position would have required the existence of a core group committed to the goal. As noted earlier in this section, the board members shared similar educational backgrounds as returned students from America and five had been on scholarships financed by the first remission of the Boxer Indemnity in 1909<sup>10</sup>. They belonged to a modern intelligentsia characterized by strong nationalism and an accompanying mistrust of state authorities. They believed in reforming China through the cultivation of scientific thinking and yearned for a democratic government which would heed the needs of its people. The membership of the Board and other committees was relatively stable. Apart from the major changes in personnel made in 1928 due to the interference of the National Government, most members were re-elected unanimously when their terms expired and remained in their positions for several years<sup>11</sup>. Members who were ousted in 1928, including Guo Bingwen, Zhou Yichun, and Zhang Boling, continued to serve on the committees of direct enterprises or subsidized institutions. Although they both

resigned from their respective positions in 1932, Zhao Yuanren continued to serve as a member of the Committee on Editing and Translation, while Jiang Menglin was made Chairman of the Board of Management for the National Library of Peiping in 1935-36 and was reappointed as the Chairman of the Board of Trustees in 1946. The depth of commitment demonstrated by the members made it possible for the Foundation to fulfil its objectives.

While the China Foundation showed support for the government's education proposals, including the merger of the Peiping Library and the Metropolitan Library (*Fourth Report* 1929:11) and for research projects of Academia Sinica and the Compulsory Education Program in 1937<sup>12</sup>, it was not directly involved in policy-making. Possibly aware of its sensitive status as a foreign-funded organization, it generally adopted an apolitical stance and established itself as an academic and educational institution. The subsidized institutes and researchers also subscribed to the same principle. In research projects launched by the direct enterprises, researchers were careful in how they handled sensitive topics of the time. In reports published by the Social Research Department, for example, researchers studied the working class and labour unions as a social phenomenon and avoided associating the subjects with the communists. The preface to a study of labour in China by Tao Lügong is illustrative of this point. While he acknowledges the sensitive nature of the topic by stating that 'even a strictly theoretical discussion of it [labour] was hardly considered proper, as it was apprehended that it might be a propaganda of socialistic ideas in disguise' (Tao Lügong ed. 1928:v, my emphasis), he is still careful to make the point that the Nationalist Government adopted 'a liberal policy toward labour' (Tao Lügong ed. 1928:v). According to his observation, labour unions were simply banned and 'any intercourse between an educated person and a labourer might entail danger to both' in areas outside the jurisdiction of the Nationalist Party (Tao Lügong ed. 1928:v). In other words, the Nationalist Party adopted a

lenient policy towards unions and workers. While one cannot completely reject the possibility of government censorship at work in this case, judging from the way in which investigations were conducted and the cautious tone of the writing, the phrasing was likely a result of self-discipline. Given Tao's background as the Director of the Social Research Department and later of the Social Research Institute under Academia Sinica in 1928, and also being an acquaintance of Hu Shi and Ding Wenjiang, Tao would have known the rules and tried to avoid any unnecessary speculation among the authorities.

Similar gestures made to neutralize political overtones in writing are also found in the annual reports of the Foundation. Words which are less emotionally charged and words of negation are used. In the introductory remarks to the *Second Report*, for example, China is described as having undergone 'some very abnormal times' (*Second Report* 1927:1-2). The conflicts that had begun with the Communist Party by the end of 1928 are generalized as 'social unrest' (*Fourth Report* 1929:14). When referring to events in the international arena, the incursions of the USSR and Japan are interpreted as the 'Sino-Russian Crisis' (*Fifth Report* 1930:46) and the 'Sino-Japanese controversy' (*Seventh Report* 1932:90-1) so that the identities of the aggressors are obfuscated. Such a position is also indicated by the use of nominalization in referring to the Japanese invasion as merely 'the outbreak of hostilities'<sup>13</sup>. The same situation is again referred to as 'the abnormal conditions prevailing in China in general' in the *Fourteenth Report* (1939:18). The writers of these reports obviously refused to judge or attribute responsibility to any of the parties involved in these incidents.

The Foundation's position of neutrality was further emphasized when the Foundation showed its disapproval of beneficiaries who violated this principle and revealed their political leanings. A strong statement was issued in the *Fifth Report* issued in 1930 after a subsidized institute had acted in a manner hostile to the government:

In April 1930, the students of the Normal School of Rural Education at Hsiao Chuang committed acts which were considered as disobedience to governmental orders. The school was taken over by the National Government and temporarily closed. It is regrettable that such an organ for educational experimentation should defeat its own purpose by being involved in political activities (*Fifth Report*, 1930:80, my emphasis).

Even so, the Foundation still avoids commenting on political issues by using the passive voice in the first sentence. Instead of denouncing the alleged anti-government behaviour, the statement is directed at the fact that educational institutions or activities had become politicized, a situation that hindered the fulfillment of their original objectives.

This position of political neutrality was adopted and vigorously defended by board members of the China Foundation after the inauguration of the new government in Nanjing. Tension had started to build up following the Foundation's first encounter with the National Government in 1928. Cai Yuanpei and Yang Quan, then the President and Vice-President of the Ministry of Education and Research<sup>14</sup>, proposed the replacement of five board members - Gu Weijun, Yan Huiqing, Zhang Boling, Guo Pingwen, and Zhou Yichun - with 'eminent scholars and experienced administrators' - Wu Chaoshu, Zhao Yuanren, Li Shizeng, Sun Ke, and Wang Zhaoming (*Fourth Report* 1929:2; Gao Pingshu ed. 1988:253-255). Cai also suggested amending the constitution so that members would be nominated by the Ministry of Education and Research and appointed by the National Government. The appointment of such high-ranking officials exposed the government's intention to reshuffle the position of the institution within the hierarchy<sup>15</sup>. The overwhelming concern about possible government intervention was expressed by Hu Shi, who was still careful not to direct criticism at the new government. Instead, he alerted Cai in his letter to protect the Foundation from abuse at the hands of the 'successors' (後來者) and politicians<sup>16</sup>. The U.S. government ultimately offered to assist in negotiations and Jiang Menglin, himself a board member and Cai's successor as the Minister of Education, advised Jiang Jieshi, then the



President of the National Government, to nullify the motion and restore the original board. However, the China Foundation was to amend the terms of its constitution to recognize the status of the new government. The original phrase in Article 3 whereby board members were to be ‘appointed in the first instance by the President of the Republic of China’ (*First Report* 1926:36), which was a statement of historical fact, was amended to ‘appointed in the first instance by the Government of the Republic of China’. The principal office of the Board on paper was moved from the city of Beijing (Peking) to ‘the capital city of China’ (*Fourth Report* 1929:61-3), that is, Nanjing, which had become the capital in 1928. These amendments were more or less a matter of formality. There is no record indicating that the office of the Board was moved from Beijing (which was renamed Peiping in 1928) to Nanjing.

More substantial changes were made to the constitution, indicating the sense of mistrust that existed between the Foundation and the government as a result of their encounter. Where the first version reads ‘the officers of the Board of Trustees shall be a Chairman, two Vice-Chairman...’ (*First Report* 1926:37), the new version states point-blank that ‘the Board of Trustees shall elect from among themselves the following officers: a Chairman...’ (*Fourth Report* 1929:61-63, my emphasis), thereby highlighting the autonomy of the board. In subsequent requests made by the Ministry of Education and by joint enterprises co-supervised by the Foundation and the government, the Board was highly alert to any possible manipulation. The Ministry’s request for financial aid to purchase rare books and art treasures was rejected. The special book funds requested by the National Library of Peiping were to be referred back to the Executive Committee for ‘careful consideration’. On the subsidy application to invent a Chinese typewriter in the United States, an application submitted by Academia Sinica on behalf of Lin Yutang, funding was granted subject to a condition – that the patent rights for the typewriter ‘should be the property of Academia

Sinica' (*Sixth Report* 1931:19-20). The *Ninth Report* shows that the Foundation's relation with the government did not improve. A similar but more explicit remark was made concerning a subsidized enterprise founded in 1931-1932 called 'The Golden Sea Research Institute of Chemical Industry' which conducted research into industrial fermentation and fertilizers:

The results of research of the Golden Sea Institute should be made available to the public. Such results as well as those of its research fellows should not be used for applying monopoly patent from the Government (*Ninth Report* 1934:7, my emphasis).

The influential position of Hu Shi in the Foundation stands out in these incidents. He was generally regarded as the mastermind behind the actions taken by the Board of Trustees. This view is supported by the fact that Hu submitted his own resignation in the 1928 episode, as did the five members named in Cai's proposal<sup>17</sup>, simply to show that the Foundation would not surrender to the authorities. Hu Shi was succeeded by Ren Hongjun, who was not appointed by the government. The five government appointees sent a letter declaring that 'in their sincere desire to respect the original constitution of the Foundation, they were willing to waive whatever status they had as appointed trustees, and "request the Board freely elect properly qualified persons to fill vacancies that may occur in the membership"' (Hu Shi 1929a). As Hu claimed in an English article entitled 'China Foundation Regains its Independence' which was first published in *The North-China Daily News* on 17 January 1929, the Board ultimately preserved both the principle of self-perpetuation and the credibility and independence of the Foundation (ibid)<sup>18</sup>. At the seventh annual meeting held in June 1931, Hu Shi presented the annual report in his capacity as Honorary Secretary of the Executive Committee. He called for a special focus on 'the co-operative research fund with the National University of Peking and the 1931-32 book fund of the National Library of Peiping' (*Sixth Report* 1931:26). This statement is significant not only in itself, but also in the sense that it was allowed to be documented, considering the low profile the Foundation

normally adopted<sup>19</sup>. Another point of interest is that the statement was made at a time when Jiang Jieshi was serving concurrently as the Minister of Education (from December 1930 – June 1931)<sup>20</sup>.

That the China Foundation should take up such a firm position against the National Government is perhaps not difficult to comprehend. Under the auspices of the American government and based on their reputation as scholars and cultural leaders trained in the U.S., the members of the Board seem to have taken up the attitude of the foreign governments in their assessment of circumstances involving the Chinese government. Their nationalistic sentiments were not expressed in the form of blind submission, but as rational and scholarly assessments. Hu Shi described his attitude toward these issues as one of ‘disinterested interest’, a stance which can be associated with the lofty position adopted by intellectuals on political issues. In reading the Foundation’s annual report, one cannot fail to notice that it often addressed the government on an equal footing. This was certainly the case before the United States withdrew its support for the Foundation and was most noticeable when the National Government postponed its indemnity payments for a year from 1 March 1932. The American government responded by suspending remission payments at the same time<sup>21</sup>. The Board’s reactions to these two decisions differed to a remarkable extent. While Roger S. Greene was asked to verify the decision of the American government, Cai Yuanpei was assigned the task to ‘make strong presentations to the Chinese government for the exemption of the remitted American share of the Boxer Indemnity from the postponement scheme’ (*Seventh Report* 1932:24). In spite of the special loan arrangements it had made with the Ministry of Finance, the Board issued a vehement statement at its eighth annual meeting:

Be it resolved, that the Board of Trustees of the China Foundation assembled at its Eighth Annual Meeting wishes to place itself on record as being strongly opposed to a renewal of a similar suspension in the future and further wishes to express the fervent hope that losses thus sustained by the National Tsing Hua

University and the China Foundation will, in some way, be made good by the Chinese Government (*Seventh Report* 1932:32, my emphasis).

The intimidating wording put the Foundation in a position close to that of the treaty powers in holding the Chinese government entirely responsible for the loss it had suffered and demanding damages in return. The report also states that copies of the resolution were sent to the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to document the protest. Another copy was to be sent to the Legation of the United States of America for reference. The position the Foundation adopted stands in stark contrast to the one it took up in 1938 when the remission was formally terminated. The word ‘suspension’ was used and remedial measures were adopted ‘until the indemnity payments are resumed’ (*Fourteenth Report* 1939:3-4). However, no party was held responsible in this instance. In the first ten years following its establishment, the Foundation adopted a position that elevated it above and isolated it from the political struggles that took place between the different parties and among factions within Jiang’s administration. Rather than being framed within the government hierarchy, it lined itself up on the same level as the government.

## **The Programmes**

In its early days, the China Foundation financed research projects and educational programmes in two categories: as direct enterprises run by the Foundation or as subsidized undertakings carried out by other organizations. From 1928, it also entered into cooperative arrangements with other institutions including the government which constituted a third category of joint ventures. The programmes pursued covered a wide range of areas. Other than scientific research and education, there were also projects aimed at cultural reinstitution such as the establishment of the Metropolitan Library and the Palace Museum and the unification of the national language.

## ■ Subsidized Institutions

Grants were awarded to institutions which launched projects on their own initiative. The funding covered a wide range of organizations including colleges, universities, research institutes such as the Science Society of China, the Geological Survey of China, the Institute of Chinese Architecture, and the Golden Sea Research Institute of Chemical Industry, as well as three institutes that operated under the aegis of Academia Sinica: the Institute of History and Linguistics, which was renamed the Research Institute of History and Philology in 1935-36, the Institute of Meteorology, and the Institute of Social Sciences. Various cultural organizations such as the National Association of Mass Education Movement, the National Association for the Advancement of Education, the Society for the Unification of the National Language (renamed Gwoyeu Toong-I Chourbey Huey in the *Ninth Report* published in 1934), and the Palace Museum also received financial support from the China Foundation.

Institutions applying for subsidies were required to submit proposals for consideration by the Board. Investigations were then conducted through visits and collecting opinions from specialists in the field or from the intelligentsia in the region. Although some subsidies were one-off grants, most were paid over a period of three years and were renewable subject to the discretion of the Board, which assessed the merits of such extensions based on reports received and the availability of funds. Funding would be terminated if the progress made in an organization's activities was unsatisfactory. The number of organizations financed by the Foundation reached its height in the 1931-32 financial year. The annual report for that year recorded a total of 32 grant-receiving organizations: 17 colleges and universities, 8 research institutes, and 7 educational and cultural organizations<sup>22</sup>. Due to the

increase in the price of gold and the economic depression of the early 1930s, which were compounded by the suspension of indemnity payments in 1932, the Foundation implemented a policy of retrenchment in 1933. The Executive Committee was instructed to ‘study the various activities of the Foundation and those of a similar nature of other institutions with a view to effecting a reduction in the duplication of work and bringing about better co-operation and co-relations’ (*Eighth Report* 1933:3). The result of this policy was a sharp decrease in the number of subsidized institutions from 25 in 1932-33, 20 in 1933-34, and 16 in 1934-5, before reaching its lowest point of 15 in 1935-36.

### ■ Joint Enterprises

This category of programmes came into existence when the Fan Memorial Biological Institute was established in 1928 in memory of Fan Yuanlian, the late Director of the Foundation. The second enterprise to be established through joint efforts involving the Foundation was the National Library of Peiping, which was the result of the merger between the Peiping Library and the Metropolitan Library, stemming from a proposal made by the Ministry of Education in 1929. While the merged library was jointly supervised by the government and the Foundation, its operations were more closely supervised by the latter. Other enterprises that fell into this category include the Summer Institute for Biological Research, which was run in collaboration with Amoy University and the National University of Peking, and the Foundation Co-operative Research Fund (or the Co-operative Research Fund of the National University of Peking and the China Foundation), which operated from 1931-1937<sup>23</sup>.

Although the joint enterprises had independent boards of management, their members were predominantly people closely associated with the Foundation<sup>24</sup>. The collaborative

relationships that were established to operate these enterprises did not generally last for long, the Fan Memorial Biological Institute being the only exception. The Summer Institute for Biological Research ran for only one month of each year from 15 July to 19 August. Mention of the Cooperation Research Fund ceased to appear in the Foundation's reports once the Foundation had fulfilled its obligations. The Library of Peiping was transferred into a subsidized institution in 1945.

### ■ Direct Enterprises

The Foundation was the initiator of the direct enterprises through which its projects and programmes were pursued. At the Foundation's third annual meeting, the Board agreed that funds should be applied to 'a few constructive projects which could be carried out instead of applying them to a large number of institutions' (*Third Report 1929:3*), hinting at a policy of concentrating its resources on enterprises which had a more solid foundation. It was hoped that this approach would guarantee the quality of the direct and joint enterprises. Although the number of direct enterprises run by the Foundation was relatively small, it remained quite stable. Some of the programmes run via direct enterprises were reorganized over the years. The Metropolitan Library became a joint enterprise, while the China Institute in America and the Social Research Department were converted into subsidized institutions in 1931 and 1934, respectively. The core programmes pursued involved the award of scholarships and prizes for scientific research. The Examination Committee for the Award of Research Fellowships and Prizes was set up in 1927 to assess and award professorships, fellowships, and prizes. Lin Kesheng (Robert K.S. Lim) was appointed its chairman in 1927 and remained in this position until 1939<sup>25</sup>. The committee differs slightly in nature from the other managing bodies of the Foundation. Lin was not on the Board of Trustees. Of the six members on the committee at any one time, very few were Board members over the years –

Wang Wenhao in 1927-33, Ren Hongjun in 1921-31 and 1933-36, and C.L. Senn in 1933-39.

The selection process was transparent: abstracts of the work of the researchers and awardees were attached to the annual report, together with the committee's report in which details such as the number of applications received and the subjects of study were documented.

Another activity the Foundation initiated at around the same time was the preparation of science textbooks and apparatus. At the third annual meeting in 1927, the Advisory Committee on Science Education was established to facilitate science education by preparing books for students and researchers in China. It was chaired by Wang Jin, a professor of Chemistry at Central University. Ten members were assigned to five different sections: Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, and Geology and Geography. Nine of these members were professors from universities in major Chinese cities<sup>26</sup>. The reports the Advisory Committee submitted to the Board of Trustees included records of its meetings and descriptions of the content and progress of the various projects it oversaw. Even the names of the examiners of textbook manuscripts were included in some instances. The attention to detail exhibited in the reports is similar to that seen in reports prepared by the Committee on Examination for the Award of Research Fellowships and Prizes.

The difference in the operation of the direct enterprises may be related to those put in charge of such enterprises. As Lin Kesheng and Wang Jin were not on the Board of Trustees, the meticulousness of their reports may indicate that both scholars were aware of the public concerns addressed at the beginning of this chapter. Their reaction was natural considering the large amount of money involved. The style of the Advisory Committee's reports changed completely after Hu Shi took over in 1928. The reorganization of the committee also marked a shift of emphasis towards the humanities at the beginning of the 1930s. At the tenth annual meeting in June 1934, the scope of 'scientific research' was redefined. While the



charter in the *First Report* classified cultural enterprises as a separate category subordinated to scientific research, the new definition included such enterprises within the realm of science:

The scope of the activities of the Foundation should be limited, as far as possible, to scientific research, applications of science and scientific education, the terms 'science' and 'scientific' being herein understood in their broader sense so as not to exclude the social and historical sciences (*Ninth Report* 1934:5).

The extension of the definition of science coincided with the publication of books on history and philosophy (the history of thought) in the same year by the newly reorganized Committee on Editing and Translation. This trend was also observed in the scientific research fellowships and prizes awarded in 1936-7, which was the first year in which applications were accepted from scholars in the social sciences and history. For the first time, the Committee on Examination recommended that the scientific research prize be awarded to a researcher in history, Prof. Chen Yinke. A history research project was one of the four proposals for which a class A scientific research fellowship was awarded, the title of the thesis being 'A Study of the Early Jesuit Fathers in China: Their Influence on Chinese Intellectual History from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century' (*Twelfth Report* 1937:16-17). The significance of the newly established committee should not be underestimated.

The China Foundation, which was established at a time when China was anything but stable, adopted a special position in the first half of the twentieth century. The fact that it was funded by the United States, a foreign country which many viewed with hostility, complicated the matter, even though the appropriation of funds was in the hands of Chinese nationals who comprised two-thirds of the board of fifteen trustees. To achieve what it had set out to do, it was imperative that the Foundation establish a neutral position and preserve its independence from all political forces. Hu Shi highlighted this principle in his letter to Cai Yuanpei and in the article dated 26 January 1929.

In Hu Shi's own words, the principle of self-perpetuation and freedom from political control and interference was 'vital to the permanence and responsibility of the Board of Trustees in charge of educational and scientific foundations' (Hu Shi 1929:368). This could be part of the reason the Foundation started out by promoting science education and research. However, at the beginning of the 1930s, the China Foundation began to place more emphasis on the development of historical sciences and the humanities. One area in which it began to show some interest was the translation of foreign literary works. In light of the strong stance of the Foundation and the individual responsible for its translation projects, in the following section I will provide an overview of the projects pursued and an analysis of the influence the institution may have on the translation of Joseph Conrad's works.

## **II. The Translation Projects**

As noted in the previous section, the translation work commissioned by the Advisory Committee on Science Education was first limited to textbooks on natural sciences such as physics and mathematics and human sciences including geography and geology. The committee's focus changed once Hu Shi became chairman and reorganized it into the Committee on Editing and Translation in 1930. As I will discuss in the following section, the new committee published more Chinese translations of Western literature than its predecessor. To confine the discussion within the literary field and consider the influence of these translations purely on the development of Chinese vernacular literature and the national language, we will overlook the facts that such translations were commissioned by an institution involved in other educational programmes and that the translators who worked on them operated within an institution which aspired to transform the minds of the Chinese people in general. The contention here is that the translation projects (including those on

textbooks and literary works) launched by the committee fulfilled the ambitious goal of steering a new course for a modernized China, a new nation which drew on the experience of the West. The orientation of the committee was closely related to both the positioning of the Foundation and the attitude of Hu Shi, who was determined to stay out of domestic political entanglements and concentrated on the intellectuals' mission of rehabilitating the Chinese nation in their capacity as specialists and experts in their respective fields. This section starts with an overview of the translation projects undertaken by the Foundation and the stance of the Committee on Editing and Translation before looking into the committee's relationship with the *Xinyue* [Crescent Moon] group. The impact the translation projects had on world literature is then discussed before one of these projects – the complete works of Joseph Conrad – is examined.

### **The Committee on Editing and Translation**

The Committee on Editing and Translation was one of the few direct enterprises operated by a member of the Board before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. It was founded on the basis of and took over the role of the Advisory Committee on Science Education, which was reorganized in 1930 when the Board saw 'an urgent need for a fuller knowledge of the culture and history of the outside world' (*Fifth Report* 1930:106). The Committee on Editing and Translation was given an increased budget of M\$50,000 for 1930-31<sup>27</sup>. Hu Shi was appointed chairman and Zhang Zhun, a professor of Chemistry at the University of Nanking, was appointed vice-chairman. According to 'The Rules Governing the Establishment of the Committee on Editing and Translation', the chairman and vice-chairman were to select the members of the committee subject to the approval of the Executive Committee. The Committee on Editing and Translation would then draft a separate set of regulations regarding the selection of works, the invitation of translators, and

the acceptance of manuscripts and publications (*Fifth Report* 1930:106-7). None of these documents appeared in subsequent annual reports<sup>28</sup>.

In terms of its personnel and the scope of the projects it undertook, the Committee on Editing and Translation was in many respects different from the other direct enterprises. Over half of the committee members came from literary circles. While the committee continued publishing science textbooks and references, it also established a new Division of History and Literature, after which the emphasis shifted to the translation of books in humanities. Evidence supporting this change of track can be found in the list of publications attached to the *Ninth Report*. Of the 10 titles published, only one was from the natural sciences. The others comprised 5 titles on history, 2 on philosophy, and 2 translations of Western literature. This trend persisted until Hu Shi left China for the United States. As recorded in the *Eleventh Report*, 25 titles were published in 1935-36: 15 on literature, 5 on philosophy, 1 on history and 4 on natural sciences. Of the 13 titles referred to in the *Twelfth Report* (1936-37), 6 were on literature, 2 on history, 1 on philosophy, and 4 on natural sciences. Only 6 titles were brought out in 1937-38, all of which were from the history (1) and literature (5) fields.

The unique position of the Committee on Editing and Translation can also be observed from the annual reports prepared by Hu Shi, as indicated in his diary. Compared with those of the other programmes and of the former Advisory Committee, these reports are relatively brief. The first few issues outline future plans. Factors affecting its output are also listed and elaborated. From the *Tenth Report* (1935) onwards, the section of the reports outlining the committee's activities provides only basic information - translations in progress, works completed or under review, and a list of publications released during the year. Only the titles of the books issued and the names of the authors' and translators' are provided.

None of the committee meetings are even alluded to, let alone the agenda items discussed. The brevity of these reports may to a certain extent hint at the autonomy of the committee, which probably stemmed from Hu's prominent position in the Foundation. After Hu was appointed Chinese Ambassador to the United States on 17 September 1937, Ren Hongjun acted on his behalf as chairman. It was then decided that a policy of retrenchment should be adopted, after which no new project was launched<sup>29</sup>.

According to the summary of activities given in the *Fourteenth Report* (1939), a total of 145 books had been edited and translated over the course of the ten preceding years. Not all the completed translations were published; only 79 of the edited and translated manuscripts were published or sent to press. According to the data provided in the reports, 64 were translations of books on history, philosophy, or literature<sup>30</sup>. Hu Shi was actively involved in every aspect of the committee's activities. While decisions on natural science books were made by the relevant division, Hu Shi attended the meeting the scientists held to draft the list of publications. As Hu indicates in his diary, the makeup of the list of texts that fell into the history and literature category was largely based on his own proposals (Cao Boyan ed. 2001a:759). Over 40 works passed the first stage of deliberations. According to the plan, which was also drafted by Hu himself, the aim was to import texts on the history of a particular country or on a certain historical era. Philosophical and literary works which epitomized the country or era concerned would be translated to facilitate a better understanding and present a full picture of foreign cultures (Ji Weilong ed 2003a: 574-5).

If the translation of literary texts was only supplementary to projects involving historical and philosophical texts, it is difficult to explain why 30 out of the 64 books published are literary texts and that the projects on William Shakespeare, Thomas Hardy, and Joseph Conrad were accorded great importance in the reports in comparison with those

involving historical and philosophical texts. I suggest that the translation projects the committee pursued should be examined in light of articles found in *Xinyue* [Crescent Moon], the literary journal with which three of the committee members – Liang Shiqiu, Wen Yiduo, and Chen Yuan – as well as Hu Shi himself were closely associated. The works of Thomas Hardy were given much coverage from the first issue of *Xinyue* released in March 1928, an issue which features a portrait of the writer and an introduction to and translations of his poems by Xu Zhimo. More can be found in the third issue, including a description of Guo Youshou's personal encounter with the writer. The first issue also features an article on drama written by Yu Shangyuan and a discussion of Ibsen's plays. Plays written by Ouyang Yuqian, Chen Chuhuai, and Yu Shangyuan himself were published in the next few issues. The name 'Shakespeare' appears in the ninth issue published in November 1928 in a translation entitled 'Shashibiya shidai zhi yingguo yu lundun' [England and London in the time of Shakespeare] and again in the eleventh issue released in January 1929, which features a biography of Shakespeare. Both articles were prepared by Liang Shiqiu, the designated translator for the project. A translation of Conrad's short story 'The Lagoon' was published in July 1929, the earliest translation of this work to appear in China. All the evidence points to a close link between the general design of the translation projects pursued by the committee and Hu Shi's circle of friends. While I am not suggesting that the *Xinyue* group of intellectuals dictated the plan of the translation projects commissioned by the China Foundation, suffice it to say that the translators shared with Hu the same view on language and literature which contrasted with the arguments put forward by left-wing writers at the time.

### **The Translation of World Literature**

In the 1931 edition of *Who's Who in China*, the fourth edition edited by the *China Weekly*

*Review* since 1918, Hu Shi was said to have ‘moved back to Peiping to undertake the editing of a series of Chinese translations of European classics and history’ in 1930 (*Who’s Who in China* 1931:180). According to the recollections of Liang Shiqiu and Zhang Guroo, Hu Shi was both the originator and the administrator of these projects, which not only provided a platform for Hu Shi and his group of friends to put into practice their views on language and literature, but also acted as the training ground for young translators<sup>31</sup>. That concern for the quality of the translations was constantly reiterated<sup>32</sup> may suggest that the translators were instructed or coached to acquire a certain set of values regarding the conception of ‘good translations’.

We can divide the committee’s translation projects into two categories according to the nature of the original and the background of the translator: those prepared by ‘specialists’ and those undertaken by ‘student-translators’, a term which should be understood in its broad sense to refer to university graduates and young writers or translators who had not yet established their reputation in academic circles. The first group includes translators who worked in universities or higher institutions such as Zhou Zuoren, Chen Mian, and Liang Shiqiu. They were addressed as ‘professors’<sup>33</sup> to highlight their qualifications for the task, even though they were not always specialists in the relevant areas or authors. Liang Shiqiu candidly admitted that he did not know much about Shakespeare when he first started working on the project:

When I started, reference books were scarce!... I did not know much of Shakespeare’s works. I had only studied *The Merchant of Venice*, *Hamlet*, *Julius Caesar*, *Macbeth*, and *Henry IV*. When I was overseas, I had only watched Walter Hampden in *Hamlet* and Warfield in *the Merchant of Venice*. I did not have extensive knowledge and I would dare to translate his works! It was presumptuous of me to do so (Liang Shiqiu 1981:348).

While all the translations were to be proofread by members of the committee or specialists in the relevant area whose names would also be listed alongside those of the translators in

the colophons, there was a key difference between the projects taken up by established scholars such as Liang Shiqiu and those undertaken by young translators. Hu had suggested in the preliminary plan that the five translators for the Shakespeare project should circulate their translations and review their own works. Although Liang was the only one who remained committed to the work at the end, it seems that his translations were proofread by editors of the Commercial Press without obtaining approval from Liang in advance. One can still see the influence of the prestige in which he was held as the expert. Guan Qitong, the Committee Secretary, had deliberately written to Liang to apologize for the ‘correction’ (which turned out to be a mistake) made by the editor when the translation of *Othello* was launched in January 1937 (Liang Shiqiu 1981:355).

The notion of ‘experts’ or ‘specialists’ was taken seriously by Hu Shi and certain members of the *Xinyue* group of intellectuals. Luo Longji, one of the editors of the literary journal, elaborated on this concept in an article entitled ‘Zhuanjia zhengzhi’ [Specialists in Politics] in 1929. He levelled criticism at the corrupt political scene which had come to be monopolized by militarists under a ‘spoils system’ [cronyism]. Luo wrote that to improve the situation, the government had to be reformed and run by competent people who had acquired specific knowledge in particular disciplines, a trend which would become widespread in the twentieth century, the age of science and specialists (Luo Longji 1929a:7). In Hu Shi’s plan for editing and translating world literature, he did not opt for the general term of ‘translators’. He insisted that ‘specialists’ be invited to draw up the list of books to be translated and that people of competence, or ‘scholars’ as they were referred to, be commissioned to undertake translation projects (Ji Weilong ed. 2003a:574).

Hu Shi’s stance was understandable if we see that translators in the first group were assigned the specific tasks explicated in the *Xinyue* articles. Through the Chinese translations,



the *Xinyue* group could reiterate their ideological convictions or refute the leftists' views on translation and literature. The Shakespeare project, the most important one initiated in 1929-30, was accompanied by full publicity. Opinions were solicited from dramatists including Yang Zhensheng and Zhao Taimou in the preparatory stage. In an article published in April 1931 entitled 'Fanyi Shashibiya' [Translating Shakespeare], Yu Shangyuan gave a detailed account of translation projects on Shakespeare's works carried out in Japan and Hungary. He explained in great detail the project led by János Arany (referred to as 'John Arany' in the article) in Hungary in the nineteenth century and its contribution to the vernacular movement. Yu concluded his article by proposing that a similar project be launched by the Committee on Editing and Translation chaired by Hu Shi (Yu Shangyuan 1931:12). The objective of the project was made explicit: the Chinese vernacular was now fully developed, as was the case in Hungary. Competent translators – scholars – would celebrate this achievement by introducing great Western works to the Chinese readership. Heeding the call issued in the article, as it might have appeared to Chinese readers of the time, a sub-committee comprising well-known scholars - Xu Zhimo<sup>34</sup>, Ye Gongchao, Chen Yuan, Wen Yiduo, and Liang Shiqiu - was set up. The *Sixth Report* documented the project in considerable detail:

In the field of literature, the complete dramatic works of Shakespeare were chosen for translation and a sub-committee of five is organized to experiment on this gigantic undertaking. Their work at present is to decide the style and language of the Chinese version by making experiments on the various plays. It is hoped to have the work completed in five or ten years. For other works of literature, largely novels and plays, a number of competent persons have been engaged for the translation (*Sixth Report* 1931:45).

The projects carried out by Zhou Zuoren, Chen Mian, and Li Jianwu, who had translated directly from the Greek classics and French literature, were designed in the same light. They opposed the view put forward by Zheng Zhenduo and Lu Xun that the need for

relay translations was ‘a sad but inevitable reality’ (Zheng Zhenduo 1921:24)<sup>35</sup>. Both Hu Shi and Liang Shiqiu had written against indirect translations (of French and Russian literature in particular) based on Japanese or English versions. Liang pointed out that all translations deviated from the original, however well the translators might perform. It would be very difficult to ensure that relay translations remained faithful to the original (Liang Shiqiu 1928:4). In reply to Liang’s article, Hu added that students and scholars of English and American literature should devote themselves to translating masterpieces in English (Hu Shi 1929b:1)<sup>36</sup>. A translation of an English article commenting on the poor quality of some English translations of Russian novels was published in *Xinyue* in May 1929. In the postscript, the translator, Bi Shutang, declared his aim of alerting translators and readers that many Chinese translations (of Russian literary works in this case) were relayed from English versions (Bi Shutang 1929:15). The fact that Zhou’s translation of *Mimiamboi of Herodas and Theokritos* was among the first batch of translations to be published in 1934 makes the case clear<sup>37</sup>. The project was continued by Luo Niansheng, who translated six other pieces. In common with Zhou’s work, these translations were specifically noted to be translated directly from Greek. The French translation projects undertaken by Chen Mian and Li Jianwu were completed in 1934-35. Li translated Flaubert’s *Trois Contes* and wrote another book which was a critical study on the author. Chen rendered Racine’s *Andromaque* and Corneille’s *Le Cid* in addition to translating five other works by Delance, Maugham, Dumas fils, Henry Bataille and Jeffrey Dell in the following year<sup>38</sup>.

The second group, referred to as the ‘student-translators’ in this thesis, includes Zhang Guruo, Xiong Shiyi, Liang Yuchun, Guan Qitong, and Yuan Jiahua. Most of these translators were graduates of Chinese universities and had not furthered their education overseas by the time the translations were published<sup>39</sup>. The aim of the projects on which these translators worked was not as clearly defined as was the objective of the translations

rendered by the specialists. While the committee might have chosen to translate the works of Thomas Hardy and Joseph Conrad, other translation projects could have simply been chosen by the translators themselves, who submitted their work to the committee for approval. If a piece proved to be of good quality, the translator might be invited to work on another book by the same author (Zhang Guoruo 1936, 1989; Zhou Zuoren 1934; He Yin 1981; Cao Boyan ed. 2001a: 360, 502, 646, 689). While the young translators had the opportunity to discuss their work with Hu and to be awarded a grant, their translations were not necessarily published. Xiong Shiyi's translations of J.M. Barrie's plays, which were recorded as completed in the *Seventh Report*, were not published due to their poor quality (He Yin 1981:65). More than one translator was engaged for projects designated by the committee: Zhang Guroo and Shih Min for Thomas Hardy; Liang Yuchun, Yuan Jiahua, and Guan Qitong for Joseph Conrad; Pan Jiaxun and Mr. and Mrs. Chen Yuan for Jane Austen. While progress was constantly updated in the reports, no specific plan such as the one used for the Shakespeare project was formulated. The Austen project was soon dropped. The remaining two projects were mentioned in the *Tenth Report*:

...and that the attempt to translate the complete literary works of Hardy and Conrad is still being undertaken by Messrs. E.Y. Chang (Zhang Guroo), C.H. Yuan (Yuan Jiahua) and others (*Tenth Report* 1935:19-20).

The translators in the second group enjoyed no less freedom in the rendition of the texts, at least on paper. In 'The Plan for Editing and Translation' drafted by Hu Shi, translators were instructed to translate into vernacular Chinese using the new set of punctuation marks. They were also required to pay attention to the translation of names of people and places and to add explanations where necessary. The translation approach adopted was summarized in two sentences:

[the translator] must preserve the original meaning of the author on the one hand and make the reader understand [OR write in understandable language]. So the only principle for translation is: 'if the author had written in Chinese, how

would [he] have written this sentence?' (Ji Weilong ed. 2003a:574-576)

They were encouraged to rearrange the syntax and sentences and to elucidate the original in their own words. In Zhang Guruo's two translations of Thomas Hardy's *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* and *The Return of the Native*, he replaces the original Dorset dialect with a Shandong dialect to reproduce the stylistic effects in the original. This approach was obviously endorsed by Hu Shi, who proofread the manuscripts himself. In spite of Hu Shi's editorial input, we can still see evidence of the strategies adopted by the student-translators on their own initiative.

The Joseph Conrad project is significant considering the number of translators involved (three) and the number and type of translations published (a novel, a novella and two collections of short stories)<sup>40</sup>. In the following section, I will describe the translation strategies reflected in these translations and explore the possible links between the institution that commissioned them and the practice of the three translators.

### **III. The Translators as Specialists**

Liang Yuchun, Yuan Jiahua, and Guan Qitong were confronted with a daunting task when they started to translate the works of Joseph Conrad. The three translators had not obtained qualifications on the same level as those of the scholars in the first group who had studied overseas. Liang Yuchun was an experienced translator by the time he took up the project, but the other two were not. The project they tackled was also different from the William Shakespeare and Thomas Hardy projects undertaken by the specialists in that only a limited amount of information on Conrad was available from the Chinese literary scene. The Conrad translators faced two major tasks. First, they had to provide trustworthy representations of the masterpieces of a lesser known foreign author. Second, they were

required to educate Chinese readers and provide them with guidance on how to appreciate his works by painting Conrad as an admirable writer whose name deserved to be mentioned in the same breath as those of other great authors.

To account for the work of the translators, I begin with a general description of the extent to which the works of Joseph Conrad were known in China in the second and third decades of the twentieth century, that is, before the translations were published, emphasizing the limited resources the translators could muster at the time. I will also provide the profiles of the three translators and assess their positions within the literary field. It is against this background that the strategies the translators adopted are analyzed, concentrating on the patterns found in the four translations before the influence the institution may have on their work is discussed.

### **Joseph Conrad in Republican China**

Unlike Thomas Hardy, Joseph Conrad did not receive much attention within Chinese literary circles before his death. The earliest record of the author in Chinese literary publications appeared on the front page of the 134<sup>th</sup> issue of the literary journal *Wenxue* [Literature] on 11 August 1924. The article, written by Song Yu, reports the death of Conrad, a noted writer of sea literature, on 3 August 1924. A sketched portrait of the writer appears at the centre of the page. The report includes an account of Conrad's life and a brief introduction to his works. Only three titles were mentioned: *Almayer's Folly*, his first piece, *Some Reminiscences*, and *The Mirror of the Sea*, the last one being a collection of his autobiographical writings. His style of writing is not discussed in depth. The message repeats throughout the article is that Conrad was brought up under despotic rule and was eager to break away and seek freedom. The author is compared to Robert Louis Stevenson and is said

to be as good as Rudyard Kipling (Song Yu 1924:1).

The second article to focus on Conrad was published in the October edition of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* [Short Story Monthly], the official journal of the Literary Research Association. The nine-page report was featured as the first article of the issue and was entitled ‘Kanglade pingzhuan – jinian zhege xinsi de yingguo dazuoja erzuo’ [A Critical Biography of Conrad – written in memory of this great English writer who died recently]. The critic explains that Conrad had struggled to escape Russian authoritarian suppression and ‘the pain he suffered in reality’ (Fan Zhongyun 1924:2). His biographical details are given in full, including the school from which he graduated and the people he met on his voyages, names which later appeared in his work and in the review of his first book in the *Spectator*. His novels are listed in chronological order from the earliest publication released in 1895 to the last, *the Rover*, which was printed in 1923. Conrad is again compared with writers who were already well-known in China such as Zola and Hardy. References are made to the plots of his stories. Comments on his style are general in nature. The article does not include any major excerpts from his novels for illustration and instead quotes paragraphs and sentences from his works in an effort to explain the author’s views on art and life. Conrad is characterized as a realist and is praised for his powerful narrative style, for his descriptions of emotional and psychological states of mind, and for the environment and atmosphere created by his language. The article refers to Conrad’s technique of describing objects from a subjective perspective through a third-person narrator to give the reader a clear picture of events (Fan Zhongyun 1924:9). Fan also tries to explain why Conrad had not become popular, although he does not identify the target readership in this context<sup>41</sup>. He points out that Conrad’s work is filled with skepticism: facts are presented as intangible and the questions he raised are often left unanswered at the end of the story, as in *Lord Jim* and *Victory*. This unsettling atmosphere, Fan observes, does not match the current trend whereby

hard facts were demanded:

What Conrad tackles is not pieces of evidence, but questions awaiting resolution. He elaborates on them from different perspectives, trying to expose the mystery at the core of the issue. That is what he wants to achieve, but in practice, he is not able to come up with an answer himself. He puts forward only his assumptions and observations. He does not attempt to make any subjective assertions. When addressing an issue, he always adopts a difficult and sceptical attitude as if it could never be resolved. It is for this reason that modern day readers, who are after substance above all else, find his work difficult to understand, and this is why his books are less welcomed than other mediocre novels (Fan Zhongyun 1924:8, my translation).

Joseph Conrad's name subsequently appeared in a smattering of articles in which he was referred to as a well-known English writer but was never given as much attention as the big names such as Charles Dickens, John Galsworthy, and Thomas Hardy. In 1925, for example, his name came up in a gossip column about the inheritance of a group of famous writers: Dickens, Brontë, George Meredith and Mrs. Humphrey Ward (Zhi Gang 1925:4). In Zhao Jingshen's translation of John Carruthers's article 'Xiandai yingmei xiaoshuo de qushi' [Trends in Modern Anglo-American Novels] published in July 1929, psychological description was raised as the major trend in the West. The most important task for a novelist was to analyze and provide explanations. Joseph Conrad was said to have been influenced by Henry James, although his novels, which were modelled on James's works, were not readable. *Chance* was cited as an example (Carruthers 1929). That Conrad was not ranked among the greatest foreign writers in the Republican period can also be seen from the fact that his work was omitted from anthologies of foreign writers. In Wang Yunwu's 1929-1934 editions of *Wanyou wenku* [All Comprehensive Repository 1929-1934], for example, Conrad's name did not feature on the list of globally renowned writers. The list included Shakespeare, Milton, Defoe, Swift, Benjamin Franklin, Goldsmith, Walter Scott, Dickens, Washington Irving, Carlyle, Thackeray, Charlotte Brontë, J.M. Barrie, Drinkwater, Hardy, Galsworthy, Hawthorne,

O. Henry, Wedekind, J. Freytag, Theodor Storm, Zola, Romain Rolland, Balzac, Octave Mirabeau, Paul Gerdard, Anatole France, Andreyev, Dostoevsky, Gorky, Dante, Euripides, Sophocles, Aeschylus, Knut Hamsun, Sienkiewicz, Ibañez, and K. Palamas (Lee Leo Ou-fan 1999:60). In 1935, when Zheng Zhenduo announced his plan to edit *Shijie wenku* [World Repository] which was to be published by the Shenghuo Bookstore, he did not count Conrad among the 29 most influential novelists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries<sup>42</sup> (Zheng Zhenduo 1935:5-6) even though he suggested that *The Rescue* be included as one of the 41 books to be translated from the category of works by eighteenth and nineteenth century English writers (Zheng Zhenduo 1935:19).

The first translation of one of Conrad's short stories appeared in *Xinyue* [Crescent Moon] in July 1929. It was 'The Lagoon' and had been translated by Li Qi five years after Conrad's death. 'The Lagoon' had later been retranslated by Shi Heng. The new version was serialized in ten parts in a *Shenbao* literary supplement named 'Ziyoutan' [Free Talk] from 11-20 September 1933. Wu Xiangyu's translation of 'Tomorrow' was serialized almost a year later from 27 November – 20 December 1934 in twenty-one parts. Neither of the two translations was accompanied by any text introducing the author or the story. Liang Yuchun (1906-1932) probably became the second Chinese translator of Conrad when he translated 'Youth', which was published in 1931. The Chinese version was juxtaposed with the English text. The novelist was frequently quoted in essays written by Liang Yuchun, who had established himself as an essayist at that time. In his article "'Huan wo tou lai" ji qita' [Give Me My Head' and others] (1927), Liang criticizes modern novelists for failing to give in-depth portrayals of their characters and focusing solely on the plot. Liang concludes his article by praising Conrad's *Lord Jim* and Tolstoy's *The Death of Ivan Ilyich* as masterpieces which do not rely on the narration of facts (Liang Yuchun 1927/2001:29). In another article, Liang cites Conrad along with Pierre Loti, James Fenimore Cooper, and Frederick Marryat as



distinguished authors of sea stories about sailors and their life, stories which win the reader's sympathy (Liang Yuchun 1929/2001:91). In an essay entitled 'Wenxue yu rensheng' [Letters and Life], the essayist quotes directly from Conrad's book *Notes on Life and Letters* to expound his view on literary writings and human life (Liang Yuchun 1928/2001:54-55). Joseph Conrad is more than just a name that appears in Liang's articles. Liang's writings show his interpretation of Conrad and his works. Being one of the earliest writers who cited and translated from Conrad, Liang played a significant role in introducing and creating the image of Conrad the author in a foreign land.

### **The Translators**

Neither Liang Yuchun nor any of the participants in the translation projects explained how they came to the decision to translate Conrad's sea stories. Considering his connection with the editors of *Xinyue* and his role in introducing Conrad and his stories to Chinese readers, we can assume that Liang was one of the major initiators of the whole plan to translate Conrad's works. As noted in the previous section, Liang celebrated Conrad's achievement in depicting the world of seamen and their psychological makeup in the face of major crises. The texts selected for translation mirror Liang's preferences as stated in his articles<sup>43</sup>. Liang had already established himself as an experienced translator by the late 1920s. He published over twenty translations including *Honghua* (*The Scarlet Flower* by Vsevolod Mikhailovich Garshin), *Laobaomu de gushi* (*The Squire's Story* by Elizabeth Gaskell), *Women de xiangcun* (*Our Village* by Mary Russell Mitford), and *Zuiboude yiben riji* (*A Last Diary* by W.N.P. Barbellion), as well as translating works by John Galsworthy, William Hale White, George Gissing, and Maxim Gorki, all of which were published by the Beixin Bookstore in 1930 and 1931. He had graduated from the Department of English at Peking University in 1928 and worked as a tutor before becoming a librarian in 1930 when he returned from Jinan

University in Shanghai. He was a student of Ye Gongchao, who invited him to write reviews of the latest English publications from November 1928 to October 1929. He also contributed to another journal *Yusi* [Thread Talk] which was edited by Zhou Zouren when he was still studying at the university.

Two of the Conrad project translations – *Hei shuisbou* (*The Nigger of the Narcissus*) which was published in 1936 and *Taifeng ji qita* (*Typhoon and Other Stories*), a 1937 publication – were the work of Yuan Jiahua (1903-1980), who took up the project when Liang died in June 1932. He was a linguist by training. Before being admitted to matriculation level at Peking University, he had already become acquainted with Guo Muruo, Cheng Fangwu, and Yu Dafu, all of whom were key figures in the Creation Society. Yuan was also a graduate of the Department of English at Peking University and was only two years Liang's junior. He worked as an editor at the Beixin Bookstore for less than a year in 1930 before being invited to work as a tutor at the Department of English of his alma mater. He left for Oxford University in early 1937 when he was awarded a scholarship funded by the British Boxer Indemnity.

The translation of *Tales of Unrest* (*Bu'an de gushi*) by Guan Qitong (1904-1973) was published in 1936. Guan joined the Committee on Editing and Translation on 17 September 1934 as the secretary. He had graduated from the Department of English at Peking University in 1931 and could read German and Russian in addition to English. He was involved in projects to translate works on philosophy published between June 1935 and July 1938: *Three Dialogues*, *Principles of Human Knowledge*, and *A New Theory of Vision* by George Berkeley; *A Discourse on Method*, *Meditations on First Philosophy*, and *Principles of Philosophy* by Rene Descartes; *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* by David Hume; and *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* by John Locke. *Tales of Unrest* was the only literary text he

translated.

The three translators had a common background as graduates of the Department of English at Peking University. They had become closely associated with one or more of the prominent literary groups by the time of their graduation, which may suggest that they were already familiar with the main ideas and debates surrounding literature and, possibly, translations circulated in the field. The fact that they were not actively involved in the construction of the literary and translation discourse only strengthens their position as practitioners.

In the previous chapter, I analyzed the Chinese translations of Conrad's works from the perspective of monolingual readers and concluded that the narrative points of view reflected in the Chinese versions are somewhat different from those of the originals. If we look at the strategies adopted by the translators, it can be seen that the translators did not anticipate that these changes would be regarded as such. In the following discussion, a different approach is used. As I compare the four Chinese translations<sup>44</sup> with their source texts, I look for recurring patterns which can be identified as translation strategies adopted by the three translators. Examples will be drawn from the translations to illustrate such strategies before I provide an explanation in light of the notion of specialists, a key concept promulgated by Hu Shi and his circle of friends.

### **Chinese Translations of Conrad's Works**

The translators' effort to reproduce the semantic units in the originals into readable vernacular Chinese is unmistakable. The participants in and the processes and attributes of each unit are basically preserved in the Chinese texts. In most instances, the translators

translate sentence by sentence. No drastic changes are made to the plot or the content of the stories.

The three translators tend to adapt the original syntax for a Chinese readership.

Receptive sentences marked by verbs in passive voice in English are mostly rewritten into operative clauses. Lengthy nominal groups are unravelled and rendered into a series of

actions to show the implied causal or conditional relations as seen in the following examples:

在那些不整齊的 人們四周	神秘的	圍繞着的	那一切東西	都是	污穢的，破爛的。
(Guan tran 1936:80)					
Around those untidy men	mysteriously	accumulating	all those things	are	dirty, broken.
(back translation)					

ST: ...all the things dirty, and all the things broken, that accumulate mysteriously round untidy men. (Conrad 1898/1977:83)

那些戰士們	在走廊前邊	常常	擺成四五長行，	蹲在那裏...
(Guan tran 1936:85)				
Those warriors	before the verandah	often	show up in four, five long rows	squat there...
(back translation)				

ST: Those warriors would squat in long rows, four or more deep, before the verandah, while their chiefs... (Conrad 1898/1977:88)

The sentence order is rearranged to specify the actors and the spatial dimension in which the action takes place. The original defining relative clause ('that accumulate mysteriously round untidy men') is reshuffled into premodification 在那些不整齊的人們四周神秘的圍繞着的 to 那一切東西 [all those things]. In the following examples, we can see that parts of the sentence are rearranged so that the nominal group is now presented as either the setting or the cause of certain actions at the beginning:

夕陽西 沉，	陰雲密布，	看形勢	似乎會下 冰雹，	我們於是	手忙腳亂 地	趕緊收縮 了帆蓬。
(Yuan tran 1936:52)						
The sun set in the west	shady clouds covered [the sky]	judging from the circumstances	[it] seems that [it is] going to hail.	We, therefore	with busy hands and disordered feet/steps	rush to shorten sail.
(Back translation)						

ST: Just at sunset there was a rush to shorten sail before the menace of a sombre hail cloud. (Conrad 1897/1984:53)

波濤打在	半部被淹沒的甲板上。	他們	便在波濤上	搖晃，	從栓繩的木樁	蕩到繫索的鐵角。
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(Yuan tran 1936:63)

Waves beat	the half-submerged deck.	They	on the waves	swing	from the fastening cleat	to belaying pin.
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(Back translation)

They went swinging from belaying pin to cleat above the seas that beat the half-submerged deck. (Conrad 1897/1984:65)

In the first example, ‘the menace of a sombre hail cloud’ is expanded and moved to the front to suggest the reason for the action coming up (that is, ‘a rush to shorten sail’). In the second example, the attribute that indicates the spatial dimension in which the action takes place is separated from the main clause to become an independent sentence that appears at the beginning (waves beat the half-submerged deck) and sets the scene for the next sentence. The reshuffling of parts of speech to highlight the cause and effect implied in the original is a common feature of all four translations.

Other changes can be found in the lexical aspect. The translators appear to have adopted a common practice of inserting conjunctions and aspectual markers to clarify the implicit relations between clauses. The most common examples of this include the use of time adverbials such as 現在 [now], 立刻 [immediately], 通常[usually], 這時 [at this time], and 此刻 [this moment], which all point to the present moment; 當時 [at that time], 那時 [at that time], 從前, 過去, and 先前 (all mean ‘before/in the past’), which point to the past; 快要, 將 (both mean ‘soon’), and 馬上 [at once] indicating the imminent aspect; 剛, 已經 (both mean ‘already’), and 曾經 [once] indicating the perfective aspect; and 正在, 陸續 and 一面 [all mean ‘as’] indicating the progressive aspect. There are also conjunctions which signal the chronological order of events or actions such as 自從 [since], 然後, 以後, 隨後, 接着, 於是 (all mean ‘then/after that’), and 終於 [finally/at the end], adverbs that highlight

the turning point such as 忽然, 驀然, 猛然, 驟然, and 突然 (all mean 'suddenly'). Since Chinese does not use tense, in cases where the temporal dimension is crucial, the translators probably deem the use of temporal markers necessary for clarification. The addition of these markers enhances the readability of the book and builds the tension as the story unfolds. Causal conjunctions like 因爲, 所以, 因此 and 不但 are more commonly found in Guan Qitong's translations, indicating the translator's interpretation of the source text:

巨大的樹高聳起來，**因爲**是掛滿了糾纏縈繞，如同結彩的蔓科植物，**所以**竟隱而不見。(Guan tran 1936:179, my emphasis)

[Back translation: immense trees soared up, because [there] hang the festooned draperies-like of creepers, therefore [it] is hidden and [becomes] invisible.]

ST: Immense trees soared up, invisible behind the festooned draperies of creepers. (Conrad 1898/1977:172)

不但如此，他們還不喜歡亞爾沙那個人，一則**因爲**他是一個生人，**二則因爲**他既然修理了一個破房子，自己住在裏邊，**那就無異於**表示說，他不怕那些在無人地方作祟的鬼怪們在一塊住着。(Guan tran 1936:180, my emphasis)

[Back translation: Not only this, they disliked Arsat that man, first because he is a stranger, second because as he repairs a ruined house, himself dwelling in it, that makes no difference to proclaim that he is not afraid to live amongst the ghosts and monsters that haunt the places where [there are] no people.]

ST: Moreover they disliked Arsat, first as a stranger, and also because he who repairs a ruined house, and dwells in it, proclaims that he is not afraid to live amongst the spirits that haunt the places abandoned by mankind. (Conrad 1898/1977:173)

**不但**親切的意識到自己族類的孤單，明白的知覺到自己思想和感覺的寂寞——**不但**在消極方面失去了那慣熟的，安全的一切，在積極方面又添上了不經見的，危險的一切...(Guan tran 1936:83, my emphasis)

[Back translation: Not only intimately realized the loneliness of one's kind, clearly perceived the loneliness of one's thoughts and sensations – not only in the pessimistic side lost everything that is habitual and safe, in the optimistic side [it] adds everything that is unusual and dangerous...]

ST: To the sentiment of being alone of one's kind, to the clear perception of the loneliness of one's thoughts, of one's sensations – to the negation of the habitual, which is safe, there is added the affirmation of the unusual, which is dangerous... (Conrad 1898/1977:86)

The examples cited above show how Guan specifies the relations between the clauses, with the causal relation marked by 因爲, 所以, 一則...二則, exposition marked by 那就無異於, and addition marked by 不但. Through these items, Guan guides the readers to come to the conclusions stated at the end of each segment.

Another form of clarification observed in the Chinese translations concerns the English abstract nouns used in Conrad's works. The translators incline to render the abstract nouns into noun groups connected to general terms which identify the nature of the nouns. 'The Inconceivable' is rendered into 不可思議的東西 [the inconceivable thing]; 'Such a meticulous neatness' is rendered into 一個如此纖塵不染的清潔觀念 [a clean/neat concept so speckles]; 'The will of the great' becomes 偉大者的意志 [(a) great person's will]. Occasionally, the translators take the liberty of elaborating on the original to create an image that does not exist in the original text. Yuan Jiahua translates 'the beginnings of anger' into 忿怒底火苗 [the anger's spark] in 'Typhoon' and Guan Qitong renders 'red brilliance' into 紅炎 [red flame] in 'The Lagoon'. The abstractness of the original texts takes root in more concrete objects in the Chinese texts in the form of pre-modifiers added by the translators, helping the reader to conjure up the scene or appreciate the emotions of the characters.

The disposition to make implicit meaning explicit is also realized in another form. The translators tend to explicate the meaning in context or to specify the time frames and references pointed to by certain pronouns or relative pronouns. In contrast with the earlier examples on the addition of temporal adjuncts, which are implied in the source texts, the kind of explicitation here is more elaborate and is based on the subjective interpretation of the translators. These include small changes made to the original texts as the translators replace pronouns with specific subjects, such as in Yuan's translation of the sentence '(...but once a fortnight the family washing was exhibited in force.) It covered the poop entirely'

(Conrad 1903/1998:108) in ‘Falk, a Reminiscence’ into 逢到這時節，整個船尾都給遮滿了。  
 [Back translation: this time (of the year), the whole poop is covered entirely] (Yuan tran 1937:136). A subject and the temporal dimension are restored in the Chinese version. Guan also specifies the sport referred to in ‘Men talked of their sport’ (Conrad 1898/1977:180) as fishing in his translation: 人們都談講他們打漁的事情 [people talk about their fishing business] (Guan tran 1936:188). A similar example can be found in the translation of the clause ‘In the course of these transportations the baby...’ (Conrad 1903/1998:110), which details the kind of ‘transportation’ as 每回把他往裏抱的時候... [every time carrying him inside] (Yuan tran 1937:137). The translators also insert modifying components to explain the quality of events or people. 這羣虔信的蠢貨 [this group of pious fools] is an elaboration of ‘all these people’ in the sentence ‘He was aware all these people did not know enough to take intelligent notice of that strange noise’ (Conrad 1900/2002:62). 紙老虎的威嚇 [paper tiger’s menace] is an expansion of ‘their inefficient menace’ in the original text ‘The tumult and the menace of wind and sea now appeared very contemptible to Jim, increasing the regret of his awe at their inefficient menace’ (Conrad 1900/2002:6).

Occasionally, the translators go so far as to elucidate the original expressions used. In ‘The Outpost’, for example, Guan explains in detail what the original ‘I suspended myself with both hands to the cross-piece’ (Conrad 1898/1977:91) means:

我用自己的兩手托着自己的身子，按在十字架的橫木上。

[Back translation: I use both my hands holding my body, and press on the horizontal (piece of) wood of the cross.] (Guan tran 1936:88)

Yuan Jiahua rewrites English idiomatic expressions into more comprehensible language.

‘Dropping h’s against one another’ (Conrad 1897/1984:169) is explained in explicit terms:

滿口打着倫敦土腔 [speaking in London dialect]. The phrase ‘made better weather of it’ as

in ‘For the moment the gale seemed to take off, and the ship, as if grateful for our efforts,

plucked up heart and made better weather of it’ (Conrad 1897/1984:56) is rewritten in a way



that explains the nature of the situation at hand: 更巧妙地去應付當時的情景 [...more skillfully handle the present situation]. ‘...and it had become a personal matter between us and the sea’ (Conrad 1897/1984:72) is no longer ‘personal’ in the Chinese version. Instead, it points directly to an issue of ‘us’: 如今的問題是我們同海洋打交道 [the current question is that we are dealing with the sea]. We can see from these examples that the translators seem to understand that these expressions are deeply rooted in the English language system and should not be carried over word for word into the Chinese translations.

The most illustrative examples, however, are found in Liang Yuchun’s translation of *Lord Jim*. In the previous examples, Guan and Yuan render mere clauses or sentences as the basic unit. In *Jimu ye*, Liang Yuchun rewrites certain longer sentences in the original, changing the order of the sentences:

要避免當個法律上的罪人是很容易的，只要最普通的毅力就行了；但是我們恐怕誰也不敢擔保說自己不會犯那些雖然看不見的，也許已經疑到的毛病，好比世界上有些地方你總疑心每叢灌木裏都藏有毒蛇——那些躲在你心坎裏，半生以來你注意着的，或者絕沒有留神過的，祈禱上帝把他壓下去的，或者像個男子漢根本瞧不上眼的，暗地裏遏制了的，或者不去理會的毛病。犯罪是不要緊的，我們受迷惑了，幹出挨罵的勾當，幹出上絞臺的勾當，但是我們精神不死，——人們怒罵之後，我們的精神還是完好，我敢說，上了絞臺之後，我們的精神還是完好。  
(Liang tran 1934:33, my emphasis)

[Back translation: To avoid being a criminal in a legal sense is easy, only the commonest (sort of) fortitude can do. But we are afraid that no one dare guarantee to say that they would not commit those unforeseeable, but perhaps already suspected wrongs, as in some parts of the world you already suspect every bush hides a poisonous snake – those hidden in your heart, half a lifetime you watched or never paid attention to, pray to God to press him, or like a man scorned from deep down, repressed in secret, or wrongs that (you) do not care for. Committing crimes does not matter, we are confused/induced and do things for which we get scolded, do things for which we get hanged, yet our spirit does not die – after being scolded by people, our spirit is still in good condition. I dare say, after (we have been) to the gallows, our spirit is still in good condition.]

S/T: The commonest sort of fortitude prevents us from becoming criminals in a legal sense; it is from weakness unknown, but perhaps suspected, as in some parts

of the world you suspect a deadly snake in every bush, - from weakness that may lie hidden, watched or unwatched, prayed against or manfully scorned, repressed or maybe ignored more than half a lifetime, not one of us is safe. We are snared into doing things for which we get called names, and things for which we get hanged, and yet the spirit may well survived - survive the condemnation, survive the halter, by Jove! (Conrad 1900/2002:32)

Liang expands on the original to a considerable extent to render what he considers as unclear phrases like 'not one of us is sage' and the word 'weakness' into straightforward expressions such as 'no one dare guarantee' and 'wrongs/mistakes', respectively. Coming to the end of the excerpt, Liang makes its overall meaning even more explicit by adding the statement 'Committing crimes does not matter', which is presented as a reference to stress the importance of the spirit remaining intact. In another excerpt from the same paragraph, the translator employs a similar strategy:

我以前雖然沒有會過這個年青人，可是我總想爲他找出一點兒口實來，替他辯護，因爲單是他的神情已足夠叫我動心了，覺得我們年青時節都像他這樣，假使連他這種人也會無緣無故幹出私自逃生那件丟臉事，豈不是太古怪了嗎，太可怕嗎，好像是給我們一個暗示，告訴我們將來也都不免有危險。這麼一說，我關心他，也可說是爲着我自己的緣故了。我恐怕我的多方打聽都是出於這個隱晦的動機。我的確希望這回事含有個神妙莫測的成分。我難道不是相信會有個神妙莫測的成分嗎？我這樣熱烈希望着，難道不是爲着自己緣故嗎？(Liang tran 1934:40, my emphasis)

[Back translation: Although I have not met this young man before, I still wanted to find some excuse for him, to defend him, because only his expression/appearance is enough to move my heart, feeling that we are like him when we were young. If a person like him can commit that shameless deed as saving his own life without a reason, isn't that too weird? Too terrible? (It is) like a warning to us, telling us that there are bound to be dangers in the future. Having said that, if I am concerned for him, (one may say that) it is for my own sake. I am afraid that my trying to find out about (the event) from different perspectives is due to this secret motive. I certainly hope that this event has a mysterious element. Did I not believe that there was a mysterious element? I wish so ardently, did I not (do it) for my own sake?]

ST: Did I believe in a miracle? And why did I desire it so ardently? Was it for my own sake that I wished to find some shadow of an excuse for that young fellow whom I had never seen before, but whose appearance alone added a touch of

personal concern to the thoughts suggested by the knowledge of his weakness – made it a thing of mystery and terror – like a hint of a destructive fate ready for us all whose youth – in its day – had resembled his youth? I fear that such was the secret motive of my prying. I was, and no mistake, looking for a miracle. (Conrad 1900/2002:37-38)

As in the previous example, Liang builds up to explaining why the narrator ('I') believes in a miracle and tries so hard to defend Jim, highlighting his sympathy for Jim's reaction to the incident, that is, his selfish act to save himself and ignore the safety of the passengers on board. The whole argument is reorganized to lead Chinese readers to the conclusion stated in two rhetorical questions which appear as genuine questions at the beginning of the excerpt in the original text quoted above.

In addition to their efforts to explain the meaning of the original texts, the translators also tend to render the source texts into Chinese idiomatic expressions. Unlike their efforts at explication, the use of Chinese expressions has either a slightly or a totally different effect on the reader. This tendency is especially noticeable in the works of experienced translators like Liang Yuchun and in the last translation of Yuan Jiahua. The relevant expressions appear in the form of four-character structure, parallelism, and Chinese idioms as shown in the following examples:

...可是在他底心裏，過去已經交代完了，將來還沒到眼前，日常瑣屑也用不着添註解，因為事實最正確而不容疑義的說明莫過於事實自身。(Yuan tran 1937:6)

[Back translation: because, in effect, illustrations which are the most correct and beyond doubt are facts themselves]

S'T: ...but the past being to his mind done with, and the future not there yet, the more general actualities of the day required no comment – because facts can speak for themselves with overwhelming precision. (Conrad 1903/1998:9)

她擡了兩手，懶洋洋地翻着好幾頁信箋，東看一句，西瞟一眼。(Yuan tran 1937:88)

[Back translation: she lifted two hands, wearily flipping over many pages of the letter, reading a sentence in the east and casting a glance in the west]

S'T: Lifting her hands, she glanced wearily here and there into the many pages. (Conrad 1903/1998:93)

午後的微風吹得那一大片衣物輾舞輕擺，叫人隱約模糊地想起缺殘不全，弘輓扁平的淹死鬼。(Yuan tran 1937:136)

[Back translation: the afternoon breeze blew that mass of clothing (and caused it) to dance softly [and] swing lightly, making people vaguely think of the fragmented/physically impaired, great soft and flat drowned ghost.]

ST: The afternoon breeze would incite to a weird and flabby activity all that crowded mass of clothing, with its vague suggestions of drowned, mutilated and flattened humanity. (Conrad 1903/1998:109)

他氣急喘息，吞嚥哽噎，好容易纔逼出『畜生！』兩個字來。(Yuan tran 1937:202)

[Back translation: he panted and gasped for breath, swallowed [and] choked, managed to force the two characters [for the word] ‘beast!’]

ST: He choked, gasped, swallowed, and managed to shriek out the one word, ‘Beast!’ (Conrad 1903/1998:178)

他在那條河流上一來一往，也曾在那兒住過許多次。(Guan tran 1936:182)

[Back translation: On that river he came (and) went, and had lived there many times]

ST: He had slept many times there, in his journeys up and down the river. (Conrad 1898/1977:175)

一陣有力而柔和的喃喃聲，一陣廣大而微弱的喃喃聲，顫動的樹葉的喃喃聲。(Guan tran 1936:189)

[Back translation: a powerful and gentle murmur, a vast and weak murmur, trembling leaves’ murmur]

ST: A murmur powerful and gentle, a murmur vast and faint; the murmur of trembling leaves... (Conrad 1898/1977:181)

至於究竟是為甚麼，那就不得而知，問也無益。(Guan tran 1936:88)

[Back translation: as for what [it’s] for, that [no one] knows, asking won’t (give) any advantage]

ST: ...into which it was useless to inquire. (Conrad 1898/1977:91)

Although these four-character constructions and parallel structures do not necessarily bring out additional information for Chinese readers, they add a Chinese flavour to the narration.

The translations of Guan Qitong and Yuan Jiahua include a sprinkling of Chinese idioms.

Instead of ‘talked rapidly’, the Chinese version reads 馬克惠太太口若連珠懸河 [Mrs.

MacWhirr talked like a running river]; while the original refers to ‘lean’ and ‘fat’, the translation becomes 面黃肌瘦 [face yellow and muscle lean] and 腦滿腸肥 [a stuffed brain and fatty intestines]; while the narrator in the original describes reasoning with the captain as like trying ‘to make a bedpost understand’, the translator reproduces the allusion by replacing it with a different metaphor: 對牛彈琴 [playing *qin* (a stringed musical instrument) to an ox]; while the original simply states that ‘he was disarmed and helpless’, in the Chinese version, the character was disarmed and had no iron in his hands [他被解除武裝了，手無寸鐵了！]. The figurative images behind the Chinese idioms are slipped into the translations and create a different impression among Chinese readers as they read stories set against exotic backgrounds.

As can be seen in the following examples, Chinese world-views and ethical concepts are planted in the translations through the use of expressions other than idioms:

...它們那個陽世的主人的毒意 (Guan tran 1936:180)

[Back translation: the poisonous intention of their master in the yang world (the world of the living)]

ST: ... to wreak the malice of their human master... (Conrad 1898/1977:173)

這麼一來，在那般昧了天良的水手裏，可鬧了亂子了。(Yuan tran 1937:210)

[Back translation: those sailors who have clouded their inborn goodness/a guilty conscience]

ST: Directly, in that demoralized crowd, trouble broke out. (Conrad 1903/1998:190)

假君子 (Guan tran 1936:102)

[Back translation: fake/disingenuous gentlemen]

ST: Hypocrites (Conrad 1898/1977:104)

以待一切的永劫 (Yuan tran 1936:156)

[Back translation: for all eternal calamity/predestined fate]

ST: In death and swathed up for all eternity (Conrad 1897/1984:159)

這回錢丟了，我覺得赤貧得同化緣的僧丐一樣。(Yuan tran 1937:142)  
[Back translation: as poor as a monk who begs alms]  
ST: Now it was gone I felt as poor and naked as a fakir. (Conrad 1903/1998:116)

這時他又接下去說，我們也許知道他是從來不碰一碰量腥的。(Yuan tran 1937:197)  
[Back translation: (should have been ‘量腥’) meat and fish]  
ST: ...when he went on to say that probably we were aware he never touched meat. (Conrad 1903/1998:177)

In these examples, Chinese concepts of life and death (ghosts, the world of the living as opposed to the world of the dead), concepts in Buddhism (predestined fate, alms), and ethical concepts (the Confucian gentlemen, conscience) are inserted into the Chinese translations even though the source texts do not call for substitution of culturally specific terms. In Yuan's translation of *Falk, a Reminiscence*, the idea of 幸福 (*xingfu*), a Chinese concept that refers to happiness and blessings a person will enjoy for the rest of his or her life, is repeatedly used to replace 'happiness' and a girl's 'promising future' at the end of the story when the characters discuss the prospect of Herman's niece who is getting married:

海爾芒太太不知道這種男子能不能使一個女郎幸福...  
[Back translation: Mrs. Hermann did not know whether this kind of man can make a girl *xingfu* (happy).] (Yuan tran 1937:296)  
ST: Mrs. Hermann did not know whether a man of that sort could make a girl happy...(Conrad 1903/1998:198)

我便根據我個人的知識向他擔保說，凡是足以使他姪女前途幸福的一切條件，福克無不齊備。  
[Back translation: Based on my personal knowledge I reassured him and said (in terms of) all the conditions (required) to make her niece's prospects/future *xingfu* (prosperous), Falk was well-equipped.] (Yuan tran 1937:297)  
ST: I assured him on my own personal knowledge that Falk possessed in himself all the qualities to make his niece's future prosperous. (Conrad 1903/1998:198)

The use of these terms and expressions in themselves does not necessarily arouse suspicion in Chinese readers that the translator might have intervened and changed the

meaning of the original text. Such alterations would be discovered only through a comparison of the source and target texts. For an average monolingual reader, the Chinese syntax and figurative images found in the translations would most probably be considered natural. As a matter of fact, the general strategies observed in these four Chinese translations seem to hint at the translators' intention to create a cordial atmosphere and present the translations as if they were originally written for a Chinese readership. The translators frequently insert modal adverbs such as 老, 總, and 還 into the translated narratives, thereby signaling the speaker's anticipation and personal assessment of the current situation and implying that the events or actions take place as the speaker has expected. However, what is more significant is that these adverbs indicate the impatience of and even a hint of annoyance in the speaker, who seems to have had full knowledge of the events all along. The repetitive use of these words tinges the narratives with the personal touch of the Chinese-speaking storyteller as he relays the story.

### **Representing Conrad**

The translation strategy adopted by the translators can be summarized as one of domestication, an approach which aims to bring the source text to the target reader by matching the aesthetic values and ideological expectations of the target culture (Venuti 1995:20). Through these domesticating translations, translators seek to establish canons that 'conform to domestic aesthetic values and therefore reveal exclusions and admissions, centers and peripheries that deviate from those current in the foreign language' (Venuti 1998:67). This argument seems to place much emphasis on the function of translations in the literary field. As foreign masterpieces are translated following the linguistic and rhetorical patterns promoted by the translators or the literary groups with which they are affiliated, the predominant set of aesthetic values (and even the world-views attached to it) will be

consolidated. To serve this function, translators have to become 'invisible' from their own works, creating an illusion that the translation is a faithful reproduction of the original with minimal interference from a third party (that is, the translators). Readers are convinced that they are being addressed directly by the author in their own language through an invisible mediator.

However, this is not entirely the case in the Chinese translations of Joseph Conrad's works and possibly in all the other translations commissioned and published by the Committee on Editing and Translation. To start with, the three translators were not officially affiliated with one or more of the predominant literary groups, nor did they participate in the debates over the positions of any of these groups, even though they had ties with the leading literary figures and publishing houses concerned. Of all the translators, only Yuan Jiahua, who briefly mentioned the linguistic features of the English texts, tried to introduce certain writing styles or rhetorical devices as models from which modern Chinese writers could learn. While Hu Shi was generally considered to be the figurehead of the world literature translation projects, his ideas were not acknowledged openly in either the translations or the paratexts. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, sensitive ideological issues are even played down in Yuan's translations of 'Typhoon' and 'Falk, a Reminiscence'. Furthermore, if this translation project aimed at serving a predetermined agenda, the author and texts selected would have obscured that purpose. As previously noted, Joseph Conrad was not considered one of the most influential foreign writers of the time, neither was sea literature particularly popular among Chinese readers. The claim that the Chinese versions of Conrad's sea stories would be listed among the domestic canons of foreign literature seems far-fetched.

The three translators are highly visible if we take into consideration the paratextual



materials presented alongside the translated texts. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the layout adopted for the translations highlights the presence of the translators. The names of the author and the translator are arranged side by side. The translator's preface appears before that of the author. The translators speak to Chinese readers in their own voice through the prefaces as well as in the extensive explanatory notes on technical concepts and cultural matters. These materials seem to portray the translators as specialists. Readers are constantly reminded that they are reading the Chinese version of a foreign literary text and that the Chinese version has been prepared by a competent person who is not only fluent in vernacular Chinese, but is also knowledgeable in the author, the literary work, and the English language and culture.

This profile of the translators matches those of the other agents operating within the institutional structure under which the translations were produced. The various enterprises and programmes launched and subsidized by the Foundation shared the same objectives which were written into the constitution: to introduce Western scientific knowledge and, more importantly, to apply it within the Chinese context. This was significant for an institution run by a new intelligentsia who aimed to reform China and the mindset of the Chinese people. The Western knowledge imported through translation would be useful only when it served the special needs of the Chinese nation and effected changes by taking root among the younger generation through education. The reorganization of the Advisory Committee on Science Education into the Committee on Editing and Translation was a case in point. Instead of translating foreign books on science and technology, the new committee encouraged the compilation of textbooks by Chinese scholars to cater for the needs of Chinese students. In this way, the different branches of scientific knowledge would no longer be considered properties of the West, but would be regarded as resources which could be harnessed by the Chinese people for their own benefit.

The positioning of the translators is significant within the institutional setting in which they operated. They played the same role as specialists and experts in other academic disciplines in introducing foreign literary texts for the use of Chinese readers. Instead of preserving the minute details of the originals, the translators were required to filter the source texts and to pass on to readers only those elements that were at the heart of the works, or the essence which best represented the authors. In the case of Conrad, the essence of his sea stories boiled down to their plots and characterization. The style of the author, which is exhibited through his intricate description of scenes and of the psychological conditions of the characters, was considered to exist independent of the language of the original texts as if it were scientific knowledge. The translators were, therefore, totally justified in naturalizing the source texts by using idiomatic Chinese syntactic structures and expressions and inserting figurative images which epitomize Chinese world-views. The whole act of translating was viewed as a dialogue between Chinese readers on the one hand and the author represented by the translators on the other.

#### **IV. Conclusion**

The China Foundation was more than a mere funding body to start with. It was not entirely characterized by its American background, although this proved to be an invaluable asset as the National Government sought control over the institution. It was rather defined by the group of intellectuals who stated its cause from the very beginning and saw the need to protect the organization from political interference. These intellectuals were involved in the remaking of modern China through diplomacy, education, and cultural reforms initiated in political, literary, and academic circles. They positioned the institution at arm's length from the existing political system and kept their distance from the political conflicts between the

nationalists and the communists as well as from the power struggles among factions within the National Government. In so doing, they established for themselves a position from which to launch programmes they believed would strengthen the country. Here we see the work of a modern intelligentsia who dared to confront the authorities to defend their vision of the future.

The Foundation had a vision for modern China. Although it was generally understood that the focus was on the natural sciences as Ren Hongjun explained it in 1935 (Fan Hongye and Zhang Jiuchun eds 2002:520), the activities of the Foundation should be interpreted within the ideological context in which it operated to explain the funding it granted for research in areas such as social sciences, linguistics, and archeology, and later for the world literature translation projects. By seeking to apply scientific knowledge to ‘the conditions of China’ (*First Report* 1926:40), the Foundation did not aim solely at the practical application of technological knowledge. Instead, the Board members aimed to promote scientific thinking among the younger generation. By setting the cultural heritage of China within a new framework and interpreting it in the terms used in Western countries, they hoped to reinstate China’s position in the world. To borrow the terms used by John Fitzgerald, China was to recover its voice, to rediscover its identity, and eventually to ‘reclaim the Chinese people for themselves’ from the foreign powers (Fitzgerald 1996:107).

The reorganization of the Committee on Editing and Translation was significant in that it signified the orientation of the Foundation. The objective of the translation projects was not so much to criticize or repel orthodox beliefs by importing Western scientific knowledge, but rather to cement the status already acquired by the vernacular language. The translators of literary texts were required to write as if they were the authors in this new language. In this way, the younger generation would no longer conceive of modern thinking

as a foreign product, but rather as knowledge which could be integrated into the Chinese culture. That such a committee should be directed by Hu Shi, the ‘cultural leader’ as he was referred to in *Who's Who in China*, was significant. It was quite obvious that this was a goal that was shared by Hu Shi and the *Xinyue* group of intellectuals. The proclamation of the literary journal written by Xu Zhimo started with the following sentences and quotations from the Bible and Percy Bysshe Shelly's *Ode to the West Wind*:

我們對我們光明的過去負有創造一個偉大的將來的使命，  
對光明的未來又負有結束這黑暗的現在的責任。

[Back translation: We owe to our bright/glorious past the mission to create a  
great future,

to the glorious future the responsibility for ending the dim present.]

And God said, Let there be light: and there was light. - Genesis

If Winter comes, can Spring be far behind? – Shelley. (Xu Zhimo 1928:3)

This group of intellectuals saw in translation the potential for a mission of building up a repertoire and a new set of values for the younger generation of Chinese. They sought to legitimize the new Chinese national language and culture and, at the same time, the identity of a new nation in a global context.

I have discussed how China Foundation as the institution which commissioned the translation of Conrad's works influenced the translation strategies adopted by the translators. In the next chapter, I will address another factor which plays a major role in shaping the translators' perception of their work, and subsequently their practice: the translation discourse.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> According to the National Bibliographic Information Network (<http://nbinet.ucl.edu.tw>), Jiang Xuekai translated and published another translation of ‘Youth’ in 1929 which was printed by the Nanhua publishing house in Shanghai. However, the translation is not held by any of the major libraries in Mainland China, Taiwan, or the Hong Kong SAR, nor was it acknowledged in articles and translators’ prefaces in other Chinese translations.

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<sup>2</sup> The Sino-British Boxer Fund was deferred until 1925 when an official committee was finally set up.

<sup>3</sup> According to *Diyici zhonghua minguo jiaoyu nianjian* [The First Yearbook on Education of the Republic of China], almost all the trusts allocated some of their money for educational purposes. Belgium specified that 35% of trust funds were to be spent on the construction of railway systems in China and that the component parts were to be purchased in Belgium. The same situation applied to the foundation set up by the United Kingdom. Holland allocated 65% of the sum to water conservancy projects in China. Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and Norway had not arranged for remission by the time the yearbook was compiled.

<sup>4</sup> Jerome B. Grieder hints at the influence of the Nanjing government over the China Foundation by suggesting that ‘...several [members], including Hu Shih [Hu Shi], were dropped in favor of Kuomintang [Guomindang] appointees of more certain loyalties, among them Sun Fo [Sun Ke] and Wang Ching-wei [Wang Zhaoming]...Finally, at the end of the year, a compromise was reached whereby the Kuomintang candidates were ‘properly’ elected to their new positions by the Board which they displaced’ (1970:239-40). He is referring to Cai Yuanpei’s proposal to restructure the Board of Trustees in 1928. Grieder’s description does not reveal the full picture. On the contrary, I would argue that the episode illustrates the Foundation’s effort to defend its independence from political manipulation and Hu Shi’s influential role in the Foundation. I will discuss the incident in due course.

<sup>5</sup> Willoughby replaced John Dewey in 1926. He submitted his resignation together with Huang Yanpei and Ding Wenjiang in the following year. The vacancies were filled by Stuart, Cai, and Hu. Weng was recruited to fill the position of Fan Yuanlian who died on 23 December 1927. His death was recorded in the *Third Report* in March 1929 and was announced in the ‘Men and Events’ column of *The China Weekly Review* on 7 January 1928: ‘Fan Yuan-lien [Fan Yuanlian], for many years Minister of Education in the Peking Government and since 1924 Chairman of the Chinese-American Educational Foundation, died in Tientsin [Tianjin] on Friday, December 23. Mr. Fan had traveled extensively in America and Europe and was nationally known as a progressive leader. He is survived by his mother, his wife and two children.’

<sup>6</sup> Zhang Boling spent 18 months at Columbia University Teachers’ College in 1917. Huang Yanpei went to the U.S. in 1915 to study industrial conditions there as the secretary to the Chinese Industrial Mission. Fan Yuanlian was the first President of the Qinghua School, which was set up in 1911. Ding Wenjiang studied at the University of Glasgow in Scotland and later in Germany. Cai Yuanpei had also studied in Germany and other countries as early as 1902.

<sup>7</sup> Gu was the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Cao Kun’s administration in 1923-24 and was reappointed as the Minister of Finance in May 1926 and as the Minister of Foreign Affairs in October of the same year. Yan had been the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, had held the posts of Prime Minister and Minister of Interior concurrently, and was reappointed Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1925-26. Shi had been the delegate to the Paris Peace Conference (1918-19), the Washington Conference (1921), and the International Opium Conference at Geneva (1924-25). Fan Yuanlian and Cai Yuanpei had been appointed Minister of Education over the years – Fan in July 1911, July 1916, August 1920, and January 1924. His last term in the post lasted for only ten days. Cai was appointed in January 1911 and served in the role for six months before filling in again in April 1927 and eventually being succeeded by Jiang Menglin in October 1928.

<sup>8</sup> Zhang was the President of Nankai University, Zhou the President of Qinghua, Jiang the President of Peking Government University, and Guo the President of Southeastern Government University. Huang was the Chairman of the China Vocational Education Association.

<sup>9</sup> The first representative from the American Legation attended the seventh annual meeting in June 1931.

<sup>10</sup> Students who had returned from studying in the U.S. and fell into this category include Jiang Menglin, Guo Bingwen, and Ren Hongjun, whose studies were partially funded; Hu Shi and Zhao Yuanren were both awarded scholarships in 1910.

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<sup>11</sup> Ren Hongjun, for example, was the Executive Secretary in 1926-1928 and served as Director in 1928-1936 following Fan Yuanlian's death. Hu Shi was re-elected Honorary Secretary from 1929 to 1938.

<sup>12</sup> The *Eleventh Report* released in 1936 recorded that 'the Board regret that its financial condition does not permit it to consider the proposal of the Ministry of Education for the Foundation to increase its contribution to compulsory education till the pledged \$300,000 has been fully paid up' (1936:5). In the next report, however, the attitude of the Board had changed to the extent that it asked the Executive Committee 'to arrange for paying the contribution by utilizing all possible savings from the present fiscal year and the next fiscal year and by continuing, if necessary, the present overdraft arrangements with the banks' on the request for continuation of an increase in the Foundation's contribution to the Compulsory Education Programme (1937:7). In the *Thirteenth Report*, the Executive Committee was further authorized to 'vote Ch\$60,000 from the surplus of the Foundation for 1937-38 for the Compulsory Education Program of the Ministry of Education in six provinces for 1938-39' (1938:6). There is no indication of what had caused this change in attitude. Hu Shi mentioned a conversation with Xueting, a pseudonym for Wang Shijie, then the Minister of Education, in an entry in his diary dated 28 April 1937, in which he rejected the request but said that he would pass on the message to the Board (Cao Boyan ed. 2001b:679).

<sup>13</sup> The report reads: 'Owing to the outbreak of hostilities in North China in the early part of July and in the Yangtze Estuary in August 1937, almost all of our subsidized institutions in China found it impossible to function normally and a majority of them had to remove to the interior on short notice...' (*Twelfth Report* 1937:27, my emphasis).

<sup>14</sup> In October 1927, Cai Yuanpei was appointed President of *Da xue yuan* [The Ministry of Education and Research], which Cai himself designed after the French educational system to oversee education in the country and activities in academic circles. It had the authority to confer university degrees and honours on scholars, for example. The experiment was a failure and Cai resigned from the position in August 1928 (Gao Pingshu ed. 1988:138, 161, 276-7).

<sup>15</sup> Both Li Shizeng (Li Shitsang) and Sun Ke, the son of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, served on the Central Political Council which was headed by Jiang Jieshi and had supreme authority over the National Government. Wang Zhaoming, Wu Chaoshu, and Sun had been members of the Central Executive Committee. Sun was appointed Vice-President of Examination Yuan and the Minister of Railways in October 1928, while Wu became the Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1927. All of these individuals were active participants in the revolutions that started in the 1910s and had been educated overseas. Zhao Yuanren was different in the sense that he had no obvious political affiliation. He was a professor at Qinghua University in 1925-28 and was appointed a research fellow at Academia Sinica in 1929. However, in the original proposal made on 27 July 1928 (Gao Pingshu ed. 1988:255), Cai Yuanpei suggested Chen Lifu, the Chief Secretary of the Central Party Headquarters. Chen was also Secretary of the Headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief of the Nationalist Revolutionary Forces in 1927-28, Director of the Political Training Department of the Inspectorate-General of Military Training, and a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Guomindang.

<sup>16</sup> The letter reads, 'the basic principle of the constitution of the [China] Foundation for the Promotion of [Education and] Culture is to be free from political influence; hence, elections are held among board members to fill vacancies. When we discussed the organization of a Board of Trustees for the British Boxer Indemnity Committee in Shanghai in the previous year, the same principle was also adopted. Now, to abolish this article and change it to "being nominated by the Ministry of Education and Research and appointed by the Government upon the expiration of the three-year term of office of the Board members" is to overthrow the principle. [The original clause] was proposed at the beginning because of the incompetent government that was in power and it was deemed necessary to avoid any political influence. Now with the Government of the Republic of China, one should not worry about her interference. This is nicely phrased, isn't it? The fact is, however, that no one can guarantee that the political situation will remain stable, nor can one guarantee that things

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will go as one wishes. How many years will you stay in office in the Ministry of Education and Research? No one even knows for how long the Ministry of Education and Research will exist. That is why we must protect ourselves from the abuse of the successors and from any political influence. It seems that it is too early to abolish the principle at this moment. I feel obliged to draw your attention to this point' (quoted in Ji Weilong 1995:191, my translation). The reason for quoting the letter at length is that it exemplifies the mindset of Hu Shi, and possibly of most of the board members, in face of challenges from the government.

<sup>17</sup> Hu Shi was re-elected to the Board of Trustees to replace Wang Zhaoming in June 1929.

<sup>18</sup> The article was cited in full in *China Weekly Review* on 26 January: 'Thus ended a memorable meeting in which the principle of an educational foundation's independence and freedom from political interference was reestablished with courtesy and good-will on every side' (Hu Shi 1929a).

<sup>19</sup> There was another encounter in January 1942 when the Western governments, including that of the United States, renounced their extraterritorial rights in China and, simultaneously, their rights to the Boxer Indemnity. Chen Lifu, then the Minister of Education, took the chance to seek control over the fund and proposed to abolish all related organizations. The members of the China Foundation had to reiterate the value of its existence and its contribution to the Sino-American diplomatic relationship. The episode ended when Chen left the Ministry at the end of 1944. Zhu Jiahua, his successor, decided to maintain the status quo (Ji Weilong 1995:207).

<sup>20</sup> It should be noted that in the same year (1931) the government passed a motion to set up the National Institute for Compilation and Translation, which was responsible for the compilation and translation of academic and cultural books and textbooks, projects which had been underway before Hu Shi was made chairman in 1930.

<sup>21</sup> No background to the government's action is given in the reports. However, the first three months of 1932 witnessed some critical moments in the country's history. After the Mukden Incident on 18 September 1931, an investigation commissioned by the League of Nations was initiated in November 1931. The resulting Lytton Report found Japan at fault, but both the United States and Britain continued to adopt a conciliatory attitude toward Japan, which launched another offensive in Shanghai on 28 January 1932 and proclaimed the independence of Manchuria on 1 March. The action taken by the National Government could have been retaliation for the indifference of European countries.

<sup>22</sup> In the booklet issued by the China Foundation in March 1933, 22 universities and colleges, 8 research institutes, and 8 educational and cultural organizations received grants in the 1931-32 year and the amount of funding reached M\$922,000, second only to the amount appropriated in the 1929-30 year (M\$969,000), which was awarded to only 6 universities and colleges, 3 research institutes, and 6 educational and cultural organizations (*The China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture 1924-1932* 1933:4)

<sup>23</sup> The Foundation's total contractual obligations of \$1,000,000 were liquidated after a payment of \$13,600 was made in the 1936-37 year. In other words, its obligation to the Research Fund had been fulfilled by then.

<sup>24</sup> For example, on the Board of Management of the National Library of Peiping, Cai Yuanpei was a director and the Board was chaired by Chen Yuan, who was replaced by Hu Shi in 1932 and Jiang Menglin in 1935. The board members included Fu Sinian, Liu Fu, Zhou Yichun, Ren Hongjun, C.L. Senn, and Ma Shulun, and later, Jiang Menglin (1934). The Board of Management of the Fan Memorial Biological Institute had been chaired by Ren Hongjun since its establishment and its members included Ding Wenjiang and Zhou Yichun. As for the Co-operative Research Fund, the Advisory Committee was composed of Hu Shi, Fu Sinian, Wang Wenhao, Tao Lügong, and C.L. Senn, with Jiang Menglin, Chancellor of the University, and Ren Hongjun, Director of the Foundation, as ex-officio members.

<sup>25</sup> The list of committee members does not appear in the *Fifteenth and Seventeenth Reports*. The *Fifteenth Report* explained that 'it was difficult to convene meetings of the Committee on Examination during the year under review [1939-40]. In accordance with the authorization given by the Board of Trustees, the Director invited appropriate specialists to examine the

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applications which were received' (*Fifteenth Report* 1940:15).

<sup>26</sup> Of the nine professors, two were from Metropolitan University and one was from Yanjing University in Beijing; two were from Central University and one was from the University of Nanjing in Nanjing, two were from Nankai University in Tianjin, and one was from Guanghua University in Shanghai. Hu Xiansu, the outstanding member, was a research professor of biology affiliated with the Science Society of China in Nanjing.

<sup>27</sup> The budget of the Advisory Committee on Science Education for the previous year (1929-30) was M\$33,000. The budget for the 1928-29 year was not provided. The budget remained at M\$50,000 until 1935 when Hu Shi proposed reducing it to \$46,000 by eliminating his own salary. He received an allowance of \$200 instead.

<sup>28</sup> Based on the *Sixth Report* and the entry in Hu's diary dated 15 August 1930, the committee members assigned to the two divisions were as follows: Division of History and Literature (Group A): Ding Wenjiang, Zhao Yuanren, Chen Yinque (Y.C. Tschen), Fu Sinian, Chen Yuan, Wen Yiduo, Liang Shiqiu; Division of Natural Sciences (Group B): Wang Jin (Wang Chin), Hu Jingfu (C.F. Wu), Hu Xiansu, Zhu Kezhen (C.C. Chu), Ding Xielin (Ting Hsi-lin), Jiang Zuo (Chiang Chiang-tso) (*Sixth Report* 1931:4; Cao Boyan ed. 2001a:759). An interesting point to note is that the Division of Natural Sciences was renamed 'Group A' and the Division of History and Literature 'Group B' in the *Seventh Report*.

<sup>29</sup> This is based on the information provided in the annual reports of the Foundation. According to the catalogue of the Shanghai Library, however, translations were published in the 1940s in the name of the Committee on Editing and Translation, most of which were reprints of earlier publications. It is difficult to determine whether this was a decision of the Committee or of the Commercial Press, the contracted publisher.

<sup>30</sup> Some of the titles are repeated in more than one report and are possibly reprints of earlier editions. Some translations do not appear on the list of publications in the reports but are found in the catalogue of the Shanghai Library and are marked as edited by the Committee on Editing and Translation under the China Foundation.

<sup>31</sup> Although Liang Yuchun was a more or less established prose writer, or an 'essayist', as he would have called himself, he was considered as a young translator, or even a student-translator, judging from the articles written in his memory. For example, he was recommended by his teacher Ye Gongchao to be in charge of a column in *Xinyue*; the translation of Conrad's novel was carried out under the encouragement of Hu Shi. After his death, the project was continued by Yuan Jiahua, who was his friend and 'classmate'. The translation of *Lord Jim* was proofread by Ye (Liang Yuchun tran. 1934; Wu Fuhui 2001).

<sup>32</sup> Hu also explained in the *Ninth Report* that the work of the committee was circumscribed in the year 1933-34 because it was difficult to secure good translators (*Ninth Report* 1934:25).

<sup>33</sup> The practice is not consistent, however. Names are sometimes given without any title. For example, Zhao Yuanren and the collaborators in the translation of Karlgren's *Phonologie Chinoise* are first addressed as 'Messrs' in the same report in which Liang is addressed as Prof. Liang. In other sections of the same report, Zhao is consistently referred to as a 'Dr'. In the *Tenth Report*, Liang Shiqiu is addressed as 'Mr' when the translation project for the complete works of Shakespeare is mentioned (*Tenth Report* 1935:19). Liang Shiqiu was appointed a research professor in English literature under the Co-operative Research Fund of the National Peking University and the China Foundation in the 1934-35 academic year.

<sup>34</sup> Xu died in a plane crash on 19 November 1931. His death was noted in a footnote to the *Seventh Report* as he was among the first batch of research professors appointed under the National University of Peking and the Foundation Co-operative Research Fund in the 1931-32 academic year.

<sup>35</sup> I cover this point in the next chapter. To put it briefly, both Lu Xun and Zheng believed that it took time for China to bring through scholars in what they called 'minor languages'. Relay translation was a necessary evil at that time. It was better than ignoring these works altogether.

<sup>36</sup> That said, in the same article, Hu Shi praised Liang Shiqiu's relay translation of *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise* and suggested lending Liang the unabridged English translation by C.K. Scott-Moncrieff for reference (Hu Shi 1929b:9-10).



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<sup>37</sup> The other translation brought out in 1934 was Liang Yuchun's posthumous translation of *Lord Jim*, the subject of this thesis.

<sup>38</sup> There is evidence that a project on Japanese classics such as *Genji Monogatari* and *Kojiki* was underway. There is an entry in Hu Shi's diary dated 6 June 1935 noting that he tried to persuade Qian Daosun to finish the translation of *Genji Monogatari*, a matter which was also recorded in the *Eleventh Report* (1936) (Cao Boyan ed. 2001:485-7). The translation of *Kojiki* was noted as 'sent to press' in the *Fifteenth Report* (1940). The researcher's efforts to find this version in the catalogue of the Shanghai Library were unsuccessful.

<sup>39</sup> Liang Yuchun and Yuan Jiahua were tutors in the Department of English at the National University of Peking (or Peking University) when they translated Conrad's novels. Yuan received a scholarship funded by the British Boxer Indemnity to study at Oxford in 1937.

<sup>40</sup> The *Twelfth Report* records that Yuan Jiahua had completed the translation of *The Heart of Darkness* (1937). However, this translation is not mentioned in subsequent reports, nor can it be found in the catalogue of the Shanghai Library or other documents concerning the translator.

<sup>41</sup> Mao Dun had commented on Chinese readers as he explained why translators should be careful to preserve the characterization in novels. Stories filled with suspense, such as the detective stories of Sherlock Holmes and Hawthorne, were so much more popular at that time that psychological descriptions in works such as those of Moliere were dismissed as 'hilarious' (1921/1984:342). The reader Fan refers to in the article may point to a Chinese readership after all.

<sup>42</sup> The 29 novelists are Swift, Defoe, Fielding, Scott, Austen, Dickens, Thackeray, Eliot, Stevenson, Mrs. Stowe, Allan Poe, Hugo, Balzac, Dumas, Stendhal, George Sand, Flaubert, Zola, Maupassant, Gogol, Turgenev, Dostoevsky, Tolstoi, Tchekhov, Gorky, Mark Twain, O. Henry, Barbusse, and Roman Rolland (Zheng Zhenduo 1935:5-6).

<sup>43</sup> We should not confuse these articles with those on Shakespeare and Western drama. Liang's articles were published in another literary journal, *Yusi* [Thread Talk], and Conrad was only briefly mentioned in these essays.

<sup>44</sup> Only the first fifteen chapters of *Jimu ye* (Lord Jim) are examined in this thesis. The translation is regarded as the work of Liang Yuchun, as stated in the editor's preface to the translation.

## **Chapter Four:**

### **The Discourse of Translation in Republican China**

Translation activities in nineteenth- and twentieth-century China were closely associated with the socio-political environment. Taking into account the mission of translators – to import Western knowledge which would influence society and eventually reform the mindset of the Chinese people – we can say that the translation of Western literature in the Republican period (1912-1949) was a continuation of various translation programmes largely initiated by officials of the former Qing court. Rather than importing books on science and technology, the new generation of intellectuals now translated works of Western literature and theories to be used as tools in the cultural movement which aimed to reform the country, starting with the national language. Through this translated literature, the new intellectuals hoped to widen the horizons of the Chinese people, awaken their sense of national identity, and make them aware of their country's inferior and vulnerable status. In contrast to those planned and carried out by government institutions during the Qing dynasty, most translation activities during this period were not centrally organized. Translation projects could be proposed by publishers or relevant literary groups. Some translators initiated projects on an individual basis before submitting their finished translations to different publishing houses or literary journals for approval. The zeal to introduce all kinds of literature from different European countries stimulated discussions on a wide range of related topics including the function of translation, the selection of source texts, the methodology of literary translation, and the quality of the end-products. These dialogues appeared mostly in literary journals and newspaper supplements in the form of articles, reviews, letters to the editor, prefaces to translations, and even advertisements. Some of them were written by translators or editors of published translations, while others were

sent in by critics, readers, or even by end-users (in the case of textbooks and dictionaries). Regardless of the political orientation of the writer, these writings help us to form a picture of the socio-cultural environment in which Chinese translations were produced and consumed. This type of information is essential to gaining a better understanding of the behaviour and choices of the translators.

In the previous chapter, I explored how the translators' strategies relate to the institutional structure in which they serve. In this part of the thesis, I locate the translators within the cultural dimension, focusing on the construction of a discourse of translation at the time. This chapter covers three areas in the literary field: the socio-political environment in which translation activities took place, translation theories<sup>1</sup> practitioners were advised to use as guidelines, and criticisms in which published translations were evaluated. I begin with an account of the historical background and an explanation of how 'faithfulness' became an essential criterion allowing translators and their translations to serve a bigger purpose. The focus then turns to an examination of the theories that formed the basis of modes or methods of translation in a bid to achieve 'faithfulness' in part two. Here I give an account of the debates on the two modes of translation: *zhibi* [straight translation/literal translation] and *yiji* [sense translation/free translation]. These two notions came to be interpreted differently as the power relationship within the field changed over time. Once the vernacular language had replaced classical Chinese as the dominant written language in the 1920s, theorists placed more emphasis on the reception of translations by Chinese readers. Translators were given more freedom to adapt source texts to suit the needs of a new readership. The notion of *shen* – a concept often used to gain an appreciation of the spirit or essence of a painting, calligraphy, and later on, a literary text – came to the fore. While 'faithfulness' remained a prerequisite for all successful translations, it was no longer as strictly defined as it had been used in the sense of 'straight translation' or the more radical approach

of ‘word-for-word translation’. After reviewing these theories, the concept of faithfulness is explored within the context of translation criticism in part three. I consider how it was elaborated by both critics and translators in their rebuttals. In these criticisms, one translation is confronted by another or more versions of the same text. Both critics and translators attempt to establish that their own translation is the only correct interpretation. I demonstrate that in most cases they do not trace back to the original text to verify the meaning. Instead, they strengthen their stance through their knowledge of the author and the original to create an image of how the text should be presented in the Chinese scene. The chapter concludes by revisiting the concept of faithfulness as it was applied in early twentieth-century China. I will argue that ‘faithfulness’ (*xin* or *zhongshi*) should be regarded as a code of practice governing the behaviour of practitioners of the time – not only in terms of the choices they made during the translation process, but also in terms of the overall presentation of the translated text. Translators were asked to provide a reliable representation of a foreign literary work which could be integrated into the Chinese repertoire. To achieve this, they had to do more than ‘translate’ foreign texts: they played a mediating role as they sought to present foreign literature to a different readership. At the same time, they were obliged to provide guidance to Chinese readers in paratexts to allow them to appreciate the original.

## **I. The Historical Background**

The translation of Western literature in the early twentieth century made a significant contribution to the third wave of translation activities in China, one that followed on from the translation of Buddhist scriptures in the mid-second century BCE and the translation of books on science and technology that began in the sixteenth century CE (Hung and Pollard 1998:366-73). In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Qing government suffered a

series of defeats in wars with Western powers. The reformists in the court fought the conservatives in advocating reforms based on Western models. From the Self-strengthening Movement of the 1860s until the Hundred Days' Reform in 1898 and the subsequent Late Qing Reform in 1902, translation was viewed as a means of introducing the technological, military, and political knowledge needed to save the country from its predicament. *Tongwen guan* [College of Languages] was set up in Beijing in 1862 to train translators and interpreters and the Jiangnan Arsenal established a similar institution in Shanghai in 1865. Both institutions were run by government officials and focused on translating books on law, politics, and natural and social sciences (Hung and Pollard 1998:369). Scholars outside the government, the reformists in particular, also promoted translation activities. Liang Qichao, who had once served as a government official and was one of the most influential scholars among the new intellectuals of the early twentieth century, emphasized translation as one of the two ways in which the country could be saved, the other being education, especially teaching young people English at an early age. In his proposal for a national reform programme, which was serialized in his newspaper *Shinwu bao* [The Times] in 1897, Liang devoted a whole chapter to translation and addressed three aspects: the selection of texts, the principles of translation, and the training of translators. Priority should be given to books on subjects like legal systems, history, politics, agriculture, mining, economics, and philosophy. Textbooks were another category which would be useful in improving education (Liang Qichao 1897, quoted in Chen Fukang 1992:110-111).

Gao Fengqian, who joined the Commercial Press in 1903, also wrote in 1897 that by importing books on social science (政事之書), the government would gain knowledge about Western countries – such as the strengths and weaknesses of their national policies, their diplomatic relationships. China would then have a better chance of success in negotiations with Western officials and would not need to 'rely on or be fooled by others in initiating

reforms' (Gao Fengqian 1897, quoted in Chen Fukang 1992:148). The same view was shared by Zhang Yuanji, a former reformist in the Qing court who was committed to establishing translation as a proper discipline. He had proposed the establishment of *Tongyi xuetao* [College of Humanities] to encourage students of a high calibre to study translation. He became the Dean of the Faculty of Translation at *Nanyang gongxue* [Nanyang Public School (later reorganized as Jiaotong University)] in Shanghai when he was relieved of his government post after the failure of the Hundred Days' Reform. When he joined the Commercial Press in 1902, he clearly stated that Chinese translations of Western textbooks would revive the spirit of the Chinese people (Zhang Yuanji 1902, quoted in Chen Fukang 1992:142-143). It was no surprise that on entering the publishing industry, these former officials would continue to promote the translation of Western textbooks on a wide range of topics and of literature.

From the beginning, in common with the translation of textbooks and writings on science and technology, the translation of Western literature also served a political purpose. When Liang Qichao left for exile in Japan, he chose to translate political novels so that he could continue the socio-political struggle by stimulating discussions in China (Liang Qichao 1898, quoted in Chen Fukang 1992:114). Lu Xun translated science fiction in 1903 in the hope that this would 'improve the minds of our people and replenish our civilization' (Lu Xun 1903, quoted in Chen Fukang 1992:171). The new generation of Chinese intellectuals who came to the fore with the establishment of the Republic of China in January 1912 believed that translated literature should play the same role. They included students and followers of the early reformists, students in modern schools established by missionaries, and students who had returned from Japan or European countries. Their first-hand experience of Western technical knowledge and advanced ideas of democracy and science had convinced them of the power of Western learning. The mission of translation was to

bring in texts facilitating Western learning in China and to build up a body of texts written in the vernacular language, which was believed to be more accessible than classical Chinese to the Chinese populace at large. In the programme of the New Culture Movement<sup>2</sup>, as it was called, the classics and the orthodox language in which they were written were regarded as symbols of the old order and a hindrance to modernization. Such traditional concepts must be discarded to give the common people access to knowledge.

The two most influential articles on the role of literature in modern society were written by Hu Shi and Chen Duxiu. In the first of these articles entitled ‘wenxue gailiang chuyi’ [A Preliminary Discussion on Literary Reform] (1916), which appeared in *Xinqing nian* [New Youth or *La Jeunesse*], Hu Shi advocated literature which expressed ways of thinking and the true sentiments of humankind. Such works should not imitate the old canons. Fiction written in the vernacular language was ‘literature of the first order’. Shi Nai’an’s *Shuibu zhuang* [The Water Margins], Cao Xueqin’s *Shitou ji* [The Story of the Stone], and Wu Woyao’s *Ersbinian mudu zhi guaixianzhuang* [The Strange Phenomena Witnessed in Twenty Years] were all models to be followed because the language used was close to the vernacular. He also suggested that contemporary writers should work with a language which was gaining currency:

Rather than using the dead language with a history of three thousand years, it is more appropriate to use the living language of the twentieth century (Hu Shi 1916:476, my translation).

Chen Duxiu responded to Hu Shi almost at once with ‘wenxue geming lun’ [On Literary Reform] (1917), an article published in the following issue of *Xinqing nian*. He raised ‘the three main doctrines’:

We must dispose of the decorative and fawning aristocratic literature and establish a plain and expressive national literature. We must dispose of the deteriorating and over-decorated classical literature and establish a fresh and sincere realistic literature. We must dispose of the pedantic and abstruse literature

of recluses and establish an understandable vernacular literature for the public (Chen Duxiu 1917:563, my translation).

Literature must reflect life and society. Literary writings would make an impact only when they were written in a comprehensible manner for the general public to read. With an easy-to-learn and expressive language, the public would become educated and be exposed to Western concepts such as science, liberalism, democracy, socialism, and Marxism. Translating Western literature, especially drama and fiction, was the most direct way of injecting modern thinking into the minds of the Chinese people.

From the 1910s onwards, a large number of Chinese translations of Western literature were published either in book form or as serialized publications in literary journals. These translations were complemented by articles analyzing translation as a discipline. As I will explain in detail in the second section of this chapter, some of these articles were propaganda aimed at encouraging more translations due to their important role in the New Culture Movement and the sense of urgency resulting from the deteriorating political situation. A utilitarian view of translation can be observed in writings which illustrated translation methodology. Some writers specified the types of books for which translations were needed as soon as possible, while others outlined the rules to be followed by practitioners. The latter often hinted at the specific qualities required of translators. These theorists, who had experience of translating or editing, attempted systematic analyses of the nature of translation. Some including Zheng Zhenduo translated English translation theories to propose certain principles that should apply in the field. While they might have had different ideological positions and were affiliated to rival literary or even political groups, they had similar expectations of translators. Translation must not be taken lightly by any bilingual individual. Translators should be erudite and fully conscious of their mission in reforming society and contributing to the greater cause of national salvation. These articles



demonstrate the claim made by theorists and critics that the so-called ‘translation circle’ was constructing a discourse on translation which was not at all the same as that of the literary field at large. For them, translation was a unique activity to be conducted by a group of competent practitioners and supervised by all agents. I will now look at the values shared within this circle by examining the theories proposed and the criticisms made.

## Translation Theories

Articles on translation to have appeared in China have been collected and widely discussed. Scholars have focused on the historical development of key concepts such as the dichotomy of *wen* [language/words] and *zhi* [nature/substance] of a text, *zhiyi* [straight/direct translation] and *yiyi* [sense translation], as well as on ideas borrowed from traditional Chinese literary criticism such as *shenyun* [spiritual resonance] and *huaqi* [sublimation]. Researchers have also examined theories proposed by individual writers or literary groups, which explains why many books and anthologies in the field centre on leading literary figures such as Zhou Zuoren, Guo Moruo, Lu Xun, and Mao Dun, or on major literary groups such as *Xinyue she* [Crescent Moon Group], *Chuangzao she* [Creation Society], and *Wenxue yanjiu hui* [Literary Research Association]. Luo Xinzhang’s *Fanyi lunji* [An Anthology of Articles on Translation] (1984), for example, brings together a collection of thirty-nine articles written during ‘the modern period’ of 1909-1935. Nine of these articles were written by Lu Xun under different pen names, six were authored by Mao Dun, and five were by Guo Moruo<sup>3</sup>. In the chapter on modern translation theories, Chen Fukang (1992) covers a wider spectrum of writers including Hu Shi, Liu Fu, Fu Sinian, and Luo Jialun, who were all leaders of the New Culture Movement and adopted a pro-Nanjing government stance in the late 1920s. In his anthology *Fanyi lunji* (Essays on Translation) (1981), the Hong Kong-based scholar Liu Ching-chih brings together correspondence between Lu Xun and Qu Qiubai and articles by

Lin Yutang, Zhao Yuanren, and Hu Shi to reflect on thinking on translation in modern China. Xie Tianzhen and Zha Mingjian gather materials on the major literary journals and publishers of Chinese translations to present a more comprehensive picture of the period in the recently published *Zhongguo ershi shiji waiguo wenxue fanyishi* [A History of Twentieth Century Foreign Literary Translation in China] (2007). Wang Jankai (2003) adopts a different approach as he discusses the different aspects of the introduction and reception of British and American literature in China in a book that includes a chapter on the role played by the literary journals. Leo T.H. Chan (2004) brings together English translations of 38 articles over a span of a century in his book *Twentieth-century Chinese Translation Theory: Modes, Issues, Debates*, presenting dialogues on eight topics which cut across time<sup>4</sup>.

The Chinese term *lilun*, which translates as ‘theory/theories’, was a new concept in early twentieth-century China. The articles discussed in the following pages were not necessarily regarded as ‘theories’ at the time they were published. As the titles of the anthologies that bring together these writings suggest, these articles actually discuss a wide range of translation topics. One impressive aspect of these articles is their sheer volume. In the appendix to his book, Chen Fukang collects 336 articles on translation published between 1912-1937 (Chen Fukang 1992:495-518). Almost half of them appeared within the 1920-1924 period<sup>5</sup>. The writers express their views on different aspects of translating and comment on other theorists’ ideas or published translations. They also share their personal experience. If given the space to do so, the writers, and especially the popular literary figures, attempt to present their views systematically on the nature of translation or the methodology that should be adopted. Many of the theorists, if they may be referred to as such, had received education in the West and were conscious of foreign literary theories and the scientific approach required for academic investigations. The term ‘theories’ is used here to differentiate them from the offhand and impressionistic remarks which are commonly found

in the prefaces to earlier translations.

These articles tell us more than the personal views of the theorists on certain topics arising from translation activities of the time. The attitudes of the writers, as reflected in their writings, reveal that translation was developing into a discipline which had a close relationship with the literary arena and yet was independent of it in many respects. One aspect of this independence can be seen in the translation criticisms. We can see the critics, including scholars outside translation and literary circles, trying to set up normative principles to assess published translations and regulate the behaviour of practitioners. This type of writing has received little attention from contemporary scholars, and not without good cause. Most of these critics looked for mistakes made by translators and then commented on them using pejorative expressions which are close to slander. The 'discussion', if that is the appropriate word, is not always related to the original and the translated text. Critics might launch personal attacks on the translators and query their qualifications for the task. As a result, apart from criticisms written by the renowned writers referred to earlier in this section, most of them have been dismissed as meaningless wars of words between rival groups or individuals<sup>6</sup>. They are 'meaningless' as they fail to address the 'key' issues such as the cultural movement of the time or the national salvation programmes. However, where comments are made on actual translations, these fault-finding articles provide useful information on how certain general notions alluded to in the theories such as 'faithfulness' or 'the spirit of the original' were actually applied in practice and indeed how such notions were interpreted in the reception of translated texts.

### **Translation Criticisms**

Despite the abusive language used by some critics, translation criticism, as was the case

with literary criticism, was generally considered to be indispensable to improving and enhancing the quality of translations. Most of the reviews of the early 1920s were written by well-known literary figures and scholars in the literary and associated fields such as the Creationists and Jiang Shaoyuan who specialized in philosophy. Some critics would identify themselves as fellow translators, students, or readers who were interested in Western literature. In most cases, translations were judged from the perspective of monolingual readers. If articles on translation theories were intended to act as guidelines for translators and were targeted at practitioners, the criticisms were different in terms of both their function and readership. Critics often took to task translators and editors who were responsible for the poor quality of the translations in question. At the same time, they would also address readers as they began to conclude their articles and claimed to provide the correct interpretation of Western literary texts. They would warn readers against faulty translations by casting doubt on the relevant Chinese version. Some critics such as the Creationists went so far as to advise readers not to waste their money on translations but to start learning foreign languages instead so they would be able to read the original works. Without acknowledging the fact that the bilingual reader's reading of the original is in itself an act of translation and does not guarantee a more 'accurate' interpretation, the attitude reflected in these criticisms reflects a lack of trust in translators.

Coming into the 1930s, left-wing theorists were particularly enthusiastic in encouraging translation criticism. They sought to catch the attention of Chinese readers who had been drifting away because of the disappointing translations published in earlier years. By reviewing published translations, critics provided guidance to readers on how to buy reliable Chinese versions of foreign literature. As Lu Xun stated, critics could even improve upon translations that were regarded as bad given the dwindling number of acceptable works. He invoked the metaphor of a rotten apple:

In the previous criticism model, we say: this apple is bruised and no good, throw it away. However, consumers have a limited amount of money and it's wasted. What's more, the financial circumstances of consumers are not improving. So it's better for us to add a few words. If it's not rotten throughout, we can say: this part of the apple is bruised, but this bit is fine, it can still be eaten. In this way, the quality of the translation is clarified and the loss of the reader can be reduced to a minimum (Lu Xun 1933b:4).

Translation criticisms written from this perspective claimed to cater for the interests of both consumers and translators. However, judging from the language used in articles of this type and the responses of the translators, this was not always the case. While critics often concluded their articles by emphasizing how criticism could benefit translators by encouraging them to improve their attitude and skills, the mean and shrill expressions employed indicate an intention to launch personal attacks against translators, editors, and sometimes the literary groups with which they were affiliated. Translation critics of the time appear to have attached very little importance to commonly discussed translation theory topics. Only a few articles touch on the methods used by translators and even fewer deal with them at length.

The corpus of the research on translation criticism is made up of 107 reviews or articles commenting on the quality of published translations. They are found in three newspapers supplements and nine literary journals published in the 1921-1937 period (see Appendix 3). The list of articles is by no means exhaustive, but these journals and newspaper supplements were among the most widely circulated at the time. These articles can be divided into three main types according to the attitudes and identities of the writers. The first type, 'positive translation reviews', covers articles written by critics who concentrate on texts and the translation skills involved with a view to enhancing professional standards. These articles often begin with praise for the achievements of the translator(s) concerned. Longer articles follow up with a detailed analysis of the original text<sup>7</sup> and the respective Chinese

translations. In certain instances, the critic compares different Chinese versions to study the strategies employed by two or more translators. To emphasize their goodwill, critics are especially careful in their choice of words and declare their intention to avoid making caustic remarks or using derogatory language. Such declarations imply that acerbic, condescending appraisal was the common form of translation criticism at the time. A typical example of the first type of article is Mao Dun's criticism of two Chinese translations of *Jane Eyre*, which is dealt with in detail at the beginning of the third section of this chapter.

The second type of criticism is marked by malicious language targeting individuals including translators, editors, and even members of the targeted literary groups. While these articles include analysis of the translated texts, charges are clearly levelled at the translator(s) or editor(s) concerned. The critic takes up a condescending position either as a reader whom the translator is supposed to serve or as a 'voluntary proofreader' who has superior knowledge of the original, the author, or the subject area. Apart from the textual features, the critic often discusses the extratextual knowledge deemed necessary to provide *the* correct interpretation of the original. The translator is often discredited for failing to live up to the critic's expectations.

Criticism of the third type accounts for only a small proportion (19 out of 107 articles) of the corpus. These articles were written by translators to defend their own translations against critical comment. Almost all of them are responses to certain accusations. In a typical article of this type, the translator elaborates on the strategies adopted in his work or declares the intention behind the translation (for example, to experiment with a new form of verse as in Fu Donghua's case (1933)). They include articles written by the same translator, Sun Yong (1937a, b), who points to mistakes he found in his own translations. This unusual practice and the defence of other translators seen in the third type of criticism provides a picture of

how practitioners reacted to the public expectations of readers and critics and created a dialogue between practitioners and end-users. This type of writing provides valuable information from the translator's perspective.

In contrast with the literary criticism found in this period, translation criticism of the time had a weaker association with the literary programmes promulgated by literary groups. The arguments presented in translation criticism concentrate on translated texts or the performance of the translators concerned, aspects which seem to have been governed by an established code. The difference between critics and translators lies in their interpretation of excerpts from the texts that are analyzed and not in opinions on literary style or ideological position. Before we look at how critics and translators interpret the original, I will start with the criteria used in translating certain literary works. The theorists' translation opinions are then reviewed, where I argue that although the concept of 'faithfulness' – *xin* or *zhongshi* – was held up as the most important standard, it was also a fluid concept which was open to interpretation.

## II. Faithfulness – Translation Theories in Republican China

The utilitarian view of translations as replenishment of the Chinese vernacular repertoire was generally shared among theorists during the early stage of the New Culture Movement in the late 1910s. In Hu Shi's famous article 'Jianshe de wenxue geming lun' [A Constructive Literary Revolution Theory] (1918), he highlighted translation as a means of enriching the rhetorical devices available to writers using the vernacular language in its infancy. Jiang Baili, one of the co-founders of the *Wenxue yanjiu hui* [The Literary Research Association] established in 1920, regarded translation in the May Fourth period as a movement, or 'a means to an end' (有目的的手段) (Jiang Baili 1921, quoted in Chen Fukang

1992:254). Its function of helping to create a national language had been demonstrated by the successful example of Martin Luther's German translation of the Bible. By translating masterpieces from other languages, the status of the new national language would be promoted and it would ultimately become a mature medium for more sophisticated usages. *Chuangzao she* [Creation Society] was probably the only group to argue against mainstream opinion and dismiss the importance of translation in comparison with literary creation. Guo Moruo<sup>8</sup>, for example, opposed the overemphasis given to translations and remarked scornfully that translation 'only satisfies the impulse to possess. It could induce the impulse to create but it had no other positive value' (Guo Moruo 1921, quoted in Chen Fukang 1992:266). He compared translation to a matchmaker and original composition to a virgin, stressing that more respect should be given to the latter and that the former should be largely suppressed. Guo seems to have reasserted the subordinate position of translations in pointing out that translations, the function of which could be likened to that of a matchmaker, could be used only as a facilitator to build up a more favourable environment. The translator's task was to introduce (介紹) foreign literature to the Chinese literary scene and provide models to inspire Chinese writers. From this perspective, Guo's view does not diverge greatly from those of the other theorists.

Another point on which the theorists reached a consensus is the standards used for assessing translations. Ever since Yan Fu had suggested the three principles of translation in the preface to *Tianyan lun*, his 1897 Chinese translation of Thomas Huxley's *On Evolution*, *xin*, *da*, and *ya* – usually rendered into 'faithfulness', 'comprehensibility', and 'elegance' – had come to form the framework used for evaluating translated texts. Theorists deliberated over the priority to be accorded to each of the three terms and their definitions. Faithfulness was unanimously voted the most important criterion among the three. In the guidelines for translation written up by Zheng Zhenduo as he compiled *Shijie wenku* [A Collection of World



Literature] in 1935, he cited faithfulness as the first principle. Comprehensibility was considered essential to the faithfulness of a translation. The criterion of ‘elegance’ was dismissed peremptorily with the line ‘there is no need to mention “elegance”; Yan’s “elegance” was attained by sacrificing “faithfulness”’ (Zheng Zhenduo 1935:8). In fact, more than ten years earlier in 1921, Zheng had already translated Alexander Fraser Tytler’s *Essay on the Principles of Translation* in which the three general laws proposed may be said to prefigure Yan’s triadic model. There, Zheng equated the first principle (‘the translation should give a complete transcript of the ideas of the original work’) to the principle of *zhongshi* [being loyal and truthful] and stresses its primacy over the other two rules (Zheng Zhenduo 1921:7-19).

Yu Dafu accepted Yan’s model as representing the authoritative set of standards and the golden rule in the translation circle (Yu Dafu 1924/1984:395-6). In 1950, Zhou Zouren still regarded *xin*, *da*, and *ya* as established authoritative principles that had not been challenged (Wang, Chen et al. 2006:76). Theorists who disagreed with and criticized Yan Fu, such as Lin Yutang, Chen Yuan, and Qu Qiubai, did not question the first principle of faithfulness. It was the standard of elegance that Chen Yuan and Qu Qiubai rejected because it was tied to the style of literary work (Chen Yuan 1929:3) or strictly applied to Chinese classical writings (Qu Qiubai 1932/1984:287). Lin Yutang expanded upon the three Chinese characters of *xin*, *da*, and *ya* in the preface to an anthology on translation edited by Wu Shutian in 1933. The three standards were redefined as *zhongshi* [loyal and truthful], *tongshun* [comprehensible and fluent], and *mei* [beautiful] (Lin Yutang 1933/1981). Lin then specified the four levels on which faithfulness was to be realized and four other requirements to be fulfilled in rendering a translation. That a translation should be an honest reproduction of the original always appeared at the top of this list of requirements.

The prerequisite of faithfulness was not challenged during the Republican Era and

indeed had not been questioned throughout the history of translation in China<sup>9</sup>. Instead of asking whether a translation should be faithful, the question raised at the time was rather *how* to guarantee its faithfulness. Theorists attempted to prescribe methods for translators to follow. Some sought to define the core meaning of the original using terms borrowed from literary criticism. Opinion was divided among theorists on both topics and fierce debates were sparked off among them. The following section of this chapter focuses on two topics: the debate over *zhiyi* [straight/direct translation] and *yiyi* [sense translation], and the notion of *shensi* [resemblance to the spirit/essence]. The two terms *zhiyi* and *yiyi*, which are often loosely rendered as ‘literal translation’ and ‘free translation’, had been interpreted in different ways against the changing political and cultural backdrop. As I examine their evolving meaning, I want to argue that the two terms, together with the other coinages describing different modes or styles of translation, should not be taken out of context. This is followed by a discussion of the concept of *shen* [spirit], or the core meaning of literary works. Once the theorists went beyond the surface structure of the original to look for its deeper meaning, whether the translator preserved the spirit or essence of that work in the translation became the gauge for measuring the faithfulness of the translated text.

### ***Zhiyi* [straight/direct translation] and *Yiyi* [sense translation]**

During the discussion on methods of translation in the 1920s and 1930s, terms were coined to characterize different modes of translation such as *duiyi* [matched translation], *zhiyi* [straight/direct translation], *yiyi* [sense translation], *yingyi* [hard/stiff translation], *shunyi* [fluent translation], *siyi* [dead translation], *qiyi* [curved/defective translation], *weiyi* [incorrect translation], and *luanyi* [chaotic/reckless translation]. Many of these terms are framed in figurative language to mock substandard Chinese translations or nonsensical translation methods. Once taken out of their contexts, these terms are open to interpretation. The

theorists at that time would exploit this flexibility to redefine the terms to suit their own purpose when they were engaged in polemics. The dichotomy of *zhìyì* and *yìyì* is one such case. Contemporary scholars tended to simplify the two terms as ‘literal translation’ and ‘free translation’ and treat them as fixed concepts. Nevertheless, these two concepts had been used to describe quite different types of translation and, sometimes, different strategies. The fluidity of their definition can be seen in Ai Wei’s investigation of *zhìyì* and *yìyì* by means of a questionnaire. The article ‘Yixue wenti shangque’ [Discussion of Questions Arisen from Translatology], first published in 1929, brings together eleven definitions of the two terms and scholars’ opinions on the merits and drawbacks of the methods. While some theorists such as Sun Guiding considered *zhìyì* to be a translation ‘bound by the original words and sentence structures’ and *yìyì* to be one which was idiomatic and preserved the original meaning (Ai Wei 1929/1940:71-72), others like Lü Zhiwei regarded a *zhìyì* translation as a faithful reproduction of the original text as a whole and an *yìyì* translation as a free translation that was as bad as Yan Fu’s *Tiānyān lùn* (Ai Wei 1929/1940:74). Yu Shangyuan treated the two styles of translation as separate strategies which could both produce good translations if used appropriately, whereas Zhang Shiyi regarded the categorization as unnecessary because translators had but one task: to convey the meaning of the original and express the meaning of every single word in it (Ai Wei 1929/1940:77). However, the fuzziness of the two concepts is significant. As I will discuss in the following paragraphs, the standards applied to translation changed to serve the needs of both readers and the nation as the vernacular language gradually became accepted and used as the official language of Chinese people at large. The ambiguity over the definitions of *zhìyì* and *yìyì* also shows us how the ‘faithfulness’ of a translation could become detached from the formal features of the original to cater for Chinese readers as it was integrated with the criterion of ‘comprehensibility’.

The *zhiyi* approach was first suggested to counter the translation mode demonstrated in the works of Yan Fu and Lin Shu. Although Yan had experimented with different approaches at different stages, most of the new intellectuals stereotyped him as a translator who replaced the original text with his own examples and inserted his own comments. Lin Shu's translations were also criticized based on the fact that this prolific translator did not understand any language other than Chinese. He alone was held responsible for omitting parts of the original text or substituting certain culture-specific items with objects or concepts familiar to Chinese readers<sup>10</sup>. Critics labelled the strategies used by Yan and Lin as *yiyi*, which is more appropriately rendered as 'free translation' considering the negative connotation it carried in the context<sup>11</sup>. They came under severe attack from the May Fourth intellectuals who at the same time were opposed to the use of orthodox language and the style found in their translations. By condemning Yan and Lin's translation methods, their translations written in classical Chinese were also branded as inaccurate renditions of Western texts. For example, Luo Jialun, an editor of the avant-garde literary journal *Xin qingnian* [New Youth or *La Jeunesse*], criticized Lin by citing a quotation from an American article 'Yuandong sixiang zhengzhi chaoliu' [The Thinking and Political Trend in the Far East] in which the author, after reading Lin Shu's translations, concluded that 'the Chinese do not appreciate the true value of Western literature'. With special reference to the 'defects' in Lin's translations, Luo emphasized that the translator must not gloss over difficult parts, change the original meaning, or inject Chinese meaning into the translation (Luo Jialun 1918, quoted in Chen Fukang 1992:215-6). Fu Sinian also renounced Yan Fu's method of *dazhi* [expressing the concept] and opted for *zhiyi* as the better strategy and the method that must be adopted to represent the truth. In this context, *zhiyi* would be best interpreted as 'direct translation' to stress minimal interference. Translators should translate the original text as it stood without adding personal opinions or changing the wording to cater for a different audience. Fu was talking about a word-for-word translation. The translator's task was to preserve the original

voice: it was the author who was speaking, not the translator. As a result, translators should not ‘force foreigners to speak Chinese’ (Fu Sinian 1919, quoted in Chen Fukang 1992:217; Fu Sinian 1919b/1984:367). Fu expanded on Luo’s view and argued for a foreignizing approach to introduce Europeanized syntax to Chinese translations.

The idea that faithfulness should be achieved by way of formal resemblance was also supported by the Zhou brothers – Lu Xun and Zhou Zouren – in the first decade of the twentieth century. In the prefaces to their translations published in 1907 and 1909, they issued the same call as Yan Fu and Lin Shu in arguing that translators should strive for faithfulness and comprehensibility. The difference was that the two concepts – *zhuyi* and *yiyi* – were expounded against the approach adopted by their predecessors. ‘Faithfulness’, according to the Zhou brothers, could be achieved only when the translation met one condition: it must present the work of the author as it appears in the original (Zhou Zuoren 1907; 1909, quoted in Chen Fukang 1992:174). The method they used could be termed *duiyi* [matched translation], a label suggested by Chen Fukang based on a letter from the editor of the journal *Xiaoshuo yuebao* [Short Story Monthly], who commented as follows when he returned the manuscript of Zhou Zouren’s translation:

Though the original was not included, we can tell that it is indeed a matched translation. The translation is faithful [because] the features of the Westerners (西人面目) are there to be found. However, the language is difficult to read and the translation reads like a classical text. It is a shame that it is not written in accessible language (1913, quoted in Chen Fukang 1992:175).

The Chinese character *dui* [matched] implies a high level of affinity between the source and target texts. Just as Fu Sinian had suggested, traces of English syntax were essential features of any ‘accurate’ translation. This style was later renamed *zhuyi* and became a method Zhou Zouren claimed he and his brother had always advocated as the proper way to translate:

From now on, I think translations...should exhibit the flexibility of the Chinese language to take in its stride features of other languages... and should preserve

the ‘manner and customs, the logic behind the language’ of the original as much as possible. [The translator] should translate word-for-word; if that is not possible, then sentence-for-sentence. [We] would rather have a translation that looks like neither [a product of] the Chinese language nor of Western languages. It should not be changed inside out (Zhou Zuoren 1918, quoted in Chen Fukang 1992:176).

While the unit of translation might have been extended from words to sentences, this did not affect the expectation for an ‘accurate’ translation. The translated text should include exotic features which imply that it was a secondary work and a replica of a superior source text. In the same spirit, Liu Fu went further by suggesting that Chinese, as the target language, should be adjusted to suit the needs of the original so that the meaning and spirit of the foreign language was left intact. Lin Shu’s translations were not acceptable because features of the Chinese language and literature were imposed on the originals (Liu Fu 1918, quoted in Chen Fukang 1992:209). The May Fourth intellectuals were at this stage convinced that China had come to a time when the new national language must absorb features of European languages (Fu Sinian 1919b/1984:367). It was only through a radical approach to translation – translating the source text word-for-word – that foreign texts could be honestly imported into China to benefit the new language. Comprehensibility had to give way when the Chinese language was experiencing a transitional period from the orthodox to the vernacular.

The definitions of the two terms were modified in the 1920s as the New Culture Movement picked up steam. While the new intellectuals still disapproved of the translations of Yan Fu and Lin Shu, they no longer submitted to the conviction that mere formal resemblance would result in faithfulness. Meaning was considered to be detached from form and an accurate translation should also be able to reach its target readers. Zheng Zhenduo differentiated between *zhíyì* and *sǐyì* [dead translation], the latter being defined as ‘straight/direct translation in absolute terms’ (絕對的直譯), which was neither possible nor

desirable (Zheng Zhenduo 1921:4). The translator should be allowed to alter the original text when necessary to produce an understandable and accurate translation (Zheng Zhenduo 1921:5-6). Mao Dun addressed the dichotomy of *zhiyi* and *yiyi* in the same light in the translation of poems. *Yiyi*, the translation of meaning without being bound by the form of the source text, was now regarded as a method of preserving the spirit of the poem. Yet it did not grant the translator the freedom to delete or change the original or to translate as he or she pleased. Liu Fu translated *zhiyi* into English as ‘literal translation’ in 1918. It was identified as an approach which ‘does not change the words and sentences of the original at will’ (Mao Dun 1922b/1984:346). The choices made by translators should accord with their loyalty to the original. They should strive to retain the original mood and style and, at the same time, take into consideration the meaning, the flow of the whole sentence, and the context. In Mao Dun’s definition, *zhiyi* and *yiyi* did not stand in opposition to each other; they were simply strategies that were valid for different types of text. Like Zheng, Mao Dun considered word-for-word translation to be an unsuccessful attempt at literal translation by an incompetent translator as if one were copying directly from the dictionary (Mao Dun 1922a/1984:343-344). Both of them rejected the earlier approach of ‘straight/direct translation’. Chinese translations should be appreciated and admired by Chinese readers; translation was no longer a mechanical operation aimed at carrying over words that appeared in the source text. Translators were entrusted with the task of producing Chinese versions which were as good as the original.

The changing definition of *zhiyi* was registered in Zhou Zuoren’s preface to his translation *Tuoluo* [A Whipping Top], a collection of over two hundred Chinese translations of poems in Greek, Japanese, and other languages:

This is a collection of translations. I have always used *zhiyi* so the translations are not beautiful – but then my own essays are not beautiful either. I still believe in *zhiyi* because I think there is no better way to translate. But *zhiyi* has a condition,

that is, it must be understandable. One must preserve the original style and express the meaning of the original within the capacity of the Chinese language. In other words, it should be faithful and comprehensible. Some people have recently mistaken the meaning of *zhiji*. They think that if you replace the original language with Chinese word-for-word, it is *zhiji*... (Zhou Zuoren 1925:6).

The style of the original is again a point of concern, but so are the norms of the target language. Expressions should be used ‘within the capacity of the Chinese language’, an assertion that contrasts with what Zhou had said about the flexibility of the Chinese language seven years earlier. This statement implies that the norms of the new vernacular language were already in effect and should be heeded in the translation process. Translators were then required to use their discretion in representing the original according to their interpretation as they were freed from the shackles of the formal features of the source text.

Like Zheng Zhenduo and Zhou Zuoren, Lu Xun also adjusted his stance and defined *zhiji* by contrasting it with the more radical mode he termed *weiji* [incorrect translation]. *Yiji* then acquired the sense of ‘translation of meaning’ (instead of the earlier ‘free translation’ which implies the translator is completely unrestrained in editing the source text) and was regarded as acceptable if done in the correct manner. Lu Xun even proposed incorporating *yiji* as a mode of *zhiji*, the latter being understood as accurate translation within context (Lu Xun 1929, quoted in Chen Fukang 1992:292). At this stage, Lu Xun still maintained that comprehensibility was an indispensable element of all good translations. As he proofread the translation *Xiao bide* [Little Peter] by Xu Xia, Lu Xun noticed that the translator had adhered closely to the original syntax and had not dared to render the meaning. He rewrote the translation to a large extent to make the language more fluent and idiomatic (Lu Xun 1929/1984:262). One need only observe the overtone of resignation that filled the lines he wrote when he first coined the term *yinyi* [hard/stiff translation<sup>12</sup>] to describe his approach to translating expository texts, a strategy which was not satisfactory by any means:

If I had dissected the clause, the original’s condensed and resolute tone would



have been lost. For me, apart from giving a hard translation (硬譯) like this, the only other way I could have chosen was to tie up my hands – which means that there was no other way out... (Lu Xun 1929, quoted in Chen Fukang 1992:263).

In this context, ‘hard translation’ is similar to *zhiyi* in the sense of ‘word-for-word’ translation and it was Lu Xun’s personal choice to retain the power and spirit of the original. Even so, Lu Xun expressed his hope for a competent scholar who could analyze the structure, render the jargon into more readable terms, and translate the meaning (*yiyi*) to explicate the ideas behind the words. In other words, the ‘hard translation’ approach was chosen not because it was suitable, but because Lu lacked confidence in his own interpretation. He feared that had he departed further from the original syntax and lexis, his rendition might not have remained true to the source text. He still generally favoured the translation of meaning as a translation method. It was in 1930 that Lu Xun decided to advocate this literal approach for certain types of text<sup>13</sup> after he had addressed criticisms from both Liang Shiqiu of the right and Qu Qiubai, a fellow left-wing writer. However, their debates show that comprehensibility played a predominant part in the translation of foreign texts and that the role of translators was changing as more foreign knowledge spread among Chinese readers.

Lu Xun was first confronted by Liang Shiqiu. Two of Liang’s articles were published in the same issue of *Xinyue* [Crescent Moon] in 1929, one on the function of literature and the other on ‘hard translation’. As he was challenging the validity of the notion of ‘revolutionary literature’, Liang did not miss the opportunity to drop a scornful note to criticize the unintelligible language of books and magazines introducing proletarian literature and theories. This argument was elaborated in the other article in a more severe tone. Liang first cited the definitions of *sjyi* [dead translation] proposed by Chen Yuan and Zhou Zouren. Excerpts from Lu Xun’s latest translation of Anatoly V. Lunacharsky’s criticism were then quoted and mocked, followed by a rhetorical question: ‘what is the difference between a hard translation and a dead translation?’ (Liang Shiqiu 1929c:3). Three years later, Liang again

quoted Lu Xun's words in the same journal and reiterated that the poor quality of the translation should be attributed to the translator rather than to the Chinese language as Lu Xun had claimed. An ideal translation should be faithful to both the meaning and the register of the original: 'Now one mistranslates the original and forces the reader "to try hard" (硬着头皮) to understand it. That is an overbearing remark to make' (Liang Shiqiu 1932:4). The pun on the Chinese character 硬 [hard] is aimed squarely at Lu Xun's notion of 'hard translation'.

While more cordial than those of Liang, Qu Qiubai's comments were no less severe. Both Lu Xun and Qu agreed, along with most left-wing writers, that the existing vernacular language was inadequate and that translation was a useful tool for creating a new modern Chinese language for the general public, the two differed on the language used for translation. Qu stated in a determined tone that 'absolute correctness' and 'an absolute vernacular language' were the two 'absolutes' to which translators must commit themselves in the production of any translation (Qu Qiubai and Lu Xun 1931/1984:268). Translators should write in the language used by the general public; otherwise, the spirit of the original would be lost (Qu Qiubai and Lu Xun 1931/1984:270). Faithfulness and fluency were not considered contradicting principles. Qu insisted on a 'vernacular-oriented translation strategy'. There was but one readership, that is, the general public (Qu Qiubai and Lu Xun 1932/1984:286-287).

In the discussion of translation methods and strategies, the dichotomy of *zhijiyi* and *yiyi* brought up the conflict between source-oriented and target-oriented approaches. Theorists like Lu Xun and those who prioritized the accuracy of translations in the late 1910s cast doubt on the ability of translators to interpret source texts and insisted on a translation which would give the reader direct access to the flavour of the original. The reader would

then be reading the text in the voice of the author. In so doing, the reader could also learn the writing style and rhetorical devices employed in the source text and be inspired by it. As the vernacular gradually replaced the classical language as the accepted writing medium in the literary field, the confidence of the theorists grew. The new Chinese language became trusted as a valid conduit for preserving the mood and style of the original. As we will notice in the writings discussed as this chapter progresses, advocates of sense translation seldom mentioned the intention or voice of the author. The emphasis was placed on the meaning and style of the original text and translators were asked to preserve such elements according to their own interpretation. The resulting translations must be comprehensible to Chinese readers and translators should intervene to achieve this aim. They must not only identify the meaning and style of the original, but also render such features in appropriate expressions according to the norms of the target language. Readers were thus introduced to the original under the guidance of the translator in their own voice. The translator's discretion to decide what features should be retained in the translation and how this should be done clouded the notion of faithfulness, which was now subject to individual interpretations.

### ***Xingsi, yisi* and *shensi*: Translation as Imitation of Form, Style and Spirit**

The notion of *shen* [spirit] or *shenyun* [spiritual resonance] was a concept that had commonly been applied to the assessment of artwork. In traditional Chinese literary criticism, it had long been regarded as a crucial component of a masterpiece<sup>14</sup>. When applied to the assessment of literary translations, the focus is on certain aspects of the original which are captured in the translation and appeal to the reader as the essence of the work as a whole. Its obscure nature can be seen in Liu Fu's views on translation. In criticizing Lin Shu's translations, for example, the translator was said to have failed in his task as he had made so many changes and deleted so much from the original that its essence had been replaced by

the spirit of Tang novels (Liu Fu 1918, quoted in Chen Fukang 1992:209). The spirit of the text mentioned here seems to be attached to its textual features. It is lost once such features are replaced, as in this case, by words or expressions commonly found in Tang novels. In another article published in the same year, however, Liu used a different word – *qinggan* [emotions] – to refer to the essence of a poem which was shared by all humankind but was expressed in different forms in different languages, just like the concept of the spirit he had discussed previously. The only difference was that he now suggested translators should change the form by adding, deleting, or replacing words to reproduce the emotions in the translated text (Liu Fu 1918, quoted in Chen Fukang 1992:213). Although he did not go on to explain whether the different strategies he proposed resulted from the different genres under discussion, the terms ‘the essence’, ‘the spirit’, and ‘emotions’ all point to the deep structure of a text which represents its core meaning and must be reproduced in the translation if it is to be regarded as faithful.

Mao Dun’s definition clearly separates *shenyun* [spiritual resonance] from the surface structure of a text. He explained the concept as ‘some mystical essence and spirit (精神) which exists beyond the rhetorical level. It is the character of a poem and is the most important and difficult aspect to convey, but is not impossible to convey’ (Mao Dun 1922b/1984:346). The spirit could be inferred from the formal features of the original and reproduced in a different language, even when the work was rewritten into a different genre. A poem could therefore be rendered into prose and the resulting text could still be treated as a faithful translation. He contrasted *shenyun* with *xingmao* [form and appearance]:

The function of literature is to affect and inspire people. The power to affect rests in its ‘spirit’ more than its ‘form’. If a translation cannot retain the original ‘spirit’, it will unavoidably lose the power. From [my] observation, it is easy to imitate the ‘form’ but difficult to retain the ‘spirit’. Even if one pays attention to not losing the ‘spirit’, it is not easy to achieve as one wishes (Mao Dun 1921/1984:337-338).

To preserve the spirit of the translation, the translator should interpret the words correctly and imitate the tone of the relevant passage. However, this must be done within the capacity of the target language, meaning that the same rhetorical features in the target language would invoke the same impact on the target reader. In cases where the two languages did not match up, the translator had to go beyond the form of the original and be creative to reproduce the same effect (Mao Dun 1921/1984:338-341). To produce a faithful translation which captured the spirit of the original, the translator had to have knowledge of the properties of the two languages and move away from the surface structure when there were gaps between the language systems. In other words, a translation was the product of the translator's subjective interpretation of the original text and of his understanding of the source and target language systems. The 'accuracy' of a translation could be assessed solely according to the reader's reception of the text.

Guo Moruo's *fengyun* [wind and resonance; aura] (1922) and Wen Yiduo's *qishi* [air and power] (1926) (Chen Fukang 1992:287-9) also point to a subjective interpretation of the original text that goes beyond form and semantic meaning. To render this aspect of a text into Chinese, Guo proposed the method of '*fengyun yi*' [translation of aura] (Guo Moruo 1922a) in addition to the existing methods of *zhiji* and *yiji*. Translators were not to be bound by the original words and syntax. The key idea lay in the position of the translator in relation to the original text. Instead of aiming for a predetermined 'correct' interpretation to win the reader's trust, Guo believed that the translator's task was to stimulate the reader's interest in the original. Translators should inject their subjective feelings as they read the original works. If we compare Guo's idea with those of Liu Fu and Mao Dun, we see that he moves the translator even further away from form and, indeed, from the source text per se. This method puts more emphasis on the reception of the text from the reader's perspective.

Another theorist who addresses the notion of *shenyun* from the position of the reader is Zeng Xubai, who announced his stance in responding to Chen Yuan's view on *shensi* [resemblance of the spirit]. Chen started with the concept of faithfulness, which was held to be the highest and only standard in the translation of literary works. However, whether a translation was faithful could not be judged simply by juxtaposing it with the source text. It could be assessed solely according to the reader's reception: 'the readers of the translation should be moved in the same way as they read the original' (Chen Yuan 1929:7). A translation could be considered faithful on three levels: through its resemblance of the original in terms of form, style, and spirit. In Chen's classification, faithfulness was closely linked to the rendition of these three aspects of a text. To imitate the form – *xingsi* – was not an appropriate approach as one could hardly give a truthful representation of the original text without taking into account its style and the customs and culture in which it was first composed. *Yizi*, defined as a literal translation which goes beyond the imitation of the form of the original, was more satisfactory as the translator would observe how the author presented the content, that is, the style of the original. The style of a text here is a combination of the surface structure and the context in which it is written. It is similar to Mao Dun's idea of *shenyun* mentioned earlier. The ideal level was *shensi* – resemblance of the spirit – in which *shen* [spirit] was 'the crystallization of one's character' or the condensation of the poet's emotions. To achieve this, the translator must integrate herself into the original culture. Chen hinted that this was only an ideal to aim for because the translator would have to have the same mind as the author to replicate an identical piece of artwork. Going beyond Mao Dun's idea of translators acting as mediators, Chen Yuan suggested that translators should put themselves in the shoes of the author and recreate the piece of literature as the author would have written it in Chinese.

In this response, Zeng acknowledged the intangible nature of the concept of '*shenyun*'

and agreed that it was based on a subjective reception of a literary work:

The so-called ‘*shen yun*’ ... is only a feel (感應) which a piece of work imposes on the reader. In other words, it is a feel resulting from the resonance [of a text] on the reader. This feel differs according to the environment, mood, etc., and hence is a subjective and mysterious thing which has no absolute standard (Zeng Xubai 1929/1984:410).

As a result, translators should – and indeed, could only – faithfully convey the feel they received from the original and should make readers feel the same as if they had read the original themselves (Zeng Xubai 1929/1984:412). Zeng stated explicitly that translators *were* the authors of translated versions of the original. A translation was said to be successful if the translators could recreate the spirit they recognized in the original (Zeng Xubai 1929/1984:413). To attain *xin* in their translation, translators must be truthful to their reception of the original. They must be able to reproduce the same image in their own language for the reader to appreciate. Translators owed allegiance neither to the original text nor to the author. Zeng’s view is almost identical to Guo’s idea of ‘translation of aura’ except that translators were to be truthful to what they perceived in the original. The translator’s interpretation was, therefore, still subject to constraints. According to the notion of *shenyuan*, translations were representations of foreign texts. They were by no means ‘perfect’ replicas, but were images of the original viewed through the prism of the Chinese translator. This prism was necessary if the original was to survive and have more or less the same impact on Chinese readers. From this viewpoint, translators were believed to be capable of extracting the essence of the original and its key elements to affect and inspire the reader. Their task was to guide Chinese readers on how to appreciate the original as would their foreign counterparts (represented by translators) as they read the original. ‘Faithfulness’ was thus achieved.

Once the translator’s role has changed from ‘transcribing’ the original text

(emphasizing formal resemblance) to re/creating a representation of the original in the form of a Chinese text which can be appreciated by monolingual readers, it is more difficult to apply the criterion of 'faithfulness' in assessing the translated text. The concept of *shensi* [spiritual resonance] and the emphasis on the impact of the translation on the reader no doubt requires that the translator interfere more in the process of selection and composition. The complexity of the translator's role can be seen in Lin Yutang's redefinition of Yan Fu's triadic concepts in 1933, which has been mentioned briefly earlier in this section. Lin explored the concept of faithfulness in three dimensions: the translator's responsibility towards the author (realized through the faithfulness of the translated text), towards Chinese readers (in terms of fluency), and towards art (in terms of beauty). These three dimensions were interwoven with one another (Lin Yutang 1933/1981:33). He set out four rules to achieve faithfulness: 1. the translator must not translate word-for-word; 2. the translation must convey the spirit of the words; 3. faithfulness must not be defined in absolute terms as there are different levels of 'beauty' (美); and 4. the translation must be fluent (Lin Yutang 1933/1981:40-42). Lin pointed out that the essence of the original, its 'beauty', could be observed in its musical quality, its semantic content, and its form. It could also exist in an abstract state to be appreciated by the reader. Translators must, therefore, be versatile in rendering the text so that the same effects could be reproduced. Apart from stating that 'faithfulness' concerned the author of the original and that the translators should translate with the sentence as a unit, Lin did not spell out any more rules or methods which would guarantee the quality of the end-product. The focus was on the person. The whole art of translation, as he phrased it, depended on the translator's knowledge of the original language and text, his competence in composing in the Chinese language, and finally his correct understanding of the standards of translation through training (Lin Yutang 1933/1981:32).

The last criterion – that translators should familiarize themselves with the standards of



successful translations – implies that there were established or generally accepted principles for assessing the end-product. However, ‘faithfulness’ seems to be the only principle that was agreed upon by all. Theoretically speaking, all translators can claim their own version as a truthful representation of the original text as long as they can establish that the form, spirit, or a certain aspect (whatever it may be) of the original is preserved. The ‘faithfulness’ of their translations can be preserved as long as there is no other Chinese version of the same work. According to Lu Xun, the common practice in the field during the Republican era was that once a text had been translated or was going to be translated (as some would claim in the advertisements), the publishers would not accept another translation of the same text (Lu Xun 1933a:5). Evidence of this practice can also be found in the statements of some critics like Ru Yin (1922), Yang Xi (1926), Shen Qiyu (1933), and Jin Ren (1937), who said that their plans to translate certain books had been aborted once they discovered that Chinese translations had already been published. In spite of this practice, we can still find different versions of the same text. Some were published without the translator or publisher being aware that there were other translations or plans for publication. The more common case was that the first translation was deemed unsatisfactory and a better translation was needed to replace it. In different circumstances, published translations were challenged by critics who would often provide alternative versions of excerpts in their reviews. The crux of the matter at present is not to decide which version is better or presents the correct interpretation, but to consider on what basis critics, and the translators if they responded to such criticisms, claimed that their translations were faithful while rejecting alternatives. The next section demonstrates that to claim authority over the interpretation of a foreign text, critics and translators put more emphasis on the competence of the translator to define the original than on the technical details of the translation process adopted (for example, the methods or strategies used) or the problems encountered in translation. At the end of the day, critics and translators compete over their knowledge of the source language and the

original, knowledge which would secure the power to represent the original.

### **III. The ‘Original’ and Meaning as Reflected in Translation Criticism**

The purposes of the various methods and ideas put forward by the theorists can be summarized into one goal – to improve the quality of translations and ensure they were fit for the purposes they were designed to fulfil, whether to impart foreign knowledge of ideas or to provide models to inspire writers in the field. If we say that the translation theories were proposed as guidelines for practitioners, translation criticisms were supposed to illustrate such guidelines by showing how published translations would be evaluated. We may consider translation criticism as a mechanism employed to negotiate a code of practice. From the positive reviews, for example, we can see the merits of good translations and how translators fulfilled expectations. In the more hostile criticisms, ‘mistakes’ committed by translators were singled out and corrected, thereby alerting other practitioners of what was regarded as unacceptable. The critics established or questioned the faithfulness of a translation not by comparing the target text with the source text, but rather by seeking to convince readers that the Chinese text was or was not a reliable or trustworthy translation of the original. Through specific examples drawn from translations published in book form or serialized in literary journals, these articles reflect the judgment and values shared by agents in the translation circle regarding the attitude or behaviour expected of practitioners. In cases where the translators defend their work, we can also see from their perspective how the code of practice would take effect under their working conditions and in light of their individual limitations<sup>15</sup>.

## Positive Translation Reviews

Positive translation reviews in which the reviewer praised or gave a relatively balanced analysis of the translated text account for only a small proportion of the corpus. Of the total of 107 articles, only eight fall into this category. The four short reviews found in the newspaper supplement *Juennu* [Awakening] were entirely complimentary. Only Xi Meng (1922) commended the Chinese translation for ‘matching’ the French original. None of the other three applauded the translation for its accuracy in rendering the meaning or style of the original. Both Fo Tu (1921) and You Shi (1921) were touched by the emotions conveyed through the language of the translator. Li Zi (1924) was moved by the sincerity of the translator as revealed in his work. None of the articles used the terms ‘faithful’ or ‘accurate’ as a compliment. Given the word limit applicable to these newspaper articles, it is understandable that the reviewers might have wanted to attract readers by highlighting the quality of the Chinese versions of foreign literary texts instead of focusing on the fact that they were merely translations of masterworks of foreign literature.

In the other four articles found in the literary journals, the critics had more space to provide a comprehensive analysis in which they pointed out the merits and drawbacks of the Chinese translations in question. All of them praised the translation as a faithful rendition of the original. To elaborate on the nature of ‘faithfulness’, Zhao Yintang (1923) commended Zheng Zhenduo’s translation of Rabindranath Tagore’s *Stray Birds* for its fluency and vividness. To highlight Zheng’s success in capturing the original spirit of the text, Zhao even provided his own literal translations of excerpts to provide a contrast with Zheng’s flexible rendition. Zhao repeatedly praised Zheng not only for being fluent and vivid, but also for expressing the full meaning of the original text, using terms such as ‘clear’ (明顯) and ‘explicit’ (醒豁). The language of the translation even carried a musical quality when it was

described as ‘sonorous’ (鏗鏘). In some examples cited from the translations, Zheng’s emendations were said to be justified according to the context. The Chinese version, said Zhao, ‘inducts me into reading poetry’ (開我對詩的法門), thus emphasizing the impact of the translation on the reader. Yao Ke (1937) applauded Wang Shiwei for taking a different approach. In his translation of Eugene O’Neill’s play *Strange Interlude*, Wang preserved the style of the original through a literal translation that did not come across as stiff (死板). The language was not idiomatic, which made the Chinese version unsuitable for performance. Nonetheless, Yao insisted that it was easy to understand and that the translation exhibited the sincerity of the translator towards his work. While Zheng and Wang adopted different translation methods, the reviewers seemed to be more concerned with whether the style or spirit of the original had been retained in the Chinese versions and whether these features had been communicated to Chinese readers. Any mistakes or shortcomings found in the translations were attributed to the difficult nature of translation work (Yao Ke 1937:197-198). Zhao queried parts of the translation in the most humble of language and reiterated that he was merely a student who was eager to learn from the translator. The unsatisfactory passages were briefly mentioned and dismissed as careless mistakes (Zhao Yintang 1923:2). In both reviews, an emphasis was placed on the trust built up in the translators, which had little to do with the techniques or general strategies used.

Mao Dun’s review of two translations of *Jane Eyre* was an attempt to promote translation criticism, a theme which was marked clearly at the beginning and indeed throughout the article. The two versions were published in the same year (1935) but the two translators – Wu Guangjian and Li Jiye – employed completely different approaches in their works. While Mao Dun made it clear that Wu Guangjian’s translation was not one of *yiyi* [free translation], he approved of Wu’s overall strategy of editing the original text to a large extent by deleting descriptions of scenes, lengthy discussions, and allusions to foreign

concepts which were not related to the plot (Mao Dun 1937:1072). To justify the drastic changes made to the original, Mao Dun resorted to the notion of *shenyun* [spiritual resonance]. He claimed that Wu's version was more readable than the other one, especially in the way in which Wu tackled the long sentences. The translator was faithful to the original in the dialogues, characterization, and depiction of actions with 'his divine brush which conveys the spirit' (傳神之筆) (Mao Dun 1937:1073).

In contrast, Li Jiye's representation of *Jane Eyre* was a 'word-for-word literal translation' (字對字的直譯), a version which preserved not only the semantic content of the original, but also 'the gentleness and beauty of the tone' (柔美的情調) (Mao Dun 1937:1064). By adhering closely to the original syntactic structure, Li was successful in passing on to the reader the subtle feelings expressed in the novel. In Mao Dun's own words, Chinese readers would not only 'know' what had happened, but would also 'feel' behind the actions (我們在「知道」之外，又有「感覺」) (Mao Dun 1937:1070). Here, Mao Dun was referring to the power of the text to appeal to the emotions of the reader; this reminds us of his notion of *shenyun* [spiritual resonance], which gives prominence to the function of literature to affect its reader. As he also considered Wu's translation to be a faithful one which retained the spirit of the original, it seems that the 'spirit' of a literary work was not a definite property even where two versions of the same work were read by the same person (in this case, Mao Dun the critic). Mao Dun added at the end of the article that the only difference between the two translations lay in their readership. Wu's version was more suitable for average readers, whereas Li's targeted the 'apprentice of literature and art' (文藝學徒) (Mao Dun 1937:1073). It was the reader who defined the spirit of a literary work and it was the translator who defined the readership for the translation. Once again, the original text did not play a significant role in the assessment of either of its translations.

Wen Yiduo's (1923) analysis of Guo Moruo's translation of Omar Khayyam's *Rubaiyat* through Edward Fitzgerald's English version was published 14 years earlier than Mao Dun's. In the review, Wen obviously approved of the translator's subjective interpretation and his departure from the source text. Wen pointed out at the beginning of the article that the translator must take responsibility for both Khayyam and Fitzgerald and that the poems were difficult to understand. He also cited from the Chinese translation 'mistakes' committed by Guo because of his misinterpretation of certain lines or words in the English source text. However, Wen endorsed Guo's relatively free translation, which followed in the footsteps of Fitzgerald. In some cases, the translator had captured the spirit of the poems, appropriately deleted redundant modifying components, and rewritten them in explicit language and sonorous words. Guo's translation, while appearing effortless, represented the original to its fullest (Wen Yiduo 1923:17). The Chinese translation was evaluated almost completely from the perspective of the reader.

The critic did not ignore the meaning of the original text. In his view, the translation process could be divided into two phases – first, understanding the meaning of the original, and second, reproducing the meaning in another language. In the first phase, the translator was required to play the role of a linguist (方言家) and in the second, that of a poet (詩人) (Wen Yiduo 1923:16). Wen clearly considered the second role to be the more important of the two, especially in the translation of poems. In one of the seven 'mistranslations' quoted in the article, Wen recommended Guo's inaccurate rendition, which he considered had a stronger aesthetic effect than the original: 'if the translator wishes to learn from Fitzgerald, exercise his freedom and keep his own meaning, I am not against it' (Wen Yiduo 1923:12). The fact that the translator's interpretation was different from the original meaning (as understood by the critic according to the source text) did not appear to be a serious problem. The Chinese version was to survive in the Chinese literary scene as a piece of literature and

art as did Fitzgerald's version in English literature. Its poetic qualities and aesthetic effect on Chinese readers were much more important than the formal features of the original. A translation would be considered successful only if the translator could recreate his impression of the source text for the benefit of the target reader.

The translation criticisms examined so far are described as 'positive' in nature, meaning that the critics adopt a neutral or friendly position in their discussion of the translations concerned. In these articles, 'faithfulness' appears only as a passing remark or an established quality when the critics praise the Chinese translations for their clarity and readability. The focus is on the target text and the audience – the style of the Chinese text and its effect on Chinese readers. As they commend the Chinese version, seldom do the reviewers make a comparison between the source and target texts. We may even say that the reviewers do not think it necessary to discuss the precise nature of the link between the two texts. These translations are all trusted as reliable representations of the original works in Chinese. This assumption is more significant when we look at the criticisms in which the reviewers appear to be judgemental and adopt a more hostile position. The translations are shunned simply because they are different from the way in which the critics would have interpreted the source texts. As I will demonstrate in the next section, the so-called mistakes found in these translations are mostly ambiguous segments or misinformation which would mislead readers or arouse their suspicion. The critics, in their own way, seek to discredit the translators as being qualified to interpret the original and produce a truthful representation.

### **Misinterpretation**

I start with 'misinterpretation', which refers to obvious mistakes which resulted from the translator misreading certain English words or expressions. The critic would juxtapose

the translated text with the original and point out how the translator had failed to define certain words or recognize the parts of speech (Zhou Bohan 1929; Li Liewen 1936). Some critics would merely identify the mistakes such as where the translator had wrongly interpreted ‘as’ as a time adjunct in the sentence ‘the object is, in itself, pictorial as we perceive it’ (Cheng Fangwu 1923a:24), where ‘whilst’ was mistaken as ‘although’ (Guo Moruo 1922b:4), and where the English expression ‘the likes of him’ was wrongly interpreted as ‘to be like him’ (Jiang Shaoyuan 1924a:3). A striking feature of these criticisms is the sense of derision, which has nothing to do with the target or source texts, but is targeted purely at the translator. The critic would elaborate on one mistake found in the translation purely to turn the translator into an object of ridicule. Both Liang Shiqiu (1923) and Cheng Fangwu (1923b) made sarcastic remarks as they commented on translations by Zheng Zhenduo, who misread *fingers* as ‘figures’ and *dusk* as ‘desk’:

The meaning of the original poem is to compare the heart to a musical instrument; we only need to use our common sense to understand that to play a musical instrument – like a piano – [we would use] fingers. Now that Mr. Zheng says some ‘figures’ are playing music in my heart, I don’t know how large ‘my heart’ has to be to accommodate those ‘figures’. At this point, it suddenly occurs to me that Mr. Zheng’s mistake probably results from misreading ‘fingers’ as ‘figures’. HAHA!! (Liang Shiqiu 1923:9).

[On translating the original ‘I shall come back in the dusk’,] Zheng even translates ‘dusk’ [in English] into *shuzhuo*. *Shuzhuo* is ‘desk [in English]’. To get one word wrong may be forgivable, but the preposition is ‘in [in English]’. If we just play along, we might as well dig in the desk (Cheng 1923b:9).

In some cases, the critics comment on contradictions or ambiguities in the Chinese texts from the perspective of an ordinary Chinese reader without tracing back to the source text to verify the meaning. They simply point out how the Chinese texts do not add up. Guai Guai (1930), for example, lashed out at Zeng Mengpo and his son Zeng Xubai after reading their translation of the French novel *Aphrodite*:



However mature one may look, a 25-year-old man who grows a beard can never look like a 40-year-old, not to mention a woman. A fact like this would not require the imagination of a novelist or the observation and experience of a scientist to understand (Guai Guai 1930:46).

Da Wu (1933) cited from Hu Qiuyuan's translation *Weiwu shiguan yishulun* [On Historical Materialism and Art] the phrases 'develop on the third floor' (在三層樓上展開) and 'antique's description' (骨董之描寫) and concluded that he could not make sense of them:

Although I have made a great effort to climb up to the third floor, I still cannot understand. I can only come down. Maybe this is the 'antique' dug up from Shandong and Henan provinces, not easy to tell (Da Wu 1933:5).

In considering the critical remarks cited so far, we must bear in mind that the mockery was viewed by the critics as a technique in showing that the translators were unable to understand the source language or write understandable Chinese. It would call to mind Lin Shu, the monolingual translator. Added to the sneering language were the names given to these incompetent translators, who were called 'liars who make fools of the readers' (Yu Dafu 1922:49). Others would scold the translators for being 'mischievous' or 'nonsensical' in creating puzzling translations for their readers. The translators were projected as both incompetent and irresponsible individuals who jeopardized a task which should have been taken more seriously.

Individual critics would occasionally require that translations be a complete reproduction of the original. For these critics, each and every word in the source text counted. Translators were reprimanded for leaving a word out in their translations. The critics would compare in detail excerpts from the original with the Chinese translation, as did Liang Zongdai with Yu Dafu's translation in 1923. Liang considered Yu's translation of the English text 'Stop here, or gently pass' as 爲她止止步，或輕一點兒 [for her stop a while, or be soft/gentle a bit] to be unsatisfactory because the translator had translated only the adverb 'gently' without rendering the main verb 'pass'. The translator had also wrongly

inserted the object 'her' without recognizing the ellipsis of the subject (sic) in the source text (Liang Zongdai 1923). Unlike the more balanced reviews seen in the previous section, the critics here applied a narrow definition of 'faithfulness' that points to an equivalent relation between the translated text and the original. In Cai Zhen's criticism of Lin Yutang's translation of Omar Khayyam's *Rubaiyat*, a few key words were said to have been omitted from the translation. The translator was accused of failing to reproduce the imagery of spring and winter (Cai Zhen 1926). Often in these cases, the essence of the source text was considered to rest with the formal features or lexis of the original. The critics demanded minimal interference from the translator, if not a sentence-for-sentence translation. This kind of criticism, however, was scarce and limited to the early 1920s. More often, the critics simply provided their own interpretation and claimed that it represented the 'true' meaning of the excerpt concerned. The differences between the two translations could come down to very minute details. In Ru Yin's criticism of Shen Jiwei's translation of Tagore's poems, for example, he considered the Chinese verb 願 [wish] a better choice than Shen's 讓 [let] to convey the poet's admiration for death (Ru Yin 1922:3). Ji Qiu gave as an alternative to Ju Yin's mis/interpretation of 在生命中莫有比人再加可珍貴的了 [in life there is nothing more precious than people] his own 'correct' version of 生活中再沒有像人這樣可貴的東西 [in (our) living/life, there is nothing as precious as people] (Ji Qiu 1926:36). Without further elaboration, it was difficult for the reader to appreciate the purpose of the critic's 'correction'. Nevertheless, the fact that translations were criticized without referring back to the source texts implies that critics purported to assume a position superior to that of translators.

To buttress their arguments against the translated texts, many critics felt the need to call upon references to lend support to their own interpretations. Wen Yiduo's review of Guo Moruo's translation noted ten sets of reference materials at the end of the ten-page article which were cited to sustain his arguments against the mistakes he had identified in the

Chinese version. The underlying assumption was that interpretation of the original text required meticulous investigation of the original, the author, and the relevant cultural or linguistic items. In Cheng Fangwu's criticism of Zhang Dongsun's translation of Henri Bergson's 'Matter and Memory', the translator was blamed for failing to understand Immanuel Kant's and Bergson's philosophies, which explained why he had failed to convey the true meaning of the word 'movements' and eventually of the whole work (Cheng Fangwu 1923a:29-31). Mu Mutian (1933a; b) corrected the name of a writer and the incorrect interpretation of the 'academy' in Lou Jiannan's translation and subsequently questioned the reliability of the Chinese version. In such cases, the critic appears as the expert, a position which justifies the reporting clauses such as 'the original says', 'the original text means', and 'the original text is', which introduce what is, in effect, the critic's own interpretation of the source text in Chinese. The critic sometimes speaks in a superior voice which derides even the author.

If the writer of 'Presence in Absence' meant '一日不見如隔三秋' [not meeting for one day would look as if three autumns/years had passed] when he wrote the line 'Time doth tarry', then even were he not contradicting himself, I would not forgive him myself. Can a poet in reality speak against what he truly thinks in this way? (Tian Xin 1924:4<sup>16</sup>)

Here, Tian Xin is trying to explain the 'original' from the perspective of the author or, to be more exact, what the author *should* mean. This image is backed up by the knowledge and common sense the critic has accumulated over time. Such an image is necessary to grant the critic the authority to reject other translations as inaccurate interpretations of the source text.

A more radical example can be seen in the polemics between Ma Zongrong, Liang Zongdai, and Wang Liaoyi over the Chinese titles of the play *Les Précieuses Ridicules* by Molière and the novel *L'Assommoir* by Emile Zola (Ma Zongrong 1934a, b; 1935; Wang Liaoyi 1934; Liang Zongdai 1935a, b). Unlike the debates in the cases discussed so far, the discussion was

not kept to the textual or linguistic level. To define the meaning of the book titles, the three critics invoked referential materials including dictionaries, English translations, academic writings, and reference books. Ma, for example, quoted directly from August Bailly and Gustave Lanson to identify the style of the author before commenting on the Chinese translations of four of Molière's plays (Ma Zongrong 1934a:1067). On the Chinese title of *Les Précieuses Ridicules*, Liang cited from *Petit Larousse* to argue that Gao Zhenchang's translation of 裝腔作勢 [to act with airs and graces] was acceptable in conveying the underlying message. According to Liang, Ma's translation of 可笑的上流女人 [the ridiculous upper-class women] showed that he did not understand the implication of elegance (典雅) in seventeenth-century France (Liang Zongdai 1935a:193). In their two encounters on the same topic, both Ma and Liang attempted to identify the group of women at which the word '*précieuse*' was targeted. Ma was also engaged in another argument with the translator Wang Liaoyi over the meaning of the word 'L' Assommoir'. In common with that of Gao Zhenchang, Wang's translation of 屠槌 [slaughtering hammer] was regarded as a free translation. Ma again looked for support from various dictionaries and English translations (Ma Zongrong 1934b:1092). Interestingly, Wang Liaoyi chose to rename the translation 酒窟 [Liquor Den] in the revised edition after consulting two professors from the University of Paris and Liang Zongdai, who was also addressed as a professor (*Tuchui zaiban gaiwei Jinku* 1935:8). In Ma's conclusion to his polemic with Liang, he highlighted that Liang had posed as an expert in their second encounter:

When he [Liang Zongdai] criticized other people, he found it necessary to show that 'I didn't have the original at hand', etc.; and since he is a professor, he behaves as if people throughout the world all became his students (Ma Zongrong 1935b:412).

Liang's identity as a scholar was intimidating to Ma because it granted Liang the license to justify a translation which departed from the source text in the name of capturing the spirit or essence of the original.

A similar dialogue developed between Liang Shiqiu and Fu Donghua in the polemic over the latter's translation of John Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Liang Shiqiu, who was also a young university professor, clearly took up a similar position to that of Liang Zongdai and pointed out that Fu had failed to study the original with academic rigour. According to Liang Shiqiu, Fu had acted like a fool in taking up the mammoth task (Fu Donghua 1933:684). In the process of finding fault with the translated text, Liang repeatedly quoted from the explanatory notes in the Beeching edition and illustrated the original meaning of the Latin words (Fu Donghua 1933:687-690). Fu defended himself from the perspective of a translator, citing from dictionaries and explaining his choices. He stated at the outset that as a freelance translator he did not have access to the reference books cited by Liang (Fu Donghua 1933:684). He concluded by challenging Liang to translate the original himself and alluding to Liang's alleged hidden agenda behind the criticism:

He [Liang Shiqiu] was speaking on behalf of his group, a group of professors, scholars and experts who have been monopolizing [our] culture... To strengthen the walls of their castle, they do what they can to enhance the status of those masterpieces and explain how difficult and wonderful such works are. This is their front line. The aim is to scare people away from reading such masterworks so that they can preserve their dignity... Criticism is their second front (Fu Donghua 1933:692-3).

That Fu and Ma, who were from the same left-wing literary camp, took up the same stance against these scholars was perhaps no coincidence. However, the significance of such polemical exchanges is that some regarded the meaning or spirit of a literary work as the property of critics and scholars who were believed to have expert knowledge. Average translators who were not backed up by such authority were denounced for attempting to interpret a literary masterwork. Such a view had already been expressed in 1925 when Jiang Shaoyuan ran Tian Han down for his translation of William Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Jiang quoted from his friend Yang Jinfu, who had criticized Tian's Chinese version written in the

crude and unidiomatic vernacular (田君那種疙里疙答的白話) (Jiang Shaoyuan 1925:14). At the end of the article, Yang was quoted to question whether anyone qualified to translate Shakespeare's works had yet been born. Tian Han noted the expert tone evident in the comments when he challenged the qualifications of Jiang, who studied religion in the United States, and Yang, whose name was not well-known. Tian signed off with an equally scornful remark as he wondered 'what kind of a Shakespeare expert' Yang was (Tian Han 1925:19).

We have seen how, Fu Donghua, a translator, and Ma Zongrong, a critic, sought to counter the lofty position of the remaining critics by protesting against the scholars' intention of claiming the power to interpret Western literature and dominating the literary scene in China. Another group of translators chose to identify themselves with the author so that any challenge against them would then be regarded as a challenge to the author of the original. Although Liu Fu stated in his preface to the Chinese translation of *La Dame aux Camélias* by Alexandre Dumas, fils that he found it unnecessary to translate articles about the novel 'because he was speaking to the French people, but we are Chinese!' (Liu Fu 1926:1), he answered Xu Yangben's queries from the standpoint of a loyal translator. While Xu questioned the use of masculine pronouns in the Chinese translation which were feminine in the original, Liu explained the rules of French grammar and concluded that

[Regarding to] the mixing up masculine and feminine pronouns, grammar teachers could, of course, name Dumas, junior and hit his palm – whether or not *tamen* [in masculine form] can be changed into *tamen* [in feminine form] is not really relevant in such cases (Xu and Liu 1926:16).

Liu Fu shifted the blame for the choice of pronouns in the Chinese version onto the author, insisting that it was a problem that lay with the original and Dumas. Another translator, Lou Jiannan, came under attack from Mu Mutian for misquoting the name 'Maxim du Khan'. In his rebuttal, Lou interpreted Mu's accusation as an attack on himself *and* the author: 'as if the author Friche and I are making fools of people' (好似連原作者的弗理奧，都在與我通同

騙人) (Lou Jiannan 1933:4, my emphasis). Again, the translator aligns himself with the author to take criticism which targeted the translation. In both cases, the translator invokes the power of the author to defend the personal interpretations expressed in the Chinese version.

To validate the interpretation of a text, the opinions or versions suggested by translators or critics are expected to be endorsed by an authority in the field. In the translation field we have discussed so far, this body of authority included reviews and criticisms written in the source language, dictionaries, and the author. We should note, however, that all these writings, and even the ‘author’, are selected and ‘processed’ by Chinese translators and critics. Taken together, these Chinese materials form a representation of the original work. The following section examines two cases that show how this body of texts developed and eventually replaced the original texts in the Chinese scene. As we follow the lines of reasoning critics put forward to reject certain translations, together with the defences raised by translators, we will find that the notion of the ‘original’ and its meaning has little to do with the real text. In all cases, the original and its meaning are constructed by Chinese translations, Chinese translations of selected English literary criticisms, and Chinese essays based on English reviews and academic writings. The notion of the ‘original’ is an empty shell to which a Chinese name is attached. The existence of this notion is, however, necessary to justify the various Chinese versions and to satisfy the criterion of ‘faithfulness’.

## **Mis/representations – Two Cases**

### **A Prelude...**

In 1921, the Tai Dong publishing house launched a Chinese book entitled *Beican shijie*

[Miserable World] for which the late poet Su Manshu was recorded as the writer (著者). From 27 October to 8 November 1921, seven letters discussing the book were sent to the *Juemu* [Awakening], the supplement of the *Minguo ribao* [Republic Daily] newspaper. This series of letters started with one submitted by Zhu Lin (1921), who cast doubt on the authenticity of the book as the Chinese text was loosely organized and badly written, features that were not consistent with Su's style. The first six chapters and the fourteenth, according to his observation, were obviously 'copied' from Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*. As more informants joined in the discussion, the book turned out to be the manuscript of an abridged translation completed by Su in collaboration with Chen Duxiu, another well-known figure. It had been published in 1903 under the title *Can shijie* [Sad/Miserable World] (Qian Xuantong 1921:3). According to Zhang Jinglu, the editor of the new edition, he had boldly deleted the term 'compose and translate' (著譯) and the name of the author (Victor Hugo) from the script because Su had given only a summary of the original text. It was not a faithful rendition of the original (Zhang Jinglu 1921a:4). The name of the co-translator had been omitted as he had not obtained permission from Chen Duxiu and the main purpose of the publication was, after all, to honour the late poet. Judging from the responses, however, these reasons were not strong enough to justify the arrangement. While Zhong Mi attached a note to his article in which he blamed the editor for capitalizing on the death of the poet (Zhong Mi 1921:4), the general opinion was that the translation should be published as it stood, even though it was not a work of quality. The fact that both the editor Zhang Jinglu and Hu Jichen, who had supplied the script to the publisher, had to reassure readers that they had not changed any of the wording or punctuation reinforced this message (Zhang Jinglu 1921b:4; Hu Jichen 1921:4).

What started as a query sent to the editor became a serious discussion on the publication of an adaptation by a deceased poet-cum-translator. This case sheds light on two



aspects which are relevant to the following discussion: the definition of translation, and the quality of a translation. According to both Zhu Lin, who ‘discovered’ this new publication in the first place, and Zhang Jinglu, the text had been rewritten extensively. Zhang’s concern over the labeling of the book was justified considering that only a few chapters were recognizable as ‘translations’ of a foreign text and also given that the book hardly reached the standards of a proper translation, especially in the late 1910s and early 1920s when the discourse on translation was taking shape. That the text should still be categorized as a ‘translation’ and the writer as a ‘translator’ indicates that translational practice at that time – 18 years after the abridged translation was first published – still allowed a large degree of flexibility. This is supported by Xiao Feng’s observation stated in the postscript of Zhang’s letter that abridgement was generally accepted in translating novels that had a greater emphasis on plot (Zhang Jinglu 1921a:4). In other words, translators were allowed a great deal of room for manoeuvre and were able to claim their works as translations as long as they could establish certain links between the original and the translated text.

The more significant issue concerns the translator’s relation to the ‘original’ represented in Chinese. While all the participants in the discussion acknowledge the poor quality of Su’s translation, they insist that the text should be published as it stands in the script without any amendment or revision. Whether the Chinese version is a faithful reproduction of the source text seems to have been irrelevant. Since first being published under the title *Can shijie* in 1903, this Chinese translation has acquired its own status, one that is independent of the source text. It is received as a representation of what the translator reads in the original and should be respected as such, as we can see from the seven letters. The translator is not only visible in the translated text; his presence is required and respected. The translator is trusted as the mediator whose role is to communicate ideas in a foreign text to Chinese readers.

Considering the flexibility allowed in translation practice and the weak link between the translation and the ‘original’, it seems that the accepted view of the time was that translators should be quite free to interpret and render the source text as long as they could secure the reader’s trust. That kind of trust could be secured from monolingual readers as long as the translation was not challenged by critics or translators who presented another Chinese version of the ‘original’. As we have seen in the examples of criticism examined so far, with Mao Dun being the only exception<sup>17</sup>, no other critic allows more than one interpretation of the same text. Although Wen Yiduo approves of Zheng Zhenduo’s relatively free translation, he does not hesitate to point out that Zheng has misinterpreted the source text. The questions that remain are therefore what that trust is founded upon, how it is reinforced in practice<sup>18</sup>, and more importantly, how translators would defend themselves when their reliability is challenged.

The following two cases examine how critics and translators engage in a rivalry to establish themselves as sole authority qualified to represent the author or the ‘original’. Based on the criticisms of Chinese translations of Rabindranath Tagore’s works and the rebuttals of the translators involved, we examine how certain Chinese translations fall into disrepute as critics question the translators’ competence to perform the task. Jiang Shaoyuan’s change of position from that of a critic to a translator is illuminating as we observe how the critic takes over the role of defining the original and eventually becomes Tagore the author. The second case gives an overview of the debate on relay translation and how indirect Chinese translations (that is, Chinese versions translated from English translations of the original texts in a third language) are established as faithful representations of foreign texts. This second case allows us to address the concept of ‘faithfulness’ from a different perspective.

## Chinese Translations of Rabindranath Tagore's works 1922-1924

The first article introducing Rabindranath Tagore to China was published in *Dongfang zazhi* [Eastern Miscellany] in 1913 when the Bengali poet was awarded the Nobel Prize in literature. Chen Duxiu produced the first Chinese translation of one of his poems in 1915. By the time the Nobel laureate visited China in 1924, over twenty translations of his poems, plays, and essays had been published either in book form or serialized in literary journals. The translators include renowned writers and poets such as Li Jinfu, Liang Zongdai, Liu Fu, Mao Dun, Xu Dishen, Ye Shaojun, Zhao Jingshen, Zhou Zuoren, and Zheng Zhenduo (Xie Tianzhen and Zha Mingjian 2004:595-601; Zhang Zhonglian 2005:82). Tagore's visit in April-May 1924 acted as a catalyst for more translations and criticisms. Discussion among translators and critics was intense. In the 1922-1924 period, 16 articles appeared in *Juennu* [Awakening], *Wenxue xunkan* [Literature Quarterly], *Chuangzao zhoubao* [Creation Weekly], and *Chenbao fujian* [a *Morning Post* supplement] commenting on translations by Shen Jiwei (Ru Yin 1922), Zheng Zhenduo (Zheng Zhenduo 1922, 1923a-b; Liang Shiqiu 1923; Zhao Yintang 1923; Cheng Fangwu 1923), Deng Yancun (Jiang Shaoyuan 1923), Feng Fei (Jiang Shaoyuan 1924a), and Hu Yuzhi (Jiang Shaoyuan 1924b-e; Dong Jun 1924; Peng Jixiang 1924; Hu Yuzhi 1924). Other than Zhao Yintang's article, all the others were criticisms of inept translations or suggestions made by critics. Jiang Shaoyuan (1924c) even advertised a call for suggested translations of an excerpt from Tagore's essay 'The Religion of Man'. He provided two Chinese versions – one a literal translation and the other a freer translation. He later improved on the second one to give a third version. Four practitioners replied to his call and submitted their own versions, while others criticized Jiang's three 'samples'. Jiang Shaoyuan the critic was ultimately forced to shift his position to that of a translator defending his own interpretation.

With the exceptions of Ru Yin and Peng Jixiang, all the translators and critics were inclined to allow practitioners a certain degree of freedom in rendering the original text. In the preface to his translation of *Stray Birds*, Zheng Zhenduo briefly mentioned that a literal translation (直譯) would not be adequate to express the true meaning of the original (Zheng Zhenduo 1922:1). Even though Jiang Shaoyuan gave a sample literal translation which was accurate but not readable, he found it less satisfactory and favoured one of ‘sense translation’ (Jiang Shaoyuan 1924b:4). In both articles, the word ‘meaning’ was said to embody much more than what the language denotes. The underlying message was expected to be made explicit, as we see in Zhao Yintang’s praise of Zheng’s translation. Zhao highlighted how the translator could bring out the meaning with adjectives such as 明顯 [clear], 醒豁 [explicit], and 傳神 [vivid] (Zhao Yintang 1923:1-2). In cases where the translation was found to be unsatisfactory, as in Dong Jun’s criticism of Jiang’s second and third versions, the critic did not attribute this weakness to the method used. Dong Jun, for example, ascribed the failure to the translator’s inability to reproduce the same effect in the translation, or rather his inability to mimic the effect the critic had anticipated from the translated text. This difference in interpretation was converted into a difference in competence.

The issue of contention was the ability of the translator to represent Tagore in Chinese. Apart from misinterpretations resulting from the translator’s poor language skills, critics put much emphasis on the translator’s understanding of Tagore’s philosophy and how such knowledge could be passed on to the reader. While Ru Yin rejected Shen Jiwei’s translation for incorporating too much of his own interpretation, he defended his own literal translation:

Some people may find my translation too obscure. However, they will understand if they think about it carefully. We must not forget that the author is a philosopher (Ru Yin 1922:3).

Once Ru Yin identified the author as a philosopher, he forbade other translators from

rendering the original into their own words and justified the obscure wording found in his translation. For Ru Yin, Tagore's philosophy cannot and should not be expressed in idiomatic Chinese. A literal translation in Europeanized Chinese was the only viable method for preserving the author's style and the beauty of the texture of the original. The fact that the translator had decided to depart from the original text proved his inadequate understanding of Tagore's works and thinking. To improve the standard of his translation, Ru Yin even suggested Shen read the author's poems and philosophy to familiarize himself with his language and style. We should note, however, that the critic is not asking the translator to impersonate the author. Instead, through reading the original works, the translator is supposed to understand the intricacy reflected in the writings, which would allow him to choose the correct translation approach.

In Jiang Shaoyuan's comments on the translations by Deng Yancun, Feng Fei, and Hu Yuzhi, and even in defence of his own translations, we find a similar view that the translator should be able to read the text within the appropriate context. To qualify as a translator, one should be able to translate both the style of Tagore and his philosophy (Jiang Shaoyuan 1923, 1924a-b, d). Where Jiang's view was different is that he urged translators to take up a different position: they should impersonate the author. They should strive to be Tagore the author writing in Chinese (Jiang Shaoyuan 1924e:3). In saying as much, Jiang did not merely mean that translators should imitate the style and language of the author as Ru Yin had implied earlier. Translators should explicate what the author 'meant' in the text to inform Chinese readers. In other words, translators must speak for the author, thereby elevating themselves above the real flesh-and-blood Tagore to explain what *should* have been in his mind. This is the position he took up in the modified version (the third translation) of the excerpt from 'The Religion of Man' when he added a figurative dimension:

做詩的人在這一段裡頭說, 在我空想像中的世界裡面 我們比較沒有獨處空谷之

感。但是除非一切幻相之外真有個可以當朋友招呼的本體（這就是說，真有那麼一件與我們能相感的物事。）他因我們的想像果然出來與我們握手了，請問，我們豈能如此呢。（Jiang Shaoyuan 1924c:4, my emphasis）

[Back translation: The person who makes poem in this paragraph says, in the world in my imagination we relatively do not have the feeling of being in an empty valley alone. However, unless there is an entity (本體) (that is to say, there is really something which can infect us) which can be treated as a friend apart from all the imagination. Because of our imagination he really comes out to shake hands with us. May I ask, how can we be like this?]

ST: In this passage the poet says we are less forlorn in a world which we meet with our imagination. That can only be possible if through our imagination is revealed, behind all appearances, the reality which gives the touch of companionship, that is to say, something which has an affinity to us (quoted in Jiang Shaoyuan 1924c:4).

Dong Jun criticized Jiang Shaoyuan for making the meaning too explicit, with the result that the translation was not ‘like’ the original. As he translated ‘forlorn’ into ‘the feeling of being in an empty valley’, the Chinese translation lost its original effect (Dong Jun 1924:3). Peng Jixiang also had reservations about the last sentence. It did not lose its original meaning, yet it failed to retain the tone (Jiang Shaoyuan 1924d:4). We should note that neither Dong Jun nor Peng Jixiang dispute Jiang’s translation on the grounds that it misinterprets the meaning of the original. Both of them seem to have agreed that the translation more or less conveys the correct message. The problem is that because it does not look like a text written by Tagore and, in other words, it misrepresented the poet. In his rebuttal, Jiang spoke from the perspective of Tagore’s spokesperson and felt a strong need to elucidate the original:

What is that thing which Tagore implies – you may consider it a riddle and guess. Those who get the right answer would not think [the phrases of] ‘treated as a friend’, ‘being in an empty valley alone’, ‘comes out to shake hands with us’ in the third version as too much [overtranslation] (Jiang Shaoyuan 1924d:4);

...because at that time I tried very hard to explain what Tagore means by ‘entity/substance’ (實體) is different from the so-called ‘entity/substance’ of certain Western philosophers (for example, Bradley)... whether the translator believes in God and inspiration is one thing; whether [he] knows that the Tagore who writes that sentence believes in God and inspiration is another (Jiang

Shaoyuan 1924e:3).

As one can see from the reporting clauses ‘what Tagore implies...’ and ‘what Tagore means...’, Jiang insists on showing to his reader what Tagore is referring to as he assumes the voice of the author. This image of the ‘author’ is founded upon his understanding of this specific text and of the author and his philosophy (that is, what ‘Tagore’ should be). He criticizes Dong Jun’s translation from the same position as he claims that ‘Tagore’s “entity/substance” (實體) is a living god with human character’ (Jiang Shaoyuan 1924d:4).

Jiang is not advocating a domesticating approach. In his criticism of Deng Yancun’s translation, he clearly objected to the use of Chinese idiomatic expressions such as 有點血氣的人 [a man with a little blood and air/healthy and lively vigour] to translate ‘flesh and blood’ in the source text, and 迴光返照似的 [the last radiance of the setting sun/a momentary recovery of consciousness before death] to translate ‘looks like a fresh experience’. In this early criticism, Jiang described the Tagore revealed through Deng’s translation as a ‘Chinese Tagore’ which was equated to a false image of the poet (Jiang Shaoyuan 1923:3-4). As he concluded the above debates, however, he suggested that translators should convert themselves into the author – ‘a Tagore who knows Chinese’ (1924e:4) – to capture and convey the spirit of the original. Professional knowledge of the author and of the relevant field marks the difference between the two positions.

This position is not only demanded by critics who do not actually translate the text; we can find a similar idea expressed by translators in defending their own works. Instead of maintaining that their translations were faithful renditions that followed the original text, certain translators claimed that their text was the authentic interpretation that superseded what was in the original text. Any mismatch between the source and target texts should not be sufficient evidence to challenge the translator’s overarching position. Responding to Jiang

on one of the mistakes he cited, Hu Yuzhi confidently stated that the third-person pronoun 'it' in the English version should stand for 'personality' if 'Mr. Tagore did not mix up the grammar' (Hu Yuzhi 1924:4). Zheng even questioned the original text for omitting a few words and felt the need to paraphrase in Chinese:

I think the original has omitted one or two words like 'let [in English]'. The original seems to mean 'But dance of the water let the pebbles singing (sic) into perfection' [in English] (Zheng Zhenduo 1923a:2).

The boldness displayed by Zheng in 'correcting' the source text may sound absurd or even unbelievable considering how 'faithfulness' was stressed at the time. To a certain extent, however, the two cases do give us a hint on how we should understand the reporting clauses of 'the original means...' and 'the original meaning is...' in translation criticisms and paratexts prepared by the translators. Such representations of Tagore are not always based on the original text or in line with the intention of the flesh-and-blood author, especially when more than one version is presented at the same time and all parties appear to have full confidence in their own interpretations. None of the translators and critics we have studied so far dwelt further upon the surface structure of the source text. Instead, they look for a debate over the subtle meaning which they claim to have been delivered in their works. It is the concept of being the original, and not the text in the original language or the writer who composes the text, which is held in respect. To defend their positions, they would go so far as to accuse the critics for not translating the whole work or would challenge them to provide a full translation of the original, a process which the translators have already gone through and which earns them, in their own estimation, the title of the true spokesperson for the original.

### **Relay Translation**

The next case causes us to rethink the status of the original text as reflected in the



debate on relay translation, which is defined here as an indirect Chinese translation based on an intermediate translation (mostly in Japanese or English in early twentieth-century China) of the original text. The following discussion examines Chinese translations of academic writings. The first case centres on Yu Jiaju's translation *Rensheng zhi yiyi yu jiazhi* [The Meaning and Value of Life] in 1920 and the second on Hu Qiuyuan's translation *Weiwu shiguan yishu lun* [On Materialist Interpretation of History and Art] and Lou Jiannan's *Ersbi shiji ouzhou wenxue* [European Literature in the Twentieth Century] published in the 1930s. Both cases involve rivalries between literary groups: the rivalry between Hu Shi and the Creationists in the first case, and that between Mu Mutian and Lu Xun in the second.

The topic of relay translation had attracted much attention in the 1920s before it developed into a tense argument between the leftists and liberal reformists in the first half of the 1930s. Since the dawn of the twentieth century, a greater emphasis had been placed on quantity over quality in translation. The mainstream opinion was that texts which were urgently needed in China should be selected and that time should not be wasted on retranslating the same texts (Hu Shi 1918; Fu Sinian 1919b/1984; Zou Taofen 1920; Zheng Zhenduo 1921:22-25). Relay translation was considered a useful means of speeding up this process at a time when not many people knew English. Early in 1909, Liang Qichao encouraged Chinese students to learn Japanese instead of Western languages because it would take them only one year to acquire the language and translate from it (Liang Qichao 1909, quoted in Chen Fukang 1992:114-116). Zheng Zhenduo saw indirect translation as a sad but inevitable reality. He warned that translators should be careful and meticulous and should make reference to more than one version of the text (that is, translations in other languages) to ensure an accurate Chinese version. Translators should also invite people who knew the original language to proofread the Chinese translation against the original text (Zheng Zhenduo 1921:24). At this stage, the original text was still an essential component in

assessing whether the translation was a faithful reproduction. The intermediate version was to serve only as a medium used to achieve the greater goal.

The first debate was triggered off by Yu Dafu's criticism of Yu Jiaju's translation of Rudolf Eucken's *Der Sinn und Wert des Lebens* through the English translation by Lucy Judge Gibson and W.R. Boyce-Gibson. The critic was upset by the declining quality of Chinese translations in general, which he attributed to the practice of relay translation. Some translators had never laid their hands on the original works. Yu Jiaju's translation was used as an example when Yu Dafu pointed out how the Chinese translator was misled by the English version (Yu Dafu 1922:45-47). This piece of criticism was itself criticized by another critic, Hu Shi, who singled out Yu Dafu's mistakes using the English version as the source text. Guo Moruo and Cheng Fangwu partook in a 'pen war'. They took Hu to task, especially over the fact that Hu founded his arguments upon a translated version instead of on the German original (Guo Moruo 1922b; Cheng Fangwu 1922). Guo cited the German original at length and provided his own Chinese translation before comparing his version with that of Yu Jiaju to prove how unreliable the English version was.

At this point, we should note that the Creationists – Yu Dafu, Guo Moruo, and Cheng Fangwu – were targeting the Chinese translation not because it was a relay translation, but due to the poor quality of the intermediate version and because of the fact that both the translator and the critic, Hu Shi, had failed to recognize the point at issue. Their stance is best illustrated by their response to Wu Zhihui. Wu (1923) joined the discussion by suggesting the translation approach of *zhuyi* [gloss translation], one which he claimed was commonly used in Japan:

Select a proportion of the [Chinese] translations and annotate them in the *zhu shu* system in our country [that is, the system of annotation and commentary used in traditional Chinese literature]. Supplement with the Chinese characters used in

Japanese and the pronunciation. There is no need to translate literally or freely<sup>19</sup>  
(Wu Zhihui 1923, April 6).

Since the translation would be aligned with the original text and heavily annotated, the translator could explain difficult passages and readers could spot any mistakes more easily. As, according to Wu, it was impossible for the translator to make no mistakes in the course of the translation process, 'gloss translation' was the best way to preserve the 'true face' of the original (Wu Zhihui 1923, April 10). Wu highlighted the uniqueness of the original, which could not be translated into another language without appropriate elucidation. In Guo's conclusion to the whole debate, however, he refuted Wu's proposal. Instead, he reiterated the role of the translator in ensuring a 'faithful' reproduction of the original text. As long as the translator had a rich knowledge of linguistics, a good understanding of the original and the author, and was competent in expressing himself in his own language, the translation would be no different from an original creation (Guo Moruo 1923:39-40). A translation, therefore, can be as good as the original text, even though the translator would not have translated each and every word in the text. The 'faithfulness' of the translation hinges on the translator's competence in accomplishing the task. Relay translation is unacceptable not because it widens the distance between the original and the target reader, but is undesirable simply because it exposes the translator's incompetence in handling the task. As the translator does not know the original language and the text, he is not capable of assessing the quality of the intermediate translation. Chinese translators should be held solely responsible for the poor quality of Chinese indirect translations.

In practice, relay translations were seldom criticized purely for being indirect translations, although some theorists discouraged translators from translating from an intermediate translation. Hu Shi and his circle of friends had written a few articles to protest against relay translation in the late 1920s. Liang Shiqiu, for example, insisted that relay

translations were ‘distant’ from the original and that the ‘flavour’ (味道) of the original would no doubt be diluted, or even changed. Translators should not take the shortcut of translating from English versions of French or Russian literature (Liang Shiqiu 1928:4). Hu Shi hammered home the message as he advanced the view that scholars studying English should translate English and American literature (Hu Shi 1929b:1). Bi Shutang translated an English article by Semion Repoport which commented on bad English translations of Russian novels. In the postscript, Bi alerted translators and Chinese readers of inaccurate Chinese translations of Russian novels rendered through unreliable English versions (Bi Shutang 1929:15-17). In these three articles, the writers concentrate specifically on the relay translations of Russian novels and naturally target the left-wing writers, among whom Lu Xun was the figurehead.

Relay translations were evaluated in more or less the same way as direct translations. Judging from the critical reviews of the two relay translations done by Hu Qiuyuan and Lou Jiannan, translators receive the bulk of the blame for incomprehensible language or expressions, features which can also be found in direct translations. Da Wu’s criticism (1933) of the phrases of 在三層樓上展開 [develop on the third floor] and 骨董之描寫 [antique’s description] has been cited earlier in this chapter. In a similar tone, Mu Mutian listed obscure Chinese expressions such as 最后地民眾地委任於決定的言詞 [finally peoplely (sic) appointed decided phrases], 似新非新的智識階級 [seemingly new not new (sic) intellectual class], and 我並要加緊它 [I have to quicken it/speed it up]<sup>20</sup>. Before commenting on the language, however, the critic threw doubt on the information the translator provided in the endnotes. Names such as ‘Maxim du Kahn’ (instead of ‘Maxime du Camp’) and ‘J. Virdrack’ (instead of ‘Charles Vildrac’) were not recognizable. 學術院 was wrongly identified as the Communist Academy of the USSR (instead of the Académie Française) (Mu Mutian 1933a, b). Mu jeered at the translator for his lack of common sense: ‘even though the USSR has a

record of great achievements in academic research and art, [I don't suppose they] would compose an anthology for the imperialist writers?' (Mu Mutian 1933a:6). Considering the misinformation reported and the unintelligible sentences used, Mu formed the opinion that Lou Jiannan's translation was 'unfaithful, unidiomatic, and unreadable' (不信，不順，不通) (Mu Mutian 1933a:6).

Both Da Wu and Mu Mutian assess relay translations from the perspective of the reader, who is left in the dark after reading the Chinese translation. In contrast to the Creationists, neither of them count on the original text for authority. Instead, they refer to published translations for clarification. Da Wu (1933) said that he could make sense of Hu Qiuyuan's translation only after consulting another Chinese version by Dai Wangshu. Mu (1933a) also referred to a Japanese translation as he pointed out Lou's mistakes. The act of referring to another translation is in itself a condemnation of Hu and Lou, who fail to live up to the standards expected of capable translators. Such mistakes are obviously not caused by inherent features of the original as there *are* reliable translations like those the two critics consulted. The two inferior Chinese translations are felt to be unfaithful simply because they arouse suspicion in the reader.

Both translators admitted some of their mistakes in their responses to the accusations. Instead of begging for forgiveness, they regarded such mistakes as natural and assumed that they would be forgiven by reasonable readers. Such careless mistakes should not undermine the faithfulness of the translations, especially when one considered the adverse conditions under which the translators worked<sup>21</sup>. To defend their works, they also resort to secondary materials – Chinese translations of articles in foreign languages or articles in Chinese introducing foreign literature. Hu Qiuyuan, whose translation was based mainly on a Japanese version, admitted the first case as a mistake resulting from misinterpreting the

Japanese word for 'stage' as 'floor'. As for the second one, his translation of the word 骨董 [antique] was copied directly from the Japanese text, which was supposed to mean 零雜 [fragmentary/piecemeal]. The translation was a direct quotation and its accuracy was beyond doubt (Hu Qiuyuan 1933:4). Lou sought support from a special issue on world literature of the renowned literary journal *Xiaoshuo yuebao* [Short Story Monthly] which he had consulted for information on the names of foreign writers and critics (Lou Jiannan 1933:4). The authority of the original text is undermined if we consider the fact that neither the critics nor the translators look to the original text to verify the meaning presented in the Chinese translation. They all make reference to translated texts to accuse or defend the validity of certain Chinese translations. The 'original', which is often stressed in the associated theories, has become an idea formulated in the head of the translators and critics. It is constructed on the basis of all kinds of representations of Western literature available in the Chinese scene.

This view fits well with the dialogue between Mu Mutian and Lu Xun on the reliability of relay translations as representations of the original works. Mu Mutian shared the view of Hu Shi and Liang Shiqiu and argued against relay translation on the grounds that translators would not have access to the language style of the original author if they translated from an intermediate version as opposed to from the original. A relay translation would not give the full picture of the original (Mu Mutian 1934b, c). Lu Xun did not deny that some of the delicate features of the original would have been smoothed away in the intermediate translation (Lu Xun 1934a). However, from a practical perspective, having access to the original text did not necessarily guarantee a faithful reproduction. This was because the idea of 'the original' involved more than the text per se. There were extra-linguistic features, including the style and character of the author displayed in his or her other works, not to mention the contextual factors at play. The advantage of translating from an intermediate translation with explanatory notes attached was that translators were able to refer to a third

text and gain a better understanding of the original. If they translated directly from the original text, they would have to tackle the problems on their own (Lu Xun 1934a:4). Lu Xun is suggesting that there can be only *one* correct interpretation of the original which is not necessarily inferred from the surface structure of the text. Changing the language should not affect the meaning as long as the text is interpreted correctly in the first place.

In Lu Xun's view, the 'original' is made up of the text *and* a body of paratextual materials on the original and the author. This definition is also hinted at in the Creationists' arguments and even in Mu's when he insisted that translators should read all the author's masterpieces before they started translating (Mu Mutian 1934a). Translators' 'understanding' of the original was more important:

If [you] do not gain a certain understanding of a piece of work, it ultimately won't work. It does not matter if one translates directly or indirectly. The understanding of a piece of work cannot be gained without some research. So, in the translation of literature, considering that [we] must research [the subject] to a certain extent, direct translation is more positive (Mu Mutian 1934c:6).

What Mu refers to is not a method which leads to a certain outcome. It is merely a procedure, or a code of behaviour guiding the translator. If translators carried out an in-depth investigation before they started, as Mu explained, they could still produce a good translation even if they could not read the original language. All they needed to do was to compare different versions to come up with a reliable interpretation of the meaning behind the text (Mu Mutian 1934b). At this point, we can see how the concept of 'faithfulness' has become completely detached from the original text. Unlike Zheng Zhenduo, who insisted on tracing back the text in the original language, Mu agreed with Lu Xun that the original work could be reconstructed in relay translations, in spite of Mu's initial position against it.

To this point, I have outlined translation theories and criticisms of published

translations and explained the views and implications behind these writings. While the idea of faithfulness to the original and the meaning of the original text is stressed repeatedly in both kinds of writing, no objective standard for ‘assessing’ the faithfulness of a translation is suggested. The foregoing discussion of criticism has demonstrated how both translators and critics claim to speak for the author in their interpretation of the original. Even without direct access to the original text, it is still possible for translators to reconstruct a translation which represents the original work in the Chinese language. At this point, one can’t help but wonder how the overriding standard of *xin* or *zhongshi* [faithfulness] could be enforced when translators were given so much power to define and rewrite foreign texts. From the practitioners’ perspective, what did the standard of ‘faithfulness’ imply in practice if they were to be spared from malicious fault-finding attacks? In the next section, I re-examine the concept of ‘faithfulness’ as a code of practice regulating the behaviour of translators as opposed to a fictitious standard to be met by their translations.

#### **IV. The Power to Represent – Revisiting the Concept of Faithfulness**

In the history of translation in China, theorists have attempted to establish principles for translators. Some of the better known terms include *anben* [following the source<sup>22</sup>], *xin*, *da* and *ya* [being faithful, comprehensible and elegant], *shensi* [imitation in spirit], and *huajing* [sublimation<sup>23</sup>]. Although these terms were coined by theorists when they reflected on the translation activities of certain historical periods, they also provide hints on how translational practice has been conceived over time. Apart from the second concept of ‘being faithful, comprehensible and elegant’, the other three terms set out specific translation methods (as in *anben* and *shensi*) or a certain state of the translated text (as in *huajing*). The method of *anben* [following the source] was elaborated by Dao An as he discussed the translation of the



Buddhist scriptures: ‘No superfluous words were used. Now and then the inverted word order was straightened out; the rest was recorded in full’ (Cheung P.Y., Martha ed. 2006:85). This idea is closely associated with the term *zhibyi* [unhewn translation] which requires that each and every word in the original be translated into the target text (Chu Chiyu 2000:6; Cheung P.Y. Martha ed. 2006:86). *Shensi* and *huajing* were put forward in the twentieth century by Chen Yuan (1929) and Qian Zhongshu (1964), respectively. *Shensi* encourages translators to go beyond the surface structure and to aim to reproduce a certain essence of the original which impresses and affects the reader. It is the ideal mode of translation which all translators should aim for but will find it difficult to attain. Qian Zhongshu goes further as he compares *huajing* to ‘the transmigration of souls’ (Qian Zhongshu 1964/1981:302). It is the highest standard of literary translation in which the text is no longer thought of as a translation but becomes a work of art integrated into the target culture. Both Chen and Qian paint an ideal picture of what translations should be and grant translators the licence to depart from the formal features (or ‘the shell’, using Qian’s metaphor) of the original. Apart from ‘aiming at faithfulness’ in the objective suggested by Yan Fu in 1897, the other three notions stress the ‘sameness’ between the translated text and the original, either in terms of the semantic content (as in *anben*) or in terms of the more abstract notions of spirit and beauty (as in *shensi* and *huajing*).

The second term, *xin* (and *zhongshi*, which is more commonly used in Chinese translation criticism), which is generally translated as ‘faithfulness’, is less specific if we read by its surface meaning. When Yan Fu nominated *xin* as one of the three problems faced in the process of translating, the idea came from *Yi Jing* [the Book of Change]: ‘修辭立誠’ [‘sincerity is the essence of rhetoric’ (Cheung P.Y. Martha ed. 2006:95)]. Both Wong Wang-chi, Lawrence and Chu Chiyu define the term as *zhongshi* [loyalty and truthfulness] in terms of the semantic meaning or general content of the original (Wong Wang-chi,

Lawrence 1997:37-38; Chu Chiyu 2000:2-3). It is contrasted with the second aspect of *da* [comprehensibility], which should be understood with reference to the syntactic patterns within the target language system. If this definition is adopted, the concept of *xin* [faithfulness] as a criterion to assess translation does not stand in opposition to *da* [comprehensibility] and *ya* [elegance]. When the term was re-interpreted in the Republican era, some theorists exploited it to their advantage and polarized the notions of *xin/zhongshi* [faithfulness] and *da/shun* [comprehensibility, fluency], with *xin* being specified as a source-text oriented approach and *da* being oriented to the needs of the target reader. Certain theorists tended to merge the two ideas or to expand the idea of *xin* as they required that the translation produce the same impact on the target reader as does the original on the source text reader. Although the idea of ‘faithfulness’ undoubtedly had a directive effect on translators of the time, the term itself does not reveal much more than it denotes.

Contemporary interpretations of *xin* diverge even further from each other. Most scholars still look on it as a standard. Wang Xiangyuan et al., for example, define it as being ‘true to the original or to the meaning of the original text’ (2006:70). For Zhu Guangqian and Yip Wai-lim, such a definition is far-fetched. Taking into account the different layers of meaning of an expression, Zhu regards this definition as a mere ideal which is difficult to attain in translation (Zhu Guangqian 1944/1984:454). Yip Wai-lim follows the same rationale and comes to the conclusion that *xin* is a myth. This is especially true when one thinks of the different levels and kinds of faithfulness that exist, as well as the fact that ‘*yi* (meaning or intuitive sense-of-things) cannot be contained in any fixed forms’ (Yip Wai-lim 1994/2004:79). Other scholars address the notion from a descriptive perspective. Zhu Chunshen reduces it to a simple relationship developed between the ‘encoder’ [the translator, the person] and the ‘text’ [the translation, the product] (2000:28). Chang Nam-fung interprets the Chinese word *xin* as ‘being loyal’ to emphasize the tinge of Confucian thinking

in the reception of the term and its influence in practice (1998 and private correspondence). Chu Chiyu, on the other hand, relates it to the attitude of the translator (that is, how the concept is interpreted by the person in viewing her position/work/responsibility) and the result of the translation (the product or the effect of the end-product) (2000:2). In most cases (perhaps with Chang Nam-fung's 1998 study as the exception, in which he stresses the ideological influence the concept has on the behaviour of translators), *xin* unavoidably points to a quality of the product (the translation) founded upon the source text. The same concept can vary from being a standard for assessment to an unrealistic criterion for the product, a relationship between the producer and the product, or a self-reflection on the process by the producer. As Chu Chiyu concludes, the notion of 'being faithful' has never been specific:

Both *xin* and *zhongshi* lack concrete specifications or targets (that is, being faithful to whom). As a result, without having recourse to the original text, the translator or the reader, and not referring to the function of or the occasion for the translation, the word of *xin* by itself does not have normative effect. The so-called standard has never existed (Chu Chiyu 2000:14).

'Being faithful' is a loose term which is open to a variety of definitions depending on the position of the user – the translator, the theorist, or the critic. Yet it is necessary to establish faithfulness for a translation to be accepted or rejected as a 'translation of foreign literature', especially during the Republican period. *Xin* or *zhongshi* was a mere label, the existence of which served to empower Chinese translations. To be more accurate, it is the translators' act of claiming faithfulness for their translations which was observed in the translation process. The literal meaning of the two terms *xin* and *zhongshi* may suggest the 'correct' attitude any translator should have – being truthful (*xin*) and not telling lies, as well as being loyal (*zhong*) by telling the facts or the truth (*shi*)<sup>24</sup>. The notion of faithfulness seems to constitute a code of practice for practitioners to follow in the field.

We have seen from the above discussion how the code of practice was enforced. The theorists and some critics would put forward concrete instructions on what translators should do or should have done to achieve 'faithfulness'. In this way, different translation methods were specified. *Zhiji* – word-for-word translation, or literal translation from the 1920s – stressed formal resemblance in which translators were asked to follow the source text word-for-word and subsequently sentence-by-sentence to reproduce a 'faithful' Chinese version. By retaining most, if not all, of the formal features of the original, theorists who advocated a *zhiji* approach believed that the meaning derived from the form would re-emerge in the target text. Europeanized syntax and unidiomatic expressions were used to mark the translated version as secondary to the original, underlining its loyalty to a superior text. For those who were more concerned about getting across the semantic meaning to Chinese readers, translators must be able to take into consideration linguistic and cultural differences and the needs of the target reader. Translators were asked to mediate between two positions: to adapt the original for readability and to adhere to the original for fidelity. Any major change made in the translation must be justified in the sense that the translation was still reliable as a representation of the original. To achieve this, translators often acted in the name of the 'author' or as his or her spokesperson. In both *yiji* [sense translation] and *shensi* [resemblance of the spirit], translators were to translate as the author would have written for the Chinese audience. Theorists who advocated the notion of *shensi* even licensed translators to drift further away from the original text as long as they could 'preserve the spirit'. Under the principle of 'faithfulness', translators were asked to render the original to the best of their knowledge and not to abuse the trust of the reader.

To show that they were being faithful and that their translations were trustworthy, translators were to take up two positions during the translation process, the first of which was on the textual level and the other on the paratextual level. On the textual level, they were

required to produce a mimetic representation of the original in the voice of the author and to rewrite the text for the target reader. If we refer back to the Chinese translations of Joseph Conrad's novels, we can see that the three translators – Liang Yuchun, Guan Qitong, and Yuan Jiahua – are eager to preserve all the semantic meanings without deleting any passage from the original text. In Yuan Jiahua's translations, we can even see how he attempts to make use of the new grammatical features taking shape in vernacular Chinese, such as the feminine and neuter pronouns and the aspectual markers, to reproduce what he sees as distinctive elements of Conrad's sea-stories. The translators would rearrange syntactic structures, rewrite long sentences or nominal constructions, and occasionally use idiomatic Chinese expressions and sayings to create the impression among Chinese readers that the novels have been written for them as the target readers.

Apart from translating the text, the translators of Conrad's sea-stories were to give diegetic reports on the original and the author to consolidate the trust of Chinese readers. These reports could be in the form of explanatory notes written in their own voices to inform the reader what the words or phrases in the original meant, or in the form of a preface in which the translator would introduce the author and the novel. The preface was especially important in justifying the translator's interpretation as the only authentic reading. With the translation of *Lord Jim* as an exception, the other three Chinese translations examined in this thesis – *Hei shuishou* (*The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*) (1936), *Bu'an de gushi* (*Tales of Unrest*) (1936), and *Taifeng ji q ta* (*Typhoon and Other Stories*) (1937) – supply detailed end-notes to explain the concepts and objects used in navigation, English cultural items and phrases, and to allude to Conrad's other writings and masterworks. In all of his translations (he translated half of *Lord Jim* after Liang's untimely death in 1932), Yuan Jiahua explains the theme, the underlying message, and the style of each of the novels. He makes references to English reviews and the author's other works including Conrad's autobiographical writings

and correspondence. This is also the case with Liang Yuchun's translation of *Youth*, which was published three years earlier by a different publisher (Beixin Bookstore). In their diegetic reports, the translators not only reassure readers of their competence to undertake the task by demonstrating their knowledge of the subject, but also steer them towards their own interpretation of the 'original' as delivered in the Chinese text, thereby securing the 'faithfulness' of their translation.

We can also see from the translation criticism how this code of practice was further enforced in the translation circle. Translators were mostly praised for capturing the essence of the original text and presenting the original in vivid and clear language. In most cases, the Chinese version would not be compared to the source text. Translators were encouraged to appeal to the needs of the reader and made changes to the source text where deemed necessary. Deleting passages, an act considered to be betraying the author and the original work when committed by Lin Shu some thirty years earlier, could now be justified as we have seen in the case of Mao Dun's complimentary comment on Wu Guangjian's translation. Translators were commended for remoulding foreign texts into Chinese texts which would fit into and survive in the Chinese literary field. A more significant point is that translators were applauded not because of the 'sameness' of their translations to the original, but because of their ability to replace the foreign language 'version' with a Chinese text accepted to represent the 'original' in China, the 'original' being an image that was not entirely based on the text itself. The status of a translation was secure so long as it did not meet with any challenge from critics or other translators who presented different versions of the same text.

Just as there is only one original text of any particular work of literature, so there can be only one Chinese version that represents the 'original'. This explains why critics adopted a hostile position and used denigrating expressions when they challenged Chinese translations

by espousing their own views on the original works. To assert their position as a superior spokesperson for the author or even as *the author* of the ‘original’ – and hence claiming the power to define the ‘original’ – in China, both critics and translators had to prove themselves qualified and competent to provide the one ‘correct’ interpretation. The competition soon developed into a rivalry between critics and translators over their cultural capital – their professional knowledge and the relevance of their knowledge, qualifications, and skills which were generally accepted or respected in the field. Not only must translators be capable of understanding the foreign language and culture, they must also be capable of constructing an image of the ‘original’ and of the author if necessary. The translation must match up to the image created by the translator, and both must be able to fit into the poetics and socio-cultural atmosphere of China. As soon as the critics showed that translators were incapable of producing reliable Chinese versions of the original due to their deficiency in language or knowledge, their right to claim their work as the original would be forfeited. As demonstrated by the two cases of misrepresentation, the images of the original and of the author were often unrelated to the flesh-and-blood author or the real text. The power to represent was vested in the credibility of translators, credibility that was established through their works and was sustained by the cultural capital they displayed in their paratexts.

## **V. Conclusion**

On naming her collection of writings about translation in China, Martha Cheung chooses the term ‘discourse’ on translation instead of translation ‘theories’. Her choice is prompted by her awareness of the possible ideological factors involved in the selection and presentation of the texts. Her self-reflection on the representativeness of her anthology is relevant to the current research on two levels: 1. the representativeness of the corpus in the present research on the thinking on translation during the Republican period; 2. how

individual translators and critics at that time strove to represent foreign literature through their works.

On the first level, I have referred to articles published in the major literary journals in the period 1912-1937 as well as to recent anthologies and writings on Chinese translation theory. This chapter has also covered translation criticisms in the 1920s and 1930s, criticisms which have been largely overlooked by scholars and yet contributed to the shaping of a discourse of translation. The articles discussed represent only a portion of selected literary journals and newspaper supplements published in the Republican era. I have offered a discussion comparing the standards suggested in the relevant theories and the reception and evaluation of published translations in the criticisms. While many theorists focused on methods and modes of translation in the name of achieving 'faithfulness', this chapter has demonstrated how the critics interpreted and applied the notion of faithfulness in a variety of ways and how they emphasised the reception of translations and the responsibility of translators for their work. The 'faithfulness' of translation was therefore something to be established on the basis of the translator's competence in projecting a reliable image of the original, regardless of the strategy employed in the translation process.

On the second level, I have shown how translators and critics fully exploited their power to represent by being selective in the aspects on which they focused. To sustain their claims, however, they seldom looked to the source text to verify its meaning. Translators and critics alike attempted to strengthen their position in two ways: either by speaking in the voice of the author, or by acting as the spokesperson for the author. Regardless of which strategy was chosen, translators and critics would draw evidence from local or translated reviews originally written in a foreign language or would even enlist help from Chinese or foreign scholars on relevant topics. Translators were guided by a code of behaviour to



produce faithful representations of foreign literature in Chinese. The notion of ‘faithfulness’, in spite of its fluidity and lack of specificity, was at the centre of translation activity in Republican China.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Martha Cheung gives a detailed analysis of the Chinese term *lilun* (a loan word from Japanese) as a translation of the English word ‘theory’. She does not choose it for her anthology because of its ambiguity: apart from representing the Western mode of thinking indicated by the term ‘theory’, *lilun* also carries its Chinese meaning of ‘to discuss, or talk about, or deliberate upon the *li*, i.e. reason, truth, principles of things (*lun shi wu zhi li*)’ (Cheung P.Y. Martha 2006:91). In this chapter, the term ‘theories’ embodies both senses. On the one hand, the theorists tried to present their ideas and stimulate discussion on certain topics. On the other hand, being the leading figures of the New Culture Movement and a group mostly comprised of returned students from Japan or European countries, they attempted to apply a more scientific and systematic approach to explore the questions and problems of translation. The plural form is used here to indicate the diverse opinions found in their writings.

<sup>2</sup> The setting up of the Republic in 1912 did not strengthen the country as expected. China continued to be partitioned by the colonial countries and local warlords. The last hope of the intellectuals was crushed in 1919 when the news of the Paris Peace Conference reached Beijing. China, a member of the Allies in the First World War, failed to reclaim sovereignty over the land and rights in the treaty ports. The territories formerly ‘on lease’ to Germany were transferred to Japan. Students, merchants, and workers took to demonstrations and strikes. On 4 May, 1919, some five thousand students gathered at Tiananmen Square and protested against Japanese imperialism and the weakness and corruption of the Chinese government. The May Fourth New Culture Movement reached its climax at this time.

<sup>3</sup> The rest include Qu Qiubai, Fu Sinian, Zheng Zhenduo, Cheng Fangwu, Yu Dafu, Zhou Zuoren, Chen Yuan, Zeng Xubai, Lin Yutang, Ma Zhongrong, Fu Donghua, etc. (Luo Xinzhang ed. 1984).

<sup>4</sup> The more recent publications also include Wang Bingqin (2004) *Ersbi shiji zhongguo fanyisi xiangshi* [History of Translation in Twentieth Century China], Xie Tianzhen and Zha Mingjian (2004) *Zhongguo xiandai fanyi wenxueshi (1898-1949)* [A History of Translated Literature in Modern China (1898-1949)], Zhang Zhongliang (2005) *Wusi shiqi de fanyi wenxue* [Translated Literature During the May Fourth Period], and Wang Xiangyuan, Chen Yan et al. (2006) *Ersbi shiji zhongguo wenxue fanyi zhibizheng* [Debates on Literary Translation in Twentieth Century China]. As the editors and writers do not express new views or provide new information, I do not discuss them in this section.

<sup>5</sup> There were 31 articles published in 1920, 32 in 1921, 24 in 1922, and 37 in 1923. The number peaked in 1924 when 41 articles appeared.

<sup>6</sup> The concluding remark to the discussion of the polemics between the Creation Society and the Literary Research Association in Meng Zhaoyi and Li Zaidao eds. (2005:113-115) is illustrative:

The translators were, of course, immature, inexperienced and did not meet the standard. Therefore, it is not surprising to find incorrect translations, misinterpretation and dead [stiff] translations. If the parties involved exchanged opinions in a constructive manner, discussed and criticized [the translations], that was what should have been done. These discussions and criticisms were important to improve the standard of the translations. However, [the views put

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forward in] these polemics on translations were prejudiced and biased. [The whole discussion] became [something resembling] a dogfight [in which each] defended one's mistakes and exposed the other's scars, holding each other up to ridicule. [One should] learn from this lesson (Meng and Li eds. 2005:115, my emphasis).

<sup>7</sup> In this chapter, the term 'original' is different from 'source text' in usage. During the Republican era, the discussion often involved different versions of the original used by translators and critics as the source. The translator sometimes rejects as the 'original' the version the critic quotes as the source text. As a result, the term 'source text' is used to specify the text considered by the critics and translators as the source, whereas the term 'original' refers to the works written by the author regardless of the edition and version.

<sup>8</sup> It should be noted that Creationists like Guo Muruo and Yu Dafu did not convert to the left until the purge staged by Jiang Jieshi in 1927. They were still ardent supporters of romanticism and aestheticism in the first half of the 1920s.

<sup>9</sup> Chang Nam-fung (1998) examines how the principle of *zhongshi*, a term he translates as 'loyalty', dominates and becomes a convention in translation in China. The topic is discussed in detail in part four of this chapter.

<sup>10</sup> Both Yan Fu and Lin Shu held faithfulness in high regard. Like most of the translators, Lin Shu acknowledged the differences between the Chinese and Western languages. He emphasized the factor of style and the importance of translators interacting with the author and the characters in the novel to produce the same effect. His translations are successful in rendering the characters into lively and vivid persons, as Qian Zhongshu recalls reading the Chinese translations when he was young:

I read Liang Qichao's translation *Shimu xiaobaojie* and the detective stories by Zhou Guisheng, etc., and found them boring. It was not until I came into contact with Lin's translations that I discovered Western novels to be so fascinating (Qian Zhongshu 1964/1981:304).

<sup>11</sup> Here, I am not suggesting that 'free translation' is a negative term. Taking into account the overriding principle of 'faithfulness' in that period of time and the status of Western texts and knowledge in society, that the translator should translate freely without following closely the original text was utterly unacceptable. It is in this context that 'free translation' is suggested as a more appropriate description.

<sup>12</sup> Some scholars render *yingyi* as 'stiff translation'. Here, I translate the term literally as 'hard translation', which is necessary to reproduce the wordplay in Liang Shiqiu's criticism discussed below.

<sup>13</sup> Lu Xun began to build up a more substantial theory of 'hard translation' to answer challenges from Liang Shiqiu and Qu Qiubai. The strategy was to apply in the translation of literary theories and revolutionary literature targeted at educated readers. It aimed to make the reader feel uncomfortable, to 'irritate' those who were not on the same front line, and to test those who should have the perseverance to study (Lu Xun 1930, quoted in Chen Fukang 1992:294). Europeanized sentence structures should be used to bring in new expressions and enrich the Chinese language. Unlike Qu, he aimed for a 'hotpot' (*sibuxiang*) vernacular which absorbed elements from the traditional story-telling genre, daily conversations, and regional dialects used by the general public. Lu Xun even retrieved his earliest definition of *zhuyi*, a method used to produce an exoticizing translation. Changing the word order of the sentence would at the same time shift the focus of the whole sentence and was therefore not acceptable (Qu Qiubai and Lu Xun 1931/1984:276). The same applied to texts which were ironic in style: 'if one aims at a translation that is easy to understand, one may as well create or adapt a piece of work' (Lu Xun 1935b/1984:301). This view, however, was supported only by his followers. As we will see in the translation criticisms in the next section, the majority still opted for comprehensible translations.

<sup>14</sup> The dichotomy of 'spirit' and 'form' can be found in texts on Chinese philosophy in the pre-Qin period before 221BCE. The concept of 'spirit' was first applied in appreciating paintings in the third century CE and later to poetry and prose (Wang, Chen et.al. 2006:158-159).

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<sup>15</sup> In this chapter, I examine 107 articles found in 3 newspaper supplements (*Chengbao fujian* [Supplement of *Morning Post*] 1923-24; *Minguo ribao – Juennu* [‘Awakening’ in *Republic Daily*] [1921-24; *Shenbao ziyoutan* [‘Free Talk’ in *Shanghai Post*] (1933-34) and 9 literary journals including *Chuangzao jikan* [Creation Quarterly], *Chuangzao zhoubao* [Creation Weekly] 1922-26; *Wenxue xunkan* [Literature Trimonthly] 1922-23; *Yusi* [Thread Talk] 1926-30; *Xiandai pinglun* [Modern Critics] 1925; *Wenxue zhoubao* [Literature Weekly] 1926; *Xinyue* [Crescent Moon] 1929; *Wenxue* [Literature] 1933-1935; and *Yimen* [Translations] 1937. These include reviews on published translations specified in articles, responses from other critics on these reviews, and rebuttals from translators or editors. Some are short commentaries of one or two paragraphs. Others are long essays which can run for a few pages, or even a few issues, as does the one written by Wu Zhihui (1923). The arguments often involve ideas stated in the translators’ prefaces or postscripts. Such paratexts would not be included in the list.

<sup>16</sup> Tian Xin first appeared as the critic to Hu Shi’s translation of the verse. Although the article was written to defend his own suggested translation, in this part he was commenting on Kai Ming’s interpretation of the line ‘Time doth tarry’.

<sup>17</sup> We should also note that Mao Dun (1937) made it very clear that the two translations targeted two different groups of readers. One may argue that there is only one Chinese version of *Jane Eyre* designed especially for each group.

<sup>18</sup> This kind of ‘reinforcement’ is not necessarily found in the translated text in terms of the strategies or choice of words. This analysis seeks to consider other means beyond the textual level such as references to dictionaries or English reference materials, consultation with Chinese or foreign scholars, and extensive paratexts – prefaces, end-notes, and reviews. This is why I use the word ‘practice’ instead of ‘translation’, which would be limited to the end-product or the process.

<sup>19</sup> The original is also quite obscure: 將譯界一部分相當之書，用我國注疏體，輔以日本的漢文和讀法，注譯起來。既不直譯，也無需義譯。

<sup>20</sup> I have translated the original phrases literally. The unusual words and collocations like ‘peoplely’ and ‘seemingly new not new’ are equally puzzling in the Chinese text.

<sup>21</sup> Lou Jiannan, for example, explained that his life was affected by the Mukden Incident on 18 September 1931 when Japan invaded the northeast of China and the attack on Shanghai on 28 January 1932. In the latter incident, Lou made a narrow escape on the next day and lost the book. He continued the translation simply to earn a living (Lou Jiannan 1933).

<sup>22</sup> The translation used in Cheung P.K. Martha ed. 2006:85 is adopted here.

<sup>23</sup> I refer to Yu Chengfa’s (2006) translation of ‘Theory of Sublimity’, which appears to be a misspelling of the word ‘sublimation’. It is defined by Qian Zhongshu as ‘the highest standard of literary translation. [The translator reproduces] the work from one language into another, not showing any traces of unnaturalness because of the difference in linguistic conventions and preserving the original aura and taste perfectly. That could be considered as entering ‘sublimation’. Some praised translations [have been] produced using this technique with the metaphor of ‘the transmigration of souls’. The shell is changed and the spirit and beauty remain’ (Qian Zhongshu 1964/1981:302). The other translation for the term is ‘transformation’. This word, however, seems to imply the progression of the ‘text’ and overlook the nature of the substance which should remain intact during the process.

<sup>24</sup> The translations offered here are quite different from those of other scholars. Hermans has collected translations of the triadic concepts of *xin*, *da*, and *ya* in fifteen articles and books (2007:143-144). The three versions of *xin* are ‘faithfulness’, ‘fidelity’, and ‘trueness’. The Chinese term *zhongshi* can in effect be used to describe the character of a person. In such a context, it is commonly interpreted as ‘faithful’ or ‘loyal’. In this sense, it can be used to reflect on one’s own behaviour.

## Chapter Five: The Translator in the Social Space

This study of the Chinese translations of Joseph Conrad's works started with an assessment of the voices heard in the translated texts: who is speaking in these Chinese versions of his sea stories? In what form and on what levels do the translators make their presence felt in the texts? Rather than examining the translational approaches or concrete strategies adopted by the translators, the issue of interest here is their positioning as we look at the translation of fiction as a form of narration. How the translators modulate the voice of the narrator and when they decide to intrude into the narrative using their own voice reveals the translators' conception of their translation practice. To establish the factors that may have contributed to this conception, the focus then turned to two aspects which had a direct impact on the translators: the patron of the translation project and the discourse of translation at the time. While the patronage sheds light on the institutional setting in which the three translators involved in this project operated, the translation discourse reveals the expectations and vocations for translation practice in general. As demonstrated in the previous two chapters, the agents involved – including the commissioners, theorists, and critics - invariably looked to the translator as the key to success or failure of the task at hand. The translators should be equipped with the requisite professional knowledge in terms of the language, culture, and the relevant subject areas which would enable them to produce Chinese translations which served the designated purpose. In other words, the translators were vested with a great deal of responsibility and given free rein to make appropriate decisions on their own. To account for the behaviour of the translators, we now need a theory which targets the individual as a socialized subject, that is, as an agent who is raised up and acquires the skills of a translator within a certain socio-cultural and ideological

environment.

Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice examines the behaviour of agents and the regular and regulated patterns that can be seen in their practice within a social structure. The analysis makes use of data from both the objective structure and the subjective intention of the individual, aiming at what he calls

a complete description of the relation between the habitus, as a socially constituted system of cognitive and motivating structures, and the socially structured situation in which the agents' *interests* are defined, and with them the objective functions and subjective motivations of their practices (Bourdieu 1977:76).

By tracing the practical logic applied by the translators of Conrad's novels, the aim is to explore the dialectical relation between the translators and the socio-cultural context in which they translated Conrad's works. Translational style is not considered an immediate product of the norms of the literary system or of the preferences of the initiator or the institution. Instead, I argue that while the translators' practice is a function of the socio-political environment, translators in Republican China did not necessarily subjugate themselves to the needs of their patrons or political leaders. As agents within the intellectual field in their own right, translators were, in effect, actively involved in the maintenance of the social hierarchy without necessarily realizing it themselves.

The chapter is divided into five parts. In the introduction, I review the literature on theories that attempt to account for patterns arising from translations or translators' styles within a particular socio-cultural or ideological context. Comment is also made on the approaches adopted by researchers in their studies of Chinese translations of Western literature. In the second part, I briefly introduce the key features of Bourdieu's theory of practice. In the remaining three sections, I apply the theory to account for the practice of the

three translators of Conrad's novels by identifying them as agents operating in the intellectual field. Part three starts with a description of the social structure of China in the Republican period and an investigation of the power relations that existed between cultural fields and the field of power, which is identified as the political field. This is followed by a dissection of the structure of the intellectual field. I establish that the China Foundation, which sponsored the project to translate Conrad's complete works, occupied a relatively dominant position which it had secured through its autonomy and was supported by the specific forms of capital it possessed. The position of the organization (as opposed to those of rival groups within the field) and the *habitus* this generated for its agents resulted in the formation of a practical logic for the translators, which is referred to here as 'the sense of integrity'. In the last part, I elaborate on this idea, which has little to do with the presumed equivalent relation between the source and target texts. It was a practical sense which guided the translators to display their professional knowledge of both the original and the author via their translation in an effort to convince the reader that they were capable of accomplishing the task – producing a Chinese version that fulfilled their intellectual obligations to the country and to the Chinese people. In other words, they were obliged to seek to transform their cultural capital into symbolic capital to earn the recognition necessary to establish the 'faithfulness' of their own works. Following this argument, I analyze the refracted image(s) of Conrad projected in the four translations commissioned by the China Foundation. The chapter concludes with an assessment of the translators' power to represent foreign literature, particularly at a time when readers had difficulty reading or assessing original texts.

## **I. Introduction**

Investigations of translators' behaviour, which is often associated with the selection of texts and the modes and methods adopted in the act of translation, tend to contextualize the

individual or the work within an institution or against a particular historical or ideological background. One can easily find justifications for this approach, especially when there are ostensible explanations for certain patterns found in translations. However, translators' behaviour would seem to be predetermined by social or ideological conditions such that it becomes highly predictable in hindsight. In practice, following the argument, their behaviour should become so predictable that translators occupy one of the only two positions: either they are subservient to the set of rules dictated by the authorities, or they are engaged in subverting the existing order.

Scholars have attempted to account for the actions of translators based on observation of their works within the system within which they are produced and circulated. Gideon Toury's norms theory (1995) analyzes translators' behaviour by reconstructing norms which function as socio-cultural constraints. Itamar Even-Zohar situates translation activities within a larger historical context, considering translation as part of the literary system, which is 'the network of relations that is hypothesized to obtain between a number of activities called "literary", and consequently these activities themselves observed via that network' (Even-Zohar 1990:28). André Lefevere addresses translation as a kind of rewriting which is subject to the influence of three major factors: patronage, poetics, and ideology, which virtually encompass the institutional, literary, and political aspects of the production of translations (Lefevere 1992).

Another example of this systemic approach can be found in Chang Nam-fung's examination of the Chinese translations of *Yes Prime Minister* using the polysystem theory. After expounding on translational norms in China through an examination of politics and communist literary policy, the patronage system, the artistic and literary field, and translation traditions, he reflects on his own behaviour as a translator of one of the Chinese versions of

these scripts. He evaluates his translation strategies in view of the four goals he sets out in his *skopos*. While he finds himself obliged to observe the ‘constitutive norms’ of translation to produce an acceptable translation, one of the goals he sought to achieve at the time of his translations was ‘to challenge the translational norms dominant in Chinese society’ (Chang Nam-fung 2005:126-127). Almost immediately, however, he explains that he did not operate totally outside the bounds of accepted norms. He was only pushing them to the limit.

Chang’s experience demonstrates the regulative function of norms on the behaviour of translators. At the same time, however, such norms obfuscate the subjectivity of the translator as an agent: it was Chang’s own choice to follow the norms, after all, even though he did not provide an explanation for his decision. This case gives substance to Bourdieu’s criticism of the objective mode of knowledge resulting from the structuralist approach, which aims to establish ‘objective regularities independent of individual consciousness and wills’ (Bourdieu 1990b:26). Individuals are portrayed as passive recipients who are bound to fall into such behavioural patterns when they are caught in situations that result in their formation. Bourdieu himself has taken Even-Zohar’s notion of the ‘literary polysystem’ to task, arguing that by reducing activities into a network of relations,

[it] ignores the existence, form and direction of change depend not only on the ‘state of the system’...but also on the balance of forces between social agents who have entirely real interests in the different possibilities available to them as stakes and who deploy every sort of strategy to make one set or the other prevail (Bourdieu 1993:34).

Without taking into consideration translators’ personal involvement in their actual practice, any strategies or patterns extracted from their translated texts would be interpreted with reference to socio-cultural or ideological factors to reproduce the structure generated from the researcher’s point of view. When researchers do take on board the agents’ perspective, the translators’ action in such cases is bound to be interpreted as challenging or subverting



the established norms. In neither scenario is translation practice reflected in the relationship between the translators' social position and their dispositions and choices in the given social dimension.

The same tendency can be observed in historical accounts of translation in modern China. Scholars tend to depict translators as a homogeneous group operating within a drawn-out historical period. Most translators, if not all, were said to be guided by the same principles in their work. A typical statement can be found in Hung and Pollard's description of translation activities in early twentieth-century China:

In addition to the standard argument in support of fidelity, namely that the native features of the source text ought to be retained, there now emerged the additional, target-oriented objective of appropriating from European languages through translation wording and grammatical devices that the Chinese language was said to be in need of...The majority however, gave more weight to the aesthetics of the Chinese language (Hung and Pollard 1998:372-373).

A similar stance is adopted by Wang Yougui (1999) in his article. Translation activities were dictated by the 'ideologies', as claimed by Wang, closely associated with different translation approaches such as the 'weak-nations approach' whereby works were introduced from the 'injured and humiliated nations' and the 'Westernization approach' under which literary works were imported from the West. One may argue that statements such as these are meant to provide an overview of translation practice in a given period. Such an oversimplification can still be misleading in that it draws attention to translators and translations falling within such categories while leaving out those that are less readily identifiable. The consequence is significant, especially for a historical period in which translations were used to serve all kinds of purposes by individuals, literary groups, editors, publishers, and, perhaps, the authorities.

When researchers take into consideration the agency perspective and offer an in-depth study of translated texts, their investigations are often hampered by predetermined criteria or

standards for assessing translation approaches. Many of these are terms or ideas proposed by well-known theorists in articles on modern China. As argued in the previous chapter on translation discourse, some of these terms like ‘fidelity’, which is defined as preserving the ‘native features’ of the original, can hardly be established as operative principles, nor were they adequately elaborated by the theorists of the time to allow them to become concrete guidelines for practitioners. Examples can be found in Meng and Li’s book on Chinese translation history (Meng and Li eds 2005). Translation as a practice was closely tied to the literary groups and their ideas of literature. As a result, translational styles were automatically associated with related literary groups or were identified with a few celebrated theorists or translators. Typical examples are Lu Xun’s ‘hard/stiff translation’ (*yingyi*) and Zhu Shenghao’s ‘sense translation’ (*yiyi*) as applied in his translation of Shakespeare’s plays. In terms of their affiliations with the different literary groups, all other translators are said to have submitted themselves to these categories and the styles prescribed by the various groups:

追根溯源，自嚴復以來，我國的翻譯理論曾經過了幾個成長階段，從‘信、達、雅’開始，經過‘字譯’和‘句譯’，直譯、意譯，而後是‘神似’和‘化境’。這個時期，單從翻譯理論上看，是‘直譯、意譯’階段。與此同時，翻譯風格便因此而生，翻譯流派便因此而現。不同翻譯風格和流派的出現，因其所遵循的翻譯原則的不同而迥異。

翻譯文學史上的這一時期，究竟有多少個翻譯流派，是很難判定的，只能說某某翻譯家是‘直譯’，某某翻譯家是‘意譯’，某某是注重‘神似’而某某是‘化境’。(Meng and Li eds 2005:92)

[Back translation: In tracing their origins, translation theories in China went through several stages after Yan Fu, starting with ‘*xin, da, ya*’ [faithfulness, comprehensibility and elegance], ‘translation by words’ and ‘translation by sentences’, *zhiyi* [straight/ literal translation] and *yiyi* [sense translation], and finally *shensi* [spiritual resemblance] and *huajing* [sublimation]. This period falls into the stage of *zhiyi, yiyi* if [we] look at it from the perspective of translation theory. At the same time, this caused to translational styles to take shape, leading to the appearance of different schools of translation. Translational styles and schools differed according to the different translation principles observed.

It is difficult to define how many schools of translation there were at this stage in the history of translated literature. [One] can only say that translator

so-and-so was *zhibyi* and translator so-and-so was *yiyi*; or that so-and-so paid more attention to *shensi* whereas so-and-so was *huajing*.] (my translation)

The categories are reduced to simple dichotomies of *zhibyi* [literal translation] and *yiyi* [free translation] and of foreignization and domestication. These terms are so obscure that they fail to depict a concrete picture revealing the true nature of the translators' work.

In his article 'Norms and the Determination of Translation: a Theoretical Framework', Theo Hermans (1996b) slightly modifies the notion of 'norms' by dividing them into psychological and social entities which carry a regulatory function. Norms, he says, 'usually mediate between the individual and the collective sphere, between an individual's intentions, choices and action, and collectively held beliefs, values and preferences' (1996b:26) and primarily function as 'social and cultural realities' (1996b:27). Norms take effect within the consciousness of translators, who also take into account their 'relative positions and qualities' and 'the values and interests at stake' (1996b:29). This new definition recognizes the subjective factors at play such as translators' social positions and the motivations behind the act of translation. In this sense, the scheme suggested by Hermans is similar to Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* in his theory of practice, with one essential difference: norms are at work when they impose psychological and social pressure on agents. However, this definition does not resolve questions such as in what circumstances translators are pressurized to give in to norms and under what conditions they are prepared to challenge them. The agents in Bourdieu's theory are internalized to the extent that they do not choose to observe or reject certain principles or rules inscribed in the social structure in which they operate. Rather than predetermining a set of factors governing translation and weighing up their influence on the translator and the end-product, the theory allows us to examine agents' practice, starting with their position within the field, which shapes their mental structure and orients their actions in the struggle for legitimacy and distinction.

Researchers have used concepts derived from Bourdieu's sociology to make sense of certain aspects of translators' behaviour. In a special issue of the translation journal *The Translator* in 2005, for example, researchers such as Jean-Marc Gouanvic, Sameh F. Hanna, Jan Blommaert, and M. Carmen África Vidal Claramonte apply different concepts to examine a wide range of topics including literary translation, legal translation, and translated biographical documents. Hanna, for instance, uses the notion of field and its delineation through naming to discuss drama translation in Egypt in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Hanna 2005:167-192). Blommaert provides an insightful analysis of the bureaucratic practice of translation under the institutional *habitus* which 'transforms' stories of asylum seekers and appropriates their voice to their disadvantage (Blommaert 2005:219-236). Such applications are limited to individual concepts without providing a general framework.

In proposing a 'Bourdieuian theory of translation', Gouanvic adapts the theory of action to demonstrate how the concepts of field, *habitus*, symbolic capital, and *illusio* can combine to shed light on translation as cultural production within the restricted field of American literature in Paris during the period 1920-1939, which resulted in the emergence of an autonomous French literary field (Gouanvic 2005:147-166). Here, translators are identified as agents who have very different social trajectories and specific *habitus* as acquired within the literary field. The structure of the Chinese literary field in the twentieth century is explored in depth through a collection of articles in the book entitled *The Literary Field of Twentieth-century China* (Hockx 1999), taking into consideration not only the agents – including writers, translators, and publishers – but also the institutions within which they operated and the connections between agents inside and outside the field. In the introduction, Michel Hockx illustrates the interrelationship of the forces at work within the

literary field. His discussion is referred to as I outline the structure of the intellectual field in part four.

In the following section, I highlight the key features of Bourdieu's theory of practice (or the theory of action), an aspect which has not been widely discussed by translation scholars.

## II. The Theory of Practice

The theory of practice was first proposed by Pierre Bourdieu in the book *Outline of a Theory of Practice* in 1972. It was revised in 1980 and renamed the theory of action in 1994 without any substantial changes being made to the concepts underlying the theory.

Researchers seldom mention the name of the theory when they apply Bourdieu's theoretical notions. The key ideas such as field, *habitus*, and capital are used in isolation. The resulting discussion seems to present a lopsided view of the practice and may exaggerate certain factors. In her introduction to the special issue of *The Translator* noted above, Moira Inghilleri illustrates the theory as she relates the key concepts without addressing how such notions contribute to Bourdieu's understanding of social practices (Inghilleri 2005:134-137).

Jean-Marc Gouanvic states clearly at the beginning of his article Bourdieu's aim in devising the theory of action: to seek to account for the social practices opposing two conceptions of action.

The rationalist vision that considers 'irrational any action or representation which is not generated by the explicitly posed *reasons* of an autonomous individual, fully conscious of his or her motivations', and the extreme structuralist theses that consider the *agents* as simply 'epiphenomena of structure' (*ibid*:viii) (Gouanvic 2005:147-148).

Before applying the theory to the Chinese translations of Conrad's works, it is important to

clarify the key features characterizing concepts which are vital to an understanding of the translators' practice within the social structure and to establish what the theory of practice can offer as we consider translation from a different perspective.

The action, or practice, of individuals is generated by their understanding of the social world and their positioning within the social structure. Bourdieu differentiates between three kinds of knowledge, which he sometimes renders as 'principles' or 'rules'<sup>1</sup>. The first kind, corresponding to Gouanvic's 'rationalist vision', is subjective in nature. It can be described as 'juridical or quasi-juridical' principles which are recognized and observed by agents after some deliberation. Such knowledge is collected through individuals' subjective experience in the world without considering the objective conditions that led to such experience. The second kind, which Gouanvic calls 'the extreme structuralist theses', refers to a set of objective regularities deduced by observers. These are meanings objectified in institutions and are imposed on the participants without taking into account the possible motivations or other personal factors (including the participants' own will) behind the action (Bourdieu 1990b:25-27; 1990a:60). Bourdieu seeks to transcend the opposition between the phenomenological mode of knowledge (the first type) and the objectivist explanations (the second type) by proposing a third kind of knowledge, which Gregory L. Acciaioli defines as a practicing knowledge, or 'a science of the dialectical relations between objective structures...and the structured dispositions within which those structures are actualized and which in their actualization reproduce them' (Acciaioli 1981/2000:96). This third category of working principles is unknown to the participants, or at least is not consciously known to them. It is similar to the second kind of knowledge in the sense that both are models constructed by scientists to explain certain phenomena. The third type, however, makes allowance for human factors and explains the practical logic underlying agents' action: what can be described as a feel for the game. Using the metaphor of a game of tennis or any

other sport as Bourdieu suggests, the players acquire this feel from the experience they accumulate over time and react without going through a meticulous calculation process. Agents can only acquire and master such a feel, or the principles behind their strategies, through personal experience.

This third form of knowledge is different in essence from the concept of norms, which was first applied to translation studies by Gideon Toury. Researchers would consider norms, or 'general values or ideas shared by a community' which perform a directive function (Toury 1995:55), to be a form of objectified knowledge that is constructed and imposed upon agents. Bourdieu does not consider this form of knowledge as constraints on the agents and their behaviour. He stresses that such knowledge has already been incorporated into the bodily scheme of agents and has become second nature through their upbringing and involvement in social institutions (that is, via their *habitus*)<sup>2</sup>. In Bourdieu's own words, what he is suggesting is 'a movement from norms to practical dispositions and from conscious intentions or the explicit levels of a calculating consciousness to the obscure intuitions of the practical sense' (Bourdieu 1990a:86). Decision-making is a process that takes place at the subconscious level, or even, in Niilo Kauppi's words, 'the pre-reflexive and foundational function of bodily activity' (Kauppi 2000/2005:66).

The 'pre-reflexive function' of the practical sense is essential for the existing structure to reproduce itself successfully. Agents must be entirely unaware of 'unthought presuppositions' to facilitate the conditions necessary for perpetuation of the existing structure (Bourdieu 1990b:67). Agents' behaviour, which is understood in terms of strategies, is driven by their interest in the outcome of the game. The concept of interest is another term which should not be taken at face value. It cannot be reduced to economic interests or other forms of profits reaped or expected by individuals. For agents to participate and stay in

the game, they must recognize the game and agree that the stakes they play for are worth pursuing. In this sense, the term is interchangeable with notions such as *illusio* and investment, all of which emphasize a commitment required of the participants (Bourdieu 1998:76). Bourdieu's most well-known example of interest is perhaps 'the interest in disinterestedness' in the artistic and literary field which encourages agents to repress their material interests to allow them to become respected achievers. This idea is significant in our discussion of the agents – translators and specialists – involved in the programmes and enterprises launched by the China Foundation. In this context, too, the agents were unaware of the existence of such an interest and its role in motivating their actions. With their schemes internalized, the agents were equipped with the knowledge required to elicit appropriate actions. They regarded the specific actions they took as 'natural' or pursued out of necessity. For the same reason, the principles underlying their behaviour can be ascertained only by observing their practice, and not by examining the spoken or written statements the agents consciously made.

Strategies, in the sense of choices or decisions made by socialized agents from among the options open to them in specific situations, are generated by the practical logic of such agents without their knowledge. In the case of translation, these could be translation approaches or methods, or simply words or syntactical structures chosen by translators. They contribute to the maintenance of the existing social hierarchy or to its transformation if agents find themselves in a position to precipitate change within the field. Agents are 'free' to improvise and formulate novel actions which are, in effect, performed within limits. Agents who share a similar background tend to be guided by the same rules or principles which are written into the structure of the game. Observers can detect regularities in how the game is played. The choices available to members of a particular social class or group are based on the '*practical dispositions* that incorporate ambiguities and uncertainties that emerge from acting



*through time and space*' (Swartz 1997:100). It is the work of the *habitus* which enables agents to produce regularities in the infinite number of acts available to them.

### III. The Social Structure and the Political Field

One of the difficulties involved in accounting for translators' practice in Republican China is to locate the field in which their practice was oriented. Although many literary figures expressed their ideas about translation over a wide range of topics covering its function, methods, the standards for its assessment and criticism, and many more (including the translators themselves) used the term *fanyijie* [the translation circle/the field of translation] in their writings, a search of the literature has uncovered little evidence to show that translators at the time distinguished themselves as members of a single organized group united by a similar vision of their practice as a discipline. Translated texts were designed to fulfil different tasks and the agents' interests were diversified. While some agents considered their occupation to be a profession with a mission, others simply regarded it as a profitable job. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, agents did not compete over the power to define their practice (that is, what counts as a translation). Rather, the point of contention was whether the Chinese translation or, more precisely, the Chinese translator, was qualified to speak for the original. Rather than seeking to locate the actions of translation agents within a self-contained sphere, the literary field seems to be a more reasonable option in this case. Hockx defines the literary field as:

an interest community of agents and institutions involved in the material and symbolic production of literature, whose activities are governed by at least one autonomous principle that is fully or partially at odds with at least one heteronomous principle (Hockx 1999:9).

Agents are identified by their commitment to the production of works of literature, their struggle over the naming of such works, and the legitimacy of their claim to do so.

In the descriptions given by Hung and Pollard (1998) and Meng and Li eds (2005) and in Edwin Gentzler's (2008) summary of translation activities in modern China, translation at that time was associated with the movement to search for 'new forms of art and language reform' (Gentzler 2008:119-120) and was carried out by agents who were also active in the literary field. In the six translations analyzed for this thesis – four commissioned by the China Foundation, one by the literary journal *Xinyue* [Crescent Moon], and one by the Beixin Bookstore – with the possible exception of the work of Li Qi, judging from the form of publication and the Europeanized syntax found in the Chinese translation of 'The Lagoon', there is no substantial evidence to support the claim that the four translators involved sought to bring in new forms of expressions aimed at the reproduction of literature. There is no doubt that the translators introduced to Chinese readers a Western author who had a distinguished writing style. As shown in Chapters Two and Three, the translators did not seek to reproduce the literary qualities of the originals in the Chinese texts. Taking into account their social trajectories and the institutional setting in which they produced their translations, the intellectual field appears to have been the venue where the forces which preconditioned the practice of the translators played out.

Bourdieu considers the intellectual field to be a field of cultural production. Its structure is, in many ways, similar to those of the artistic and literary fields: the power of domination within these fields is mainly founded upon the symbolic capital which accrues to agents through their recognition or consecration in the course of their struggles. These fields generally occupy a subordinate position in relation to the field of power. In the intellectual field, agents and groups compete with one another over the legitimate power to define the role of intellectuals and their relations to other agents, especially to the lower social classes. Before we examine the structure of the intellectual field in the 1920s and 1930s and its

system of relations, we should gain an understanding of how the field of power exerted its influence on other fields (including the intellectual field) by determining the value of different forms of capital. The following section gives an overview of the socio-political situation in China in 1912-1937 and focuses on the omnipresence of the government at different levels of society to demonstrate that the political field was the field of power in Republican China.

### **The Socio-political Situation in China (1912-1937)**

The history of China in the first half of the twentieth century was one of chaos and conflicts. As soon as the Republic was founded by Sun Yatsen on 1 January 1912, he was forced to hand over the presidency to Yuan Shikai, who ruled for four short years. China was subsequently divided among regional military 'governors' (or warlords), with two governments sitting in Beijing and Canton. In Sun's speech at the National Congress of the GMD (Guomindang/the Nationalist Party) delegates convened on 20 January 1924, he emphasized anti-imperialism and anti-militarism and the function of the masses, especially the peasants and workers, in the national revolution. This marked the beginning of the GMD as 'a mass organization with a strong leadership structure, a revolutionary ideology, and a plan for the ultimate seizure of political power in China' (Wilbur 1983:537-9). The first Eastern Expedition, in which Jiang Jieshi commanded the Army, took place between February and April 1925. The expedition had to turn back when Canton was besieged by the Yunan and Guangxi armies headed by Generals Yang Ximin and Liu Zhenhuan. After restoring order, the Nationalist government was proclaimed in Canton in July, which was soon followed by the second Eastern Expedition in October. The Northern Expedition officially began on 9 July 1926, with Jiang formally appointed as Commander-in-chief of the National Revolutionary Army. Troops captured the major cities including Nanjing and

Shanghai (March 1927) and finally Beijing (June 1928). The Nationalist government was formally inaugurated at Nanjing on 10 October 1928. Jiang Jieshi was designated Chairman and President.

The political situation did not stabilize as expected after the Jiang administration took office. In addition to the outbreak of regional battles among the government and the warlords, the conflict between the Nationalist Party and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), which had started at the beginning of the second decade of the Republic, continued to escalate after Sun's death in 1925. At that point, the CCP was still a young organization. Built around the members of the Socialist Studies group and the loosely organized Socialist Youth Corps organized by Chen Duxiu in August 1920, the Communist Party was formally constituted at its First Congress in early July 1921 with Chen elected secretary. The organization remained subordinate to Communist International (CI) in Soviet Russia. Important strategies were formulated according to CI instructions including that of forming a united front with the GMD in 1924. The 'bloc within' policy under which the Communists were instructed to join the GMD individually while 'preserving the independence of the party structure of the CCP' was devised with the intention of seeking control over and transforming the Nationalist Party from within (Chen Jerome 1983:519). Efforts to penetrate mass movement departments such as the Political Training Department and the National Revolutionary Army were successful. Many Communists were appointed to positions in which they were responsible for the indoctrination of officers. While the GMD acted as the organizer of major strikes against foreign countries and the Beijing government, the Communists continued to criticize the deficiencies and compromising tendencies of the GMD via their official organs and absorbed members by setting up organizations such as the Communist Youth Corps, the Guangdong Farmers' Association, and the National General Labour Union. Discontent with the Communists and pro-left members of the GMD

including Wang Jingwei continued to mount.

In the last stage of the Nationalist Revolution, Jiang secured financial support from the Shanghai Chinese Chamber of Commerce to add to that of Chinese commercial and industrial leaders, Shanghai's underworld gangs, and the foreign communities. A purge to purify the Nationalist Party of its Communist members was staged on the evening of 5 April 1927, following which martial law was instituted. Anyone not enrolled in the Nationalist Army was ordered to disarm. The Soviet embassy in Beijing was raided, Soviet establishments in Tianjin were searched, and the Soviet consulate in Shanghai was surrounded. The Shanghai Inspection Corps was crushed with the assistance of underworld gangs. Members of the Communist Party were arrested and executed. Similar purges were carried out in Canton and Changsha over the next few days. The first united front collapsed and the CCP retreated to Wuchang on 1 July. Qu Qiubai and members of the new Politburo of the CCP fled from Wuhan to Shanghai and re-established the headquarters there on 1 October.

### **The Political Field as the Field of Power**

It was against this background that the National Government, under the leadership of Jiang Jieshi, tightened its grip on all aspects of life in China. Ongoing conflicts among provincial militarists and the Nationalist Army and struggles between different political parties and cliques within the government disturbed social order. Jiang secured the military strength and the power of his administration by appointing more military officers and soldiers to leading posts in the government and the Nationalist party. 25 out of the 33 provincial chairmen were Nationalist generals in the period 1927-1937; two-thirds of government expenditure was spent on the military (Eastman 1991:9). Certain organizations

such as the Chinese Ratepayers Association and the General Chamber of Commerce were controlled by government officials.

Jiang eliminated his potential opponents in the political arena through oppressive measures. The Communists were made the major target of relentless suppression. The second group to be targeted by Jiang was the left wing of the GMD party, which emphasized strengthening the government's relationship with the masses. The final group to be subdued was the students, whom Jiang believed to be most susceptible to the radicalism of the left, if not the Communists. Laws were promulgated to prevent crimes threatening social stability and activities inciting others to disturb the peace or to associate with rebels and, most importantly, to conduct propaganda campaigns against the state. Criticism of the Nationalist party in the press was made an offence in 1931. A Special Services Group was set up to gather intelligence. Spies were planted in different social groups and worked closely and ruthlessly with the Green Gang in eliminating dissidents.

Apart from its high-handed policies, the Nanjing government tried to enhance its popularity among the Chinese people by manipulating nationalistic sentiment against foreigners and the fear of the Communists. Since the proclamation of the National Government in 1925, recovering autonomy had been emphasized as one of the top items on the agenda to unite the Chinese people. As early as the start of the Northern Expedition in mid-1926, GMD officials started negotiating with representatives of foreign countries over administration of the treaty ports. On 20 August 1926, Jiang made a proclamation to announce the patriotic purposes of the expedition to reinstate China's 'rightful place of equality' among world powers (Wilbur 1983:597). That anti-imperialism was used as the main theme of propaganda to incite patriotic feelings and assert the position of the government was most evident in the inaugural speech given by Huang Fu, the new mayor of the Special

Municipal Government, on 7 July 1927, just after Jiang's troops entered Shanghai in March and the sweeping anti-communist purges carried out in April:

The imperialist powers had shown by the very failure of their colonial administration in the International Settlement and French Concession that foreign domination, and especially extraterritoriality that gave haven to Chinese criminals fleeing the central government's justice, only aided and abetted crime... now that the Nationalists had taken power, this corruption would be cleansed – at least in the portions of the city under Chinese domination (Wakeman 1995:45).

By painting foreigners as aggressors encroaching on the interests and dignity of the Chinese people, the National Government stirred up nationalistic feelings among the people and justified its interference in other areas, especially education. The Education Rights Recovery Campaign launched by the Ministry of Education in 1928, for example, targeted foreign-funded Christian colleges and universities. Christian educational institutions were required to register with the Ministry and to appoint a Chinese national as the principal or president. The National Spiritual Mobilization movement initiated by the Nationalist government between December 1939 and March 1940 was aimed at achieving the same purpose.

In addition to denouncing the foreign communities, the Communists were also stigmatized as blood-thirsty villains. Many of the anti-foreign riots that took place were attributed to the Communists. They were also made responsible for the Nanjing riot of 24 March 1927 in which consulates were looted and foreigners were killed. The fear of the Communists came to a climax in the Gu Shunzhang affair. Gu was the leader who had founded the Communist intelligence organization. He was arrested on 24 April 1931 and defected to serve in the GMD Special Services Bureau. The Communists took vengeance against his family members. The unsettling news of the excavation of their corpses was disclosed to the public in sensational detail. This event reinforced the public perception of the Communists as an imminent threat to law and order. This ensured that ensuing

editorial censorship measures, especially in relation to anti-government and communist publications, were justified to a large extent. In addition to the Emergency Law passed on 7 March 1928, a set of laws concerning the publication of books and periodicals were promulgated in the 1930s, thereby tightening the government's control over the literary field. The new publication law issued on 16 December 1930 required all publishers to register with the Ministry of the Interior. Certain types of people were banned from serving as publishers or editors and copies of books and journals were to be submitted for inspection. The 1934 Rules for Censoring Books and Periodicals went further in implementing pre-publication censorship. All publications were to be printed with the permit number displayed on the back cover. A licencing system was instigated in accordance with the Revised Publication Law on 8 July 1937 under which publishers had to apply for registration and books and periodicals were not to contain elements which would undermine the GMD or violate the Three People's Principles. Some of these laws were again directed against the Communists and especially against the publication of works written by writers closely linked to the Chinese League of Left-wing Writers, which had been formed on 2 March 1930.

Despite the tight rein Jiang Jieshi maintained over various aspects of Chinese life, I do not intend to overstate the power of his administration as measured by its prominent position in the political arena and its omnipresence in the economic and cultural fields. The political field should not be equated to Jiang's military and political might. However, we can see how society in general was influenced by political moves and by the forces that occupied different positions in the political field. In the following section, we will take a closer look at how these forces in the political field affected the two major social classes in Republican China: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. We will see how the agents in these classes were defined not only by their economic capital, but also by their social capital, which can be understood as a form of networking between agents and the authorities in this case. Such



references are important in developing our understanding of how the value of the different kinds of capital was conceived by agents in the intellectual field.

### **The Political Field and the Social Classes**

The concept of social classes features prominently in Bourdieu's sociology. In his studies on cultural production in Western societies, he focuses on the contrast between the appreciation of art and literature among the bourgeoisie and petite-bourgeoisie and that among the lower social class (Bourdieu 1983; 1993). Nevertheless, this does not mean that his theory of practice relates agents' taste and distinction to economically defined classes only. What he is looking for is the 'theoretical' classes: genealogically based units which function to orient their agents' actions and world-views (Bourdieu 1998:10-13; 1990a:75). In his later works, the two terms of 'group' and 'class' are used interchangeably.

In Republican China, for example, the emergence of social classes which could be labelled as the 'bourgeoisie' and the 'proletariat' was a relatively new phenomenon. Marie-Claire Bergère considers that the social classes that took shape in this period were a result of the rapid development of the treaty ports. It was in these large cities that distinguishable social classes began to surface under the influence of Western culture and the ever-changing international situation. Shanghai was a distinctive example of this phenomenon. The city was 'a Sino-foreign base, governed by a condominium (or synarchy) characterized by a partial fusion of the values and practice found in the two communities' (Bergère 1981:2). The number of Shanghai inhabitants soared from 1 million in 1910 to 2.5 million in 1920 (Bergère 1981:4-6). With the inflow of foreign capital and professionals, the commercial and industrial sectors expanded rapidly. Together with the protection provided by the extraterritoriality clause stated in the unequal treaties, new businesses and industries

such as cotton mills, tobacco companies, banks, and printing and publishing companies sprang up, creating a favourable environment which gave rise to the bourgeois class and a relatively established proletariat. Both were defined by their economic and social capital, the latter of which was acquired through their connections with government officials or political parties.

After the First World War, businessmen benefited from reconstruction efforts in Europe, which stimulated export trade in China. They also faced less competition from their foreign counterparts. New business associations were organized and actively disseminated economic information in their internal publications (Bergère 1983:759). The Shanghai Commercial Federation was reconstituted in March 1919. Street associations of Shanghai shopkeepers were formed a few months later. These newly formed associations took over the role of traditional organizations such as the General Chamber of Commerce and presented themselves as a political *avant-garde* (Bergère 1983:761). Interestingly, scholars generally agree that this new generation of Chinese merchants played a more significant role in politics than it did in commercial activities, a sign of the overwhelming influence of the political field. J.W. Esherick's comment on the rise of an 'urban reformist elite' is illustrative: 'this group was distinguished by their political orientation and their social role, rather than their participation in modern business' (quoted in Bergère 1983:760).

Before the founding of the National Government in 1928, the Shanghai bourgeoisie were both nationalistic and liberal. Their personal encounters with the foreign communities and Chinese government officials led them to form a certain vision of the country as a whole. On the one hand, they were committed to the restoration of China's sovereign rights and the re-establishment of customs autonomy. On the other hand, they were against political interference and denounced the incompetent administration of the government.

Many of them advocated the importation of new technologies and the development of professional education to improve China's current situation. Rather than taking radical measures to initiate social change, they had confidence in the development and dynamics of the commercial market under capitalism which would ultimately benefit the country. They maintained a good relationship with the foreign community as they were well aware that support from the West in the terms of capital, technology, and experts was a necessary element of the transformation process. They often took up a mediating role when tension was heightened during anti-imperialist activities such as the May Thirtieth Movement. At the same time, the bourgeois class often profited from such national-scale nationalist movements. The boycott movements in 1925, for example, helped promote domestic products and patriotic sentiment and consequently stimulated the national economy.

When the Nationalist government was inaugurated at Nanjing in 1928, the bourgeoisie were largely alienated. Instead of granting merchants the freedom and power they craved, the Jiang administration tightened control over the industrial and commercial sectors to forbid any political intervention from the urban elites. A few important bankers were invited to join the administration, while others were replaced by officials or capitalists. Industrialists and tradesmen were reduced to the status of mere moneybags whose only role was to supply cash. For example, when the Northern Expedition was resumed in 1929, the merchants in Shanghai were extorted to fund the military operation. The General Chamber of Commerce was taken over by a government-appointed committee in April 1927 and two years later, both the GCC and the Chinese Ratepayers' Association were reorganized and placed under the direct control of the National Government; in addition, the Bank of China and the Communication Bank were nationalized in 1935. The government did not provide any aid to counter the economic depression of 1932-1935. By this stage, the relationship between the bourgeoisie and the government had gone from one characterized by cooperation to one of

subordination and exploitation as Jiang Jieshi's only concern was 'to emasculate politically the urban elites and to milk the modern sector of the economy' (Bergère 1983:809).

The proletariat was related to a different political force – the Communists. With the blooming of trade and industry in the early twentieth century, jobs were created in the urban cities to absorb labour coming in from the rural areas or refugees escaping from regional skirmishes between warlords or government armies in other parts of China. A working class began to take shape and actively took part in political movements from the very beginning of the Republic, such as in the patriotic demonstrations led by students in 1919. After the CCP was founded in Shanghai in July 1921, the Communists motivated the proletariat via union activities. The Shanghai proletariat was the major force behind the anti-imperialist protest in 1925, which had been sparked off by the May Thirtieth Incident. Labour activities gained momentum. The first labour union of the Commercial Press, for example, was established in June 1925.

The purges masterminded by Jiang Jieshi in April 1927 brought the labour movements to a halt. Severe measures were implemented to root out the influence Communists had established over workers. Unions were strictly monitored by the military and were placed under the control of the underworld gangs. The working class at this stage was organized by more moderate groups like the Yellow Unions in 1931-2, which became tools to be manipulated by the secret police and the gangs on national issues. In the meantime, the CCP had also adjusted its strategies to expand its influence in the rural regions and continue the struggle among the peasantry in the 1930s. Nationalistic movements and protests staged in the urban areas were taken over by students and writers. At this point, the working class no longer existed as a coherent political force.

The brief account of the emergence of social classes in Republican China provided above outlines the social conditions that applied to production in general and allows us to trace the social trajectory of individual agents operating in different fields. It also illustrates how the political field affected the composition and value of the different forms of capital circulated in the social sphere. Taking the commercial field as an example, the active political involvement of businessmen was facilitated by their connections with both their foreign counterparts and government officials. This kind of social capital enabled them to reap economic benefits over the long term and was therefore crucial in determining the agents' position in the commercial field. As the National Government strengthened its control over the course of the 1930s, agents' success in the field (assessed by the amount of economic capital amassed) implied their close association with high-ranking government officials and their submission to the principles of the political field, a nexus demonstrated by the prominent entrepreneur Kong Xiangxi, Jiang's brother-in-law. At this point, we may say that the commercial field was losing its autonomy as it became assimilated into the political field.

However, the field of cultural production, which Bourdieu defines as 'the economic world reversed' (1983:311), operates on a different premise. While it is located under the influence of the field of power, it retains its autonomy to a certain extent. In addition to being contingent on economic capital, success in the field also hinges on the distribution of symbolic capital, or capital which reflects the degree of recognition agents receive. In the next section, I introduce the intellectual field as one of the fields of cultural production and discuss the concept of symbolic capital, an understanding of which is essential to account for the positions of different agents in the intellectual field.

## IV. The Intellectual Field

Agents' positions in their respective fields are determined by the resources they muster in their practices. These resources are conceptualized as 'capital', the fundamental social power which can be appropriated by agents in their struggle for interests. There are basically three forms of capital: economic, cultural, and symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1990a:128). The concept of economic capital, which has been discussed in the previous section, is borrowed from Marxism and refers to the material resources circulated in the market in the form of money or other financial assets. However, Bourdieu insists that non-material goods and services which cannot be measured in monetary term also circulate in the field, such as cultural knowledge and professional qualifications. This form of capital, which he refers to as cultural capital, enables agents to appreciate cultural and artistic items and carries weight in the appraisal of one's position in the artistic and literary fields.

The third form of capital differs from the two outlined above as it cannot be assessed by any objective standard such as monetary value or qualifications obtained from educational institutions. It is a form of capital that is endowed with a specific symbolic value through cognition and recognition. Different kinds of resources can be transformed into symbolic capital when, and only when, they are 'misrecognized'.

Symbolic capital is the economic or political capital that is disavowed, misrecognized and thereby recognized, hence legitimates, a 'credit' which, under certain conditions, and always in the long run, guarantees 'economic' profits (Bourdieu 1983/1993:75).

Capital (or power) becomes symbolic capital, that is, capital endowed with a specifically symbolic efficacy, only when it is *misrecognized* in its arbitrary truth as capital and *recognized* as legitimate and, on the other hand, that this act of (false) knowledge and recognition is an act of *practical* knowledge which in no way implies that the object known and recognized be posited as an object (Bourdieu

1990a:112).

Any kind of capital (economic, cultural, academic, or social) when it is perceived according to the categories of perception, the principles of vision and division, the systems of classification, the classification schemes, the cognitive schemata, which are, at least in part, the product of the embodiment of the objective structures of the field in consideration, that is, of the structure of the distribution of capital in the field being considered (Bourdieu 1994/1998:85).

The symbolic value of the capital comes from the disavowal of the original currency which is approved of in the field. The original material or non-material capital must not be acknowledged or must be mistaken as a new form of capital, the value of which is recognized and appreciated in the field. It is a transformed and thereby disguised form of capital which can only claim its value through collective misrecognition. The symbolic capital therefore, creates 'the reality-denying reality that the collective consciousness aims at a collectively produced, sustained and maintained misrecognition of the "objective" truth' (Bourdieu 1990b:110).

The intelligentsia in Republican China was characterized by a distinct structure in terms of their capital and their representation of the social reality, which blended Western ideas and a traditional sense of obligation towards the Chinese nation which had been passed down from the scholar-gentry to the new generation. Elite involvement in the administration of the new system had expanded since the abolition of the imperial examination system in 1905. The modern intelligentsia was mainly led by students who had returned from studying in Japan and Western countries such as Hu Shi and Lu Xun, as well as by scholars who had visited foreign countries for a relatively short period of time like Cai Yuanpei. Confronted by the political instability and threats posed by the treaty powers, they looked for different ways to save the country from its predicament. Their experience in the West or other foreign countries such as Japan and Soviet Russia may have generated very different mental pictures of the future of China. Students who came back from Japan were mostly devoted to the revolutionary ideology of Marxism and mobilized the masses in the form of labour

movements against the corrupt government and Western imperialist countries. Although their anti-government stance made them the target of suppression, it may also have earned a distinctive form of symbolic capital from the general public. Those who were employed by cultural institutions – both educational and governmental – and were committed to the belief that ‘science’ was the key to modernization would, most likely, find themselves in a prominent position. The cultural capital they had accumulated through their academic qualifications enabled them to steer the course to a new educational system oriented towards ‘science’ and ‘scientific methods’.

Not all the intellectuals admitted to educational institutions submitted themselves to the influence of the government. Some schools and colleges were funded by missionaries. Foreign countries including the United Kingdom and the United States also supported educational programmes through the Boxer Indemnity. The American influence was especially significant from the 1920s onwards and took the forms of financial support given to students studying in the United States and the establishment of educational institutions such as Tsinghua College, which was founded in 1911 to prepare students for their studies in American universities. The American presence was also realized through returned students who became established scholars, merchants, and politicians. According to Sun Zen E-tu, scholars who had returned from the United States launched and pursued an educational reform movement from 1919 to 1924 via the Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education and through major journals such as *New Education*, a periodical edited by Jiang Menglin (Sun 1986:383-7). The China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture brought together a group of intellectuals whom the American government sheltered to secure their independence. Before moving on to discuss the position of this institution and the agents who worked for it, it is useful to look at the makeup of two groups of agents who were closely related to the translators: the publishers



and the writers. The following section demonstrates how their capital structures had an effect on the positions they took in the field before I present my construction of the various positions they adopted in the intellectual field.

## ■ **The Publishers**

The lucrative printing industry provided an alternative path for intellectuals in Republican China. These ‘anti-commercial Chinese literati’, as Reed describes them (Reed 2004:205), shared the view of other agents in the field by advocating cultural cultivation over economic interests. They considered that they were serving their fellow countrymen by acting as cultural merchants and extending the reach of academic life. Lufei Kui, the founder of the Zhonghua Book Company, was keen to claim and strengthen his role as an intellectual contributing to the advancement and modernization of China ‘like many others who worked in Shanghai’s modern publishing sector’ (Reed 2004:237). Some of the publishers themselves were from the intelligentsia and employed the literati and university graduates as editors. As early as 1902, Zhang Yuanji invited Cai Yuanpei to become the first director of the Department of Editing and Translation of the Commercial Press. In the years to come, many editors who worked for the Commercial Press such as Mao Dun, Zheng Zhenduo, and Hu Yuzhi would become prominent writers or literary figures. In 1921, Guo Moruo was hired as the editor of the Taidong Publishing House, which published works by writers from the Creation Society. A similar pact was made between the Commercial Press and the Literary Research Association in the early 1920s. Hu Shi was once offered the job as the chief editor when the Press planned to set up a second department of editing and translation in 1920. In this regard, the publishers seemed to share the aspirations of the writers.

The publishers also sought to bond with other sectors of society by inviting former

officials or prominent figures to become editors or board members. Fan Yuanlian, a former Minister of Education, was made head of the editorial office of the Zhonghua Book Company in 1913. In mid-1916, he was appointed to the board together with Liang Qichao, Tang Shaoyi (a former Prime Minister of the first Chinese Republic) and Wang Zhengting (a future Foreign Minister in the Nationalist government) (Reed 2004:232). Kong Xiangxi, the tycoon in the Nationalist regime and the brother-in-law of Jiang Jieshi, was invited to serve on the board in 1918. However, during the Nanjing decade (1927-1937), the publishers of the three major publishing houses – the Commercial Press, the Zhonghua Book Company, and the World Book Company – became increasingly concerned about securing their positions in the commercial market by fostering relationships, and even personal ties, with the government, an act which saw them drift further from the autonomy valued most in the intellectual field. Kong Xiangxi was selected as the chairman of the Board of the Zhonghua Book Company as soon as he became Minister of Industries in 1930. The director of the company, Lufei Kui, was also appointed to several positions in GMD-sponsored institutions such as the Booksellers' Same Industry Association, the Ministry of Industries Planning Committee for a newsprint mill, and the China Industrial General Federation (Reed 2004:240). Hu Renyuan, the first President of Peking University, was invited to become the editor of World Book Co. in 1923. He was replaced in 1928 by Yu Youren, the Nationalist journalist who was appointed as one of the heads of the five boards when the government was inaugurated in October 1928 (Reed 2004:252).

Many of the former editors of the Commercial Press joined the new government, including Zhu Jingnong, Gu Xiegang, Chen Bulei, Cai Yuanpei, and Jiang Menglin. The close relationship between the government and Wang Yunwu, who was recommended to the Press by Hu Shi in 1922, can be observed from the fact that Wang left in September 1929 to work with Cai Yuanpei as a researcher at the newly established Academia Sinica. He returned a

year later to become the general manager and edited *Wanyou wenku* [All Comprehensive Repository] and *Congshu jicheng* [The Collection of Collections]. According to Reed, the Ministries of Internal Affairs and Education boosted sales by instructing ‘each local government administration to buy a set of Wang’s series as a means of outfitting new local libraries’, an act which helped ‘cement Wang’s authority’ on his return to the position (Reed 2004:224).

These connections suggest that publishers were guided by a similar set of dispositions to those of the businessmen discussed in the previous section. From the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century, there were over 300 publishing houses and bookstores of differing scales in the Shanghai booksellers district (Reed 2004:17). Social capital in the form of connections could be the key to success when publishers faced keen competition in the market. Zhonghua Books, for example, was contracted to print government securities and currency, as well as cigarette boxes for private tobacco companies, in 1932 (Reed 2004:238). The printing of translations and textbooks edited by the Committee on Editing and Translation (chaired by Hu Shi) was all contracted out to the Commercial Press. Publishers’ actions were increasingly driven by their commercial interests. Their submission to the government’s interference was just as clear. As suggested by Michel Hockx (2003:240), the new censorship system in the 1930s helped create a more stable environment for the industry to grow. In the encounter between Hu Shi and the Nationalist government in 1929-1931, Zhang Yuanji, the former head of the Commercial Press, persuaded Hu Shi to stop inciting the government as soon as the first series of articles by Hu Shi, Liang Shiqiu, and Luo Longji attacking the Jiang administration were published in the literary journal *Xinyue* [Crescent Moon]. Wang Yunwu and Gao Fengqian also dissuaded Hu Shi from making a trip to Nanjing to negotiate with government officials when Luo Longji was relieved of his teaching position in 1931. The acts of these managers clearly demonstrate

how publishers had developed a feel for the game as they provided their advice.

## ■ The Writers

In many respects, the intellectual and literary fields overlapped with each other for a considerable period. Agents in both fields were united by the theme of national salvation. The writers, who identified themselves as members of the intelligentsia, exercised their influence with their pens. Coming into the twentieth century, a new kind of nationalist writing emerged that reflected on the national character and was spearheaded by Liang Qichao. The May Fourth Movement of 1919 further encouraged intellectuals to reflect the mood of the country and her people at a higher level, setting the analysis within the context of the shortcomings of traditional Chinese thinking. Hu Shi summarized the characteristics of the Chinese race as 'lazy, shallow, superstitious, and indifferent' (Zhu Wenhua 1995:28). Depiction of the weaknesses of the Chinese nation also formed a motif in literary works by Lu Xun, Lao She, Mao Dun, and Shen Congwen, as well as in critical essays that appeared in periodicals and newspapers. The rationale behind this theme was that by admitting the deficiencies of the national race, as Hu Shi put it, the Chinese people could discard their vices and bad habits and learn from the West. From the late 1920s, Chinese writers developed a kind of social conscience and a depth of vision in their works and tended to apply more sophisticated techniques. Literature and art became 'inextricably enmeshed with politics' (Lee Leo Ou-fan 1986:421).

We can define the positions of writers within the field by their trajectory (including, but not limited to, their affiliations) and the specific kinds of capital at their disposal. The left-wing writers were led by Lu Xun and Mao Dun. Many of them were members of the *Yusi* group [Thread Talk] and *Wenxue yanjiu hui* [The Literary Research Association]. They

basically supported the concept of revolutionary literature. They also recognized the class nature of literature and the need to create proletarian literature (Wong Wang-chi Lawrence 1991:25-6). The Chinese League of Left-wing Writers (*Zhongguo zuoyi zuojia lianmeng*) was established in Shanghai on 2 March 1930. It had over 250 members in Shanghai, most of whom were under 30 (Wong Wang-chi Lawrence 1991:64). A resolution passed on 9 March 1932 also allowed translators to apply for membership of the League. The works of these left-wing writers – both translations and creative writing – seem to have been dictated by a clear political aim. This explains why Lawrence Wong defines the Left League as a ‘militant action group having a definite and unanimous political viewpoint’ and ‘not a voluntary association of writers’ (Wong Wang-chi Lawrence 1991:122). Their political ambitions were clearly stated in the objectives of the League: its two top priorities were ‘to fight against imperialism’ and ‘to fight against the internecine wars between warlords’, followed by ‘to support the motherland of the proletariat, Soviet Russia’, ‘to fight against Trotskyists and social democrats’, ‘to support the Soviet rule of China’, and ‘to create a worker and peasant culture’, all of which carried a communist tone (Wong Wang-chi Lawrence 1991:95-96). Lu Xun, who was not a CCP member, was made the head of the League to unite the left-wing writers and to counter the influence of the so-called *Xinyue* school led by Hu Shi.

Although a manifesto tells us about the positioning of the group concerned or the institutional setting in which agents work, it does not tell us any more than that. While the purpose of this section is not to explore the behaviour of individual left-wing writers, suffice to say here that the Left League took up a subversive position against the existing power structure in society. The discussion of translation criticism in the last chapter covered agents (such as Ma Zongrong and Fu Donghua) who took up a similar position by protesting against the ‘professors’ who attempted to ‘monopolize our culture’ (Fu Donghua 1933:692). Their efforts to present themselves in a distinct position in opposition to the privileged

group may have added symbolic value through recognition from Chinese readers.

Hu Shi and his group of friends made up the major rival group of the Left League. Most of the members of Hu Shi's group were contributors to the literary journal *Xinyue*, which explains why they were sometimes addressed as the *Xinyue* school, especially by the left-wing writers. Apart from the leading figures like Xu Zhimo, Chen Yuan, Ye Gongchao, and Yu Shangyuan, many of them were Qinghua School alumni such as Liang Shiqiu, Wen Yiduo, Pan Guangdan, Rao Mengkan, and Liu Yingshi. They advocated and worked to defend the autonomy of literature from all political influences. In other words, they were opposed to both the revolutionary literature and the Nationalist literature<sup>3</sup>. They were constantly involved in polemics with writers from both sides. Liang Shiqiu was one of the key spokespeople. He held the opinion that true literature was about fundamental human nature. Creative writing should be judged only by its intrinsic value regardless of time, environment, and social class (Lee Leo Ou-fan 1986:431). His arguments accorded with the belief advocated by Hu Shi, who insisted on an interest in disinterestedness on political issues. However, Hu and his group of friends had been seen to engage in fierce debates and struggles with the Jiang administration over topics such as freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and human rights in the late 1920s and early 1930s. His article 'Renquan yu xianfa' [Human Rights and the Constitution] (Hu Shi 1929c) published by *Xinyue* in April 1929 was the first in a series of articles attacking the despotic rule of the Nationalist government, the others being Hu's other article 'women shenme shihou cai keyou xianfa' [When Can We Have a Constitution?] (1929d) from the June issue, Luo Longji's 'Zhuanjia zhengzhi' [Specialists in Politics] (1929a) in the same issue and 'Lun renquan' [On Human Rights] (1929b) published in July, and Liang Shiqiu's May article 'Lun sixiang tongyi' [On Unifying Thoughts/Ideas] (1929a). Hu became the target of replies which were again commissioned by government organs. Certain articles, and even the journal itself, were censored. Hu Shi

was reprimanded by the Ministry of Education on the instructions of the Central Executive Committee. The authorities ordered that Luo Longji be arrested on 4 November 1930 and relieved of his teaching position at Guanghua University.

The rationale behind the independent position secured by Hu Shi's group is not difficult to comprehend: most of the writers who fell into this category were returned students from European countries and the United States. They formed a network with returned students who had joined the government. Hu Shi himself developed personal friendships with Wang Zhaoming and Song Ziwen (T.V. Soong), the Minister of Finance and brother-in-law of Jiang, and was a close friend of Cai Yuanpei, a member of the Central Standing Committee and Jiang Menglin, the Minister of Education who was ordered to warn Hu Shi in 1929. He also befriended Chen Bulei, Xu Xinliu, and Jiang Baili, all of whom were personal aids of Jiang Jieshi. Given the ties they also had with the foreign governments which lent them financial and political support, this group was a natural target of the leftists, who vowed to fight against the imperialist countries and the exploitation by the capitalists and warlords. In contrast with the businessmen and publishers, Hu and other agents caught in the same position did not value this kind of social capital as an asset. Only by maintaining their autonomy could the standing of their group be raised above suspicion in the eyes of Chinese readers.

### **The Structure of the Intellectual Field**

Hockx applies Bourdieu's sociology to his study of the literary field in modern China. Publishers and writers are introduced and discussed as agents operating in what he calls 'the literary community', which is characterized by its ability to withstand or redirect political influences (Hockx 2003:223-224). His focus is on the reception and delineation of the very

nature of literary activity, which is ‘independent, non-political, culturally valuable’ (Hockx 2003:244). This emphasis on literary value is reflected in his earlier presentation of Bourdieu’s concept of field in the form of a graph (Hockx 1999:4) (see Figure 1) in which the vertical axis represents the economic capital generated from the heteronomous (non-literary) principle, whereas the horizontal axis represents the symbolic capital accumulated following the autonomous (literary) principle. Agents who possess a large amount of symbolic capital tend to occupy positions which indicate ‘a low concentration of economic capital’ (ibid). Literary value, however, does not hinge only on the literary principle. By adding the dimension of political capital as a field element in the modified version of Figure 1 (1999:17), Hockx extends the discussion to consider literature being used as a tool by groups of writers to achieve their political ambitions. In such cases, agents do not necessarily contend for recognition in relation to the specific literary forms they advocate. Nor can their practices be accounted for by any one of the literary, economic, or political principles. By relocating publishers, writers, and the literary field within the larger intellectual field, I seek to associate agents’ practices with their political intentions and connections with the government.

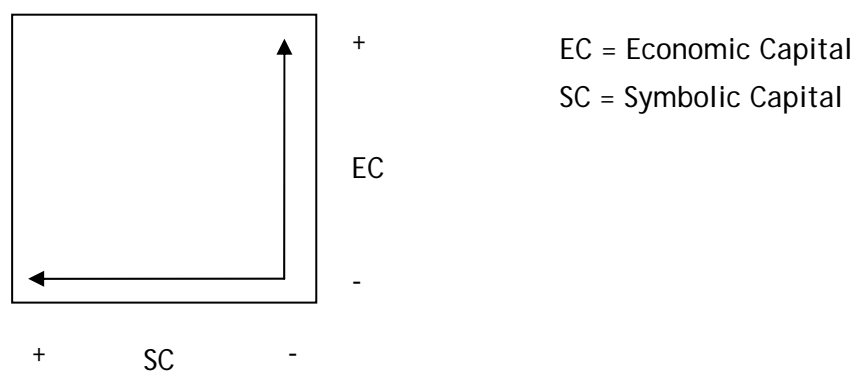


Figure 1 Forces in the Literary Field as presented by Hockx (1999)

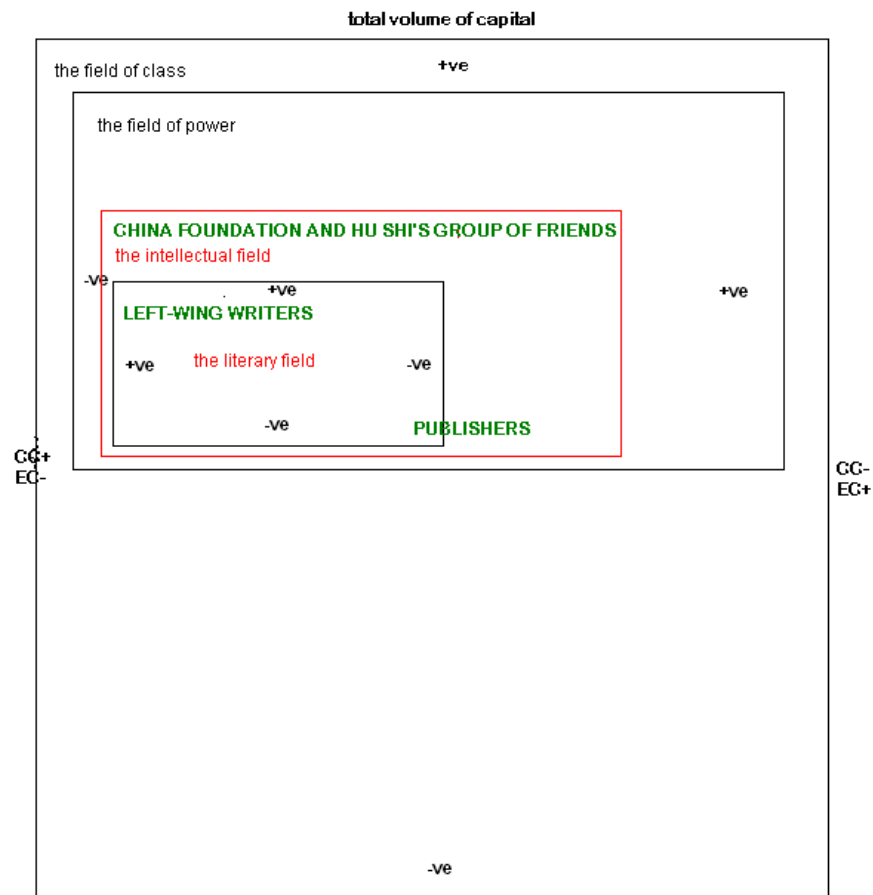
When I outlined the socio-political conditions of Republican China in the previous section, I reiterated that the forces in the political field exerted a structural influence over the



distribution of capital in other social fields. The intellectual field in Republican China, as the site for cultural reproduction, was no exception. The positions of its agents were, to a large extent, determined by their relation to the government and other political forces. Although Bourdieu has repeatedly stressed that the intellectual field is similar to the artistic and literary fields in the sense that its agents generally believe in a disavowal of economic and political interests in pursuit of pure love of art or literature for their cultural value, this was not entirely the case for the Chinese intelligentsia. When the intellectual field had so much at stake, the role of the intellectuals in reforming the mindset of the Chinese people and leading them out of their political predicament was part of the power the agents were competing for. Swartz rightly establishes the intellectual field as a key arena for mediating between the social class location of intellectuals on the one hand and what can be broadly defined as ideas, professional ideology, and political conduct on the other (Swartz 1997:224). All the agents in the intellectual field compete against one another to negotiate its boundaries. While the political agenda may be hidden from the agents, it never disappears from the scene.

Based on Bourdieu's graphic depiction of the literary field within the field of power (Bourdieu 1993:38; Swartz 1997:138-9), I sketch the power relations between the social fields in Republican China and that between the agents within the intellectual field (marked by the box in red) in Figure 2. Each of the boxes shown in the figure represents a particular social or cultural field. The horizontal axis represents economic and cultural capital. This idea matches Hockx's interpretation of the mechanism of the literary field: the more cultural capital one possesses, the less economic capital one acquires. The vertical axis indicates the total volume of capital. The field of power is located in the upper part of the diagram because of its total capital, highlighting its dominant position in the field of class. The literary field, being part of the intellectual field, is located on the negative pole of the vertical

axis as its agents were generally more ready to submit to government policies and other political influences.



\*\*'+ve' represents the positive pole, indicating a dominant position; '-ve' represents the negative pole, indicating a subservient position.

Figure 2 The power relations between the social fields

Agents within the intellectual field are located in different parts of the figure according to their total amount of capital. While the publishers played an important role in the dissemination of knowledge among the Chinese people, their ties with the government and the economic profits they gained as a consequence indicate their vulnerability to changes in other social fields. Considering their dubious connections with the unpopular government,

they could hardly win the respect of most agents in the intellectual field. Hence, their position at the bottom end of the intellectual field implies that they were economically successful but attained limited social recognition in the Republican period. The left-wing writers tended to occupy a more prestigious position within the literary field. While many of their writings and actions were driven by their political intentions, the source of their symbolic capital was their antagonistic relation with the National Government. Their political involvement was a means to exchange for symbolic currency as they served the interests of the dominated class and took the lead in the class struggle against the oppression of the capitalists and the corrupt bureaucracy.

The China Foundation and its personnel distinguished the organization from these two groups in terms of their relation with the authorities and their attitude towards politics. On the one hand, their American background and their connections with the Nanjing government through some of their board members secured their autonomy from the political unrest and the attempted intervention of the Jiang administration. In Figure 2, the intellectual field is extended towards the positive poles on both the horizontal and vertical axes to indicate their ability to draw resources from foreign countries and fight adversity. Their power to negotiate with the government over their requests for funding from the Foundation and their ability to secure help from the American government is strong evidence of their resistance to the dominant class (cf. Chapter Three). This kind of relationship, on the other hand, differentiates them from the left-wing writers. They did not resort to subversive acts to transform the current power structure. They relied on a different source of power to harness the symbolic value that sustained their position in the field – maintaining an interest in disinterestedness, as Bourdieu suggests, by repressing their economic and political interests and amplifying their cultural capital.

The position of the China Foundation in the intellectual field defines its position-taking, which was realized through the academic enterprises and educational programmes it launched. Its position was reinforced by the professionalism in academic pursuits its board members advocated, an undertaking that started with the science subjects and shifted to the humanities in the 1930s. Board members and institutions that received funding were characterized by their devotion to advanced education in China and their commitment to the accumulation of cultural capital accredited in specific disciplines in the form of special knowledge recognized by a circle of experts and investigators in the academic circle. As funding shifted to subjects in the humanities in later years, research projects came to centre around non-politically sensitive issues such as scientific research on linguistics and Chinese history aimed at rediscovering the national identity. Translation projects were selected with the same objective in mind. Texts were chosen because of their cultural and aesthetic value rather than their political implications. The institutional setting in which translators operated was a significant element that shaped their *habitus*.

## **V. Conrad in China – Practice and Power of the Translators**

Just like other agents in the intellectual field, translators in modern China were distributed according to the capital they possessed. The difference between translators and other agents is that the former did not make up a homogeneous group. Some worked on an individual basis, while others were closely related to the institutions or groups which commissioned their works. Translators of textbooks or popular fiction catering for the commercial market would most probably find themselves in the neighbourhood of the publishers, indicating that their practice was guided by economic and political principles. Translators of communist theory or revolutionary literature who submitted to the leftist periodicals or literary journals would occupy a position near the left-wing writers. The three

translators engaged in the project to translate Joseph Conrad's complete works, together with other student-translators working for the China Foundation, would form a cluster beneath the leading figures like Hu Shi in the diagram. Through their *habitus*, they acquired a sense of place in terms of their contribution as translators during this historic period. In this section I begin with an introduction to the concept of *habitus* and how it generates a practical logic which gives rise to a set of principles accounting for translation practice. This is followed by an examination of the nature of the symbolic power conferred on the translators.

### ***Habitus and Practice***

The term *habitus* is the Latinized form of the word 'habit'. It was reinvented by Bourdieu following Émile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss who connect social phenomena with the social situations in which they are observed (Kauppi 2000/2005:50-51). Bourdieu applies it specifically to account for the behavioural patterns of individuals who metaphorically inhabit specific fields without resorting to the explicit rules or intervention of institutions. It was initially defined simply as the source of strategies 'without being the product of a genuine strategic intention' (Bourdieu 1977:72). Bourdieu elaborated further on this notion in 1980 as follows:

Systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. Objectively 'regulated' and 'regular' without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organizing action of a conductor (1990b:53).

Through this elaboration, Bourdieu feeds us details about the nature of *habitus* and its function in agents. *Habitus* is a product of history, inscribing the principles of vision and

division which help maintain the stability of the existing structure. Through their *habitus*, agents are inculcated with the scheme of vocations, aspirations, and expectations which ‘open up’ a range of objective probabilities for their actions as the occasion calls for at a given moment. Such responses are viewed as natural choices made according to the circumstances without requiring agents to go through much deliberation in their minds. In other words, *habitus* orients agents’ practice without agents themselves being aware of its existence and impact.

Chinese translators in the Republican period were first and foremost identified by the cultural capital they realized in the form of accredited university qualifications obtained in the modernized advanced education system. Through their education and the influence of their seniors and peers, they came to see the backwardness and inferiority of the Chinese nation and considered that the principal reason for this was the ignorance of the Chinese people. Just as other agents in the intellectual field, they shared a common vision of China’s future which could be realized only by educating and reforming Chinese nationals. Translators distinguished themselves from other intellectuals by their competence in a second or third language. Some who had been overseas or had experience with the foreign communities in China were bicultural. Their contribution was to be realized through translation practice – rendering Western knowledge and advanced ideas into Chinese texts which could be appreciated by Chinese readers and affect their thinking.

This view of Chinese translators in the Republican era establishes the framework for the translators’ conceptualization of their own practice and the subsequent position-taking of individual translators, according to their ideological orientation and personal interests, in the competition for legitimacy and domination. This competition was conducted on two levels: on the one hand, translators contended for recognition from the literate population,

which was mostly made up of students and the upper and middle classes, through the selection of texts which promulgated their beliefs and even through the choice of appropriate translation methods to serve their purpose. As we have seen in Lu Xun's argument for *yingyi* [stiff/hard translation], these translations targeted a specific group of 'diligent' readers who were willing to endure Europeanized diction and syntax. These readers took in not only the knowledge provided, but also the set of values advocated by the theorist.

On a different level, the translators worked to reproduce existing power relations, thereby perpetuating their prestigious position in comparison with those of other agents within the social structure, especially the lower class. The very nature of translation – that a foreign text unintelligible to the average monolingual reader is rendered into a version which can be understood and used by most – had already put the translators in a prestigious position. By feeding their readers with additional information on the author and the original text, information which was then supplemented with advice or instructions on how to appreciate the work of literature in question, the translators capitalized on their intellectual competence. Translations were assessed from the perspective of the monolingual reader. The Chinese versions would take on symbolic value if readers were persuaded to accept them as authentic representations of the originals. This is most obvious when the translations were used in teaching. In such cases, the translator effectively replaced the author in interpreting and speaking for the original masterpiece. This was not necessarily the case, however. The translator could fail in the task if their translation was judged to be incomprehensible or simply unreliable without even referring to the source text. The point in question is whether the translators could convert the cultural capital required for their practice into symbolic capital which would signal their accomplishment, not only for the task at hand, but also in the capacity of an intellectual. I argue that it was the second kind of capital – the symbolic

value earned from the monolingual reader – that shaped the practical logic of the translators in their practice.

### **The Logic of Practice**

The theory of practice, according to Bourdieu, is not designed to search for concrete principles or laws which lead to a clearly defined practice, whether defined in terms of specific translational styles or the use of language, for example. These kinds of principles were not stated in the prefaces or postscripts by the translators themselves, or in the form of correspondence or commentary to or by their spouse, friends, editors, or critics. The fact that the translators and other agents in the field found it necessary to explain certain features of the translated texts may imply that the practice in question was somehow not taken for granted, at least not from the viewpoint of the translators. Bourdieu considers the verbalized form of reflections on practice as an attempt to ‘*objectify* unformulated experiences, to make them public’ through the construction of a discourse. As the agents are codifying their behaviour, they are at the same time trying to impose on other agents their social values and the hierarchical structure to their own advantage. Bourdieu finds this kind of statement unreliable in presenting the genuine picture of the agents’ practice: ‘...as soon as he reflects on his practice, adopting a quasi-theoretical posture, the agent loses any chance of expressing the truth of his practice, and especially the truth of the practical relation to the practice’ (Bourdieu 1990b:90-91). Bourdieu describes this kind of logic as ‘the logical logic’, which has to be differentiated from the practical logic sketching out the relation between the agents’ practice, a product of the *habitus* constituted by the economic and social processes, and the state of the socio-historical situation in which the practice takes place.

Practices are characteristically ‘uncertain’ and ‘fuzzy’ due to the fact that the principles



that underlie them are not intended to be invariant rules or regulations drawn up with great meticulousness. On the contrary, they are schemes that remain opaque to the practitioners themselves. They can be stretched and applied flexibly under different circumstances.

Bourdieu names two distinctive features of the principles of practice, or the practical logic: First, the principles cannot withstand the test of logical criticism (Bourdieu 1990b:87). The practical logic is logical 'to the point at which being logical would cease being practical' (Bourdieu 1990a:79). It would be unreasonable for anyone to seek to produce 'more logic than they actually contain' (ibid). As a result, action should be oriented by only a handful of generative principles. In a study of the gift exchange practices of the Kabyle in Algeria, for example, Bourdieu concludes that their behaviour is guided by a sense of honour (Bourdieu 1977; 1990b). This principle, however, allows for manoeuvre if the agents choose to take advantage of the situation. They can make use of the time factor by delaying or shortening the interval before they return a gift. The second characteristic of the practical logic is that it is known only to the observer. Being personally involved in the *habitus*, the agents are not in a position to perceive the real principles that steer their courses of action.

The logic of practice, therefore, is one of 'vagueness, of the more-or-less, which defines one's ordinary relation to the world' (Bourdieu 1990a:77-78). The theory draws attention to practitioners who relay the truth of their primary experience by 'omission, through the silences and ellipses of self-evidence' (Bourdieu 1990b:91). Agents do not find the need to explain or defend their behaviour as they act only in the way they should. The logic of practice, says Bourdieu, 'can only be grasped through constructs which destroy it as such, so long as one fails to consider the nature, or rather the effects, of instruments of objectification...'. (Bourdieu 1990b:11). The Chinese translator generally accepted the principle of *xin* [faithfulness] or *zhongshi* [loyalty and truthfulness]. The popularity of this principle can be seen in its use among theorists and critics as the standard for assessing the

quality of Chinese texts labelled as ‘translations’. Such terms, however, were only abstract concepts which were open to interpretation, as demonstrated in Chapter Four. This so-called ‘principle’ does not presume the existence of a relation of equivalence between the source and target texts. In other words, although they pretended otherwise, the translators were faithful to neither the authors nor the source texts. Considering the emphasis placed on the quality and attitude of the translators in the criticism, the concept of *xin* should be understood as an abstract sense of integrity. It can also be used to refer to the state of the translation. Regardless of its mode and form, the translation should be a complete reproduction of the original on the translator’s conscience. In a sense which corresponds to the *habitus* of the intellectual field, however, ‘integrity’ also indicates ‘the soundness of moral principle; honesty; sincerity’ (*Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*) on the part of the translators who should not corrupt the original to serve their self-interest and an awareness of the mission conferred on them as intellectuals charged with taking on the role of a conscientious leader and an inductor of knowledge which was essential in reviving the country. It was under this practical principle that the literary translators devised their own strategies for rendering foreign literary texts into different forms, especially when they chose to depart from the formal features of the original in the name of ‘preserving the spirit/soul’ in the Chinese version.

We can see how this sense of integrity operated in the world classics translation projects by studying the general guidelines drafted by Hu Shi and the actions of the translators. Instead of mimicking the voice of the author, the translators were encouraged to ‘speak for’ the author as they would have if they had learned the Chinese language. The translators were thus authorized to interpret the original text. Not only were they empowered to interpret the source text in their capacity as an expert in the area, their translation was also to represent, or even replace, the original and contribute to the Chinese repertoire under the

category of 'foreign literature'. As long as the translators could establish themselves as honest and 'faithful' translators, any drastic changes made in the translations would be justified. This explains why translators like Liang Shiqiu translated Shakespeare's plays into prose and why Zhang Guroo replaced the Dorset dialect with that spoken in the eastern region of Shandong province in China. These were, of course, all personal choices, which would hardly have been considered by Shakespeare or Hardy had they been reincarnated as Chinese. However, such actions were implicitly endorsed not only by the editors at the time, but have also been endorsed by Chinese readers until today when one thinks of the popularity of both the translators and their works in the Chinese scene.

### **Conrad in China**

The three translators of Conrad's novels and short stories did not make such striking alterations to the source texts, but they exercised freedom of a similar nature in their interpretations. The most noticeable feature found in all four translations is probably the highly readable nature of the language used, which is marked by the common strategy of reinvigorating nominalized behaviour or activities in the source text into dynamic actions by restoring the subjects and verbs. During the translation process, the translators unavoidably clarify ambiguities concerning the actors, the perceivers, and the actions involved. As a result, the narrators in the Chinese versions speak in an assertive tone and are better informed than their English counterparts. This tendency places the translators in stark contrast to Li Qi, who produced the first Chinese translation of Conrad's work in China in 1929. Li's translation of 'The Lagoon' is filled with lengthy sentences (some of which include phrases of up to 30 characters before being broken up by a comma or full circle) and heavy premodification<sup>4</sup> using nominal compounds. The four translations are also characterized by a certain degree of rewriting. Apart from the kind of clarification mentioned above, the

translators tend to elaborate on the emotive meaning of the texts by adding affective adjectives and verbs. The translators invariably introduce their subjective feelings to the stories, which were originally written in a neutral tone.

Only through a readable translation can translators communicate with their readers and convey the kinds of knowledge and messages their readers should acquire from literary texts. In addition to the aspects of Western literature and culture and the navigation technology presented in the Chinese translations, there are also the endurance and perseverance shown by the sailors in their adventures in 'Typhoon' and *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*, the human weaknesses exhibited in *Tales of Unrest*, and the vulnerability at times of crisis seen in Jim and Falk in *Lord Jim* and 'Falk, the Reminiscence'. The translators' active involvement in narration is apparent in the expressions they use that are impregnated with their feelings for the characters and in their judgments of and reactions to the various incidents that occur. Their participation in navigating readers through the narratives is significant as it also highlights their position as the inductor of knowledge. The presence of the translators is manifested most noticeably in the prefaces and detailed explanatory notes provided to guide readers as they make their way through the texts. It is in these elaborate paratexts that the translators reveal the volume of their cultural capital to secure their authority over the reader.

While the translators' actions were guided by 'the practical logic', there was room for manoeuvre, and the translators were able to develop what Bourdieu calls 'styles'. The translators handled the original as they saw fit. The resulting image of the author differs accordingly. Guan Qitong's translation style is relatively conservative in comparison to those of the other two translators, possibly due to his training as a philosopher. His translation of *Tales of Unrest* is presented as just another collection of stories Conrad sets in an exotic land. Guan provides less cultural information in the endnotes than do the other translators and

mainly directs the reader to intertextual references. By pointing out the associations of certain phrases or plots, he reminds the reader that this text should be read as part of Conrad's writings, which expose the fragility of human beings and the cruelty of which they are capable (as seen in the killing of a friend or the desertion of next of kin, etc.) under extraordinary circumstances. A similar image of the hero is projected in Liang Yuchun's translation of *Lord Jim*. Whereas Liang is relatively flexible in rendering the English syntax, he is more concerned with the content and message of the story, which is loaded with emotions and minute depiction of the reactions of characters, thereby exposing human weaknesses as seen among the crew on board *The Patna*. The emphasis Liang places on pacing the tempo of the story is consistent with his earlier translation of *Youth*. The author refracted via the Chinese text is an observant and slightly cynical storyteller.

Yuan Jiahua creates a generally more solid image of Conrad through his translations of *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'* and *Typhoon and Other Stories*. Almost all the stories are set on board a sailing ship. Unlike *Lord Jim*, these stories project a more positive image of the English captain and sailors on board, depicting them as skilful and hard-working heroes who brave the unpredictable elements to save lives. The elaborate endnotes on navigational jargon impress the reader with the specificity of the setting. In addition to the rhetorical devices used in the originals which can be rendered into Chinese without much difficulty, Yuan experiments with newly invented markers signaling the experiential, perfective, and durative aspects. By differentiating the nature of actions, he adds vividness to the narration as the story unfolds. In both *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'* and 'Typhoon', the superiority of the English captain and crew is contrasted with the ignorance and inferiority exhibited by Jimmy the black sailor and the Chinese passengers. The nationality of the author (as an English writer rather than a Polish native) and the abundant advanced technical knowledge stand out in the representations of both novels.

## **The Power of the Translators**

The 'Conrad' invented through the translation project commissioned by the Committee on Editing and Translation of the China Foundation is only one of the possible characterizations of the author. It is one that the translators created and introduced to Chinese readers during the Republican era to represent 'the Complete Works of Joseph Conrad'. Although the four translations did not meet with fierce criticism and were not challenged by other Chinese versions until the 1970s and 1980s<sup>5</sup>, the fact that they are merely partial representations can easily be exposed by any bilingual reader who makes the effort to compare the Chinese versions with the originals. If these translations are to be accepted as Conrad's own works rather than as mediated Chinese versions, the objective truth just stated must not be openly acknowledged, not by the translators, and least of all by the readers. The authentic status of the Chinese versions, and indeed of any translation, is based on a belief imprinted on the mind of the reader that they are 'faithful' reproductions of the foreign texts. This 'faithfulness' is an abstract impression which cannot withstand critical analysis or be assessed according to objective standards, and yet it must be established for any of the translations to function as they stand. This idea has been explored by Anthony Pym (1995) when he examines the notion of equivalence as a relative and unstable concept, or an 'illusion', to use Mary Snell-Hornby's term. Despite its illusory nature, Pym asserts its significance from a sociological perspective. By examining how the notion of equivalence is applied and (re)defined by translators and theorists, we can understand how translation as a phenomenon is received within the specific socio-historical context in which it is produced.

One important aspect that is often overlooked is the interaction of agents in the process of establishing the 'equivalence' of the source and target texts. Hermans regards it as

a 'willing suspension of disbelief' on the part of the reader who tends to assume that the translation, being a reproduction of a superior text, is 'as good as' the original (Hermans 1999:98). Pym addresses the issue by considering it as a negotiating process that takes place between readers and translators. Translators have to maintain a kind of 'trust' with their readers (the 'end-users' in the context of translation as localization) if they want to exercise the freedom to adapt the original for other purposes (Pym 2004:55). This interpretation of equivalence is particularly significant in Republican China, when only a small proportion of the population could read or gain access to the English originals and when foreign literature was in great demand among monolingual educated readers. For the translators of Conrad's works to claim successfully the authority to replace the originals with their Chinese versions as *the* works of Conrad or any other foreign author, they had to convince their readers to have faith in the Chinese texts. Borrowing Bourdieu's concept, the translators had to be able to convert their cultural capital – their cultural knowledge or professional qualifications which entitled them to understand and appreciate the English literary texts – into symbolic capital, which is gained by earning trust and recognition from readers and is an endorsement of the translator's competence to interpret and even speak for the original.

For any social agent to acquire symbolic capital, three conditions have to be fulfilled. First, a certain degree of ambiguity must be maintained in the representation of the social reality, 'a sort of contradiction between subjective truth and objective reality' (Bourdieu 1998:95), as part of the habitus. Second, the agent must abide by the tacit agreement on 'not making things explicit' by refraining from alluding to the material or non-material interests motivating certain actions. In other words, the agent must not acknowledge their self-interest behind a particular practice in which possible economic or political benefits are expected in return. Finally, symbolic capital must meet with the collective approval of or sustain the beliefs shared among members of the same group. It is only when the agent's practice of

action responds to the collective expectation that the agent can be rewarded with symbolic value. This requires what Bourdieu calls ‘a doxical submission to the injunctions of the world’ (Bourdieu 1998:103), again via the work of the *habitus*. On the part of the translators in Republican China, their actions followed the practical logic, that is, the sense of integrity derived from the *habitus* in the intellectual field. They were ‘coached’, so to speak, to disregard their personal interests. The readers, however, were also required to enter into the pact, a collective misrecognition which operated on two levels. The readers had to believe that the translation was a selfless act performed by the translator to serve the interests of Chinese nationals. The translators were acting in good faith when they translated works of foreign literature. The readers also had to disregard the commercial and political concerns influencing the translation process, prompting the translators to rewrite the source texts for the sake of readability (and therefore increasing sales) and insert messages which could be used as propaganda by literary or political groups. This misrecognition implies the readers’ cognition of the social significance of translation practice. Once it had been recognized that the translators were translating to pursue their own interests, an approach which did not live up to the expectations of their target readers, the quality of their works, together with their character, would be put in doubt. In the translators’ rebuttals examined in the previous chapter, we have seen examples of how individual translators tried to explain away mistakes by claiming that ‘they had to earn a living’, a truth which is detrimental to their own works.

The credibility derived from the unquestionable character of the translators was essential for the operation of the practical logic, which required the collective misrecognition to take effect on another level: that the translations were equivalent to the originals, a relation between the source and target texts which exists only on nominal terms. What is at stake here is another disguised form of cultural capital – the linguistic competence of the translators is transformed into a kind of authority to legitimate any form of departure from



the original texts. This kind of misrecognition is even more crucial in sustaining the translators' superiority over their readers and securing their power against challenges made by rival groups in the field. It grants translators the license to replace words and expressions, rearrange syntactic structures, reconstruct paragraphs, and even rewrite the whole text. Once this kind of misrecognition is secured, resemblance to the original text is no longer a necessary requirement of a good translation. Translators in Republican China could defend themselves by arguing that the formal features of the source text would present difficulties for Chinese readers, an argument that falls within the scope of the practical logic. Any responsible translator would have, and should have, intercepted the text from the author and presented it in a way which suited the needs of the Chinese people and the country.

Translators who accumulate substantial symbolic capital are likely to assume a dominant position which allows them to legitimate their practice and hence further strengthen their position within the field. As Richard Jenkins quotes from Bourdieu and Passeron, power relations are 'perceived not for what they objectively are but in a form which renders them legitimate in the eyes of the beholder' (Jenkins 1982/2000:151). The translator's power to create a reality, in this case a 'reality' that depicts Western literature, comes from readers who readily submit to this symbolic power.

## **VI. Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have examined the practice of the three translators of Conrad's novels in the context of the intellectual environment of early twentieth-century China. Rather than conducting this examination within the narrow confines of the self-contained field of translation, the translators have been placed alongside writers, publishers and other agents within a the broader literary realm, a field that commanded greater respect at the time.

This approach has been taken not with a view to overshadowing the translators; on the contrary, the translators have been put on a par with agents whose actions were motivated by the same kinds of interests and which were generated within a similar *habitus*. Like other agents, the translators sought symbolic capital which accrued to those whose translations were accepted as representations of masterpieces written by foreign authors. To secure these symbolic profits, they were obliged to disclaim any economic and political interest in their practice, a condition that reflected a belief which was deeply ingrained in the mind of all agents in the literary field. Such logic, when applied to their practice, would lend credence to their translations in the eyes of Chinese readers and thereby confer on them the undisputed power to represent the foreign literary texts they strove to interpret.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> ‘Principles’ and ‘rules’ here should not be interpreted as they would be in the norms theory. In this context, the two terms do not in themselves carry any regulatory connotations. They should be understood in terms of their influence over the actions of agents.

<sup>2</sup> Even if we adopt the modified definition proposed by Hermans, who suggests ‘a degree of social acceptance and internalization on the individual’s part’ (Hermans 1996b:31), the two concepts are still different in nature. According to Bourdieu, for the principles to be effective, they must be totally forgotten. He quotes from Bernard Williams to illustrate the idea: ‘even if it is possible to decide to believe *p*, one cannot both believe *p* and believe that the belief that *p* stems from a decision to believe *p*; if the decision to believe *p* is to be carried out successfully, it must also obliterate itself from the memory of the believer’ (Bourdieu 1990b:49). For Bourdieu, norms would be the kind of knowledge agents contesting for legitimacy constructed in the process of codification.

<sup>3</sup> The ‘Nationalist Literature’ (*minzu zhuayi wenxue*) was initiated in June 1930 by rightists such as Wang Pingling and Huang Chenxia, who produced literary works commissioned by government organs. The ‘Nationalist Literature’ advocated writings which reflected a nationalistic spirit and consciousness to counter the influence of the Left League.

<sup>4</sup> Liang Yuchun’s first translation of ‘Youth’ is also literal, meaning that he tends to adhere to the original structure. However, his decision to adopt this approach may be connected with the layout of the translation: the Chinese text is juxtaposed with the English original.

<sup>5</sup> Lu Ding’s translation of *Lord Jim* was published by Shanghai’s Shuo Feng publishing house in 1941. It was named *Ji Liu* [Currents], which most readers might not have readily understood as a new Chinese version of *Lord Jim*. New translations of Conrad’s works were published in Taiwan in 1970: one translation of ‘Youth’ by Chen Sen, two translations of ‘The Heart of Darkness’ by Wang Runhua and Chen Cangduo, and another version of the same book by Li Peng in 1972. A new translation of *The Typhoon and Other Stories* was completed by Sha Chongyi in 1980 and a translation of *Lord Jim* was produced by Chen Cangduo et al. in 1981. (For other translations, please refer to Appendix 1.)

## Chapter Six: Conclusion

Translation practices do not exist in a vacuum. This thesis started with the aim of studying translation practice in the social context in which it is pursued, focusing on translators as socialized agents, how they perceive translation practice, and how this perception affects their own practice. I devised a research model starting by teasing out the behaviour of translators based on observation of a translated discourse. The second stage of the research involved investigations of the institutional setting in which translation took place and of the translation discourse in Republican China. In the final stage, I integrated the findings and provided an explanation by applying Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice, which places translation practice and the field in which the practice is located within a larger social structure in an effort to address the relations that exist between translators and other agents within the same field as well as those with agents operating in other social and cultural fields. Through my study of the Chinese translations of Joseph Conrad's novels and short stories in the early twentieth century, I demonstrated how translation practice, defined in this case as the translator's subject-position within the translated text, can be accounted for by locating the translator within a network of power relations. In this final chapter I evaluate the effectiveness of this research model in three respects: describing translation practice, reconstructing *habitus*, and shaping the logic of practice. After that, I explore the possibilities for future research.

### I. Describing Translation Practice

In the translation of fiction, as in any other kind of translation, the translator retells a story which was created by the author and, most likely, has been circulated within a specific

community. This thesis borrowed concepts from narratology which allow for an analysis of how the narrative structure is altered during the translation process, and most importantly, to what extent such changes result from the translator's mediation. Seymour Chatman's diagram of narrative communicative situation provided a framework for examining a translated narrative discourse on the textual and paratextual levels. On the textual level, the analysis, which was based on Roger Fowler's notion of 'point of view', focused on the narrators and the relations between the narrators and other narrative agents in the fictional world. On the paratextual level, the investigation shifted from the fictional to the empirical world. With the help of Wayne Booth and Chatman's definition of the 'implied author', the focus was on the translators' subjective interpretation of the author and the story imposed on the target readers.

### **Applicability of Roger Fowler's Notion of Point of View**

The textual level investigation focused on the narrators' viewing position and their relation to other narrative agents. Roger Fowler's notion of point of view proved to be an effective tool for detecting the changing points of view in the translated narratives by contrasting the linguistic features found in the source and target texts. The model helped to identify changes in the ideological and perceptual perspectives resulting from the translator's mediation, that is, the specific choices made during the translation process.

I found that Liang Yuchun and Yuan Jiahua project different ideological points of view in their respective translations. In Liang's translation of *Lord Jim*, the navigational jargon and expressions used are largely simplified or explained in layman's terms. The translator reduces the volume of professional knowledge to a few basic concepts which are readily comprehensible to the average Chinese reader. The multicultural background to the story, a

background which is expressed through the use of a smattering of German words and English dialects in the original, is not reproduced in the Chinese text. The worldviews projected in Yuan's translations stand in stark contrast to those propounded by Liang. In the Chinese translations of 'Falk, a Reminiscence', 'Typhoon', and *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*, Yuan recreates a network of technical terms including the parts of the ship, expressions and jargon used by sailors, and the titles of different positions on board. This professional language is carefully recreated and expounded in considerable detail.

Fowler's concepts of underlexicalization and overlexicalization, the two sides of the process of negotiation in which language users adapt their language to the socio-cultural setting in which the text circulates, are useful in explaining how the choice of words alters the world-views projected in the translated narratives. Liang's translation undergoes a process of underlexicalization as the original professional dimension of the sailors is relinquished. The crew members speak as do any of the other characters in the novel. The ethical code which is associated with the profession and carries with it a value judgement on the behaviour of Jim and other members of the crew now gives way to an ordinary moral issue on which any individual can pass judgement. In contrast, Yuan's three translations are marked by overlexicalization. Not only does he reinvent a fictional world of seamen characterized by their knowledge of and pride in the craft of seafaring, but Yuan even generates the ethical code that lies at the centre of Conrad's sea-stories.

Fowler states that the ideological point of view can be perceived not only through the vocabulary used in a text, but also through transitivity and syntax. In Conrad's original works, the racial superiority of the English white men is projected through general statements made by the narrators or characters. Such effects can be preserved as long as the translator does not take extreme measures to alter the relevant statements or omit offensive wording from

the translations. In the case of a translated narrative, however, the ideological position of the translator can be presented in a more noticeable form. In the Chinese translations of ‘Typhoon’ and ‘Falk’, Yuan includes the wording from the English original in the main text before providing the Chinese translation in parentheses. Within the fictional world, the characters/narrators, who have been ‘speaking’ in Chinese until now, suddenly begin to use a foreign language (English in ‘Typhoon’ and German in ‘Falk, a Reminiscence’) which is incomprehensible to Chinese readers. By giving the Chinese translation in brackets, the translator not only manifests his presence on the textual level, but also distances himself from the character as he now speaks in his own voice instead of imitating that of the character/narrator. While the use of a foreign language in the narrative is not discussed in Fowler’s model, this technique can be considered an extension of his concept of negotiation. In this context, the negotiation is between the different sets of values attached to the languages used, an idea which could be explored further in the translation context, especially when the worldview in the original text clashes with that of the target culture.

While the analysis of the ideological point of view shows us how the specific socio-cultural elements are mediated by the translators, the examination of the perceptual point of view reveals the more subtle changes made to the structure of the translated narratives. This examination is made possible as Fowler focuses on the combined effects of grammatical and lexical features including tense and aspect, transitivity, deixis, words of estrangement, and *verba sentiendi*. A comprehensive linguistic analysis is more productive in this case as we aim to detect the viewing positions adopted in the individual translated narratives and, at times, in different segments of the story.

In Liang Yuchun’s translation of *Lord Jim*, for example, a large number of proximal demonstratives are used in the first two chapters to draw attention to the protagonist. The

heterodiegetic narrator observes events through the eyes of Jim and has access to his inner feelings, which are marked by verbs indicating mental processes. Neither the unnamed narrator nor Marlow differentiates the temporal plane on which they comment on the extradiegetic level from that on which the action takes place. The abundant use of time adverbs and adverbs marking turning points draws attention to the chronological sequence of events, presenting a vivid account of the drama. Yuan Jiahua's translations of *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*, 'Typhoon', and 'Falk, a Reminiscence' create a similar effect through the use of aspectual markers which provide extra information on the temporal dimension (as viewed by the narrators) and the psychological conditions of the characters (whether the action is stressed as a personal experience, again as viewed by the narrators). The use of figurative language and lengthy nominal groups to depict the feelings and reactions of the characters, together with comparisons which indicate subjective interpretation of the various scenes, have an alienating effect that separates the fictional world of the characters from that of the reader.

In addition to their distinguishing features, the four translated narratives in the corpus examined in this thesis also share certain similarities. The Chinese versions feature a proliferation of time adverbials and adjuncts which stress the chronological sequence and causal relations of events. Through the extensive use of proximal demonstratives and time adverbials indicating the present moment, the narrators try to bring Chinese readers into the scene, inviting them to witness the action as they read on. The narrators in the Chinese translations also appear to be more assertive about the actions and psychological conditions of the characters than are their counterparts in the originals. In the originals texts, nominalized and receptive constructions concerning the actions and behaviour of the characters during events function to indicate the narrators' limited knowledge of events in the past and have an estranging effect on the antagonists and their stories on the intradiegetic

level in relation to the narrators on the extradiegetic level. In contrast, as the agents are restored and sentences are rewritten in the operative mode, the narrators in the Chinese versions appear to be better informed on past events. Speculative verbs are rendered into verbs indicating cognitive or perceptive processes with the subjects reinstalled. The translations are dominated by the voice of the storyteller as the focalizations of different narrative levels are conflated into one.

### **The Implied Author as Constructed by the Translator**

Chatman's construction of the narrative communication situation allows us to extend the discussion beyond the fictional world. While the narrators address the narratees as they deliver the stories in conjunction with their own worldviews, within the narrative levels, the authors and the readers 'communicate' with each other on a different level. According to Chatman, readers will question the authority of the narrator if they find that the narrator's position conflicts with the general design of the author as the narrative unfolds. This concept proved to be useful in explaining the positioning of the translators of Conrad's works. Reference was also made to two concepts borrowed from narratology: the 'implied author' and 'paratexts', the latter of which, according to Gérard Genette, consists of prefaces, postscripts, explanatory notes, and the general layout of a book, which together guide the reader towards a specific interpretation of the narrative text. I have argued that the translators used the paratexts not only to enhance their authority, but also to construct and reinforce the image of both the author and the original that is projected in their translations. I examined the layout of the translations, including the design of the cover and the title page (with the translator's name juxtaposed with that of the author in the same font size) and the arrangement of the contents (the translator's preface comes before the original preface), which established the translators' authority as much as, if not more than, that of the author.



Although the prefaces to the three books and the end-notes in the translations of *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'* and *Typhoon and Other Stories* were all prepared by Yuan Jiahua, the same findings apply to Liang Yuchun's early translation of *Youth* (1929), to which footnotes and a postscript are attached, as well as to Guan Qitong's translation of *Tales of Unrest* (1937), which provides a set of explanatory notes at the end of the book. Instead of using paratexts to explain their translation strategies and choice of words, the translators utilise them to construct an image of both the author and the original to reinforce the one they build up through their translations. The concept of the 'implied author', which Chatman defines as 'the invention and intent' of the novel (1990:85), opens a new dimension which allows for examination of the translators' active participation in defining and defending their works. To create a reliable translated narrative, the translators also work on the paratextual level as they provide a diegetic report to introduce the author and the original in their own voice. These concepts borrowed from narratology have been useful not only as tools for describing the translators' practice through a close examination of the textual structure, but also provide a framework and terminology that serves to identify the translators' positioning in relation to the author and the original text on the one hand, and in relation to the reader on the other.

## II. Reconstructing the *Habitus*

This part of the thesis sought to contextualize the translation practice deduced from the textual analysis by looking at two aspects of the production of translations: patronage and discourse. In the investigation of translators who did not have a distinctive trajectory either because they were ordinary practitioners who translated for a living or because there is simply little or no information available on their identities, these two aspects proved to be relevant and crucial in providing hints on the translators' working environment to account

for their practice. The China Foundation and the Committee on Editing and Translation, which was set up in 1929 and commissioned the project to translate Conrad's complete works in the 1930s, were examined in depth. The translation discourse of Republican China was also re-examined with the aim of establishing how translators and agents operating in the same field conceived translation practice. In the following sections I evaluate the results of my investigation of these aspects and how the data collected could be used to explicate the dynamics of this practice with the help of the concept of *habitus*.

## **The Institutions**

In my investigation, I considered the China Foundation not only in terms of its role as the patron to projects to edit and translate science textbooks and foreign literature, including the complete works of Joseph Conrad, but also as a foreign-funded academic institution in Republican China that was run by a group of dedicated returned students. The analysis started with historical research on the Foundation. In addition to examining its contribution to science education, the focus also turned to its public orientation in what was a highly politicized period and an explanation was offered of how its stance affected its operations and the selection of subsidized institutes and research programmes. The members on the Board of Trustees were highly sensitive to the national and international political environment and their positioning in the circumstances. As the trustees of an American-funded organization, they were aware of the sentiments of the Chinese people. American scholars filled only one-third of the 15 seats on the Board and the U.S. Government did not generally intervene in the operation of the Foundation. At the same time, the trustees were also alert to the national political situation and were on guard against any attempt made by the Chinese Government to interfere in the Foundation's affairs. The solution was to establish the Foundation as an apolitical academic institution which was

committed to the betterment of the Chinese nation and its people. By portraying its intellectuals as independent specialists in their respective disciplines, the trustees established institutes and launched programmes to facilitate academic research in China and promote scientific thinking among the new generation of Chinese people, a strategy they saw as the only way to save China from its predicament.

This image of the intellectuals as specialists had a direct influence on the work of the Committee on Editing and Translation and subsequently on the strategies employed by translators. As demonstrated in Chapter Three, translators who had not been accredited by foreign institutions, whom I labelled student-translators, had to reassert their qualifications to translate foreign literature. Translators acted as mediators between foreign texts and Chinese readers as they smoothed over the cultural and linguistic differences in the source texts. In the four translations of Conrad's works published by the Committee on Editing and Translation, the three translators tend to explicate the source texts for a Chinese readership. The agents of the actions are properly restored and timeframes are inserted to contextualize the series of actions and events. Four-character idioms and figurative expressions enriched by traditional Chinese concepts are used to familiarize readers further with the originals. The fluency exhibited in the translations, together with the extensive paratextual materials provided in the prefaces and explanatory notes, portray the translators as competent scholars in both the Chinese and English languages and in foreign literature.

## **The Discourse**

The history of Chinese translation relies heavily on the so-called 'theories', most of which are personal observations on translation practice shared by translators, editors, or reviewers of published translations. The discussion in Chapter Four introduced the

dimension of translation criticism, which contributed a substantial body of material that provides invaluable information on the reception of translations and on how the work of translators was evaluated. Criticism contributes to the existing translation discourse not only through its content, that is, opinions expressed by individual critics on translations, but also through the angle from which critics address translated texts. The investigation of criticism of the Conrad translations in this thesis showed that most of the critics did not base their assessments on a comparison between the target and source texts, but instead evaluated the translations in isolation. The translators were even commended for departing from the formal linguistic features of the original. This dimension sheds new light on notions that play a prominent role in translation theories such as ‘faithfulness’ and ‘spiritual resemblance’, and prompts us to rethink both the relation between source and target texts and how translations were received in the republican period.

Another observation concerns the role of the translators in the representation of foreign literature in modern China. Many critics sought to discredit the translators by pointing out incongruities and inaccurate information in their translations, or alleged misinterpretations based on the critic’s own interpretation of the original. To strengthen their arguments, some critics resorted to their cultural capital by quoting from foreign references or academics in Western countries. The translators, in defence of their works, evoked the authority of the author with whom they identified themselves. As both the critics and translators shifted their focus from the relation between the source and target texts to the competence of the agents, that is, whether the translators or critics were qualified to interpret the original or were capable of handling the task of representing works of foreign literature in China, this thesis redefined the notions of *xin* [faithfulness] and *zhongshi* [loyalty and truthfulness] as a code of practice specifying the attitude of the agents involved in the translation activity. The following section explores this code of practice, or the practical logic,

in connection with the positions of the translators in the social structure.

### **III. Shaping the Logic of Translation Practice**

The last section of this thesis focused on the translators as socialized agents. I applied Pierre Bourdieu's theory of logic as I devised a model for tracing the practical logic of the translators within the social structure. Instead of attributing the translators' behaviour to the influence of the literary field or certain political movements by default, I proposed to start by reconstructing the hierarchy of the social and cultural fields and locating both the positions in which the translators operated and the positions they each took up in the relevant field. This step was significant as it did more than to provide the historical background to the translators' work. It placed the agents at the centre by relating their actions to the social situation in which they acquired and conceived their practices and the underlying practical logic.

Bourdieu's notions of field, *habitus*, and capital have proved to be useful in identifying the factors accounting for the translators' actions without exaggerating the role played by any of these individual elements. In view of the socio-political situation in modern China, the political field had become established as the field of power that determined the value of the different forms of capital – economic, social, cultural, and symbolic – which in turn defined the positions of the agents in the relevant fields. I briefly outlined how the political upheavals and the Jiang administration had an impact on the social classes in general. In terms of the dominance of the political field over other aspects of Chinese life, the intellectual field was no exception. The positions of agents in the intellectual field were largely defined by their political orientations, which collectively determined the structure of the field as a whole.

This observation is significant in examining the behaviour of translators in Republican China. Some translators initiated the translation work on their own, whereas others were commissioned to translate for profit-oriented publishers or for political or literary groups. Despite the fact that most of them were located in the same intellectual field at that time and their *habitus* overlapped in areas such as the sense of mission of Chinese intellectuals and the conception of translation practice, their affiliations imply that they were motivated by different interests that affected their position-taking. Instead of placing them in a self-contained field of translation, which would imply a homogeneous group who shared similar stakes in their practice (for example, a certain task that an agent should achieve to become a successful translator in the field), the contention made here was that translators were agents operating in the intellectual field whose actions could be accounted for by a practical logic – a sense of integrity or a moral principle which required that they avoid corrupting the original to serve their personal interests. As long as translators could establish a clear conscience to fulfil the mission conferred on them as intellectuals, they were allowed to adopt whatever radical strategy they liked and would still be able to claim that their works were ‘faithful’ translations of the originals.

This practical logic sheds light on the conceptualization of translation practice from a sociological perspective. That translators could justify any change made to the original in their rendition (implying that readers should be educated to accept such changes as necessary) indicates that the notion of ‘faithfulness’ in modern China was not interpreted as a relation between the source and target texts. It was, rather, an attitude taken up by translators and was an illusion which had to be (mis)recognized by Chinese readers if a translation was to be trusted as an authentic representation of the foreign text. Chinese readers were obliged to disregard any personal interests which might have played a role in the translation process and

affected the decisions of the translators. Not only did readers have to disregard differences between the Chinese and foreign languages and cultures, but they were also obliged to submit to the idea of 'spiritual' resemblance, which implies that the translators had to provide no more than a subjective interpretation of the original text. As soon as readers recognized the translators' authority to speak for the original text and the author, the translators had successfully converted their cultural capital to carry a symbolic value. This symbolic power legitimated the translators' representations of foreign literature and their power over Chinese readers.

#### **IV. Perspectives**

In this thesis, I have studied the literary translations of English texts, and of Joseph Conrad's novels and short stories in particular, which were published in a unique period of Chinese history when translation played a significant role in national reformation and opened up a wide range of possibilities. The research is mainly based on data collected from written documents, as the translators and key figures involved in the translation projects of the Committee on Editing and Translation of the China Foundation have passed away. Without exaggerating the importance of the input of the translators, had they been able to give personal accounts of the decisions made at the time and their conception of translation as part of the translation discourse, this would have allowed for the inclusion of their personal trajectories in reconstructing the *habitus* in which they operated.

The research model proposed here can also be applied to examine texts translated in the contemporary context and to investigate the positioning of translators operating in other fields, such as those working for the commercial or financial sector. Given the trend of investigating translation from the sociological perspective by focusing on the translator's

interaction with other agents involved in the translation process, this model may contribute to future research by facilitating exploration of the dynamics that exist between the various social fields. Researchers may come up with a completely different logic of practice which opens our eyes to the true nature of translation practice.



## Appendix 1:

### Chinese Translations of Joseph Conrad's Works

#### (in chronological order)

1. Li Qi (Trans.). (1929). Qianhu (The Lagoon). *Xinyue* 2(5).
2. Jia Xuekai (Trans.). (1929). *Qingchun* (Youth). Shanghai: Nanhua tushuju.
3. Liang Yuchun (Trans.). (1931). *Qingchun* (Youth). Shanghai: Beixin Bookstore.
4. Shi Heng (Trans.). (1933, September 11-20). Qianhu (The Lagoon). *Shenbao ziyoutan*.
5. Yuan Jiahua, Liang Yuchun (Trans.). (1934). *Jimu ye* (Lord Jim). Shanghai: Commercial Press Ltd.
6. Wu Xianyu (Trans.). (1934, November 27 – December 20). Mingchao (Tomorrow). *Shenbao ziyoutan*.
7. Yuan Jiahua (Trans.). (1936). *Hei shuishou* (The Nigger of the "Narcissus"). Shanghai: Commercial Press Ltd.
8. Guan Qitong (Trans.). (1936). *Bu'an de gushi* (Tales of Unrest). Shanghai: Commercial Press Ltd.
9. Yuan Jiahua (Trans.). (1937). *Taifeng ji qita* (Typhoon and Other Stories). Shanghai: Commercial Press Ltd.
10. Lu Ding (Trans.). (1941). *Jiliu* (Lord Jim). Shanghai: Shuofeng shudian.
11. Liu Wuji (Trans.). (1943). *A'ermaiye de yuchun* (Almayer's Folly). Chongqing: Guji chubanshe.
12. Liu Wenjing (Trans.). (1951). *Fuliya* (Freya of the Seven Isles). Wenhua gongzuoshi.
13. Yuan Jiahua & Liang Yuchun (Trans.). (1958). *Jimu ye* (Lord Jim), a reprint. Beijing: Renmin wenzue.
14. Chen Sen (Trans.). (1970). *Qingchun* (Youth). Taipei: Aboluo.
15. Wang Runhua (Trans.). (1970). *Hei'an de xin* (Heart of Darkness). Taipei: Zhiwen chubanshe.
16. Chen Cangduo (Trans.). (1970). *Hei'an zhi xin* (Heart of Darkness). Taipei: Xianrenzhang.

17. Li Peng (Trans.). (1972). *Hei'an de xin* (*Heart of Darkness*). Taipei: Wang jia.
18. Sha Chongyi (Trans.). (1980). *Taifeng* (*Typhoon and Other Stories*). Taipei: Zhiwen chubanshe.
19. Pan Huangdong (Trans.). (1981). *Aomaiye de chimeng* (*Almayer's Folly*). Taipei: Lianjing chuban shiwu gongsi.
20. Jin Shenghua (Trans.). (1981). *Haiyu zhuke* (*An Outcast of the Islands*). Taipei: Lianjing chuban shiwu gongsi.
21. Chen Cangduo & Li Cuifen (Trans.). (1981). *Jimu ye* (*Lord Jim*). Taipei: Yuanjing.
22. Huang Yushi (Trans.). (1982). *Hei'an de neixin shenchi* (*Heart of Darkness*). *Waiguo wanshuo qikan* Vol.2.
23. He Xinqin (Trans.). (1984). *Hei xin* (*Heart of Darkness*). Taipei: Lianjing chuban shiwu gongsi.
24. Huang Yushi (Trans.). (1984). *Hei'an shenchi* (*Heart of Darkness*). Tianjing: Baihua wenyi.
25. Wang Jinling et.al. (Trans.). (1984). *Hei'an de xinziang* (*Heart of Darkness*). Jinan: Shandong wenyi.
26. Li Chengzai (Trans.). (1985). *Shengli* (*Victory*). Taipei: Lianjing chuban shiwu gongsi.
27. Yuan Jiahua et.al (Trans.). (1985). *Kanglade xia shuo xuan* [*The Fiction of Joseph Conrad*]. Shanghai: Yiwen.
28. Sun Shuyu, Zhen Peizhi & Zhang Peilan (Trans.). (1989) *Taifeng ji qita sange duanpian* [*Typhoon and three other short stories*]. Taipei: Lianjing chuban shiwu gongsi.
29. Xue Shiqi, Yuan Jiahua & Qiu Xiaolong (Trans.). (1995). *Kanglade haiyang xiaoshuo* [*Sea-stories by Joseph Conrad*]. Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi.
30. Hao Guangcai (Trans.). (1995). *Taifeng* (*Typhoon*). Taipei: Gelin.
31. Fang Ping (Trans.). (1997). *Qingchun: Kanglade xiaoshuo xuan* [*Youth: Short stories by Conrad*]. Shanghai: Shanghai yiwen.
32. Xiong Lei et.al. (Trans.). (1998). *Jimu ye, Hei'an shenchi, Shuixianbuabao de beishuibou* [*Lord Jim, Heart of Darkness, Nigger of the "Narcissus"*]. Beijing: Renmin wenxue.
33. Sun Shuyu (Trans.). (1998). *Shaonian shi* [*Youth*]. Taipei: Hongfan.
34. Zhu Jiongqiang (Trans.). (1999). *Kanglade jingxuanji* [*The Best Works of Conrad*]. Jinan: Shandong wenyi.

35. Pu Long (Trans.). (1999). *Jimu laoye (Lord Jim)*. Nanjing: Yilin.
36. Wang Zhanjing (Trans.). (1999) *Jimu Laoye (Lord Jim)*; Beijing: Waiwen.
37. Sui Gang & Du Fang (Trans.). (2000). *Kanglade duanpian xiaoshuo xuan: renlei xinling de tansuo* [a collection of the short stories by Conrad]. Beijing: Waiwen.
38. Ni Qingqi (Trans.). (2000). *Dabai rujing (Mirror of the Sea)*. Tianjing: Baihua.
39. Jin Zhuyun, Yao Yuan, & Zhang Yilin (Trans.). (2000). *Wenxue yu rensheng zhabazi (Literature and letters)*; Beijing: Zhongguo wenxue.
40. Liu Chuhai (Trans.). (2001). *Nuosituoluomo (Nostromo)*. Nanjing: Yilin.
41. Hu Nanping (Trans.). (2001). *Hei'an de xin* [Heart of Darkness, the Nigger of the "Narcissus"]. Nanjing: Yilin.
42. Huang Yushi (Trans.). (2002). *Hei'an de xin (Heart of Darkness)*. Beijing: Renmin wenxue.
43. Peng Na & Yan Xu (Trans.). (2003). *Hei'an de xin (Heart of Darkness)*. Qingdao: Qingdao chubanshe.
44. Simade xuexiao (Trans.). (2004). *Hei'an zhi xin (Heart of Darkness)*. Shanghai: Shanghai shijie tushu chuban gongsi.
- 45.

## Appendix 2:

### List of Publications by the Committee on Editing and Translation (as recorded in the annual reports):

\*\* most of the books are translations unless stated otherwise.

Year	Translator/Author	Author; title
1933-34 9 <sup>th</sup> Report	<sup>1</sup>	(1) Von Hindenburg – Aus Meinem Leben (2) John Dewey – Reconstruction in Philosophy (3) Joseph Conrad – Lord Jim (4) Mimiamboi of Herodas and Theokritos (5) Millikan – The Electron. (6) E. Chavannes – Documents sur les Tou Krue (Turcs) Occidentaux (7-8) Selected Studies in the History and Geography of Central Asia and the South Seas, by Pelliot, Maspero and others, Series I and II (9) L. Aurouseau – La Première Conquête Chinoise des Pays Annamites. (10) Karl Max – Das Kapital, Vol. I, Part. I
1935-1936 11 <sup>th</sup> Report	Mr.C.T. Kuan	(1) Berkeley: A New Theory of Vision (2) --: Principles of Human Knowledge (3) Decartes: Principles of Philosophy (4) --: Meditations

<sup>1</sup> The names of the translators are not provided in the report.

Mr. C.H. Yuan	(5) Conrad: Tales of Unrest
	(6) --: The Nigger of the Narcissus
Mr. C.W. Li	(7) Flaubert: Trois Contes
By Mr. C.W.Li (Author)	(8) A Critical Study of Flaubert
By Prof. H.Y.Chen (Author)	(9) Forest Botany of China
Mr. Ta-jen Wu	(10) Bocher: Introduction to Higher Algebra
Mr. P.S.Wu	(11) O'Brien: Agricultural Economics
Mr. C.T.Kuan	(12) Bacon: Novum Organum
Mr. E.Y.Chang	(13) Hardy: Tess of the D'Urbervilles
	(14) --: Return of the Native
Mr. M.T.Lo	(15) Euripides: Iphigenia
	(16) Sophocles: Oedipus the King
Prof. S.C. Liang	(17) Shakespeare: Macbeth
	(18) Shakespeare: Merchant of Venice
	(19) --: Hamlet
	(20) – As You Like It
	(21) – King Lear
Prof. M.Chen	(22) Corneille: Le Cid
	(23) Racine: Andromaque
By Prof. H.H.Love (Author)	(24) Application of Statistical Methods to Agricultural Research
Mr. C.C.Feng	(25) Historical and Geographical Studies of Central Asia and the South Seas by European Sinologists. Series III

1936-37 12 <sup>th</sup> Report	Prof. M.Chen  MR. C.H.Yuan Mr. C.C. Feng By Prof. P.T. Sah (Author) Mr. Y.L.Hwang Dr. T.W. Hu Mr. Li-ying Sheng MR. C.T.Kuan By Mr. Yao Tang	(a)Delance: Bluff (b)Mangham: The Letter (c)Jeffrey Dell: Payment deferred (d)Dumas fils: La Dame aux Camélias (e)Henry Bataille: La Resurrection (f)Conrad: Typhoon (g)Marco Polo: Travels (h)Laboratory: Manual in General Physics (i)Hutchinson: The Families of Flowering Plants (j)McIver: The Modern State (k)Love: Application of Statistical Method to Agricultural Research (l)Hume: An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding (m)Timber Trees in China
1937-38 13 <sup>th</sup> Report	Mr. C.C.Feng Prof. S.C.Liang  Mr. M.T.Lo  Mr. Hsia-chun Hsu	(a) Pfister: Les Jésuites de L'ancienne mission de Chine (b) Shakespeare: Othello (c) --: The Tempest (d) Aristophanes: Clouds (e) Aeschylus: Persae (f) Defoe: Robinson Crusoe
1938-39 14 <sup>th</sup> Report	M.T.Lo	SENT TO PRESS Euripides: Medea

	S.C.Liang	Shakespeare: Twelfth Night
1939-1940 15 <sup>th</sup> Report	C.T.Fu  S.C.Liang M.T.Lo	SENT TO THE PRESS Kojiki (A Japanese Classic)  PUBLISHED: Shakespeare: Twelfth Night Euripides: Medea

## Appendix 3:

### Articles on Translation Criticism

#### Positive translation reviews:

佛突 Fo Tu	讀了「茵夢湖」 Dule ‘Yinmenghu’ [Reading ‘Immensee’]	民國日報 覺悟 <i>Minguo ribao – juewu</i> [‘awakening’ in <i>Republic daily</i> ]	1921.07.01 (p.4)
有是 You Shi	「茵夢湖」之印象批評 ‘Yinmenghu’ zhi yinxiang piping[An impressionistic criticism on ‘Immensee’]	民國日報 覺悟 <i>Minguo ribao – juewu</i> [‘awakening’ in <i>Republic daily</i> ]	1921.07.10 (p.2)
思夢 Si Meng	介紹都德底「小物件」 Jieshao Dude de Xiaowujian [Introducing Daudet’s <i>Le Petit Chose</i> ]	民國日報 覺悟 <i>Minguo ribao – juewu</i> [‘awakening’ in <i>Republic daily</i> ]	1922.12.17 (p.1)
聞一多 Wen Yiduo	莪默伽亞謨之絕句 Emojiayamo zhi Jueju [Omar Khayyam’s <i>Rubaiyat</i> ]	創造季刊 2:1 <i>Chuangzao jikan</i> [creation quarterly]	1923.07 (pp.10-24)
趙蔭棠 Zhao Yintang	讀「飛鳥集」 Du Feiniaoji [Reading <i>Stray Birds</i> ]	文學旬刊(79) <i>Wenxue xunkan</i> [literature trimonthly]	1923.07.12(pp.1-2)
力子 Li zi	紡輪的故事 Fanglun de gushi [the story of the spinning wheel]	民國日報 覺悟 <i>Minguo ribao – juewu</i> [‘awakening’ in <i>Republic daily</i> ]	1924.07.02 (p.5)
茅盾 Mao Dun	真亞耳(Jane Eyre)的兩個譯本—對於翻譯方法的研究— Zhenya’er (Jane Eyre) de liangge yiben – duiyu fanyi fangfa de yanjiu [two translations of <i>Jane Eyre</i> – a study of methods of translation.	譯文 新 2:5 <i>Yiwen, xin</i> . [translations, new ed.]	1937 (pp.1060-1073)



姚克 Yao ke	評王譯「奇異的插曲」 Ping Wang yi 'qiyi de chaqu' [Commenting on Wang's translation of 'Strange Interlude']	譯文 新 3:1 <i>Yiwen, xin</i> . [translations, new ed.]	1937 (pp.193-199)
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### Abusive translation criticism

#### On Chinese translations of Tagore's works

西諦(鄭振鐸) Zheng Zhenduo [Xi di]	譯詩的一個意見—「太戈爾詩選」的叙言. <i>Yishi de yige yijian – Taige'er shixuan de xuyan</i> [an opinion on translating poetry – the preface to <i>Collection of Tagore's poems</i> ]	文學旬刊(48) <i>Wenxue xunkan</i> [literature trimonthly]	1922.09.01 (p.1)
如音 Ru Yin	讀沈繼偉君底「太戈爾的詩八首」之後 Du Shen Jiwei jun de 'Taige'er de shi bashou' zhihou [after reading Shen Jiwei's 'eight poems by Tagore']	民國日報 覺悟 <i>Minguo ribao, juewu</i> ['awakening' in <i>Republic daily</i> ]	1922.12.19 (p.3)
梁實秋 Liang Shiqiu	讀鄭振鐸譯的「飛鳥集」. Du Zheng Zhenduo yi de <i>Feiniaoji</i> [On reading Zheng Zhenduo's translation of <i>Stray birds</i> ].	創造周報(9) <i>Chuangzao zhoubao</i> [creation weekly] (9)	1923.07.07 (pp.7-9)
西諦(鄭振鐸) Zheng Zhenduo [Xi di]	讀「飛鳥集」的譯文—答趙蔭棠君 Du <i>Feiniaoji de yiwen – da Zhao Yintang jun</i> [On the translation of <i>Stray birds</i> – a reply to Mr. Zhao Yintang].	文學旬刊(79) <i>Wenxue xunkan</i> [literature trimonthly]	1923.07.12 (pp.1-2)
西諦(鄭振鐸) Zheng Zhenduo [Xi di]	再論「飛鳥集」譯文—答梁實秋君 Zailun <i>Feiniaoji yiwen – da Liang Shiqiu jun</i> [On the translation of <i>Stray birds</i> again – a reply to Mr. Liang Shiqiu].	文學旬刊(80) <i>Wenxue xunkan</i> [literature trimonthly]	1923.07.22 (pp.1-2)
成仿吾 Cheng Fangwu	鄭譯「新月集」正誤 Zheng yi <i>Xinyueji zhengwu</i> [The rights and wrongs of Zheng's translation of <i>The Crescent Moon</i> ]	創造周報(30) <i>Chuangzao zhoubao</i> [creation weekly]	1923.12.02 (pp.6-11)

紹原(江紹原) Jiang Shaoyuan [Shaoyuan]	評鄧演存先生譯的郵局 Ping Deng Yancun xiansheng yi de <i>Yonju</i> [Comment on Mr. Deng Yancun's translation of <i>The Post Office</i> ].	晨報副鑄 <i>Chenbao fujian</i> [supplement of <i>Morning post</i> ].	1923.05.05 (pp.3-4)
紹原(江紹原) Jiang Shaoyuan [Shaoyuan]	研究「塔果爾及其森林哲學」裏面的翻譯 Yanjiu <i>Taguo'er ji qi senlin zhexue</i> li mian de fan yi [A study of the translations in <i>Tagore and his forest philosophy</i> ].	晨報副鑄 <i>Chenbao fujian</i> [supplement of <i>Morning post</i> ].	1924.05.13 (pp.3-4)
紹原(江紹原) Jiang Shaoyuan [Shaoyuan]	誰配繙泰戈爾底「詩人的宗教」 Shui pei fan Taige'er de 'Shiren de zongjiao' [Who is qualified to translate Tagore's "The Religion of Man"].	晨報副鑄 <i>Chenbao fujian</i> [supplement of <i>Morning post</i> ].	1924.06.06 (p.4)
紹原(江紹原) Jiang Shaoyuan [Shaoyuan]	徵譯廣告 Zhengyi guanggao [An advertisement to call for translations].	晨報副鑄 <i>Chenbao fujian</i> [supplement of <i>Morning post</i> ].	1924.06.17-18 (p.4)
東君(上海嚴氏) Dong Jun	譯玄學文章的研究 Yi xuanxue wenzhang de yanjiu [a study of the translation of mystical texts]	晨報副鑄 <i>Chenbao fujian</i> [supplement of <i>Morning post</i> ]	1924.06.22 (p.3)
紹原(江紹原) Jiang Shaoyuan [Shaoyuan]	譯宗教文章的研究 Yi zongjiao wenzhang de yanjiu –[A study of the translation of religious texts].	晨報副鑄 <i>Chenbao fujian</i> [supplement of <i>Morning post</i> ].	1924.06.25 (p.4)
彭基相 Peng Jixiang.	附錄彭基相君譯文 fulu Peng Jixiang jun yiwen [appendix: Mr. Peng Jixiang's translation]	晨報副鑄 <i>Chenbao fujian</i> [supplement of <i>Morning post</i> ]	1924.06.25 (p.4)

胡愈之 Hu Yuzhi	「翻譯玄學文章」與「咬人」--答江紹原先生 ‘fanyi xuanxue wenzhang’ yu ‘yaoren’ da Jiang Shaoyuan xiansheng [‘translating mystical texts’ and ‘biting’ – a reply to Mr. Jiang Shaoyuan]	晨報副鑄 <i>Chenbao fujian</i> [supplement of <i>Morning post</i> ]	1924.07.03 (pp.3-4)
江紹原 Jiang Shaoyuan [Shaoyuan]	結束我的徵譯并宣布我的繙譯信條 Jiesu wode zhengyi bing xuanbu wode fanyi xintiao [To end my call for translations and announce my doctrine of translation].	晨報副鑄 <i>Chenbao fujian</i> [supplement of <i>Morning post</i> ].	1924.10.08 (pp.3-4)
彭基相 Peng Jixiang.	對於江紹原先生結束徵譯以後的一點微言 Duiyu Jiang Shaoyuan xiansheng jiesu zhengyi yihou de yidian weiyang [a few humble opinions after Mr. Jiang Shaoyuan ended (his) call for translations].	晨報副鑄 <i>Chenbao fujian</i> [supplement of <i>Morning post</i> ].	1924.10.16 (pp.3-4)

### On Relay Translations:

郁達夫 Yu Dafu	夕陽樓日記 Xiyang lou riji [a diary entry on ‘Xiyang lou’ (sunset tower)].	創造季刊 1:2 <i>Chuangzao jikan</i> [creation quarterly]	1922.08.25 (pp.37-49)
郭沫若 Guo Moruo	反響之反響 Fanxiang zhi fanxiang [a response to the response]	創造季刊 1:3 <i>Chuangzao jikan</i> [creation quarterly]	1922.11 (pp.1-12)
成仿吾 Cheng Fangwu	學者的態度—胡適之先生的「罵人」的批評 xuezhe de taidu – Hu Shizhi xiansheng de ‘maren’ de piping [A scholar’s manner – Mr. Hu Shizhi’s abusive criticism].	創造季刊 1:3 <i>Chuangzao jikan</i> [creation quarterly]	1922.11 (pp.13-27)

吳稚暉 Wu Zhihui	就批評而運動「註譯」 Jiu piping er yundong 'zhuyi'[On criticism and movement "gloss translation"]	晨報副鑄 <i>Chenbao fujian</i> [supplement of <i>Morning post</i> ].	1923.04.06; 04.07; 04.09; 04.10; 04.11; 04.12
郭沫若 Guo Moruo	討論註譯運動及其他 taolun zhuyi yundong ji qita [discussing 'gloss translation' movement]	創造季刊 2:1 <i>Chuangzao jikan</i> [creation quarterly]	1923.08 (pp.133-143)
畢樹棠 Bi Shutang	論譯俄國小說 lun yi Eguo xiaoshuo [On translating Russian novels]	新月 2:3 <i>Xinyue</i> [crescent moon]	1929.05 (pp.1-17)
達伍 Da Wu	「在三層樓上展開」與「骨董之描寫」質疑 'Zai sanceng loushang zhankai' yu 'gudong zhi miaoxie' zhiyi [Query over 'to develop on the third floor' and 'antique's description'].	申報自由談 <i>Shen bao ziyoutan</i> ['free talk' in <i>Shanghai post</i> ].	1933.06.12 (p.5)
胡秋原 Hu Qiuyuan.	關於「三層樓」與「骨董」答達伍先生 Guanyu 'sanceng lou' yu 'gudong' da Da Wu xiansheng [On 'the third floor' and 'antique' – a reply to Mr. Dawu].	申報自由談 <i>Shen bao ziyoutan</i> ['free talk' in <i>Shanghai post</i> ].	1933.06.13 (p.4)
沈起予 Shen Qiyu	「三層樓」與「骨董」及其他. 'Sanceng lou' yu 'gudong' ji qita ['the third floor' and 'antique' and others]	申報自由談 <i>Shen bao ziyoutan</i> ['free talk' in <i>Shanghai post</i> ].	1933.06.18 (p.5)
徐懋庸 Xu Maoyoung	「藝術論」質疑 'Yishulun' zhiyi [questioning 'On art']	申報自由談 <i>Shen bao ziyoutan</i> ['free talk' in <i>Shanghai post</i> ].	1933.06.29 (p.5)
趙景深 Zhao Jingshen.	二十世紀的歐洲文學 Ershi shiji de Ouzhou wenxue [European literature in the twentieth century].	申報自由談 <i>Shen bao ziyoutan</i> ['free talk' in <i>Shanghai post</i> ].	1933.07.11 (p.5)
林翼之 Lin Yizhi.	「翻譯」與「編述」 'Fanyi' yu 'bianshu' ['translation' and 'compiling'].	申報自由談 <i>Shen bao ziyoutan</i> ['free talk' in <i>Shanghai post</i> ].	1933.07.31 (p.5)

大聖 Da Sheng	關於翻譯的話 Guanyu fanyi de hua [About translation].	申報自由談 <i>Shen bao ziyoutan</i> ['free talk' in <i>Shanghai post</i> ].	1933.08.12 (p.5)
洛文(魯迅) Lu Xun [Luo wen].	爲翻譯辯護 Wei fanyi bianhu [Defending translation].	申報自由談 <i>Shen bao ziyoutan</i> ['free talk' in <i>Shanghai post</i> ].	1933.08.20 (p.5)
穆木天 Mu Mutian	從「爲翻譯辯護」談到樓譯「二十世紀之歐洲文學」。 Cong 'wei fanyi bianhu' tando Lou yi <i>Ersbi shiji zhi ouzhou wenxue</i> [From 'Defending translation' to Lou's translation of <i>European literature in the twentieth-century</i> ]	申報自由談 <i>Shen bao ziyoutan</i> ['free talk' in <i>Shanghai post</i> ].	1933.09.09 (p.6)
樓建南 Luo Jiannan.	並非答辯 Bing ei dabian [Not defending].	申報自由談 <i>Shen bao ziyoutan</i> ['free talk' in <i>Shanghai post</i> ].	1933.09.12 (p.4)
洛文(魯迅) Lu Xun [Luo wen].	關於翻譯 Guanyu fanyi [About translation].	申報自由談 <i>Shen bao ziyoutan</i> ['free talk' in <i>Shanghai post</i> ].	1933.09.14 (p.4)
穆木天 Mu Mutian	再談樓譯「二十世紀歐洲文學」 Zaitan Lou yi <i>Ersbi shiji ouzhou wenxue</i> [On Lou's translation of <i>European literature in the twentieth-century</i> again].	申報自由談 <i>Shen bao ziyoutan</i> ['free talk' in <i>Shanghai post</i> ].	1933.09.14 (p.4)
魏鑑青 Wei Jianqing	新發見的「倒譯」與「直譯」 Xingfaxian de 'daoyi' yu 'zhiyi' [latest discovery of 'back translation' and 'direct translation']	申報自由談 <i>Shen bao ziyoutan</i> ['free talk' in <i>Shanghai post</i> ].	1933.10.31 (p.4)
穆木天 Mu Mutian	談繙譯介紹 Tan fanyi jieshao [On introduction through translation]	申報自由談 <i>Shen bao ziyoutan</i> ['free talk' in <i>Shanghai post</i> ].	1933.11.25 (p.5)
余揚靈 Yu Yangling	直譯之故 Zhiyi zhi gu [because of direct translation]	申報自由談 <i>Shen bao ziyoutan</i> ['free talk' in <i>Shanghai post</i> ].	1934.01.18 (p.5)
余揚靈 Yu Yangling	讀文學的繙譯專號後 Du <i>Wenxue</i> de 'fanyi zhuanhao' hou [after reading the special issue on translation in <i>Literature</i> ]	申報自由談 <i>Shen bao ziyoutan</i> ['free talk' in <i>Shanghai post</i> ].	1934.03.24 (p.5)

穆木天 Mu Mutian	各盡所能 Gejin suoneng [From each according to (his/her) ability]	申報自由談 <i>Shen bao ziyoutan</i> ['free talk' in <i>Shanghai post</i> ].	1934.06.19 (p.5)
史賁(魯迅) Lu Xun [Shi ben]	論重譯 Lun zhongyi [On relay translation]	申報自由談 <i>Shen bao ziyoutan</i> ['free talk' in <i>Shanghai post</i> ].	1934.06.27 (p.4)
穆木天 Mu Mutian	論重譯及其他(上) Lun chongyi ji qita (shang) [On relay translation and others (part 1)].	申報自由談 <i>Shen bao ziyoutan</i> ['free talk' in <i>Shanghai post</i> ].	1934.06.30 (p.6)
穆木天 Mu Mutian	論重譯及其他(下) Lun chongyi ji qita (xia) [On relay translation and others (part 2)].	申報自由談 <i>Shen bao ziyoutan</i> ['free talk' in <i>Shanghai post</i> ].	1934.07.02 (p.6)
史賁(魯迅) Lu Xun [Shi ben]	再論重譯 Zailun zhongyi [On relay translation again]	申報自由談 <i>Shen bao ziyoutan</i> ['free talk' in <i>Shanghai post</i> ].	1934.07.07 (p.5)
沈起予 Shen Qiyu	我譯「歐洲文學發達史」--論「重譯及其他」的反應 Wo yi <i>Ouzhou wenxue fadashi</i> – lun 'chongyi ji qita' de fanying [my translation of <i>the development of European literature</i> – On responding 'relay translation and others'].	申報自由談 <i>Shen bao ziyoutan</i> ['free talk' in <i>Shanghai post</i> ].	1934.07.17 (p.4)

### Others

u.s.	佛航先生譯米來特詩正誤 Fo Hang xiansheng yi Milaite shi zhengwu [the rights and wrongs in Mr. Fo Hang's translation of Meredith's poems]	民國日報 覺悟 <i>Minguo ribao – juewu</i> ['awakening' in <i>Republic daily</i> ]	1921.08.15 (p.1)
竹林 Zhu Lin	為蘇曼殊先生辯白 Wei Su Manshu xiansheng bianbai [defending Mr. Su Manshu]	民國日報 覺悟 <i>Minguo ribao – juewu</i> ['awakening' in <i>Republic daily</i> ]	1921.10.27 (p.4)
張靜廬	關於「悲慘世界」著者的爭辨 Guanyu 'Beican shijie' zhuzhe de zhengbian	民國日報 覺悟 <i>Minguo ribao –</i>	1921.10.30 (p.4)

Zhang Jinglu	[debates on the author of ‘Beican shijie’]	<i>juewu</i> [‘awakening’ in <i>Republic daily</i> ]	
我一 Wo Yi	對於「悲慘世界」的幾句話 Duiyu ‘Beican shijie’ de jijuhua [a few words on ‘Beican shijie’]	民國日報 覺悟 <i>Minguo ribao – juewu</i> [‘awakening’ in <i>Republic daily</i> ]	1921.11.01 (p.4)
錢玄同 Qian Xuantong	關於「悲慘世界」來歷的兩封信 Guanyu ‘Beican shijie’ laili de liangfeng xin [two letters on the origin of ‘Bei can shi jie’]	民國日報 覺悟 <i>Minguo ribao – juewu</i> [‘awakening’ in <i>Republic daily</i> ]	1921.11.07 (pp.3-4)
仲密 Zhong Mi	致竹林先生書 Zhi Zhu Lin xiansheng shu [a letter to Mr. Zhu Lin]	民國日報 覺悟 <i>Minguo ribao – juewu</i> [‘awakening’ in <i>Republic daily</i> ]	1921.11.07 (p.4)
張靜廬 Zhang Jinglu	關於「悲慘世界」和「章太炎白話文」的說明 Guanyu ‘Beican shijie’ he ‘Zhang Taiyan baihuawen’ de shuoming [clarification on ‘Beican shijie’ and ‘Zhang Taiyan’s vernacular language’]	民國日報 覺悟 <i>Minguo ribao – juewu</i> [‘awakening’ in <i>Republic daily</i> ]	1921.11.08 (p.4)
胡寄塵 Hu Jichen.	關於「悲慘世界」的胡寄塵底信 Guanyu ‘Beican shijie’ de Hu Jichen de xin [Hu Jichen’s letter about ‘Beican shijie’].	民國日報 覺悟 <i>Minguo ribao – juewu</i> [‘awakening’ in <i>Republic daily</i> ]	1921.11.08 (p.4)
郭沫若 Guo Moruo	批判意門湖譯本及其他 pipang <i>Yimenhu</i> yiben ji qita [criticizing the translation of <i>Immensee</i> and others]	創造季刊 1:2 <i>Chuangzao jikan</i> [creation quarterly]	1922. (pp.23-36)
柏生 Bo Sheng	有意的與無意的重譯 Youyide yu wuyide chongyi [intentional and unintentional re-translations]	晨報副鑄 <i>Chenbao fujian</i> [supplement of <i>Morning post</i> ].	1923.06.04 (p.4)
成仿吾 Cheng Fangwu	喜劇與手勢戲—讀張東蓀譯的「物質與記憶」— xiju yu shoushixi – du Zhang Dongsun yi de ‘Wuzhi yu jiyi’ [comedy and pantomime – reading Zhang Dongsun’s translation of ‘Matter and Memory’]	創造季刊 2:1 <i>Chuangzao jikan</i> [creation quarterly]	1923.08 (pp.21-32)

梁宗岱 Liang Zongdai	雜感 zagan [random thoughts]	文學 <i>Wenxue</i> [literature]	1923.08 (pp.3-4)
譚祥烈 Tan Xianglie	徐志摩的妙論 Xu Zhimo de miaolun [a witty argument of Xu Zhimo]	民國日報 覺悟 <i>Minguo ribao – juewu</i> [‘awakening’ in <i>Republic daily</i> ]	1924.06.03 (p.7)
天心 Tian Xin	相見於不見中 Xiangjian yu bujian zhong [Present in absence]	晨報副鑄 <i>Chenbao fujian</i> [supplement of <i>Morning post</i> ].	1924.12.08 (p.4)
若明 Ruo Ming	評天心君譯底相見於不見中 Ping Tian Xin jun yi de ‘Xiangjian yu bujian zhong’ [comments on Tian Xin’s translation of ‘Present in Absence’]	晨報副鑄 <i>Chenbao fujian</i> [supplement of <i>Morning post</i> ].	1924.12.13 (pp.3-4)
開明 Kai Ming	相見於不見中的閒話 ‘Xiangjian yu bujian zhong’ de xianhua [gossips about ‘Present in Absence’]	晨報副鑄 <i>Chenbao fujian</i> [supplement of <i>Morning post</i> ].	1924.12.18 (p.3)
天心 Tian Xin	答「評天心君譯的相見於不見中」Da ‘ping Tian Xin jun yi de “Xiangjian yu bujian zhong”’ [reply to ‘Comments on Tian Xin’s translation of “Present in Absence”’]	晨報副鑄 <i>Chenbao fujian</i> [supplement of <i>Morning post</i> ].	1924.12.21 (p.4)
江紹原 Jiang Shaoyuan	「難譯≠必譯不好」評莎翁傑作集第一種哈孟雷特 ‘Nanyi≠bi yibuhao’ ping Shaweng jiezuoji diyizhong <i>Hamengleite</i> [‘difficult to translation≠cannot be translated well’. Comment on the first piece in the anthology of Shakespeare’s masterpiece <i>Hamlet</i> ]	現代評論 1:24 <i>Xiandai pinglun</i> [modern critics]	1925 (pp.14-15)
田漢 Tian Han	論翻譯答江紹原先生(on Shakespeare) Lun fanyi da Jiang Shaoyuan xiansheng (on Shakespeare) [on translation, reply to Mr. Jiang Shaoyuan]	現代評論 2:30 <i>Xiandai pinglun</i> [modern critics]	1925 (pp.17-19)
朱家驊 Zhu Jiahua	關於一個譯詩問題的批評 Guanyu yige yishi wenti de piping [about a criticism on the problem of translating poems]	現代評論 2:43 <i>Xiandai pinglun</i> [modern critics]	1925 (pp.19-20)



閑閑 Xian Xian	創作的翻譯 Chuangzuo de fanyi [Creative translation]	現代評論 2:43 <i>Xiandai pinglun</i> [modern critics]	1925 (pp.20-21)
語堂 Yutang	譯莪默五首 Yi Emo wushou [translating five poems of Omar Khayyam]	語絲 66 <i>Yusi</i> [thread talk]	1926 (pp.2-3)
采真 Cai Zhen	對於譯莪默詩底商榷 duiyu yi Emo shi de shangque [a discussion on the translation of Omar Khayyam's poems]	語絲 68 <i>Yusi</i> [thread talk]	1926 (pp.7-8)
語堂 Yutang	答 da [reply]	語絲 68 <i>Yusi</i> [thread talk]	1926 (p.8)
劉復 Liu Fu	莪默詩八首 Emo shi bashou [eight poems of Omar Khayyam]	語絲 76 <i>Yusi</i> [thread talk]	1926 (pp.3-4)
彭基相 Peng Jixiang	漢譯韋氏大學字典 Han yi Weishi daxue zidian [Chinese translation of the Webster University Dictionary]	語絲 76 <i>Yusi</i> [thread talk]	1926 (pp.7-8)
傅東華 Fu Donghua	關於參情夢的繙譯 guanyu <i>Canqingmeng</i> de fanyi [on the translation of <i>the Pierrot of the Minute</i> ]	文學週報 221 <i>Wenxue zhoubao</i> [literature weekly]	1926 (pp.418-419)
霽秋 Ji Qiu.	關於譯來函 Guanyu fanyi laiwan [About a letter on translation].	晨報副鐫 1391 <i>Chenbao fujian</i> [supplement of <i>Morning post</i> ].	1926.05.16(p.36)
劉復 Liu Fu	「茶花女」第一幕第八場的飲酒歌 <i>Chahuanü</i> diyimu dibachang de yinjiuge [the drinking song in scene 8 in <i>La Dame aux camelias</i> ]	語絲 83 <i>Yusi</i> [thread talk]	1926 (pp.1-2)
劉復 Liu Fu	譯「茶花女」劇本序 yi <i>Chahuanü</i> juben xu [the preface to the translation of the play <i>La Dame aux camelias</i> ]	語絲 88 <i>Yusi</i> [thread talk]	1926 (pp.1-2)
楊禧 Yang Xi.	讀了關於炭畫以後的感想 Dule 'guanyu <i>Tanhua</i> ' yi ou de ganxiang [reflection after reading 'on <i>Tanhua</i> ' ( <i>Szkice węglem ; Sketches in Charcoal</i> )].	語絲 90 <i>Yusi</i> [thread talk]	1926 (pp.14-16)
徐場本 Xu Yangben	關於茶花女譯本的校勘 Guanyu <i>Chahuanü</i> yiben de jiaokan [About the editing of the translation of <i>La Dame aux camelias</i> ]	語絲 99 <i>Yusi</i> [thread talk]	1926 (pp.15-16)

劉復 Liu Fu	答 da [reply]	語絲 99 <i>Yusi</i> [thread talk]	1926 (p.16)
衣萍 Yi Ping	校對之難 Jiaodui zhi nan [the difficulty of proof-reading]	語絲 123 <i>Yusi</i> [thread talk]	1927 (pp.19-20)
劉英士 Liu Yingshi	帝國主義與文化 Diguo zhuyi yu wenhua [imperialism and culture]	新月 2:2 <i>Xinyue</i> [crescent moon]	1929 (pp.1-5)
楊騷 Yang Sao	狂吠與批評 – 答芻尼 Kuangfei yu piping – da Chu Ni [a furious bark and criticism – a reply to Chu Ni]	語絲 5:28 <i>Yusi</i> [thread talk]	1929 (pp.30-37)
周伯涵 Zhou Bohan.	讀林譯「西部前線平靜無事」以後 Du Lin yi <i>Xibu qianxian pingjing wushi</i> yihou [after reading Lin's translation of <i>Im Western nichts Neues</i> (all quiet on the western front)].	語絲 5:37 <i>Yusi</i> [thread talk]	1929 (pp.33-45)
乖乖 Guai Guai	讀曾家父子合譯的肉與死 Du Zengjia fuzi heyi de <i>Rou yu si</i> [reading the translation of <i>Aphrodite</i> by Zeng and his son].	語絲 5:44 <i>Yusi</i> [thread talk]	1930 (pp.39-48)
傅東華 Fu Donghua.	關於失樂園的翻譯—答梁實秋的批評—Guanyu <i>Shileyuan</i> de fanyi – da Liang Shiqiu de piping [on the translation of <i>Paradise Lost</i> – a reply to Liang Shiqiu's criticism].	文學 1:5 <i>Wenxue</i> [literature]	1933 (pp.684-693)
馬宗融 Ma Zongrong.	從莫利耶的戲劇說到五種中文譯本 Cong Moliye de xiju shuodao wuzhong zhongwen yiben [from Molière's drama to five Chinese translations].	文學 3:5 <i>Wenxue</i> [literature]	1934 (pp.1066-1073)
王了一 Wang Liaoyi	關於「娜娜」與「屠槌」的譯文 Guanyu <i>Nana yu Tuchui</i> de yiwen [On the translation of <i>Nana</i> and <i>Tuchui</i> ].	文學 3:5 <i>Wenxue</i> [literature]	1934 (pp.1091-1092)
馬宗融 Ma Zongrong.	答王了一 Da Wang Liaoyi [reply to Wang Liaoyi]	文學 3:5 <i>Wenxue</i> [literature]	1934 (pp.1092-1093)

梁宗岱 Liang Zongdai.	關於「可笑的上流女人」及其他 Guanyu 'Kexiao de shangliu nüren' ji qita [On 'the laughable upper-class women' and others].	文學 4:1 <i>Wenxue</i> [literature]	1935 (pp.192-194)
馬宗融 Ma Zongrong.	答梁宗岱 Da Liang Zongdai [reply to Liang Zongdai]	文學 4:1 <i>Wenxue</i> [literature]	1935 (pp.194-196)
梁宗岱 Liang Zongdai.	再論「可笑的上流女人」及其他 Zailun 'Kexiao de shangliu nüren' ji qita [Again on 'the laughable upper-class women' and others].	文學 4:2 <i>Wenxue</i> [literature]	1935 (pp.407-409)
馬宗融 Ma Zongrong	答梁宗岱 Da Liang Zongdai [reply to Liang Zongdai].	文學 4:2 <i>Wenxue</i> [literature]	1935 (pp.410-412)
編者 Editor	「屠槌」再版改爲「酒窟」 <i>Tuchui</i> zaiban gaiwei <i>Jiuku</i> [ <i>Tu chui</i> renamed as <i>Jiuku</i> in the revised edition].	文學 5:1 <i>Wenxue</i> [literature]	1935 (p.8)
楊若 Ti Ruo	讀「小婦人」—對於翻譯方法的商榷 Du 'xiaofuren' – duiyu fanyi fangfa de shangque [reading 'little women' – deliberating on translation methods]	文學 5:3 <i>Wenxue</i> [literature]	1935 (pp.551-557)
孟林 Meng Lin	咀呪翻譯聲中的「譯文」Juzhou fanyi sheng zhong de <i>Yiwen</i> [ <i>Translations</i> in the curses on translation]	文學 5:4 <i>Wenxue</i> [literature]	1935 (pp.746-756)
趙景深 Zhao Jingshen	關於譯文裏的柴霍甫 Guanyu yiwenli de Chaihuofu [about the Rothschild in translation]	文學 5:5 <i>Wenxue</i> [literature]	1935 (pp.921-922)
黎烈文 Li Liewen	附錄: 錯譯在「光明」不在「譯文」Fulu: cuoyi zai <i>Guangming</i> buzai <i>Yiwen</i> [appendix: it is the mistakes of <i>Guang ming</i> , not <i>Yi wen</i> ].	譯文 新 2:1 <i>Yiwen, xin</i> [translations, new ed.]	1936 (pp.402-404)
孫用 Sun Yong	校正自己的譯文 Jiaozheng ziji de yiwen [to correct my own translation]	譯文 新 2:5 <i>Yiwen, xin</i> [translations, new ed.]	1937 (pp.1074-1080)

孫用 Sun Yong	「甲必丹之女」校讀記 Jiabidan zhi nü' jiaoduji [proofreading 'the captain's daughter']	譯文 新 2:6 <i>Yiwen, xin</i> [translations, new ed.]	1937 (pp.1393-1405)
蔚明 Wei Ming	關於普式庚的翻譯—幾筆隨感 Guanyu Pushigeng de fanyi – jibi suigan [on translations of Pushkin – a few thoughts]	譯文 新 3:3 <i>Yiwen, xin</i> [translations, new ed.]	1937 (pp.510-521)
金人 Jin Ren	略談「靜靜的頓河」第二冊的譯文 Lüetan 'Jingjing de DunHe' di'erce de yiwen [a brief discussion on the second volume of the translation 'And quiet flows the Don'].	譯文 新 3:4 <i>Yiwen, xin</i> [translations, new ed.]	1937 (pp.643-656)

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