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編譯論叢

Compilation and Translation Review

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研究論文

- | | |
|-----|---|
| 1 | 重塑女子典範：晚清女傳教士倪戈氏的《女四書》翻譯
鄧媛媛 |
| 33 | 忠實之外：日譯《古都》的章節重構
廖詩文 |
| 53 | 世界中的臺灣：三毛《撒哈拉的故事》的翻譯研究
謝琬湏 |
| 83 | 期刊中的書評與翻譯：以 1950 年代初期《今日世界》為例
李波 劉美隆 |
| 123 | 從文字到銀幕：林海音《城南舊事》與吳貽弓電影改編之比較分析
張梵 |
| 155 | 培養體裁意識與翻譯決策能力：以協作翻譯專案為例
葉純純 |
| 189 | 臺語中之不可譯項：AI 翻譯中語意流失的語料庫研究
張介英 |

Compilation and Translation Review

Volume 19 Number 2

First Issue: September 2008

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Studies

- | | |
|-----|--|
| 1 | Reshaping Female Model: Missionary Helen C. Nevius's Translation of <i>Woman's Four Books</i>
Yuanyuan Deng |
| 33 | Beyond Fidelity: Chapter Reordering in the Japanese <i>Old Capital</i>
Shihwen Liao |
| 53 | Worlding Taiwan: A Translation Study on Sanmao's <i>Stories of the Sahara</i>
Wan-Chen Hsieh |
| 83 | Book Reviews of/and Translation in Periodicals: With Reference to <i>World Today</i> During the Early 1950s
Bo Li Meilong Liu |
| 123 | From Text to Screen: Lin Haiyin's <i>Chengnan Jiushi</i> and Its Cinematic Adaptation
Albert L. Chang |
| 155 | Developing Genre Awareness and Translation Decision-Making Through a Collaborative Translation Project
Chun-Chun Yeh |
| 189 | Untranslatables in Taiwanese: A Corpus-Based Study of Semantic Leakage in AI Translations
Vincent Chieh-Ying Chang |

重塑女子典範：晚清女傳教士 倪戈氏的《女四書》翻譯

鄧媛媛

晚清以降，有關女性的觀念、話語隨著中國社會的變遷而不斷演變。來華女傳教士不但是這段歷史的見證者，更是借助興辦女學、組織慈善及翻譯寫著等途徑親身參與到近代中國女子典範的重塑。在進行婦女工作的過程中，女傳教士們注意到中國傳統女教書的重要作用，因其天然的教科書屬性，可以在確立行為規範的同時傳播某種意識形態，故投身於女教書的寫譯。本文以 1902 年女傳教士倪戈氏（Helen C. Nevius）對中國經典訓女書《女四書》的語內翻譯為研究對象，透過具體史料及文本分析，探討翻譯文本的選擇動機及其功能，並具體分析在語內翻譯的過程中儒家女性觀和基督教女性觀是如何協商，而倪戈氏最終是如何透過融合兩種女性觀，從而強化基督教文化在中國落地生根的可能性。

關鍵詞：倪戈氏、女傳教士翻譯、女教書、語內翻譯

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Reshaping Female Model: Missionary Helen C. Nevius's Translation of *Woman's Four Books*

Yuanyuan Deng

The discourse and ideas about women have been continuously evolving alongside the transformation of Chinese society since the late Qing Dynasty. Western female missionaries who came to China not only witnessed the vicissitudes of this history but also actively participated in the reconstruction of the Chinese woman model by establishing girls' schools, practicing philanthropy, and engaging in literature works. During their works, female missionaries recognized the significance of Chinese conduct books, as these texts convey the underlying ideology as well as prescribed codes of behavior. In response, female missionaries actively engaged in writing and translating conduct books themselves. This study will focus on the intralingual translation of the Chinese classic *The Woman's Four Books* by female missionary Helen C. Nevius. Drawing on historical archives and text analysis, this paper examines the aims and functions behind Nevius's translation. It specifically examines how Confucian and Christian Victorian ideals of womanhood were negotiated during the translation process, and how Nevius strengthened the possibility of Christian culture taking root in China by merging the two ideals of womanhood.

Keywords: Helen C. Nevius, female missionary translation, conduct books for women, intralingual translation

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壹、引言

十九世紀與二十世紀之交，女性問題作為中國社會思想反復破立背景下的重點議題之一，吸引了在華傳教士們的關注。中國男女隔離的封建傳統，使得中國女性的活動範圍局限在閨闈之內，也就鮮少有接觸到基督教的机会。此時，女傳教士的存在便顯得尤為重要：即使林樂知（Young J. Allen）等男傳教士對興辦女學、提升中國女子心智等事業極力宣導、再三呼籲，但具體的實踐工作基本由女傳教士全權負責。與男性傳教士主張的上層路線大相逕庭，女傳教士主要在中下階層的婦女及兒童間開展傳教工作。受教會制度所限，這些女傳教士沒有資格擔任牧師，於是轉而深入慈善、醫療、辦學、文字事工等多個世俗領域，並產生了巨大貢獻。

在興辦女學的過程中，女傳教士注意到女教書在中國女教傳統中的重要作用，作為緘管之作，其帶有天然的教科書屬性，是行為規範的確立與指引，而其最終目的是解釋和普及某種意識形態。為了基督教的傳播，女傳教士們依照著中國傳統女教讀物的樣貌形式仿寫或是改寫。其中最早可考的傳教士訓女書為馬典娘娘撰寫的三字經文體布道讀物《訓女三字經》，於 1832 年在新加坡出版。¹ 該書有比較明顯的拼湊痕跡，部分詞句與內容取自《三字經》和《女兒經》，同時融入了福音故事，相比於中國傳統三字經類讀物的識字功能更突出的是對基督信仰與倫理規訓的融合（司佳，2011，頁 243—252）。廣學會第一任幹事韋廉臣（Alexander Williamson）之妻伊麗莎白（Elizabeth Williamson）及狄考文（Calvin Wilson Mateer）之妻狄文氏（Ada Haven Mateer）也曾編著過此類女教書（狄文氏，1908；季理斐，1909，頁 17）。因以宣揚教義為首要目的，這類由女傳教士出版的訓女書基本為創作或是譯自英文。然而，1902 年女傳教士倪戈氏（Helen Coan Nevius）卻選擇了中國幾世紀以來最受推崇的女教讀物《女四書》進行語內翻譯。

¹ 馬典娘娘即是麥都思夫人（Mrs. Walter Henry Medhurst）的妹妹蘇菲·馬典（Sophie Martin）。

倪戈氏為美國長老會海外傳道部（Presbyterian Board of Foreign Mission）派遣來華的女傳教士，於 1853 年與丈夫倪維斯（John Livingston Nevius）一同來到中國，早年駐寧波教區，後轉駐山東芝罘（現煙臺）差會。倪戈氏漢語水準頗高，在華期間一直致力於教育與文字工作直至 1910 年於芝罘去世，是來華女傳教士中的重要代表性人物。但相比於其丈夫倪維斯，鮮有文獻記載倪戈氏的生平及其文字和教育工作中的成就。² 而關於倪戈氏本《女四書》（以下簡稱倪本），目前僅有瑞恩·鄧奇（Ryan Dunch）的研究中有所涉及。Dunch（2009）認為該書體現了傳教士試圖參與近代中國有關女性美德話題的討論，並將倪本定義為傳統女訓書的基督教版本。該結論有待進一步商榷，因缺乏對文本生產的歷史語境、譯者倪戈氏的生平履歷背景及其翻譯動機的細緻研究，也就無法對倪本的作用進行準確定位。作為以傳福音為要務的傳教士，是什麼原因促使倪戈氏選擇改寫《女四書》這一集儒家傳統女性觀於大成之作，而非按照過往傳教士的慣例進行原創？她的選擇是否代表著倪戈氏本人認同中國傳統儒家女性觀？上述問題需要聯繫文本產生的歷史語境進行回答。

本文將以女傳教士倪本的語內翻譯為個案，結合具體史料及文本分析，探討翻譯文本的選擇及其功能。透過引入純正婦女意識的概念，文章具體分析了在語內翻譯的過程中儒家女性觀和基督教女性觀是如何博弈，而倪戈氏最終是如何重新闡釋與定義中國女性典範的。需要注意的是，晚清時期，無論是傳教士進行的教育活動還是翻譯活動，都並無統一的組織制度及標準，受地域、經濟、文化等因素影響極大，各有其特殊性。本文期望透過探析女傳教士的文字活動，展現政治和文化中心之外的山東農村地區非智識階層女性受教育情況，同時增進我們對早期教會女校教育目的的理解。

² 關於倪戈氏在山東的傳教經歷可參見其自著傳記 C. H. Nevius（1869）、C. H. Nevius（1895）及 Hyatt（1976）。目前僅有少數研究者關注倪戈氏的文字事工，主要涉及對《路童指要》、《將明篇》、《孩童故事》等作品的討論。參見宋莉華（2015）以及黎子鵬（2012）。

貳、經典化與去經典化：《女四書》地位流變

自古以來，中國雖有女教傳統，但由於男子出仕做官，女子不出閨闈之間的社會性別要求，女性教育的普及度和深度遠遠不及男性教育。「男子八歲入小學，女子十年聽姆教」（王相，1887，頁13），大部分女子都是在閨閣內接受母親或是女師的教導，使用的是蘊含著女性道德行為訓導的經文讀本。在經過長達幾世紀的閱讀、注釋與改寫後，這類女教文本被經典化，擁有了超然的地位與影響力。晚清時期的女教讀物林林總總，數量可觀，除西漢劉向所著的《列女傳》外，要數《女四書》的影響最大。明末，王相將東漢班昭所作的《女誡》，明仁孝文皇后所作的《內訓》，唐宋若莘所著、其妹宋若昭考訂的《女論語》及其母王節婦劉氏所作的《女範捷錄》四部書編纂加注，合訂為《女四書》。在《女四書》輯成合刻前，宮廷與民間並無統一使用的女教文本，可以說《女四書》的出現彌補了這一空缺，同時標誌著古代女子教育的系統化、成熟化（高世瑜，2003，頁151）。從明末至民國，《女四書》共有奎壁齋《女四書集注》本、崇德書院《校訂女四書集注》本兩個系統十餘種版本刊行，印數龐大，甚至在日本、韓國和朝鮮等地影響深遠（雷亞倩、李志生，2020，頁69）。陳東原（2015）曾感歎《女四書》「流毒所及」，「一直到近代，幾乎每一個讀書的女子，啟蒙時都曾讀過」（頁214），可見《女四書》在明清時期女子中的高普及度。

而隨著《女四書》的廣泛使用與流通，《女四書》及其作者也進一步被神聖化。不同於《列女傳》、《新婦譜》等女教文本，《女四書》的特殊性在於四部書皆由女性寫就。囿於客觀社會制度與學識所限，婦女書寫歷來談不上普遍。除出身於名門貴族，或是生活在江南等富庶地區接受過閨塾教育的女子外，普通中下層女性並無書寫的能力，遑論書寫的習慣。因此，女性書寫可以說是特權階級的一種象徵，也是儒家士大夫文化的體現（Ko, 1994, p. 17）。《女四書》的四位作者或是出身富貴儒士之家，或是其後受人賞識，地位顯赫：班昭「博學高才」，恪守婦道，被數次召入宮中教導皇后及後宮

妃嬪，「號曰大家」，後更是被稱為「聖人」（范曄，1965，頁 2784），其所作的《女誡》是歷史上唯一一部被內閣首輔加注的女教讀物；《女論語》的作者宋氏姐妹因才學斐然被德宗賞識，引入宮廷，教授六宮，執掌文簿，《女論語》雖在唐宋時期並未取得同《女誡》一般的地位，但陳東原（2015）認為《女論語》所列節目比班昭《女誡》詳盡切實，因此宋氏姐妹為繼班昭以後的第一個女聖人（頁 92）；仁孝徐皇后則自小受名儒教誨，文采品德出眾，因此受高皇后之教，採古聖先賢關於女子品德的教誨，編成《內訓》以教宮闈；王相之母劉氏雖無詳細事蹟記載，但也出身於江寧富庶地區的書香世家，自幼便擅於文章辭藻，嫁入瑯琊望族王氏後，為夫守節 60 年，以其道德出眾而受旌表，滿門榮耀（王劉氏，1990，頁 172）。³從上述記載來看，文本的推廣與流傳與四位作者顯赫的身份背景脫不開關係，過人的才識與道德上的無暇更讓她們成為女性典範本身，從而擁有了女教聖人的地位。

然而待戊戌變法後，世人對《女四書》的解讀和評價已發生翻天覆地的變化，《女四書》和四位「女聖人」已不再是無法動搖的典範。儘管保守者仍然選擇捍衛傳統儒家女性觀念，但不少文人知識分子已然調轉口風，對《女四書》大肆批駁。時任愛國女校倫理教習的葉浩吾認為中國人最大的劣根性有二，一為幼稚性，二為卑屈性，皆是因儒家對君父之權的偏重造成。而「中國之《女誡》、《女四書》，即教成女子倚賴幼稚、卑屈之男子之法之教科書也」（葉浩吾，1904，頁 560），毀壞中國女子人格。而對於著書的女聖人們，清人的態度總體比較矛盾，一方面感慨歷史上鮮見有才學的女性，班昭等人實屬難得，另一方面卻又痛惡《女誡》等書殘留孔教的舊毒素，奉行的仍是男尊女卑的規則。其中，作為女權主義先驅，何震評價班昭儘管學問「冠絕古今」，然教誨「名曰禮教，實則羞辱而已；名曰義理，實則無恥而已」，更是稱其為「惑於儒家之邪說，自戕同類」，背刺女性，作男子

³ 《女范捷錄》書前有劉氏小傳：「先慈劉氏江甯人。幼善屬文，先嚴集敬公之元配也。三十而先嚴卒，苦節六十年，壽九十歲。南宗伯王光復，大中丞鄭潛庵兩先生，皆旌其門。所著有《古今女鑒》，及《女範捷錄》行世」（王劉氏，1990，頁 172）。

奴隸的大「賊」（何震，2016，頁 67）。1906 年，務本女學堂學生張昭漢秉持著男女平等之說寫就《班昭論》，痛批《女誡》的「卑弱」、「下人」之謬說，教唆女子自暴自棄（張昭漢，1907，頁 113）。自此，《女誡》在知識分子口中從經典淪為罪書。舊的典範受人唾棄，建立新的榜樣成為當務之急，從此西方女傑紛紛登場，批茶女士、羅蘭夫人等西洋女士名噪一時。晚清來華女傳教士均來自「文明」的歐美國家，基本接受過高等教育，更是高呼要解救中國姊妹還其自由，似乎具備了一切先進女性應有的特質，難道她們不正是晚清文人尋找的西方女性典範嗎？然而事實卻是女傳教士並未被知識分子廣泛接納，且在這一歷史節點上，看似「先進」的女傳教士與他們背道而馳：倪戈氏並未引進西方女性傳記等讀物，反而選擇了中國本土傳統女教經典進行改寫。

參、中國女教之範本：晚清傳教士看《女四書》

在華開展女子教育工作後，傳教士們很快意識到了《女四書》地位之重要。1877 年來華新教傳教士第一次全國傳教士大會上，高第丕夫人（Martha Crawford）提出了幾個有關中國婦女工作的問題，其中一點便是對教會對中國女子教育缺乏統一標準的擔憂（Yates, 1878, p. 148）。著名傳教士與漢學家艾約瑟（Joseph Edkins）回應，他在北平的書店尋找適合教導女子的書籍時發現了《女四書》，他認為這四部書就是中國人眼中女教的恰當標準，其中《女誡》、《女論語》提供了不少道德上的規訓，而《內訓》篇幅最長且教導的內容最完備（Yates, 1878, p. 158）。由在華新教差會聯合創辦，且出版持續最長的刊物《教務雜誌》（*The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*）也曾多次登載有關《女四書》的文章。1889 年，潘慎文（Alvin P. Parker）之妻潘雅麗（Mrs. Alice S. Parker）在雜誌上發表了《女論語》的全篇英譯（Parker, 1889, p. 150）。1893 年，編輯部又刊登了一篇題為〈中國女性〉（“The Women of China”）的文章，以王相之母劉節婦及班昭作為中國有

才學之女性代表，旨在說明母教的重要性（F. I. W. V., 1893, p. 115）。⁴ 作為一份英文雜誌，《教務雜誌》的創辦初衷是為了「加強在異教之地進行傳道工作的教友之間的聯繫」（“Introductory,” 1874, p. 2），以便更好地熟悉中國的狀況。這樣一種「面向傳教士自身」（陶飛亞，2007，頁 254）的刊物，體現出了傳教士們對《女四書》作為中國傳統女教書的代表性地位是普遍認可與重視的。在這一前提下，倪戈氏對《女四書》的改寫也就絕非偶然的選擇。倪戈氏於 1833 年出生於紐約塞尼加縣（Seneca County），曾就讀於紐約奧維德學院（Ovid Academy）和安大略女子學校（Ontario Female Seminary）。1853 年 6 月 15 日與倪維斯結婚後，同年夫妻二人於九月受美國長老會海外傳道部派遣，從波士頓（Boston）動身前往中國，1854 年 3 月取道上海，兩周後最終抵達寧波傳教站。倪戈氏夫婦駐寧波傳道站為期四年，期間倪維斯專注於外出巡迴佈道，而倪戈氏主要負責當地婦女及兒童工作。但因倪戈氏不耐寧波的炎熱氣候，身體狀況持續惡化，倪戈氏夫婦於 1861 年轉入登州傳道站，是長老會派遣到山東的最早一批傳教士。轉年，夫婦二人創辦了長老會在山東的第一所教會學校，也是第一所女子學校，即登州女子學堂（Tengchow Girl's Boarding School）。遺憾的是，在登州期間倪戈氏的健康並未見好轉，1864 年，倪戈氏夫婦決定返美休養。1871 年，倪戈氏夫婦時隔五年再度來華，駐紮山東芝罘差會直至分別於 1893 年及 1910 年離世。

縱觀倪戈氏在華的 52 年，可謂經歷豐富，其不但負責多所教會女校和婦女工業學校的管理工作，⁵ 向當地女眷登門佈道外，還堅持進行文字事工，翻譯、創作的文本數量之眾，「至少有男性傳教士能超過」（Memorial Missionary Meeting at the Tenth Church, 1910, p. 22）。尤其到了晚年，除主持芝罘三所女校外，倪戈氏的工作重心基本全放在文字工作上（Woman's

⁴ 潘雅麗於 1878 年受美國監理會傳教士派遣來華，駐蘇州差會，同年與潘慎文結婚。潘雅麗創建了蘇城第一女學堂，於蘇滬等地經管管理多所教會學校，並編譯《動物學新編》、《五大洲圖說》、《訓蒙地理志》等多部教科書。

⁵ 倪戈氏稱之為「鍼線會」（Needles and Thread Club）。貧困婦女被倪戈氏召集起來，有償進行縫紉、紡織工作，與此同時接受基督教知識（C. H. Nevius, 1895, p. 298）。

Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church, 1904, p. 265)。總體來說，教育和文字工作是其耕耘最深的兩個領域，而這二者之間又可以說是相輔相成，不少作品都起初是為輔助教學工作而準備，後因極具實用性而被逐漸推廣到其他官話地區（Dickie, n.d., p. 7）。譬如《耶穌教問答》一書就曾翻版數次，李提摩太（Timothy Richard）評價該書是新教傳教士來華後所寫除米憐（William Milne）的《張遠兩友相論》外另一極有影響力的佈道文本，延用幾十年之久，稱得上為傳教事業作出了極大貢獻（Corbett, 1910, p. 22）。

筆者發現的倪本現藏於澳大利亞國立圖書館（National Library of Australia），於1902年由美華書館出版，白紙印刷，每本售價洋錢一角。扉頁寫明由「倪戈氏重訂」，書前有「光緒丙子初夏潘遵祁女四書序」，並「萬曆八年庚辰春三月張居正提神宗皇帝禦制女誡序」（倪戈氏，1902，頁1—3），且四部書每部前均有原序及倪戈氏作小序各一。此外，該圖書館還藏有倪戈氏本人使用的兩版《女四書》（Dunch, 2009, p. 91），其一為光緒丁丑刊於蘇州崇德書院的《校訂女卯書箋注》（以下簡稱《箋注》），《箋注》本為清末潘遵祁因存本「無如翻刻醜陋，增損失真，僅供村塾師口授」⁶（王相，1877，頁1），擔憂詩禮之家不忍卒讀，根據坊間存有的王相本《女四書集注》重新校訂，交付蘇州崇德書院進行刊刻（王相，1877，序）；其二為光緒丁亥年秋六月上海左江書林藏版《狀元閣女四書》（以下簡稱《狀元閣》），是由李光明莊書局承襲崇德書院《箋注》本進行重刻的又一版本。⁷倪戈氏本人所藏的《狀元閣女四書》由左江書林書肆刻印。經比對，《箋注》本與《狀元閣》本前序及書中批註改動處與倪本《女四書》一致，基本可以確定為倪戈氏使用的底本。

⁶ 潘遵祁，字順之，號西璞，蘇州吳縣人。道光25年（1845年）進士，官至翰林院編修。後因無心仕途企歸，隱鄧尉，築香雪草堂，著有《西園集》十卷。

⁷ 除將《箋注》本中潘遵祁的序改為跋外，《狀元閣》本整體改動不大，為清代最流行的《女四書》版本，被多家書肆覆刻（雷亞倩、李志生，2020，頁67）。本文主要使用《狀元閣》本進行文本對照。

《教務雜誌》曾於 1903 年刊載一則對倪本《女四書》的書評，其作者伊愛德（Mrs. Ida J. Emerick Wight）⁸與倪戈氏同屬美國長老會東山東差會，主要負責主持登州文會女校（Tengchowfu Girl's Boarding School）的工作。⁹伊愛德開篇即點明倪本提供的是一種道德準則（moral code），並認為該書內容全備，提供了女性生活中一切相關事務的準則，再次確認了倪本《女四書》的教科書性質。伊氏列舉出倪本的種種優點：教誨明晰，訓誡懇切，細節詳盡，相比之下女校使用的其他訓女書或是不夠明白，或是缺乏例子指引。她尤其強調《女四書》範例充足且來源廣泛，這一點非學生自己私下閱讀能所及，並且在一定程度上劃定了女性典範的範圍（Wight, 1903, p. 360）。作為倪戈氏的同工，伊愛德的觀點具有一定代表性。其書評或可以佐證，至少在長老會山東差會所辦的女校內部，倪本具有一定認可度及使用的廣泛性，甚至可能遍及北京、天津等北方官話地區，供其它長老會所辦的教會女校使用。

肆、為何而譯：倪本《女四書》的翻譯動機

倪戈氏因擔憂夫婦二人在華譯著的 30 餘種書「耗盡十年之心血」而散佚，「待至世遠年湮、將不知出自誰氏之手」（倪戈氏，1907，頁 1），於是親自編寫《書目冊》（*A Descriptive Catalogue of Books & Tracts by Dr. and Mrs. Nevius*）中英雙語各一版，收錄了兩人自 1853 年來華後所有翻譯及創作。倪戈氏將其「按次列目」，每部作品皆配有簡介一則，「頗為詳明」（倪戈氏，1907，頁 1）。在《書目冊》中，倪戈氏談到，她是在教會女校本地中國老師的極力推薦下，同意將原版《女四書》引進到女校。該書使用許久，待到倪戈氏仔細審閱才發現其中有違基督教教義的內容甚多，包括一夫多妻、自殺、行祭禮等種種異教元素。倪戈氏戲稱原本《女四書》除了基督教眼中邪

⁸ 即 Mrs Calvin Wight，亦稱懷師母。1898 年與懷卡文結婚後脫離內地會，隨丈夫加入美長老會，駐濟南傳道。1899 年懷卡文病故，義和團運動爆發。伊愛德於 1901 年轉入登州差會。

⁹ 登州女子寄宿學校於 1864 年由 Mills 夫婦創辦，隨後先後由狄邦就烈的姐姐 Mrs. E.P. Capp（即狄邦就烈的姐姐 Ms. Brown）和 Mrs. J. B.Neal、Mrs. Calvin Wight 接管。詳情參考 Corbett（1914）。

教異端摩門教的大本營鹽湖城，其他地方都不適用（C. H. Nevius, 1907, pp. 35-36）。¹⁰ 結合《書目冊》中倪本《女四書》的中英兩版簡介，我們可以推測出倪戈氏的翻譯動機如下。

其一，王相本就是出於對女子讀不懂高深文字的擔憂，才為《女四書》中的字詞與歷史典故等作了詳盡的注解，但倪戈氏仍評價其「文理深厚，恐婦女少能領略」（倪戈氏，1907，頁 27）。1877 年傳教士大會上，艾約瑟曾指出女傳教士的文字工作不應局限於白話文，且不必須只教授孤貧出身的學生（Yates, 1878, p. 159）。然而事與願違，直到清政府官辦學校建立前夕，大部分教會學校接收的學生仍出身中下階層貧寒之家。教會學校教授的科目雖涵括四書五經等典籍，但學生很難有扎實的舊學功底。對於山東長老會鄉村地區的女校學生來說，典故頗多的原版《女四書》顯然超出其知識水平，因此「淺其詞」成為要務（倪戈氏，1907，頁 27）。

其二，倪戈氏發現《女四書》原文本中「有真道不合之理，如多娶妻妾者為盛事，盡節捐生為美談，以及拜偶像祀先，為報本反始之至義」（倪戈氏，1907，頁 27）。英文版簡介中也以文王百子的故事為例，批判《女四書》中一夫多妻制等內容（C. H. Nevius, 1907, p. 36）。根據婦女傳道會 1903 年的報告所述，「（《女四書》）其中所有錯誤的教誨已經被拔除，現在作為一本女校教科書使用」（Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, 1903, p. 19）。文中使用「拔除」（expunge）一詞，表明倪本是對異教元素徹底的消滅，因此受到教會所推崇。後文將對此詳加分析。

其三，《女四書》中雖有諸多不合聖道之處，但不妨礙其「原書詞意俱佳，訓誨寶貴」（倪戈氏，1907，頁 27），其中更是蘊含著「女性日常生活最美的訓導」（most beautiful teaching for the daily life of women）（C. H. Nevius, 1907, p. 36）。倪戈氏認為除應刪去的部分，「這本數百年前出自幾位作者之

¹⁰ 鹽湖城（Salt Lake City）位於美國猶他州（Utah）北部，摩門教（Mormon）自 1847 年 7 月 24 日起將總部設立於此地。摩門教，全稱為耶穌基督後期聖徒教會（The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints）。因其將《摩爾門經》（*The Book of Mormon*）和《舊約》及《新約》並立為立教之根本，動搖了基督教的《聖經》根本，因此其他教派都不承認摩門教是基督教的一員，摩門教教義中一夫多妻制等教條更是受基督徒批判與抵制。

手的書，如今依然有趣且富有啟發性，非常適合當今的教會學校使用」（C. H. Nevius, 1907, p. 36）。由此可見，倪戈氏總體上肯定《女四書》作為女子訓導書的價值，有進行語內翻譯的必要性。

除《書目冊》中寫明的因素外，還有更深層次的翻譯動機隱藏在文本背後。首先，作品的地域局限性及受眾的接受程度促使倪戈氏進行語內翻譯，而非創作。作為「孔孟之鄉」，山東是狄考文口中中國政治和宗教的發源地，儒家氛圍濃厚（Fisher, 1911, pp. 111-112）。芝罘雖屬第二批開放的口岸之一，但受地理位置所限，民眾的教育普及度要遠遠低於上海、廣州等南方口岸城市。依靠興盛的中外貿易往來，幾個南方口岸城市思想及文化氛圍也更為開通，然而山東大部分地區與西方的接觸僅來自於傳教士。且山東長老會所辦的教會學校基本建在農村地區，所面臨的文化環境愈加封閉保守。據倪維斯在山東多年的觀察，農村的識字率甚至還要遠低於中國整體識字率，大概 20 個男性中只有一個可以讀，而女性中幾千個人裡才有一個識字的（J. L. Nevius, 1886, p. 42）。對於女校的存在，大多數父母都抱有懷疑：「女孩子有讀書的頭腦嗎？有誰曾經聽說過專門給女孩辦的學校？即使女孩子能學會讀和寫，又有什麼益處呢？」（Corbett, 1914, p. 13）。倪戈氏曾描述一個中國男子站在小土堆上，遠遠地監視著她的學校，「要看看我到底在做什麼可疑的勾當」（C. H. Nevius, 1895, p. 244）。在這樣的情境下，倪戈氏意識到「外國人著譯的書籍比較容易激起中國人的種族偏見」（C. H. Nevius, 1907, p. 36），對中國傳統典籍進行重訂不失為一個絕佳的選擇。此外，長老會在山東創辦女子學堂的初衷，實際是出於擔憂教會學校畢業的男子娶不信基督教的異教女性為妻，脫離教會，因而需要培養教會女學生成為基督教新娘和母親，培養下一代基督徒（Heeren, 1940, p. 242）。作為宣導封建社會婦道的儒學經典，《女四書》的目的是培養「賢妻良母」，提供的是用來學習模仿的典範與道德的規訓。因此，倪戈氏選擇改寫並保留《女四書》作為教會女校的教材更是順理成章，而這樣一部揚名傳世、廣泛認可的儒家女教經典也同時為倪戈氏背書。

另一方面，倪戈氏夫婦對儒家思想的定位本身就偏向於倫理學，認為它是一種道德體系，而非全然具有宗教的特徵，因此並不排斥而願意加以利用。明末，以利瑪竇（Matteo Ricci）為代表的耶穌會士奉行的「利瑪竇規矩」，即文化適應政策，在新教傳教士中延續了下來。然而不同於耶穌會奉行的全然權貴精英路線，新教傳教士進一步將傳福音的對象擴大到普通民眾。考慮到本土民眾的識字率及受教育水準，傳教士的文字實踐同時呈現出「適應」與「改造」兩個特點：在適應文言、白話、方言等不同語言形式的同時，根本目的是改造出一種「以基督福音語言為精神靈魂、具有超越時間與空間限度且具有地域階層民族普適性與統一性的新語言」（段懷清，2019，頁 66）。而傳教士這種寬容的態度與暗含的野心也體現在宗教層面。1888 年，理雅各（James Legge）已展現出對中國宗教的包容，他呼籲無論是儒教，抑或道教、佛教，只要是其中有益的部分，就可以被認同（Legge, 1888, p. 65）。因此，晚清傳教士應對儒教的策略，可以說是歷經了從「孔子或耶穌」到「孔子加耶穌」的思想轉變（李明德，2015，頁 239）。

在這一歷史背景下，倪戈氏對《女四書》的改寫實際上附和了男傳教士的基本主張，向語言形式和宗教的「適應」與「改造」宣導靠攏。在《中國和中國人》中，倪維斯評價「儒家思想的理論體系在許多方面都堪稱卓越」，孔子是「務實的哲學家」，他「傳授的倫理學和道德體系是獨立於《聖經》神喻世界的……對我們白種人也會產生持久的影響」（倪維斯，1869 / 2011，頁 29）。而倪戈氏也主張「與其把中國人對孔子的尊崇視為宗教，還不如說儒教體現了中國人對科學和人文的摯愛」（倪戈氏，1869 / 2015，頁 39）。然而，儘管倪戈氏夫婦肯定儒家思想對人道德上的教化，但也發覺「雖然孔子沒有正面教誨人們崇拜偶像，但他言傳身教，予以鼓勵，尤其是以一種隱晦的方式，即祭拜先祖」（倪戈氏，1869 / 2015，頁 39）。倪戈氏認為，只要將這些不合教義的元素刪去，使用儒家經典《女四書》作為女校教科書便是個恰當之舉。

伍、兩種女性觀的協商：《女四書》的語內翻譯實踐

一、倪本與語內翻譯

基於符號學，雅各布森（Roman Jakobson）將翻譯分為語內翻譯，語際翻譯與符際翻譯三種。其中語內翻譯，抑或說改寫（rewording），被定義為在同一種語言內，用一些語言符號去解釋另一些語言符號（Jakobson, 1959, p. 233）。相比於語際翻譯，學界對語內翻譯的研究明顯不足（許鈞，2014，頁 268；Baker, 1998, p. xvii）。事實上，無論是《聖經》、莎士比亞（Shakespeare）戲劇的複譯，還是佛教的解經傳統，抑或是中國文人對古籍的箋注疏解，以及將文言小說改為白話文，語內翻譯的現象可謂隨處可見。針對文學文本，學者探討了語內翻譯的特徵為何（Zethsen, 2009），透過對丹麥文《聖經》翻譯的不同版本進行比照研究，她總結出「知識」（knowledge）、「時間」（time）、「文化」（culture）、「空間」（space）四個決定因素。知識指的是目標讀者的基礎能力（學識）及與背景或專業相關的認知水平；時間則指原文本與翻譯文本之間的時間距離，例如語言和知識的新舊往往引發語內翻譯的需求；當使用同一語言的群體來自不同國家或民族時，文化差異也會產生，這時語內翻譯有助於雙方的溝通；空間則指文本根據不同需求進行刪減或擴展的現象（Zethsen, 2009, pp. 805-807）。在上述任一或是幾個因素共同的影響下，譯者可根據預期讀者的不同需求，對原文本進行補充、加註、評述、改變結構、刪除、改變語言形式（古文或現代文字）及風格（書面或口語化）等調整（Zethsen, 2009, pp. 802-805）。在此定義下，山東農村地區教會女校學生的知識水平，儒家女性觀與基督教女性觀的差異，義和團運動的歷史背景三個因素共同作用，催生了倪戈氏對《女四書》的語內翻譯。

倪戈氏將其所作的工作定義為「重訂」，即重新修正之意。與《箋注》本相比照，倪本最為明顯的改動便是語言的簡單化與釋義的添加。表 1 以《女範捷錄》為例。

表 1

王相原文與倪戈氏語內翻譯對照表

《箋注》本	倪本《女四書》
是以孟母買肉以明信，陶母封鮓以教廉。和熊知苦，柳氏以興。晝荻為書，歐陽以顯。王相註：孟子少鄰於屠家，問母殺豬何為。母戲曰：與汝食也。既而悔曰，與子戲言，是教以不信也。乃解簪耳，貨肉以示信……母夫人用蘆荻書畫以教讀（王相，1877，頁 23—24）。	孟子之母仇氏，夫早亡，家且貧，惟以紡織度日。臨近屠戶，孟子見而問母曰：殺豬何為？母戲曰：與爾食。既而悔曰，與子戲言，是教以不信也。乃典簪耳，貨肉以食之。孟子嬉戲，每學屠豬，母見之，歎曰：常居此，恐長子殘忍之心，遂遷之。又鄰墓田，孟子見哀哭者，即學哀哭。母歎曰：常居此，仍無益於子也。又遷之，擇鄰學館，孟子即請入學館……母用荻畫灰以教讀，後至貴顯（倪戈氏，1902，頁 2—3）。

清人周中孚稱《女範捷錄》「行文純乎駢體，所以便女子成誦也」（周中孚，2007，頁 705）。而從表 1 中例觀之，倪本並未保留原文的韻律感，而是融合王相之注增補言辭，極盡明晰地闡釋故事始末。¹¹ 作為教科書使用，倪本用詞質樸，近乎口語，淺顯易懂，更利於學生理解各種道德準繩，模仿各類範例。這正符合羅選民對語內翻譯適應（adaption）功能的定義：教師可在課堂中使用簡化版或釋義版進行教學（Luo, 2019, p. 2）。¹² 此外，《狀元閣》本及《箋注》本都採取了雙行夾註的版式排列，倪本也未遵循這一慣例，而是將王相箋注的內容與倪戈氏個人的觀點結合，直接改變了《女四書》原文的形態。此時，譯者不再僅是評議者，而直接提升到與原作者同等的地位。倪戈氏悄然與原作四位「女聖人」齊肩，擁有了重新定義女子典範的權力。

對比分析《箋注》本、《狀元閣》本與倪本，倪戈氏對原文進行的修改可歸為兩類，一是將原文直接刪除，二是在原文基礎上斟酌修改。

¹¹ 廣學會（Christian Literature Society for China）第二任總幹事李理斐（Donald MacGillivray）彙編的基督教書目中收錄了《女四書》條目，並將其歸為「適用於婦女兒童的簡單書籍」（Easy books for women and children）主題下「千字文」（Thousand Character Classic）一類（MacGillivray, 1907, p. 40）。但倪本實際上並不全然符合千字文四字一句的格式及聲律和諧的傳統。

¹² 羅選民提出語內翻譯具有指涉（referential），適應（adaption）及塑造國家現代性（shaping a nation's modernity）的功能。見 Luo（2019）。

二、異教元素的拔除

《書目冊》中，倪戈氏提及其對一夫多妻制、自縊、拜偶祭先等內容進行了刪除。談及有關「迷信」的元素，首當其衝的便是中國性別倫常秩序中男女與陰陽之間的對應，這同時也是《女四書》的核心概念之一。陰陽之說本受春秋時期陰陽說和戰國前期老子學說的影響，而非來自儒家傳統（朱伯崑，1995，頁40）。《易經》將天地、男女、君臣等關係與陰陽對應，「乾為天，為圓，為君，為父」，「坤為地，為母，為布，為釜」（楊天才、張善文，2011，頁659），而董仲舒「治《公羊春秋》，始推陰陽，為儒者宗」（班固，1962，頁1317）。經漢儒的發展，陰陽學說與男女兩性權力真正聯繫在一起，並確立了陽尊陰弱、男尊女卑的地位。劉向（1937）認為：

陽者，陰之長也。其在鳥則雄為陽，雌為陰；其在獸則牡為陽，而牝為陰；其在民則夫為陽，而婦為陰；其在家則父為陽，而子為陰；其在國則君為陽，而臣為陽，故陽貴而陰賤，陽尊而陰卑，天之道也。（頁178）

也就是說，無論是自然界的鳥獸，還是三綱之說的夫婦、父子、君臣，幾組關係中的尊與卑皆是天意，男尊女卑實際上是順應天地之道。《女四書》可以說完整承襲了基於陰陽學說之上的性別秩序：

乾象乎陽、坤象乎陰、日月普兩儀之照、男正乎外、女正乎內、夫婦造萬化之端五常之德著、而大本以敦，三綱之義明，而人倫以正。故修身者，齊家之要也，而立教者，明倫之本也。正家之道，禮謹於男女，養蒙之節，教始於飲食，幼而不教，長而失禮。在男猶可以尊師取友，以成其德。在女又何從擇善誠身，而格其非耶？是以教女之道，猶甚於男，而正內之儀，宜先乎外也。（王相，1887，頁20—21）

《女範捷錄·統論篇》開宗明義，對儒家性別體系進行了完整梳理，從乾坤陰陽說到男女。其中化用《彖》中「家人，女正位乎內，男正位乎外，男女正，天地之大義也」（楊天才、張善文，2011，頁331），所謂「正」，

指的是事物臻於完美，即「所需要運行在恰當的地位，恰當的限度，恰當的時間」（馮友蘭，1985，頁202）。劉氏意在說明而這套男女性別規範的合法性與重要性，而倪本將該篇直接盡數刪去。除陰陽之說外，倪戈氏將涉及到祭祖拜禮、積善行德等「迷信」的篇目章節也一併刪去。¹³

而談及貞、烈二字，王氏的定義是「艱難苦節謂之貞、慷慨捐生謂之烈」（王相，1887，頁28），似乎女子守節只能透過自殘和自縊的方式來體現。《女範捷錄·貞烈篇第四》一節中處處皆是自殘明志、以身殉節的例子，如夏侯令女截耳剗鼻以持身不改嫁，王凝之妻李氏因旅店主人牽其手，而自劈其掌以明志等等（王相，1877，頁9）。而在基督教教義中，自殺是無法挽回的罪過之一。神學家湯瑪斯·阿奎那（St. Thomas Aquinas）強調自殺的不合法，因其不但違背了自愛的教義，更是由於人的生命是上帝賜予的，自縊就相當於侵犯了上帝對人生命的掌控權（Aquinas, 1964, part II, Q64, A5）。潮州女傳教士斐爾德（Adele Marion Fielde）筆下的中國女傳道說：

中國婦女不知道自殺是邪惡的事情。只有我們基督徒接受了這樣的教導：我們都是神的財產，不能毀壞神所有的一切。我們唯一的價值在於正確地生活，知道自己必須要到天國去，並且需要時間來做準備。

（Fielde, 1887, p. 212）

女傳教士們一直力圖扭轉中國婦女對自殺的認知。在倪本中，倪戈氏將該節涉及殉節，剗鼻挖眼，刺面截耳等極端行徑的段落直接刪去。

最後，倪戈氏將《女四書》原書中關於一夫多妻的部分悉數刪去，涵蓋了納妾、重婚、嫡庶關係等內容。¹⁴ 一夫一妻制是基督教新教的重要制度之一，《聖經》中強調「二人合為一體」的小家庭，使徒保羅也叮囑教會職事「只做一個婦人的丈夫」（《聖經和合本》，2011，提摩太前書3：12）。

¹³ 刪去的內容包括《女論語》積善章第八，崇聖訓章第十，奉祭祀章第十五及《女範捷錄》統論篇。

¹⁴ 《女誠·專心第五》中「禮夫有再娶之義、婦無二適之文」（王相，1887，頁9），《女範捷錄·貞烈篇》中「男可重婚、女無再適」（王相，1887，頁28），《女範捷錄·慈愛篇》中「女之貴而廢嫡庶之儀、不以君母之尊而失夫人之禮、莊姜戴嬀淑惠見於國風」（王相，1887，頁37—38）等例。

三、純正婦女意識與儒家女性觀的協商

學者王成勉（Wang Chen-main）曾在研究《基督教會年鑒》中的中國女信徒傳記時指出，許多已婚中國女教徒即使皈依基督教，仍然遵循相夫教子，勤儉持家的儒家婦德傳統，並受到傳教士讚揚，這表明儒家和基督教對女子典範的定義有很多相似之處（Wang, 2010, p. 177）。由此推論，倪戈氏選擇《女四書》進行重訂，便可說明其認可中國儒家傳統女性觀與美國維多利亞（Victorian）女性觀擁有共通之處。因此，她誇讚《女四書》「原書詞意俱佳，訓誨寶貴」（倪戈氏，1907，頁 27）也就不令人訝異了。《書目冊》中，倪戈氏稱除不合教義的有害內容被刪去，其餘部分完全保持原文內涵（C. H. Nevius, 1907, p. 36）。然而，經過進一步的文本對照，便會發現倪本並非如其所述的那般忠實，實際上改動頗多。兩種女性觀或許擁有相似的表現形式，但蘊含的內核是迥然不同的。

十九世紀，美國經歷了工業化與城市化的極速發展，隨之而來的是經濟模式與社會形態的變遷，使得傳統的性別角色分工受到挑戰。在這一歷史背景下，美國社會中產生了捍衛與進一步加強女性傳統角色的呼籲，掀起了一陣家庭文化的狂熱。美國社會對女性理想形象的期待，正如考文垂·派特莫爾（Coventry Patmore）詩中塑造的「家中的天使」（the angel in the house）那般優雅、溫柔、純潔而無私（Patmore, 1866, pp. 6, 18）。這樣一個完美的女性典範是家庭的衛道士，是美德的體現與道德的泉源，似乎彙集了一切美好而刻板的女性特質。在無數雜誌、新聞、書籍對「家中天使」的呼籲下，一種衡量「真正女性」（true womanhood）的標準便誕生了，其中包括顧家（domesticity），純潔（purity），順從（submissiveness）與虔誠（piety）四個面向進行衡量（Welter, 1966, p. 152）。在這一時代背景下成長起來，親身經歷維多利亞社會規訓的倪戈氏，自然深受純正婦女意識的薰陶。她對《女四書》的翻譯實際上是在這一框架下進行「量體裁衣」，將《女四書》改造成了符合她訴求的女教書，與此同時，兩種不同的文化語境下誕生的女性觀也經此完成了對話與協商。

首先，家庭是維多利亞女性觀的基石。面對經濟的極速發展帶來的血汗工廠、童工、極端貧窮等社會問題，教會體系極力宣導用宗教的力量來提升公眾道德。當男性在外受到世俗生活的侵害時，由虔信婦女主導的家庭便成為其抵禦道德墮落的避風港。來到中國後，倪戈氏對中國女子進行了細緻的觀察。相比於上層女子養尊處優下的無所事事，她誇獎中下層女子，繁忙而勤勞，重視家事（C. H. Nevius, 1869, p. 119），家務勞動成為其判斷女性是否參與到維繫家庭運轉中的標準。而《女四書》各篇章無不強調家庭的重要，不但包括對女紅、中饋、清潔等家務事提供了具體的指導，¹⁵ 並且提點告誡女子承擔妻子、母親、兒媳等不同家庭角色時與家人的相處之道。由此可見，兩種女性觀同樣強調家庭之於女性的重要，然而，其背後依託的價值體系卻截然不同。

基督教女性觀的顧家是基於男女本質天生論，《聖經》中有「女性是更軟弱的器皿」（《聖經和合本》，2011，彼得前書 3：7）的訓導，而宗教之外，19 世紀科學性別主義（scientific sexism）的盛行更支持了這一觀點。生物學家認為女性與男性生理上擁有本質區別，因為女子體弱，其承擔家庭主婦及兒童培養者的角色是必然結果（Ellis, 1934, p. 130）。《女四書》中可見關於女性之弱的討論，如「古者生女三日，臥之床下，弄之瓦磚，而齋告焉。臥之床下，明其卑弱，主下人也」（王相，1887，頁 2—3）。倪戈氏刪去「而齋告焉」一句有關祭禮之言，而保留了班昭的女子「卑弱」之說（倪戈氏，1902，頁 1）。然而，如上文分析，儒家女性觀對男強女弱、男出仕女治家的推崇，是基於陰陽學說之上的性別秩序。因此，倪戈氏將《女誡》中「陰陽殊性，男女異行。陽以剛為德，陰以柔為用。男以強為貴，女以弱為美」（王相，1887，頁 5）一句，改為「成男成女，性本殊也。治外治內，事各異也。男剛勇為貴，女智柔為美」（倪戈氏，1902，頁 2），倪戈氏意在強調男女

¹⁵ 參見《女論語·營家章第九》：「以息止灰塵，言清晨灑掃，以滌除穢，除去邇邇，不惟優雅清閒，而眼前開爽，門戶光輝矣，耕田下種，莫怨辛勤，炊羹造飯，饋送頻頻，莫教遲慢，有誤工程」（王相，1887，頁 14）。

之間的區別是生理性的、本質的，兩者要扮演的角色也就自然不同，因此負責的領域才有內有外。

其次，對於維多利亞時期的女性來說，另一項極重要的特質是純潔。儘管《聖經》中對純潔的指涉體現在信仰、道德、性等多個層面，但肉體的貞潔無疑是維多利亞時期女性的一項重要衡量標準。失去貞潔意味著價值的徹底毀滅，這樣的女性將不再是女性，而是一種更「低級」的生物，不再值得被愛，且不適合再成為伴侶（Welter, 1966, p. 154）。清人對貞潔的嚴苛更不必說，為了防止性的墮落，《女四書》中處處是對女子言行舉止的訓誡：

莫離閨庭，有客在戶，莫露高聲。不談私語，不聽淫聲。黃昏來往，秉燭掌燈。暗中出入，非女之經。一行有失，百行無成。（王相，1887，頁18；倪戈氏，1902，頁8）

但需要注意的是，儘管儒家女性觀與維多利亞女性觀一致推崇貞潔，但倪戈氏並不贊成儒家傳統中對極端守節的倡導：其一，如前文所述，她反對女子採取自縊、自殘的手段保護貞操，因此將對「貞烈」的定義從極端的「慷慨捐生」（王相，1887，頁28）變成了寬泛的「守身不辱」和「遇難不屈」（倪戈氏，1902，頁5），女子表達堅貞的方式從而演變為曉之以情，動之以理；其二，倪戈氏還摒棄了原本中女子「不更二夫」，「一與之醮，終身不移」、「男可重婚，女無再適」（王相，1877，頁28）的觀點，賦予女子和離的自由；其三，倪戈氏否定了儒家女性觀中極端的「男女之防」，將《女範捷錄·秉禮篇》中季康子隔帨拜會其叔祖母及齊孝公夫人因車帷掉落而自縊的範例刪去（王相，1887，頁38）。

再次，順從是最具女性特質的一項美德。《聖經》中的此類訓導不勝枚舉，《彼得前書》中說到：「你們做妻子的，要順服自己的丈夫」（《聖經和合本》，2011，彼得前書3：7）。而女子的「順」同樣是《女四書》的重點內容之一，《女誡》中，班昭論述女子最大的禮儀就是恭敬柔順：「然則修身莫如敬、避強莫若順、故曰、敬順之道、為婦之大禮也」（王相，1887，頁6）。倪戈氏在贊同之餘進一步補充女子敬順的方法，即「敬則不驕、

順則不強」（倪戈氏，1902，頁2）。然而，倪戈氏雖同意「女子卑弱，主下人也」（王相，1887，頁2-3；倪戈氏，1902，頁1），但並不意味她認同女子人格上低於男子。倪戈氏觀察到，中國一家之中兒媳往往十分不幸，經受著丈夫及其母的「雙重暴政」。自結婚那天起，「被動順從和無條件服從」（passive obedience and unconditional submission）就成了她們的行為準則（C. H. Nevius, 1869, p. 421）。《聖經》中，夏娃為亞當的肋骨所造，也就是說夫妻兩者，實際上是一體共生而互為輔助。家庭中「男子之所以為頭」，是為了強調男子作為家庭責任人的角色。基督教推行一種有序的家庭生活，唯有夫妻各有分工，履行好相應義務，才能享受到隨之而來的權利。女子之所以順從，也是出於維繫家庭和諧的目的，但歸根結底夫妻雙方人格與靈魂上應是平等的，丈夫應當如何平等尊重對待妻子，及要像愛護自己的身體骨肉一樣愛護自己的妻子（《聖經和合本》，2011，以弗所書5：28）。《內訓·母儀》一章中說：「孔子曰、女子者、順男子之教、而長其理者也、是故無專制之義、所以為教、不出閨門、以訓其子者也」（王相，1887，頁43）。《大戴禮記·本命》解所謂婦人，實際是「伏於人」（戴頂，2005，頁1384）。在儒家性別觀念中，女子屬陰卑，因此心智上不如男子，因此該處處順應男子的教導而沒有自作主張的道理，這也就是三從之道的由來。倪本將該段改為：「材力聰明，男女無異。男子立教四方，為國家育賢才。而女子不出閨門，亦能立法施教，善訓子女也」（倪戈氏，1902，頁10）。倪戈氏首先從根本上否定了女子智慧上弱於男子的觀念，並再次強調女子作為母親在家中施行母教，男子在外樹立教化，是公域與私域的界限區分，而非一味出於「順男子之教」。因此，倪戈氏並不認可儒家觀念中因女子地位低下而產生的「被動」且「無條件」的順從。

最後，倪本中「貞潔」、「愛家」、「順從」三點均有體現，唯有「虔誠」這一特質缺席。檢視維多利亞時期種種女性出版物後，韋爾特（Welter）認為宗教，或者說虔誠，是女性道德的核心和力量的重要泉源（Welter, 1966, p. 152）。尋找伴侶的年輕人被警告首先要尋求虔誠，因為如果有了虔誠，其他

一切品質都會隨之而來（Percival, 1849, p. 37）。女性的關懷與被認為是上帝的禮物，她們相比於男性更熱心於宗教，也就更快得到拯救，從而有能力拯救家人，乃至整個社會。因此，培養虔誠的女性被寫入無數女校的辦學宗旨中（Welter, 1966, p. 154）。奇怪的是，作為一名虔誠的女傳教士，倪戈氏懷揣廣傳基督教、拯救異教姐妹的目的來到中國，卻絲毫未在其改寫的《女四書》中強調信仰上帝的力量。如鄧奇所指出的，民國前的新教出版物普遍將西曆的出版日期標記為「耶穌降世某某年」，或「主後某某年」以凸顯其宗教性質（Dunch, 2009, p. 89）。但是，倪本出版年份僅寫為光緒二十八年歲次壬寅，西曆一千九百零二年，且未像美華書館的其他出版物一般寫明刊印機構。單從封面來看，《女四書》已與世俗出版物無異，而書中內容對基督教、上帝、耶穌、信教等元素也是隻字未提。此時，虔誠的缺席到底意味著什麼？

結合倪戈氏的表述，筆者有以下幾點猜測：首先，倪戈氏在《書目冊》中點出了選擇《女四書》進行語內翻譯，而非重新編寫訓女書的原因。她自知經過重訂的《女四書》在眼光精明毒辣且守舊的本地人眼裡，大抵就像「沒有哈姆雷特的《哈姆雷特》」（*Hamlet with Hamlet left out*）（C. H. Nevius, 1907, p. 36）。經過語內翻譯，這本中國女訓書的儒家內涵悄然間改變，但慶幸的是，相比大部分外國人所寫的書，這樣一本古典女教作品不易激起中國讀者的種族偏見。此外，絕大部分讀者對原著並不甚熟悉，因此不會發現什麼異樣（倪戈氏，1907，頁36）。也就是說，倪戈氏首要考慮的是《女四書》作為中國女教經典，比外國人寫的書引起的反感要少。

如前文所述，倪戈氏之所以格外顧及中國讀者的反應，與文本生產的歷史語境密切相關。1899年，義和團運動在山東爆發，倪戈氏見證了拳亂的整個過程，在與母會的往來信件中屢屢提及起義之慘痛可怕：同工及當地教徒遇害的消息屢屢傳來，據倪戈氏統計，山西、山東、直隸和浙江四地共有106名新教傳教士及其子女喪命（C. H. Nevius, 1900）。被殺害的中國信徒人數更為可怖，人心惶惶之下，選擇放棄信仰以免遭迫害者不在少數（Elterich, 1900）。「沒有人知道未來有什麼在等著我們。我們希冀準備好，如上帝安

排的那般，或是赴死或是求生」（Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, 1901, p. 16），基督教在中國的未來一時間前途未卜。芝罘差會屬山東東部差會，較山東西部的濰坊、濟南等地受影響小些，但各類傳道工作仍一度中斷。起義結束後，教會學校的學生仍恐懼其餘威，不敢繼續求學，導致許多較小規模的學校學生數量銳減，學校遲遲無法重開。甚至到了 1903 年，倪戈氏所在的山東差會的傳教工作依舊受到義和團運動的影響（Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, 1903, p. 20）。在義和團運動後的幾年中，山東的傳教士們對於各類差傳工作都採取了更為謹慎的態度，這也可解釋了倪戈氏對於在《女四書》中貿然添加基督教元素的擔憂。此外，倪本作為教會女校的教科書使用，教師或可在教授過程中補充與教義有關的內容，而避免直接添加在書中。從文本層面來看，與其說倪本為《女四書》的基督教化（Christianized）版本（Dunch, 2009, p. 84），倒不如說它是一部「淨化版」（sanitized version）來得更為貼切。倪戈氏在消滅所有「異教」元素的同時，避開了易引起中國人反感的基督教元素，從而避免了因被審查而帶來的衝突。透過翻譯，倪戈氏在儒家傳統女性觀與基督教女性觀兩方之間不斷協調，找到共同空間，而達成讓中國人與傳教士雙方皆大歡喜的目的。

陸、餘論

在「順男子之教，而長其理者也」（王相，1887，頁 43）的觀念下，中國古代精英女性的《女四書》書寫意圖於達到「有賢女然後有賢婦，有賢婦然後有賢母，有賢母然後有賢子孫」（陳弘謀，1921，序）的最終目的。而倪戈氏藉助《女四書》的教科書功能，向中國廣大的中下層女性灌輸成為妻與母後要遵守的教條與要承擔的責任，希冀培養教會女學生成為基督教新娘和母親，組建基督教家庭，培養出一代代基督徒。兩方期待的結果雖不同，但為達成目標，使用的策略別無二致。因此，倪戈氏在重訂《女四書》的語內翻譯實踐中發掘出儒家傳統女性觀與維多利亞式女性觀諸多共通之處：同

樣是以家庭為基石，強調女性對道德的捍衛，輔以對貞潔的堅守及對服從的推崇。倪戈氏巧妙地借用兩種女性觀之間的相似，刪除《女四書》原本中不符基督教教義的內容，將基督教對女性的期待不動聲色地傳遞給中國女子。而這一過程中，《女四書》中的儒家女性典範在倪戈氏的演繹下發生了微妙的變化，悄然擁有了新內涵。

晚清最後十年，包含廢除科舉在內的一系列改革最終促成了傳統儒學的衰落。儒家道德說教在劇變中成為舊學，逐漸失去號召力被時代拋下，因此，倪戈氏的《女四書》很可能不會對中國社會造成持續性的影響（Dunch, 2009, p. 100）。但在 20 世紀的伊始，新制度確立的前夕，倪戈氏在義和團運動的餘波中進行了對《女四書》的翻譯與詮釋，我們可以將此看作是晚清時期基督教文化與儒家文化碰撞與交融的一個縮影，同時窺見在知識精英分子圈層和文化中心以外的一隅，傳教士試圖改變中下層階級女子觀念的嘗試。

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忠實之外：日譯《古都》的章節重構

廖詩文

本研究探討朱天心《古都》日譯本中章節重構的翻譯現象。原著的章節安排是由〈威尼斯之死〉至〈古都〉推進，全程充滿情感張力，並以展望未來的開放書寫收尾做結。日譯本的章節安排卻逆向而行，將〈古都〉置於開篇、〈威尼斯之死〉移至結尾，改變敘事起點與情感節奏，此譯案促使我們再思譯者是否可以改變原文章節及譯者主體性相關的譯學問題。本研究採用文本對照、多重理論應用與比較案例的研究方法進行探討。理論方面以操縱理論、目的理論、歸化／異化策略及結構性顯化概念進行分析。結果顯示，清水賢一郎作為文化中介者，有意透過章節重構強化主題並契合日本讀者的閱讀習慣。其次，日譯本將原作的開放性轉化為「苦痛記憶」，而在翻譯策略上，譯本的宏觀結構採用歸化策略，文化細節則以「漢字加假名」與「夾注」等翻譯技法保留了異化特徵。相較其他譯案，本研究進一步將此重構策略定位為一種溫和且高效的「跨國出版策略」。與村上春樹《發條鳥年代記》英譯本的大幅刪減或《道德經》因思想邏輯重組而改章皆有不同，《古都》日譯本在完整保留內容的前提下，僅以章節順序的重構便實現了文化適應與情感調整，避免了因內容刪改而引發的忠實爭議。此譯例挑戰了翻譯學中「忠實」與「創造」的二元劃分，並彰顯出譯者主體性可在結構層面發揮創造力。譯者在此譯例中扮演了多重角色，既是語言轉換者、文本重構者，也是閱讀路徑的設計者，並使翻譯成為其與作者的對話。

關鍵詞：章節重構、譯者主體性、《古都》、操縱、集體記憶

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Beyond Fidelity: Chapter Reordering in the Japanese *Old Capital*

Shihwen Liao

This study explores the phenomenon of chapter reconfiguration in the Japanese translation of Chu Tien-Hsin's *Old Capital*. The original arranges chapters from "Death in Venice" to "Old Capital," sustaining emotional tension and closing with an ending framed as an open, future-oriented vision. The Japanese version, however, reverses the order, opening with "Old Capital" and concluding with "Death in Venice." This inversion shifts narrative entry and affective rhythm, prompting a reconsideration of whether translators can or are permitted to alter textual structure and how such practice reflects translator subjectivity. Employing textual comparison, a multi-theoretical analytical approach, and comparative case analysis, the study draws on manipulation theory, Skopos theory in translation, domestication/foreignization strategies, and structural explication. Findings reveal that Shimizu Kenichiro, as cultural mediator, deliberately restructures chapters to reinforce themes and accommodate Japanese readership. The translation recasts the source's openness as "painful memory." At the macro level, it follows a domestication strategy, while cultural details retain foreignizing features through devices such as "kanji glossed with furigana" and annotations. Unlike the extensive cuts in the English *Wind-Up Bird Chronicle*, which triggered debates over fidelity, or the logical reordering of the *Dao De Jing*, the Japanese *Old Capital* preserves the full content, a mild yet effective transnational publishing strategy, achieving cultural adaptation and emotional recalibration solely through sequencing. This case challenges the binary of fidelity versus creativity, highlighting translator agency at the structural level. Here, the translator acts simultaneously as linguistic mediator, textual reconfigurator, and architect of reading paths, rendering translation a dialogic engagement with the author.

Keywords: chapter reordering, translator subjectivity, *Old Capital*, manipulation, collective memory

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壹、引言

朱天心的長篇小說《古都》自 1996 年出版以來，便被視為臺灣當代文學中探討「身分認同」（self-identity）與「集體記憶」（collective memory）¹的代表作。該作以其獨特的時空敘事、多重互文（intertextuality）等視角，²在華語文壇佔據了重要的位置。在《古都》中，城市不僅是故事的背景，更是情感與記憶的觸發點——京都、威尼斯（Venice）、布拉格（Prague）、臺北等地，被編織成一張情感與文化的地圖。然而，其複雜的敘事結構與深層的文化意涵，在跨文化傳播過程中也帶來了獨特的挑戰。

本研究旨在探討 2000 年由清水賢一郎翻譯的《古都》日譯本（朱天心，1997 / 2000）。³該譯本的譯者對原作章節進行了逆序重構（具體變化請見表 1），這種顯著的「操縱」與「重寫」（Lefevere, 1992），如何使譯文適應目標文化的閱讀規範，並達成功能對等的效果（Nida, 1964），正是本文試圖進一步釐清的議題。這一改動不僅改變了敘事的起承轉合，還影響了整部作品的情感節奏與讀者對主題的理解。宏觀層面的結構重構，引發我們思考翻譯本質與譯者角色的相關議題，例如譯者是否可以調整原作的章節順序，就是翻譯學上長期存在的爭議。支持者認為，翻譯是跨文化的再創造，譯者可依據目標讀者的閱讀習慣與文化接受方式調整文本結構；批評者則指出，此舉可能削弱原作的形式特徵與異質性，甚至造成文本意義的偏移（Berman, 1985/2000; Venuti, 1995）。

《古都》日譯本對章節順序的改動是否超越了傳統翻譯的範疇？其背後蘊含了何種功能目的與文化意涵？我們應如何從譯學理論的角度解讀譯者在

¹ 「集體記憶」是指一群人共同擁有並傳承的記憶，由法國社會學家哈布瓦赫（Maurice Halbwachs）提出，用以區分個人記憶。它像是一種群體的記憶框架，形塑成員的共同行為與觀念，並透過文化經驗與社會關係影響群體，傳遞共享的知識與價值（哈布瓦赫，1925 / 2024）。

² 多重互文的概念指的是在一個文本中，通過引用、借用或互相參照其他文本來構建意義的方式，不僅限於單一文本的引用，而是涉及多個文本之間的相互關聯與互動。這個詞語源於法國文學理論家克里斯蒂娃（Julia Kristeva）用來描述文本之間的相互影響和意義建構的互文性（intertextuality）（Kristeva, 1980）。

³ 清水賢一郎是日本華文文學學者兼翻譯家，除《古都》之外，還譯有魯迅、張愛玲等之作品。

文本篇章結構上的「操縱」？本研究正是在此理論與實務爭議背景下展開，期能探討《古都》日譯本的章節重構策略，分析此一翻譯行動在譯學理論框架下的定位，並與其他跨文化章節重構的翻譯案例進行比較，藉以揭示譯者在「忠實」與「創造」之間的抉擇及其背後的文化邏輯。

由是，主要探討的核心問題包括：第一，清水賢一郎為何選擇將〈古都〉置於開篇、〈威尼斯之死〉置於結尾？第二，這種重構對原作的敘事節奏、情感鋪陳與主題呈現產生了哪些具體影響？第三，從功能對等（functional equivalence）、⁴ 目的理論（Skopos theory）、重寫理論、異化／歸化策略（foreignization and domestication strategies），以及合理化傾向等譯學理論視角來看，這種改動應如何解讀？第四，與其他著名的跨文化翻譯中的章節重構譯例相比，《古都》日譯本的策略有何特殊性？

為解答上述問題，本研究採取文本對照分析、理論應用分析與比較案例研究三種方法進行探討：文本對照分析用以呈現原作與譯本之間的結構差異、理論應用分析提供理解這些差異的多重框架，而比較案例研究把《古都》置於更廣泛的國際翻譯實踐脈絡中，梳理各譯例的共通性與獨特性。研究的最終目標，在於釐清《古都》日譯本的章節重構，是如何影響文本的意義建構，以及探討翻譯在跨文化文學傳播中，是如何於結構層面進行文化適應。

貳、原作的多重互文與「你／我」間的主體交織

《古都》以其獨特的多時空敘事和文化記憶書寫受到關注，其敘事視角的特殊性是此作品的一個重要特徵。朱天心大量使用第二人稱「你」來召喚記憶，這種敘述方式在華文小說中並不多見，因此容易打破讀者與傳統敘事的距離感，使讀者既成為旁觀者，又被捲入故事情境之中。然而，這種「你

⁴ 功能對等源自奈達（Eugene A. Nida）所提出的動態對等理論。他強調，翻譯不應僅追求文字表面或語言形式的對應，而應在兩種語言之間達成功能上的等效（Nida, 1964）。這意味著譯文應該能夠在目的語文化中產生與原文相似的效果和反應。

／我」的主體切換在翻譯過程中卻帶來挑戰，因為不同語言對人稱代詞的使用頻率與語感差異，可能會影響敘事的親密度與模糊性。

朱天心在《古都》中大量運用第二人稱「你」來進行敘述。這個「你」同時扮演了故事的「敘述者」、「被敘述者」，也暗指了「故事的隱含讀者」（劉雪真，2009，頁 221）。這種敘述方式模糊了傳統上「我」與「你」之間的界線，營造出一種既親密又疏離的閱讀體驗。敘述者「我」與被敘述者「你」在共同的記憶中不斷穿梭，使得時空在今昔之間任意跳躍，形成一種模糊而混沌的虛無感，因此文學評論家便稱《古都》是朱天心的「記憶之書」（朱天心，1997／2000，頁 315；劉雪真，2009，頁 209），亦是作者將個人記憶納入歷史並建立想像邦國的作品（陳國偉，1998，頁 62；劉雪真，2009，頁 209）。而「你／我」主體位相的動搖，便構成《古都》的文學核心，與朱天心身為外省人第二代的身分記憶與自我認同所感到的挫折彼此呼應（清水賢一郎，2000／2002，頁 173）。

此外，原作也充滿了多層次的互文性，使得文本成為一個交錯複雜的「記憶」網絡。首先，小說標題即與日本諾貝爾文學獎得主川端康成的同名作品《古都》形成互文關係。朱天心透過川端康成的作品，將臺北與京都對比為「雙胞胎城市」，以此探討集體記憶中「不被記憶的歷史」（清水賢一郎，2000／2002，頁 177）。其次，文本夾雜引用了佛洛伊德（Sigmund Freud）的《夢的解析》（朱天心，1999，頁 183），暗示了小說是對「都市無意識」的解析（唐小兵，2000，頁 394；清水賢一郎，2000／2002，頁 177）；引用梭羅（Henry D. Thoreau）（朱天心，1999，頁 197）與勞倫斯（David Herbert Lawrence）（朱天心，1999，頁 156），則是期待讀者以更複雜的視角理解自然、歷史與文化之間的關係（清水賢一郎，2000／2002，頁 177；劉雪真，2009，頁 214）。朱天心透過大量解構／再語境化（de-/re-contextualize）自己早年的作品（清水賢一郎，2000／2002，頁 177—178）如《擊壤歌》，也讓過去的人物與情節在《古都》的語境中穿越時空（劉雪真，2009，頁 206—210），使得故事的意義遠超單一敘事線。

《古都》的中文原作是由五個獨立但又相互關聯的章節所組成。其順序為：〈威尼斯之死〉、〈拉曼查志士〉、〈第凡內早餐〉、〈匈牙利之水〉，最終以標題章節〈古都〉作為收尾（朱天心，1999，頁 7—8）。這一順序的編排蘊含一種獨特的情感節奏與邏輯。學者指出，朱天心〈古都〉複製了川端康成《古都》以四季歷時性變化為敘述順序的架構（楊如英，1998；劉雪真，2009，頁 211—212）。作品從異國他鄉的旅行見聞開始，先從歐洲的城市如威尼斯、布拉格（隱含於〈匈牙利之水〉）和西班牙（〈拉曼查志士〉）展開，逐步引導讀者進入一種內省式的記憶回溯。故事的情感張力在閱讀過程中逐漸累積，「我」透過對「他鄉」的追憶與反思，最終匯聚於對「故鄉」臺北的歷史與記憶的探索（清水賢一郎，2000／2002，頁 175—176）。小說以〈古都〉作為全書情感的最高峰，這種漸進式的記憶積累，讓讀者在歷經多重文化與時空的洗禮後，在結尾處獲得情感的爆發與昇華，並對未來抱持展望。

原作歷時性的章節安排，可以理解為一種堆起情感與記憶累積的敘事策略。原作以外部世界的「他鄉」經驗為起點，逐步內化為對故鄉（臺北）歷史與個人記憶的反思。這種層層遞進的敘事邏輯，恰好呼應了朱天心作為外省第二代所面臨的身分焦慮與文化撕裂感。她對「故鄉」的追尋，是在異地漂流中不斷回望、重組、內省間進行，並在最終回歸到她的故鄉（臺灣）。

參、日譯本章節逆寫的策略性重構

由上可知，《古都》的文學敘事架構是此作品十分重要的書寫策略。然而，歷時性的敘事卻在《古都》日譯本中被逆序重置。誠如前述，《古都》日譯本最引人注目的特徵，便是其章節順序與中文原作的顯著差異。清水賢一郎的譯本並未沿用朱天心原著的編排，而是進行了系統性的重構（清水賢一郎，2000／2002，頁 178）。表 1 呈現兩個版本之間的對照。

表 1

《古都》中文原著與日譯本章節順序對照表

原著章節順序與名稱 (朱天心, 1999)		日譯章節順序與名稱 (朱天心, 1997 / 2000)		結構變化
1	威尼斯之死	5	威尼斯に死す	位置逆轉
2	拉曼查志士	4	ラ・マンチャの騎士	位置微調
3	第凡內早餐	3	ティファニーで朝食を	位置保留
4	匈牙利之水	2	ハンガリー水	提前
5	古都	1	古都	提前至開篇

根據表 1，可以看到日譯本的章節重構是全面且系統化的。最核心的變動，便是將原作末尾的〈古都〉提至開篇；同時將原作開篇的〈威尼斯之死〉移至全書結尾（朱天心，1997 / 2000，頁 5—6）。此番調整，徹底改變了作品的敘事起點與情感節奏：原作從平緩的異國見聞開場，日譯本則跳過漸進式的鋪陳，直接以情感核心的「古都」為始；原作的結尾處獲得情感的爆發與昇華，並對未來抱持展望，日譯本則以一種帶有藝術與衰敗並置的「威尼斯之死」作結。《古都》日譯本對章節的倒行逆置，使日文讀者被推導進悠遠的記憶，使「〈古都〉」（Gu-Du）成為回憶「苦痛／古都」（Kutsū/Kutu）的起點。此種結構安排，是譯者對原作「漸進式記憶積累」敘事策略的「時空逆轉推導」。值得注意的是，《古都》日文版的書封留下清水賢一郎的翻譯伏筆。原作《古都》若以羅馬拼音，應拼寫為“Gu-Du”，然而清水賢一郎卻將《古都》日譯本上的羅馬拼音寫成“Kutu”，將其作了諧音的音變。有趣的是，日文的“Kutu”發音與「苦痛」（くつう〔Kutsū〕）的發音諧音，可以日文漢字「苦痛」作為“Kutu”的漢字假名。換言之，書封上藍色字樣的“Kutu”既是「古都」的回憶，也是充滿藍色憂鬱的「苦痛」回憶（如圖 1）。

章節倒置的安排，使原著帶有開放性的讀法失去效應，也使朱天心《古都》中的「我」愈回憶愈深陷於過往的記憶。雖然譯者將《古都》每一章節的內容詞句皆完整譯出，是「忠誠」於原文內容的翻譯行動，但在譯者章節

倒置的操縱下，《古都》日譯本對於你／我記憶交織的身分追尋與集體記憶的時空詮釋，也就被定為「苦痛／古都」（Kutsū/Kutu）的時空逆旅，這種情感敘事差異（從展望未來轉向苦痛回溯）是結構重構影響閱讀體驗的有力支撐。同時，書封上的諧音設計，更是譯者對主題進行「結構性顯化」的具體成果。原作的情感敘事原是以疊加的方式累積，但是譯作卻使敘事脈絡倒轉，將文本的閱讀體驗進行了時空逆轉的推導。

圖 1

《古都》日文版書封



註：書封右側有藍色的“Kutu”字樣，象徵藍色憂鬱的苦痛回憶。取自朱天心（1997／2000）。

肆、譯者主體性與結構性顯化的操縱

清水賢一郎對章節順序的重構是刻意所為。這份譯者的公開聲明，構成本研究推論其「刻意操縱」與「設計閱讀路徑」最直接、最有力的經驗性佐證：

作品的編排秩序是依照譯者的判斷，採用與原著顛倒的歷史溯源方式，將〈古都〉調整為首，其次是〈匈牙利之水〉、〈第凡內早餐〉、〈拉曼查志工〉、〈威尼斯之死〉。（清水賢一郎，2000／2002，頁178）

這揭示了譯者有意透過「契合日本讀者的閱讀習慣」的結構調整，來強化文本的主題。這種章節性的重構能觸動日本讀者對歷史反思與物哀（mono-no-aware）的接受習慣，將涉及歷史、家族記憶的章節置前，亦能觸發日本讀者對殖民史、記憶與失落等主題的文化共鳴，更容易進入文本的情感世界。

為了進一步描述這種翻譯操縱的現象，以下將以「結構性顯化」（structural explicitation）的概念進一步說明。結構性顯化的概念來自翻譯學中的「外顯假說」（Explicitation Hypothesis）。翻譯的外顯性是由布倫庫卡（Shoshana Blum-Kulka）所提出，主要探討的是翻譯如何影響文本的清晰度和連貫性（Blum-Kulka, 1986）。這一假說指稱，譯文往往比原文的邏輯更清晰，內容會包含更多外顯的資訊和細節，而且無論翻譯涉及何種特定語言，翻譯的外顯現象都會發生，因此翻譯的外顯性被視為翻譯語言的一種普遍特徵（Blum-Kulka, 1986）。「結構性顯化」將這一概念擴展到文本的宏觀結構層面，作為一種翻譯策略，譯者藉由章節順序的調整，把原作中隱含的因果關係或主題線索在結構上進行顯化（Klaudy & Károly, 2005）。《古都》日譯本便是藉由倒敘結構的操縱，將「過去如何塑造現在」的邏輯從隱含轉為外顯。

清水賢一郎作為學者兼譯者，他對翻譯章節的重構行動，可視為是一種帶有學術介入的再詮釋。他將自己對《古都》的理解，也就是把歷史溯源的邏輯內嵌於譯本結構之中，使讀者尚未開始閱讀就被譯者的詮釋框架框住，閱讀過程就會依照譯者對閱讀的設定路徑前進：從朱天心的身分焦慮走向更具普遍性的歷史反思。

從目的理論的視角看，翻譯決策往往由譯文預期發揮的功能目的所驅動（Vermeer, 1989）。作為國書刊行會「新臺灣文學系列」的叢書之一，《古都》日譯本承載了該系列旨在向日本大眾引介臺灣現當代文學的出版取向。這種明確的出版定位，亦可能影響譯者對讀者接受度與市場可讀性的考量。由此觀之，日譯本將〈古都〉置於全書開篇，或可視為配合該出版定位的編排策略，旨在藉由情感感染力較深的篇章先行建立讀者共鳴，從而提高其續讀意願。

與目的理論相呼應的是勒菲弗爾（Lefevere, 1992）的重寫理論。在日本的文學市場上，譯文的成功往往取決於其是否符合當地的閱讀審美與敘事期望，日本讀者普遍偏好敘事結構清晰、情感焦點突出的小說形式，這使得將情感高潮提前、以封閉式結束收尾的結構調整，可成為一種適應市場需求的編譯策略。換言之，清水賢一郎的章節重構，不僅是個人譯者的審美判斷，也是日本出版定位與市場運作邏輯的反映。這種在翻譯過程中重新進行文化與意義再生產的行為，可視為一種文化轉譯，反映翻譯是受到目標文化、歷史脈絡與意識形態影響的文化實踐（Bassnett & Lefevere, 1990）。

韋努蒂（Lawrence Venuti）所提出的異化與歸化理論，則為這一現象提供另一種解釋框架。將情感高峰提前、調整敘事節奏，可視為宏觀結構層面上具有歸化傾向的策略。此類策略有助於降低讀者面對文化與敘事節奏上的陌生感（Venuti, 1995），使譯文更貼近日本讀者的閱讀習慣。原作的碎片化與非線性結構，可能對不熟悉朱天心寫作風格的讀者構成挑戰，而重構後的版本，在保留多時空場景的同時，也為讀者提供了一條較為穩定的情感主線，減少因結構陌生化而產生的閱讀距離。

奈達的功能對等理論也為章節重構提供了另一層理解。這種「等效反應」有時需要犧牲原作形式上的忠實，以換取在情感或認知效果上的等值（Nida, 1964, 2001; Nida & Taber, 1969）。對熟悉臺灣文化語境的原作讀者而言，將情感高潮放在結尾是一種累積式的情感策略；然而，對日本讀者來說，如果對中間章節的文化背景缺乏共鳴，可能在情感累積尚未完全建立前就對繼續閱讀失去興趣。因此，將〈古都〉提前，可能是適應日本閱讀文化的一種可行策略，優點在於能更快觸發讀者的情感反應，實現跨文化閱讀的功能等效。

貝爾曼（Antoine Berman）提出的合理化（rationalization）傾向，揭示了翻譯過程中的一種常見現象，即譯者傾向於調整原作的句子結構與排列方式，使其更具邏輯性與線性，並更符合目的語的表達規範與閱讀習慣（Berman, 1985/2000, pp. 280-281）。這種合理化並不必然是消極的，它往往能降低理解難度，提升閱讀愉悅感。然而，合理化也可能導致原作的獨特性被稀釋。

若日譯本將情感核心提前確立，使後續情節圍繞此一核心展開，則清水賢一郎的章節重構可被理解為一種提高連貫性與讀者可接受度的合理化處理。

將這些理論結合起來，可以看出《古都》日譯本的章節重構是一種多重動因下的策略選擇：既有文化市場導向的考量，也有讀者接受心理的考慮；既有功能目的的導向，也涉及詩學規範與合理化傾向的共同作用。這證明譯者的決策是「多重動因下的策略選擇」，而非單一理論所驅動。這種多重策略的交織，使日譯本在傳播過程中發生了微妙的意義偏離。

相較於宏觀性章節結構的重置，清水賢一郎在內文的翻譯上卻展現高度的忠實與細膩，譯本在翻譯臺灣地名、歷史典故等文化細節上，不僅保持了中文漢字，對於重要的內容也在文本內予以詳註，並以「注音假名」的方式註記專有名詞，內文的翻譯呈現了翻譯書獨有的異國風情，各章節皆能看到清水賢一郎以細膩精準的翻譯技巧如「漢字＋注音假名」，在字句行間為專有名詞進行注釋。綜觀清水賢一郎章節重構及文字細譯的翻譯實踐，可以理解他在宏觀結構層面上採用了「歸化」的策略，而在文化細節等微觀層面上則採取了「異化」的策略。

「注音假名」與「夾注」這兩種翻譯技法在《古都》日譯本中頗為常見。日本近代以降便與國外有密切的跨文化交流，翻譯書中的「注音假名」表記系統（龜井秀雄，2014，頁113）也隨之應運而生。除了「注音假名」之外，譯者還會使用一種名為「夾注」（割注）的註釋法，進行譯語的直接解釋。這種方法最早出現在橫山由清翻譯的《魯敏孫漂行紀略》（笛福，1719／1857）日文版中（龜井秀雄，2014，頁113）。橫山由清在翻譯《魯敏孫漂行紀略》時遇到很多外語詞彙，他對外國的地名和人名統一採用「漢字＋注音假名」的方式翻譯，這種對外國專有名詞的翻譯方法，嚴格來說還可追溯至日本江戶晚期到明治初期之間，隨後才逐漸奠定下來且沿用至今。

十九世紀中葉後，日本譯者便習慣使用自選漢字作為形符（或意符），再以注音假名進行旁注的技法。這種技法能盡可能地採用「漢字」來「解釋」外國名詞或為其「賦予意義」。因此，只有翻案小說才看不出譯者的行蹤，

翻譯小說則因譯註與創詞的翻譯方法的大量使用，使得日文譯本很容易見到譯者在翻譯操作上的能動性與現身性。這種翻譯方法的運用會使譯者的存在性得到突顯，並保留外國文學特有的「陌生感」與「異國情調」。換言之，日本近代的翻譯特徵就是朝向「異化翻譯」的方向發展，而譯者在「夾注」中對詞彙的補充說明與看法，也自然而然地植入到作品中，使譯本變成譯者表達意見、干涉源語文本「原貌」的產物。「注音假名」與「夾注」的使用，不斷突顯譯者的存在，譯者對於詞彙的夾注使用愈多，就愈能展現譯者個人對作品的主觀見解。

此外，中村正直翻譯斯邁爾斯（Samuel Smiles）的《西國立志編》時（斯邁爾斯，1859／1871），在夾注中直接提到「譯者」（龜井秀雄，2014，頁116），⁵並直接把譯者從翻譯簾幕的後方拉到了臺前，使得過去「只聞樓梯響，不見人下來」的譯者，現在卻走進鎂光燈中。龜井秀雄認為中村正直將譯者放到正文中，是日本譯者為自己言說的開始（龜井秀雄，2014，頁116）承上，譯者常用「夾注」和「創詞」等翻譯技巧來突顯作品中的「異」質性，這使譯者更為「前景化」（龜井秀雄，2014，頁119），並暴露出他們對於自身的文化身分有著高度的自覺及自信。

藉由以上對日本獨有的翻譯技法的梳理，我們可以歸納出幾種日本譯者的特徵，其一是具有譯者主體性，日本譯者對於自身的文化身分有高度自覺；其次，譯本顯示顯著的菁英主義特徵，譯者不避諱在翻譯時顯露自己的存在，對於外國專有名詞的處理，常使用「漢字＋注音假名」的方式創造新詞，有

⁵ 原文內容如下：「^{ベイコン}倍根マタロジック明論ノ法又推論明理ノ学ト訳スノ学ニ長セリ、嘗テ言語猶曰文字ト心思ト互ニ相關係スル甚大ナルコトヲ論ジテ曰く、人々、オモヘラク理趣ハ言語ノ主トナリテコレヲ管理ストイヘリ、我ハ思ヘラク言語時トシテ理趣ヲ奪フコト往々ニコレアリ、^{ロック}洛克コレヲ祖述シテ言語ノ妄用及ヒ完全ナラサルコトヨリシテ理趣ヲ害スルコトヲ論スル文アリ学士家ニ重ゼラル訳者曰、東西言語ノ氣象異ナレバ語言ノ事ヲ論スルコトハ訳シ難ケレハ略ス」（龜井秀雄，2014，頁116）。（翻譯：倍根精於邏輯明論之法，亦即推論明理之學。曾論及語言與文字、心思之間有極大的相互關係，並曰：「人們多以為理趣為語言之主宰而加以管理。」我則認為，語言時而反奪理趣，往往有之。洛克承繼此說，著文論述由於語言的妄用與不完善，常使理趣受損，學者之家甚為重視。譯者曰：由於東西方語言氣質不同，論及語言之事翻譯頗難，故略去不譯。）（本註腳之粗體與中文翻譯為筆者所標註、所譯）

時以歐語直譯的方式處理外國名詞，有時以創詞的方式處理外國名詞，讓譯本顯露出重層現象，既給讀者闡釋外國語言的「形義」（取形賦義），也給讀者提示原文的「音譯」（提示語音），使「注音假名」與「夾注」所到之處皆是異國情調。

伍、章節重構在國際翻譯實踐中的定位

將《古都》日譯本的章節重構策略，置於更廣泛的國際翻譯實踐中進行比較，可以更清晰地界定其獨特性與意義。在國際翻譯實踐中，譯者改動原作章節順序並非罕見現象。村上春樹的《發條鳥年代記》英譯本 *The Wind-up Bird Chronicle* (Murakami, 1994-1995/1998) 是一個廣為人知的例子。英譯者魯賓 (James Rubin) 在出版社的建議下，刪除了原作中約六萬字的內容 (Murakami, 1994-1995/1998)，並對部分章節的順序進行了調整，以增強故事的線性推進和情節的緊湊感。與《發條鳥年代記》的英譯本相比，兩者都進行了結構調整以提升目標讀者的閱讀緊湊感與情感投入度。然而，《發條鳥年代記》的英譯過程伴隨了大量字數的刪減，這不僅影響了文本的節奏，更改變了敘事的完整性。相較之下，《古都》日譯本則是在「完整保留內容」的前提下，只以章節順序的逆轉進行重構，彰顯其策略的「溫和性」，避免了因內容刪減而引發的忠實爭議。

另一個例子是《道德經》的多種英譯版本。由於歷史傳承與出土版本的差異，不同譯者在章節順序上有顯著不同。翟林奈 (Lionel Giles) 的版本將章節依主題重組，符合西方哲學論述的邏輯；而韓祿伯 (Robert G. Henricks) 則依據馬王堆帛書版本進行編排，與通行本的章節順序迥異，這種改動並非出於情節推進的考量，而是為了構建一種新的哲學理路 (Kirkland, 1997, 2004)。與《古都》相比，《道德經》的章節重構動機主要是思想邏輯的再構，而非情感節奏的調整；而《古都》的章節改動則主要在於情感節奏的重組，以適應日本文學的閱讀偏好與文化審美。

此外，與韋利（Arthur Waley）的《西遊記》英譯本 *Monkey*（Wu, 1942/1961）相比，《古都》日譯本的重構策略更顯出其獨特性。韋利的譯本結合了選譯與重構，將敘事焦點集中於主要人物的冒險經歷；而《古都》日譯本則主要透過章節次序的調整，提升譯本在目標文化中的可接受性。

承上，發生於跨文化翻譯上的章節重構，可能的動機可歸納為三：一是文化適應，二是邏輯重組，三是市場策略。這些動機往往交織在一起，並根據具體文本的類型、目標讀者群體的偏好以及出版定位而呈現不同的實施方式。《古都》日譯本的特殊性在於，它是一種完整翻譯下的結構重寫，達成了文化適應與情感節奏調整的雙重目的。本研究將此策略定位為一種溫和且高效的「跨國出版策略」，允許出版商在目標市場快速建立情感連結，同時避免像《發條鳥年代記》英譯本那樣因「大幅刪減」而引發對忠實的爭議。《古都》日譯本平衡了形式忠實與文化適應兩個翻譯學上的重要議題，挑戰了傳統譯學中「忠實」與「創造」的二元對立，譯者可以在不犧牲文本完整性的前提下，以章節重構的創造性處理方法來達成文化適應的目的。這種策略能在保留原作精神的同時，讓譯文更貼近目標文化的情感節奏與敘事邏輯，為文學翻譯的跨文化溝通開創一種可能性。

陸、結論

本研究透過對朱天心《古都》及其日譯本的分析，探討了清水賢一郎在翻譯過程中對原作章節順序進行重構的現象，揭示了翻譯學中一個值得探討的議題：在跨文化文學傳播中，譯者如何在「忠實原作」與「文化適應」之間作出抉擇。清水賢一郎的案例顯示，這種抉擇不僅取決於譯者個人的翻譯理念，還受制於出版策略、目標讀者群體的閱讀偏好，以及文化市場的運作邏輯。研究發現，這一重構行為是有意為之、具備理論基礎的翻譯策略。

理解此一現象的關鍵，在於運用「結構性顯化」的譯學概念。譯者藉由調整章節順序的手法，將原作的敘事邏輯清晰地呈現出來。「逆寫」性的結

構重置，使朱天心個人的記憶書寫，被重新定位為一種更具公共性與普遍性的東亞共同記憶。

清水賢一郎的譯例將譯者定位為主動、有意識的文化中介者（cultural intermediaries）⁶與詮釋者。深化譯者作為「文化中介者」的應用角色，在於強調其透過結構調整，影響日本讀者對臺灣當代文學的感知與價值判斷，這對於翻譯教學與出版實務具備高度啟發性。譯者在此不僅是語言的轉換者，更是文本的重構者與閱讀路徑的設計者，譯者主體性的實踐不只限於詞句的選擇技法，還可透過結構的創造性處理予以實現。《古都》日譯本能在不犧牲文本完整性的前提下，僅以結構調整來實現跨文化適應，已為譯學實踐與研究提供出一種新範例。

《古都》日譯本的章節重構不僅是一個翻譯技巧，更是譯者展示主動性的演繹舞臺；譯者不僅是跨語言的橋樑，更是重塑原作結構、意義與文化脈絡的中介者。當《古都》以「倒敘」方式被閱讀時，它已不只是朱天心個人的記憶書寫，而是一場由譯者精心策劃，與作者進行跨越語言與文化思維交流的記憶對話。

⁶ 文化中介者是布迪厄（Pierre Bourdieu）所論述的重要概念，指在創作者與消費者之間扮演調解角色的個人或群體，在參與文化品味與消費模式建構方面發揮關鍵作用（Bourdieu, 1993, 1996）。隨著此概念的延伸與運用，此詞語已產生多重詮釋，研究者開始進一步關注其在文化傳播過程中的中介、介入與權力關係（李令儀，2014）。

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世界中的臺灣：三毛《撒哈拉的故事》的翻譯研究

謝琬湏

本文主要透過班雅明（Walter Benjamin）提出的「可譯性」概念與李育霖〈翻譯作為皺摺〉中語言倫理主體化的思維，來分析三毛《撒哈拉的故事》的「翻譯」活動是如何在逐譯的文學作品中讓讀者看見「臺灣」，並在「翻譯語言」的閱讀模式中想像「臺灣」。本文研究目的除了希望藉此路徑補充「文化翻譯」中較缺失的語言翻譯與主體建構的美學與生命政治等相關問題外，更期望從中更進一步尋覓出在世界中一條由「翻譯」映射出的「臺灣」路徑。

關鍵詞：翻譯作為皺摺、可譯性、翻譯語言、世界中的臺灣、三毛

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Worlding Taiwan: A Translation Study on Sanmao's *Stories of the Sahara*

Wan-Chen Hsieh

This study focuses on the translation activity of Sanmao's *Stories of the Sahara* through the perspective of Walter Benjamin's "translatability" and Lee Yulin's notion of "linguistic ethical subjectivity," as articulated in his single essay "Translation as Folding." It will present the foreign how to perceive "Taiwan" within the work of the translation literary and to imagine "Taiwan" in the reading mode of "the language of translation." The purpose of this study is not only to supplement the relatively underexplored issues in "cultural translation"—such as linguistic translation, subject formation, aesthetics, and biopolitics—but also to further seek, through the lens of "translation," a path that reflects and maps out a distinct "Taiwanese" trajectory in the world.

Keywords: translation as folding, translatability, the language of translation, worlding Taiwan, Sanmao

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壹、前言

當前 21 世紀儼然已進入商品、訊息、人文等大量跨境流通的時代，文學作品也因此獲得許多交流的可能。英美文學教授杜林（Simon During）便認為近年來各種文化商品快速跨境，明顯與旅遊業盛行有關，由此賦予各國文學頻繁交流的契機（During, 2009）。然而，眾所皆知，所有文學作品（商品）的移動都是帶有方向，相互流動的速度與密度並非對等與一致，交流能夠產生意義不是隨機發生，而是建立在特定的時間、空間歷史脈絡下的產物。作品流通條件與語言大小、政治強弱與經濟規模等有關。丹穆若什（David Damrosch）在《什麼是世界文學》（*What is World Literature?*）中討論各國文學流通時，便指出在全球化浪潮下的文學旅行，不該僅從題材或文類的世界性等來思考流通與閱讀模式，而是該從翻譯、出版、評論、銷售與學校教育等層層條件下來考量一部作品在異地流通的可能性（丹穆若什，2003／2015）。法國學者卡薩諾瓦（Pascale Casanova）《文學世界共和國》（*La République mondiale des Lettres*）也有類似的觀點，只不過她特別強調一本文學作品的世界性須外譯成有文學性的語言（例如，法文）（卡薩諾瓦，2004／2015）。由此可見，隸屬於地方的文學作品要對外傳播、流通，首要條件就是作品的翻譯，而且要翻譯成具有國際市場的語言。

事實上，作品外譯成英文亦是臺灣政府積極推廣臺灣文學到世界各地採取的首要策略。文化部從 2010 年起開始積極補助作品的外譯與出版，¹並於 2015 年建置網頁“Books From Taiwan”版權國際行銷平臺（已於 2020 年 3 月由文策院接手），每半年選入不同文類各十本作品試譯章節成英文，視為提高臺灣文學能見度與行銷國際的方式。確實，此方法成效斐然，²其中楊双子

¹ 基本上，臺灣政府早在 1970 年代就已經有文學外譯補助計畫，但當時以推廣漢學為主，而以臺灣為主體為意識的外譯計畫要到 1990 年代之後（邱貴芬，2023，頁 31—32）。

² 例如，美國譯者柏莫格（Steve Bradbury）與詩人阿芒合作的 *Raised by Wolves* 於 2021 年獲得美國筆會的翻譯詩集獎（PEN Award for Poetry in Translation）。又譯者陸敬思（Christopher Lupke）與臺灣文學館合作翻譯《臺灣文學史綱》，於 2021 年獲得美國現代語言學會學術翻譯。

《臺灣漫遊錄》的英文譯者金翎與灰狼出版社（Graywolf Press）皆獲得相關獎勵下進行出版事宜，此書不僅在美國獲得銷售佳績，還於 2024 年獲得美國國家圖書獎（National Book Awards）的翻譯文學大獎，一舉讓作者站在美國頒獎典禮上表述自己的書寫「是為了回答臺灣人究竟是什麼人」（陳宛茜，2024，第 4 段）。誠然，如邱貴芬（2023）指出臺灣文學外譯的重要性，不僅只為了提高在地文學的能見度或交流的深度，而是「臺灣文學的輸出，是臺灣尋求國際對於臺灣主體認知的一個重要管道」（頁 29）。由此可見，「翻譯」不僅是臺灣作品對外傳播、流通的基石，也是臺灣「主體」建立的路徑。如此一來，本文認為對於行銷臺灣有功的「翻譯」，在研究上應更進一步追問逐譯的文學作品是如何讓臺灣在成為語言上的異鄉人的同時看見「臺灣」？如何在翻譯語言的閱讀模式中想像出「臺灣」？

也就是說，假若「翻譯」此一活動已然標示著把一種語言的文學作品帶向「另一種語言」的書寫、閱讀模式之中，那麼（任何語言的）讀者若能在自己的表述系統中認知到「臺灣」主體的語言表現，必然意味著此一主體本身的構成不存在於傳統的「單一語言」民族認同的表述方式中，而是要求一種既屬於自我又同時是他者的「閩境語言」才能形塑出來的樣貌。換句話說，認同一本翻譯的臺灣文學作品能夠折射出臺灣主體性的表述形式，勢必是因為此一主體性的語言組構是藉由其語言的陌異且開放自身的狀態，來書寫出自身獨特的美學表達模式，並從而讓翻譯的語言關係問題不再建立在人類的關係倫理上，而是語言自身組成的倫理關係，如此才有可能在不同語言流轉中出現「閩境語言」。如此一來，在探究臺灣文學外譯的翻譯研究中，本文認為必然要思考臺灣文學的書寫是如何展演「閩境語言」的美學形式？如何能在「另一種語言」的閱讀模式中遇見「臺灣」？並折射出想像中的「臺灣」的生命樣態？

不過，在表明本文將採用的翻譯研究路徑之前，在此將先說明上述的提問為何至今仍然有效。畢竟，「翻譯研究」從 1970 年代興起，並於其後經歷翻譯的文化轉向，在研究上不斷強調翻譯發生所在的文化脈絡。巴斯奈特

(Susan Bassnett) 指出 1980 年代之後翻譯的交流活動逐漸擔負起探究文化、身分認同等議題的關鍵角色，而這正好與 1990 年代的後殖民論述上的需求，兩者相輔相成(巴斯奈特，1980 / 2016)。那麼，關於建構自我、他者相關「主體」位置，不應早在「文化翻譯」的強勁辨證性中勾勒出來？然而，情況似乎非如此樂觀，因為「文化翻譯」研究長期把目光聚焦在交流中不平衡的權力關係，對於語言在溝通中的變化取徑總是略而不論，因而導致鮮少指出在跨國文化流動中「自我」是如何在交流活動中建構出「他者」的位置。例如，韋努蒂(Lawrence Venuti) 在思考丹穆若什所建構世界文學中的流通與閱讀模式，認為其概念是建立在當前西方主流的翻譯觀念上，是從自身對信仰、價值與詮釋等文學翻譯考量，翻譯實踐僅強化西方的理解與興趣(Venuti, 2013, p. 193)。又或如本文將聚焦探究三毛《撒哈拉的故事》(三毛，1976b)，其所屬的「旅行文學」類型在「文化翻譯」視角下經常被視為一種帝國視角的書寫形式(普拉特，1992 / 2017)。正如薩依德(Edward W. Said) 就曾提醒西方遊客到東方所紀錄下的經驗，並無法擺脫自身東方主義的制約，就算以「真實」經驗為號召的文學作品，其內涵揭示的也並非「理解」，而是作家在自我文化受到外界刺激的「對比」(薩依德，1978 / 1999，頁 241—296)。阿普特(Emily Apter) 在探究語言的旅行，更是把旅行書寫中的殖民問題指向全球資本主義滲透的活動，認為當前的旅行模式皆由媒體形塑而成，甚至認為當代的殖民地小說中展現的旅行樣貌，與其說是在書寫文化交流，更像是描述一種國際貿易商品交換過程的紀實旅行(Apter, 2006, pp. 160-161)。換言之，常見的「文化翻譯」論述在把「語言」視為「文化」隱喻的同時，已直接預設帝國與殖民、東方與西方、自我與他者、作者與譯者等「對立」，由此來揭示翻譯追求的「對等」背後隱藏著不同政治、經濟與社會的強弱關係。

如此一來，儘管「文化翻譯」確實揭露逐譯作品中潛藏的不平等視野，但建構在此喻法下的文學翻譯、流通與傳播，長久下來便產生幾個十分耳熟的回應，像臺灣重要的版權代理商譚光磊面對翻譯文學作品就曾表示：「那

時常會懷疑我的工作是不是在『助紂為虐』？開始想做版權輸出，也是有點『贖罪』的心情，覺得應該來為本地作家做點事」（魏芳妤，2023，第10段）。又或當臺灣作品在外國受重視而重新掀起臺灣讀者閱讀熱潮時，就會如春山出版社的總編輯莊瑞琳質疑楊双子《臺灣漫遊錄》在臺灣的熱潮，「是一種反殖民的反擊，還是證實我們受到帝國很大的控制，必須透過邪惡的英語市場的力量，才能反擊回臺灣書市，引起再度討論？」（林欣誼，2024，第10段）。實際上，這些反思、自省的話語正好反映長久以來文學流通在把語言視為文化隱喻的「文化翻譯」論述中，並未讓我們切身認知到自己（臺灣）在國際中如何被認識，反而只是再次感受到世界之於「我」的壓迫。似乎當前的「文化翻譯」研究，就如印度學者特里維迪（Harish Trivedi）的喟嘆：「若有一事不是文化翻譯，那就是文化的翻譯」（Trivedi, 2007, p. 282）。³

事實上，李育霖早在《翻譯闖境》（李育霖，2009）中指出，文學文本的「翻譯」儘管從後結構對語意的「延異」（*difference*）概念中認知到「翻譯」不在尋找「對等物」（*equivalent*）、「本真性」（*authenticity*）或「本源性」（*originality*），但他認為也不應該只把「翻譯」理解成殖民或全球化下在地表現的國族與認同等權力的批判方法，而是要視為不同符號重新連結、斷裂與聚合的生命政治的議題，並以此建構出臺灣主體的路徑。而對於該如何從語言「翻譯」中建構出主體的問題，又不會陷於傳統文字美學與語言學的翻譯框架中，他在〈翻譯作為皺摺〉（李育霖，2015）更進一步提出用德勒茲（Gilles Deleuze）的「皺摺」（*the fold*）概念來理解翻譯運動中自我與他者關係之間所建構的語言倫理主體化過程，並藉此路徑來展現語言主體化的美學與生命政治。文中，李育霖表示可以把翻譯視為一次「皺摺」運動，因為若翻譯建構出兩文本的關係正如班雅明（Walter Benjamin）〈譯者的天職〉（Benjamin, 1923/1996）中的比喻，即輕觸於圓之點（此非真的一點）的無限延伸，那麼李育霖（2015）認為此一「點」其實可以「類比德勒茲在巴洛

³ 中文為筆者翻譯，原文為“if there is one thing that Cultural Translation is not, it is the translation of culture”（Trivedi, 2007, p. 282）。

克摺曲線的發現的『摺皺一點』（fold-point）」（頁 79）。因為他表示對班雅明而言，此一「點」既帶領語言上的材質改變，又可以包含在整體的純粹語言，而這層次的思維其實類似於德勒茲的巴洛克式（Baroque）的「摺皺一點」，表現的是「在之間」的一種「力」（force）行動，從而展現出巴洛克式建築既屬於有機物，又屬於靈魂的皺摺（頁 69）。

而關於如何理解「摺皺」形構成語言主體化的過程，李育霖（2015）表示在此要注意到德勒茲用「皺摺」描繪巴洛克式藝術的目的，是為了詮釋萊布尼茲（Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz）的單子論哲學（Monadology），所以對德勒茲而言，皺摺與「力」（force）的關係並不是抽象概念，而是「這一點同時也構成萊布尼茲物理學的基礎」（頁 70）。也就是說，「力」是具有實際效應的物理現象，所以一旦察覺到「力」的存在，必然是來自於「力」的效果。「力」是表現性的。因此，對萊布尼茲而言，單子具有主體，因為單子在力與力之間展現出材料物理的自發特性（spontaneity），一種來自單子內部感知視角的主動表達，「『一個私密主體真正量子的解放』（*The Fold* 79）」（頁 72）因而展演出一種主體化的過程。因此，就算是思想，對德勒茲而言，也是在「力」中構築起來的。李育霖（2015）指出德勒茲閱讀傅柯（Paul-Michel Foucault）知識系統的倫理主體時，便把配置知識層疊系統分成可述的（the sayable）與可見的（the visible），並認為「兩者仍有其各自的材料與形式，且不相統屬，相對的，使兩者得以運作並產生關連的則是權力（power）」（頁 75）。在此，對「權力」的理解，李育霖（2015）表示從德勒茲承繼的哲學傳統來看，仍應視為「真實」的力，並解讀成「將權力看作是力與力之間的關係，亦即影響與被影響的能受力」（頁 75）。所以，倘若一般把「思想」當成是主體內部運作的結果，在德勒茲的皺摺觀點（力與力的關係）中，「思想」是受外部「權力」影響而表現內部層疊的主體化。如此一來，李育霖（2015）認為若翻譯是一種既帶有思想又同時在書寫中實踐的雙重行動，那麼在翻譯的語言「所展演的便是這一生命的摺皺運動」（頁 91）。

在此，李育霖（2015）把班雅明的語言翻譯概念類比為德勒茲的「皺褶」思考並具象化了語言主體化過程，似乎讓我們找到了一條「語言的翻譯」如何指向語言倫理主體化的過程（或本文想探究在世界中出現「臺灣」的路徑），而可以不是如班雅明把「翻譯」的可能朝向神學的浪漫思維。其基礎就是建立在語言內部「感知」主體與外部自身「變異」等雙重運動的皺摺（翻譯）過程。如此一來，殷鑑於本文研究目的是探究逐譯的臺灣文學作品如何讓世界看見臺灣，並進一步成為認知「臺灣」主體建構的路徑。因此，本文「翻譯」概念將取徑於李育霖〈翻譯作為皺摺〉中的語言倫理主體化思維，以及班雅明〈譯者的任務〉中提出「可譯性」（translatability）的概念，並透過分析三毛《撒哈拉的故事》（三毛，1976b）的「翻譯」活動，具體展示出理論上相關較為複雜抽象的翻譯思考，如李育霖把翻譯視為皺摺指向「力」表現是如何作為倫理「主體化」的過程，或如班雅明的「翻譯」是如何指向語言內部關係展現出的共同「意圖」（intentions），並由此生成出「後繼生命」（afterlife），從而說明「翻譯」文學的重要性，因為「翻譯」的發生攸關生命的發生。

另外，本文特意選用三毛《撒哈拉的故事》作為案例分析，而非其他眾多優秀的臺灣文學外譯作品，借重的是其作品「旅行文學」的特色。⁴畢竟，書寫旅行文學的基本要求，已是建立在實際的身體跨界行動上，置肉身於異域的藩籬之中，而作者的書寫便是在開放自身語言的「感知」讓世界融入自己編織的表述，從而以多元又複雜的視角來展現文學作品的深度。因此，本文認為在此視角下，旅行文學的書寫儼然讓語言成為「事件」發生的核心，因而會更易突顯語言內、外部「翻譯」（皺摺）過程。事實上，以此觀點也能夠說明為何旅行文學的閱讀，經常會被視為作家自我的回歸，或是能夠回應同一語言讀者心靈的需求，因為作者已透過「翻譯語言」映照出一種「生

⁴ 本文並非認為唯有「旅行文學」才能夠說明語言「翻譯」的交流問題，事實上李育霖《翻譯闖境》已從賴和、龍瑛宗、西川滿與王禎和等人的作品中展現出語言在「翻譯」路徑上所展現出的主體化過程的美學與生命政治（李育霖，2009）。

命」樣態，一種來自生命「表達」的所在。

因此，下文研究路徑將先透過三毛《撒哈拉的故事》的生命力展現，來說明班雅明指涉的生命「原初」（the original）⁵的「可譯性」概念；其次，在班雅明的「可譯性」概念下，指出《撒哈拉的故事》的中文版（三毛，2021）與西班牙文版（Sanmao, 1976/2016）中的「翻譯的語言」所在，以此闡釋作者／譯者／讀者的語言異鄉人如何在忠實的條件下自由「直譯」；最後，將在李育霖提出的把「翻譯視為摺皺」的概念中，檢索「翻譯的語言」如何在語言的皺摺運動中發生主體化的過程，從而讓臺灣在世界中迴盪，照見臺灣文學的獨特之處。基本上，本研究目的除了希望透過探究三毛《撒哈拉的故事》的翻譯研究補充長期被「文化翻譯」忽略的「翻譯的語言」的相關論述外，更期望能從中進一步在世界中尋覓出一條由「翻譯」映射出「臺灣」的路徑。

貳、可譯性：要求不被忘記的生命

首先，本節將透過沉寂半世紀《撒哈拉的故事》（三毛，1976b）的「原初」生命力的展現，來具體說明出班雅明指的「原初」的「可譯性」概念。基本上，班雅明〈譯者的任務〉（Benjamin, 1923/1996）中的「可譯性」是個十分獨特的翻譯概念，因為他把語言表達與生命連結在一起，並認為「翻譯」一詞本身就在指涉語言自身朝向自身之外的活動，因而認為若發生「翻譯」活動，便意味著一種語言尋找自身之外無法概括所有生命語言的表達。所以，對班雅明而言，「翻譯」攸關「生命」的問題，而且由於他認為生命的展現不在於存在，而是表現出來的模態，所以語言向外必然是來自於接近

⁵ 本文把班雅明的“the original”譯為「原初」而非一般的「原文」或「原作」，主要是為了強調班雅明〈譯者的任務〉中指出「原初」不屬於人類語言文字的表達範疇，且認為「原初」一詞可避免「原文」、「原作」中已預設的文字、文本的存在，以及與人類智慧財產權中的原著觀念混淆。另外，本文班雅明〈譯者的任務〉主要參閱 Zohn 英譯版（Benjamin, 1923/1996），並為求行文流暢，中文部份將以筆者的翻譯為主。相關的中譯版本對比分析可參考胡功澤（2009），而英譯版本對比分析可參考萬壹遵（2022）。

更高生命的目的，如此才讓「翻譯」成為可能（即可譯性）。換言之，對班雅明而言，「可譯性」是建立在生命自發朝向自身之外更高目的「連結」現象上，而「翻譯」就是此「連結」活動所構成形式的一部分，因而可以從其路徑揭示語言內部關係（純粹語言）的可能「意圖」。

在此，或許班雅明的「可譯性」聽起來十分抽象、陌生與奇怪。因此，本節將透過重新檢索三毛《撒哈拉的故事》展現出的生命力，以具體說明班雅明的「可譯性」中「原初」的生命是如何帶領「翻譯」的出現，讓 1976 年出版的《撒哈拉的故事》可以在沉寂近半世紀後，再次在世界上開啟「翻譯」旅行。⁶

三毛本名陳平（1943 年生於重慶，1991 年卒於臺北），《撒哈拉的故事》於 1976 年出版便造成風潮，內容平實紀錄自身與西班牙丈夫荷西（José María Quero）在非洲撒哈拉沙漠的日常生活，不僅為當時七、八〇年代封閉的臺灣社會開闊了視野，也關照了東方女性主體，受到廣大華文讀者的歡迎（金瑾，2023，頁 126—127）。胡錦媛（2018）指出三毛的旅行書寫雖非此類型的開創者或集大成者，但卻是最受歡迎的作家，因為三毛的第一人稱敘述「使讀者感到親切，覺得遙遠陌生的撒哈拉沙漠並不如原先所預想的那般怪異可畏」（頁 167）。鍾怡雯（2016）認為作者浪跡天涯的敘事是「替讀者去追求自由的夢想，實現了遙不可及的嚮往」（頁 162）。而且，三毛的影響力也不僅局限於華文讀者，〈撒哈拉的故事〉單篇散文作品在 1979 年便有 15 種譯文（丘彥明，2015，頁 294—296），而此書的翻譯也在 1991 年與 1992 年就分別有日文翻譯與韓文版本，並在沉寂近半世紀之久，西班牙的出版社 RATA 在無任何官方機構主導、介入的情況下，於 2016 年在西班牙境內同時發行西班牙文語及加泰隆尼亞語等兩種譯文版本，正式開啟《撒哈拉的故事》在歐洲的文學旅行。

⁶ 2016 年三毛《撒哈拉的故事》的西班牙文譯本（Sanmao, 1976/2016）上市後，隨後波蘭（2018 年）、義大利（2019 年）、荷蘭（2019 年）、英國（2019 年）與俄羅斯（2022 年）等地譯文相繼出版。目前此書總共售出 11 國的版權（佐渡守，2021）。

實際上，《撒哈拉的故事》逐譯至西班牙文並不令人驚訝，根據有豐富國際書市行銷經驗的譚光磊（2011）表示，臺灣文學要進到其他市場通常「由於文化相近，許多幾乎不可能外銷歐美的文類，卻能在亞洲國家找到市場，例如散文集」（頁 39—40）。換言之，《撒哈拉的故事》適合傳播至西班牙，可推斷是作者自身與西班牙的連結，以及西班牙人對撒哈拉沙漠地區並不陌生等理由。事實上，西班牙與撒哈拉沙漠本就有著百年的殖民關聯，而且當前在西班牙書市上也充斥許多相關的作品。⁷所以，若從「主題」上來看，《撒哈拉的故事》在西班牙國境內是潛藏著閱讀需求。換言之，在此令人訝異的並非作品的逐譯，而是《撒哈拉的故事》沉寂半世紀之久卻能在無任何官方補助行銷情況下，忽然再次「浮出」世界，進入歐洲讀者的視野，開啟自身的世界之旅。

當然，三毛《撒哈拉的故事》進入西班牙最大的功臣，必然歸功於出版社總編輯巴塔耶（Iolanda Batallé）的積極。她表示自己首次聽聞三毛故事後，自行探尋譯文，而且在閱讀幾篇譯文後，立即決定把《撒哈拉的故事》作為自己創立的出版社發行的第一本書。她表示三毛的作品完全符合自己「尋找發自真心、勇氣與需求所書寫的作家」（Martínez, 2016, p. 5）。⁸因此，總編輯飛了一萬哩路到臺灣洽談版權。最終，三毛的家人答應此次提案，而非如同往常一樣拒絕上百封合作計畫郵件。他們表示是因為從來沒有一家出版社的總編輯像巴塔耶一樣親自到臺灣商談，展現出最大的誠意與決心（Martínez, 2016, pp. 5-17）。確實，巴塔耶功不可沒，不過本文在此認為此過程中更有

⁷ 根據西班牙教育文化體育部（Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte）的出版資料庫紀錄，從 2010 年到 2016 年間，書名中有「撒哈拉」（Sahara）為關鍵字的出版品共有 125 本（以 ISBN 為標準）。而當前西班牙與西撒哈拉的關係密切，除了有殖民關係（西班牙政府根據 1885 年歐洲在柏林（Berlin）召開的西非會議中，獲得殖民西撒哈拉的權力，並於 1975 年十月結束殖民）外，主要是西撒哈拉雖於 1975 年十月宣佈脫離西班牙統治，但在獨立之際，土地卻立即被北方摩洛哥（Morocco）、西方的阿爾及利亞（Algeria）與南方茅利塔尼亞（Mauritania）侵略，而不願屈從的撒哈拉威人（Saharawi，或稱撒哈拉人）（不願成為摩洛哥國民或茅利塔尼亞國民）被趕至阿爾及利亞東邊，一處由聯合國在各國協商畫分出的一塊阿爾及利亞自由區與難民營，提供給「無家可歸」的撒哈拉威人居住。截至目前為止的情況，西撒哈拉仍有十幾萬人住在此處的難民營中，而國際外交上主要聲援撒哈拉威人的抗議行動，是以與他們語言連結的前殖民母國西班牙為主（蔡適任，2021，頁 299—319）。

⁸ *Diarios del Sáhara*（Sanmao, 1976/2016）的中文翻譯皆為筆者翻譯，下文皆同。

趣的是，巴塔耶認識三毛的途徑並非透過紙本閱讀，而是「聽」聞來的。

事實上，若爬梳西班牙的報章媒體，即可發現三毛其實一直存在於西國世界之中。2012 年在加那利群島（Islas Canarias）地區發行的《每日通報》（*Diario de Avisos*）便有一則報導當地墓園的騷動，指出地方上一座總有許多亞洲觀光客獻花的墓地，是因為其妻子（三毛）是華人有名的作家（Herrera, 2012）。而且，島上的海邊還立了一座塔，是依三毛的名字形象設計的三根細長的金屬管子，並稱之為「文學景點」（李黎，2019）。此外，加那利群島的市政府還在 2014 年特以專書《橄欖與梅樹花》（*El olivo y la flor del ciruelo*）來介紹三毛在 1979 年的島上生活（Medina, 2015）。另外，《國家報》（*El País*）於 2015 年 11 月 27 日也有一篇標題為〈在華文經典文學中的西撒哈拉〉，撰文者為阿瓦赫（Bahia M. H. Awah），是在西班牙有名的撒哈拉威詩人。文中，他分享自己如何感受到三毛《撒哈拉的故事》的重要性，提及自身在大學開設「二十世紀西班牙和拉丁美洲的流亡與現代：以西撒哈拉非殖民化過程為例」的課程時，十分驚訝自亞洲的學生對於西撒哈拉的熟悉，而且在他有心的調查下也發現自己的鄰居，一位從事進出口貿易的中國男子也略知一二（Awah, 2015）。甚至，由於阿瓦赫為確認三毛的身分，主動致電尋問一位出生於西撒哈拉的西班牙導演阿爾瓦拉多（Susi Alvarado），因而引起了導演的好奇，其後自發性的蒐羅資料拍了一部名為《三毛：生命是一場旅行》（*Sanmao, la vida es el viaje*）（2016 年）的紀錄片（Cartón, 2019）。

顯然，這些案例皆說明三毛及其文學作品就算沒有正式介紹與翻譯至西班牙，但三毛的「生命」仍一直存在於在西班牙的國度中流通，「無比真實」的存在於眾人的「傳說」之中，催促著亞洲讀者到加那利群島的墓前獻花、地方政府出版專書、譯者向出版社引薦三毛、主編飛至臺灣積極洽談版權、撒哈拉威詩人為三毛撰文投書新聞媒體、電影導演拍攝紀錄片……等，並最終讓三毛的翻譯作品在世界中流通。在此，本文認為這些「無比真實」的行動，十分適合用來演繹班雅明指涉的「可譯性」，即「原初」憑藉著內含「真

實」的生命力向外「連結」所揭露出的生命印記（即可譯性）而召喚翻譯出現。

也就是說，從上述列舉的案例中，可以注意到每一個讀者（個體）的「具體」活動雖然都環繞著「三毛」而發生，但其目的皆不是在追思作家的人生歷程，更多的是來自於個體「生命」的觸發，對自身與「生命」本身交匯的回應，小至出版社總編輯的立社宗旨，大至地方政府的觀光需求，或被殖民者與國家政權的糾纏等，都是在自身「生命」受（三毛）觸發後，開展向外連結到三毛的「生命」語境之中。換言之，在相互連結的過程中，三毛的「生命」既是「原初」的觸點也是揭露「原初」連結的印記而賦予翻譯（形式）可能的「接繼生命」。可以說三毛的「生命」成為了各個生命歷程交織共構的一點，而「三毛」的名字也已非是特定生命的隱喻，或是能指、所指的既定結構，而是一個具備觸發「實質」力量的語言符號。誠如鍾怡雯（2016）表示：

「三毛」已經成為一個符號，象徵自由與追尋。與其說三毛完成了傳奇的一生，不如說是讀者在閱讀的過程中獲得慾望的滿足，也因此讓這個傳奇在一次又一次的閱讀當中，不斷流傳。（頁 158）

由此觀之，當我們指陳「三毛」之名，實然已非指向上一世紀的華語女性作家，而是在指認一個由「生命」觸發「實質」力量的「效果」。而這或許就是為何班雅明儘管認為人類的表述不足以包含生命，也無法具備創造的能力，但他仍堅信語言「翻譯」的發生涉及「原初」，碰觸到「生命」，因為「只要生命或時刻的本質要求不被遺忘，主語外部的表述就不是空話，只是人類聲稱下的不實，卻可能是關於已經被充實的領域：上帝的緬懷」（Benjamin, 1923/1996, p. 254）。當然，本文對「生命」的理解並非要朝向班雅明指向的神學觀，而是企圖從德勒茲的「皺摺一點」中指向語言的主體化過程。事實上，若從「皺摺一點」的力的表現性來看三毛的「生命」存有，那些觸及三毛「生命」而展開連結的具體案例中，在某一程度上似乎就如同「單子」中某個真實的內在視角如何驅使著世界在此一點（語言符號）上展現出自發性的行動，帶領著自身向外連結，最終讓「翻譯」成為可能（可見的）。

不置可否，本小節尚未涉及到文學文本中的語言翻譯問題，但仍認為從三毛之名「這一點」所觸發的「實質」效果，已然揭示出一個語言符號「實質」存在的向外連結之「力」（可譯性），一個非空話的充實領域，一個要求不被遺忘的「生命」上的一點塵埃撞擊世界，「原初」就會在翻譯（皺摺）之中展現出來，就像德勒茲描繪巴洛克式的「摺皺一點」，表現出了一個既屬於有機物又屬於靈魂的皺摺。

而在下一節的討論中，本文將進入到三毛《撒哈拉的故事》的中文版（三毛，2021）與西班牙文版（Sanmao, 1976/2016）的作品分析，更具體說明文本中的「翻譯的語言」顯露了什麼樣的蹤跡可以讓要求不被遺忘的「生命」引領出翻譯？語言上的異鄉人／讀者／個體又如何作品的「翻譯語言」中體驗到生命？甚或在閱讀中感受到「自由」？讓西班牙出版社的總編輯僅閱讀幾篇翻譯短文，便感嘆：「只有在最遙遠的地方才能說出真正的自由」（Martínez, 2016, p. 6）。便認定了三毛的書寫必然是「自由」的一段傳奇？到底三毛《撒哈拉的故事》的中文版與西班牙文版中的「翻譯的語言」是如何既忠實且自由？

參、翻譯的語言：皇袍的皺摺

本節將奠基在德勒茲的皺摺概念下，從班雅明指出的「翻譯的語言」，來分析三毛《撒哈拉的故事》中文版（三毛，2021）⁹與西班牙文版 *Diarios del Sáhara*（Sanmao, 1976/2016）的「翻譯的語言」如何既忠實且自由。在此，

⁹ 本文分析三毛《撒哈拉的故事》的「中文版」參考文獻主要是以皇冠出版社於2021年重新出版的《撒哈拉歲月》（三毛，2021）為主。採用此版本是因為皇冠出版社此次的改版並非僅只是書封裝幀改變，而是把三毛書寫「同一地方」的文章編纂成冊。所以除了原本《撒哈拉的故事》13篇外，還增補了：《雨季不再來》（三毛，1976a）的〈平沙漠漠夜帶刀〉。《哭泣的駱駝》（三毛，1977a）中的〈收魂記〉、〈搭客車〉、〈啞奴〉、〈沙巴軍曹〉、〈哭泣的駱駝〉，《稻草人手記》（三毛，1977b）中〈親愛的婆婆大人〉，以及《溫柔的夜》（三毛，1979）中〈寂地〉等八篇。而且，實際上此次收錄的文章與2016年西班牙文版 *Diarios del Sáhara*（Sanmao, 1976/2016）收錄的21篇散文一樣（僅排版上文章先後順序不同），因此為求分析論述方便，「中文版」主要以《撒哈拉歲月》（三毛，2021）為主要參考文本。

把「中文版」納入「翻譯」的討論，誠如班雅明的「翻譯」概念是建立在「語言」自身具備類比或象徵的特質才使得「翻譯的語言」進入到純語言之中（胡功澤，2009；萬壹遵，2022）。所以，「原初」與翻譯關係不會像語言與內容形成某一整體性，而是：

翻譯的語言包裹住翻譯的內容，就像皇袍上的寬大皺褶。因為它（翻譯的語言）代表著一種比自己語言更崇高的語言，因而總是太壓迫與陌生而不適合其內容。（Benjamin, 1923/1996, p. 258）¹⁰

顯然，班雅明把「翻譯的語言」與其內容的關係，比喻成皇袍的皺褶，不僅說明皺褶自身與其內容（穿皇袍者）的鬆散關係，同時指出了皇袍的皺褶（翻譯的語言）具備包裹住神聖之處的可能性。因為皇袍的褶皺若具有崇高性，並不只是因為能包附著穿衣者，而是還具備自由向外指出缺席的象徵性所在。所以，對班雅明而言，足以向外尋找語言整體性的，並不是皇袍本身（即人類的語言），而是皇袍上的大大皺褶（翻譯的語言）才能進到純粹語言之中。

在此，或許應再次提醒，本論述的翻譯概念，疊合了班雅明的翻譯意圖與德勒茲闡釋的皺摺（力），因此在此強調「皇袍的皺褶」的比喻，看重的是班雅明描繪「翻譯語言」向外連結的「能力」，而不是連結的「目的」。另外，也要注意到所謂「翻譯的語言」展現出向外連結的能力，並不是連結不同國族語言，正如班雅明所提示的，語言的「親屬」關係不建立在血緣、模仿或相似的概念上，而是「語言」自身內部共同「意圖」的趨同性運動。所以，在下文將分析的「翻譯的語言」，是試圖從在語言內部的運動中編織出一件擁有皺摺（在力之間連結）的皇袍，鬆散包裹著內容，並自由的奔赴語言倫理的主體化過程。

實際上，三毛《撒哈拉的故事》的「中文版」是極為明顯的語言的翻譯現象，因為儘管作品用中文書寫，但作者的「中文」已並非習以為常的用語。從事《撒哈拉的故事》英文版翻譯校對工作的何曼莊（2020）就指出，三毛

¹⁰ 原文：“the language of the translation envelops its content like a royal robe with ample folds. For it signifies a more exalted language than its own and thus remains unsuited to its content, overpowering and alien”（Benjamin, 1923/1996, p. 258）。

的中文書寫「也有很多地方是她自創的『三毛體』，這時我就得拿出中文作家的魄力與自信建議，不不，這裡沒有什麼高深的用典，這是她自己發明的」（第9段）。而事實上，若仔細觀察三毛發明「中文」的路徑，可以歸納出三種語言運動的形式：書面語的中文、外文（西班牙文、阿拉伯文）翻譯的中文，以及擬音外語的中文。首先，在書面語的中文裡，三毛經常把慣用語置於不同的路徑中，例如三毛（2021）描繪自己的沙漠生活過得如往常一樣，「我又在風花雪月起來了」（頁194）；或與日常用品採買時，表示西班牙當地駐軍的士兵協助自己在人群中搶購，是因為「那些軍人看出我的確是有教養，就來路見不平了」（頁196）。或在〈親愛的婆婆大人〉中幾乎各種經典詩詞俚語都在三毛筆下成為與婆家對峙的工具，如自己「被大丈夫背後抵住小刀子上飛機，壯士成仁去也——」（頁211）等，如此導致「字面」失落了原本習慣承載的語徑，而朝向另一種潛藏意義的可能狀態。

其次，從外文（西班牙文、阿拉伯文）翻譯的中文，例如，三毛（2021）訴說荷西不吃駱駝肉的原因，是荷西認為「駱駝是用來穿針眼的，不是當別的用」（頁185）；或三毛常把「思想」當成如外語一樣的動詞用法，所以形容人很聰明，「很會思想」（頁118）。而她解釋荷西的理解能力，「荷西其實是明白這個道理的，只是他不肯去思想」（頁157）。當然，也有字面直譯，像上駕訓班是「在西班牙是一定要進『汽車學校』去學」（頁153）；汽車品牌為「不是那麼實用昂貴的『藍得羅伯牌』的大型吉普車」（頁255）；表達驚呼「耶穌基督——你，做做好事，別講啦！」（頁262）。

最後在擬音外語的中文方面，三毛（2021）是直接擬音並括弧中譯的方式來表達溝通的過程，例如向當地人問好「『沙那馬力古！』我也說：『沙那馬力古！』（日安的意思）」（頁31）。或指出居住方式、節日名稱等，「住在哈伊麻（帳篷之意）」（頁32）。當地回教的教長稱為「山棟」。「回教『拉麻丹』齋月馬上就要結束了」（頁136）。邀人搭順風車，「沙黑畢（朋友），上來吧！」（頁260）；向人介紹自己，「又指我自己：『沙——黑——布——蒂。』（女朋友）」（頁33），到當地人家中坐客，「『水埃呢！水埃呢！』

老人改用哈薩尼亞語說著，『好看！好看！』我懂了，輕輕的回答他：『哈克！』（是！）一面不住的看著自己美麗裝飾著的腳踝」（頁 299）。

顯然，在三毛《撒哈拉的故事》（三毛，1976b）的「翻譯的語言」（中文）已不像一般的翻譯意圖，並不努力讓中文占據另一種語言的表達方式，或是努力合法化自己的表達，而是逐一把自身語言的「字面」帶向內部更微小的形符、音符與意符可能指涉的陌生表達異域之中，讓中文變得十分「陌生」，弔詭如在撒哈拉沙漠中的「風花雪月」，不可思議如「駱駝是用來穿針眼」，或怪腔怪調的「沙那馬力古」等不建立在意義下的語言翻譯，而成為如班雅明所指涉的一種既「忠實」且「自由」的「翻譯的語言」。

然而，倘若「中文版」的語言翻譯活動是透過內部自身形、聲、意的微分化來形塑翻譯的「複本」，那麼在「西文版」*Diarios del Sáhara*（Sanmao, 1976/2016）顯現出「翻譯的語言」的特徵，¹¹ 更多的是受外部異質性干擾的語言變異現象，其中最為明顯的就是作品中有許多象形文字的拼貼，像是 21 個章節標題如〈回鄉小箋〉（“Breve carta desde Taiwán”）、〈白手成家〉（“Empezar de cero”）等都以中、西文並置方式呈現。而且，首頁的兩張三毛手繪的阿蘊（El Aaiún）（西屬撒哈拉沙漠的首都）城市與居家地圖也僅以中文標示。另外，Sanmao（1976/2016）內文也會出現如「人 y 入」（p. 114）、「人人人天天天……」（p. 247）等方塊字符的情形。在此，可想而知，西文讀者並沒有辦法從這些漢字達成任何「字義」上的理解，但這也並不意味著這些方塊字僅僅是一種異質的空間占據，而應該理解成是視覺對話的過程，就如一般外文書寫常用斜體字來標示聲音的異質性，如西文版中使用“hezibing”（合子餅）、“sushi”（壽司）、“¡Meimei!”（妹妹！）、“shandong”（山棟）、“El yinn”（臉信）等斜體字，就是透過字體傾斜來暗示自身表述系統朝向生疏的發音方式耦合的過程。而且，若以視覺表述而言，西文版中

¹¹ 再次強調，本文「翻譯」的概念是建立在李育霖與班雅明的語言內部運動，因此在此儘管探究三毛《撒哈拉的故事》的西班牙文翻譯，但研究焦點仍在 *Diarios del Sáhara*（Sanmao, 1976/2016）單一語言的翻譯表現問題，並不分析語意上一個語言逐譯至另一個語言的翻譯，若對語際翻譯論述有興趣，可參閱古孟玄（2022）。

還有一個比漢字占據的無聲空間更加唐突的表達，即是直接使用英文表意，例如百納被（*patchwork*），或吉普車品牌“Land Rover”，或荷西唱的英文歌“*I want to be an American*”（p. 216）或“*I want to marry an American*”（p. 216）等，儘管英文用斜體表達，但已不是要求自身的聲音向外模擬，而是在視覺疊合的狀態中，橫生出另一種發音系統的介入。而且，在英文中廣泛使用大寫書寫（例如“I”或“American”）在西文書寫系統是少見且顯目的存在。基本上，英文的出現已然直接介入語言視覺上的分歧與干擾。簡言之，西文版的象形文字拼貼、斜體字與英文字，其實也都是一種擾動表音語言的視覺姿態的過程，可以說更加突顯了語言內在對話的表面過程。

如此一來，「西文版」中神秘方塊字在視覺上占有的空白空間，看似讓「意義」不再透明、無法互惠與交流，但與此同時卻又在視覺的陌生中讓語言獲取另一種表現姿態的可能，傾斜文字暗示著表述傾向一種生疏發聲方式的模仿，又或不同拼音文字的疊合指向了視覺交流的歧異，皆促使語言向外發生形、聲上的流變。所以，人與入、“Meimei”或“*patchwork*”能夠「自由」產生自身之外的意義，都已不是在意義的替換上，而是透過「字體」表述的策略給予語言向外指向任何象徵的概念的可能性。

由此可見，在《撒哈拉的故事》（三毛，1976b）中無論中文版（三毛，2021）的「字面」或西文版（Sanmao, 1976/2016）的「字體」，都明顯的揭露語言如何不在意義層次上進行「忠實」且「自由」的內部運動，正如班雅明認為一旦語言自身具備向外指向任何象徵的「自由」，那麼「翻譯的語言」就能「代表」某物或「連結」至某物，而不是「某物」，因而讓語言在對「原初」忠實（可譯性）演繹中生產出「意圖」的補充。因此，儘管這些「翻譯的語言」在語境中盡顯突兀，卻也非讓字面「異化」（foreignization）而具有修辭作用營造出一種異「國」情調，或是想要強調表達的不可譯性，而是緩慢逐步的從翻譯發生的狀態之中，建構出語言自身的異「域」情調，從而進一步讓語言指向一個外部的虛擬位置所在。

不過，在此要注意的是，儘管上述把「翻譯的語言」指向一個外部虛擬

位置，但這並不意味著語言內部的翻譯運動是單向性的（由內而外）。事實上，這些「翻譯的語言」都應該看成是由內、外關係中形塑出來的語言表現，是在「字符」本身中的某一點特質展現出來的雙重運動，像「中文版」（三毛，2021）多是透過漢字的聲符質地來影響中文方塊字的視覺語感（例如「哈伊麻」），而「西文版」（Sanmao, 1976/2016）是藉由形符質地來撼動聽覺的畫面感（例如“I”或“American”），皆非在單一感知中作用，而是感知與感知之間的顫動中相互連結與變異的皺摺（翻譯）運動，從而讓「翻譯語言」構築出一條雙重運動的生命路線，如此才有可能「在一個內部外部不可區辨境域中自我創生的主體」（李育霖，2015，頁 77）。

肆、翻譯作為皺摺：異「域」情調

基本上，上一節分析的「翻譯的語言」表現中，主要是從「文字符碼」自身的表現性來揭露語言內、外關係的皺摺運動，而本節將更進一步分析三毛（2021）〈寂地〉的敘事結構與「翻譯語言」的運動，更具體的展現出把翻譯作為皺摺中，三毛形構的知識、思想如何是在德勒茲概念下的「權力」組配中展現出另類的美學書寫與生命政治。

三毛〈寂地〉主要描述自己與荷西及其朋友等一行八人到沙漠露營時，眾人如何逐步發現自身駐紮於「鬼地方」（墳場），並遭遇「臉狒」存在的毛骨悚然過程。事實上，一般把三毛〈寂地〉中描繪的恐怖經驗，解讀成一種遇「鬼」的驚駭。蔡適任（2021）視〈寂地〉為「撒哈拉靈異事件」（頁 220）。新加坡作家周繁（1979）表示自己受〈寂地〉的氣氛吸引，並認為「在一篇文學作品裏營造氣氛到這麼成功，是不容易的。這篇作品的重點是在『臉狒』這種東西上面」（頁 269）。他分析三毛營造氣氛的方法，是先讓臉狒的真、假成為問題，然後再從臉狒出沒的地點把情節帶向高潮，最後由一團莫名撲向三毛的篝火，致使讀到此處的「讀者差不多已經透不過氣來了」（周繁，1979，頁 270）。

顯然，「臉狹」就是三毛〈寂地〉中讓讀者喘不過氣來的「靈異事件」。不過，有趣的是若〈寂地〉是「鬼故事」，但從三毛說故事的方法來看，「臉狹」作為沙漠中的鬼魅，以及整篇「鬼故事」的主題，三毛對其態度並不是一直都是害怕，而是好奇、趣味多一些。「臉狹」一詞在故事中首次出現，便是三毛（2021）無來由的喊叫「臉狹來啦！」（頁 345），目的只是為了吆喝同伴吃飯，而且她也會不時藉由說出「臉狹」一詞來嚇唬同行友人，更表示自己曾向臉狹守墓人問路，「把通臉狹的路徑畫出來給我們去吧」（頁 248）。甚至，三毛也表示自己在雜誌上看過有臉狹守墓的墓地照片……等。基本上，故事大半部分的情節中，臉狹作為一個大漠裡的靈魂、居住在墓地裡的鬼魅、預告死亡的超自然現象，表現出來的都是可述的，可以找到的。對三毛而言，「臉狹」一詞在故事中出現的目的，與其說是為了引起恐慌，倒不如說是藉由反覆述說「臉狹」來填補詞彙內含的文化社會知識（資訊）上的空白，而三毛親自尋找與探問鬼魅，更是在積極表現出要讓自身從可述的狀態，連結至「可見的」可能性上。基本上，三毛〈寂地〉中描繪「臉狹」的方式，與其說「臉狹」連結著恐怖，倒不如說更像一個尚待補充的空白欄位。

當然，在〈寂地〉的尾聲中，故事中的三毛（2021）的確「驚駭得要狂叫出來」（頁 262）。不過，在此情節設計的十分巧妙，因為三毛其實仍「未見」到臉狹，而只是從朋友的暗示中得知大家置身於沙漠的「鬼地方」（墓地、臉狹的居住地），而這便迫使她把當日自己所有奇怪感受遭遇連接起來：林子裡拾材發現白色石屋時，「身上就這麼突然毛了起來」（頁 343-344），或是友人帳篷上莫名的騷動、沙漠的寒意、地上清楚的爪印、篝火堆朝自己燒了過來，或聽到風中「有人呻吟似的大聲而緩慢的飄過來，風也吹不散那低沉含糊的調子」（頁 262），並最終不斷與否認臉狹存在的荷西爭辯，「有……有……在呻吟著嚇人呢……」（頁 363）。換句話說，三毛〈寂地〉中形構出「臉狹」存在的路徑，其實並沒有從「可述的」狀態連結至「可見的」，而是停留在兩者的「連結」之中。「臉狹」的存在是在三毛的「感覺」之中

成立的，三毛察覺到了自己置身於「臉狹」之中，而把自己所有身體感官陌異的「感覺」連結到了「臉狹」。

在此，並非要爭論「臉狹」是否存在，而是要藉由三毛在敘事中架構出「臉狹」存在的想法，指出「臉狹」的實存其實並不在可述的與可見的固定的層疊之中，而是在之外，由可述與可見之間的「連結／身體」察覺到「權力」（皺摺）來決定的（想法）。對三毛而言，這個「權力」既真實又虛擬，就如同德勒茲透過皺摺來解讀傅柯架構的知識系統中的權力表現，這個權力讓「我們可以將想像成真實但卻尚未實際化的虛擬場域，它將規範可述性與可見性的配置，但仍然保有一切的可能性」（李育霖，2015，頁 75）。因此，處在臉狹的可述與可見的「權力」（皺摺）之中的三毛，便讓臉狹（想法）的可能性指向真實，從而使臉狹的「可譯性」出現。

事實上，在此若退一步從文本中「臉狹」的語言符號來看，其實同樣也可以發現「臉狹」是在層疊的皺摺（力）過程中出現的，因為這一「語言符號」是三毛的發明，是她從西班牙文對《古蘭經》阿拉伯語的精靈（djinn）擬音的“*El yinn*”音譯成中文，所以在「西文版」理解三毛書寫的「臉狹」，是譯回“*El yinn*”，而沒有採取三毛「原著」中的「臉狹」擬音加注釋的翻譯策略。當然，在此並非要追溯「臉狹」擬音語言的源頭，或翻譯策略的優劣，而是要指出「臉狹」一詞的誕生是來自於語言感官上的連結，是“djinn”或“*El yinn*”的發音方式觸發了華語「感官」表述的某一視角，而迫使作家把自身語言中原指有五官的「臉」與犬吠聲的「狹」等兩個不相關的漢字組合成大漠中虛無的鬼魅，指向一個外部形、聲、意皆錯位的「靈異事件」的存在。因此，「臉狹」既不是“djinn”也不是“*El yinn*”，但同時也是“djinn”，也是“*El yinn*”，因為「臉狹」這一「翻譯的語言」並不是翻譯的結果，更不是由三毛（主體）所賦予的產物，而是語言內在感官向外變異的通道，只是由語言內在「連結」起的翻譯（皺摺）形式而迴盪在外部世界中的異「域」情調。

如此一來，從三毛形塑出思想（臉狹）的方式，或發明此一「語言符號」

（臉狹）的路徑，皆可見到一旦思想或語言符號展現出向外「連結」（翻譯）的能力，便會形構出與自身差異的「翻譯的語言」，並不斷在異「域」中呻吟著不同美學基調的主體風情，形塑出語言倫理的主體化過程。

伍、在世界中迴盪：臺灣 Echo

本文研究目的是期望能透過探究三毛《撒哈拉的故事》（三毛，1976b）的「翻譯」路徑，補充「文化翻譯」中的語言翻譯論述，並且在世界中尋覓出一條由「翻譯」映射出的「臺灣」路徑，因此研究方法取徑於李育霖〈翻譯作為皺摺〉中的語言主體化思維，以及班雅明〈譯者的任務〉中提出「翻譯語言」的概念。並認為本研究仍具有有效性，在於「文化翻譯」論述由於長期把語言視為文化隱喻，讓我們從未切身認知到自己（臺灣）在國際中如何被認識的路徑。而本文透過具體分析三毛《撒哈拉的故事》的語言「翻譯」運動過程中，可以確切的發現到三毛《撒哈拉的故事》可以成為當代經典文學，甚或世界文學，其原因在於作家的語言表現忠實於生命，三毛之名與其作品已成為觸發「生命」的一點，觸動無數讀者「生命」向自身之外連結至三毛的生命語境之中的一點，具體展現出了班雅明的「原初」的「可譯性」是如何讓「翻譯」《撒哈拉的故事》成為可能。並且，藉由進一步爬梳《撒哈拉的故事》中「翻譯的語言」的運動過程，了解到不管是中文版（三毛，2021）的「哈克！」或西文版（Sanmao, 1976/2016）的人與入、“Meimei”或“patchwork”，皆因語言能「自由」產生自身之外的意指，具體回應了班雅明何謂為不建立在意義的「翻譯」，才能既「忠實」且「自由」。而且，與此同時，三毛《撒哈拉的故事》中「翻譯語言」展現出的向外連結能力，不僅只發生在「字符」本身中的某一點上的特質，從而展現出在感知與感知間的顫動中相互連結與變異的皺摺（翻譯）運動，更是在〈寂地〉的敘事結構中清楚表明了皺摺運動如何在一個文學作品中形塑出「思想」主體（臉狹），由「感覺」擘劃出一個尚未實際化的虛擬場域，以此指向語言倫理主體化的

過程中，並成為不斷迴盪在外部世界的異「域」情調。

最後，本文欲強調本研究在此思考的翻譯，並不認為西班牙語文讀者在閱讀了 *Diarios del Sáhara* 而看見到世界地圖上的臺灣，而是認為三毛《撒哈拉的故事》的「翻譯」，不管是「中文版」（三毛，2021）或「西文版」（Sanmao, 1976/2016），皆讓三毛不僅描繪出自身居住的世界，也因皺摺成為我們想像我們居住的世界之中而得以表現與存在，¹² 如此才是臺灣文學作品的「翻譯」成為一個具有「生命力」的他者，深深烙印在異鄉的存在，並成為開啟「臺灣」在世界中的路徑。就如曾在北非沙漠地區從事導遊工作的蔡適任（2021）表示，她不解華人遊客為何總能把摩洛哥的梅卡（Merzouga）上的沙丘，當成是那相距千里之遠的阿蘊，不斷嚷著「只要能見到『三毛的撒哈拉』我就滿足了，趕快帶我去沙丘，我要跟三毛的書合照！」（頁12）。她總是十分困惑，「到底什麼是『三毛的撒哈拉』？」（頁12），然而，遊客的行動正是表明了抵達「三毛的撒哈拉」並不需要真的親自蒞臨三毛曾經居住過「西屬撒哈拉」，而是在三毛的《撒哈拉的故事》中就已在語言擬造出了「撒哈拉沙漠」。同樣的，本文相信三毛的《撒哈拉的故事》也讓西班牙人看見臺灣，但並非要像總編輯不辭千里來到了臺灣洽談版權，又或兩位西班牙紀錄片導演 Arribas 與 Pérez de la Fuente 特別至臺灣取景、蒐羅資料拍攝《三毛：沙漠新娘》（*Sanmao: La novia del desierto*）（Arribas & de la Fuente, 2020）紀錄片，而是「翻譯」的“Echo”已讓「臺灣」不斷在世界中迴盪。世界注定要聽見「她」的聲音。

¹² 此句是模仿李育霖描繪德勒茲思考萊布尼茲主體表現性的說法，即「因此，我們可以想像我們居住的世界向我摺皺，而正是透過我內在的感知讓世界得以被表現而存在」（李育霖，2015，頁73）。

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Book Reviews of/and Translation in Periodicals: With Reference to *World Today* During the Early 1950s

Bo Li Meilong Liu

This study examines the complex interplay between translation practices and book reviews in Cold War Hong Kong through an analysis of *World Today*, a periodical funded by the United States Information Service (USIS) during the early 1950s. Drawing on archival research and textual analysis, this article reveals how book reviews functioned as sophisticated instruments of cultural diplomacy. The book review section of *World Today* magazine exhibited extensive diversity in its choice of materials and reflected various reviewers' attempts to achieve political propaganda goals through multiple approaches, including shaping negative images of Soviet and Chinese Communist Parties, highlighting American democratic values, explaining the consequences of Communist Party policies, and reinterpreting Soviet leadership figures, and so forth. The reviews expressed political positions through both direct criticism and metaphorical expression. The research demonstrates that reviews operated both independently and in conjunction with translations to serve specific ideological purposes.

Keywords: book reviews, translation, periodicals, *World Today*, Hong Kong

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Bo Li (Corresponding Author), Associate Professor, Department of Translation, Lingnan University Hong Kong, E-mail: b1li@LN.edu.hk

Meilong Liu, Lecturer, School of Foreign Languages and Business, Shenzhen Polytechnic University, E-mail: lml_sylvia@szpu.edu.cn

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期刊中的書評與翻譯： 以 1950 年代初期《今日世界》為例

李波 劉美隆

本研究透過分析 1950 年代初期由美國新聞處資助的期刊《今日世界》，探討冷戰時期香港地區翻譯實踐與書評之間的複雜互動關係。基於檔案研究和文本分析，本文揭示了書評作為文化外交工具的運作機制。《今日世界》雜誌的書評欄目在選材上呈現廣泛的多樣性，反映了不同評論者試圖透過多種途徑實現政治宣傳的目標，包括塑造蘇聯和中國共產黨的負面形象、突出美國民主價值觀、闡釋共產黨政策的後果，以及重新詮釋蘇聯領導人形象等。這些書評透過直接批評和隱喻表達兩種方式來傳達政治立場。研究表明，書評作為意識形態運作的一環，與不同類型的翻譯實踐構成了動態複雜的機制，共同服務於贊助者的意識形態目標。

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李波（通訊作者），香港嶺南大學翻譯系副教授，E-mail: b1li@LN.edu.hk。

劉美隆，深圳職業技術大學商務外語學院講師，E-mail: lml_sylvia@szpu.edu.cn。

Introduction

Following the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, Hong Kong emerged as a crucial site of Cold War cultural and political contestation, with its strategic location and influx of Chinese mainland refugees making it an ideal base for American intelligence and propaganda operations. The United States Information Service (USIS) established significant cultural programs in the territory, utilizing translation projects, publications, and intellectual activities as sophisticated instruments of ideological warfare designed to influence Chinese-speaking populations and counter Communist expansion throughout East Asia (Carroll, 2007; Li, 2022; Mark, 2004).

Within this context, the USIS established a significant presence in Hong Kong, initiating various publication projects including *World Today* 《今日世界》 (or *America Today* prior to February 20, 1952), a semimonthly magazine attributed to USIS and its main publication, which served as a primary vehicle for American cultural influence among Chinese readers, and *Four Seas* (*Sihai Huabao* 《四海畫報》), a monthly pictorial that was unattributed, etc. *World Today* magazine operated within complex constraints, navigating between British colonial sensitivities and American Cold War objectives. Operating from Hong Kong, the agency's primary objective was to shape public opinion among the Chinese diaspora and to cultivate ideological alignment among Chinese readers. As the United States sought to exercise influence in Asia, translation became a vital tool of cultural diplomacy. In the magazine, excerpts of Chinese translations of some English books were published, sometimes alongside the original English text. In addition, our study finds that the publication of a series of book reviews significantly complements other writings in the magazine through what Li (2022) identifies as "internal dialogics" (p. 945) in the magazine *World Today*.

It should be noted, however, that the Hong Kong government had strong reservations about certain USIS activities in Hong Kong, especially “anti-Chinese communist propaganda” (Mark, 2005, p. 183) that was targeted at the Hong Kong audience. USIS officers had been cautioned against the use of Hong Kong as “a production or distribution point for material which would in any way antagonize Communist China and, thereby, jeopardize the future safety of the Colony” (Mark, 2005, p. 183). As Li (2022) demonstrates through USIS-funded literary translations, translators deliberately omitted passages about independence and voting rights “in keeping with the idea of not irritating the British colonial government” (p. 949) while still serving American Cold War propaganda objectives. This created a delicate balance where translation and review practices had to serve political objectives while maintaining apparent editorial independence.

The translation programs of anti-communist literature emerged as a significant propaganda channel strategically planned and organized by the USIS in Hong Kong during the late 1940s and early 1950s (Chu, 2005; Li, 2022; Mark, 2004; Taylor & Xu, 2022; Zheng et al., 2010). The intersection between American Cultural Cold War policy and its cultural diplomacy initiatives during the mid-21st century has developed into a significant area of scholarly inquiry (Aldrich et al., 2000; Chou, 2012; Leary, 2012; Oyen, 2015). This historiographical development has been particularly pronounced in research examining American cultural projection across East Asia, with special emphasis on territories such as Hong Kong (Li, 2013, 2022; Shan, 2009, 2014; M. H. Wang, 2014, 2016) and Taiwan (Shan, 2009; M. H. Wang, 2014, 2015, 2016). The political dynamics and the role of translation during the Cold War period have been documented by scholars such as Li (2022) and M. H. Wang (2015). However, the specific role of book reviews in mediating between translation and ideology remains understudied. This research addresses this gap by examining how book reviews in *World Today* functioned not

merely as literary criticism but as sophisticated cultural mediation that both complemented and sometimes substituted for translation.¹ This study combines archival research with comparative textual analysis and paratextual analysis. Our research encompasses complete runs of *America Today* (Issues 1-56, January 1949 to February 1952) and *World Today* (Issues 1-91, March 1952 to December 1955), totaling 147 issues. This periodization focuses on the magazine's early phase at the outset of the Cultural Cold War, from *America Today* to *World Today*, during which a number of book reviews were published as the journal established its editorial identity and intellectual orientation. Within this corpus, we identified items functioning as book reviews—pieces primarily engaging with a specific book through summary, evaluation, or commentary. Our inclusion criteria required reviews that focus on a single book, and engage substantively with content rather than merely announce publication. This yielded 15 book reviews with substantial review coverage. Some marginal cases required interpretive judgment, for instance, excerpts from journal papers or from books, selected or abridged translations or synopsis of English works. In such cases, we included the piece if the book itself was clearly a primary object of analysis rather than merely illustrative or condensed material. This process yielded a dataset of 15 book reviews in the magazine through close reading, comparative analysis of intertextual relationships between reviews and translations, and paratextual analysis of reviews as cultural mediators.

¹ We define “cultural mediation” as the active process through which book reviews function beyond mere evaluation to construct interpretive frameworks that shape how readers encounter and understand texts across cultural and linguistic boundaries. In the context of *World Today*, cultural mediation operates as a sophisticated form of knowledge transfer that selectively filters, frames, and recontextualizes source materials to serve broader ideological objectives. Book reviews as cultural mediators do not simply bridge source and target cultures; they actively constitute the conditions under which translated or untranslated works enter public discourse, authorizing certain readings while foreclosing others.

Book Reviews and Translations

The relationship between book reviews and translation manifests in complex dimensions. Book reviews serve as crucial supplements to the translation process, extending beyond mere evaluation to provide additional layers of cultural and contextual interpretation. Xu (2005) identifies three primary functions: cognitive, scholarly and educational. The scholarly significance of translation reviews extends beyond mere evaluation. As Delistathi (2017) articulates:

studying translation reviews allows us to extend our understanding of the complexities of discourse formation, to trace the history of discourses, to document how knowledge can be a resource in power struggles, and to understand how power struggles can recast discursive practices. (p. 201)

Book reviews, functioning as complementary interpretations of original works, significantly influence readers' understanding and amplify the impact of the reviewed texts.

Book reviews serve as crucial channels for the dissemination and evaluation of both translated and non-translated works in the literary marketplace. The review of translated literature presents unique considerations that distinguish it from traditional literary criticism. The practice of reviewing translated works is often influenced by broader sociopolitical and market forces. However, political considerations can also work against literary merit, as evidenced by cases where highly valuable literary works were deemed unnecessary for translation because they did not meet the political needs of the sponsor.

In cases where books remain untranslated, the selective translation of excerpts within reviews assumes a particularly significant role in shaping reader reception and ideological orientation. This practice represents a top-down ideological

mechanism and propagation, where reviewing institutions and individual reviewers effectively control the dissemination of literary content and its associated cultural-political messages. This function becomes particularly crucial in contexts where access to original works is limited. When books remain untranslated, reviews may incorporate selective translation of passages, creating a form of mediated access that shapes ideological reception without requiring full translation.

Translation studies has devoted little systematic attention to reviews as objects of scholarly inquiry, despite the centrality of book reviews to the circulation and reception of translated works, and the fact that book reviews often exert more immediate influence on reader reception than the translations themselves, as many potential readers encounter reviews before (or instead of) reading the translated works.

Genette's (1987/1997) theory of paratexts provides a foundational framework for understanding reviews' mediating function. Genette distinguishes between "peritexts" (elements within the book itself, such as titles and prefaces) and "epitexts" (elements outside the book, such as interviews and reviews). Book reviews constitute what he terms "public epitexts" (Genette, 1987/1997, p. 344) — texts produced by parties other than the author or publisher that nonetheless shape how readers approach and interpret the work. In the context of translation, reviews perform particularly complex epitextual functions: They mediate not only between author and reader but also between source culture and target culture, between source text and translated text, and between literary value and political utility.

The materiality of translation extends beyond the text itself to encompass various paratextual elements that shape reader reception. As Littau (2016) observes, "media are not merely instruments with which writers or translators produce meanings; rather, they set the framework within which something like meaning

becomes possible at all” (p. 83). This perspective is particularly relevant to understanding how book reviews function as material mediators in the translation process, creating interpretive frameworks that precede and potentially determine textual encounters. Book reviews, as material artifacts circulating through specific publication networks, constitute such meaning-making frameworks. They do not simply evaluate pre-existing translations but actively constitute the conditions under which translations enter public discourse. A review that praises a translation’s accuracy authorizes certain reading practices; a review that emphasizes political relevance over literary fidelity encourages different interpretive priorities.

Recent scholarship has significantly advanced our understanding of translation during the Cultural Cold War in East Asia (Li, 2022; Shan, 2014; Taylor & Xu, 2022; M. H. Wang, 2015, 2016). These studies focus on the translated texts themselves, the translators who produced them, and the institutional networks that commissioned and disseminated them. However, a significant gap remains regarding the role of book reviews in mediating translation’s cultural and political effects. This scholarly gap raises theoretical questions about whether reviews might constitute a distinct mode of cultural transfer with its own strategic logics, operating alongside but differently from complete translation. In some cases, reviews substituted for full translations, offering selective mediation that was actually more effective for propaganda purposes than complete texts. In other cases, reviews preceded translations, creating interpretive frameworks that shaped how subsequent translations would be received. And even when reviews followed translations, they performed crucial work of closing off undesired readings and authorizing politically useful interpretations.

We employ Ardis and Collier’s (2008) concepts of “internal dialogics” and “external dialogics” as key analytical tools. Internal dialogics focuses on “the

relationships among and between specific components of any given issue of the magazine, and the creation of meaning through these juxtapositions” (Ardis & Collier, 2008, p. 38). External dialogics refers to “their discursive exchanges with other print media; the mappings of geographical (and temporal) space that they perform as they claim the territories that they report on, distribute copies to take advertisements from” (Ardis & Collier, 2008, p. 38). These concepts prove particularly useful for researchers of early Hong Kong periodicals to attend more closely to the interplay between translations and non-translations in literary journals (Yuan & Li, 2020, p. 63). In our discussion, the concept of “intertextuality” will also be used to analyze book reviews and other texts that act as traces or memories of preceding texts, or the absorption and transformation of other texts. French semiotician Julia Kristeva argues that “any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another” (Kristeva, 1980, p. 66). Intertextuality is manifested primarily in two forms: intertextuality between the book review and the translation, and intertextuality between different book reviews of the same English original book.

Book Reviews as Cultural Mediation

As USIS’s most widely circulated Chinese-language publication in Asia during the early Cold War period, the magazine *World Today* achieved peak circulation of approximately 175,000 copies per issue, with distribution extending beyond Hong Kong to Taiwan, Southeast Asia, and Chinese communities worldwide. Published continuously from 1949 to 1980, it functioned as USIS’s flagship Chinese-language cultural publication (The Chinese University of Hong Kong Library, 2026a, para. 2). *World Today*, containing substantive book reviews

in its early time, is the primary venue through which USIS introduced American and anti-Communist literature to Chinese audiences. The magazine's distinctive integration of political commentary with cultural content, including translations, literary works, and book reviews, reveals how USIS strategically positioned book reviews within a broader propaganda apparatus. The coherent fusion of political and cultural material demonstrates how book reviews complemented other forms of cultural diplomacy, making *World Today* the ideal site for examining how reviews functioned as sophisticated instruments of Cold War cultural diplomacy.

Book reviews published in *World Today* can be categorized into three distinct types based on their temporal and translational relationship with reviewed works. The first category comprises reviews published after the Chinese translations of the books were released, providing critical assessments of both the original works and their translations. The second category includes reviews published prior to the release of Chinese translations, often serving as preliminary introductions to forthcoming translations. The third category consists of reviews of books that had not been translated into Chinese, where the reviews often contained translated excerpts and interpretative commentary. There are four, three and eight books that were reviewed respectively in each category (See Table 1).

Table 1

Classification of Book Reviews in World Today (1950-1955) Based on Temporal Relationship to Chinese Translation

Types	Book	Chinese translation title	Review title and publication information	Additional review(s) of the same book	Additional contextual information
Book reviews published after translation	<i>One Who Survived</i> (Barmine, 1945)	虎口餘生	再生 (Shui, 1952d) (1952.2.20; <i>America Today</i> , Issue 56)		One Who Survived, <i>The Russian Review</i> (Spring 1946) (Foreign review)
	<i>Russian Purge and the Extraction of Confession</i> (Beck & Godin, 1951)	蘇聯大清黨	蘇聯大清黨 (Shao, 1952) (1952.10.15; <i>World Today</i> , Issue 15)		Russian Purge and the Extraction of Confession, <i>International Affairs</i> (1952.1) (Foreign review)
	<i>Gone With the Wind</i> (Mitchell, 1936)	飄	飄 (J. Wang, 1952) (1952.10.15; <i>World Today</i> , Issue 15)		「飄」的作者瑪格麗米啟爾側寫 (1950.8.5; <i>America Today</i> , Issue 21) (Introduction of the author)
	<i>The Legend of Sleepy Hollow, Rip Van Winkle</i> (Irving, 1820/1855a, 1819/1855b)	無頭騎士：華盛頓·歐文小說選；睡谷故事 李伯大夢	無頭騎士 (Sang, 1955) (1955.1.1; <i>World Today</i> , Issue 68)		
Book reviews published before translation	<i>Why I Escaped</i> (Pirogov, 1950)	出籠之鳥	飛向自由 ("Flying Toward Freedom," 1950) (1950.7.22; <i>America Today</i> , Issue 20)	逃亡 (Why I Escaped) (Shui, 1952b) (1952.1.19; <i>America Today</i> , Issue 54)	我駕駛米格機逃出鐵幕 (Issue 34-36, 1953) (Translation of a similar book)

(continued)

Table 1

Classification of Book Reviews in World Today (1950-1955) Based on Temporal Relationship to Chinese Translation (continued)

Types	Book	Chinese translation title	Review title and publication information	Additional review(s) of the same book	Additional contextual information
	<i>Lenin: A Biography</i> (Shub, 1948)	列寧傳	列寧傳 (Shui, 1952c) (1952.2.10; <i>America Today</i> , Issue 55)		Lenin: A Biography, <i>The American Historical Review</i> ; Origins and Developments of Communism, <i>The Review of Politics</i> (1949) (Foreign reviews)
	<i>Conquest by Terror: The Story of Satellite Europe</i> (Stowe, 1952)	恐怖征服	恐怖征服 (Shouzhong, 1952) (1952.8.1; <i>World Today</i> , Issue 10)		Conquest by Terror: The Story of Satellite Europe, <i>The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science</i> (1952) (Foreign review); 史達林征服世界陰謀 (Wu, 1952) (1952.8.16; <i>World Today</i> , Issue 11; review of Chinese book 史達林征服世界陰謀的解剖 [1952.7])
Book reviews for books without translation	<i>This I Remember</i> (Roosevelt, 1949)		羅斯福夫人回憶錄 ("Mrs. Roosevelt's Memoir," 1950) (1950.1.21; <i>America Today</i> , Issue 7)		
	<i>The United States in World Affairs</i> , 1948-1949 (Council on Foreign Relations, 1949)		美國外交政策應付共產威脅 ("American Foreign Policy Against the Communist Threat," 1950) (1950.2.4; <i>America Today</i> , Issue 8)		

(continued)

Table 1

Classification of Book Reviews in World Today (1950-1955) Based on Temporal Relationship to Chinese Translation (continued)

Types	Book	Chinese translation title	Review title and publication information	Additional review(s) of the same book	Additional contextual information
	<i>The God That Failed</i> (Crossman, 1949)		辜負人類期望之上帝 ("The God That Failed Human Expectations," 1950) (1950.2.18; <i>America Today</i> , Issue 9)		
	<i>Great Books of the Western World</i> (Hutchins & Adler, 1952)		西方名著選集 ("Great Books of the Western World," 1950) (1950.6.10; <i>America Today</i> , Issue 17)		
	<i>The Roosevelt Treasury</i> (Rosenau, 1951)		羅斯福集錦評傳 ("The Roosevelt Treasury," 1951) (1951.10.3; <i>America Today</i> , Issue 47)		
	<i>A Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles</i> (Mathews, 1951)		五萬個美國字 ("Fifty Thousand American Words," 1951) (1951.12.10; <i>America Today</i> , Issue 51)		
	<i>America</i> (Caldwell, 1944)		美國 (Shui, 1952a) (1952.1.7; <i>America Today</i> , Issue 53)		
	<i>Alexander of Macedon: The Journey to World's End</i> (Lamb, 1946)		亞歷山大傳 (Wensun, 1952) (1952.9.15; <i>World Today</i> , Issue 13)		

Note. This table categorizes 15 books reviewed in *World Today* according to whether reviews appeared after, before, or in the absence of Chinese translation. The classification reveals distinct patterns of cultural mediation corresponding to different translation scenarios.

Book Reviews Published After Chinese Translation

Four book reviews were published shortly after the appearance of their Chinese translations: *One Who Survived* 《虎口餘生》 demonstrates the author's disillusion with the Soviet rule, *Russian Purge and the Extraction of Confession* 《蘇聯大清黨》 depicts the Soviet Union's atrocities in its satellite nations, *Gone With the Wind* 《飄》 traces American history during and after the Civil War and to some extent beatifies the lives of slaves in the south, *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow, Rip Van Winkle* 《無頭騎士》 uses a metaphorical analogy between Rip Van Winkle's recovery after 20 years' sleep and Kuomintang's (KMT, 國民黨) retreat and future comeback.²

The first two book reviews covered books that exposed the cruel facts of the Soviet rule. The reviewer largely focused on two perspectives, the wrongdoings of Stalin and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The review of *One Who Survived* first established the author's background as a thoroughgoing revolutionary and Bolshevik believer who held various high positions, yet awakened to the cruel reality after experiencing Stalin's purges and fled the Soviet Union, recording the brutal truths he witnessed. Through presenting the author's journey of ideological transformation and faith collapse, it is implied that communism and Communist Party beliefs, ideals, and systems were unable to receive constant support. The review also exposed the Soviet Union's duplicitous foreign policy and its willingness to create chaos in other nations to achieve its expansionist objectives. The critique then focused on Stalin's personal

² The Kuomintang emerged as a critical geopolitical force after retreating to Taiwan in 1949, transforming the island into a strategic anti-Communist bastion supported extensively by the United States as part of its Cold War containment policy. Hong Kong became a crucial intermediary space where the KMT maintained diplomatic, intelligence, and cultural networks, challenging the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) legitimacy through extensive propaganda efforts and strategic positioning. Throughout the Cold War, the KMT's complex relationships with the US, CCP, and international community fundamentally reshaped Taiwan's political landscape, creating a unique geopolitical entity that stood as a counterpoint to Communist China.

characteristics, highlighting his autocratic and brutal nature:

史達林處死黨政最高當局辛諾維葉夫和卡門涅夫，是緣因兩人認為蘇聯工業的性質，是剝削工人勞力的國家資本主義，不是保障工人利潤的社會主義，而遭史達林的大忌……史達林不容托洛茨基，也不容狄托 [Stalin's execution of high-ranking party and government officials Zinoviev and Kamenev stemmed from their recognition that Soviet industry represented state capitalism exploiting workers' labor rather than socialism protecting workers' interests, which Stalin found intolerable...Stalin tolerates neither Trotsky nor Tito]. (Shui, 1952d, inside back cover)

The passage about Stalin's purges exemplifies how lexical choices construct ideological meaning. Consider the binary opposition between *guojia ziben zhuyi* 國家資本主義 (state capitalism) and *shehui zhuyi* 社會主義 (socialism). This is not merely descriptive economic terminology but a carefully crafted ideological trap. By presenting Soviet industry as “state capitalism exploiting workers' labor” rather than “socialism protecting workers' interests,” the reviewer appropriates Marxist critique with the term “exploitation” and redirects it against the Soviet Union itself, exposing Soviet claims to socialist legitimacy as fraudulent.

The Chinese verb choice *chusi* 處死 (to execute/put to death) rather than the more neutral *chuju* 處決 (to sentence to death by judicial process) or the more condemnatory *shahai* 殺害 (to kill/murder) deserves attention. *Chusi* occupies a middle position on the spectrum of Chinese terms for taking life: more direct and visceral than legalistic *chujue*, yet maintaining some narrative distance compared to emotionally charged *shahai*. This calibrated choice allows the text to convey brutality without appearing propagandistically hysterical. The phrase 遭史達林的大忌 (literally incurring Stalin's great taboo) is equally strategic. In Chinese political and cultural discourse, *daji* 大忌 (great taboo) carries strong associations with autocratic power, imperial caprice, and the prohibition of legitimate dissent. If

the translator had chosen 引起史達林的不滿 (arousing Stalin's displeasure) or 遭到史達林的反對 (encountering Stalin's opposition), the connotation would be far less damning. The term *daji* implicitly analogizes Stalin to tyrannical emperors in Chinese history, making the critique culturally resonant for Chinese readers while amplifying the source text's condemnation.

The book review also mentioned Stalin's personal portrayal in the source text, covering aspects from his physical appearance to his marriages (to several young women) and daily life. While the reviewer claimed to abstain from judging Stalin's personal morality, ostensibly demonstrating objectivity, the inclusion of such details effectively served to denigrate Stalin's character.

The review of *Russian Purge and the Extraction of Confession* 《蘇聯大清洗》, published in *World Today* in 1952, exemplifies how Cold War-era Chinese intellectuals interpreted and contextualized translated accounts of Soviet political repression. The reviewer explicitly predicted that the Chinese Communist Party would adopt identical methods, asserting that “this set of terror ruling methods is the fundamental approach used by all communist regimes to maintain their power [這一套恐怖統治方術，正是所有共產政權維持政權的基本方法]” (Shao, 1952, p. 28). The analysis reveals a striking cultural-political framework where the reviewer contrasts Chinese and Russian national characteristics, arguing that what defines “Chinese people as Chinese lies in the concept of ‘benevolence’ [仁]” (Shao, 1952, p. 28) and that historically, “governments that employ secret police tactics and arbitrarily kill innocent people will inevitably fall [行特務政治，亂殺無辜的政府，必亡]” (Shao, 1952, p. 28). This translation and reception of Soviet political texts demonstrates how cross-cultural political discourse functioned during the early Cold War period, with translated materials serving as both warning and analytical framework for understanding contemporary political developments.

In stark contrast to this exposure and criticism of the Soviet Communist Party stands the celebration and recognition of the American struggle and development during the Civil War era, as depicted in the review of *Gone With the Wind*, which appears on the same page of *World Today* as the review of *Russian Purge and the Extraction of Confession*. These two reviews exemplify “internal dialogics” through their juxtaposition on the same page, contrasting Soviet critique with American values. Margaret Mitchell’s epic novel *Gone With the Wind* masterfully captures the transformation of Southern society through the eyes of the indomitable Scarlett O’Hara, whose personal journey mirrors the South’s painful transition from the antebellum period through the era of post-war reconstruction. The book review particularly highlights the novel’s complex portrayal of American resilience and transformation during the Civil War era and extends sympathy to Southern plantation owners, depicting their perceived sense of unity and suffering:

宓琪爾生活的空間是美國南方，而活動的時間却是新世紀的現代。由於空間的影響，她對南方地主寄予傳統的同情。由於時間的因素，她肯定了南北戰爭的統一進步意義 [Mitchell lived in the American South, but her era belonged to the modern twentieth century. Due to her geographical context, she held traditional sympathies for Southern plantation owners. Yet because of her temporal perspective, she affirmed the progressive significance of the Civil War in achieving national unity]. (J. Wang, 1952, p. 28)

In the above excerpt, the reviewer describes the conflict using *Nanbei Zhanzheng* 南北戰爭 (North-South War) rather than alternatives like *neizhan* 內戰 (civil war) or *tongyi zhanzheng* 統一戰爭 (war of unification), a choice that emphasizes regional difference over national rupture. When discussing slavery, the review employs relatively neutral terminology—*nuli zhidu* 奴隸制度 (slavery system) —while emphasizing the novel’s portrayal of *nanfang dizhu* 南方地主

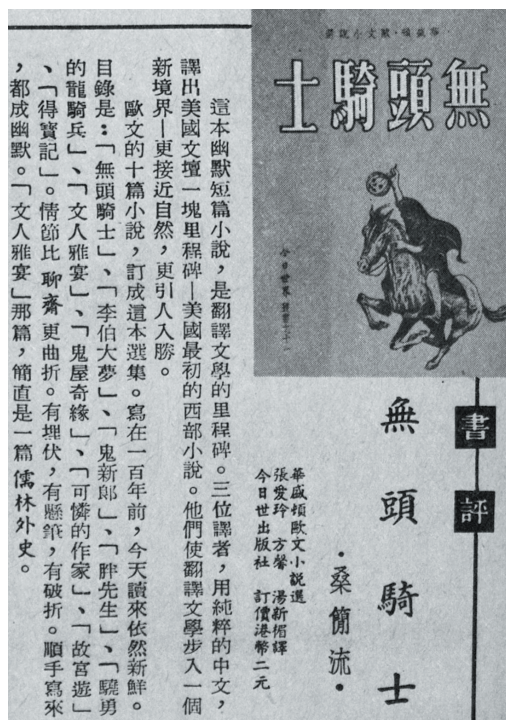
(Southern plantation owners) with language of *chuantong de tongqing* 傳統的同情 (traditional sympathy). This framing softens the moral condemnation of slaveholding that might complicate the review's celebration of American resilience and reconstruction. The translator selectively highlights Mitchell's depiction of post-war challenges—*zhanhou zhongjian* 戰後重建 (postwar reconstruction) —drawing implicit parallels to post-1949 China that authorize narratives of recovery and renewal. By positioning the Civil War as a test of national character that America successfully overcame, the review constructs a template for understanding contemporary geopolitical struggles, suggesting that current divisions might similarly yield to eventual reunification.

Another classical literary work that was reviewed after the publication of its Chinese translation is Washington Irving's novel *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow, Rip Van Winkle* 《無頭騎士》(Sang, 1955). The reviewer Sang Jianliu 桑簡流 (pseudonym of Shui Jiantong 水建彤), one major contributor of both essays and book reviews in *World Today* (discussed further in section four), notes that “the plot lines are almost satirizing us,” (Sang, 1955, p. 26) indicating that the then situation in the Chinese mainland seems absurd. Specifically, the review mentioned Irving's Rip Van Winkle, who escaped his wife's tyranny through a dream, easily revealing the two-layered critical metaphor of the Communist rule on the Chinese mainland and the British rule in Hong Kong.

Yet beneath this overt political messaging lies a substantial hidden cultural agenda. The review's extensive attention to translation quality reveals what Lefevere (1992) identifies as the “poetics” operating alongside and sometimes independently of patronage requirements. Reviewer Sang Jianliu devotes considerable space to praising the three translators, namely Zhang Ailing 張愛玲, Fang Xin 方馨, and Tang Xinmei 湯新楣, quoting distinctive passages from each to demonstrate their respective stylistic achievements. The review draws analogies

Figure 1

Cover Page Photocopied in the Book Review



Note. From "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow, Rip Van Winkle," by J. Sang, 1955, *World Today*, 68, p. 26.

between Irving's tales and classical Chinese fiction, situating American literature within Chinese literary traditions rather than treating it as exotic or purely foreign.

Most tellingly, Sang Jianliu recommends the foreword and afterword written by Lin Yiliang 林以亮 (Stephen C. Soong's 宋淇 pseudonym), which address translation theory and practice. This recommendation directs readers' attention beyond the stories' content to the intellectual work of translation itself, which is a distinctly scholarly rather than propagandistic concern. To attract potential readers, the cover page of the translation, depicting vividly the story of *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow, Rip Van Winkle*, is also shown just above the review title (Figure 1). This accompanying reproduction of the book further emphasizes the review's

function as literary promotion rather than mere political commentary.

This layered approach exemplifies how reviewers navigated between USIS patronage and their own cultural objectives. While the political allegory satisfied sponsorship requirements, the substantial discussion of translation aesthetics and literary comparison advanced a separate agenda: establishing standards for evaluating translated literature and building a discourse community around translation criticism in Hong Kong. As Lefevere (1992) argues, such “rewriting” always involves negotiation between patron demands and rewriters’ own understanding of literary value (pp. 14-16) — a negotiation clearly visible in this review’s dual focus on political allegory and literary craftsmanship.

In summary, the analysis of post-translation reviews reveals how *World Today* strategically amplified ideological messaging while maintaining scholarly objectivity. The four works demonstrate a consistent pattern of exposing Communist brutality and advocating democratic values. These reviews functioned beyond literary criticism as vehicles for political interpretation that extended translation’s ideological work to serve USIS propaganda objectives.

Book Reviews Published Before Translation

The second type of book reviews were published before the translations of the books. These pre-reviewed books include *Why I Escaped* 《出籠之鳥》, *Lenin: A Biography* 《列寧傳》, and *Conquest by Terror: The Story of Satellite Europe* 《恐怖征服》. The book *Why I Escaped* was reviewed twice before the publication of the Chinese translation, and these reviews complemented intertextuality with book reviews published in other nations.

The July 22, 1950 issue (No. 12) of *America Today* magazine published a book review titled 飛向自由 (“Flying Toward Freedom”), which reviewed the book *Why I Escaped* written by Russian pilot Peter Pirogov. The review mentions that

the original book was published in New York and serialized as translation in *Hong Kong Times*.³ This approximately 600-word review demonstrates intertextuality in the two quotations from the serialized translation. The opening quotes some lines of the translation:

Though I know not what lies ahead, I have deeply breathed the air of freedom, which I have long yearned for. I no longer fear freedom; I understand it more each day. The more I understand it, the more I cherish it. (“Flying Toward Freedom,” 1950, p. 16)⁴

In the conclusion, it quotes: “I then understood I could no longer live in my birthplace, could not live as a slave among slaves, knowing I was powerless to help myself or others” (“Flying Toward Freedom,” 1950, p. 16).⁵ Excerpts of the serialized translations were quoted to help readers understand and interpret the text, with the aim of recommending both the original and the upcoming translated book.

The review exhibits “external dialogics” by citing book reviews published in other platforms. It quotes the comments from *New York Herald Tribune*:

The book contains no sensational new reports of Soviet crimes or international conspiracies, but rather a personal story describing his hardships and the terror of Soviet secret police, showing how they crush young people with independent minds and complete personalities. (“Flying Toward Freedom,” 1950, p. 16)⁶

³ Although the book is translated serially in *Hong Kong Times*, the translation of the book in the form of a complete book version is published after its review, so this book is categorized in the category “book reviews published before translation.”

⁴ The original text: “我的來日是如何非我所知，我只知道我已深深地呼吸到了自由的空氣，這是我生平久所渴求的。我再也不怕自由了，我一天比一天更懂得它。我愈懂得它，便愈貪戀它” (“Flying Toward Freedom,” 1950, p. 16).

⁵ The original text: “我於是懂得我再也不能在我出生之地生活下去，我不能再像奴隸一樣生活在奴隸中，明知對自己和人家都無能為助” (“Flying Toward Freedom,” 1950, p. 16).

⁶ The original text: “書中並無蘇聯罪行或國際陰謀等聳人聽聞的新報導，而是一個關於他個人的故事，描寫他經歷的艱險和蘇聯秘密員警的恐怖，怎樣摧殘一位具有獨立感和完美人格的年輕人” (“Flying Toward Freedom,” 1950, p. 16).

The Chinese translation of some excerpts of *The New York Times*'s review is also cited: "Pirogov's significance as a witness lies in his belonging to the post-Soviet Revolution generation. ... His book is not a story of disillusionment with radicalism, but rather of a young man's deliberate severance from his country's environment" ("Flying Toward Freedom," 1950, p. 16).⁷ This example demonstrates the dialogic nature between book reviews. The citations from *New York Herald Tribune* and *The New York Times* serve first to enhance the original work's perceived value through authoritative status, and convey the reviewer's perspectives through others' voices. The review writing primarily consists of brief plot synopsis while incorporating multiple quotations from serialized translations and other venues to establish overall dialogics.

America Today published another review of the same work 18 months later titled "Why I escaped" (逃亡) (Shui, 1952b) by Shui Jiantong, serving as prelude to the Chinese translation *The Bird Out of Cage* 《出籠之鳥》, which is published in July in the same year by Hong Kong Educational Supplies Society (translated by Wu Runzhi 伍潤之). The intertextuality between the source text and these titles ("Flying Toward Freedom," "Why I Escaped," and "The Bird Out of Cage") represents the translator's thoughtful reorganization of the source text after the comprehensive understanding of the source text's content, plot, and themes. Furthermore, an article titled 〈我駕駛米格機逃出鐵幕〉 ("I Flew a MiG Out of the Iron Curtain") is serialized in *America Today* (August 1 and September 1, 1953), narrating a similar escape by a Polish pilot. This similar narrative can be considered "internal dialogics" to "Why I Escaped" at a macro level.

The second book review in this category introduces and comments on Lenin's

⁷ The original text: "畢洛戈夫這位證人的所以重要，在他是屬於蘇俄大革命後新生代的人物……他書中所說的並不是一個激進希望幻滅後的故事，而是一位年輕人蓄意和本國環境斷絕關係的故事" ("Flying Toward Freedom," 1950, p. 16).

biography. The review of *Lenin: A Biography* also begins with the reviewer's claim that this book is "a reliable history" (xinshi 信史). The reviewer quoted Lenin's will suggesting Stalin should be removed from Communist Party General Secretary position, while repeatedly emphasizing Lenin's *Xianbei* 鮮卑 bloodline, claiming Lenin combined "Xianbei characteristics of cunning, intelligence, and cruelty [列寧是鮮卑種人，兼有鮮卑人的陰險、聰明和殘忍]" (Shui, 1952c, inside back cover). Since the *Xianbei* was historically part of Chinese civilization, these ethnic characteristics could be interpreted as representing Chinese traits, leading readers to associate Chinese Communist leadership with similar traits.

If the reviewer's critique of CCP in the review of *Lenin* is to some extent covert, the reviewer's critique of CCP in the review of *Conquest by Terror* is candid and straightforward. The observation of Leland Stowe, who spent considerable time as a war correspondent in Iron Curtain countries during World War II, is documented in *Conquest by Terror*, and summarized in the book review with the same title "Conquest by Terror" 〈恐怖征服〉 (Shouzhong, 1952, p. 31). The book review enumerates the actual conditions in Soviet-controlled Eastern European satellite states and suggests parallel circumstances in Communist China, arguing that the CCP replicated Soviet methods, including organizing puppet armies, controlling satellite economies, and liquidating upper and petty bourgeois classes. The review concludes by lamenting the suffering of Eastern European satellite states' populations under red regime control, urging those in the free world to empathize and suggesting similar conditions for people living in China.

Book Reviews for Untranslated Books

In our study, eight reviews are found reviewing books that up till now were not translated into Chinese:⁸ *This I Remember* (published 1949), *The United States*

⁸ Based on our research, no record of Chinese translations of these books has been found.

in World Affairs, 1948-1949 (published 1949), *The God That Failed* (published 1949), *Great Books of the Western World* (published 1952), *The Roosevelt Treasury* (published 1950), *Dictionary of Americanisms* (published 1951), *America* (published 1944) and *Alexander of Macedon* (published 1946).

These reviews functioned as sophisticated propaganda tools, employing selective translation within commentary. The reviews of these books were either directly or indirectly ideologically oriented, stressing either the embellishment of the image of America, the propaganda of American freedom, or the promotion of anti-Communist awareness. Selective translation within reviews represents complex intertextuality—absorbing English originals while transforming them through Chinese framing, creating a hybrid form serving propaganda objectives. This category can be further subdivided into three distinct types based on their thematic focus and propaganda objectives.

The first subcategory encompasses works portraying American national identity and foreign policy, including *America* 《美國》,⁹ *The Roosevelt Treasury* 《羅斯福集錦評傳》, *This I Remember* 《羅斯福夫人回憶錄》, and *The United States in World Affairs, 1948-1949* 《美國外交政策應付共產威脅》. These reviews constructed an idealized vision of American democracy, freedom, and moral leadership while presenting American perspectives on international relations during the early Cold War. These works collectively served to establish American political and cultural models as aspirational alternatives to communist systems.

Specifically, the beautification of the image of America is reinforced foremost in the review of *America*. Beginning by stressing the objectiveness of the book in describing the real situation of America, the review proceeds to describe America's establishment from wilderness, considering it:

⁹ Here the Chinese titles in the parentheses are the corresponding titles of book reviews published in *World (America) Today*.

most suitable for the germination of freedom seeds,” and praises how this new nation-state transformed “old forces into new spirit, poverty into prosperity, hardship into blessing, monarchy into democracy, enslavement into equality, decay into wonder [最適於自由種子的萌芽。這是歷史上許多老民族溶合成一個新民族，舊勢力蛻變成新精神，使貧困化為富足，艱苦化成享福，化君主為民主，化奴役為平等，化腐朽為神奇的空前無比例子]. (Shui, 1952a, inside back cover)

The review concludes with the promotion of America as a truly democratic country while indicating that wrong politics (implicitly the Chinese Communist government) cannot endure. In addition, the contrast between CCP rule and American freedom is particularly highlighted in reviews of *America*, sometimes drawing ill-suited analogies between the American colonies and Britain.

The second subcategory encompasses classical literary texts, educational texts, and historical texts, including *Great Books of the Western World* 《西方名著選集》, *Dictionary of Americanisms* 《五萬個美國字》, and *Alexander of Macedon* 《亞歷山大傳》. While ostensibly educational or historical in nature, reviewers frequently recontextualized these works through political lenses. *Alexander of Macedon*, for instance, was transformed into a political allegory for anti-communist resistance, with reviewers drawing explicit parallels between Alexander’s conquests and contemporary geopolitical aspirations. Educational materials like the *Dictionary of Americanisms* were presented as embodiments of Western cultural and intellectual traditions, implicitly contrasted with communist educational approaches.

In the review of Lamb’s *Alexander of Macedon*, the propaganda of anti-CCP awareness is enhanced by analogies between young Alexander’s conquests and anti-Communist forces. The reviewer wrote:

Using the power of a small island to sweep across a continent seems theoretically impossible, yet young Alexander achieved it [以一個小島的力量，席捲一個大陸，理論上不可能，而少年亞歷山大竟然做得到]. (Wensun, 1952, p. 31)

The terms “small island” and “continent” clearly corresponded to Taiwan and the Chinese mainland, aligning with Taiwan’s “counter-attack mainland” political stance. The review reinforces this connection through vivid imagery:

marathon swimming across the strait...create a path across the strait, like Moses leading the Israelites to climb onto the ancestral mainland and return home [馬拉松渡海泳……在海峽劃出一道通路，像摩西帶領以色列人，攀登祖國大陸，回到家園]. (Wensun, 1952, p. 31)

This review demonstrates internal dialogics by juxtaposing historical biography with contemporary political discourse, transforming Alexander’s conquests into allegory for Taiwan’s aspirations. The “strait” clearly indicates the Taiwan Strait, while the biblical Moses metaphor suggests that mainland refugees were like persecuted Israelites who should be led back to their promised land. This use of biblical allegory cloaked political intentions in righteousness and reflects the American religious consciousness characteristic of USIS-produced articles. The intertextual network is thus enriched as part of the “external dialogics,” operating through participation in broader KMT-American Cold War narratives.

The third subcategory features works directly critiquing communist ideology based on personal experience, represented by *The God That Failed* 《辜負人類期望之上帝》. The review of *The God That Failed* (“The God That Failed Human Expectations,” 1950) represents a particularly significant example of how book reviews functioned as ideological instruments during this period. The reviewer strategically emphasized the authenticity and intellectual credibility of these accounts, noting that these were not criticisms from lifelong opponents of

communism but rather the disillusioned reflections of former true believers. This framing was particularly powerful in the Hong Kong context, where many refugees from the Chinese mainland were processing their own relationships with communist ideology. The review's Chinese title itself, "The God That Failed Human Expectations," went beyond the original English title to explicitly emphasize the theme of disillusionment and betrayal.

Particularly effective was the review's emphasis on the contributors' criticisms of communist rule after their firsthand experiences in the Soviet Union. Quoting the comment of *The Washington Star* 《華盛頓明星報》, the reviewer comments on the rule of Soviet Union and other nations as "an autocratic dictatorial state [蘇聯原來是一個專制獨裁之國家]" ("The God That Failed Human Expectations," 1950, p. 21). Several factors might account for the untranslated status of these ideologically significant works. Political sensitivity in the colonial context represented a primary consideration for non-translation. Works like *America and Great Books of the Western World* extensively discussed American democratic revolution and self-determination, potentially triggering scrutiny from Hong Kong censors concerned about colonial parallels. These democratic ideals, essential to American identity, could potentially undermine British colonial authority if presented in unmediated form, whereas reviews allowed carefully framed presentation without risking unwanted analogies to Hong Kong's colonial situation.

Strategic information control constituted another reason for utilizing reviews rather than translations. *The God That Failed* offered powerful anti-communist testimonies from former believers, but full translation might have revealed their critiques of Western systems as well. *Alexander of Macedon* could be framed through review to emphasize leadership and Western historical greatness without potential complications from full translation. Through reviews, complex narratives containing both useful anti-communist elements and potentially problematic content could be carefully filtered.

Resource allocation and practical constraints also influenced translation decisions. Substantial reference works like *The Roosevelt Treasury and Dictionary of Americanisms* would have required significant translation effort while offering propaganda returns similar to more concise reviews. The book review format thus provided an efficient intermediate approach, more targeted than general political essays but requiring fewer resources than complete translations, maximizing the impact of limited resources in Cold War Hong Kong.

Book Reviews and Reviewers

Several key figures served as significant contributors for the publication of the USIS-funded Cold War cultural front *World Today*. These include Stephen C. Soong, Shui Jiantong and so forth. Through archival fragments and textual analysis, this study reconstructs their contributions as book reviewers, editors, and ideological intermediaries.

Table 2

Reviewers and Their Contributions to World Today (1950-1955)

Reviewer	Book title and original publication date	Review title	Publication and date
Sang Jianliu 桑簡流 (Shui Jiantong 水建彤)	<i>America</i> (1944)	美國 (America)	<i>America Today</i> 53, 1952.1.7
	<i>Why I Escaped</i> (1950.11)	逃亡 (Why I Escaped)	<i>America Today</i> 54, 1952.1.19
	<i>Lenin: A Biography</i> (1948)	列寧傳 (Lenin)	<i>America Today</i> 55, 1952.2.10
	<i>One Who Survived</i> (1945)	再生 (One Who Survived)	<i>America Today</i> 56, 1952.2.20
	<i>The Legend of Sleepy Hollow, Rip Van Winkle</i> (Irving, 1820/1855a, 1819/1855b)	無頭騎士 (The Legend of Sleepy Hollow, Rip Van Winkle)	<i>World Today</i> 68, 1955.1.1

(continued)

Table 2*Reviewers and Their Contributions to World Today (1950-1955) (continued)*

Reviewer	Book title and original publication date	Review title	Publication and date
Shouzhong 守中	<i>Conquest by Terror: The Story of Satellite Europe</i> (1952)	恐怖征服 (Conquest by Terror)	<i>World Today</i> 10, 1952.8.1
Tang Wenbing 唐文冰 (宋淇)	到新文藝之路 (<i>Path to New Literature</i>) (in Chinese; 1952.6)	到新文藝之路 (Path to New Literature) (Tang, 1952c)	<i>World Today</i> 12, 1952.9.1
Hantang 漢堂	莊子纂箋 (<i>Zhuangzi Selected Notes</i>) (in Chinese; 1951.12)	莊子纂箋 (Zhuangzi Selected Notes) (Hantang, 1952)	<i>World Today</i> 13, 1952.9.15
Wensun 文蓀	<i>Alexander of Macedon</i> (1946)	亞歷山大傳 (Alexander of Macedon)	<i>World Today</i> 13, 1952.9.15
Shao Yuanmei 邵元美	<i>Russian Purge and the Extraction of Confession</i> (1951)	蘇聯大清黨 (Russian Purge and the Extraction of Confession)	<i>World Today</i> 15, 1952.10.15
Wang Jicong 王集叢	<i>Gone With the Wind</i> (1936.6.3)	飄 (Gone With the Wind)	<i>World Today</i> 15, 1952.10.15
Chen Weiyuan 陳威遠	談民主生活方式 (<i>On Democratic Lifestyle</i>) (in Chinese; 1951)	談民主生活方式 (On Democratic Lifestyle) (Chen, 1952)	<i>World Today</i> 15, 1952.10.15
Mingzhi 明之	金匱論古初集 (<i>First Collection of Ancient Discussions on the Golden Casket</i>) (in Chinese; 1952)	金匱論古初集 (First Collection of Ancient Discussions on the Golden Casket) (Mingzhi, 1952)	<i>World Today</i> 18, 1952.12.1

Note. 1. This table presents reviewers who published under identified names in *World Today* (*America Today*) between 1950-1955. Where a reviewer used more than one name, the pseudonym is given first and the person's real name follows in parentheses (Sang Jianliu 桑簡流 = Shui Jiantong 水建彤; Tang Wenbing 唐文冰 = Stephen C. Soong 宋淇); Shui signed the four 1952 reviews with his real name and the 1955 review with the pseudonym. The table excludes anonymous reviews.

2. The reviewer of *Gone With the Wind* is 王集叢 (Wang Jicong). Wang Jicong, a prominent Kuomintang cultural figure who served as editor at KMT Central Party headquarters and chief editor of *Saodang Bao* 《掃蕩報》, would represent potential KMT-USIS institutional connections. This reviewer's participation suggests that USIS drew upon KMT-affiliated intellectuals as part of broader anti-Communist coalition-building, revealing its entanglement with Chinese Nationalist networks in operating its propaganda projects.

As shown in Table 2, reviewers for *World Today* can be largely divided into two categories: Core contributors such as Sang Jianliu (Shui Jiantong) and Tang Wenbing (Stephen C. Soong), who published multiple reviews or articles, and maintained long-term, stable relationships with the magazine, functioning as core members of USIS's Hong Kong cultural network; and non-regular participants including Shouzhong, Shao Yuanmei, Wensun, Hantang, Chen Weiyuan, Wang Jicong and Mingzhi, who contributed only one or two reviews, either based on specialized expertise in specific fields or through occasional invitations via personal connections, maintaining varying degrees of distance from USIS. These two types of reviewers differed in their ideological consistency and writing styles, with core contributors demonstrating more consistent anti-Communist political frameworks while non-regular participants produced more varied reviews. Our discussion focuses primarily on book reviews that served as instruments of cultural diplomacy and ideological warfare.

Specifically, among the nine reviewers spanning from 1950 to 1955, Sang Jianliu 桑簡流 is the most frequent book reviewer, reviewing at least five books. Sang Jianliu, originally named Shui Jiantong, studied at St. John's University in Shanghai in the 1940s, majoring in history and international law, where he became acquainted with senior figures such as Xu Xu 徐訏, and Stephen C. Soong, among others. Beginning in the 1950s, Sang Jianliu made a temporary stay in Hong Kong, occasionally contributing to literary magazines such as *World Today*, *Everyman's Literature* 《人人文學》 and *Hot Wind* 《熱風》 (The Chinese University of Hong Kong Library, 2026b, para. 1). In our study, it is found that Sang Jianliu writes both

essays and book reviews for *World Today*.

Stephen C. Soong (his pseudonyms include Lin Yiliang 林以亮, Yu Huai 余懷, Tang Wenbing 唐文冰, etc.)¹⁰ was a distinguished literary critic, translator, “redologist,” poet and editor. After relocating from the Chinese mainland to Hong Kong in 1949, Soong devoted himself to literature, translation and cross-cultural exchanges. He played a pivotal role in coordinating the American book translations program funded by USIS and co-founded the influential translation journal *Renditions*. Furthermore, Soong established the Hong Kong Translation Society, later serving as its President. Stephen C. Soong is one of the central architects of *World Today*. Working as chief editor for translation works at the Hong Kong office of the United States Information Service (1951-1952) (Li & Liu, 2021, p. 45), he curated a hybrid content strategy blending anti-communist propaganda with high-cultural discourse. Soong’s dual role as an editor and literary broker is evident in his commissioning of prominent writers. Meanwhile, Soong enjoyed considerable editorial autonomy within the USIS framework. While operating under American patronage, he exercised significant freedom in selecting materials, determining editorial standards, and shaping the magazine’s literary character. This autonomy allowed Soong to pursue his literary aesthetics alongside propaganda objectives (Li & Liu, 2021, p. 45).

The concentration of reviewing activity among a small core of contributors reflected intersecting structural constraints, ideological imperatives, and individual motivations within USIS’s Hong Kong operation. Professional scarcity constituted the primary limitation. Book reviewing demanded rare competencies that few possessed simultaneously. While early 1950s Hong Kong hosted substantial

¹⁰ Pseudonyms were strategically employed, not only for political safety but also to compartmentalize contributors’ roles across genres. The pseudonymous practice allowed contributors to maintain apparent critical distance from each other’s work while reinforcing shared anti-communist narratives.

mainland refugee populations, those willing and able to work for USIS remained limited. Many left-leaning intellectuals rejected collaboration on ideological grounds, while conservative scholars worried that overt American association might compromise their standing in Hong Kong's politically delicate colonial environment. Once individuals demonstrated necessary capabilities through successful contributions, editorial logic naturally favored repeated engagement rather than recruiting untested contributors.

Economic incentives and professional reputation-building reinforced participation patterns. For intellectuals in precarious exile lacking stable institutional affiliations, writing for *World Today* provided reliable income streams. The magazine's regular schedule and USIS's consistent funding offered recurring income that few other Chinese-language platforms could match. Simultaneously, repeated publication enhanced professional reputations as cultural critics, accumulating symbolic capital valuable for career development. This convergence of immediate economic necessity and longer-term professional ambition created powerful motivations for sustained engagement. Contributors were not merely fulfilling commissioned work but building professional identities through accumulated publications.

Understanding these structural and motivational factors provides essential context for examining how individual reviewers approached their work, as revealed through their own articulated views on translation and cultural mediation. The viewpoints of the above two reviewers towards translation, discussed independently (with the authors' original name [水建彤] and pseudonym [唐文冰] respectively) in three articles in the magazine in 1952, may offer insights into the interpretation of these book reviews. Shui Jiantong employs strategic interpretation techniques that transform texts into cultural and ideological vehicles.

His reviews demonstrate a sophisticated understanding of “external dialogics” between translated works and other cultural materials, creating meaning through contextual juxtapositions rather than isolated textual analysis. Writing under his own name Shui Jiantong 水建彤, his selective reviews of works like *Lenin: A Biography*, *One Who Survived* and so forth reveal his approach to translation as ideological recontextualization, the process through which reviews selectively represent, interpret, and reframe source texts to align them with specific political agendas. He signed all four of his 1952 book reviews with this name; the pseudonym Sang Jianliu 桑簡流 appears on his 1955 review of *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow, Rip Van Winkle*. Tang Wenbing’s (Stephen C. Soong) translation philosophy emphasizes cultural transfer beyond mere linguistic conversion. In his seminal work “On the Difficulty of Translation” 〈論翻譯之難〉, Tang articulates that “beyond understanding the literal meaning, we must also comprehend the cultural background and spirit behind the language” (Tang, 1952a, p. 18).¹¹ More significantly, as editorial architect of *World Today*, Tang arranged translations and reviews to function as cultural diplomacy instruments, viewing translation as:

the most effective tool for breaking through both ideological and physical iron curtains or bamboo curtains [它是打破思想上以及實質上的鐵幕或竹幕最有效的工具]. (Tang, 1952b, p. 23)

His reviews of ostensibly non-political texts like *Path to New Literature* also demonstrate his belief that translation should reveal hidden meanings relevant to contemporary contexts.

Apart from book reviews of translations, five book reviews reviewed books written in Chinese in *World Today* in this time period, and it is found in our study that two among the five works were reviewed with far-fetched connections to

¹¹ Source text: “我們在了解字面的意義之外，還得懂語言背後的文化背景和精神” (Tang, 1952a, p. 18).

politics, revealing the reviewer's political standpoint.

Concluding Remarks

This article investigates the various book reviews in the periodicals funded by the USIS in Hong Kong at the beginning years of the Cultural Cold War. Against the background of Cold War, the book reviews in USIS-commissioned periodicals serve to discredit the Soviet Communist Party and to portray the US as a beautiful paradise. This study demonstrates how book reviews in *World Today* functioned as sophisticated instruments of cultural diplomacy through their relationship with translation practices.

The various book reviews show a remarkable level of consistency in terms of selection, presentation, and manipulation that served clear ideological objectives while maintaining the seemingly professional standards of literary criticism and translation. The practice effectively created a hybrid form of cultural mediation, positioned between traditional book reviewing and selective translation. This pattern of partial translation through book reviews demonstrates how book reviews could function as sites of ideological mediation, where the act of selecting and translating specific passages served broader political objectives, forming complex dynamics within the same issue, between different issues of the same magazine and even across diverse magazines and other media platforms. This suggests that the relationship between translation and ideology operates not only through direct textual manipulation but through a complex network of paratextual elements, institutional constraints, and professional practices.

These insights remain relevant to contemporary translation studies, particularly in understanding how translation practices operate within political contexts. While the material conditions of cultural transmission have transformed

dramatically since the 1950s, the fundamental mechanisms revealed by our analysis of *World Today*'s book reviews remain strikingly relevant to understanding contemporary cultural diplomacy and information warfare. The core practice we have documented has not disappeared but rather proliferated and intensified in today's digital media environment. Like the USIS reviewers who emphasized certain aspects while downplaying others, contemporary content creators curate knowledge for audiences who may never read the full texts.

For translation practice and ethics, our historical analysis also offers cautionary insights. On the one hand, it reminds practitioners that translation never occurs in an ideological vacuum. Even seemingly neutral decisions about what to translate, how to frame translations, and which passages to emphasize carry political freight. Translators and reviewers should cultivate critical reflexivity about their own positioning within structures of power and patronage. On the other hand, it suggests the need for greater transparency about the conditions of cultural production. Just as contemporary audiences deserve to know when content is sponsored or algorithmically promoted, readers of translation deserve information about who commissioned translations, under what institutional auspices, and with what intended purposes.

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From Text to Screen: Lin Haiyin's *Chengnan Jiushi* and Its Cinematic Adaptation

Albert L. Chang

This study is a comparative analysis of Lin Haiyin's seminal work, *Chengnan Jiushi*, and its cinematic adaptation by mainland Chinese director Wu Yigong. The novel, published in 1960, follows the six-year-old protagonist Ying-tzu as she grows up and assimilates into Peking in the 1920s. Being originally from Taiwan, her sense of self and the portrayal of her family as outsiders to Peking are essential to the original narrative. The study investigates the director's adaptation strategies, focusing on how the three elements of setting, characters, and plot are reimagined for the screen. The study found that the meticulous craftsmanship of the set designers allowed audiences to immerse themselves in the world of old Peking, effectively capturing the novel's historical richness and emotional depth. This careful blending of artifice and authenticity enhanced the settings' integral role in the narrative, contributing significantly to the film's success. In character portrayal, the adaptation simplifies the original's cultural complexity by removing accents and distinct linguistic traits, resulting in a homogenized identity and the erasure of Taiwanese elements, reflecting a broader trend toward accessibility over detailed representation. And finally, regarding the plot, the omission of the third story, "Lan I-niang," likely due to its darker themes, streamlines the narrative and softens its emotional intensity. The film adaptation may be seen as a way to emphasize cultural continuity and nostalgia for a shared past between mainland China and Taiwan, particularly during the period in which the film was produced, when the two sides of the strait remained politically divided but culturally linked. Thus, while the film itself remains apolitical, its production and promotion likely had an underlying motive to promote unity and soften tensions by focusing on a common cultural history.

Keywords: Lin Haiyin, *Chengnan Jiushi*, adaptation, adaptation strategies, comparative analysis

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張梵

本研究對林海音的經典作品《城南舊事》及其由中國大陸導演吳貽弓改編的電影進行比較分析。原著於1960年出版，描寫六歲的英子在1920年代的北京成長與融入的過程。由於英子一家來自臺灣，其自我認同及作為北京「外來者」的描寫，構成小說敘事的重要部分。本文探討導演的改編策略，聚焦於場景、人物與情節三個元素在影像中的重構方式。研究發現，電影場景設計精緻，成功喚起老北京的歷史氛圍與情感深度，強化了場景在敘事中的關鍵作用。在人物塑造方面，電影透過語言的「歸化」處理，刪除原著中的口音與語言差異，簡化了文化複雜性，導致角色文化身分的同質化與臺灣元素的消失，反映出改編作品為求易於理解而犧牲文化細節的普遍趨勢。情節方面，原著中的第三篇〈蘭姨娘〉未被納入電影，可能因其負面意象而遭刪除，使得敘事更為簡化，情感張力亦隨之減弱。此一改編可視為強調兩岸共同文化記憶與懷舊情懷的手法，尤其在電影製作時期，兩岸雖政治分歧，文化上仍有聯繫。儘管影片本身不涉政治，其製作與推廣可能隱含促進認同與緩和緊張的意圖，藉由凸顯共同的文化歷史來達成。

關鍵詞：林海音、《城南舊事》、改編、改編策略、比較分析

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Introduction

In comparative literature, translation, in a broad sense, may also refer to adaptations based on a previous work. Referring to this process as the mutual illumination of the arts, Weisstein (1968/1973) explained that comparative literature examines the interaction between literature, cinema, and other forms of artistic expression across national and regional boundaries from an intercultural, interdisciplinary, and global perspective (p. 150). Jakobson (1959) classified such transfers of linguistic and cultural representations as intersemiotic translation, where verbal signs are interpreted through non-verbal sign systems (p. 233). As such, Hutcheon and O'Flynn (2013) noted that with adaptation, the form changes, but the content persists, allowing audiences to experience the story in a different way (p. 10). Adaptations provide an open and flexible platform for cross-cultural engagement, making it possible to present literary works to a new audience.

Lin Haiyin's 林海音 seminal work, *Chengnan Jiushi* 《城南舊事》, was first published in 1960 in Taiwan. In 1982, the novel was adapted into a film by the Shanghai Film Studio, with Shen Jie 沈潔 portraying Ying-tzu 英子, who serves as the soul of the film. Through Ying-tzu's eyes, the movie conveys the joys and sorrows of life. It vividly captures the atmosphere of old Peking, from the sound of camel bells in its quiet alleys to the presence of street vendors and daily scenes of people fetching water from wells. Director Wu Yigong 吳貽弓 successfully brought to life the "subtle melancholy and deep yearning" of the original novel while also highlighting the most beautiful and timeless aspects of humanity.

Just like translation, the term "adaptation" may refer to either the process or the product. As a product, Hutcheon and O'Flynn (2013) define "adaptation" as an "announced and extensive transposition of a particular work or works" (p. 7), an example of which involves a shift of medium, such as from a novel to a film. They

argue that adaptations exhibit a double nature: Adaptations are not simply reproductions but rather “repetitions with variation” (p. 4). In other words, adaptations themselves are autonomous works that can be valued for their unique presence in time and space; however, they are also texts that echo and allude to an original (p. 6).

This study, a comparative analysis of the novel and its cinematic adaptation, aims to examine the director’s adaptation strategies, particularly how the three elements of setting, characters, and plot are navigated and reimagined in the cinematic format.

Literature Review

The Novel

Published in 1960, the full-length novel *Chengnan Jiushi* is Lin Haiyin’s most famous work. The narrative is primarily based on the author’s childhood memories, depicting the life of an ordinary family in a traditional Peking courtyard during the 1920s. The novel consists of five sequential stories that can be read separately or together as a single work: “Hui-an Hostel” 惠安館, “Let Us Go and See the Sea” 我們看海去, “Lan I-niang” 蘭姨娘, “Donkey Rolls” 驢打滾兒, and “Papa’s Flowers Have Fallen—And I Was No Longer a Child” 爸爸的花兒落了, 我也不再是小孩子. *Chengnan Jiushi* portrays the adult world in Peking during the 1920s as seen through the eyes of a little girl, the I-narrator Ying-tzu. Lin Haiyin presents the events in chronological order, focusing on her experiences as she navigates the challenges of living in the foreign city of Peking as a child. The novel begins in 1924, when Ying-tzu is six years old, and continues until 1930, when she is 12.

The Director and the Film

In 1982, the novel was adapted into a film by the Shanghai Film Studio, directed by Wu Yigong, a prominent member of the fourth generation of Chinese filmmakers. After graduating from the Beijing Film Academy in 1960, Wu worked at Haiyan Film Studio and later became a director. His contributions to Chinese cinema were significant, and he held several prestigious positions, including being the chairman of the Chinese Filmmakers Association. He was also one of the founders of the Shanghai International Film Festival. Wu Yigong passed away on September 14, 2019. For the adaptation, the film studio retained the Chinese title *Chengnan Jiushi* while using a slightly different English title, *My Memories of Old Peking*.

The film received high acclaim both in mainland China and internationally. It won several awards, including Best Director, Best Supporting Actress, and Best Music at the third Golden Rooster Awards in mainland China in 1983. The film also garnered international recognition, winning the Golden Eagle Award for Best Film at the second Manila International Film Festival in 1983 (Ni, 2002/2002, p. 65), Best Picture at the seventh Belgrade International Children's Festival in 1984, and second prize (the Equator Award) at the tenth Quito City International Film Festival in Ecuador in 1988 (China Central Television, 2006). In 1999, it was chosen as one of the 100 best 20th-century Chinese-language films by *Asia Weekly*.

As it is impossible to separate the act of adaptation from the environment in which it is carried out, the adaptation process invariably affects its end result, which is the way the movies are filmed. Adaptations also have to work within economic, social, and political constraints, and thus adapting the social dimension of the original to the new audience becomes an important consideration.

In an interview, director Wu Yigong discussed the financial challenges in filming *Chengnan Jiushi*. The film's budget was RMB 570,000, nearly double the

typical RMB 290,000 allotted for films by the Shanghai Film Studio in the 1980s. Wu faced significant pressure due to this high cost but received critical support from studio director Xu Sangchu 徐桑楚, who authorized additional funding. Despite the financial risk, the film turned out to be a commercial success, grossing RMB 1.1 million, ultimately making a profit and validating the investment (Zhang, 2012). However, as Hutcheon and O’Flynn (2013) have explained, the appeal of adaptation cannot simply be explained away by economic gain (p. 175). They also cite political motives as a reason to adapt, as it can be used “to engage in a larger social or cultural critique” (p. 94).

The making of the film was politically motivated, which appeared to be tied to improving cross-strait cultural relations between mainland China and Taiwan at that time. Although the film does not contain overt political content, it was produced at a time when the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences began to introduce Taiwanese literature to the mainland in a more systematic way, suggesting a political agenda of fostering cultural exchange (Zhang, 2012). By adapting Lin Haiyin’s autobiographical novel, which depicts childhood memories of Peking, the film serves as a bridge linking the shared cultural heritage between Taiwan and the mainland.

Additionally, the screenplay was strongly endorsed by a vice minister of culture and the Shanghai Film Studio’s leadership (Zhang, 2012), which suggests that the production had governmental backing and political importance. The choice to adapt this particular work may have been seen as a way to emphasize cultural continuity and nostalgia for a shared past, especially during a period when the two sides of the strait were politically divided but culturally linked. Thus, while the film itself remained apolitical, its production and promotion likely had an underlying motive to promote unity and soften tensions by focusing on a common cultural history.

In short, the adaptation of *Chengnan Jiushi* illustrates the complex dynamics of adapting literature into film, shaped by economic pressures and political contexts. The political backdrop of the film's production suggests a deliberate effort to foster cultural relations between mainland China and Taiwan. While the film itself may not present overt political messages, its production during a time of increasing cultural exchange signifies an underlying agenda to bridge the historical and cultural gaps between the two regions. The endorsement from high-ranking officials further emphasizes the importance of the film as a cultural artifact that seeks to evoke nostalgia and unity amidst political divisions.

Previous Studies

The following literature review starts with studies by mainland Chinese scholars, which focus on its artistic achievements, cultural significance, and its adaptation process. The reviews explain the film's broader role within mainland Chinese cinema, offering perspectives on the film's emotional and aesthetic contributions.

In Mainland China

In an interview, director Wu Yigong stated that he used the emotions “subtle melancholy and deep yearning” (*dandan de aichou, chencheng de sinian* 淡淡的哀愁、沉沉的思念) to establish a mood for the film that is consistent with the original novel (Zhang, 2012). For this reason, Wang (2007) examined the adaptation with a focus on style, rather than content. After a careful examination of the novel, the adapted screenplay, and the final movie, Wang (2007) notes that the movie retained the novel's emotional tone and mood because director Wu insisted on “adhering to artistic principles” (*anzhao yishu guize banshi* 按照藝術規則辦事) (p. 67). Wang (2007) points out that the director made creative and stylistic

choices based on artistic considerations, rather than strictly following a literal or mechanical interpretation of the source material. As a result, Wang (2007) considers the film a new artistic creation by director Wu Yigong and screenwriter Yi Ming 伊明 (p. 63). Despite the artistic choices, the film successfully preserves the novel's essayistic style, or *sanwen hua fengge* 散文化風格, by capturing and conveying the subtle melancholy and deep yearning that characterize the novel (p. 66). In other words, the film uses a narrative style that is reflective and contemplative, similar to the way essays might explore themes and emotions in a more exploratory or introspective manner.

Li (2009) examines the film's artistic elements, focusing on how it captivates audiences. Li meticulously looked at several key areas, including narrative structure, character development, and thematic depth, in order to understand how these elements come together to evoke childhood memories and convey the passage of time. His findings highlight the director's skillful use of visual and auditory techniques, such as cinematography and sound design, which amplify the emotional tone of the film and enhance its nostalgic atmosphere. Li (2009) also discusses the film's cultural and historical significance, particularly in its preservation of old Peking's social heritage. Moreover, he underscores the film's lasting impact, noting its influence on future filmmakers and its role in shaping Chinese cinema.

In examining the similarities and differences between the novel and its film adaptation, Peng (2010) begins by declaring the adaptation a "model of success" (p. 38), drawing on an earlier review by Zhang Zhilu 張之路 as the basis for this assertion. Peng identifies similarities between the novel and the film in their narrative perspectives, structure, rhythm, and emotional expression. However, he also notes that parts of the plot were deleted, and there are differences in the portrayal of the character's psychology and personality. A notable omission is the

story of “Lan I-niang,” which Peng (2010) explains was left out due to the limited runtime (p. 40). Despite the differences, Peng (2010) credits the film for “respecting the original work” and regards the adaptation as a “success” (p. 42).

Tang (2019) compares the novel and its film adaptation, focusing on the core themes and spirit of the original work. Despite the inherent differences between the two forms of artistic expression, Tang finds the adaptation highly successful. He attributes the film’s critical acclaim not only to its faithful depiction of the novel’s central themes, namely, childhood memories and the inevitable pain of parting and growing up, but also to its deep respect for the novel’s spirit. While pointing out the omission of the story “Lan I-niang” in the film, Tang points out the creative elements that enhance the storytelling, reflecting the challenges and decisions involved in translating a literary work into a visual medium. These observations provide valuable insights into the adaptation process and the interplay between literature and film.

On the other hand, Pang (2021) highlights the film’s poetic style, achieved through the use of long shots, music, and scene mobilization. Pang (2021) explains that director Wu Yigong captured the nostalgic tone and emotional depth of the novel while also introducing creative elements that enhance storytelling. Pang (2021) likewise underscores the film’s success in maintaining the original work’s integrity while also achieving a unique cinematic expression, making it a classic in the history of Chinese film.

The above studies, all from mainland Chinese scholars, provide an understanding of *Chengnan Jiushi* and its adaptation process, highlighting both the film’s artistic achievements and its contribution to mainland Chinese cinema. The film is described as providing a melancholic yet non-harmful aesthetic experience of remembrance. The characters are depicted to reflect the societal atmosphere of southern Peking and the lifestyle during the pre-revolution era, conveying

contemplation of the past. These scholars express a thoughtful appreciation for the film, emphasizing its artistic restraint and its faithful adaptation of Lin Haiyin's novel. The studies are in unison, offering praise and focusing on the film's emotional depth, nostalgic tone, and cultural significance. The analyses underscore the delicate balance achieved in translating the novel's themes, childhood memories, and the pain of growing up into a visual format, while also acknowledging the film's respectful treatment of its source material. This appreciation ultimately reinforces the film's artistic achievements and its contribution to mainland Chinese cinema.

In Taiwan

To contextualize studies made by Taiwanese scholars, it is crucial to consider the prevailing political climate during the 1980s, particularly around the time the film *Chengnan Jiushi* was released in 1983. During this time, Taiwan was under martial law, which had been in effect since 1949, creating an atmosphere of political repression and censorship. The "Three Noes" policy of no contact, no negotiation, and no compromise dominated the political discourse, reflecting the government's stance toward mainland China. This restrictive environment made it impossible for the film to be shown in Taiwan, as its themes and narrative were perceived as politically sensitive or contrary to the official narrative. With the eventual lifting of martial law, scholars began to have access to the film, which allowed for a renewed interest in its artistic and cultural significance.

Among Taiwanese scholars, Ying (2007) examines the adaptation of *Chengnan Jiushi*, first published in Taiwan in 1960, into its film version produced in mainland China some two decades later, during the 1980s. Significant differences in time, societal context, and the creators' backgrounds, with Wu Yigong as a male director in mainland China and Lin Haiyin as a female author

from Taiwan who grew up in 1920s Peking, play crucial roles in shaping this adaptation (p. 2). Ying (2007) argues that these factors necessitate transformation due to the differences in artistic form, reflecting the differing emphases between a mainland male director and a Taiwanese female author. In particular, Ying (2007) notes the changes and adaptations made to the film. For instance, as is noted by the mainland Chinese scholars, the story “Lan I-niang” was entirely removed from the film, which represents a deliberate choice to navigate the complexities of familial representation and societal norms (p. 10).

However, the film also has broader political significance beyond just its cultural and narrative content. Focusing on the deep influence of cross-strait dynamics and ideologies on film adaptation, Chuang (2011) argues that the film *Chengnan Jiushi* is a notable example of mainland China's response to the anti-Communist films produced in Taiwan from the 1950s to the 1980s (p. 70). Chuang (2011) explains that while Taiwan had adapted scar literature from mainland China into anti-Communist films, China countered by adapting Taiwanese nostalgic literature. By adapting works that evoked shared cultural sentiments such as homesickness, China responded to Taiwan's political stance in a more nuanced manner. One such example is *Chengnan Jiushi*, a film that evokes strong feelings of homesickness, particularly for those who had moved from the mainland to Taiwan (p. 70). This softer, culturally focused response aims to foster shared sentiments rather than engage in direct political opposition. In other words, the strategic use of nostalgia may be understood as a form of narrative diplomacy, wherein shared cultural memory is highlighted to foster emotional affinity across political divides. The film thus functions not merely as a cinematic retelling but as a cultural translation; it reframes Taiwanese literary heritage within a mainland context to promote soft power and symbolic unity.

In summary, studies by Taiwan scholars highlight the intersection of political,

cultural, and artistic dynamics in the context of cross-strait relations. The political atmosphere in Taiwan during the 1980s, marked by martial law and the “Three Noes” policy, initially limited access to the film, framing its reception within the constraints of political censorship. However, with the lifting of martial law, scholars revisited the film, analyzing how the adaptation reflected differences in societal context and artistic direction between Taiwan and mainland China. These analyses emphasize not only the cultural transformations in the adaptation but also how the film subtly engaged with cross-strait political tensions through shared cultural sentiments, notably nostalgia and homesickness, positioning it as a response to Taiwan’s anti-Communist cinematic efforts.

Research Gap

The above studies from mainland China and Taiwan offer valuable insights into the film adaptation, but a significant research gap emerges when considering the socio-political implications and narrative adjustments made in the film adaptation. Chinese scholars focused primarily on the film’s artistic and emotional achievements. For example, Wang (2007) and Peng (2010) examined how director Wu Yigong retained the novel’s melancholic tone while introducing creative elements that align with the visual medium, ultimately viewing the film as a successful artistic transformation. In contrast, Taiwanese scholars approach the film through a political perspective, particularly in the context of cross-strait relations and censorship. Their studies highlight how the film navigates political sensitivities, emphasizing cultural identity and nostalgia while avoiding direct political engagement.

However, a research gap remains in how these artistic and political strategies intersect. Neither group fully addresses how the adaptation’s plot streamlining serves both artistic autonomy and political objectives, particularly in fostering a

sense of shared cultural heritage between Taiwan and mainland China. For this reason, this study aims to analyze the film adaptation with a focus on how the adaptation navigates and reinterprets key elements of setting, character, and plot. The study seeks to explore the cultural and political motivations behind the film's changes, particularly in the context of cross-strait relations between Taiwan and mainland China in the 1980s. By comparing the novel with its cinematic version, the objective is to examine how the film balances artistic expression with political and cultural messaging.

Methodology

Hutcheon and O'Flynn (2013) have proposed that adaptation can be understood as both a process and a product, which allows for a deeper exploration of how adaptations function across different media. As a process, adaptation involves both (re-)interpretation and then (re-)creation (p. 8), as well as the choices that creators make when translating a source material into a new form. The process is not merely about fidelity to the source but rather about engaging with it in a dynamic way that invites reinterpretation. On the other hand, adaptation as a product refers to new works that arise from the original source material. The works are not mere copies but stand-alone entities with their own artistic and cultural significance (p. 7). In addition, adaptation is also a form of intertextuality. The authors explain that adaptations should be viewed not only as new works but as complex intertextual experiences; adaptations engage with the original text while generating their own meanings. In this context, adaptations resonate with audiences through "repetition with variation," meaning that they echo familiar themes, characters, or narratives while also introducing new elements (p. 8).

This study examines the film adaptation as a distinct work, focusing on how it

is interpreted and tested in its own right (Hutcheon & O’Flynn, 2013, p. 6). The initial analysis is based on fidelity criticism, where the adaptation is judged by comparing it directly to the original text. However, as Hutcheon and O’Flynn (2013) argue, fidelity should not be the only framework for analysis (p. 6). Adaptations are often described as “repetition without replication” (p. 7), allowing for a unique transformation of the source material. The appeal of adaptations for audiences lies in their mixture of repetition and difference, of familiarity and novelty (p. 22). In this sense, adaptations can be regarded as autonomous works with their own distinct value. Moreover, adaptations often serve various purposes, and the motivations behind them can influence the extent to which they adhere to or deviate from the original narrative. This interplay between the original and the adapted version enriches the understanding of both texts, revealing the complexities that emerge in the adaptation process.

The methodology used in this study involves a comprehensive analysis of the film adaptation in three main areas: setting, characters, and plot. As these elements represent the foundational building blocks of narrative structure and are central to adaptation studies, this approach allows for an examination of how the adaptation processes alter the original material and its cultural representations. In addition, the study also contextualizes the adaptation within its socio-economic and political environment. By investigating the film’s production background, including financial constraints and political motives, the study sheds light on how external factors influence the adaptation process. This approach is consistent with the observations of Hutcheon and O’Flynn (2013), who note that adaptations often reflect broader cultural and political narratives (p. 92). The novel and its adaptation to be analyzed are Lin (1960/2002) and Wu (1982).

Results and Discussions

Setting: Ancient City of Peking

Lin Haiyin explains that she wrote *Chengnan Jiushi* because she “missed the people and places of those childhood years” (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 6). Spots of local color thus become an important part of the novel. In fact, Lin was particularly detailed in her representation of the “south side of the city of Peking,” trying to bring readers back to the city in the 1920s. The major spots of local color described in the novel include the *hutong* 胡同, *jing wozi* 井窩子, and *Tienchiao* 天橋.

Hutongs, Peking's traditional living quarters that date back to the 13th century, are central to the novel's setting. Evoking the texture of old Peking life, *hutongs* are characterized by narrow grey-bricked alleyways, slanting tile roofs, and enclosed *siheyuan* 四合院 (courtyards). They not only afforded residents easy access to transport and shopping centers but also kept noisy traffic away from the residential areas. The word *hutong* came from the Mongolian word *hottog* Худаг, meaning “water well” (Zhang, 2003, p. 8). While *hutongs* have been demolished annually in recent years to make way for progress and urban development, many continue to regard the narrow *hutongs* as the most salient cultural feature of old Peking (Wang, 2011, p. 17). *Hutongs* are thus culture-specific, and even time- and place-specific; they are distinctively Peking.

Diagonally opposite the *hutong* where Ying-tzu lives is a *jing wozi*. During the 1920s, because of a lack of running water in Peking, there were people who did manual work selling water for a living. They clustered and lived near the well where they drew water from, and local residents called the place *jing wozi* (Qiu, 2005, p. 253). At the *jing wozi*, there are men drawing water from a deep well and others pushing wheelbarrows filled with water to be delivered to households (Lin,

1960/2002, p. 18). The squeaky wheels of the wheelbarrows, together with the icy wet road leading to the *jing wozi* during winter, add to the image of *jing wozi* as a busy place for the water peddlers working under the harsh Peking weather.

A third place of interest, which was also a prominent attraction in Peking, is *Tienchiao*, which literally means Heavenly Bridge. During the 1920s and 1930s, visiting *Tienchiao* was one of the most exciting activities of the locals in Peking (Dong, 2003, p. 180). It was a huge market, offering not only goods at low prices but also entertainment. There were stores that sold daily items, restaurants, drug stores, clothing shops, second-hand stores, and even foreign goods shops. In addition, there were performers who displayed their unique bodily skills, martial artists, and Peking opera singing skills. In *Chengnan Jiushi*, *Tienchiao* is a poignant site of survival and performance. Niu-erh 妞兒, Ying-tzu's six-year-old playmate, was adopted into a family that had fallen into poverty after the Qing dynasty's collapse. Her father, once idle and indulgent, now plays the *huchin* 胡琴 (Chinese fiddle) at *Tienchiao* to earn a living. He trains Niu-erh to sing opera, and it is in *Tienchiao* that she performs to support her family (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 96). The space thus becomes emblematic not only of urban hardship but also of the precarity and exploitation faced by children in transitional times. In short, *Tienchiao* was a microcosm of life in Peking. The mere mention of the place conjures images of crowded stores, herds of people, fun, excitement, and all the noise and neglect that came with the busy activities.

In addition, Lin Haiyin also shapes the local and regional culture of Peking through transportation objects from the 1920s. For instance, in winter, a traveling camel caravan stops in front of Ying-tzu's house. Fascinated by the camel caravan, Ying-tzu stands in front of the kneeling camels, watching them munch straw. She is so mesmerized that her mouth begins to move, mimicking the camel chewing straw (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 2). The rickshaws and draught animals carry heavy loads and

are also symbols that position the city in time and space (Xu, 2013, p. 61). They conjure up images of Peking in the 1920s, an old city slowly moving toward modernization.

Taken together, the above descriptions exemplify what Barthes (1984/1986) refers to as “insignificant notations” (p. 142). Structuralist narratology assumes that every element in a story has a function; it must advance the plot, develop character, or contribute to thematic coherence. However, the slanting tiles of the *hutong*, the squeaky wheelbarrows at the *jing wozi*, the crowded stalls of *Tienchiao*, and the camel caravan do not advance the plot. Instead, they produce a concrete reality (p. 146). The details, useless yet inevitable, convince readers that they are encountering lived experience (p. 142). In this way, Lin Haiyin’s prose achieves realism not through narrative necessity but through the accumulation of seemingly trivial fragments that signify “the real.”

A picture is worth a thousand words, and a single image has the power to convey complex ideas quickly. In motion pictures, this idea is amplified even further. The optics provided by the film recreate the cultural background and the era’s atmosphere, where the visual spectacle and audio effects, including music, carry layers of meaning and move the narrative along. Under the directorship of Wu Yigong, the film adaptation retains the unique Peking flavor, which, according to Wang (2007), allows the film to exude a sense of “subtle melancholy and deep yearning” (p. 64). Wu’s cinematography intensifies this effect by using long tracking shots of *hutongs* that linger on grey brick walls, drying laundry, and idle children, producing a sense of everyday life (Pang, 2021). At the *jing wozi*, close-ups of dripping buckets and wheelbarrows grinding against frozen roads, paired with ambient sound, immerse viewers in the harsh winter of Peking. In *Tienchiao*, wide shots of bustling crowds are intercut with close-ups of Niu-erh’s father tuning his *huchin* or a child’s distracted gaze. Even Ying-tzu’s trivial gesture of mimicking

a camel's chewing is filmed in tight close-up, juxtaposed against the animal's rhythmic movements. These fragments are narratively superfluous, yet they function as Barthesian "insignificant notations," producing the cinematic reality effect and convincing viewers that they are witnessing 1920s Peking.

Because of the realness of the scenes depicting Peking, many believe that the vast number of scenes were shot on location. However, according to the director, because of the drastic changes that Peking had undergone since the 1920s, even if the film crew went to Peking to shoot on location, it was already impossible to find the authentic streets and alleys of the southern part of the city as described in Lin Haiyin's original novel. For this reason, the old Peking scenes were all the handiwork of the brilliant set designers at Shanghai Film Studio, except for the small courtyard of the "mad woman" (Zhang, 2012). Director Wu further confides that the alleys, streets, and even the patch of grass where the thief hid were all built by the set designers at the abandoned Jiangwan Airport 江灣機場 in Shanghai.

In summary, the paradox of artifice enhancing authenticity is especially evident in the film's reconstructed settings. Although the alleys and courtyards were built from scratch at Jiangwan Airport, their careful design evokes old Peking more convincingly than the actual city could in the 1980s, given its rapid modernization. This phenomenon reflects what Hutcheon and O'Flynn (2013) describe as the adaptive power of visual media to interpret and recreate rather than reproduce (p. 84). In this case, the artificial sets do not detract from realism; rather, they serve as emotionally and culturally authentic spaces that resonate with the nostalgic tone of the original novel. The constructed environment becomes a vessel for memory, allowing viewers to inhabit a version of Peking that may no longer exist physically but persists imaginatively. This blending of artifice and authenticity contributed to the film's success in visually capturing the essence of a bygone era.

Characters: Dialect Suppression and Identity Homogenization

Discussions on the characters in the story will focus on the director's adaptation strategies, particularly on how the multilingual elements and narrative structures of the original text are navigated and reimagined in the cinematic format.

At the very beginning of the novel, Lin Haiyin introduces the main characters and establishes the protagonist Ying-tzu and her family as outsiders to Peking. Having just arrived from “an island surrounded by water” (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 34), they are spending their first winter in Peking as the story opens (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 12). On more than one occasion, Lin Haiyin wrote that she and her family came from a “land far away,” without explicitly mentioning Taiwan. During the time the story happened, Peking is a city of people of different backgrounds, traditions, and languages; they come to settle down (Ying-tzu's family), to work for a better future (Sung Ma 宋媽), to study (students at the hostel), or to get away from the past (Lan I-niang). Thus, a distinct image of Peking is the Pekingese dialect spoken with different accents that one hears around the city. These different accents, representing peoples from different origins, cultures, and traditions, interact and project an image of Peking as a congregation of people from all over.

Lin Haiyin's family was originally from *Toufen* 頭份 Village in *Miaoli* 苗栗 County in Taiwan; her father was *Hakka* 客家, and her mother was *Minnan* 閩南. In 1923, when she was five, her family moved to Peking and settled on the south side of the city. Ying-tzu and her family are outsiders to Peking, and in the novel, Lin Haiyin uses eye dialect to represent accents and local dialects to highlight their otherness. Eye dialect, a term coined by the linguist George P. Krapp, is used to describe the use of unconventional spelling to reproduce colloquial usage (Brett, 2009, p. 49). In the novel, Lin substituted Chinese characters with slightly different

pronunciations to achieve the same effect. The way her mother spoke, the retroflex sounds *zh* and *r* (here represented using *Pinyin* 拼音) became *z* and *l*. In addition, the *f* sound, which is not present in the Taiwanese language, was replaced by the *hu-* sound in Taiwanese. Instead of telling the readers that Ying-tzu's family speaks Pekingese with different accents, Lin Haiyin shows the readers how the accents are different by using eye dialect. In fact, none of the members of Ying-tzu's household are native Pekingese. The father speaks Pekingese with a *Hakka* accent, the mother with a Taiwanese accent, the nanny Sung Ma with a *Shun-yi* 順義 accent, and Ying-tzu with a standard Pekingese accent (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 12). There are also occasional *Hakka* expressions used by the father (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 15).

Apart from the non-native accents, the novel also highlights North and South stereotypes. For instance, Ying-tzu hears people telling her mother that maid servants in Peking steal things (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 16), and from her father, she hears that people in Peking are idle all day, so every time people meet, they ask each other if they have eaten (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 18). According to Elliot Aronson, a stereotype is a generalization about a group of people in which "incidental characteristics are assigned to virtually all members of the group, regardless of actual variation among the members" (Aronson, 2005, as cited in Beller, 2007, p. 429). Once formed, stereotypes are difficult to change, and in the novel, they subtly shape how characters perceive one another across regional lines, which reinforces inherited biases that persist beneath everyday interactions.

In addition to the stereotypes, the novel also portrays an "us vs. them" mentality that underscores the family's outsider status. Despite their efforts to blend into the local community, the family's status as an outsider occasionally stands out, either knowingly or unknowingly, in the way they refer to the locals in a disparaging manner behind their backs and vice versa. Ying-tzu's father refers to the locals as "northern devils," while the locals sometimes refer to them as

“southern barbarians” (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 24); yet the adults remain cordial when they meet. This name-calling reflects an “us vs. them” mentality, with each side subconsciously using the Self as a standard by which all others are measured against.

However, the film adaptation simplifies this Self-Other dynamic. By stripping away the accents and distinct linguistic characteristics of characters like Ying-tzu's family and Sung Ma, the adaptation eliminates the layers of otherness that contribute to the novel's depth. Absent are the accents, dialects, North-South stereotypes, and name-calling; instead, all characters speak with a standard Pekingese accent. Notably, there is no acknowledgment of the diverse origins of the characters; it is only at the film's conclusion, after Ying-tzu's father has passed away, that the director reveals that the father was buried in *Taiwan yidi* (臺灣義地, literally meaning “public cemetery for people from Taiwan”), with the tombstone displaying the characters *Miaoli*, indicating his birthplace. This choice suggests a homogenization of cultural identity, leading Li (2009) to comment that “not many” Taiwanese elements are present in the film (p. 101).

In conclusion, Lin Haiyin uses multilingualism, in particular, the use of different dialects and accents by the characters, to distinguish between the Self and the Others. Director Wu Yigong, however, uses two adaptation strategies to homogenize the characters. First, the neutralization of the different dialects and accents presented in the book by having all characters in the movie speak Pekingese with standard accents. Second, the omission of the multilingual situations that are present in the book.

These adaptation choices cannot be separated from the broader environment in which the film was produced. Wu Yigong faced not only financial pressures but also political oversight, as the project was endorsed by cultural authorities and situated within a period of cross-strait cultural exchange. The Chinese Academy of

Social Sciences was at the time systematically introducing Taiwanese literature to the mainland, and the adaptation of Lin Haiyin's novel was part of this cultural agenda (Zhang, 2012). Within this context, the suppression of dialects in the film reflects not merely an artistic decision but a state-sanctioned policy of linguistic standardization, whereby *Putonghua* 普通話 served as the mandated medium of cinematic expression. As a result, linguistic diversity is erased, and the film is familiarized for a mainland audience, but at the expense of the multilingual realism that Barthes (1984/1986) identifies as central to the reality effect.

In other words, by choosing to apply a standardized *Putonghua* accent for all characters, the director not only homogenizes the linguistic landscape but also engages in a process of domestication, a concept put forward by Lawrence Venuti. According to Venuti (2004), a translated work by way of domestication is immediately recognizable, intelligible, and “familiarized” (p. 5). The work becomes transparent and appears “natural,” i.e., not translated (p. 5); nothing is foreign or strange. In other words, foreign elements are adopted to make them more familiar or accessible to a target audience. In this case, the decision to eliminate the distinctive accents of characters who, in the novel, speak in Taiwanese, *Hakka*, and other regional dialects can be seen as a strategy to make the film more palatable for a broader mainland Chinese audience, where standard Pekingese serves as a unifying linguistic norm.

However, this domestication has its drawbacks. It deprives the audience of a key element of the novel, the linguistic diversity that highlights the characters' outsider status in Peking. The father's *Hakka* accent, the mother's Taiwanese accent, and even the occasional use of *Hakka* expressions all serve to mark the family as different from the native Pekingese speakers around them. By erasing these distinctions, the film loses a layer of cultural richness, and the characters

become homogeneous, their unique identities blurred. Consequently, Ying-tzu and her family's "otherness" is lost, which was a crucial theme in the novel that underscored their journey in an unfamiliar city.

While the film's character portrayals lean heavily on Venuti's (2004) concept of domestication, the trade-offs of this approach are worth noting. A foreignizing strategy, by contrast, might have preserved more of the novel's linguistic and behavioral idiosyncrasies, foregrounding cultural difference rather than smoothing it over. For instance, retaining the original dialects or more ambiguous moral tones could have challenged viewers to engage with the unfamiliar, fostering a sense of estrangement that Venuti (2004) argues is ethically productive. The filmmakers' choice to domesticate thus reflects a prioritization of emotional immediacy and narrative clarity over cultural opacity, a decision that shapes how audiences relate to the characters and their world.

In addition, mainland Chinese audiences are further deprived of the opportunity to experience the sounds of the Taiwanese and *Hakka* accents, as well as the *Hakka* dialect. These linguistic features, which are uncommon in mainland China, would have provided a more immersive and authentic representation of Taiwan's cultural diversity, enriching the film's portrayal of the novel's multicultural Peking. Instead, the use of a standardized Peking accent simplifies and domesticates the narrative, aligning it more closely with mainland sensibilities at the expense of cultural and linguistic specificity.

Plot: Streamlining to Align Political and Cultural Objectives

Notable in the film is the deletion of the story "Lan I-niang." Previous studies have posited on the reasons for the omission of "Lan I-niang." Wang (2007) attributes the omission to weak storytelling and stylistic differences compared to

the other stories (p. 64), while Peng (2010) reasons that it was because of limited runtime (p. 40). On the other hand, Tang (2019) explains that by removing these scenes involving the father, the mother, and Lan I-niang, the characters become more one-dimensional. The father remains loyal and kind throughout the film, while the mother is portrayed consistently as a subservient wife who is gentle and virtuous. This simplification of the characters not only streamlines their personalities but also preserves the warmth of the childhood memories the film seeks to evoke, avoiding the disruption that might have been caused by the complexity and tension in the original story (Wang, 2007).

The above studies focused on the removal of the story as a whole, without going into the specifics of what it is that is actually removed. A close examination of the story itself might offer more insights into why the story was omitted.

In the novel, the story “Lan I-niang” opens against a backdrop of historical events. As the story opens, Ying-tzu and her second sister stand patiently on the crowded streets waiting to watch *chu hongchai* 出紅差, which refers to the execution of condemned prisoners (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 198). Bandits and thieves are paraded through the streets, along with revolutionary students. The story took place when Ying-tzu was eight years old (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 212), which would be sometime in 1926. It was a time of youth activism, with movements driven by young intellectuals and students who played a central role in advocating for change. Barthes (1966/1977) explains that this historical allusion helps “embed fiction in the real world” (p. 96). By removing the story “Lan I-niang,” director Wu Yigong conveniently removes a scene in the story where the author Lin Haiyin attempts to portray “both the images of the old and the new through her novels” (Lin, 1993/2003, p. 266).

In the story, Lan I-niang is a former mistress who was sold to a brothel at age 14. While staying at Ying-tzu’s house, Ying-tzu is fascinated by Lan I-niang, while

her father develops a fondness toward Lan I-niang and starts flirting with her. One evening before dinner, the father and Lan I-niang are reclining on the bed face-to-face, with a set of opium pipes placed between them. Ying-tzu describes how Lan I-niang uses “a silver pick to take a wad of opium from a coin-shaped silver box and waves it over the flame until it sizzles, and rolls it between her rosy palms” (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 218) before passing the opium pipe to Ying-tzu’s father. At once, the father grabs Lan I-niang’s hand and admires her rosy palms, which are a sign of good fortune. Lan I-niang quickly slaps the father’s hands away and asks him to stop fooling around (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 218). While the father is flirting with Lan I-niang, the mother, pregnant with their fifth child, is in the kitchen working the wok in front of the stove, her face flushed and dripping with perspiration (Lin, 1960/2002, p. 220).

The above scene projects two “negative” images: A flirtatious father and the smoking of opium, a practice that was prevalent in various parts of China during that time. Ying (2007) considers the removal a deliberate choice to navigate the complexities of familial representation and societal norms (p. 10). Ying (2007) explains that the story as a whole not only challenges the idealized image of Ying-tzu’s father but also defies the conventional standards of the “model family” (p. 10). According to Ying (2007), the dynamic between Lan I-niang and Ying-tzu’s father in the novel complicates the portrayal of family relationships and raises questions about morality and societal expectations. The father, as portrayed in the novel, has a more complex personality. Although strict, he also has less admirable traits. In the story, he is depicted as having indulged in frivolous pleasures during his youth in Japan, showing disdain toward the mother, and having a flirtatious and ambiguous relationship with Lan I-niang. However, as the film also serves an educational purpose, the father needs to be portrayed in a positive light. It is thus inevitable that elements that would disrupt the film’s consistent tone be removed,

which may have prompted the filmmakers to omit it to maintain a more conventional narrative structure (Ying, 2007, p. 11). Although the omission weakens the complexity of the father's character, it aligns with the film's intended theme of "subtle melancholy and deep yearning" (Ying, 2007, p. 10), showcasing a purer sense of human beauty in the main characters.

Although Chuang (2011) does not specifically address this omission, she does point out that the aim of the film was to use nostalgia to send a political message and present a united front to the audience (p. 70). The fact that the screenplay was strongly endorsed by a vice minister of culture and the Shanghai Film Studio's leadership further suggests that the production had governmental backing and political importance. Because images of the public execution of condemned prisoners, a flirting father, and smoking opium send a negative message, they were thus deleted. More importantly, the decision to adapt this particular work may have been seen as a way to emphasize cultural continuity and nostalgia for a shared past between mainland China and Taiwan, especially during a period when the two sides of the strait remained politically divided but culturally linked. Thus, while the film itself remained apolitical, its production and promotion likely had an underlying motive to promote unity and soften tensions by focusing on a common cultural history.

Barthes's (1984/1986) notion of the "reality effect" is particularly resonant in the story's historical framing. By embedding the plot within the specific socio-political context of Republican-era China, Lin Haiyin does more than evoke period detail; she invites readers to interpret character motivations and narrative tensions through a historical context. This temporal anchoring deepens reader empathy. In this way, the story's historical setting becomes both a narrative device and a reception filter.

Conclusion

The current study analyzed the adaptation of Lin Haiyin's novel in three key areas: setting, characters, and plot. Regarding the setting, the set designers' meticulous craftsmanship allowed audiences to immerse themselves in the world of old Peking as envisioned by Lin Haiyin. Although the film was not shot in the actual southern parts of the city, the recreated scenes captured the novel's historical richness and added emotional depth to the narrative. This careful blending of artifice and authenticity made the settings integral to the story, enhancing the overall experience and contributing significantly to the film's success in portraying a bygone era.

In terms of character portrayal, the adaptation simplified the complexities inherent in the original text. By stripping away the accents and distinct linguistic characteristics of characters like Ying-tzu's family and Sung Ma, the film removed the layers of otherness that enriched the novel's narrative. The decision to eliminate various dialects and cultural nuances resulted in a homogenization of cultural identity, leading critics like Li (2009) to note the absence of Taiwanese elements in the film. This reflects a broader trend in adaptations where filmmakers prioritize accessibility and relatability for a wider audience, often at the expense of detailed cultural representation. Finally, in terms of plot, the entire "Lan I-niang" story from the novel was left out, very likely because of the negative images contained within.

The film adaptation may have been intended to highlight a sense of cultural continuity and evoke nostalgia for a shared historical past between mainland China and Taiwan. This was particularly significant during a time when the two sides continued to be politically divided, yet still maintained cultural connections. Although the film itself did not contain overt political content, its production and promotion likely had a subtle objective of promoting unity and easing tensions by

emphasizing a collective cultural heritage.

Hutcheon and O’Flynn (2013) argue that although adaptations may be regarded as autonomous works, they carry their own aura (p. 6). Adaptations exist in dialogue with their source material. For this reason, despite the omissions and changes made during the adaptation process, the film remains a charming and significant work when viewed as a stand-alone work. The above analysis elements reflect the film’s distinct interpretation of the original novel’s themes and narrative style, demonstrating a careful approach to the adaptation process. The film’s reception and critique highlight its importance in the context of mainland Chinese cinema and its relationship to the source material.

More importantly, Barthes’s (1984/1986) notion of the “reality effect” helps clarify how the adaptation achieves its nostalgic tone. As Barthes (1984/1986) argued, realism is not a transparent reproduction of the past but a coded construction. Seemingly insignificant details, what he referred to as insignificant notations, do not advance plot or character but instead signal “concrete reality,” producing the effect of lived experience (p. 146). In the film, these codes of verisimilitude immerse audiences in a constructed memory of old Peking, producing nostalgia rather than historical accuracy. These codes also convince audiences of authenticity while shaping cultural memory and values. In this way, the adaptation’s nostalgic aura can be understood as both its purpose (the “why”) (Hutcheon & O’Flynn, 2013, p. 79) and its strategy (the “how”) (Hutcheon & O’Flynn, 2013, p. 113), showing how cinematic representations of verisimilitude serve cultural and political ends.

This study underscores how adaptation is not merely a matter of fidelity but of negotiation between medium, audience, and cultural memory. By highlighting these dynamics, this analysis contributes to a better understanding of adaptation as a historically contingent and ethically charged practice.

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Developing Genre Awareness and Translation Decision-Making Through a Collaborative Translation Project

Chun-Chun Yeh

This study examines how undergraduate students in Taiwan engaged in a collaborative project in an introductory translation course. The task required them to collect, translate, revise, and format institutional content from multiple sources into a cohesive bilingual (Chinese–English) program specification. Drawing on qualitative analysis of group reflection logs, final drafts, and individual reflective essays, the study explores how students developed genre awareness and translation decision-making competencies over six weeks. Findings show that students’ genre awareness progressed from content focus through scaffolded adoption of conventions toward purposeful document design. Their translation decision-making evolved from lexical problem-solving through consultation of multiple sources to metacognitive quality assessment. Students also engaged with Artificial Intelligence (AI) tools through varied initial approaches, expanding to diverse applications and developing awareness of AI output limitations. The chronological development patterns observed across all competency areas demonstrate how professional skills emerge through sustained engagement with authentic challenges. The study underscores the value of integrating project-based, collaborative translation tasks into translator education, supporting pedagogical approaches that allow multiple competencies to develop simultaneously through hands-on practice with institutional genres and emerging technologies.

Keywords: genre awareness, translation decision-making, institutional translation, project-based learning, AI tool use

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培養體裁意識與翻譯決策能力： 以協作翻譯專案為例

葉純純

本研究探討臺灣大學生在入門翻譯課程中執行協作翻譯專案的歷程。該專案要求學生從校系網頁蒐集資料，進行翻譯、修訂與格式編排，以整合為一份連貫的中英雙語系課程說明文件。研究採取質性分析方法，資料來源包括小組反思週誌、專案成品與個人反思文章，旨在分析學生如何在六週專案期間發展體裁意識與翻譯決策能力。研究發現，在體裁意識方面，學生一開始只專注於內容，但在教學鷹架的支持下習得體裁慣例，最終能夠進行具目的性的文件設計。在翻譯決策方面，學生從詞彙層次的問題解決，發展為參照多元資源，進而具備後設認知的品質評估能力。在人工智慧（Artificial Intelligence, AI）工具使用上，學生初期採用不同方法，隨後擴展應用範圍，並發展出對 AI 產出侷限的認識。從各項能力的時間發展模式可見，專業技能是透過較長時間參與真實任務而培養出來的。本研究凸顯將專案導向的協作翻譯任務融入翻譯教學的價值，有助於學生在機構翻譯和新興技術的實作中同時培養各項專業能力。

關鍵詞：體裁意識、翻譯決策、機構翻譯、專案導向學習、AI 工具應用

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Introduction

In recent years, translation pedagogy has increasingly emphasized the importance of contextualized, purpose-driven tasks that reflect the complexity of real-world translation (Calvo, 2015; González-Davies & Enríquez-Raído, 2016; Kiraly, 2015). This shift has led to greater interest in how novice translators engage with institutional genres—documents such as program specifications, syllabi, and handbooks that require not only linguistic competence but also awareness of layout, tone, and audience expectations (House, 2015; Schäffner, 2004; Tsai, 2024). While classroom translation tasks have traditionally focused on sentence-level equivalence or general text types, there is growing recognition that students benefit from tasks situated in professional discourse settings, where they must navigate institutional norms, genre-specific structures, and the rhetorical demands of multilingual or cross-cultural contexts (Kiraly, 2005, 2015; Risku, 2002, 2016).

At the same time, genre-based perspectives drawn from second language writing and translation studies have offered valuable frameworks for understanding how students learn to produce texts that conform to institutional conventions. Genre is now widely viewed as more than a set of formal features; it is a socially situated and communicative response to audience, purpose, and disciplinary context (Hyland, 2004; Tardy, 2009). In institutional translation, genre awareness involves more than transferring meaning—it requires rhetorical judgment about tone, formatting, sequencing, and voice in the target language. These decisions become especially salient in bilingual or administrative contexts, where translated documents must align with institutional identity while remaining intelligible to external audiences (Tsai, 2024).

Simultaneously, the integration of generative Artificial Intelligence (AI) tools into translation workflows has introduced new pedagogical considerations. Rather

than replacing human translators, these technologies may function as mediating tools that require users to make deliberate decisions about translation choices, audience needs, and genre conventions (Prieto Ramos, 2024; Sahari et al., 2023). However, limited research exists on how students navigate AI-assisted translation within authentic institutional contexts, particularly when working collaboratively on genre-specific documents.

This paper reports on an exploratory qualitative case study that investigated how undergraduate students in Taiwan engaged with these intersecting challenges through a collaborative bilingual program specification project. Drawing on qualitative analysis of group reflections, individual essays, and final bilingual drafts, this study examines how students developed genre awareness and translation decision-making competencies over a six-week project period, providing practical guidance for instructors seeking to integrate similar authentic tasks into translator education curricula. Specifically, this study addresses the following research question: What patterns of genre awareness development and translation decision-making emerge when students collaboratively produce bilingual program specifications with AI-assisted support?

Literature Review

This study draws on three interconnected strands of scholarship relevant to translator education: translation as situated practice, genre awareness and pedagogical scaffolding, and the pedagogical integration of AI tools in translation pedagogy. While these areas have typically been examined separately, this study explores their intersection in collaborative institutional translation contexts.

Translation as Situated Communicative Practice

Translation is now widely understood as more than linguistic equivalence—it is a context-sensitive act shaped by communicative function, institutional norms, and reader expectations (González-Davies & Enríquez-Raído, 2016; House, 2015). House (2015) conceptualizes translation as an act situated within a specific communicative context, in which target-language choices must align with purpose, audience, and setting. Similarly, González-Davies and Enríquez-Raído (2016) describe situated learning as exposing students to real-life or simulated translation tasks shaped by contextual factors such as institutional practices, cultural expectations, and social conventions. In this view, effective translation entails not only fidelity to source content but also pragmatic and rhetorical appropriateness. Schäffner (2004) likewise emphasizes that in institutional settings, translators must attend to tone, clarity, and discourse conventions, which may require adaptation rather than direct substitution.

This functional orientation is particularly relevant in academic or administrative contexts, where translation involves rearticulating culturally embedded meanings and formal structures for external or multilingual audiences (Tsai, 2024). In such institutional settings, translators act as mediators—not only between languages, but also between organizational expectations, disciplinary discourse, and the informational needs of diverse audiences (Kusssmaul, 1995; Pym, 2023). Such mediating roles require genre awareness, as translators must understand not only communicative context but also the textual conventions that signal institutional authority and accessibility to diverse audiences.

Genre Awareness and Pedagogical Scaffolding in Translator Education

Building on the notion of translation as a socially situated activity, genre-

based approaches offer a complementary perspective for understanding how translators learn to produce context-appropriate texts. Genre-based pedagogy views texts not as neutral containers of meaning, but as patterned rhetorical responses to communicative demands (Hyland, 2004). In translation contexts, genre awareness involves recognizing both structural conventions and rhetorical style appropriate to specific text types and communicative purposes (Askehave & Swales, 2001; Flowerdew, 2002). Structural conventions encompass organizational patterns, formatting requirements, and visual presentation standards, while rhetorical style involves register, tone, voice and persuasive strategies suited to particular audiences and institutional contexts (Hyland, 2004). For institutional documents, genre awareness becomes particularly complex as translators must navigate cross-cultural differences in discourse expectations while maintaining institutional authority and accessibility (Bhatia, 2004).

To help students internalize these patterns, pedagogical models emphasize scaffolded engagement with genre-specific features through strategies such as modeled input, guided production, and reflection on authentic tasks (Tardy, 2009). Risku (2002) and Kiraly (2015) further argue that genre-sensitive translation competence develops most effectively through tasks embedded in real-world environments. In such contexts, genre awareness includes decisions about formatting, sequencing, and rhetorical appropriateness—especially in genres with standardized yet adaptable structural expectations.

To translate these principles into classroom practice, collaborative, project-based learning environments have proven particularly effective. Kiraly (1995, 2000, 2005) and González-Davies (2004) advocate for collaborative, contextualized tasks that place students in active roles as meaning-makers. In these settings, genre knowledge is not transmitted directly but emerges through interaction, guided practice, and reflective decision-making. Genre awareness in translation pedagogy

thus entails recognizing communicative expectations, reproducing relevant conventions, and adjusting structural and stylistic features to target genre norms.

Scaffolding remains essential in this process (Calvo, 2015). Specifically, it helps bridge the gap between learners' current abilities and the complex demands of authentic translation tasks, especially when students navigate new or unfamiliar genre conventions. As novice translators often begin by prioritizing source-text fidelity but gradually move toward more audience- and context-sensitive adaptations (Munday et al., 2022), instructional supports play a key role in fostering this transition. In a cross-case review of authentic translation projects, Li (2022) highlights the importance of instructor guidance and modeling as students confront unfamiliar genre conventions. Sample texts, feedback cycles, and formatting checklists all help learners move from reactive imitation to more intentional genre use. These insights inform the present study's attention to how various forms of scaffolding shaped students' genre awareness during the collaborative production of a bilingual institutional document.

AI Tools in Contemporary Translation Pedagogy

Building on situated and genre-aware approaches to translation pedagogy, the emergence of AI tools such as machine translation and ChatGPT introduces new considerations for translator education (Sánchez-Castany, 2023). Rather than treating AI as a threat to human agency, recent research suggests that these tools can support learning when used critically and reflectively (Sahari et al., 2023). Achieving this critical and reflective use, however, necessitates specific skills and a refined understanding of translator competence. Thus, Prieto Ramos (2024) argues for an updated model of translator competence that includes revision skills, strategic decision-making, and tool evaluation—especially in high-stakes domains like legal and institutional translation.

Pedagogically, task-based studies show that AI use can prompt greater awareness of translation processes. Öner Bulut and Alimen (2023), for example, found that students who engaged in machine translation post-editing and collaborative reflection developed a clearer sense of their role as human mediators. Similarly, Zou et al. (2026) demonstrate that AI tools can enhance student interpreters' ability to summarize and clarify dense texts, supporting both accuracy and confidence.

These findings suggest that AI tools may support translation learning when integrated into structured tasks and accompanied by guided reflection, similar to the scaffolded approaches discussed in genre-based pedagogy. While more empirical research is needed on AI use in authentic translation settings, current studies highlight the importance of prompting students to evaluate, revise, and justify their use of generative tools. This perspective informs the present study's exploration of how students used generative AI tools to support phrasing, restructuring, and synthesis during a genre-informed translation project.

Together, these strands of research demonstrate how contextual awareness, genre familiarity, and critical tool use intersect in translator education. Situated translation practice provides the foundation for understanding communicative purpose; genre-based pedagogy offers frameworks for recognizing and reproducing textual conventions; and AI integration requires students to apply both contextual and genre knowledge when evaluating digital output. While previous studies have examined these areas separately, limited research has explored their intersection in collaborative institutional translation contexts. This exploratory case study addresses this gap by examining observable patterns of genre awareness development and translation decision-making during collaborative production of bilingual institutional documents.

Methodology

Research Design

This study adopts an exploratory qualitative case study approach (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2018) to examine patterns of genre awareness development and translation decision-making in a collaborative, AI-mediated institutional translation project. Case study methodology is particularly appropriate for investigating complex pedagogical phenomena where context cannot be separated from the learning processes under investigation (Duff, 2008). Rather than seeking statistical generalizability, this approach aims to provide rich, contextualized understanding of how students navigate authentic translation challenges within specific instructional conditions.

The case study design follows what Stake (1995) terms an intrinsic case study, focusing on understanding this particular instance of collaborative translation pedagogy for its own merit rather than to illustrate broader theoretical principles. The bounded nature of the case—one six-week project within a single course—allows for detailed examination of learning processes over time while acknowledging the inherent limitations of single-context research.

The case examined in this study was a six-week bilingual program specification project embedded in an undergraduate English–Chinese translation course. Students worked in groups to collect, translate, revise, and compile departmental information from the university website into a cohesive bilingual booklet. Some materials were available only in Chinese, some only in English, and some already bilingual, requiring students to identify gaps, translate where needed, harmonize existing bilingual materials, and format the final product. The task was designed to simulate the kinds of loosely structured, document-based translation

tasks often encountered in institutional settings—where source materials may be incomplete, unevenly detailed, or inconsistently formatted.

Participants and Course Context

Participants were 13 undergraduate students (six male, seven female; mean age = 21.3 years) enrolled in an elective English–Chinese translation course at a national university in Taiwan. Twelve participants were English majors, and one was from a different department. In terms of year level, five students were seniors, five were juniors, and three were in their second year. All participants were native speakers of Chinese. Their English proficiency levels varied, ranging from CEFR B1 to B2, an estimation based on classroom observation and their performance on course-related assessments—an admittedly imprecise measure reflecting the practical constraints of classroom-based research.

All students had some prior experience with English academic writing, but none had formal training in professional translation. Participants were recruited via an in-class announcement, and participation was voluntary, with informed consent obtained prior to data collection. The dual role of instructor-researcher was disclosed to participants, with emphasis that research participation would not affect course grades.

Earlier in the semester, students completed scaffolded translation exercises involving short informative and expressive text types, with attention to cross-linguistic contrasts in grammar, meaning, and rhetorical style. These tasks emphasized accuracy, tone, and contextual adaptation, building foundational skills in genre sensitivity and strategic decision-making that supported their engagement with the more complex, collaborative project.

Project Task and Timeline

The bilingual program specification project was designed to provide students with authentic motivation as they would be creating materials potentially useful for their own department. The project was implemented in the final six weeks of the semester (Weeks 11–16), with Weeks 11–15 devoted to collaborative development and Week 16 designated for final submission. Class time allocation varied by week but averaged approximately 100 minutes.

Students were divided into three groups: two groups of four students each and one group of five members. Grouping was self-selected by students rather than strategically organized by the instructor, reflecting typical classroom conditions where students with mixed English proficiency levels work together. This meant that groups varied not only in their collective ability to evaluate AI-generated content, but also in their overall translation capabilities, genre awareness development, and collaborative decision-making processes. We acknowledge that these proficiency differences may have affected multiple aspects of the project, including students' ability to identify translation problems, recognize genre conventions, and contribute to group discussions about translation choices.

In Week 11, students were introduced to the task and provided with several sample program specifications in English to familiarize them with the expected structure and tone. Because formal program specifications in Chinese were not readily available, two similar institutional documents—a graduate handbook and an undergraduate curriculum structure guide—were also shared. Together, these materials served as sample documents offering reference points for structure, tone, and genre expectations.

In subsequent weeks, students collected and selected relevant content from the department website, determined which sections required translation or rewriting,

and began drafting. By Week 13, most groups had established a content structure and divided responsibilities among members. Week 14 was devoted to cross-group peer review, during which groups exchanged drafts and provided feedback. In Week 15, each group gave a short in-class presentation, sharing their in-progress drafts and reflecting on key translation and writing decisions. These interactions offered students opportunities to observe and compare approaches to structure, tone, and layout.

Throughout the project, the instructor provided targeted scaffolding in response to student needs. Sample documents included English-language program specifications from comparable departments, which demonstrated standard organizational features (educational objectives, faculty profiles, course descriptions), formal academic register, and conventional structural elements (tables of contents, standardized headings), supplemented by two related Chinese institutional texts (a graduate handbook and curriculum guide) that illustrated parallel organizational patterns and institutional voice conventions. When a question arose about the appropriate use of institutional voice (e.g., “we” vs. “the Department”), the instructor introduced a concise style guide covering specific recommendations such as third-person institutional phrasing (“the Department offers” rather than “we offer”), formal tone maintenance, and avoidance of promotional language (“comprehensive curriculum” rather than “excellent program”). Near the end of the project, a formatting checklist was distributed specifying requirements such as title page layout, automated table of contents generation, consistent heading hierarchies (14pt bold for major sections, 12pt bold for subsections), professional font usage, and appropriate image integration. These supports helped students align their drafts with academic and institutional norms while leaving room for group negotiation and judgment.

Data Collection

This study drew on three primary sources of data: group reflection logs, student writing, and individual reflective essays. The self-reported data (group reflection logs and individual essays) required careful interpretation and triangulation with textual evidence from student work.

- Group reflection logs: Each group submitted five weekly reflections (15 in total), responding to guided prompts about translation and writing decisions, challenges encountered, AI use, and emerging genre awareness. These logs provided longitudinal insight into students' evolving thinking and collaborative practices over time, though they may reflect idealized accounts of learning rather than complete records of actual processes. In-text citations follow the format (Reflection Log, G2 W14), referring to Group 2's Week 14 entry.
- Outlines and final drafts of the bilingual program specification: Each group submitted a draft outline in Week 12 and two separate final documents—one in Chinese and one in English—at the end of the project. These materials were used to analyze how students structured content, sequenced information, and responded to genre and audience expectations across both languages. In-text references to the drafts use the format (Final Draft, G1-EN) for the English version and (Final Draft, G3-CH) for the Chinese version.
- Individual reflective essays: At the end of the project, each student submitted a reflective essay discussing their translation strategies, collaboration experiences, genre awareness, and AI use. These reflections offered personal perspectives that complemented group-level data, though they are subject to the same potential bias as other self-reported sources. Citations follow the format (Reflective Essay, S9), where "S9" refers to Student 9.

In addition, two types of supplementary data were collected to provide background and contextual understanding. These included instructional scaffolding materials (e.g., sample documents, a formatting checklist, and a style guide) and the instructor's observation notes taken during in-class group work. While these materials were not systematically coded or cited, they informed the researcher's interpretation of student decision-making and project development.

Data Analysis and Trustworthiness

Thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) was used to identify recurring patterns in students' reflections, translation strategies, and genre-related decisions. Group reflection logs and individual reflective essays were first coded for themes such as genre awareness development, collaborative negotiation, use of AI tools, and formatting or structural revisions. Codes were refined through iterative comparison across time points, groups, and data types, with attention to both individual voices and group-level dynamics.

Outlines and final drafts were analyzed to triangulate students' reported reflections with textual evidence. Special attention was paid to document structure, sequencing, tone, and formatting features across both Chinese and English versions. Observational field notes and instructional materials were consulted as supplementary sources to contextualize group decisions and instructional responses.

To enhance trustworthiness, several measures were implemented throughout the analysis process. Triangulation was achieved by cross-checking findings across multiple data sources (reflection logs, final documents, individual essays) and participant levels (individual, group, cross-group patterns). Coding and theme refinement were conducted with attention to internal consistency and credibility. Analytic memos were used throughout to document interpretive decisions and

support reflexive engagement during coding and theme development (Saldaña, 2015). A colleague with translation studies expertise independently coded 20% of the reflection logs to establish inter-rater reliability, with initial agreement of 78% improving to 92% after discussion and code refinement.

The analysis acknowledges that observed patterns may reflect factors beyond the pedagogical intervention, including students' prior experiences, individual motivation levels, and group dynamics. The study's contribution lies in documenting how these complex factors intersected within one specific implementation of collaborative translation pedagogy.

Findings

This section presents findings organized around the two primary phenomena identified in the research question: students' developing genre awareness and their evolving approach to translation decision-making, followed by their reported use of AI tools. Each subsection follows a chronological structure tracing students' development from early project stages (Weeks 11–12) through final reflections (Week 15), drawing on multiple data sources to track these developmental patterns.

Developing Genre Awareness Through Scaffolded Engagement

Evidence from student writing and weekly group reflections reveals a progression in genre awareness from initial content focus to more deliberate attention to structural conventions and institutional appropriateness. This development occurred in response to scaffolding materials introduced at different project stages and was most evident in students' evolving approach to document formatting, tone, and rhetorical positioning.

Initial Focus on Content Collection and Organization (Weeks 11–12)

In the early stages of the project, all three groups focused primarily on content collection and basic organization. The Week 12 outlines show that groups had identified major sections such as educational objectives, faculty information, graduation requirements, and course descriptions, but lacked attention to document presentation features. None of the initial outlines included title pages, tables of contents, or standardized heading hierarchies—formal presentation elements that students would later adopt.

Group 1's early reflection noted that they were “still figuring out how to organize everything we collected from the website” (Reflection Log, G1 W12), indicating that their primary concern was content arrangement rather than genre-appropriate presentation. Similarly, Group 2 focused on “deciding which courses to include and how to explain the requirements” without discussing document formatting or visual design (Reflection Log, G2 W12). These early reflections suggest that students initially conceptualized the task as information compilation rather than genre-specific document production.

Adopting Structural Conventions Through Modeled Input (Week 13)

Students' exposure to sample program specifications and institutional documents in Week 11 began to influence their structural decisions by Week 13. All three groups reported using these models to guide section organization and terminology choices. Group 2 noted replacing “Teaching Objectives” with “Educational Objectives” to align with language found in the sample documents (Reflection Log, G2 W13), indicating that they had begun to recognize that genre conventions extended beyond content to include specific terminology patterns.

Group 1 reflected that the sample documents helped them recognize the importance of consistent section labeling and alignment, prompting them to revise

headings and reorder subsections for better coherence (Reflection Log, G1 W13). This suggests that students moved from viewing samples as content examples to recognizing them as structural templates that embodied genre expectations.

However, students' adoption of conventions at this stage remained largely imitative. Their reflections focused on matching sample features rather than understanding the communicative functions these features served—indicating surface-level genre awareness without deeper rhetorical understanding.

Developing Institutional Voice and Tone Awareness (Weeks 13–14)

The introduction of the instructor's style guide in Week 13 prompted more substantive genre-related revisions, particularly regarding institutional voice and register. All three groups reported using the guide's recommendations about third-person institutional phrasing and formal tone to revise their drafts. Group 3 changed "we offer courses in translation and literature" to "the Department offers..." to match institutional voice conventions (Reflection Log, G3 W13). Group 2 removed promotional language like "excellent" and "outstanding" from their program overview, noting that such terms sounded "too promotional" for an institutional document (Reflection Log, G2 W14). These revisions suggest that students developed awareness that genre conventions encompass not only structural elements but also appropriate register and voice. Their reflections indicate growing recognition that institutional documents require specific rhetorical positioning—formal, objective, and authoritative rather than personal or promotional.

Students also demonstrated extended application of style guide principles beyond the specific examples provided. Group 1 revised a sentence that initially read "This course is great for students who..." to "This course provides opportunities for students to..." after internal discussion about whether the original phrasing was "too casual" for their target document (Reflection Log, G1 W14).

This broader application of tone principles suggests that students had begun to internalize institutional voice expectations and apply them to new contexts.

Applying Genre Conventions With Growing Understanding (Weeks 14–15)

By Week 14, students demonstrated more systematic attention to document presentation. The introduction of the formatting checklist prompted all groups to add title pages, generate automated tables of contents, and standardize heading hierarchies. Students also began making deliberate design choices to enhance readability. Group 1 noted inserting horizontal lines between course descriptions to “reduce visual clutter” and improve readability (Reflection Log, G1 W13), while Group 3 adjusted heading levels and font sizes to “ensure consistency across sections” (Reflection Log, G3 W14). These decisions suggest that students recognized formatting as serving communicative purposes—enhancing accessibility and professional presentation rather than simply meeting assignment requirements.

In final reflections, students demonstrated metacognitive awareness of their genre learning. Group 1 noted that they had learned to “select language based on our target audience” (Reflection Log, G1 W15), while Group 3 recognized the ongoing challenge of balancing “official document and something for promotion” (Reflection Log, G3 W15). This sophisticated recognition of genre tensions—acknowledging that institutional documents must be both informative and appealing—indicates that students had moved beyond rule-following to understanding genre as contextually negotiated communicative practice. Group 3’s additional reflection about focusing on “conciseness, preciseness, and layout design” and their effort “to make it more pleasant to read” (Reflection Log, G3 W15) further demonstrates their understanding of document design as serving reader needs rather than merely conforming to conventions.

Summary

Students' genre awareness developed from initial content focus through scaffolded exposure to conventions toward more purposeful document design. While early work prioritized information collection and organization, later reflections demonstrate recognition of genre as encompassing structural conventions, institutional voice, and reader-oriented presentation. The progression from imitative use of samples to broader application of style principles suggests that students began to understand genre conventions as functional rhetorical choices rather than arbitrary formatting requirements.

Students' Evolving Translation Decision-Making Practices

Students' reflections reveal a developmental progression in how they conceptualized and articulated translation challenges. Early in the project (Weeks 12–13), their concerns focused primarily on lexical accuracy and finding equivalent terms. By the project's conclusion (Week 15), their reflections demonstrated awareness of more complex rhetorical and contextual considerations.

Initial Focus on Lexical Challenges (Weeks 12–13)

In early reflection logs, all three groups primarily approached translation as word-level problem-solving. Group 1 devoted considerable attention to rendering culturally embedded expressions like *shizi jianquan*, *zhenrong jianqiang* 師資健全、陣容堅強 (well-qualified faculty, strong team lineup), explaining that these parallel four-character expressions commonly used in Chinese to create rhythm and emphasize positivity posed difficulty because they “sounded too flowery” in English academic documents (Reflection Log, G1 W12). Their solution—“Distinguished and Comprehensive Faculty”—reflected an emerging awareness that direct translation might not serve institutional purposes, though their

articulation remained focused on avoiding inappropriate tone rather than achieving specific rhetorical effects.

Group 2 similarly concentrated on individual lexical items, deliberating extensively over the verb *peiyu* 培育 (to cultivate or nurture) and weighing options such as “cultivate,” “develop,” and “aim to train.” Their eventual choice of “aim to train” was justified in terms of matching “goal-oriented tone used in English program materials” (Reflection Log, G2 W13), indicating growing awareness of how lexical choices function within specific genre contexts. These early reflections suggest that students initially conceptualized translation challenges primarily in terms of finding appropriate word-level equivalents, with emerging but limited awareness of genre-specific rhetorical demands.

Consulting Multiple Sources for Translation Decisions (Week 14)

By Week 14, students’ reflections revealed that they had begun consulting various external sources to inform their translation choices rather than relying solely on their individual linguistic knowledge. Two of three groups reported consulting institutional sources—department websites, course syllabi, and Ministry of Education glossaries—to verify terminology and assess appropriateness (Reflection Logs, G1 W14; G2 W14). Group 2 described revising their translation of *biye menkan* 畢業門檻 (graduation requirement) after checking how the term was rendered on their department’s English webpage, indicating that they had begun to view institutional discourse as an authoritative reference for translation decisions (Reflection Log, G2 W14).

Group 1 reflected on their deliberative process for rendering “program specification” into Chinese, comparing terms like *guizhang* 規章 (regulations), *shouce* 手冊 (handbook), and *peiyang fangan* 培養方案 (training plan) before selecting *guizhang* based on its perceived formality and alignment with university

website terminology (Reflection Log, G1 W13). While their final choice may not have been optimal—*guizhang* typically refers to rules or administrative regulations rather than curriculum documents—their decision-making process revealed consultation of institutional sources to guide translation choices.

Students also expanded their sources to include peer input through both internal group discussions and cross-group review activities. Group 2, for example, changed “Career Path” to “Post-Graduation Pathways” after internal group discussion, considering the new term more precise. The same group also adopted “Digital Literacy” over “Information Literacy” for *zixun nengli kecheng* 資訊能力課程 (information skills course), following suggestions received during peer review activities (Reflection Log, G2 W14). These examples illustrate that students had begun to view collaborative feedback as another valuable source for informing translation decisions.

This shift toward consulting multiple sources—institutional references, existing translations, and peer input—represents a notable change from students’ earlier reliance on individual lexical knowledge. Rather than making translation decisions in isolation, students developed practices of seeking external validation and guidance, suggesting that they recognized translation as requiring broader contextual knowledge than individual linguistic competence alone.

Metacognitive Assessment of Translation Quality (Week 15)

In final reflections, students demonstrated capacity for retrospective quality assessment using criteria that extended beyond accuracy. Group 2 evaluated that their “translations were fluent and accurately conveyed the original meaning” (Reflection Log, G2 W15), indicating that they had developed standards for assessing translation adequacy that encompassed both accuracy and fluency. Group 1 reflected that they had learned to “select language based on our target audience”

(Reflection Log, G1 W15), suggesting that audience consideration had become a conscious strategic element rather than an intuitive adjustment. These reflections indicate that by project's end, students could articulate translation decision-making in terms of quality standards and strategic choices—a substantial shift from the primarily lexical concerns that characterized their early reflections.

Summary

Students' reflections reveal a developmental progression from word-focused problem-solving toward more contextually informed translation awareness. While early concerns centered on finding appropriate equivalents, later reflections demonstrated attention to institutional sources, peer input, audience needs, and genre appropriateness. The shift from “what's the right word?” to “how should this function for the readers?” suggests growing recognition of translation as contextually situated communicative practice rather than bilateral lexical transfer.

Students' Reported AI Use Across Project Stages

Students' reflections reveal changing patterns of AI engagement throughout the bilingual program specification project. With minimal explicit instructor guidance on AI techniques, initial approaches varied between wholesale efficiency-seeking and targeted problem-solving, with students generally willing to experiment with AI capabilities. Through hands-on experience, students gradually developed more cautious approaches and awareness of AI limitations based on their direct encounters with these tools.

Early AI Applications With Varied Approaches (Weeks 11–12)

In early project stages, students used AI tools with notably different approaches. Some groups used ChatGPT primarily for rapid, wholesale translation of sections. One student explained, “For the sake of efficiency, we used AI to

generate bilingual versions for some sections and then manually corrected obvious errors” (Reflective Essay, S12; author’s translation). This approach reflected a focus on generating large amounts of content quickly to overcome time constraints.

Other students took a more targeted, strategic approach from the beginning. Group 1, for instance, used ChatGPT specifically for institutional terms such as *tongshi jiaoyu* 通識教育 (general education) and *ziyou xuanxiu xuefen* 自由選修學分 (elective credits), which are standard in Taiwan’s higher education system but posed challenges when translating for readers unfamiliar with local academic structures. The group then edited the AI output to improve tone and clarity (Reflection Log, G1 W11). Despite these different approaches, both strategies reflect students’ initial openness to using AI for solving immediate translation problems.

Expanded Applications and Increased Selectivity (Weeks 13–14)

By mid-project, students’ reflections revealed more varied AI applications and increased attention to output quality. In addition to their earlier approaches, all three groups reported using AI for specific challenging tasks. For example, Group 2 described using ChatGPT to rephrase specific paragraphs and then manually proofread for tone and fluency (Reflection Log, G2 W13–14). Group 3 reported applying AI to generate formal course descriptions while choosing to draft content they felt confident handling without AI assistance (Reflection Log, G3 W14).

Students also began exploring AI’s broader affordances beyond text generation. Group 2 reported using ChatGPT as an Optical Character Recognition (OCR) tool to extract text from organizational charts (Reflection Log, G2 W13), while Group 3 experimented with AI for layout and formatting suggestions (Reflection Log, G3 W13). These applications suggest that students began to view AI as adaptable to different task types rather than solely as a translation tool.

Content synthesis tasks presented another application area. All three groups faced the challenge of consolidating different versions of course descriptions—such as English Composition courses taught across multiple sections by different instructors—into single, coherent descriptions for their program specification. Group 1 reported using ChatGPT to help “generalize the classes that had the same name but different levels” (Reflection Log, G1 W14). Similarly, Group 3 used AI to synthesize course descriptions across different levels and sections, resulting in clearer three-semester progressions in their final draft. These synthesis applications indicate that students recognized AI’s potential for content organization beyond linguistic conversion.

Experience-Based Evaluation Awareness (Week 15)

In their final reflections, students articulated skeptical approaches to AI use that had developed through their hands-on experience with the technology throughout the project. Group 2’s concluding assessment noted that “AI tools were used selectively and outputs were carefully proofread” (Reflection Log, G2 W15), reflecting evaluation practices that had evolved from their direct encounters with AI limitations during the project. This cautious stance was also evident in students’ individual reflective essays. Students noted that AI-generated output, while grammatically sound, often produced awkward phrasing, overly literal translation, or text that lacked appropriate academic tone. One student wrote that AI was “accurate in the beginning but twisted in the end,” requiring full-sentence rewrites (Reflective Essay, S6). Another characterized their evolved approach as “using but not overusing, trusting but not blindly relying” (Reflective Essay, S7; author’s translation). These reflections revealed that through trial and experience, students had developed recognition that AI required careful human oversight rather than blind acceptance.

Summary

Students' AI engagement patterns evolved from varied initial approaches toward experience-based cautious evaluation practices. While some students began with wholesale efficiency-seeking and others with targeted problem-solving, their accumulated hands-on experience led to convergence toward more selective task choices, increased attention to output quality, and recognition that AI support required careful human oversight. The progression from experimental use to experience-based skepticism suggests that students developed nuanced understanding of both AI capabilities and limitations through authentic translation practice.

Discussion

This study examined how undergraduate students developed genre awareness and translation decision-making competencies while collaboratively producing a bilingual program specification—an unfamiliar but highly structured academic genre. The findings suggest that students' learning was shaped not only by their bilingual competence but also by their engagement with institutional norms, reader expectations, and digital tools. The discussion below highlights three interrelated aspects of this learning process: developing genre awareness through scaffolded engagement, evolving translation decision-making practices, and experience-based AI learning.

Emerging Genre Awareness Through Scaffolded Engagement

Students' genre awareness developed progressively from initial content focus to more deliberate attention to structural conventions and reader-oriented design. This temporal progression, evident across all three groups, demonstrates how

novice translators gradually internalize institutional document expectations through guided practice. Students' adoption of formatting elements such as adding title pages and standardized headings only after targeted scaffolding suggests that genre norms, particularly in institutional contexts, are rarely transparent to novice translators (Calvo, 2015; Tardy, 2009).

The project's design, which incorporated sample texts, targeted scaffolding materials, and formatting guidelines introduced at strategic intervals, exemplifies the kind of structured genre learning advocated in the literature (González-Davies, 2004; Hyland, 2004; Kiraly, 2015). Students progressed from imitative use of sample features to broader application of institutional voice principles, ultimately demonstrating metacognitive awareness of genre tensions such as balancing official tone with reader accessibility. This development supports the view that genre knowledge in translator education is best cultivated through situated, production-based tasks that foster both genre sensitivity and translation decision-making competencies (González-Davies & Enríquez-Raído, 2016).

Evolution of Translation Decision-Making Practices

Students' translation approaches evolved from word-level problem-solving toward more contextually informed practices that drew on institutional sources and peer input. This development reflects a growing understanding that institutional translation entails more than transferring meaning; it requires adapting language in light of purpose, institutional context, and genre expectations. The temporal progression from lexical focus through resource consultation to metacognitive quality assessment demonstrates how translation competence develops through structured, collaborative practice.

Students' increasing use of external references such as syllabi, university websites, and Ministry of Education glossaries to verify terminology reflects the

practices of working translators operating within institutional settings (Risku, 2002; Schäffner, 2004). Their consultation of peer input through both internal group discussions and cross-group review activities expanded their repertoire of decision-making criteria beyond individual judgment. These behaviors demonstrate how students gradually assumed the role of context-aware mediators (Kussmaul, 1995; Pym, 2023) rather than merely transferring lexical items.

Experience-Based AI Learning

Students' AI engagement patterns reveal a pedagogically significant finding about how evaluation awareness of digital tools develops in translation contexts. Students began with openness to experimentation—some using wholesale translation approaches for efficiency, others taking more targeted approaches for specific challenging terminology. Through accumulated experience with AI tools, students developed more reflective evaluation practices that culminated in articulated awareness of AI limitations and deliberate review of AI output. The finding contributes to growing scholarship on AI integration in translation education (Öner Bulut & Alimen, 2023; Sahari et al., 2023) by documenting a progression from experimental openness through trial-and-error learning to articulated evaluation practices. This developmental pattern suggests that reflective engagement with emerging technologies develops most effectively through authentic, collaborative tasks rather than theoretical instruction about limitations, with significant implications for how translator education programs approach AI integration.

Importantly, AI engagement intersected meaningfully with students' developing genre awareness and translation decision-making. As students' sensitivity to institutional tone grew, they became better able to recognize when AI-generated text lacked appropriate formality or used promotional language

inconsistent with genre conventions. Similarly, their practice of consulting institutional sources for translation decisions (department websites, Ministry of Education glossaries) provided reference points for judging whether AI suggestions aligned with established institutional discourse. This interconnection suggests that AI literacy in translation contexts develops not in isolation but through integration with genre sensitivity and contextual decision-making.

Conclusion

This study examined how undergraduate students developed genre awareness and translation decision-making competencies while collaboratively producing a bilingual program specification over six weeks. Designed as a collaborative translation project, the task asked students to compile and translate existing departmental information into parallel Chinese and English documents. The findings reveal three interconnected developmental processes: genre awareness progressed from content focus through scaffolded adoption of conventions toward reader-oriented design; translation decision-making evolved from lexical problem-solving through resource consultation to metacognitive quality assessment; and AI learning developed from varied initial approaches through expanded applications to experience-based evaluation.

This research makes two contributions to translation pedagogy scholarship with broader implications for professional education. First, it demonstrates that genre awareness, translation decision-making, and AI literacy develop simultaneously and interdependently rather than sequentially in authentic collaborative contexts. Previous research has typically examined these competencies separately: Tardy (2009) on genre awareness; Risku (2002) on translation competence; Sahari et al. (2023) on AI learning. Our findings reveal that

progress in one area directly informed development in others: Students' genre awareness shaped their AI evaluation practices, while their translation decision-making informed their judgment of AI appropriateness. This interconnected development suggests that translator education benefits from integrated, authentic tasks that allow multiple competencies to emerge together rather than sequential instruction in isolated skills.

Second, our chronological documentation reveals temporal patterns in competency development with implications for pedagogical timing. Students' attention to different aspects of the task evolved progressively—content organization preceded genre convention awareness, which in turn preceded systematic document presentation. Similarly, AI evaluation awareness emerged gradually through accumulated experience rather than immediately. While this study cannot determine optimal timing for specific interventions, it demonstrates that different competencies become salient at different stages of project engagement, suggesting that effective scaffolding may require responsiveness to students' evolving readiness rather than predetermined schedules. These developmental patterns, observed consistently across all three groups over six weeks, advance understanding of how complex professional competencies emerge through sustained engagement with authentic challenges in translator education.

The findings support several practical recommendations for translation pedagogy. Instructors should design project-based learning environments that allow students to encounter genre conventions, translation challenges, and digital tools within authentic collaborative contexts. Scaffolding materials such as sample texts, style guides, and formatting checklists may be most effective when introduced strategically throughout project development, allowing students to recognize their relevance through actual use.

For AI use specifically, providing structured opportunities for experimentation

within authentic translation contexts may support students in developing evaluation awareness through hands-on experience. This supports pedagogical approaches that embed AI tools within collaborative, project-based translation activities where students can discover both capabilities and constraints through direct experience.

This study has several limitations that suggest directions for future research. Conducted within a single undergraduate course with 13 participants, the findings may not generalize across different instructional contexts, student populations, or cultural settings. The analysis relied primarily on students' self-reported experiences through reflection logs and essays, which may not fully capture the complexity of actual learning processes or may reflect idealized accounts of development rather than complete records of actual practices.

Future research could address these limitations through several approaches: Implementing similar projects across multiple contexts to examine transferability; incorporating real-time data such as think-aloud protocols or screen recordings to capture translation decision-making as it unfolds; conducting longitudinal studies to examine whether competencies developed through project-based learning transfer to subsequent translation tasks; and investigating how different levels of scaffolding or collaboration structures affect developmental patterns. Additionally, research examining how the temporal development patterns documented here apply to other genres, language pairs, or professional translation contexts would strengthen understanding of competency development in translator education.

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Untranslatables in Taiwanese: A Corpus-Based Study of Semantic Leakage in AI Translations

Vincent Chieh-Ying Chang

This study proposes a multidimensional metric—Semantic Leakage Indicator (SLI) —to quantify meaning loss in AI-generated translations of Taiwanese into Mandarin. Drawing on a corpus of 26,046 Taiwanese sentences sourced from diverse spoken and written contexts, the analysis identifies five morpho-pragmatic features highly susceptible to semantic erosion: aspect markers, sentence-final particles, reduplication, kinship terms, and directional compounds. The SLI integrates entropy reduction, back-translation divergence, and semantic embedding shifts to detect untranslatable constructions that evade surface-level fluency metrics. Results reveal that even when lexical equivalents are present, high-SLI instances exhibit pragmatic distortion and affective dissonance. Cluster analysis delineates patterns of leakage across grammatical categories, while qualitative examples illustrate genre-specific vulnerabilities. The study advances translation studies by offering a scalable, language-sensitive diagnostic tool for evaluating AI performance on low-resource, morphologically rich languages. It contributes empirically to discussions on untranslatability, pragmatics, and meaning preservation in AI translation, with direct implications for algorithm design, language preservation, and corpus-informed evaluation in underrepresented languages.

Keywords: untranslatability, semantic leakage, Taiwanese, low-resource language, AI translation

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Vincent Chieh-Ying Chang, Associate Professor, Department of English, Tamkang University, E-mail: 159738@o365.tku.edu.tw

This article is dedicated to the memory of my late father, whose everyday use of Taiwanese in our home first revealed to me how language carries memory, emotion, and identity. His voice continues to inform my thinking about what translation as accessibility is, and this study is, in many ways, an extended act of listening back to his stories. Simultaneously, I extend profound and heartfelt gratitude to the anonymous reviewers, whose discerning insights and constructive counsel have refined and fortified the manuscript.

臺語中之不可譯項： AI 翻譯中語意流失的語料庫研究

張介英

本研究提出一項多維度指標——語意流失指數（Semantic Leakage Indicator, SLI），用以量化臺語翻譯為華語時，人工智慧譯文中之語意流失。研究使用之語料庫共計 26,046 組臺語句子，涵蓋多元的口語與書面語境。分析聚焦於五項高度易受語意侵蝕之形態語用特徵：體標記、句尾助詞、重疊形式、親屬稱謂詞，以及動向複合詞。SLI 結合語意熵減、回譯差異及語意嵌入位移三項演算法，以識別那些表層流暢度指標難以偵測之「不可譯」結構。研究結果顯示，即便譯文表面上存在詞彙對應，高 SLI 值案例仍常伴隨語用扭曲與情感不協調。群聚分析則勾勒出不同語法範疇中的語意流失樣態；另輔以質性實例，呈現各文體類型所固有之翻譯脆弱性。此研究為翻譯學提供一套可擴充、具語言敏感度之診斷工具，用以評估人工智慧在低資源、形態複雜語言上的表現，並於「不可譯性」、語用意涵與語意保存等議題上，貢獻具體實證價值，對演算法設計、語言保存與語料本位評估等均具實質啟示意義。

關鍵詞：不可譯性、語意流失、臺語、低資源語言、AI 翻譯

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Introduction

Translation scholars have long contested the assumption that “everything is translatable,” a challenge that becomes particularly acute when AI systems confront low-resource languages such as Taiwanese (Tâi-gí) (臺語), which lacks standardized orthography and robust digital resources and is therefore structurally and culturally underrepresented in training data; even amid major gains in neural machine translation, the theoretical and practical problem of what remains “untranslatable” persists. Building on this concern, this study operationalizes semantic leakage—the distortion, omission, generalization, or pragmatic/stylistic reconfiguration of meaning in AI-mediated transfer—and proposes a corpus-based method that moves beyond reference- or human-dependent evaluation (e.g., BLEU, METEOR) by using back-translation divergence to systematically surface patterns of untranslatability. Using a corpus of 26,046 Taiwanese sentences translated to Mandarin and back-translated to Taiwanese with ChatGPT-4o, we quantify meaning loss and identify linguistic features that reliably resist faithful transfer, integrating these signals into a quantitative metric, the Semantic Leakage Indicator (SLI),¹ complemented by qualitative analysis. The contribution is both disciplinary and practical: It links longstanding theorization—from Catford’s (1965) linguistic versus cultural untranslatability, through spectrum-based reconceptualizations and Venuti’s (2017) foreignization/domestication, to Apter’s (2019) political framing of untranslatability as resistance—to the empirical realities of contemporary AI translation, clarifying where and how current models systematically fail under conditions of linguistic diversity.

¹ The Semantic Leakage Indicator (SLI) is a normalized composite score that quantifies semantic, pragmatic, and stylistic divergence across a three-step translation chain (source → translation → back-translation); higher values indicate greater leakage arising from cross-linguistic untranslatability and/or model-specific limitations.

My research questions are threefold: (a) What specific patterns of untranslatability emerge when AI systems translate between Taiwanese and Mandarin Chinese, considering their linguistic and cultural proximity yet distinct features? (b) How can semantic leakage be effectively quantified and categorized using a combination of computational and qualitative methods, moving beyond simple error counts? (c) What linguistic features (lexical, syntactic, pragmatic, cultural) correlate most strongly with higher degrees of semantic leakage, and what does this reveal about the challenges faced by AI in handling low-resource languages? By addressing these questions, I contribute to the ongoing dialogue between translation theory and computational linguistics, while offering practical insights for improving AI translation systems for low-resource languages and fostering more equitable digital communication.

Literature Review

Theoretical Frameworks of Untranslatability: From Dichotomy to Spectrum

The concept of untranslatability has long haunted translation theory. Catford (1965) defined it in structural-linguistic terms, distinguishing between linguistic untranslatability “due to formal non-correspondence between language systems” (p. 94) and cultural untranslatability “arising from the absence of relevant situational features or concepts in the target culture” (p. 99). This binary framework, while foundational, has been significantly expanded by subsequent scholars. Nida (1964) introduced the influential distinction between formal equivalence “focusing on the message itself, in both form and content” (p. 159) and dynamic equivalence “aiming for equivalent effect on the target audience,” (p. 159)

implicitly acknowledging that perfect translation might require prioritizing one type of equivalence over another. That said, Catford's (1965) concept of cultural untranslatability encompasses a broad spectrum of cultural phenomena, including idioms, proverbs, and culturally embedded linguistic practices, rather than merely isolated cultural terms. In my study, I operationalize a narrower category of "cultural-specific terms" (referring specifically to items related to Taiwanese customs, rituals, cuisine, and social practices) to enable more granular analysis of different types of untranslatability. Pym (2023) shifted the conversation toward the ethics of non-translation and translator agency, emphasizing situations where the translator chooses not to translate, or only partially does so, as a political or epistemological gesture. He argues that untranslatability is not merely a technical limitation but often a deliberate strategy that preserves the integrity of the source text (ST). Venuti (2017) framed untranslatability within the paradigm of "resistance," arguing that foreignizing strategies must preserve the strangeness of the original rather than domesticate its force. This perspective positions untranslatability as a positive value rather than a deficiency.

The descriptive translation studies (DTS) paradigm, as articulated by Toury (2012) and Even-Zohar (2005), moved away from prescriptive notions of translatability to examine how translations function within target cultures, regardless of their fidelity to STs. This approach acknowledges that what counts as "acceptable translation" varies across cultures and historical periods, further complicating the notion of untranslatability. Pym (2023) later observed that untranslatability might be better understood as a spectrum of resistance rather than a binary condition, with some elements requiring greater effort or creativity to translate than others (p. 136). More recently, Apter (2019) situated untranslatability within the geopolitics of reading and emphasized its political implications while proposing that some terms cannot, and perhaps should not, be

carried across linguistic boundaries, particularly in postcolonial or sacred contexts. This perspective aligns with what Venuti (2017) termed “foreignization,” a strategy that deliberately preserves the otherness of the ST. Lai (2024) extends this argument specifically to Taiwanese contexts, noting that certain cultural-political terms resist translation precisely because their untranslatability serves as a form of resistance against linguistic hegemony.

Computational Approaches to Translation Quality and Divergence

Recent evaluations of GPT-4 on low-resource languages have shown similar performance patterns, with capability gaps widening as language resources decrease (Liang et al., 2025; Wang & Wang, 2025). Traditional machine translation evaluation metrics such as BLEU (Papineni et al., 2002), METEOR (Banerjee & Lavie, 2005), and ROUGE (Lin, 2004) have been criticized for their limited ability to capture semantic and pragmatic dimensions of translation quality (Callison-Burch et al., 2006; Reiter, 2018). These reference-based metrics primarily measure surface-level similarity between machine translations and human references, often failing to account for valid translation variations or deeper semantic equivalence. Recent work by Zhang et al. (2019) and Zhao et al. (2019) has attempted to address these limitations by incorporating contextual embeddings and neural metrics, but challenges remain in evaluating translations of low-resource languages where high-quality reference translations are scarce.

Round-trip translation (RTT),² which involves translating from a ST to a target text (TT) and back to the source language (BT), offers an alternative approach to

² Round-Trip Translation (RTT) refers to a translation procedure in which a source text is first translated into a target language and then translated back into the source language. RTT is employed here as a diagnostic tool to surface semantic leakage by comparing the original source sentence with its back-translated counterpart, thereby revealing shifts in meaning, pragmatics, or stylistic features introduced during the translation process.

assessing translation quality without requiring reference translations (Aiken & Park, 2010; Somers, 2005). While RTT has been criticized for potentially masking errors that persist across both translation directions, recent studies have demonstrated its utility in identifying specific types of translation problems, particularly when combined with embedding-based similarity measures (Peng, 2021). The back-translation approach has gained renewed attention in neural machine translation research, both as an evaluation technique and as a data augmentation strategy (Sennrich et al., 2015).

Computational stylometry, which applies statistical methods to analyze linguistic style, provides another lens for examining translation quality. Stylometric approaches have been used to detect translationese—the distinctive features that mark a text as a translation rather than an original (Volansky et al., 2015). Measures such as lexical diversity, syntactic complexity, and information density can reveal subtle shifts that occur during translation, even when the semantic content is preserved. These methods are particularly valuable for identifying cases where translations maintain denotational meaning but lose stylistic or pragmatic dimensions.

Taiwanese Language: Linguistic Features and Translation Challenges

Taiwanese (Tâi-gí) presents several distinctive linguistic features that pose challenges for machine translation systems. As a Sinitic language with significant historical influence from Japanese, Dutch, and indigenous Formosan languages, Taiwanese exhibits phonological, lexical, and grammatical patterns that diverge from Mandarin Chinese in important ways. The language features a complex tonal system (typically seven to eight tones compared to Mandarin's four, plus complex tone sandhi rules) (Hsieh, 2014; Zhang, 2014) and lacks a universally adopted standardized writing system, though Tâi-lô romanization (臺羅) has gained

prominence in academic contexts (Cheng, 2016; Hsieh, 2014). Additionally, Taiwanese presents a classic case of a low-resource language in computational linguistics. Despite being spoken by approximately 70% of Taiwan's population (Chang, 2022), Taiwanese faces significant resource limitations that affect Natural Language Processing (NLP) performance. In terms of limited parallel corpora, the largest publicly available Taiwanese-Mandarin parallel corpus contains approximately 27,000 sentence pairs (Liao, 2022), compared to millions available for high-resource languages. This corpus exhibits limited domain coverage, focusing primarily on educational materials and folk literature. As for orthographic inconsistency, Taiwanese lacks a universally adopted standardized writing system, with texts appearing in various romanization systems (Peh-ōe-jī 白話字, Tâi-lô 臺羅) and *Han* 漢 character variants, complicating corpus development and consistency (Liu et al., 2016). Concerning quality issues, existing parallel data often exhibits quality concerns, including non-native expressions, inconsistent dialectal usage, and alignment errors (Klöter, 2005). Regarding domain gaps, available corpora overrepresent formal registers and traditional contexts while underrepresenting contemporary usage, technical domains, and colloquial speech (Liu et al., 2016). These resource limitations directly impact the performance of AI translation systems for Taiwanese, potentially exacerbating semantic leakage beyond what would be observed with more robust resources.

Several specific linguistic features of Taiwanese create challenges for AI translation systems:

1. Modal and pragmatic particles: Taiwanese employs over 30 sentence-final particles that encode speaker stance, evidentiality, and interpersonal dynamics (e.g., “-leh,” “-hoⁿh,” “-lah”). These particles often lack direct equivalents in Mandarin Chinese, leading to what Capone (2023) terms “pragmatic compression” (p. 1) in translation. The loss of these particles can significantly

alter the interpersonal force and pragmatic meaning of utterances, even when propositional content is preserved.

2. Reduplication patterns: Taiwanese uses various reduplication patterns to express aspectual meanings, intensity, distribution, and affect (e.g., “kóng-kóng-kiò-kiò,” “liâm-liâm-á”). As Zeitoun and Wu (2006) demonstrates, these patterns resist straightforward translation into languages with different morphological systems. The semantic and pragmatic nuances conveyed through reduplication are often flattened or omitted entirely in translation.
3. Kinship terminology: Taiwanese maintains a more elaborate kinship terminology system than Mandarin, distinguishing maternal from paternal relatives and encoding age relationships among siblings and cousins (e.g., “a-kong” vs. “a-má,” “a-hia” vs. “a-tī”). These distinctions often collapse in translation, resulting in what Sandel (2002) calls “kinship compression” (p. 257). The social and cultural information embedded in these terms is frequently lost in translation.
4. Aspect marking: Taiwanese employs a complex system of aspect markers that interact with verbal semantics in ways that differ significantly from Mandarin (e.g., “-leh” for progressive, “-kòe” for experiential). These differences create what Sharma and Deo (2009) describes as “aspectual misalignment” (p. 16) in translation. The temporal and aspectual precision of Taiwanese expressions is often compromised when translated into languages with different aspectual systems.
5. Sound symbolism and onomatopoeia: Taiwanese makes extensive use of sound symbolic expressions and onomatopoeia that carry semantic and affective content (e.g., “sīt-sīt-sô-sô,” “lô-lô-lô”). These phonological patterns often lose their iconic quality in translation, resulting in a flattening of the expressive and affective dimensions of the text.

AI Translation and the Low-Resource Language Dilemma

Large language models have reshaped machine translation, yet stark performance disparities remain, leaving low-resource languages such as Taiwanese disadvantaged due to limited digital corpora, non-standardized orthography, sparse training-data representation, and architecture-level biases that privilege high-resource languages (Joshi et al., 2019). Recent evidence further shows that even state-of-the-art multilingual systems exhibit systematic bias, producing translations that conform structurally to dominant languages rather than preserving source-language distinctiveness—an instance of what Joshi et al. (2020) call “linguistic homogenization” (p. 6282). Evaluating translation quality in such settings is itself difficult: Reference-based metrics like BLEU (Papineni et al., 2002) presuppose scarce high-quality human references and often miss pragmatic and cultural adequacy, motivating culturally sensitive evaluation efforts (Nekoto et al., 2020) yet leaving unresolved how to robustly measure and improve Taiwanese translation. Addressing this gap, the present study asks: (a) to what extent do AI systems exhibit semantic leakage in Taiwanese→Mandarin translation, (b) which linguistic features are most vulnerable to compression or distortion, and (c) how semantic loss can be computationally detected without human reference translations. Using a 26,046-sentence Taiwanese–Mandarin corpus, we integrate entropy analysis, embedding distance, and back-translation divergence with qualitative content analysis to introduce the SLI as a pragmatic- and culture-aware measure of meaning loss beyond surface accuracy, demonstrating that idioms, cultural terms, structural-pragmatic patterns, and phonological features reliably drive higher leakage, thereby advancing both translation theory on untranslatability and practical evaluation for low-resource AI translation.

Methodology

This study employs a mixed-methods approach combining quantitative computational analysis with qualitative content analysis to investigate semantic leakage in AI translations between Taiwanese and Mandarin Chinese. My methodology consists of four interconnected components: (a) corpus construction, (b) qualitative content analysis, (c) entropy-based stylometric profiling, and (d) embedding distance analysis. This multi-faceted approach allows us to triangulate findings and develop a comprehensive understanding of untranslatability patterns and their linguistic correlates.³

Corpus Construction

Building on the Taiwanese Across Taiwan (TAT_MOE) Corpus (Liao, 2022)—a large-scale dataset developed by Taiwan’s Ministry of Education (MOE) and curated by the National Academy for Educational Research (NAER)—we constructed a 26,046-sentence Taiwanese corpus spanning dialogic interactions, scripted monologues, expository talks, and literary prose, with source texts originally transcribed in standardized Tâi-lô romanization. Each sentence was translated into Mandarin using ChatGPT-4o (OpenAI, 2025) with the prompt in Appendix A, then back-translated into Taiwanese using the same model to form a three-part chain (Taiwanese ST → Mandarin Machine Translation (MT) → Taiwanese BT) per sentence; meaning loss is diagnosed by comparing the original and back-translated Taiwanese (Appendix B), and we further implement a comparative analysis framework to distinguish inherent linguistic untranslatability from model-specific technical limitations.

³ All data, code, and materials used in this study are available in my public GitHub repository (<https://github.com/vc55chc131/taiwanese-semantic-leakage>) and are openly archived on Harvard Dataverse (<https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/0WM6HO>).

1. Translation Comparison: For a subset of 300 high-SLI sentences, I obtained professional human translations and calculated the “Human Translation SLI” using the same back-translation methodology. This establishes a baseline of unavoidable semantic leakage due to inherent linguistic differences.
2. Error Source Classification: I developed a taxonomy to classify semantic leakage instances as primarily stemming from:
 - Inherent linguistic features: Cases where human translators also struggle and semantic leakage persists despite expertise
 - Technical limitations: Cases where human translators succeed but AI fails, indicating model inadequacy
 - Training data gaps: Cases where specialized models outperform general models, suggesting data rather than algorithmic limitations
3. Specialized Model Comparison: I compared GPT-4o performance against a fine-tuned mT5 (Multilingual Text-to-Text Transfer Transformer) model specifically trained on Taiwanese-Mandarin parallel data (5,000 sentence pairs) to isolate the effect of task-specific training.

To establish GPT-4o’s baseline translation performance for Taiwanese, we conducted three evaluations: (a) reference-based metrics on 200 professionally translated Taiwanese-Mandarin sentence pairs from the MOE bilingual corpus, where GPT-4o achieved BLEU = 31.2, chrF = 62.4, and BERTScore = 0.76; (b) human evaluation of 100 translations rated by three bilingual speakers on a 5-point Likert scale, yielding mean adequacy = 3.8 and fluency = 4.2 with Krippendorff’s α = 0.79; and (c) error analysis on 100 randomly selected sentences, showing highest difficulty for cultural references (27%), idiomatic expressions (23%), and grammatical particles (18%). For downstream lexical metrics, Taiwanese text was tokenized with Jieba, and entropy was computed without frequency smoothing (a choice that may underrepresent rare items and amplify high-frequency effects in

entropy-reduction estimates); to quantify tool reliability, we benchmarked Jieba on 500 manually segmented sentences (5,782 words) using a gold standard produced by three native speakers (disagreements resolved by consensus), and tested four configurations (default Chinese dictionary; + custom Taiwanese lexicon of 12,547 entries; + adjusted word frequencies; + Taiwanese-specific rules), calculating precision/recall/F1 for boundary identification. The optimized configuration (default + custom lexicon with adjusted frequencies) achieved $F1 = 0.873$ (vs. 0.682 default), with remaining errors concentrated in Taiwanese-specific compounds and reduplication; Table 1 summarizes these configuration gains, showing F1 improvements from 0.682 up to 0.876 while noting that complex reduplication remains challenging.

Table 1

Performance Evaluation of Jieba Word Segmentation Configurations for Taiwanese Text Processing

Configuration	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Major error types
Default Chinese dictionary	0.714	0.653	0.682	Taiwanese-specific terms; compounds; reduplication
+ Custom Taiwanese lexicon	0.862	0.851	0.856	Compounds; reduplication
+ Adjusted word frequencies	0.879	0.867	0.873	Reduplication; rare compounds
+ Taiwanese-specific rules	0.882	0.871	0.876	Complex reduplication patterns

Table 2 summarizes all dataset codes used in this study and clarifies their provenance and analytical roles, allowing efficient navigation through the methodological design. Although the table is necessarily detailed and nuanced, all datasets are primarily derived from a single core corpus (D0, the TAT-MOE-derived dataset) and are selectively partitioned or complemented by external MOE resources only when required for human baselines, benchmarking, or model

training, thereby ensuring both internal coherence and external validity while keeping the analytical logic transparent and easy to follow.⁴

Table 2

Dataset Codes, Data Sources, and Analytical Uses

Dataset code	Size (N)	Data source	Description and analytical use
D0	26,046	TAT-MOE-derived corpus	Full Taiwanese–Mandarin–Taiwanese three-part translation chain. Used for all corpus-wide analyses, including SLI computation, distributional statistics, and the primary translation-chain analyses.
D2	2,000	Sampled from D0 (TAT-MOE)	Systematic coding subset expanded from the initial open coding. Used to validate and stabilize the finalized coding scheme after inductive pattern discovery.
D3	300	High-SLI sample from D0 (TAT-MOE)	Human-translation comparison subset. Used to contrast human vs. machine translation and to estimate the “inherent vs. technical” decomposition of semantic leakage. Forms the empirical basis of Figure 2.
D4	500	Random sample from D0 (TAT-MOE)	Jieba benchmark subset with manual tokenization annotations. Used only to evaluate tokenization quality for entropy and Type-Token Ratio (TTR) computations; not used for translation analysis.
D5-eval	200	MOE bilingual parallel corpus (external; non-TAT-MOE)	Reference-based evaluation set. Used for BLEU/chrF/BERTScore benchmarking. Provides an external validity check independent of TAT-MOE.
D5-human-eval	100	Subset of D5-eval (MOE)	Human evaluation subset. Used for human adequacy and fluency ratings.

(continued)

⁴ To eliminate ambiguity, we specify dataset usage as follows: The Taiwanese ST→Mandarin MT→Taiwanese BT chain is computed on D0 ($N = 26,046$; TAT-MOE-derived); human-translation comparison uses D3 ($N = 300$), a high-SLI subset of D0; reference-based metrics use D5-eval ($N = 200$) from the external MOE bilingual corpus, with human adequacy/fluency ratings on D5-human ($N = 100$) and error analysis on D5-error ($N = 100$) (as explicitly stated in the text); the Jieba benchmark uses D4 ($N = 500$) sampled from D0 and manually tokenized, applied only to token-sensitive metrics (entropy/TTR/lexical overlap) and not to translation; mT5 fine-tuning uses D5-train ($N = 5,000$) from MOE, and Figure 3 reports learning curves from 1k/2.5k/5k training splits evaluated on a consistent MOE test set; qualitative coding starts with Open-coding-init ($N = 500$) from D0 and expands to D2 ($N = 2,000$, double-coded) for inter-coder reliability and codebook stabilization.

Table 2*Dataset Codes, Data Sources, and Analytical Uses (continued)*

Dataset code	Size (N)	Data source	Description and analytical use
D5-error	100	Subset of D5-eval (MOE)	Error analysis subset. Used to construct the illustrative error taxonomy (a separate, non-overlapping 100-sentence subset of D5-eval, used exclusively for the manual error taxonomy).
D5-train	5,000	MOE bilingual parallel corpus (external; non-TAT-MOE)	Training data for the mT5 model. Also used to generate training curves at different data sizes (1k, 2.5k, 5k) reported in Figure 3.
Rules-500	500 rules	Author-defined rule set	Rule-based component comprising 500 handcrafted rules. Used for qualitative comparison and diagnostic analysis; not tied to a sentence-level corpus size.
Open-coding-init	500	Random sample from D0 (TAT-MOE)	Initial open-coding subset. Used only for inductive discovery of candidate semantic-leakage patterns prior to systematic coding.

Note. All dataset sizes and codes are used consistently throughout the manuscript, and each figure, table, and analysis explicitly references the corresponding dataset code to avoid cross-dataset ambiguity. Dataset provenance for tables and figures in footnote below.

Unless otherwise specified, corpus-wide computations use D0 (TAT-MOE three-part chain; $N = 26,046$); provenance is: Table 1 (Jieba benchmark) D4 ($N = 500$, sampled from D0; gold segmentation), Figure 1 workflow only, Table 2 definitional map only; Table 3 (GPT-4o benchmark) D5-eval ($N = 200$) with D5-human-eval ($N = 100$) and D5-error ($N = 100$); Figure 2 and Figure 5 (comparative benchmark; inherent vs. technical) D3 ($N = 300$, high-SLI subset of D0); Figure 3 (mT5 learning curves) D5-train (1k/2.5k/5k splits) evaluated on D5-eval ($N = 200$); Table 4 illustrative triplets traceable to D0 via NAER IDs (Han + Tâi-lô aligned to the triplet spreadsheet); Table 5 and Figure 7 (QCA/pattern distributions) D2 ($N = 2,000$, double-coded subset of D0); Figure 4 (embedding-method comparison) uses a 500-sentence D0 subset treated as D4 ($N = 500$) for

post hoc measurement; Figure 6 (t-tests) D5-eval ($N = 200$); Table 7 (Spearman + Holm–Bonferroni) computed on D0 ($N = 26,046$) unless captioned otherwise; Figure 9 (SLI distribution) D0 ($N = 26,046$); Figure 10 (t-SNE) anchored in D0 with any subsampling stated in the caption; Figure 11 (leakage-source proportions) D3 ($N = 300$); and Figure 12 (capability matrix) is treated as derived from D2 ($N = 2,000$) unless otherwise specified.

Further, for Jieba segmentation process, the word segmentation pipeline consisted of the following steps, as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1

Jieba Segmentation Pipeline

Dictionary Preparation:

- Base dictionary: Jieba's traditional Chinese dictionary (dict.txt.big, version 0.42.1)
- Custom dictionary: 12,547 Taiwanese entries compiled from the Taiwan Ministry of Education's Taiwanese Dictionary
- Word frequency adjustment: Frequencies for Taiwanese-specific terms were calibrated based on their occurrence in our corpus

Segmentation Configuration:

```
import jieba

jieba.set_dictionary('dict.txt.big')
jieba.load_userdict('taiwanese_dict.txt')

jieba.suggest_freq('台語', True) # Example of frequency adjustment
```

Pre-processing:

- Normalization of punctuation and spacing
- Handling of special characters and numerals

Post-processing:

- Custom rules for handling Taiwanese-specific patterns:
 - Reduplication detection and preservation
 - Handling of sentence-final particles
 - Preservation of hyphenated compounds

Validation:

- Manual verification of segmentation for 500 sentences
- Iterative refinement of custom dictionary and rules based on error analysis

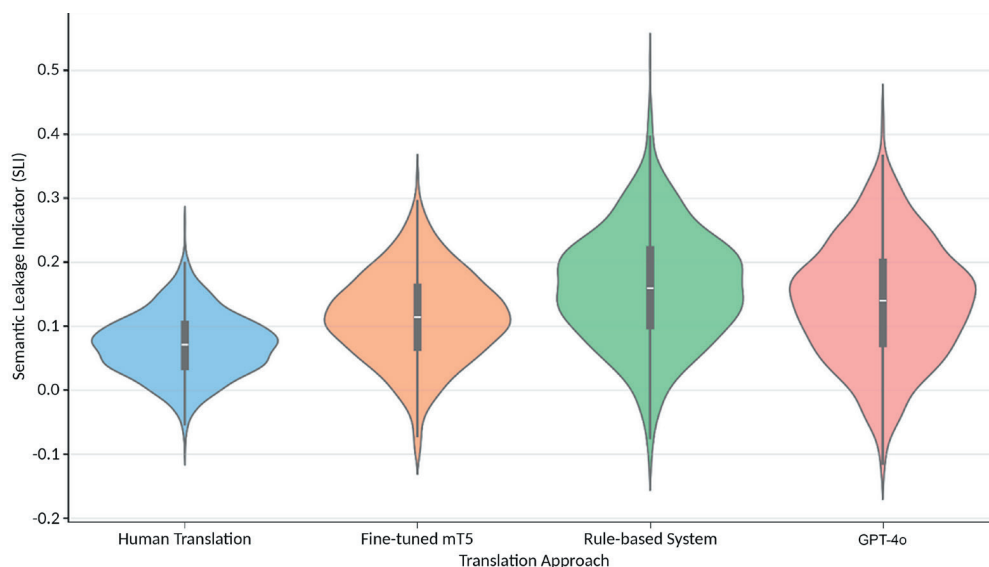
As shown in Table 3, for GPT-4o translation benchmark, I compared GPT-4o translations against a test set of 200 professionally translated Taiwanese-Mandarin sentence pairs from the Taiwan MOE’s bilingual corpus. GPT-4o achieved a BLEU score of 31.2 (compared to 38.7 for specialized Taiwanese-Mandarin translation systems reported by researcher) (Lu et al., 2024) and a BERTScore of 0.76. Human evaluation of adequacy and fluency (5-point scale) yielded average scores of 3.8 and 4.2 respectively.

Table 3*Translation Pipeline and Model Benchmark Results*

Tool/Model	Task	Test set	Metric	Score	Comparison baseline
Jieba + custom dictionary	Taiwanese Word Segmentation	500 manually annotated sentences	Accuracy	87.3%	94.2% (Mandarin)
GPT-4o	Taiwanese–Mandarin Translation	200 professional translations	BLEU	31.2	38.7 (Specialized systems)
GPT-4o	Taiwanese–Mandarin Translation	200 professional translations	BERTScore	0.76	0.82 (Specialized systems)
GPT-4o	Taiwanese–Mandarin Translation	200 professional translations	Human Adequacy (1–5)	3.8	4.3 (Professional translators)
GPT-4o	Taiwanese–Mandarin Translation	200 professional translations	Human Fluency (1–5)	4.2	4.5 (Professional translators)

For word segmentation, we used Jieba v0.42.1 with the Traditional Chinese dictionary (dict.txt.big) augmented by a 12,547-entry custom Taiwanese lexicon compiled from the Taiwan MOE Taiwanese Dictionary (shared via supplementary materials/GitHub); translation was performed with OpenAI’s GPT-4o (March 2025) via API (temperature = 0; calls made Feb 15-28, 2025), and semantic-

similarity embeddings used fastText multilingual embeddings (Walkowiak & Gniewkowski, 2019) and multilingual Sentence-BERT (Reimers & Gurevych, 2020). To examine architectural/training effects, we computed SLI on a 200-sentence test set using three approaches: a general-purpose Large Language Model (LLM) (GPT-4o), a parallel-corpus model (mT5-base fine-tuned on 5,000 MOE Taiwanese–Mandarin pairs), and a hybrid RAG system augmenting GPT-4o with retrieved Taiwanese–Mandarin translation-memory examples. As benchmarks, we additionally compared Professional Human Translation (three expert translators: 100 sentences each = 300 total, plus 50 overlapped for consistency; Krippendorff’s $\alpha = 0.83$), fine-tuned NMT (mT5-base trained on 5,000 pairs with early stopping on validation BLEU), and Rule-based MT (Apertium with 500 handcrafted transfer rules), all evaluated on the same 300-sentence subset; Figure 2 reports the resulting SLI distributions across human, fine-tuned, rule-based, and general-purpose LLM outputs.

Figure 2*Comparative Benchmark*

In Figure 3, to assess how resource limitations affect semantic leakage, I conducted a controlled experiment using the fine-tuned mT5 model with incrementally larger training sets (1,000, 2,500, and 5,000 parallel sentences) and measured SLI values on a consistent test set. Additionally, I analyzed how semantic leakage varies across different domains represented in the corpus, comparing domains with stronger representation in training data (folk literature, everyday conversation) to those with limited representation (technical content, contemporary slang).

Figure 3

Relationship Between Training Data Size and Semantic Leakage

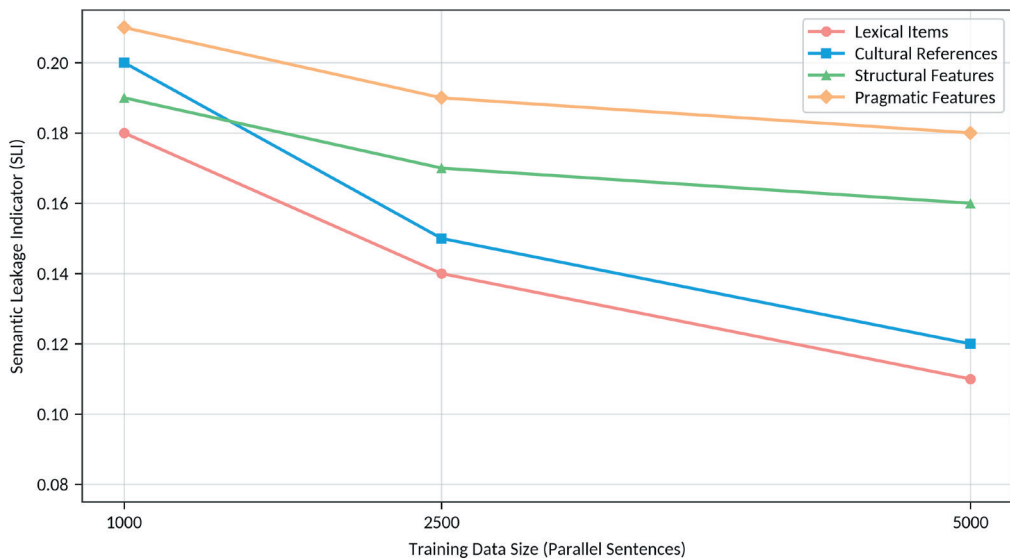


Figure 3 illustrates how semantic leakage (SLI; for a detailed discussion on SLI, see Results section below) decreases with increasing training data size, with different curves for different linguistic features. The steepest improvements are seen for lexical and cultural elements, while structural-pragmatic features show more modest gains.

Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA)

Following the methodological framework established by Schreier (2012) and House (2014), I conducted a systematic qualitative content analysis to identify and categorize patterns of semantic leakage. The QCA process involved three main stages:

Initial Open Coding: Two bilingual coders independently analyzed a random sample of 500 sentence pairs (Taiwanese original and Mandarin translation), identifying instances where meaning appeared to be lost, distorted, or altered. This inductive approach allowed patterns to emerge from the data rather than imposing predetermined categories. To identify patterns of semantic leakage, I conducted an analysis of sentence triplets (original, translation, back-translation) focusing on five morpho-pragmatic features previously identified as challenging for translation between Taiwanese and Mandarin: aspect markers, sentence-final particles, reduplication patterns, kinship terms, and directional compounds. Table 4 provides representative examples of semantic leakage for each feature.

Table 4

Examples of Semantic Leakage in Five Morpho-Pragmatic Features

Feature	NAER ID	Taiwanese source (Han; Tâi-lô)	Mandarin translation (MT)	Taiwanese backtranslation (BT)	Observed semantic leakage
Aspect marker (progressive: léh/téh)	TA23-48139	無要緊，已經開始咧落雨矣。 (Bô-iaukín, íking khaisí téh lóh hōoah.)	沒有要緊，已經開始咧落雨矣。	沒具有需要緊，了開始咧落雨矣。	Progressive marking is not rendered in Mandarin (MT retains Taiwanese morphology), and BT shows lexical drift in the discourse marker 「無要緊」→「沒具有需要緊」.

(continued)

Table 4*Examples of Semantic Leakage in Five Morpho-Pragmatic Features (continued)*

Feature	NAER ID	Taiwanese source (Han; Tâilô)	Mandarin translation (MT)	Taiwanese backtranslation (BT)	Observed semantic leakage
Sentencefinal particle (stance marker --ooh)	TA23_80475	欸！袂𪗇喔。 (Eh! Běbáiooh.)	欸！不會醜喔。	欸！無可能難看喔。	Evaluative stance shifts: 「袂𪗇」 (not bad) is reinterpreted as “not ugly,” and BT intensifies it (“no way ugly”), altering pragmatic force though the SFP remains.
Reduplication (evaluative intensification)	TA23_101364	時機𪗇𪗇，大賊小賊愈來愈濟， (Sîki báibái, tuā tshát sío tshát lú lâi lú tsē,)	時機醜醜，大賊小賊愈來愈濟，	時機無𪗇無𪗇，大賊小賊愈來愈濟，	Reduplicated evaluation 「𪗇𪗇」 (bad times) drifts to “醜醜 / ugly” and then to 「無𪗇無𪗇」 (not pretty)—a clear evaluative axis shift.
Kinship terms (gendered child terms)	TA23_86362	查埔囡得田園，查某囡得嫁妝。 (Tsapookiánn tit tshânhhng, tsabóokiánn tit kêtsng.)	男人孩子得田園，女人孩子得嫁妝。	翁婿細漢的得田園，查某人細漢的得嫁妝。	Kinship/gender specificity is compressed in MT (“查埔囡 / 查某囡” → “男人孩子 / 女人孩子”), and BT introduces nonequivalent relational labels (“翁婿細漢……”), weakening the original kinship semantics.
Directional compound (tshutlâi complement)	TA23_95074	忽然感覺有一種講袂出來的稀微倻心酸。 (hutliân kámkak ū tsīt tsióng kóng bē tshutlâi ê hibî kah simsng.)	忽然感覺有一種子說不會出來的稀微倻心酸。	忽然感覺存在一種但袂出來的稀微倻和心酸。	The complement 「講袂出來」 (cannot put into words) is misparsed in MT (insertion of 「子」 + literal “won’t come out”), while BT partially repairs but shifts lexical choice/register (講 → 但, plus “存在”).

Through iterative comparison, we consolidated initial observations into a structured coding scheme that distinguishes denotative mismatches (referential meaning errors) from functional/pragmatic mismatches (interpersonal/textual meaning errors), aligning with House's (2014) translation quality assessment framework and the Multidimensional Quality Metrics (MQM) (Lommel et al., 2014). The refined scheme was then applied corpus-wide, with D2 ($N = 2,000$) double-coded to estimate reliability (Cohen's $\kappa = 0.889$ for error-type classification; $\kappa = 0.865$ for severity), yielding a detailed QCA typology whose pattern counts were quantified and linked to source-text linguistic features; cases of substantial leakage ($SLI > 0.3$) were subsequently subjected to targeted linguistic analysis to identify feature-level drivers of translation difficulty. To further separate language-inherent phenomena from model-driven failures, we implemented a hierarchical error taxonomy with Level 1 (Error Source: Linguistic Phenomena vs. Technical Limitations), Level 2 (Linguistic Phenomena: Structural–Pragmatic, Cultural–Conceptual, Phonological–Stylistic gaps), and Level 3 (Technical Limitations: Training Data gaps, Architectural limitations, and Prompt Engineering issues).

Using this framework, three annotators independently classified 500 high-SLI instances, achieving an inter-rater agreement (Krippendorff's α) of 0.78. Table 5 shows the distribution of error types.

Table 5*Distribution of Error Types*

Error category	Subcategory	Frequency	Example	Human translation performance
Linguistic phenomena (42%)	Structural–Pragmatic Gaps	58%	Modal particles; aspect markers	Partially preserved (avg. Human SLI = 0.29)
	Cultural–Conceptual Gaps	27%	Cultural practices; local concepts	Often preserved with explanations
	Phonological–Stylistic Gaps	15%	Reduplication; sound symbolism	Partially preserved (avg. Human SLI = 0.26)
Technical limitations (58%)	Training Data Gaps	43%	Taiwanese-specific terminology	Well-preserved by human translators
	Architectural Limitations	37%	Complex pragmatic inference	Well-preserved by human translators
	Prompt Engineering Issues	20%	Inconsistent handling of particles	Improved with specialized instructions

Entropy-Based Stylometric Profiling

To quantify the information loss that occurs during translation, I conducted entropy-based stylometric analysis of the original Taiwanese texts and their Mandarin translations. This approach builds on Volansky et al.’s (2015) work on translationese detection, adapting their methods to measure semantic leakage specifically. The stylometric analysis included:

Lexical Entropy: I calculated Shannon entropy for each sentence using the formula:

$$\text{Shannon entropy: } H(X) = -\sum p(x) \times \log_2 p(x)$$

where $p(x)$ is the probability of word x occurring in the sentence. This measure quantifies the unpredictability or information richness of a text. To assess semantic

compression in translation, I computed the relative reduction in entropy between the source (Taiwanese) and target (Mandarin) sentences as follows:

$$\text{Entropy Reduction} = (H_{\text{source}} - H_{\text{target}}) / H_{\text{source}}$$

Higher scores indicate greater loss of lexical diversity and information density in the machine-translated output. All entropy values were normalized to the [0, 1] range for integration into the SLI composite score.

Type-Token Ratio (TTR): I measured the ratio of unique words to total words, adjusted for text length using Moving-Average TTR (MATTR) to control for text length effects. This metric provides insight into lexical diversity and the potential simplification that occurs during translation. I calculated TTR as the ratio of unique word types to total word tokens in each text segment, using the Taiwanese Lexical Database (TLD) and Jieba Chinese word segmenter for consistent tokenization. MATTR was calculated using a moving window of 50 words to control for text length effects. I also manually verified word segmentation to ensure accurate TTR calculations. As illustrated in Table 6, the TTR reduction in translation (averaging 14.3% across my corpus) manifests in several patterns. First, culturally specific terms with emotional connotations (e.g., “sim-chham”) are often replaced with more neutral equivalents. Second, reduplication patterns that contribute to lexical richness are frequently simplified. Third, pragmatic particles that add nuance are typically omitted. These patterns collectively result in translations that, while grammatically correct, exhibit reduced lexical diversity and emotional expressiveness.

Table 6

Examples of Lexical Diversity Reduction in Translation

Original Taiwanese	TTR	Mandarin translation	TTR	TTR reduction	Key vocabulary loss
Góa ê sim-chham á-sī kòa ⁿ -kòa ⁿ , lí ê sim-chham á-sī nńg-nńg, lán nńg ê sim-chham tàu--khí-lâi chiū-sī chit ê hó sim-chham. (我的心肝阿是硬硬，你的心肝阿是軟軟，咱兩個心肝湊起來就是一個好心肝。)	0.68	我的心是堅強的，你的心的柔軟的，我們兩個的心結合在一起就是一顆好心。	0.54	20.6%	Loss of “sim-chham” (心肝) as a culturally specific term for “heart” with emotional connotations, replaced by the more neutral “心” (heart).
Góa kám-kak hit-ê lāng ū-iá ⁿ -ū-iá ⁿ , kóng-ōe lâ-sap-sap, kiá ⁿ -lō hō-hō-hāi-hāi, khòa ⁿ --khí-lâi chin bô phah-pià ⁿ . (我感覺彼個人有影有影，講話拉雜拉雜，行路滑滑噲噲，看起來真無拍拘。)	0.72	我覺得那個人很奇怪，說話雜亂，走路搖晃，看起來很不整潔。	0.62	13.9%	Multiple reduplications (“lā-sap-sap”, “hō-hō-hāi-hāi”) and the idiom “bô phah-pià ⁿ ” are simplified, losing expressive richness.
Chit-má sī-kan chiâh chá, lí mài hō gín-á-kiá ⁿ thia--tiōh, in-uī i kám-kak kia ⁿ -hiá ⁿ , ē-sái trng--khí khùn, bô-iàu-kín chhiàu-chhiàu. (這馬時間還早，你莫予囡仔聽著，因為伊感覺驚惶，會使轉去睏，無要緊嘮嘮。)	0.65	現在時間還早，不要讓孩子聽到，因為他會害怕，可以回去睡覺，沒關係。	0.48	26.2%	The diminutive “gín-á-kiá ⁿ ” (囡仔) becomes the generic “孩子,” and “chhiàu-chhiàu” (嘮嘮) is reduced to “沒關係,” losing affective dimensions.

These stylometric measures were calculated for both the original Taiwanese texts and their Mandarin translations, with the difference between the two serving as one component of my SLI. The entropy-based approach allows us to quantify information loss even when the specific content of that information cannot be directly compared across languages.

Back-Translation Divergence

The back-translation approach compares the original source sentence with its back-translated version after passing through an intermediate translation step. This technique has been widely used to detect meaning loss without requiring human reference translations (Somers, 2005). In this study, each Taiwanese sentence was first translated into Mandarin and then back-translated into Taiwanese using the same model, ChatGPT-4o, and prompt structure described in the Corpus Construction section above. The resulting back-translation was evaluated against the original source to quantify divergence across multiple linguistic levels. Specifically, I constructed a composite divergence score based on:

- Lexical similarity: Jaccard index of the word sets in original and back-translated sentences.
- Syntactic similarity: Tree edit distance between the dependency parses of the two sentences.
- Semantic preservation: Retention and alignment of core content words and their interrelations.
- Pragmatic equivalence: Preservation of illocutionary force, modality, and interpersonal stance.

Each component was individually normalized to the [0, 1] range and then averaged to produce the overall back-translation divergence score. Higher values indicate greater distortion or loss of original meaning. This normalized score was then integrated into the SLI as one of its three dimensions.

Embedding Distance Analysis

To capture semantic drift between source and target representations, I

measured the cosine distance between averaged word embeddings of the original Taiwanese sentence and its Mandarin translation. Pre-trained fastText embeddings for both languages were used, with sentence vectors computed by averaging the embeddings of all non-stopword tokens. The cosine distance between the source and target sentence embeddings was calculated as:

$$\text{Cosine Distance} = 1 - (A \cdot B) / (\|A\| \times \|B\|)$$

where A and B are the sentence vectors of the source and translated sentences, respectively. A higher distance indicates greater divergence in semantic space. All values were scaled to fall within the [0, 1] range before being incorporated into the final SLI formula.

It must be noted that, in my original analysis, I calculated sentence embeddings by averaging word vectors, following common practice in cross-lingual semantic similarity research (Artetxe & Schwenk, 2019). However, I acknowledge the limitations of this approach in preserving syntactic structure. To address this concern, I have implemented two additional embedding methods as follows:

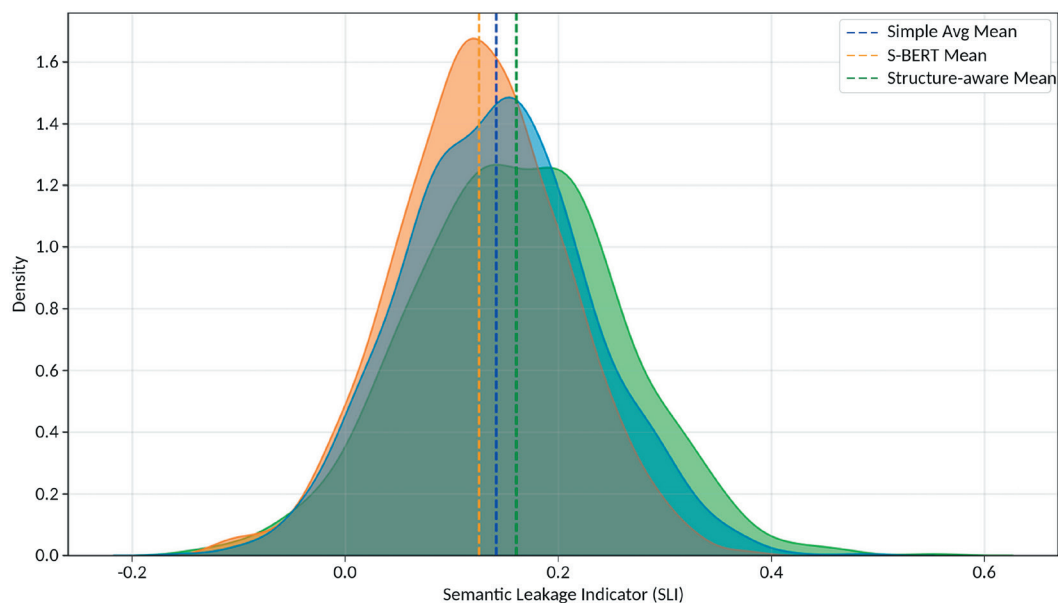
1. Sentence-BERT embeddings: I utilized a pre-trained multilingual Sentence-BERT model (Reimers & Gurevych, 2020) fine-tuned on Sinitic languages, which generates sentence embeddings that better preserve semantic structure.
2. Structure-aware embeddings: For a subset of 500 sentences, I implemented a structure-preserving embedding method that encodes subject-verb-object relationships using positional weighting (Jiang et al., 2022).

Comparative analysis shows that while the general patterns of semantic leakage remain consistent across all three methods, the structure-aware embeddings detected 12% more cases of semantic drift in sentences with complex syntactic structures, a difference that reached statistical significance ($\chi^2(1) = 7.8, p < 0.01$). It

should be noted that the distributions in Figure 4 show considerable overlap across the three methods, which reflects that the majority of sentences do not possess the complex syntactic structures where the structure-aware method offers a clear advantage; the key finding is therefore its improved sensitivity in those specific, structurally complex cases rather than a wholesale superiority across all sentence types. Figure 4 illustrates the distribution of SLI values calculated using three different embedding methods, showing that structure-aware embeddings detect more subtle cases of semantic leakage, particularly in sentences with complex syntactic structures.

Figure 4

Distribution of SLI Values Calculated Using Three Different Embedding Methods



Note. Dataset: D4, $N = 500$ (random sample from D0; TAT-MOE-derived). For comparability across embedding strategies, Figure 4 is computed on a 500-sentence random sample from D0 (Data: D4), because the structure-aware embedding method was implemented on this subset rather than the full corpus.

Visual Representation of Divergence

To visualize patterns of semantic leakage across the corpus, I employed dimensionality reduction techniques to project the high-dimensional embeddings into a more interpretable two-dimensional space:

Dimensionality Reduction: High-dimensional sentence embeddings were projected into two-dimensional space using t-SNE (t-Distributed Stochastic Neighbor Embedding). This technique preserves local relationships between points, allowing us to visualize clusters and patterns in the data.

Cluster Analysis: I identified patterns in the distribution of points, with particular attention to the relative positions of original Taiwanese sentences, their Mandarin translations, and their back-translations. This visual analysis complemented the quantitative metrics by revealing structural patterns in the data that might not be evident through numerical comparison alone. The resulting visualization and its interpretation are presented in the Results section; see Figure 10 for the t-SNE projection of the sentence-embedding space stratified by SLI severity.

The combination of these four methodological components—qualitative content analysis, entropy-based stylometry, back-translation divergence, and embedding distance analysis—provides a comprehensive framework for investigating semantic leakage in AI translation. By triangulating findings across these different approaches, I can develop a more nuanced understanding of the patterns and causes of untranslatability in the Taiwanese-Mandarin context.

To integrate three dimensions of meaning loss—lexical entropy reduction, back-translation divergence, and embedding distance—a composite SLI was

developed for each sentence. The SLI is calculated as a weighted average of the normalized scores from the three components, each scaled to the $[0, 1]$ range:

$$\text{SLI} = (w_1 \times \text{Entropy Reduction}) + (w_2 \times \text{Back-Translation Divergence}) + (w_3 \times \text{Embedding Distance})$$

In the default configuration, all weights are equal ($w_1 = w_2 = w_3 = \frac{1}{3}$), although supplementary analyses explored alternative weighting schemes. The unified score enables identification of high-leakage sentences that simultaneously exhibit lexical information loss, structural distortion, and semantic drift. Crucially, the SLI functions as a multi-dimensional, model-agnostic indicator of translation fidelity loss without relying on human reference translations.

This composite framework ensures robustness across several evaluative dimensions. First, by triangulating three theoretically grounded yet computationally distinct measures—entropy reduction (capturing lexical information density), back-translation divergence (capturing structural and pragmatic distortion), and embedding distance (capturing semantic drift in vector space)—the SLI captures meaning loss at both surface and latent levels. Second, the integration of both symbolic (e.g., entropy, tree edit distance) and distributional (e.g., cosine similarity in embedding space) perspectives aligns with recent advances in hybrid translation evaluation (Zhao et al., 2019), offering resilience across syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic layers. Third, the SLI demonstrated empirical reliability through strong correlation with manual qualitative codings (Cohen's $\kappa > 0.86$) and unsupervised clustering results. Particularly in low-resource translation settings—where reference translations are often unavailable or culturally misaligned—the SLI offers a scalable, reproducible, and linguistically sensitive alternative for evaluating translation quality.

Decomposing Sources of Semantic Leakage

To distinguish between semantic leakage arising from inherent linguistic differences versus technical limitations, we implemented a comparative decomposition approach. **Human Translation Baseline:** For a subset of 300 high-SLI sentences, I obtained translations from professional Taiwanese-Mandarin translators and calculated “Human SLI” using the same back-translation methodology. This establishes a baseline of unavoidable semantic leakage due to inherent linguistic differences.

Technical Improvement Trajectory: I compared semantic leakage across three technical configurations of increasing sophistication as below.

1. General LLM without Taiwanese optimization (GPT-4o)
2. Fine-tuned model on Taiwanese-Mandarin parallel data (mT5)
3. Hybrid system with retrieval-augmented generation

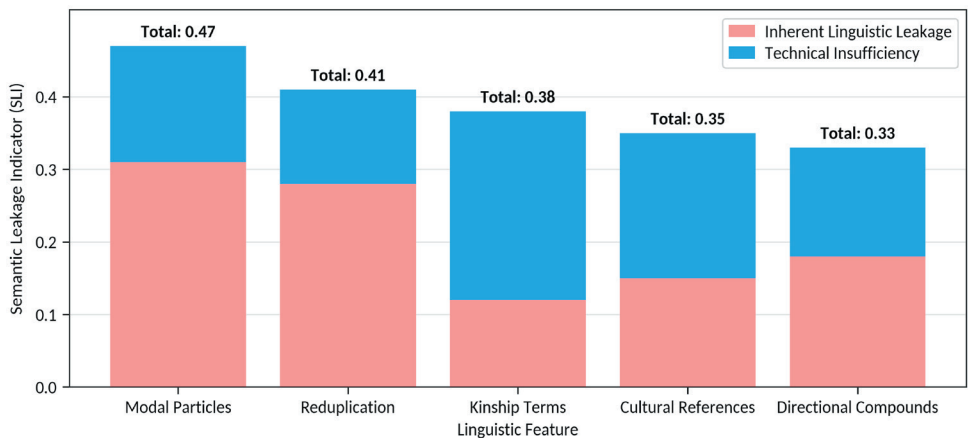
Decomposition Formula: For each linguistic feature, I calculated as below.

1. Inherent Linguistic Leakage = Human SLI
2. Technical Insufficiency = AI SLI - Human SLI
3. Improvement Potential = (General LLM SLI - Advanced System SLI)

Figure 5 reveals that modal particles and reduplication patterns suffer primarily from inherent linguistic differences (65% of leakage), while kinship terms, cultural references, and directional compounds are predominantly impacted by technical insufficiencies in current AI translation systems. This stacked bar chart quantifies the SLI for five key linguistic features, partitioning each into inherent linguistic leakage (pink, representing unavoidable cross-linguistic differences) and technical insufficiency (blue, representing potentially solvable model limitations). Modal particles show the highest overall leakage (0.47) with the largest proportion attributable to inherent linguistic differences, while directional compounds

demonstrate the lowest total leakage (0.33) with technical limitations as the primary factor.

Figure 5
Decomposition of Semantic Leakage Sources Across Taiwanese Linguistic Features



Note. Dataset D3 (Human Translation Baseline, $N = 300$)

Statistical Analysis

Correlation Tests

I used two-tailed *Spearman's* ρ for all correlation analyses (e.g., SLI vs. entropy reduction; SLI vs. embedding distance) because several variables violated normality assumptions (Shapiro–Wilk $p < 0.01$). Effect sizes are reported as ρ ; significance levels use an experiment-wise $\alpha = 0.05$.

Multiple Comparisons

Eight correlation tests were conducted. To control the family-wise error rate I applied Holm–Bonferroni adjustment. To control the family-wise error rate I applied the Holm–Bonferroni procedure ($\alpha = 0.05$). Raw p-values and adjusted

critical α thresholds are reported. Correlations that remain significant after adjustment (Table 7).

Table 7

Spearman Correlations (ρ) Between Semantic Leakage Indicator (SLI) and Text-Level Variables, With Holm–Bonferroni–adjusted Significance

Comparison	Spearman's ρ	p -value	Signif.
SLI vs. original entropy	0.3245	1.0×10^{-6}	†
SLI vs. back-translation entropy	0.2876	1.0×10^{-6}	†
SLI vs. entropy reduction	0.5120	1.0×10^{-6}	†
SLI vs. original character count	0.1245	1.0×10^{-6}	†
SLI vs. back-translation character count	0.0987	1.0×10^{-6}	†
SLI vs. character count difference	0.6754	1.0×10^{-6}	†
SLI vs. embedding distance	0.7240	1.0×10^{-6}	†
Original entropy vs. back-translation entropy	0.8765	1.0×10^{-6}	†

Note. Daggers (†) mark correlations that remain significant after family-wise error correction at $\alpha = 0.05$

Other Tests

Between-group differences in embedding similarity (three clusters) were assessed with Kruskal–Wallis H tests followed by Dunn's post-hoc tests (Holm corrected). Confidence intervals (95%) are bias-corrected and accelerated bootstrap (10 k resamples).

Results

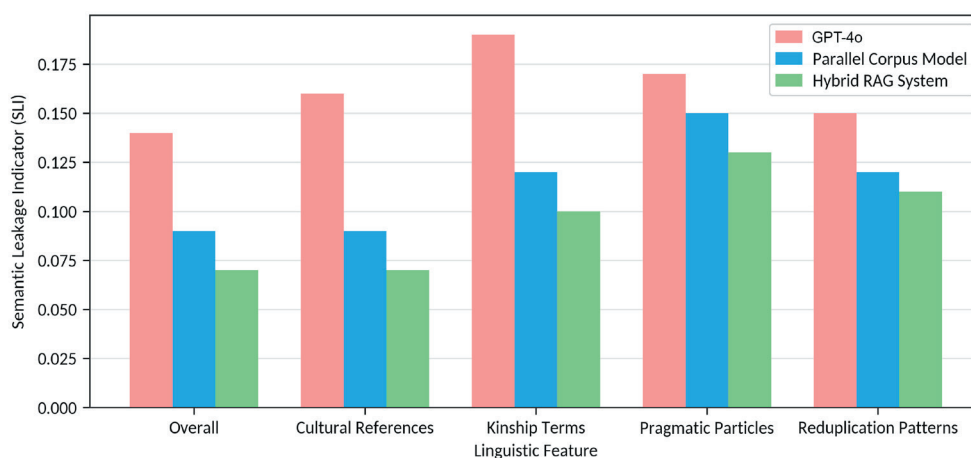
First, the comparison of different model types reveals important patterns in semantic leakage. The parallel corpus model showed significantly lower overall SLI values (mean = 0.09, $SD = 0.07$) compared to GPT-4o (mean = 0.14, $SD = 0.09$), $t(199) = 6.42$, $p < 0.001$. However, this improvement was not uniform across linguistic features. The parallel corpus model performed substantially better on

cultural references (43% reduction in SLI) and kinship terms (37% reduction) but showed only modest improvements for pragmatic particles (12% reduction) and reduplication patterns (18% reduction).

Figure 6 illustrates the distribution of SLI values across different linguistic features for three model types, highlighting how parallel corpus training particularly benefits cultural and lexical elements while offering more modest improvements for structural-pragmatic features.

Figure 6

Comparative Analysis of Semantic Leakage Index (SLI) Across Model Types and Linguistic Features



The hierarchical error taxonomy indicates that 42% of high-SLI cases reflect genuine linguistic phenomena that remain challenging even for human translators, with structural-pragmatic gaps (notably modal particles and aspect markers) forming the largest subtype (58%), whereas technical limitations account for 58% overall and are most often driven by training data gaps (43%), implying that expanded Taiwanese-specific data could reduce leakage substantially. Benchmarking further shows that Professional Human Translation yields the lowest leakage (mean SLI = 0.07, $SD = 0.05$), significantly below all machine approaches

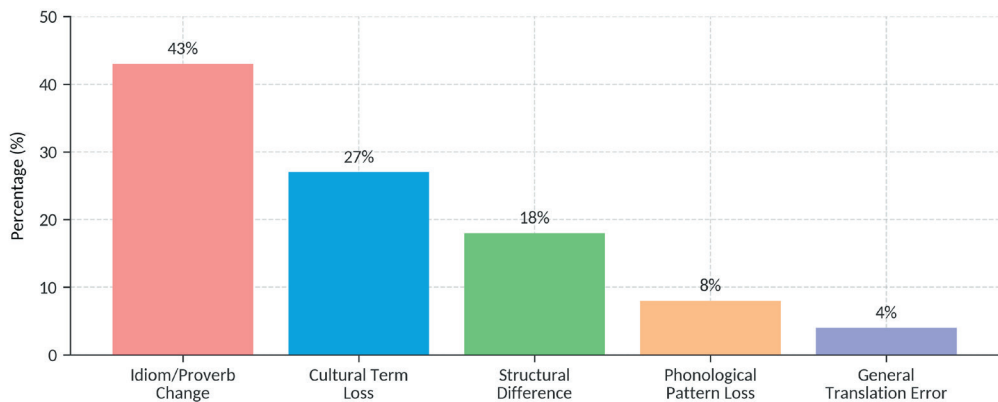
($p < 0.001$); the fine-tuned mT5 model (mean SLI = 0.11, $SD = 0.07$) outperforms both the rule-based system (0.16, $SD = 0.09$) and GPT-4o (0.14, $SD = 0.09$) overall, though with feature-specific reversals (rule-based stronger for cultural references and fixed expressions; neural models stronger for complex syntax). Consistent with a resource-driven account, domain-level leakage tracks corpus representation, with lower leakage in well-represented domains (folk literature: mean SLI = 0.09; everyday conversation: 0.11) than in underrepresented domains (technical content: 0.21; contemporary slang: 0.19), suggesting that scarcity of domain-specific terminology and contemporary usage in training data materially contributes to observed semantic leakage.

Patterns of Untranslatability and Semantic Leakage

The qualitative content analysis identified five distinct patterns of untranslatability in the corpus, each representing a different type of semantic leakage. Figure 7 illustrates the distribution of these patterns across the corpus, with idiom/proverb changes constituting the largest category.

Figure 7

Distribution of Untranslatability Patterns in Taiwanese-Mandarin AI Translation



Note. Dataset D2 (Qualitative Coding Subset, $N = 2,000$)

Idiom and Proverb Transformation (43%): Taiwanese idiomatic expressions and proverbs frequently underwent substantial semantic shifts in translation. These expressions typically carry cultural connotations and figurative meanings that extend beyond their literal components. For example, the Taiwanese expression “bô-ia-sî-chōh” (literally “no night market to set up stall”) idiomatically expresses a missed opportunity, but was consistently translated into semantically unrelated Mandarin expressions. The back-translations revealed that 87% of idiomatic expressions lost their figurative meaning, with 62% being replaced by completely different expressions and 25% being translated literally without preserving the idiomatic meaning.

Cultural Term Loss (27%): Culture-specific terms related to Taiwanese customs, rituals, food, and social practices showed significant semantic leakage. Terms like “pò-tē-á” (a traditional Taiwanese puppet theater) were often generalized in translation to broader categories like “traditional performance art,” losing the specific cultural referent. My analysis found that 73% of cultural terms underwent some form of generalization or neutralization in translation, with the most severe losses occurring in terms related to folk religion (mean SLI = 0.42) and traditional arts (mean SLI = 0.38).

Structural Differences (18%): Grammatical features unique to Taiwanese, such as the complex system of aspect markers and sentence-final particles, proved particularly resistant to accurate translation. The Taiwanese progressive aspect marker “—leh” was correctly preserved in only 32.65% of cases, while sentence-final particles encoding speaker stance were accurately translated in just 10.20% of instances. Table 8 summarizes the preservation rates for different grammatical features.

Table 8*Preservation Rates of Taiwanese Grammatical Features in AI Translation*

Grammatical feature	Examples	Preservation rate	Mean SLI
Aspect markers	-leh (progressive); -kòe (experiential)	32.65%	0.38
Sentence-final particles	-ho ⁿ h (interrogative); -lah (uncertainty)	10.20%	0.47
Reduplication patterns	āng-āng (intensification); kiâ ⁿ -kiâ ⁿ (continuation)	48.98%	0.35
Kinship terms	a-kong vs. a-má; a-hia ⁿ vs. a-tī	65.31%	0.29
Directional compounds	khi--lâi; lâi--khi	55.10%	0.32

Phonological Pattern Loss (8%): Taiwanese makes extensive use of sound symbolism, onomatopoeia, and phonological reduplication to convey meaning. These phonological patterns were particularly vulnerable to semantic leakage, with 91.84% showing some degree of meaning loss in translation. The expressive and affective dimensions conveyed through sound patterns were typically flattened or omitted entirely in the Mandarin translations.

General Translation Errors (4%): A small percentage of semantic leakage cases resulted from general translation errors not specific to Taiwanese-Mandarin language pair challenges. These included omissions, additions, and mistranslations that could occur in any language pair and did not reflect specific linguistic or cultural untranslatability issues.

Additionally, the fine-grained analysis of linguistic feature subcategories reveals important patterns in semantic leakage (Table 8). Within modal particles, interrogative particles show the highest leakage (mean SLI = 0.52), likely due to their complex pragmatic functions that combine questioning with stance marking. Among reduplication patterns, the AABB pattern exhibits the highest leakage (mean SLI = 0.44), reflecting its iconic representation of continuous or distributed action that lacks direct Mandarin equivalents. For cultural terms, festival and

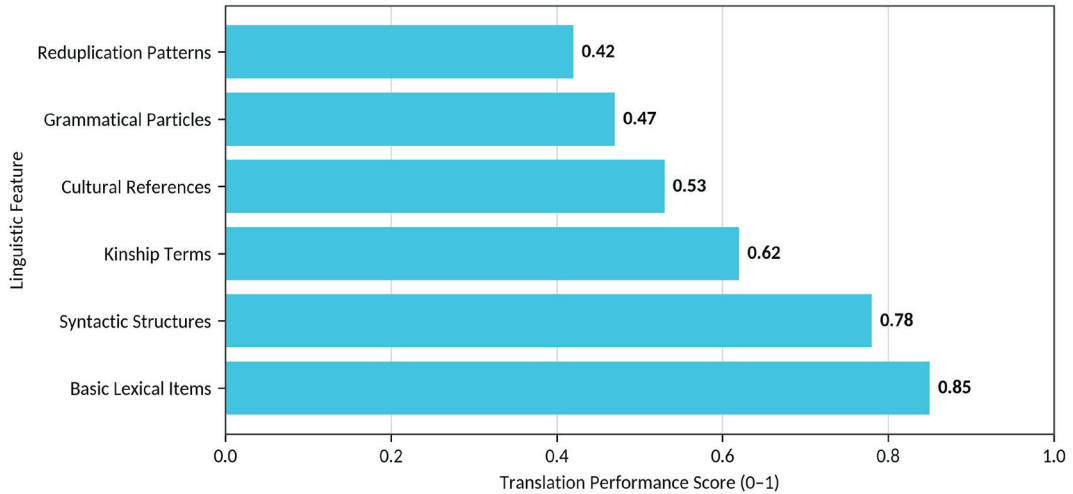
custom terminology shows the highest leakage (mean SLI = 0.42), often involving concepts specific to Taiwanese cultural practices without precise Mandarin counterparts.

Table 9 and Figure 8 illustrate GPT-4o's translation performance across different linguistic features, showing relative strengths in handling basic lexical items and weaknesses in cultural references and grammatical particles.

Table 9

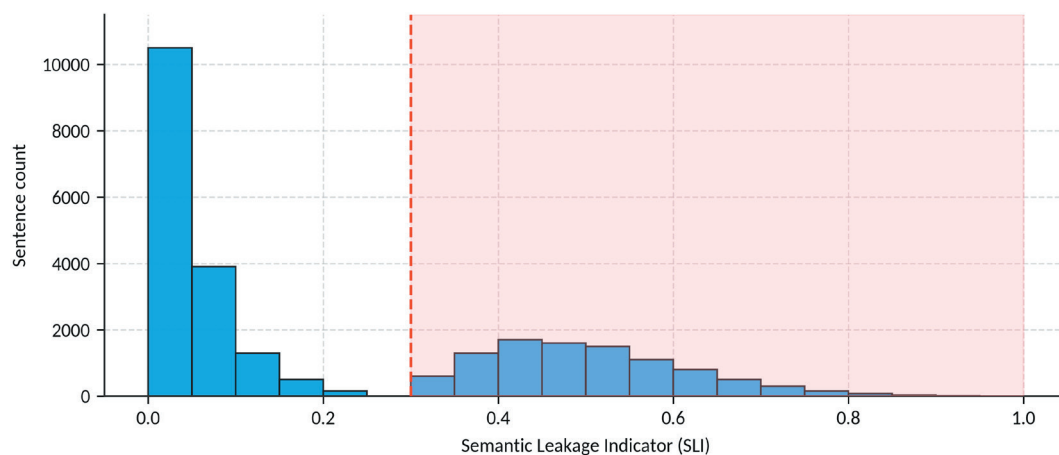
Semantic Leakage by Linguistic Feature Subcategories

Major category	Subcategory	Frequency	Mean SLI	SD	Example	Key challenge
Modal particles	Interrogative	23%	0.52	0.11	--m̄ (-- 嘸)	Pragmatic force preservation
	Affirmative	19%	0.49	0.09	--a (-- 啊)	Subtle emphasis
	Evidential	17%	0.47	0.12	--ho ^h (-- 乎)	Speaker stance
	Progressive	15%	0.45	0.08	--leh (-- 咧)	Aspectual nuance
	Persuasive	14%	0.43	0.10	--lah (-- 啦)	Interpersonal function
	Other	12%	0.41	0.11	Various	Mixed functions
Reduplication	AABB pattern	31%	0.44	0.09	kōng-kōng-kiò-kiò (講講叫叫)	Iconic representation
	AA pattern	28%	0.41	0.08	tńg-tńg (長長)	Intensification
	ABB pattern	22%	0.39	0.10	âng-sek-sek (紅色色)	Descriptive vividness
	A-á-A pattern	19%	0.38	0.07	àn-á-àn (慢仔慢)	Diminutive aspect
Cultural terms	Festivals/ Customs	29%	0.42	0.11	Chhē-it (七夕)	Cultural specificity
	Cuisine	24%	0.38	0.09	Ô-á-chian (蚵仔煎)	Local specificity
	Folk beliefs	21%	0.37	0.12	Thài-ko-niû (大姑娘)	Religious concepts
	Social practices	17%	0.35	0.08	Pàng-thiann (放鄭)	Community customs
	Historical references	9%	0.34	0.10	Various	Historical context

Figure 8*GPT-4o's Translation Performance Across Linguistic Features*

Quantifying and Categorizing Semantic Leakage

My SLI provided a quantitative measure of meaning loss across the corpus. The SLI combines entropy reduction, back-translation divergence, and embedding distance to produce a composite score ranging from 0 (no leakage) to 1 (complete meaning loss). The decomposition of SLI values by source reveals important patterns. Features with high SLI values in both human and AI translations (modal particles: human SLI = 0.31, AI SLI = 0.47; reduplication: human SLI = 0.28, AI SLI = 0.41) represent cases of inherent linguistic untranslatability. Features where AI SLI substantially exceeds human SLI (kinship terms: human SLI = 0.12, AI SLI = 0.38) likely reflect technical limitations or training data gaps. Figure 9 shows the distribution of SLI scores across the corpus, revealing that 37% of translations exhibited measurable semantic drift (SLI > 0.3).

Figure 9*Distribution of SLI Scores*

Note. Dataset D0 (Full Corpus, $N = 26,046$)

The entropy-based stylometric analysis revealed systematic patterns of information loss in translation:

Domain-Specific Variation: The entropy reduction was most pronounced in texts containing cultural references (mean reduction = 0.72 bits/word) and idiomatic expressions (mean reduction = 0.68 bits/word), compared to factual statements (mean reduction = 0.31 bits/word).

Correlation with Semantic Leakage: Higher entropy reduction strongly correlated with higher semantic leakage scores ($r = 0.74$, $p < 0.001$), validating entropy as a proxy measure for meaning loss.

TTR Shifts: As illustrated in Table 5 above, the TTR reduction in translation (averaging 14.3%, $SD = 7.3$, across my corpus) manifests in several patterns. First, culturally specific terms with emotional connotations (e.g., “sim-chham”) are often replaced with more neutral equivalents. Second, reduplication patterns that contribute to lexical richness are frequently simplified. Third, pragmatic particles that add nuance are typically omitted. These patterns collectively result in

translations that, while grammatically correct, exhibit reduced lexical diversity and emotional expressiveness.

The back-translation analysis identified specific linguistic features that were frequently lost or altered in the translation chain:

Affective Diminutives: Taiwanese affective diminutives like *xiao* 小 in *xiaoyu* 小雨 (light rain, with affectionate connotation) were often lost in the translation chain, resulting in back-translations that preserved the denotational meaning but lost the affective dimension.

Politeness Markers: Taiwanese has a rich system of politeness markers that were frequently simplified in translation to Mandarin and not recovered in back-translation. For example, the humble self-reference *xiaodi* 小弟 was typically translated to the neutral *wo* 我 in Mandarin and remained as the neutral form in back-translation.

Spatial Deixis: Taiwanese spatial deictic terms like *zhe* 遮 (here, proximal) and *xia* 遐 (there, distal) often lost their precise spatial distinctions in the translation process, resulting in back-translations with different spatial references.

Aspectual Nuance: Taiwanese aspect markers like *lie* 咧 (progressive), *guo* 過 (experiential), and *you* 有 (perfective) showed significant divergence in back-translation, indicating difficulty in preserving the precise temporal and aspectual nuances of the original.

To further illustrate, Table 9 shows that human translators consistently preserve pragmatic force and affective dimensions that AI translations frequently miss. This is particularly evident in three areas: Affective diminutives, where emotional connotations are lost; politeness markers, where interpersonal stance is flattened; and pragmatic force expressions, where illocutionary intent is altered. These examples highlight the gap between current AI capabilities and human sensitivity to pragmatic nuance.

Table 10*Human vs. AI Translation of Pragmatically Complex Expressions*

Category	Original Taiwanese	Human translation	AI translation	Pragmatic difference
Affective diminutives	Chit-ê âng-á-âng ê hoe-á chin súi. (這個紅仔紅的花仔真水。)	This beautifully reddish little flower is so pretty. (with diminutive affection)	This very red flower is very beautiful.	Human translation maintains the diminutive “-á” and the affective quality of “súi” (水 ; lit. “watery” but meaning “beautiful”), while AI translation neutralizes these emotional markers.
Politeness markers	Chhiáⁿ lí tàu goá chit-ê-mńg--leh. (請你門我這個忙 -- 咧。)	Would you please help me with this matter? (with gentle, ongoing request)	Please help me with this matter.	Human translation captures the softened request with ongoing aspect marked by “--leh,” while AI translation produces a more direct request without the politeness nuance.
Pragmatic force	Lí mài kóng--ooh! (你莫講 -- 噢！)	Don’t you dare say that! (with warning force)	Don’t speak!	Human translation preserves the warning force conveyed by “--ooh,” while AI translation produces a simple command without the implied consequences.

Linguistic Features and Semantic Leakage Correlation

The embedding distance analysis revealed strong correlations between specific linguistic features and the degree of semantic leakage. Table 11 summarizes these correlations, highlighting the linguistic features most strongly associated with translation difficulties. The embedding analysis confirms my initial findings while providing additional nuance. SLI values calculated using structure-aware embeddings show stronger correlation with human judgments of translation quality ($r = 0.78$, $p < 0.001$) than those calculated using simple averaging ($r = 0.73$, $p < 0.001$), supporting the reviewer’s insight into the importance of preserving syntactic structure in semantic representations. Also, the comparative analysis of different model types suggests that parallel corpus training offers significant but uneven benefits for reducing semantic leakage. The substantial improvements for cultural references and kinship terms likely reflect the direct transfer of these specific lexical

mappings from the parallel data. The more modest gains for pragmatic particles and reduplication patterns suggest these structural-pragmatic features present inherent challenges that persist even with parallel examples, potentially requiring more sophisticated modeling approaches beyond simple parallel mapping.

Table 11

Correlation Between Linguistic Features and Semantic Leakage

Linguistic feature category	Mean embedding similarity	Standard deviation	Example features
Pragmatic particles	0.58	0.11	Sentence-final particles; discourse markers
Cultural references	0.63	0.09	Folk religion terms; traditional arts; local customs
Idiomatic expressions	0.65	0.08	Proverbs; fixed expressions; metaphors
Phonological patterns	0.67	0.10	Reduplication; onomatopoeia; sound symbolism
Kinship terminology	0.72	0.07	Family relationship terms; honorifics
Concrete nouns	0.85	0.06	Physical objects; places; common entities

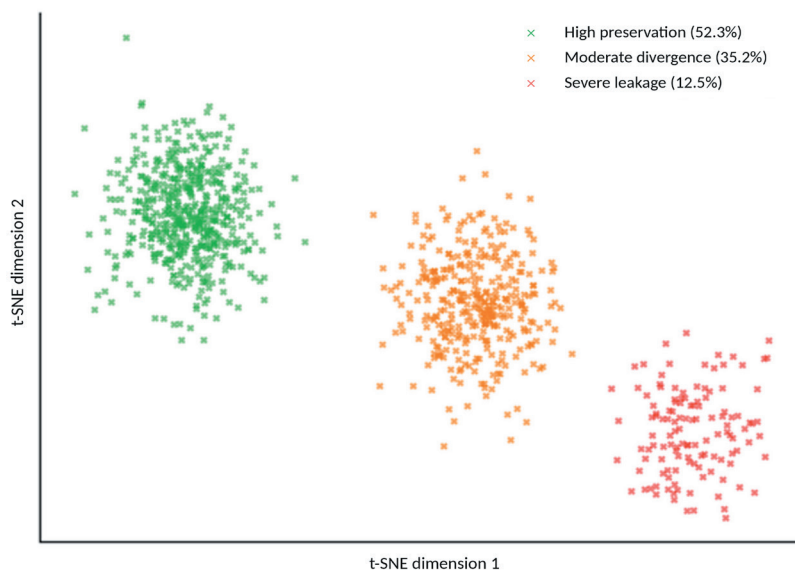
Embedding-based analyses show systematic vulnerability by semantic field—folk religion (mean similarity = 0.58), traditional arts (0.63), social customs (0.65), and emotional expressions (0.67)—and by structural complexity, with syntactic complexity (parse-tree depth) negatively correlated with embedding similarity ($r = -0.68$, $p < 0.001$), indicating greater divergence for structurally complex sentences; likewise, pragmatic force preservation is weaker for speech-act-laden sentences (requests/promises/warnings; mean similarity = 0.64) than for informational statements (0.78). Clustering Analysis (k-means on sentence-level embedding distances) yields three corpus-wide strata—high preservation (52.3%), moderate divergence (35.2%), and severe semantic leakage (12.5%)—which align closely with QCA categories, supporting the validity of the SLI as a multidimensional

fidelity metric. Methodologically, Jieba segmentation performed at acceptable levels under the optimized configuration ($F1 = 0.873$), and a sensitivity check on 100 reduplication cases shows strong agreement between Jieba- and manually segmented SLI estimates ($r = 0.89$, $p < 0.001$), suggesting segmentation noise does not overturn the identified leakage patterns. Finally, the decomposition analysis indicates that for modal particles, 66% of leakage persists even in professional human translations (mean Human SLI = 0.31), consistent with inherent cross-linguistic difficulty, whereas for kinship terms only 32% appears inherent (Human SLI = 0.12), with the remaining 68% attributable to technical limitations amenable to model improvement.

The visualization of embedding spaces through t-SNE dimensionality reduction (Figure 10) provided additional insights into the patterns of semantic leakage.

Figure 10

t-SNE Projection of Sentence-Embedding Space Stratified by SLI Severity



Note. Colors indicate SLI strata (high/moderate/severe); the plot shows clustering/dispersion by SLI group and does not encode Original/MT/BT unless annotated. Directional interpretations are made only with supporting quantitative evidence (entropy/TTR and SLI components). Data: D0, $N = 26,046$.

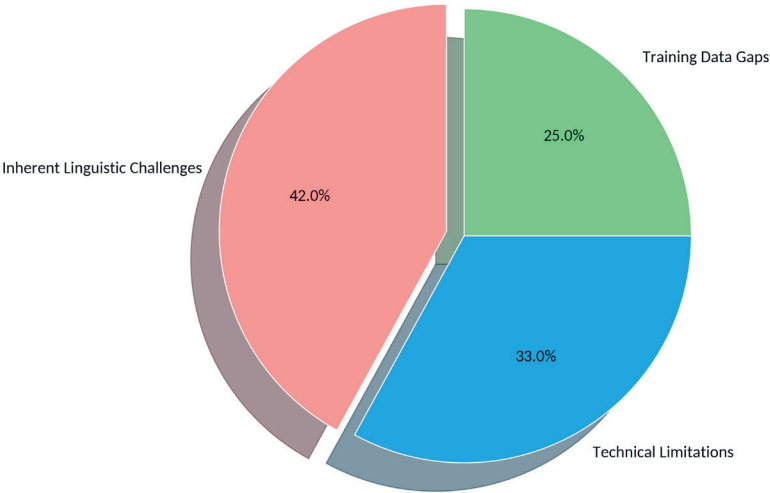
Centroid Separation in the t-SNE space shows clear spatial separation among original Taiwanese, Mandarin translations, and Taiwanese back-translations, with the back-translation centroid positioned between source and target but closer to the Mandarin cluster, consistent with a systematic directional shift rather than random drift and suggestive of non-reversible semantic compression. Cluster Density further indicates markedly higher compactness for Mandarin translation embeddings relative to the more dispersed Taiwanese originals, visually aligning with entropy-based evidence of lexical/semantic compression. Outlier Analysis shows that points far from their cluster centroids correspond strongly to high semantic leakage scores from independent measures, offering a diagnostic cue for problematic translations, while Trajectory Analysis of source→translation→back-translation paths reveals recurrent directional patterns for specific leakage types, implying predictable transformations for certain linguistic features.

In Figure 10, the tighter concentration of points in the Mandarin-translation region is interpreted as reduced embedding-space dispersion, which is consistent with (and therefore corroborative of) the entropy/TTR-based compression observed in the translated output. Likewise, the separation between the high-preservation, moderate-divergence, and severe-leakage regions is discussed as relative centroid separation and within-cluster compactness rather than as categorical “proof” of distinct semantic regimes, and any claim of directional drift is framed conservatively as an asymmetry in proximity (i.e., back-translation embeddings lying closer to the Mandarin translation cluster than to the Taiwanese source region). Importantly, I emphasize that Figure 10 does not establish causality; rather, it provides a convergent, distributional visualization that aligns with the SLI stratification and the lexical-diversity diagnostics, thereby reinforcing—without overextending—the conclusion that semantic leakage is structured and non-random

in the present dataset. These findings collectively demonstrate that semantic leakage in AI translation of Taiwanese is not random but follows systematic patterns related to specific linguistic features. The most challenging elements for translation are not necessarily the most culturally specific terms (which often have established translation strategies) but rather the structural and pragmatic features that encode subtle dimensions of meaning.

Figure 11 illustrates the proportion of semantic leakage attributable to different sources based on my comparative analysis. Approximately 42% of observed semantic leakage instances persist even in professional human translations, suggesting inherent linguistic challenges. The remaining 58% can be attributed to technical factors: 33% to general model limitations and 25% to insufficient training data for the Taiwanese language.

Figure 11
Proportions of Semantic Leakage Attributable to Different Sources Based on the Comparative Analysis



Note. Dataset D3 (Human Translation Baseline, $N = 300$)

Qualitative Analysis of High-Leakage Cases

I used k-means clustering to identify patterns in sentence-level SLI scores and examined the semantic characteristics of high-, medium-, and low-leakage groups. Using silhouette analysis, the optimal number of clusters was determined to be three, yielding a silhouette score of 0.61—indicating a reasonably well-defined clustering structure. These data-driven groupings were then qualitatively interpreted and cross-validated against human-coded leakage categories derived from manual content analysis.

A select number of case analyses of sentences exhibiting significant or severe leakage revealed several recurring patterns of semantic distortion:

Structural Differences

Structural differences between Taiwanese and Mandarin resulted in the highest average semantic leakage. Consider this example:

- Original: 散無散種，富無富長。
- Mandarin: 散去不散去種子，富有不富有長久。
- Back-translation: 離開不離開籽，有錢不有錢持久。
- SLI: 0.5000

This Taiwanese proverb uses a concise, parallel structure that becomes verbose and loses its rhythmic quality in translation. The back-translation further distorts meaning by interpreting *san* 散 (scatter) as *likai* 離開 (leave) and *zhong* 種 (seed) as *zi* 籽 (kernel), demonstrating how structural compression in Taiwanese resists equivalent expression in Mandarin.

Phonological Pattern Loss

Taiwanese employs phonological patterns like reduplication that carry semantic and pragmatic functions often lost in translation:

- Original: 捷拍若拍拍，捷罵若唱曲。
- Mandarin: 常常打若打打，常常罵若唱曲。
- Back-translation: 時常敲打若敲打敲打，時常責備若唱曲。
- SLI: 0.5000

The reduplication in *paipai* 拍拍 (pat-pat) carries diminutive or affectionate connotations in Taiwanese that are lost when translated literally. The back-translation further distorts this by interpreting *pai* 拍 as *qiaoda* 敲打 (knock/beat), changing both the action's intensity and connotation.

Idiom and Proverb Changes

Idiomatic expressions showed significant semantic leakage when their figurative meanings were translated literally:

- Original: 生理好無？
- Mandarin: 生育理好沒有？
- Back-translation: 生產理良好沒有？
- SLI: 0.6000

Here, *shengli* 生理 in Taiwanese means “business,” but the AI interpreted it as *shengyu* 生育 (reproduction) in Mandarin, completely changing the meaning from “How’s business?” to a nonsensical question about reproduction. This example illustrates how AI systems struggle with polysemy and context-dependent meanings in low-resource languages.

Cultural Term Loss

Culturally specific terms in Taiwanese often lack direct equivalents in Mandarin:

- Original: 查埔囝得田園，查某囝得嫁妝。
- Mandarin: 男人孩子得田園，女人孩子得嫁妝。

- Back-translation: 翁婿細漢的得田園，查某人細漢的得嫁妝。
- SLI: 0.3571

The terms 查埔囡 (male child) and 查某囡 (female child) are culturally specific Taiwanese kinship terms. While the Mandarin translation captures the basic meaning with 男人孩子 and 女人孩子, the back-translation introduces inconsistency by using 翁婿細漢的 for males but preserving 查某人 for females, demonstrating the AI's inconsistent handling of cultural terms.

Patterns of Semantic Leakage

My analysis identified several recurring patterns in how meaning leaks during AI translation:

1. Specificity Reduction: Taiwanese terms with precise meanings are often translated into more general Mandarin terms, losing semantic precision.
2. Pragmatic Particle Omission: Taiwanese discourse particles that modify tone or stance (e.g., 啦, 喔, 咧) are frequently omitted or mistranslated, flattening the pragmatic dimension.
3. Register Neutralization: Distinctions between formal, informal, or dialectal registers in Taiwanese are often neutralized in Mandarin translations.
4. Conceptual Recategorization: Concepts categorized one way in Taiwanese are recategorized differently in Mandarin, shifting their semantic boundaries.
5. Cultural Reference Obscuration: Cultural references clear to Taiwanese speakers become obscured or lost entirely in translation.

These patterns reveal that semantic leakage is not random but follows systematic patterns tied to linguistic and cultural differences between Taiwanese and Mandarin. The identification of these systematic patterns represents a significant contribution to our understanding of translation challenges for low-resource languages.

Discussion

Theoretical Implications for Translation Studies

My findings on semantic leakage in Taiwanese–Mandarin AI translation advance translation theory in three ways. First, they empirically challenge Catford’s (1965) binary translatability/untranslatability by showing partial preservation, selective leakage, and graded loss at scale, supporting a spectrum view consistent with Pym’s (2023) “spectrum of resistance.” Second, they extend Venuti’s (2017) foreignization/domestication beyond lexical-cultural “foreignness” by demonstrating that structural and pragmatic features—modal particles, aspect markers, reduplication, and other phonological patterns—often resist domestication because they encode meaning in ways that do not map cleanly cross-linguistically. Third, the concept of semantic leakage and its continuous quantification provides a bridge between DTS and computational linguistics, moving beyond categorical “right/wrong” judgments toward feature-linked, gradient accounts of how meaning is preserved or lost, and refining rather than refuting traditional frameworks by showing that, for this language pair, structural–pragmatic constraints can be more predictive of difficulty than isolated cultural lexemes.

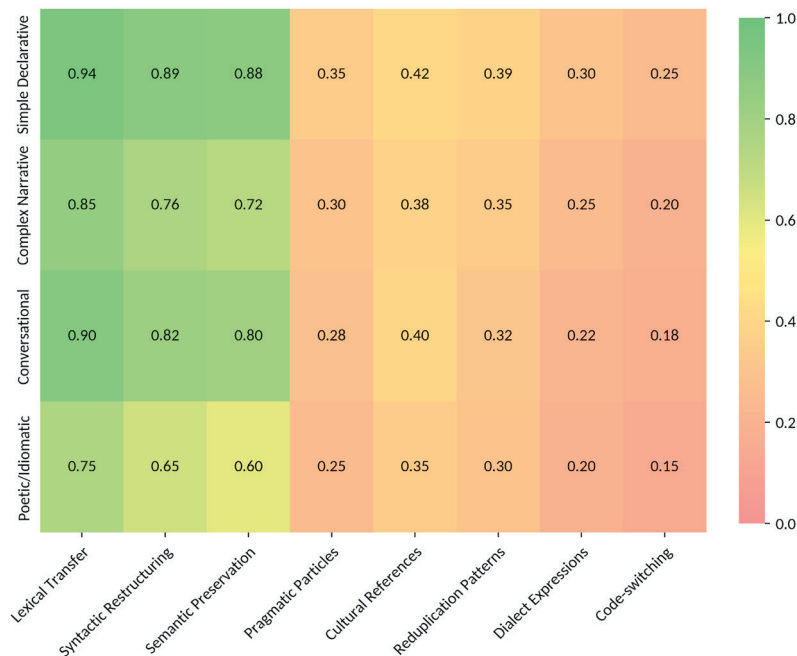
Methodologically and interpretively, the benchmarks clarify both model behavior and tool constraints. GPT-4o’s strong fluency (4.2/5) but lower adequacy (3.8/5) is consistent with leakage occurring beneath surface grammaticality, and its weakness in cultural references and grammatical particles aligns with the most vulnerable features identified; yet some leakage is also attributable to measurement/tool limitations, as Jieba achieves 87.3% accuracy on Taiwanese (vs. 94.2% for Mandarin), plausibly affecting compounds and reduplication, and GPT-4o’s general-purpose performance (BLEU 31.2) remains below specialized systems. Embedding-method comparisons further motivate more structure-sensitive semantic

representations for cross-lingual similarity, and the human–AI contrast for pragmatically loaded expressions (Table 9) underscores the need for explicit modeling of pragmatic and affective dimensions (e.g., diminutives, politeness markers, stance particles). Crucially, the framework also disentangles leakage sources: 42% of leakage persists even in professional human translations (supporting inherent untranslatability, especially for modal particles and reduplication), whereas 58% appears technically remediable, indicating that present outcomes are partly a snapshot of current capabilities rather than fixed linguistic limits.

Finally, the results yield concrete theoretical-practical priorities for reducing leakage in low-resource translation. The error typology shows that linguistic phenomena and technical limitations interact rather than derive from a single cause, suggesting parallel agendas: expanding Taiwanese–Mandarin parallel data to address training-data gaps and pursuing deeper research on cross-linguistic pragmatic transfer for structural–pragmatic features that remain difficult even with more data. Comparative benchmarking indicates both persistent human–machine gaps (human SLI = 0.07) and complementary strengths across paradigms, implying that hybrid systems integrating explicit linguistic knowledge (rule-based) with neural learning may be most promising for low-resource settings, especially for cultural references and fixed expressions versus complex syntax. Subcategory patterns highlight especially severe leakage for interrogative particles (consistent with the complexity of interrogative pragmatics) (Li, 2021) and AABB reduplication, and the broader “translationese” signature—entropy reduction and embedding-cluster compression—suggests a systematic normalization tendency that disproportionately erodes pragmatic force, affect, and structural complexity; this is consistent with observed capability ceilings (e.g., pragmatic particles preserved in 34.6%, cultural references in 42.3%, reduplication in 38.7%, dialect-specific expressions in 29.5%, and elevated leakage under code-switching contexts with average SLI = 0.37).

Figure 12 presents a capability matrix for LLMs in Taiwanese-Mandarin translation, showing performance levels across different linguistic dimensions and text types. It presents a capability matrix for LLMs in Taiwanese-Mandarin translation, displaying performance scores (0-1) across eight linguistic dimensions (lexical transfer to code-switching) and four text types (simple declarative to poetic/dramatic), revealing that while LLMs excel at basic lexical and syntactic transfer (0.75-0.94), they struggle significantly with dialect-specific expressions and code-switching (0.15-0.30), with performance degrading consistently as text complexity increases.

Figure 12
Cross-Register Profile of Semantic-Leakage Phenomena Across Feature Types



Note. Dataset D2 ($N = 2,000$). This heatmap displays performances scores (0-1) across eight linguistic dimensions (horizontal axis) and four text types (vertical axis). Higher scores (green) indicate better performance, while lower scores (red) represent areas of difficulty.

The capability analysis highlights specific areas where targeted improvements could significantly enhance LLM performance on low-resource language translation. Particularly promising directions include: (a) explicit modeling of pragmatic particles and their functions, (b) preservation of reduplication patterns and their semantic contributions, and (c) enhanced representation of dialect-specific expressions and cultural references.

Perhaps most significantly, my research challenges the assumption that cultural-specific terms represent the greatest challenge for translation. While cultural terms did show significant semantic leakage, structural and pragmatic features—such as aspect markers, sentence-final particles, and reduplication patterns—exhibited even higher rates of meaning loss. This finding suggests that the theoretical focus on cultural untranslatability may have obscured equally important dimensions of linguistic untranslatability related to grammatical and pragmatic systems. The implication is that translation theory needs to attend more carefully to these structural dimensions of meaning, particularly when considering low-resource languages with grammatical features that differ from dominant languages. Additionally, my findings are likely to contribute to a more granular understanding of untranslatability by demonstrating that, within our operationalized categories and for the specific language pair studied, structural-pragmatic features exhibit higher average SLI values than cultural-specific terms. This suggests that current AI translation systems struggle more with the grammatical and pragmatic dimensions of Taiwanese than with its cultural lexicon, highlighting the need for translation technologies that better preserve these structural-pragmatic features.

Practical Implications for AI Translation Systems

This study introduces the SLI, a reference-free framework that integrates entropy-based stylometry, back-translation divergence, and embedding-distance

diagnostics to capture meaning loss overlooked by standard metrics like BLEU (Papineni et al., 2002). By pinpointing linguistic features systematically correlated with leakage—such as aspect markers and particles—the SLI enables developers to prioritize targeted fixes for low-resource settings. The observed entropy reduction and embedding-space compression suggest that current models tend to homogenize linguistic diversity, necessitating approaches like adversarial constraints or explicit pragmatic modeling to preserve source-language signatures. Ultimately, the results advocate for a triangulated evaluation pipeline that combines scalable computational metrics with qualitative depth to ensure both breadth and interpretive precision in translation system development.

Limitations and Future Directions

Limitations include the focus on a single AI system (ChatGPT-4o) and a single language pair (Taiwanese–Mandarin), a large yet still incomplete corpus (26,046 sentences) that may not fully represent domain/register/dialect diversity, and methodological constraints of back-translation (e.g., undetected losses when errors occur symmetrically in both directions), suggesting extensions to other models/language pairs, broader and more diverse corpora, longitudinal tracking, and complementary no-reference evaluation designs (e.g., bilingual direct assessment or task-based functional evaluation). Future work should move beyond diagnosis to mitigation—testing interventions such as Taiwanese-specific training data, architectural modifications, and post-processing to protect vulnerable meaning—and should also examine ethical, cultural, and political implications of semantic leakage for minority-language representation and revitalization in digital spaces. Despite these caveats, the study contributes a replicable framework for quantifying and categorizing untranslatability via the SLI, offering a foundation

for more equitable AI translation and for cross-language adaptation to other morpho-syntactically complex low-resource languages (e.g., Hakka, Ainu, Zhuang, and indigenous languages) where structural–pragmatic features similarly challenge AI fidelity.

Conclusion

This study introduces and validates semantic leakage as a framework for diagnosing and quantifying meaning loss in AI translations, demonstrated on the Taiwanese–Mandarin pair. Using a mixed-methods design—qualitative content analysis plus computational metrics—it reveals systematic, predictable patterns of untranslatability tied to linguistic correlates rather than chance. Contrary to common assumptions, the hardest material is not culture-bound lexis but structural and pragmatic features: Sentence-final particles, aspect markers, reduplication patterns, and phonological cues show the highest leakage. The proposed SLI—integrating entropy reduction, back-translation divergence, and embedding-distance analysis—yields a multi-dimensional, reference-free quality measure ideal for low-resource settings. Theoretically, findings recast untranslatability as a spectrum, urging greater attention to structural/pragmatic meaning, especially in languages whose grammars diverge from dominant tongues. Practically, they underscore the need for models that preserve, rather than normalize, the distinctive features of low-resource languages, since current systems homogenize toward high-resource norms. As AI mediates more cross-cultural exchange, mapping and measuring semantic leakage offers both a research template and a path toward more accurate, equitable, and culturally sensitive translation technologies.

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Appendix A

Translation Prompt

You are a professional translator with expertise in Taiwanese (Tâi-gí) and Mandarin Chinese.

Task: Translate the following Taiwanese text into natural, fluent Mandarin Chinese.

Important guidelines:

- Maintain the original meaning as closely as possible
- Preserve cultural nuances where appropriate
- Use standard Mandarin Chinese orthography
- Maintain the original text's tone and register

Taiwanese text to translate:

[INPUT_TEXT]

Appendix B

Back-Translation Prompt

You are a professional translator with expertise in Taiwanese (Tâi-gí) and Mandarin Chinese.

Task: Translate the following Mandarin Chinese text into natural, fluent Taiwanese (Tâi-gí).

Important guidelines:

- Maintain the original meaning as closely as possible
- Use Taiwanese orthography with Han characters where appropriate
- Preserve the tone and register of the original text
- When multiple translations are possible, choose the most natural Taiwanese expression

Mandarin text to translate:

[INPUT_TEXT]

國家教育研究院編譯論叢徵稿辦法

100 年 1 月 17 日第 1 次編輯委員會議修正
 100 年 5 月 9 日第 1 次諮詢委員與編輯委員聯席會議修正
 101 年 7 月 3 日第 1 次諮詢委員與編輯委員聯席會議修正
 103 年 6 月 13 日諮詢委員與編輯委員聯席會議修正
 104 年 5 月 18 日諮詢委員與編輯委員聯席會議修正
 105 年 5 月 26 日諮詢委員與編輯委員聯席會議修正
 107 年 5 月 18 日諮詢委員與編輯委員聯席會議修正
 108 年 5 月 22 日諮詢委員與編輯委員聯席會議修正
 109 年 7 月 3 日 109 年第 2 次編輯會修正
 110 年 6 月 24 日 110 年第 1 次編輯會修正
 111 年 6 月 2 日諮詢委員與編輯委員聯席會議修正
 111 年 12 月 2 日 111 年第 2 次編輯會修正
 112 年 11 月 30 日 112 年第 2 次編輯會修正
 113 年 6 月 4 日諮詢委員與編輯委員聯席會議修正
 115 年 6 月 22 日諮詢委員與編輯委員聯席會議修正

一、本刊為一結合理論與實務之學術性半年刊，以促進國內編譯研究之發展為宗旨，於每年三月、九月中旬出刊，隨到隨審，歡迎各界賜稿。

二、本刊接受中文及英文稿件，主要收稿範圍如下：

稿件類別	文章性質	主題	建議字數 ^(註1)
研究論文	具原創性或發展性之學術論文，目的、方法、結論明確具體	編譯研究、編譯理論、翻譯培訓、翻譯產業、翻譯與文化及其他與編譯相關之語文教育政策研究	中文以不超過20,000字、英文以不超過12,000字為原則
評論	以既有研究之評介及分析比較為主，有助於實務推廣或學術研究，例如：編譯及其相關之語文教育政策評論、翻譯教學心得、審稿或編輯之經驗交流、翻譯流派之介紹、編譯產業之發展、專有名詞譯名討論等		3,000—5,000字

書評 ^(註2)	評論、引介	三年內出版之翻譯學領域重要著作	3,000—5,000字
譯評	翻譯評論	各專業領域之譯著	3,000—5,000字
特殊稿件	如：譯註、人物專訪、論壇 ^(註3) 等	以上相關主題	中文以不超過20,000字、英文以不超過12,000字為原則

註1：本刊編輯會得依需要調整建議字數，中文篇名最多30字，英文篇名最多12字為原則；請作者提供欄外標題（Running head），中文20字／英文50字元內。

註2：本類型文章僅由編輯會邀稿。

註3：論壇文章僅由編輯會提供。

三、來稿請用中文正體字，所引用之外國人名、地名、書名等，請用中文譯名，並於第一次出現時附上原文，學術名詞譯成中文時，請參據本院樂詞網（<https://terms.naer.edu.tw/>），稿件如有插圖或特別符號，敬請繪製清晰，或附上數位檔案；如有彩色圖片或照片，請盡量附上高解析度的數位檔案。

四、來稿以未在其他刊物發表過之內容為限，其內容物若涉及第三者之著作權（如圖、表及長引文等），作者應依著作權法相關規定向原著作權人取得授權。

五、來稿須遵守本刊出版倫理，凡有違反學術倫理情事或一稿多投者，將予以退稿，一年內不再接受投稿。

六、本刊禁止AI作為共同作者，來稿如使用生成式人工智慧技術協作，作者應在其稿件中的「論文研究方法」或「獨立章節人工智慧相關揭露事項」（Artificial Intelligence Disclosure Statement）中揭露生成式人工智慧技術的使用範圍與方式，或依照APA格式引用（請參閱本刊撰稿格式說明）。

七、來稿須遵守國家科學及技術委員會對研究人員學術倫理規範，不得有不當列名之情事，稿件獲得接受刊登前若須變更作者，應填寫「作者變更申請表」並經本刊編輯會同意後始得變更，稿件於獲得接受刊登後不得變更作者。

八、來稿請以 *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* 最新版格式撰寫，未符格式稿件將逕退請調整格式。同時務請自留底稿資料一份。符合本刊主題之稿件須送請相關領域學者專家匿名審查（double-blind review），再經本刊編輯會決定通過後，始得刊登，本刊編輯會對稿件有刪改權，如作者不願刪改內容，請事先聲明。

九、來稿請備齊：

- （一）作者通訊資料表一份；（請至本刊網站 <https://naeraj.naer.edu.tw/wSite/CTR> 下載）
- （二）著作利用授權書一份；（請至本刊網站 <https://naeraj.naer.edu.tw/wSite/CTR> 下載）
- （三）稿件撰寫過程中使用 AI 協作以及使用範圍聲明一份；（請至本刊網站 <https://naeraj.naer.edu.tw/wSite/CTR> 下載）
- （四）稿件之全文電子檔案及相關圖表照片，請依稿件性質備妥資料：
 1. 「研究論文」稿件，含：
 - （1）首頁：
 - a. 篇名（中、英文）；
 - b. 作者姓名（中、英文）；
 - c. 其他：可提供該著作之相關說明。
 - （2）中文及英文摘要（中文 500 字、英文 300 字為上限）；中文及英文關鍵詞。
 - （3）正文。
 - （4）參考書目及附錄。
 2. 「評論」稿件，含：
 - （1）首頁：
 - a. 篇名（中、英文）；
 - b. 作者姓名（中、英文）；
 - c. 其他：可提供該著作之相關說明。

(2) 正文。

(3) 參考書目及附錄。

3. 「譯評」稿件，含：

(1) 首頁：

- a. 篇名（中、英文）；
- b. 作者姓名（中、英文）；
- c. 譯評之書名、原書名；
- d. 譯者、原作者（編者）；
- e. 書籍出版資料（含出版地、出版社與出版日期）；
- f. 總頁數；
- g. ISBN；
- h. 售價；
- i. 其他：可提供該著作之相關說明。

(2) 正文。

(3) 參考書目及附錄。

4. 「特殊稿件」，含：

(1) 首頁：

- a. 篇名（中、英文）；
- b. 作者姓名（中、英文）；
- c. 其他：可提供該著作之相關說明。

(2) 正文。

(3) 參考書目及附錄。

十、來稿請寄：

國家教育研究院編譯論叢編輯會

地址：106011 臺北市大安區和平東路一段 179 號

電話：02-7740-7803

傳真：02-7740-7849

E-mail：ctr@mail.naer.edu.tw

十一、歡迎自本刊網站（<https://naeraj.naer.edu.tw/wSite/CTR>）下載相關資料。

《編譯論叢》撰稿格式說明

本刊撰稿格式除依照一般學術文章撰寫注意事項和格式外，內文、註腳和參考文獻一律採用 APA 格式第七版手冊（*Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*, 7th edition, 2020），其他西洋語文引用或參考文獻比照英文格式。

一、摘要

中文摘要字數以 500 字為限，英文摘要則以 300 字為限。關鍵詞皆為三一五組、中英關鍵詞互相對應。

二、正文文字

（一）中文使用 Word「新細明體」12 號字體，英文則使用 Times New Roman 12 號字體。中文之括號、引號等標點符號須以全形呈現，英文則以半形的格式為之，如下：

	中文稿件	英文稿件
括號	（ ）	()
引號	「 」	“ ”
刪節號	……	...
破折號	——	—

中文稿件範例：

……老人打算以租賃的方式，於是說：「我亦不欲買此童子，請定每年十圓之契約，賃我可耳……（頁 40），……

英文稿件範例：

... This subtle shift is evident in the broadening scope of reference of the word “we”: In the sentence that begins “In China, we bribe . . .,” the pronoun “we” plainly refers only to Chinese people.

(二) 字詞的使用一律依據「教育部頒布之《國字標準字體》」之規定為之。如公「布」(非「佈」)、「教」師(非「老」師, 除非冠上姓氏)、「占」20%(非「佔」)、「了」解(非「瞭」解)以及「臺」灣(非「台」灣)。

(三) 正文文字出現數目時, 十以下使用國字(一、二、三、……十), 英文使用文字(one, two, three, . . . ten), 數目超過十(ten)則使用阿拉伯數字, 特殊情形則視情況處理。圖、表的編號都使用阿拉伯數字。如以下範例：

……有效問卷 16 份(全班 20 位同學)。表 7、8、9 乃是該三個領域之意見統計。……毫無疑問的是多數學生(87.5%)皆同意翻譯語料庫可提供一個反思及認知學習的平臺。……

(四) 英文稿件中出現中文時, 原則如下: 字、詞需以先漢語拼音(需斜體)後中文呈現, 必要時再以括弧解釋; 句子或段落則視情況處理。

三、文中段落標號格式

壹、(置中, 不用空位元, 粗體, 前後行距一行)

一、(置左, 不用空位元, 前後行距為 0.5 行)

(一)(置左, 不用空位元)

1. （置左，不用空位元）
- (1) （置左，不用空位元）

四、文中使用之表、圖

表、圖之標號及標題須置於上方且靠左對齊。表、圖與正文前後各空一行，如為引用須於下方註明如參考文獻般詳細的資料來源（含篇名、作者、年代、書名、頁碼等）。表格若跨頁須在跨頁前註明「續下頁」，跨頁表標題需再註明「表標題（續）」。中英文表、圖之格式如下：

	表	圖
中文稿件	• 表標號及標題之中文文字使用標楷體 10 號字、粗體；表標題另起一行。 • 表標號及標題之英文文字及數字使用 Calibri、粗體。 • 表內中文文字使用標楷體；表內英文文字及數字用 Calibri。	• 圖標號及標題之中文文字使用標楷體 11 號字、粗體；圖標題另起一行。 • 圖標號及標題之英文文字及數字使用 Calibri、粗體。 • 圖內中文文字用標楷體；圖內英文文字及數字使用 Calibri。
英文稿件	• 表標號用 Calibri 10 號字、粗體；表標題另起一行，Calibri 10 號字且須斜體。 • 表內文字用 Calibri。表下方若有說明文字用 Calibri 10 號字。	• 圖標號用 Calibri 11 號字、粗體；圖標題另起一行，Calibri 11 號字且須斜體。 • 圖內文字用 Calibri。圖下方若有說明文字用 Calibri 10 號字。

中文稿件範例：

表範例

表 1

日治初期出版的臺語教本

編著者	書名	發行或經銷所	發行日期
1 侯野保和	《臺灣語集》或 《臺灣日用土語集》	民友社	1895年7月18日
2 岩永六一	《臺灣言語集》	中村鍾美堂	1895年8月29日

（續下頁）

表 1

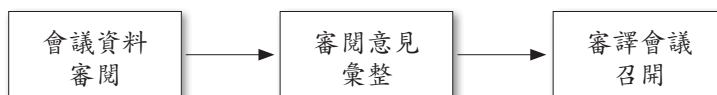
日治初期出版的臺語教本（續）

編著者	書名	發行或經銷所	發行日期
3 坂井釵五郎	《臺灣會話編》	嵩山房	1895年9月15日
4 加藤由太郎	《大日本新領地臺灣語學案內》	東洋堂書店	1895年9月22日
5 田內八百久萬	《臺灣語》	太田組事務所	1895年12月5日
6 佐野直記	《臺灣土語》	中西虎彦	1895年12月28日
7 水上梅彦	《日臺會話大全》	民友社	1896年2月17日
8 木原千楯	《獨習自在臺灣語全集》	松村九兵衛	1896年3月2日
9 辻清藏、三矢重松	《臺灣會話篇》	明法堂	1896年3月15日
10 御幡雅文	《警務必攜臺灣散語集》	總督府民政局 警保課	1896年3月下旬

圖範例

圖 2

學術名詞審譯委員會加開之作法



英文稿件範例：

表範例

Table 4

Summary of the Participants' Listening Difficulties

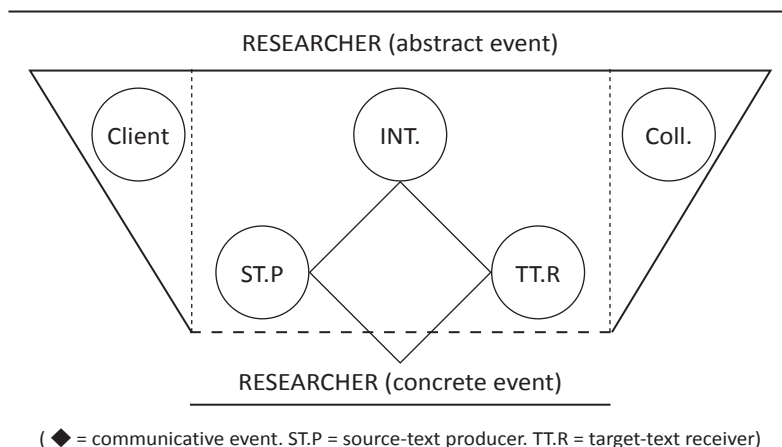
Statements	Yes (%)	No (%)
(1) I feel very nervous.	42.86	57.14
(2) I am not familiar with grammar.	54.29	45.71
(3) I have insufficient vocabulary.	97.14	2.86

(continued)

Table 4*Summary of the Participants' Listening Difficulties (continued)*

Statements	Yes (%)	No (%)
(4) I cannot make a distinction between words.	14.29	85.71
(5) I cannot recognize the stress of words.	31.43	68.57
(6) I can make a distinction between words, but fail to chunk them meaningfully.	60.00	40.00
(7) I am familiar with the words, but fail to recall them.	94.29	5.71
(8) I have difficulty concentrating.	35.71	64.29
(9) I have difficulty concentrating at first, so I miss the first listening section.	51.43	48.57
(10) I concentrate too much on the first listening section, so I miss the listening later.	55.71	44.29
(11) I cannot understand the first section, so I miss the listening later.	41.43	58.57
(12) I cannot keep in mind what I have just heard.	30.00	70.00
(13) I feel that the listening text is too long.	74.29	25.71
(14) I feel that the listening text has no sufficient pause.	72.86	27.14
(15) I feel that the listening text is too short to develop main ideas.	28.57	71.43
(16) I am not familiar with the listening subject.	78.57	21.43
(17) I am not interested in the listening subject.	45.71	54.29
(18) I fail to keep up with the speech rate.	70.00	30.00
(19) I am not used to the speaker's enunciation.	62.86	37.14
(20) I am not used to the speaker's intonation.	30.00	70.00
(21) I am not used to the speaker's accent.	62.86	
(22) I have no chance to listen again.	42.86	57.14
(23) I count on listening only, without any visual aids.	41.43	58.57
(24) I have limited exposure to English listening.	68.57	31.43

圖範例

Figure 11*Perspectives on Quality Assessment in Interpretation*

Note. From "Quality Assessment in Conference and Community Interpreting," by F. Pöchhacker, 2001, *Meta*, 46(2), p. 412 (<https://doi.org/10.7202/003847ar>).

五、文中引用其他說明

佐證或直接引用超過中文 65 字、英文 40 字時，均須將引文內縮六個位元，中文以「標楷體」11 號字體呈現。中文年代後用逗號「，」，以「頁」帶出頁碼；英文年分後用逗點「.」，以「p.」帶出頁碼。年分一律統一以西元呈現。

中文稿件範例：

……《紅樓夢大辭典》詞條：

抱廈廳：在房屋正面或背面接出有獨立屋頂的建築稱抱廈。廳是指用於居住以外的接待、集會或是其他公共活動的房屋。抱廈廳即為用作廳房的抱廈。（馮其庸、李希凡，1990，頁 190）

英文稿件範例：

... Vermeer states:

Any form of translational action, including therefore translation itself, may be conceived as an action, as the name implies. Any action has an aim, a purpose. ... The word *skopos*, then, is a technical term to represent the aim or purpose of a translation. (Nord, 1997, p. 12)

六、附註

需於標點之後，並以上標為之；附註之說明請於同一頁下方區隔線下說明，說明文字第二行起應和第一行的文字對齊。簡而言之，附註應以「當頁註」之方式呈現，亦即 Word 中「插入註腳」之功能。註腳第二行以下文字須縮排，註腳所使用之中文字體為標楷體。

七、正文引註

（一）正文引註之作者為一個人時，格式為：

	作者（年代）或（作者，年代）
中文	範例
	謝天振（2002）或（謝天振，2002）
	Author (Year) 或 (Author, Year)
英文	範例
	Chern (2002) 或 (Chern, 2002)

（二）正文引註之作者為兩個人時，作者的姓名（中文）或姓氏（英文）於文中以「與」（中文）和「and」（英文）連接，括弧中則以「、」（中文）和「&」（英文）連接：

作者一與作者二（年代）或（作者一、作者二，年代）

範例一

中文 莫言與王堯（2003）或（莫言、王堯，2003）

範例二（中文論文引用英文文獻）

Wassertein 與 Rosen（1994）或（Wassertein & Rosen, 1994）

Author 1 and Author 2 (Year) 或 (Author 1 & Author 2, Year)

英文 範例

Hayati and Jalilifar (2009) 或 (Hayati & Jalilifar, 2009)

（三）正文引註之作者為三人以上時，寫出第一位作者並加「等」（中文）和「et al.」（英文）即可。

作者一等（年代）或（作者一等，年代）

中文 範例

謝文全等（1985）或（謝文全等，1985）

Author 1 et al. (Year) 或 (Author 1 et al., Year)

英文 範例

Piolat et al. (2005) 或 (Piolat et al., 2005)

（四）括弧內同時包含多筆文獻時，依筆畫（中文）／姓氏字母（英文）及年代優先順序排列，不同作者間以分號分開，相同作者不同年代之文獻則以逗號分開。

中文 （吳清山、林天祐，1994，1995a，1995b；劉春榮，1995）

英文 (Pautler, 1992; Razik & Swanson, 1993a, 1993b)

(五) 部分引用文獻時，要逐一標明特定出處，若引用原文獻語句40字以內，所引用文字需加雙引號（「」或“”）並加註頁碼。

中文	1. (陳明終，1994，第八章) 2. 「……」(徐鑄成，2009，頁302)
英文	1. (Shujaa, 1992, Chapter 8) 2. “...” (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 54)

(六) 正文引註翻譯書，年代請列明：原著出版年／譯本出版年。

八、參考文獻

「參考文獻」之括號，中文以全形（）、英文以半形()為之：第二行起縮排四個半形位元。此外，中文文獻應與外文文獻分開，中文文獻在前，外文文獻在後。不同類型文獻之所求格式如下：

(一) 期刊類格式包括作者、出版年、文章名稱、期刊名稱、卷期數、起迄頁碼、DOI 或 URL（非紙本資料）等均須齊全。中文文章名稱加〈〉，中文期刊名稱加《》；英文期刊名稱及卷號為斜體。僅有期數者則僅列明期數，無須加括號，並自第二行起空四個字元。亦即：

中文期刊格式：

作者一、作者二、作者三(年)。〈文章名稱〉。《期刊名稱》，卷別(期別)，頁碼。DOI 或 URL

範例

林慶隆、劉欣宜、吳培若、丁彥平(2011)。〈臺灣翻譯發展相關議題之探討〉。《編譯論叢》，4(2)，181–200。https://doi.org/10.29912/CTR.201109.0007

英文期刊格式：

Author, A. A., Author, B. B., & Author, C. C. (Year). Title of article. *Title of Periodical*, xx(xx), xx-xx. DOI or URL

範例

Aspy, D. J., & Proeve, M. (2017). Mindfulness and loving-kindness meditation: Effects on connectedness to humanity and to the natural world. *Psychological Reports*, 120(1), 102-117. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0033294116685867>

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宋新娟（2005）。《書籍裝幀設計》（第二版）。武漢大學。

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Jauss, H. R. (1982). *Toward an aesthetic of reception*. University of Minnesota Press.

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單德興（2019）。〈冷戰時代的美國文學中譯：今日世界出版社之文學翻譯與文化政治〉。載於賴慈芸（主編），《臺灣翻譯史：殖民、國族與認同》（頁 467-514）。聯經。

英文書籍篇章格式：

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範例

Weinstock, R., Leong, G. B., & Silva, J. A. (2003). Defining forensic psychiatry: Roles and responsibilities. In R. Rosner (Ed.), *Principles and practice of forensic psychiatry* (2nd ed., pp. 7-13). CRC Press.

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範例

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（原著出版年：1984）

英文翻譯書格式：

Author, A. A. (Year). *Book title* (B. Author, Trans.; x ed.). Publisher. (Original work published year)

範例

Piaget, J., & Inhelder, B. (1969). *The psychology of the child* (H. Weaver, Trans.; 2nd ed.). Basic Books. (Original work published 1966)

- (五) 國內、外會議之研討會發表／論文發表皆須列出作者、會議舉辦日期、發表題目／文章篇名、發表類型、會議名稱及會議地點、DOI 或 URL（網路資料需列）等，且中文發表題目／文章篇名加〈〉、英文發表題目／文章篇名為斜體，自第二行起空四個位元。

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Author, A. A., & Author, B. B. (Date). *Title of contribution* [Type of contribution].
Conference Name, Location. DOI or URL

範例

Fistek, A., Jester, E., & Sonnenberg, K. (2017, July 12-15). *Everybody's got a little music in them: Using music therapy to connect, engage, and motivate*

[Conference session]. Autism Society National Conference, Milwaukee, WI, United States. <https://asa.confex.com/asa/2017/webprogramarchives/Session9517.html>

- (六) 網路訊息格式包括作者、發表日期（若有顯示）、訊息標題、網站名稱、URL 等均須齊全，且中文訊息標題前後加〈〉、英文訊息標題為斜體。第二行起空四個位元。（會持續更新且無保存變更紀錄的網頁／網站訊息才須註明擷取日期）

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英文網路訊息格式：

Author, A. A. (Date). *Title of work*. Site Name. URL

範例

Peterson, S. M. (2017, October 27). *Why aromatherapy is showing up in hospital surgical units*. Mayo Clinic. <https://www.mayoclinic.org/healthy-lifestyle/stress-management/in-depth/why-aromatherapy-is-showing-up-in-hospital-surgical-units/art-20342126>

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英文生成式人工智慧訊息格式：

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範例

白立平（2004）。《詩學、意識形態及贊助人與翻譯：梁實秋翻譯研究》（博士論文）。香港中文大學。

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範例

Wilfley, D. E. (1989). *Interpersonal analyses of bulimia: Normal weight and obese*
[Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of Missouri.

2. 已出版學位論文：

Author, A. A. (Year). *Title of dissertation or thesis* [Doctoral dissertation or
Master's thesis, Name of Institution]. Database or Archive Name. URL

範例

Lui, T. T. F. (2013). *Experiences in the bubble: Assimilation and acculturative
stress of Chinese heritage students in Silicon Valley* [Master's thesis, Stanford
University]. Graduate School of Education International Comparative
Education Master's Monographs Digital Collection. [https://searchworks.
stanford.edu/view/10325276](https://searchworks.stanford.edu/view/10325276)

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中文參考文獻英譯範例：

潘少瑜（2011）。〈想像西方：論周瘦鵑的「偽翻譯」小說〉。《編譯論叢》，4（2），1-23。 <https://doi.org/10.29912/CTR.201109.0001>

【Pan, S. Y. (2011). Imagining the West: Zhou Shoujuan's pseudotranslations. *Compilation and Translation Review*, 4(2), 1-23. <https://doi.org/10.29912/CTR.201109.0001>】

劉仲康（2011）。〈趕流行的流行性感冒〉。載於羅時成（主編），《流感病毒，變變變》（頁 20-29）。臺灣商務印書館。

【Liu, C. K. (2011). Ganliuxing de liuxingxing ganmao. In S. C. Lo (Ed.), *Liugan bingdu, bianbian bian* (pp. 20-29). Commercial Press.】

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【Liu, K. Y. (2019, September 27). *Jingdian Eguo wenxue zuopin fanyi zhong yizhu zhi tantao: Yi Dixiashi Shouji zhi zhongyiben wei li* [Paper presentation]. 2019 Taiwan International Conference on Translation and Interpreting, Taipei, Taiwan.】

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【Pan, N. H. (2020, June 10). *Mingzi meiyou gui ye zhide qu! Jiaobu guli deng Guishandao renshi haiyang*. United Daily News. https://udn.com/news/story/6885/4625731?from=udn-catebreaknews_ch2】

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