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嬌怯柔弱或不讓鬚眉？ ——中華書局《福爾摩斯偵探案全集》中的 女性形象

林怡婷

英國作家柯南道爾 (Arthur Conan Doyle) 以福爾摩斯 (Sherlock Holmes) 為主角，於 1886 至 1927 年間創作了五十六篇短篇故事及四篇長篇小說。此系列偵探小說譯介進入中國後亦大受讀者歡迎，中華書局於 1916 年出版《福爾摩斯偵探案全集》，出版時間早、收羅亦廣，全書由十位譯者合譯而成，其中除了劉半農屬於改革派文人外，其餘皆可歸類為鴛鴦蝴蝶派的作家。在福爾摩斯系列作品中，除了擔任配角的房東太太及女僕外，委託福爾摩斯辦案的客戶中，亦不乏外貌、性格立體鮮明的女性；行凶或策劃不法情事的反派中也有女子的身影。而在清末民初的譯作中，常可看到中國傳統文化及價值觀的影子，尤其女性形象時常因此有所轉變，以和原本大不相同的面貌出現在中文讀者面前。本文挑選七篇福爾摩斯系列的長短篇小說，現身其中的女性角色包括案件委託人、目擊者、甚至是凶手，本文旨在檢視當時譯者面對女性角色外貌神態、行為舉止的描寫時，是否受到傳統女性形象或審美觀的影響，這些傳統文化的因素又會如何影響其譯作。

關鍵詞：福爾摩斯、中華書局、女性形象、傳統中國價值與刻板印象

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Docile or Determined?—Female Images in the Zhonghua Book Company's Sherlock Holmes Stories

Yi-ting Lin

British author Arthur Conan Doyle created a total of fifty-six short stories and four novels, featuring the detective Sherlock Holmes, during the period 1886-1927. After being translated into Chinese at the turn of the 20th century, during the late Qing and early Republic period, Doyle's detective stories became very popular with Chinese readers. In 1916, Zhonghua Book Company published the *Sherlock Holmes Detective Series*; it was one of the earliest collections of translated Sherlock Holmes stories in China. This series was the collaborative effort of ten translators, most of whom were categorized as “*yuan yang bu die pai*” writers except for Liou Ban-Nong, who was mainly thought of as a reformist. In these stories there were quite a few female characters including landladies, maids, clients, and even villains. They tended to either be very beautiful or have strong personalities--or both. But due to the Chinese aesthetic standards and expectations at that time about how a proper woman should behave, the female images conveyed by the translators were quite different from those originally created by the author. This essay looks closely at the heroines in seven Sherlock Holmes stories--who include clients, witnesses, and even murderers--and tries to determine whether the translators were affected by the traditional Chinese values and stereotypes regarding women, and if so then how they were affected.

Keywords: Sherlock Holmes, Zhonghua Book Company, female images, traditional Chinese values and stereotypes

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壹、譯本與譯者

中華書局於 1916 年出版《福爾摩斯偵探案全集》，收錄柯南道爾於 1915 年以前刊出的四十篇福爾摩斯短篇偵探故事與四部長篇小說，譯者共有十人，分別是周瘦鵑、劉半農、陳小蝶（陳定山）、李常覺、嚴獨鶴、程小青、嚴天侔、天虛我生（陳栩）、陳霆銳、漁火。¹ 這套全集附有譯書凡例、作者小傳，更注意到地名與人名音譯的統一，文中也不時加上譯註，可看出出版社態度嚴謹認真，有學者認為這套書建立起翻譯小說編輯、出版的標準，是小說中譯的一個里程碑（孔慧怡，1996）。

本文挑選的七篇故事涵蓋多種女性角色，方便觀察、比較譯者對於各種女性類型的處理策略。本文的討論文本有：〈佛國寶〉² (The Sign of the Four)、〈倩影〉 (A Scandal in Bohemia)、〈弑父案〉 (The Boscombe Valley Mystery)、〈丐者許彭〉 (The Man with the Twisted Lip)、〈偻背眩人〉 (The Adventure of the Crooked Man)、〈室內槍聲〉 (The Adventure of Charles Augustus Milverton)、〈雪窖沉冤〉 (The Adventure of the Golden Pince-Nez)。

〈佛國寶〉是本次討論文本中的唯一一篇長篇小說，也是全集中劉半農所譯的唯一一篇故事。劉半農出生於 1891 年，第一份工作是在劇社擔任編輯，同時開始向報刊投稿，發表小說及譯作，其早年的小說題材廣泛，而譯作則以歐美名著居多。雖然劉半農投稿的報刊如《禮拜六》、《中華小說界》等多刊載鴛鴦蝴蝶派作家的作品，但其小說流露現實主義精神，較具有社會意義，思想風格與其他鴛鴦蝴蝶派作家有所區別（徐瑞岳，1987）。後來劇社解散，劉半農經介紹進入中華書局，1916 年與他人合譯《福爾摩斯偵探案全集》並擔任校閱、為之作跋。

¹ 各篇目之譯者整理於附錄。

² 篇名與角色名之中譯皆採用中華書局的版本。

後來中華書局出現財務困難，劉半農辭去編輯工作，約於同時開始向《新青年》雜誌投稿，推動文學革命。

天虛我生出生於 1879 年，原名陳壽篙，改名陳栩，號蝶仙，天虛我生為其別號之一。陳栩年輕時在杭州作生意，後來和好友共同頂下一家即將倒閉的報社，改名為《大觀報》，由陳栩擔任報社主編，但不久後便因為鼓吹維新而遭禁刊。他曾開辦文具行、石印局、研製牙粉、改良手工造紙，是一位實業家，其中牙粉大獲成功，據說當時中國每四人就有一人使用（張永久，2011）。陳栩二十多歲時出版第一本小說《淚珠緣》，講述家族興衰的故事，此後常以身邊人物事件為素材，著書百餘種。陳定山為陳栩之子，本名陳琪，後改名定山，字小蝶，被稱為「鴛鴦蝴蝶派最後一個傳承人」。陳定山早年與父親一同經營實業，詩文佳，尤其擅長山水花卉繪畫，1949 年移居台灣。李常覺通英文，因此與陳氏父子的合作模式通常是由他口述文句之意，再由陳定山及妹妹小翠記錄，最後經陳栩潤筆定稿。本文有五篇討論文本為陳氏父子與李常覺合譯而成，分別是〈倩影〉、〈弑父案〉、〈丐者許彭〉、〈室內槍聲〉、〈雪窖沉冤〉。

程小青出生於 1893 年，家境貧困，十六歲在鐘錶行當學徒時，常向店裡的師兄借書閱讀，接觸到許多外國的偵探小說，深受吸引。1914 年，《新聞報》副刊進行徵文比賽，程小青以福爾摩斯為靈感來源，創造出一位中國的私家偵探「霍森」，以之為主角寫了一篇偵探小說，獲選刊出後受到讀者好評。但刊登時因校排失誤，原本的霍森印成「霍桑」，此後程小青也就將錯就錯，以霍桑作為之後創作的主角（盧潤祥，1996）。1915 年開始學習英語，隔年應中華書局之邀，參與《福爾摩斯偵探案全集》的翻譯工作。為使偵探故事更有實務根據及說服力，程小青申請美國函授大學，研讀法醫學、犯罪心理學等相關知識，在偵探小說這個文類中深耕，也向大眾推廣其文學與社會價值。〈偻背眩人〉為程小青所譯。

貳、文本分析

首先，本文要討論的第一位女性角色是瑪利爾毛斯頓 (Mary Morstan)，她在〈佛國寶〉以委託人的身分首次登場，此角色的重要之處在於，她後來成為華生醫生的妻子，因此在其他故事中也有短暫露面，藉此可以比較不同譯者對同一角色的處理方式有何異同。

在容貌方面，根據原著的描述，毛斯頓的外貌稱不上非常漂亮，當她第一次來到貝克街福爾摩斯及華生的居所時，作者對她面容的描寫是：“Her face had neither regularity of feature nor beauty of complexion...” (Doyle, 2003, p. 131)，而劉半儂在此的翻譯是「姿色雖僅中人」（劉半儂譯，1916，頁 12），雖稍為簡略，然意義並無太大出入。然而在其他段落中，譯者多次以增譯等方式，將毛斯頓塑造為美貌的女子。例如原著提到毛斯頓為一年輕的金髮女子 “a blonde young lady” (Doyle, 2003, p. 131)，此段的譯文為「其年約當標梅迨吉之候，金黃之髮飄然覆其美額」（劉半儂譯，1916，頁 11），譯者除了將「年輕」顯化譯為「年約當標梅迨吉之候」，強調女子已至適婚年齡，「美額」也是譯者所加。又如福爾摩斯與華生兩人要陪同毛斯頓前往會見神祕的來信人時，作者對她的描述是：“her sensitive face was composed, but pale” (Doyle, 2003, p. 137)，描述毛斯頓小姐雖面對不確定的情況，仍能保持鎮定，而劉半儂的譯文是「姿容雖佳，而面色乃慘白特甚」（劉半儂譯，1916，頁 20），再次強調女主角的姿色容貌。最後，當華生告訴福爾摩斯他即將和毛斯頓小姐結婚時，福爾摩斯對她的評價是：“I think she is one of the most charming young ladies I ever met, and might have been most useful in such work as we have been doing.” (Doyle, 2003, p. 235)，根據上下文，此處的“charming”並非指外表的美麗迷人，而是稱讚她個性讓人喜愛，然此句的譯文是「此女容貌既佳，處事亦頗精細」，仍舊著重外在的描寫。

而性格方面，在原著中，雖然毛斯頓小姐時常面色蒼白，但其實沉

穩勇敢、個性獨立，面對緊張的情勢也不致慌亂，但譯文有時會淡化這類描述，甚至藉由添譯來渲染她淒楚可憐的模樣，與原著的形象呈現較明顯的出入。例如在毛斯頓第一次與福爾摩斯及華生會面時，譯者就加上「顧眉宇間深負戚楚，望而可知為來商榷案情者」（劉半農譯，1916，頁 11）的敘述，此段為原文所無。接著，原文寫道：“her large blue eyes were singularly spiritual and sympathetic” (Doyle, 2003, p. 131)，劉半農則譯作「蔚藍之目，盈盈然如訴其愁苦，尤足令人加以憫惻」（劉半農譯，1916，頁 11），以上兩處皆將毛斯頓小姐塑造成楚楚可憐的柔弱女子。而在三人前往與來信者約定地點的路途上，毛斯頓的神態堅定自持，原文的描述是：“Miss Morstan’s demeanor was as resolute and collected as ever.” (Doyle, 2003, pp. 139-140)，譯文卻作「時女坐車中，驚悸若有所失」（劉半農譯，1916，頁 23），意義與原文完全相反。在同一段落，華生向毛斯頓小姐講述他在阿富汗的經歷，試圖轉移她的注意力、活絡氣氛，但自己反而過於緊張激動，使得說話顛三倒四，華生醫生的窘態在婚後還時常被太太引為笑談，原文的描述如下：

I endeavored to cheer and amuse her by reminiscences of my adventures in Afghanistan; but, to tell the truth, I was myself so excited at our situation and so curious as to our destination that my stories were slightly involved. To this day she declares that I told her one moving anecdote as to how a musket looked into my tent at the dead of night, and how I fired a double-barrelled tiger cub at it. (Doyle, 2003, p. 140)

譯文卻作：

余乃舉往歲在阿富汗斯坦躬歷之冒險故事告之，謂某日深夜，一虎入我帳幄，我急發一雙管之槍斃之，且曲繪其狀，顧女雖諦聽，嘆為異聞，而意殊恍惚不甚屬我。（劉半農譯，1916，頁 23）

在譯文中，華生醫生鎮定、貼心，反而是毛斯頓小姐因緊張而無心聆聽。

在之後的故事中，毛斯頓小姐已是華生太太，然譯者筆下的她同樣容易受到驚嚇。〈丐者許彭〉由陳小蝶、李常覺合譯而成，故事開頭描述華生太太的一位朋友前來求助於她，這位女子入門後就奔進華生夫婦休息的起居室，看到華生太太就大哭起來。原文對華生太太反應的描述是：“‘Why,’ said my wife, pulling up her veil, ‘it is Kate Whitney.’” (Doyle, 2003, p. 351)，而譯文譯作：「吾妻大驚，及揭其面幕，則又失聲呼曰：『凱特威烈耶？』」（陳小蝶、李常覺譯，1916a，頁108）「大驚」與「失聲」誇大了華生太太的驚訝程度。

另一位個性十分突出的女子是〈弑父案〉中的梅麗³湯納 (Alice Turner)，〈弑父案〉的譯者同樣是陳小蝶、李常覺兩人。故事中，梅麗的青梅竹馬極姆斯馬凱得 (James McCarthy) 涉嫌殺害父親，而梅麗是少數相信極姆斯清白的人，因此堅持延請大偵探福爾摩斯前來探查案情。梅麗湯納的聰慧可從許多細節中看出來，例如當她第一次在旅店中與福爾摩斯及華生會面時，當時她還不知道兩人的相貌，卻能依經驗及直覺判斷何者為偵探本人、何者是醫生助手，以下是原文的敘述：

“Oh, Mr. Sherlock Holmes!” she cried, glancing from one to the other of us, and finally, with a woman’s quick intuition, fastening upon my companion, “I am so glad that you have come...” (Doyle, 2003, p. 315)

而此段的譯文是：「既見吾友及吾即流眄略一審視，即問吾友曰：『密斯脫福爾摩斯君來，吾殊喜……』」（陳小蝶、李常覺譯，1916c，頁75）在譯文中，這種聰敏的特質被稍微抹平了。

梅麗湯納的言語和行動皆直來直往，甚至帶有反抗、叛逆的個性，此一特質與中國婦女的傳統美德大相逕庭，譯文中只有少數段落能如實呈現。例如當福爾摩斯表示極姆斯的確可能是無辜的，梅麗湯納立

³ 女主角名為 Alice，翻譯卻是「梅麗」，不確定是版本問題或是有其他原因。

刻回頭瞪了堅持極姆斯有罪的警探一眼，原文的描述是：“‘There, now!’ she cried, throwing back her head and looking defiantly at Lestrade. ‘You hear! He gives me hopes.’” (Doyle, 2003, p. 315)，此處的譯文為「女郎乃迴目以盼萊斯曰：『先生，福君實秦臺之鏡也。』」（陳小蝶、李常覺譯，1916c，頁 76），確能表現梅麗湯納有話直說、無懼權威的個性，但其他部份則常可見到譯者改動的痕跡，比方說，梅麗見到福爾摩斯後便滔滔不絕地說明極姆斯心地有多麼善良、不可能犯下弑父之罪，接著又咄咄逼人地接連以三個問題詢問福爾摩斯的意見：“But you have read the evidence. You have formed some conclusion? Do you not see some loophole, some flaw? Do you not yourself think that he is innocent?” (Doyle, 2003, p. 315)，但在譯文中，譯者只以「然則君信極姆斯無辜矣？」（陳小蝶、李常覺譯，1916c，頁 75）一句話帶過，語氣中似乎也不敢相信福爾摩斯能站在自己這一邊，削弱了原文中肯定而急切的神態，態度頓時變得溫順。

另外，譯者也指揮梅麗的動作，使她更符合大眾對家教良好的女子的期待。例如，當梅麗開始向偵探及警探解釋案情緣由時，譯者使她先「微俯其首」（陳小蝶、李常覺譯，1916c，頁 76）再開始說話，這是原文中所沒有的動作；由於在老馬凱得死前，曾有人看見他們父子起口角，梅麗相信他們爭執的原因與自己與小馬凱得的婚事有關，講述至此時，梅麗在原文中的表情是：“A quick blush passed over her fresh young face.” (Doyle, 2003, p. 316)，而在譯文中，梅麗則是「羞極而赭，俯首拈其衣角不已」（陳小蝶、李常覺譯，1916c，頁 76）；而當交待完畢，梅麗即將告辭返家時，譯者更壓著她的背，使她「鞠躬自去」（陳小蝶、李常覺譯，1916c，頁 77），在原文中，相應的段落是：“She hurried from the room as impulsively as she had entered.” (Doyle, 2003, p. 317)。兩相對照之下可以很容易看出，梅麗在原文與譯文中的形象大不相同，在原著中，梅麗敢於反抗警方的權威，據理力爭；面對警探和偵探時，態度不卑不亢，不因自己的年紀或性別而掩藏自己的看法，角色形象十分獨

特鮮明。但在譯文讀者的印象中，梅麗恐怕也就只是一位嬌滴滴的年輕女孩，與一般女子相去無幾。

〈儂背眩人〉為程小青所譯，故事中有兩位重要的女性角色——密昔司白萊克 (Mrs Barclay) 和毛麗蓀 (Miss Morrison)。原文中只形容白萊克夫人為美麗的女子，但並未仔細描述她的相貌，這方面譯文與原文沒有明顯出入。至於毛麗蓀小姐，原文對她的相貌與個性的描述是：“Miss Morrison is a little ethereal slip of a girl, with timid eyes and blond hair, but I found her by no means wanting in shrewdness and common-sense.” (Doyle, 2003, p. 654)，而此句的翻譯是「毛麗蓀年事甚穉，嬌纖伶俐，姿首亦佳」（程小青譯，1916，頁 92）。可以看出翻譯著重在外表的描述，而省略了後半句對毛麗蓀判斷力與常識的讚賞。毛麗蓀是案情的關鍵人物之一，因此福爾摩斯想要說服她將案發當晚的遭遇講述明白，而原文描述毛麗蓀的反應是：“She sat thinking for some time after I had spoken, and then, turning to me with a brisk air of resolution, she broke into a remarkable statement...” (Doyle, 2003, p. 654)。而此句的譯文則是「聞余言，意頗皇惑，熟思良久，乃突然報曰……」（程小青譯，1916，頁 92），比較兩者可發現「意頗皇惑」這句話為原文所無，前述塑造毛斯頓小姐形象時也用到了類似的翻譯手法，兩位譯者對於女性的既定印象似乎都包含「容易受驚、不知所措」此一特質。

偵探故事中有受害者、委託人，當然也有謀畫、執行不法的凶手。一提起福爾摩斯系列故事中的女性反派，讀者第一個想到的角色大概就是薏倫愛答 (Irene Adler)。薏倫愛答為〈倩影〉中的主要角色，故事開頭，波西米亞國王親自登門請託福爾摩斯從薏倫手中拿回他們兩人的合影，以免薏倫將照片寄給他的未婚妻，破壞聯姻。在介紹這位不凡的女子時，國王形容薏倫是一位女探險家，原句是：“I made the acquaintance of the well-known adventuress, Irene Adler.” (Doyle, 2003, p. 246)，譯文則省略了這個頭銜，只翻作「乃與一女郎相識，其名曰薏倫愛答」（陳小蝶、李常覺譯，1916b，頁 8）；國王聲稱薏倫會不顧一切，只為摧毀他的

前途，原句是：

And she will do it. I know that she will do it. You do not know her, but she has a soul of steel. She has the face of the most beautiful of women, and the mind of the most resolute of men. (Doyle, 2003, pp. 247-248)

這一段在譯文裡也完全省略，不見蹤影。

薏倫的機智聰慧在福爾摩斯故事的所有角色中可說是數一數二，甚至連福爾摩斯都曾敗在她手下，但和〈弑父案〉中的梅麗一樣，這個特點在譯文中被大幅削弱。舉例來說，在其中一個段落，福爾摩斯找了一群人假扮成流浪漢，指使他們圍到薏倫身邊作勢搶劫，自己則打扮成牧師的模樣，衝上前去排解糾紛，然後又在一片混亂之中假裝受傷，藉此理由進入薏倫家中休息，趁機觀察照片的可能藏匿處。在原文中，雖然場面一團混亂，但沒有任何語句表示薏倫的心神受到影響，她反而出於善心，請人將福爾摩斯抬到起居室內沙發上休息。但譯者在這段敘述中加上「芳容似無所主」（陳小蝶、李常覺譯，1916b，頁18），將薏倫描述成傳統認知中的平常女子，碰到這種場面免不了不知所措。接著又說「女郎見老人之創實由於己，則亦無奈，遂頷首允之」（陳小蝶、李常覺譯，1916b，頁18），原本善意的舉動也變成無奈之下不得不的行為。故事末尾時，國王再次讚嘆薏倫的能力，同時表示若非兩人身分階級 (level) 不同，否則她會是很理想的王后，而福爾摩斯的回應是：“‘From what I have seen of the lady she seems indeed to be on a very different level to your Majesty,’ said Holmes coldly.” (Doyle, 2003, p. 262)。福爾摩斯同樣用了“level”一字，但指的並不是身份地位，而是暗罵國王的智識與薏倫相去太遠，但這句話沒有出現在譯文中，福爾摩斯的回應只簡短謙稱自己辦事不力，未能奪回照片，毫無一絲不恭。福爾摩斯尚來自視甚高，鮮少真心佩服他人，但譯者刪除了這句話，薏倫在中文讀者的心

中的獨特地位又降低了一些。

後來，惹倫與一名男子先後自家中乘馬車離去，在屋外監視的福爾摩斯連忙也招呼了一輛馬車緊跟在後，最後抵達一間教堂。惹倫與男子隨意找了一名路人來充當婚禮的證人，殊不知這人即為福爾摩斯所假扮。簡短的儀式結束之後，新娘賞給他一枚金幣，但譯文則作「新郎且以金錢一枚用酬予勞」（陳小蝶、李常覺譯，1916b，頁15）。之後，福爾摩斯向華生推論，他認為惹倫可能將照片交由銀行行員放置保險箱中或請律師代為保管：“Her banker or her lawyer. There is that double possibility.” (Doyle, 2003, p. 255)，但譯文翻成「若在男子或寄藏於友朋之家亦未可知」（陳小蝶、李常覺譯，1916b，頁17）。原著中惹倫善心大方的動作在譯文裡改由男方來完成；除此之外，女子在原著中有能力上銀行辦事或委託律師，透過受法律保障的管道取得協助，但在譯文裡，惹倫只是動用私交，拜託未婚夫或朋友幫忙藏匿，兩種方式之間存在差距。不論譯者作這兩處更動的原因為何，筆者認為這種做法的效果都降低了惹倫的能動性 (agency)。可順帶一提的是，在〈弑父案〉中，梅麗是父親產業的繼承人，譯文也略去這點不提，同樣降低女性的能動性，原文與譯文對照如下：

McCarthy, who appears to have had little of his own, and to have been under such obligations to Turner, should still talk of marrying his son to Turner's daughter, who is, presumably, heiress to the estate, and that in such a very cocksure manner, as if it were merely a case of a proposal and all else would follow? (Doyle, 2003, p. 320)

夫馬凱得既為赤貧之人，且受湯納大恩，乃不思報稱，猶欲其女下嫁而為其媳，且復不容稍緩，一若有足以命令湯納父女之權者。（陳小蝶、李常覺譯，1916c，頁80）

最後，這則故事的一大特點是涉及男女情事，而從這裡也可以看到中西方不同的觀念。關於薏倫與國王過往的情史，原文並未明確表示薏倫的新婚丈夫是否知情，而在譯文中，譯者則寫明丈夫並不知悉，且薏倫也不願讓他得知實情，她在留給福爾摩斯的信中寫道：「但此一事，吾終不願為吾夫知也，自茲以往，請勿復以窘我。」（陳小蝶、李常覺譯，1916b，頁 22）。此句為譯者所加，原文並無。至於譯者為何作此處理，他藉福爾摩斯之口說了一句話：「蓋凡女郎所最不敢告人者，即為私情一事」（陳小蝶、李常覺譯，1916b，頁 17），這句話以貞節與否來定義女性的價值，因此即便是薏倫這麼一位各方面都能大放異彩的女性，過往的情史對她來說仍會是一大污點，掩蓋掉她的所有光芒，因此不願丈夫知悉她的感情過往。另外，在原著裡，薏倫在信中表示，即便國王過去背叛了自己，但他大可放心迎娶公主，自己已決定不再加以阻撓：“The King may do what he will without hindrance from one whom he has cruelly wronged.” (Doyle, 2003, p. 261)，但譯文只作「彼人之事，吾不更阻。」（陳小蝶、李常覺譯，1916b，頁 22），譯者幫忙開脫了國王背叛所愛的罪名，反而替他多加了一句話，指責薏倫「而尤病在所愛不專」（陳小蝶、李常覺譯，1916b，頁 23）。譯者之所以作此更動，可能是由於傳統封建觀念尚未破除，不願指責在上位者，前段所述福爾摩斯對國王的嘲諷被刪除可能也是基於相同的原因；也有可能因為薏倫曾意圖以照片勒索國王，為反派角色，而譯者為加深其負面形象，多為她羅織了一個罪名；最後也有可能是譯者以不同的標準對待國王和薏倫，前者身為男性，身分又尊貴，妻妾成群再正常不過，但薏倫身為女子，曾與國王來往，後來又和他人結婚，也許在譯者眼中就是用情不專了。

〈倩影〉中的薏倫愛答只是意圖黑函勒索，而〈室內槍聲〉中的女子則實際扣下板機。文中並未交代這位女子的姓名，讀者只知道她大概是貴族之人，這位女子現身時，原文對她裝扮及身形的描述是：“There stood a tall, slim, dark woman, a veil over her face, a mantle drawn round her chin.” (Doyle, 2003, p. 919)，此句的譯文是「女郎之身體頗苗條，手臂皆

顫動不停，面上覆以重網，故面目不可得見。」（李常覺、天虛我生譯，1916a，頁 11），接著，女郎除去面紗，讓讀者得以窺見她的相貌：“It was a dark, handsome, clear-cut face... a face with a curved nose, strong, dark eyebrows shading hard, glittering eyes, and a straight, thin-lipped mouth set in a dangerous smile.” (Doyle, 2003, p. 920)，此段的譯文為「女郎之面幕已去，顏色端莊流麗，極似天上安琪兒，唯怒極，朱唇乃顫動不止。」（李常覺、天虛我生譯，1916a，頁 11）。比較兩段原文與譯文可以發現許多不同，首先，作者兩次提到女子膚色較深 (dark)，譯文則略去不提；而第二個段落具體描述了女子的五官特徵，但譯文只攏統地形容其美貌，究其原因，多半是由於黝黑的皮膚、鷹勾鼻、粗黑有力的眉毛、薄唇大概都不是中國傳統認知中美女應有的特色，若照原文譯出，很可能在當時讀者的心中留下一幅極不協調的畫面。

〈室內槍聲〉的主角卻耳司沃格史忒密爾浮 (Charles Augustus Milverton) 為一老奸巨猾之人，他專門收購名望人士的私人信件，若其中有任何不道德之事，密爾浮就會以此為把柄向信件主人勒索巨款。而故事中的凶手便是因為付不出款項，因此信件被公開，其丈夫知曉後傷心過度而死。這位女子痛下殺手之前曾對密爾浮有一長串的控訴，充分表現其強烈的悲憤，但在譯文中，以下整段都略去沒有譯出：

“...and you laughed in my face as you are trying to laugh now, only your coward heart cannot keep your lips from twitching. Yes, you never thought to see me here again, but it was that night which taught me how I could meet you face to face, and alone. Well, Charles Milverton, what have you to say?” (Doyle, 2003, p. 920)

語畢之後，女子連發數槍，將手槍彈匣中的子彈全數射出：“She had drawn a little gleaming revolver, and emptied barrel after barrel into Milverton’s body...” (Doyle, 2003, p. 921)，之後還使勁朝死者的臉踹了一下：“The

woman looked at him intently, and ground her heel into his upturned face.” (Doyle, 2003, p. 921)。而譯文中相應的描述如下：

言至此，突聞槍聲砰然，連發數響，予亟驚視，則密爾浮已僵臥地上，前胸洞穿，而報仇之人杳矣。⁴（李常覺、天虛我生譯，1916a，頁 11）

在原文中，女子有著豐厚飽滿的情緒，並且透過怒斥、開槍、腳踹宣洩出來，這些動作也都是能動性的表現，但在譯文中沒有長篇的斥責，也沒有出現踢踹的動作，離去時簡直像是落荒而逃，使女子的形象扁平許多。

討論文本中的最後一位女性反派出現在〈雪窖沉冤〉中，她名叫安娜 (Anna)，在故事發生的多年以前遭到陷害，後來已經放棄復仇，只是希望能為友人平反，但在蒐集證據的過程中卻失手殺害仇人的助理。關於這位女士的外貌，原文與譯文對照如下：

Wanted, a woman of good address, attired like a lady. She has a remarkably thick nose, with eyes which are set close upon either side of it. She has a puckered forehead, a peering expression, and probably rounded shoulders. (Doyle, 2003, pp. 971-972)

其人為一上等社會之婦人，衣裳甚華麗，唯目光視線甚劣，鼻粗而高，眼角與鼻相去甚近，視人時恆細不容線。額間有直線之皺紋，肩狹而圓。（李常覺、天虛我生譯，1916b，頁 56）

她的容貌並不美麗，原文中仔細描寫了她的相貌特徵，譯文也大致完整呈現。至於她的舉止與性格，譯文也沒有大幅更動，尤其有兩個地方特別值得一提。首先是當福爾摩斯揭露這位婦人的藏身之處時，警探原本

⁴ 譯文中的「予」是躲在窗簾之後目睹整個過程的華生。

立刻上前欲替她戴上手銬，但她輕輕推開警探，表示希望能先將原委告訴在場的眾人，原文的描述是：“...but she waved him aside gently, and yet with an over-mastering dignity which compelled obedience.” (Doyle, 2003, p. 983)，而此句的譯文為「婦人怫然以袖拂之，凜凜之態令人不禁畏敬」（李常覺、天虛我生譯，1916b，頁 66）；第二是當她講述到一半時，福爾摩斯突然想通一個與案情相關的細節，因此興奮地插話，卻馬上遭到婦人的制止：“‘You must let me speak,’ said the woman, in an imperative voice, and her face contracted as if in pain.” (Doyle, 2003, p. 985)，譯文也如實呈現此一動作（婦止之曰：「嗟乎！吾時已促，容吾畢其辭。」（李常覺、天虛我生譯，1916b，頁 68））

前文討論過，〈弑父案〉中的梅麗也有多個反抗權威的動作，但譯者對兩人舉動的處理方式有明顯的不同，筆者認為年紀可能是影響因素之一。〈弑父案〉中的梅麗是十幾二十歲的年輕女子，中國傳統上對於以下犯上的容忍度頗低，而這篇故事雖然沒有明確點出安娜的年紀，但可以確定的是，她絕對不是年輕女孩。除此之外，安娜提到自己早年時是無政府主義的革命份子，這個身分很可能讓她在譯文中享受到一些寬待。由於清末有識之士亟思救國之道，有些知識份子就期盼能取經於鄰國——俄國。由於兩國皆幅員遼闊，環境背景相似，許多人便希冀能挪用俄國的方法來解決中國的問題。梁啟超便曾說：「今日為中國謀，莫善於鑑俄。」有學者統計，在 1902 至 1911 年間，至少出版了三十篇以俄國革命為主題的故事 (Hu, 2000)。由此可見時人對於無政府主義的強烈興趣。在眾多革命份子中，蘇菲亞佩洛斯卡雅 (Sophia Peroskaya) 尤其是一位形象鮮明而吸引人的女革命家，她曾參與暗殺俄皇亞歷山大二世的策劃行動，最終被處以絞刑，為革命理念犧牲生命。當時的報刊刊載了數篇蘇菲亞的傳記，後來更有以她生平為藍本的中文小說創作。

參、結論

綜觀這幾位譯者對於福爾摩斯系列小說中女性形象的處理策略，可以發現三個共通點：首先，中國傳統中的理想女性需要「才貌兼備」，而讀過這幾個譯本後可以歸納出，「貌」又比「才」更為重要，後者充其量只是加分條件，這些「才女」也不一定以自己的文才自豪。如在唐傳奇〈鶯鶯傳〉中，首先吸引到男主角張生的是鶯鶯「常服睟容，不加新飾。垂鬟接黛，雙臉銷紅而已，顏色豔異，光輝動人」（元稹，1992，頁 225）的美貌，也是如此的容貌讓張生「幾不自持。數日來行忘止，食忘飽」（頁 226）。雖然鶯鶯身為大家閨秀，也「甚工刀札，善屬文」，但張生「求索再三，終不可見」（頁 228）。至明代以降，才子佳人小說等文學作品中出現越來越多「才女」型人物，但她們時常不願被貼上這樣的標籤，更不願自己的作品流出閨閣的小圈圈中。例如《紅樓夢》中的寶釵博學宏覽、詩才頗高，卻甘於「裝愚守拙」，她對黛玉說的話可當作這種想法的例證：「……所以咱們女孩兒家不認得字的倒好……就連作詩寫字等事，原不是你我份內之事……。」（曹雪芹，2013，頁 399）。

基於這樣的文學傳統，因此譯者可能認為有必要強調女性角色的美貌，例如〈佛國寶〉中的毛斯頓小姐相貌甚屬平常，但譯者多次添譯，以「姿容雖佳」、「容貌既佳」來稱讚她的外表。而假如貌美女性的五官特徵不符合中國傳統的審美觀時，譯者也會加以調整，例如〈室內槍聲〉中的無名女子。至於本文中歸類為反派的女性，她們其實都不是典型心狠手辣的反派：薏倫曾遭到國王的背叛，持有照片只是為了自保，雖然曾經有意黑函勒索，後來也已經放下這個念頭；安娜同樣是曾經遭到陷害，是在掙扎逃脫的過程中失手殺人；而無名女子也是因為極度心痛憤恨才會痛下殺手，她們都不是真正心地邪惡的女子，實有令人同情之處，這可能也是譯者並沒有刻意醜化其外表的原因。

其次，科南道爾筆下的女性角色多半都有堅毅的個性或過人的機智，有學者認為，科南道爾也只願意著墨描寫這些性格堅強的女性（孔慧怡，1998）。但在譯文中，女性角鎮定、自持的特質被大幅削弱，許多女性角色在緊張危急的情況下變得「驚悸若有所失」、「意殊恍惚」、「意頗皇惑」、或是「芳容似無所主」，而與一旁的男性角色形成對比，甚至需要男性的引領指導。譯者之所以如此操作，中國傳統中林黛玉這種弱不禁風、需要保護的女性形象應該不無影響。另外，機智聰穎也是原著中許多女性角色的共通特質，這在譯本中也變得沒有那麼突出，因此讀者讀來很可能覺得書中的女性角色多半只是外表美麗，但見識普通的女子。

再者，女性角色的能動性在譯本中也常有所降低。能動性是行為者行動時的意圖，更是他們作這些事的能力，因此能動性也往往意味著權力（游美惠，2013）。在中國傳統上，女性往往便是居於次要、陪襯的地位，這點也許可以說明為何女性角色的部份動作在譯本中改成由男性來行使，甚至直接刪去，這些操作手法都剝奪了女性角色的能力和權力，而呈現出來的效果是，女性常常淪為故事的配角，她們的角色形象也變得較為單一扁平。

觀察這七則長短篇小說譯本對於女性角色的翻譯策略，可以發現各個譯者的處理手法同大於異，只有〈弑父案〉中的梅麗和〈雪窖沉冤〉中的安娜呈現較大差別，但這兩篇故事都是由懂英文的李常覺譯出，再分別交由陳氏父子記錄、潤飾。比較李常覺與陳氏父子合譯的其他故事（李常覺與陳子合譯〈丐者許彭〉、〈弑父案〉，與陳父合譯〈室內槍聲〉和〈雪窖沉冤〉）可以發現，除了梅麗與安娜之外，兩對譯者對於故事中其他女性角色的翻譯策略其實大同小異。因此筆者認為是時人對於虛無黨員、顛覆份子的憧憬，使譯者處理梅麗與安娜的策略有所不同。

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附錄

中華書局福爾摩斯偵探案全集篇目列表

	原文篇名	中文篇名	譯 者
1	A Study in Scarlet	血書	周瘦鵬
2	The Sign of the Four	佛國寶	劉半儂
3	A Scandal in Bohemia	倩影	陳小蝶、李常覺
4	The Adventure of the Red-Headed League	紅髮會	陳小蝶、李常覺
5	A case of identity	怪新郎	陳小蝶、李常覺
6	The Boscombe Valley Mystery	弑父案	陳小蝶、李常覺
7	The Five Orange Pips	五橘核	陳小蝶、李常覺
8	The Man with the Twisted Lip	丐者許彭	陳小蝶、李常覺
9	The Adventure of the Blue Carbuncle	藍寶石	陳小蝶、李常覺
10	The Adventure of the Seckled Band	彩色帶	陳小蝶、李常覺
11	The Adventure of the Engineer's Thumb	機師指	陳小蝶、李常覺
12	The Adventure of the Noble Bachelor	怪新娘	陳小蝶、李常覺
13	The Adventure of Beryl Coronet	翡翠冠	陳小蝶、李常覺
14	The Adventure of the Copper Beeches	金絲髮	陳小蝶、李常覺
15	Sliver Blaze	失馬得馬	嚴獨鶴
16	The Adventure of the Yellow Face	窗中人面	嚴獨鶴
17	The Adventure of the Stockbroker's clerk	傭書受給	嚴獨鶴
18	The Adventure of the "Gloria Scott"	孤舟浩劫	嚴獨鶴
19	The Adventure of the Musgrave Ritual	窟中祕寶	嚴獨鶴
20	The Adventure of the Reigate Squire	午夜槍聲	嚴獨鶴
21	The Adventure of the Crooked Man	僂背眩人	程小青
22	The Adventure of the Resident Patient	客邸病夫	嚴獨鶴
23	The Adventure of the Greek Interpreter	希臘舌人	程小青

(續下頁)

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	原文篇名	中文篇名	譯 者
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25	The Final Problem	懸崖撒手	嚴獨鶴
26	The Adventure of the Empty House	絳市重蘇	嚴天侔
27	The Adventure of the Norwood Builder	火中祕計	嚴天侔
28	The Adventure of the Dancing Man	壁上奇書	李常覺、天虛我生
29	The Adventure of the Solitary Cyclist	碧卷雙車	李常覺、天虛我生
30	The Adventure of the the Priory School	濕園蹄跡	李常覺、天虛我生
31	The Adventure of Black peter	隔簾髯影	李常覺、天虛我生
32	The Adventure of Charles Augustus Milverton	室內槍聲	李常覺、天虛我生
33	The Adventure of the Golden Pince-Nez	雪窖沉冤	李常覺、天虛我生
34	The Adventure of the Abbey Grange	情天決死	李常覺、天虛我生
35	The Adventure of the Six Napoleons	剖腹藏珠	李常覺、天虛我生
36	The Adventure of the Missing Three-Quarter	荒村輪影	嚴天侔
37	The Adventure of the Second Stain	掌中倩影	李常覺、天虛我生
38	The Adventure of the Three Students	赤心護主	李常覺、天虛我生
39	The Hound of the Baskervilles	獒祟	陳霆銳
40	The Adventure of the Devil' s Foot	魔足	程小青
41	The Adventure of the Red Circle	紅圈會	漁火
42	The Adventure of the Dying Detective	病詭	周瘦鵑
43	The Adventure of the Bruce-Partington Plans	竊圖案	陳霆銳
44	The Valley of Fear	罪藪	程小青

臺灣政府單位翻譯需求及人力資源問題分析

林慶隆 陳子瑋 彭致翎 何承恩 張舜芬 吳培若

翻譯促進不同語言文化之間的溝通理解，在國際互動、資訊傳播、文化交流過程中扮演舉足輕重的角色。政府大力推動國際化之際，如何營造友善環境、引進推廣國外新知、對外分享國內學術文化成就，愈彰顯翻譯之重要性。本研究透過問卷調查、訪談等方法，探討 2011 年臺灣政府部門翻譯人力資源需求之情形與問題。研究發現：（一）超過六成之政府機關皆有翻譯需求，個別機關需求量不大，大宗需求集中於少數機關；（二）政府部門翻譯需求推估超過新臺幣 1 億元以上；（三）政府機關翻譯需求種類多樣化，普遍面臨預算及編制內翻譯人力不足現象；中文譯英文之需求量最大，同時也最欠缺人才；（四）選擇翻譯人才標準，注重實際翻譯經驗、學歷專業背景以及翻譯專業訓練；（五）公務人力體系無翻譯職系，且整體翻譯需求增加情況下，現行任用制度亟需改善；（六）政府機構對於翻譯發展政策之期望優先項目，依序為持續推動多語種翻譯人才培育、建置媒合平台提供轉介諮詢，以及推動中文作品外譯。最後，提出正視翻譯需求增加趨勢並妥善因應、翻譯人力供需落差有待解決、改善任用制度、建立翻譯人才媒合機制、長期觀察翻譯活動供需變化等建議。

關鍵詞：翻譯產業、產業調查、政府需求、人力資源

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Public Sector Translation and Interpretation: Demand Analysis for Taiwan

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This study aims to investigate the public sector demand for translation and interpretation (T&I) services. Results indicate that over 60% of the government units surveyed need translation and interpretation services; the total demand, which is diversified, is valued at more than NT\$100,000,000. In fulfilling this need, many government units seek resources from within the organization while other seek to outsource. Moreover, it has been found that in the selection of translation and interpretation providers, the main criteria are experience, educational background and knowledge of the domain. The providing of stable, high quality translation and interpretation services to the public sector faces certain challenges, which include: (1) an insufficient budget; (2) a shortage of human resources. It is clear that T&I services, which include the translation of Chinese works and documents into foreign languages, need to be expanded to include more languages and to facilitate access to service providers. It is also clear that translation and interpretation services need to be enhanced by reviewing current policies and by continuing to facilitate the healthy development of this industry.

Keywords: Translation and Interpretation industry, industry survey, government demand analysis, human resources

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壹、前言

翻譯是不同語言文化之間溝通理解的橋梁，隨著全球化及國際交流頻仍，翻譯產業健全發展益顯重要。過去國內政府及學界曾陸續對翻譯產業各面向進行研究（周中天等人，2004；劉敏華、張武昌、林世華，2005；賴慈芸、賴守正、李爽學、蘇正隆，2006），對於我國翻譯產業基本面累積一定了解，並據以提供翻譯相關政策之依據。例如教育部中英文翻譯能力檢定考試之設計及定位，即曾經參考當時各項翻譯產業研究成果。

其中較大規模的，是由前行政院新聞局在 2004 年委託國立臺灣師範大學翻譯研究所及臺灣經濟研究院之調查研究（周中天等人，2004），並針對翻譯市場區隔、人才培育、證照制度、人才資料庫、國家專責翻譯機構定位等面向，提出建議。近年來，一些研究亦針對國內翻譯相關系所陸續設立，畢業學生呈現略幅成長的趨勢有較為深入的分析（林慶隆、劉欣宜、吳培若、丁彥平，2011）；此外，教育部建立國家翻譯人才評鑑標準，並於 2007 年開始辦理中英文翻譯能力檢定考試，具體落實推動翻譯人才的專業化。然隨著社會變遷迅速，國際交流密切、兩岸互動頻繁，以及雲端科技日新月異，現今臺灣翻譯產業面臨更多的機會與挑戰，對於翻譯產業資訊、現況需求、趨勢問題等進行全盤的瞭解，有迫切之必要性，且需強化以實徵證據為基礎的研究資料，以研擬適切可行之因應策略。政府乃為負責國家公共政策規劃、執行考核，為民服務之機關。本研究以政府機關為翻譯需求者的觀點，探討我國政府部門翻譯量與翻譯人力資源之現況、需求與問題，並提供建議，作為推動翻譯政策制度及後續相關研究之參據。

貳、文獻探討

臺灣翻譯產業研究之文獻數量有限，且研究規模多半不大，周中天等人（2004）為一項較具規模之調查，探討口譯、筆譯、人才培訓及翻譯政策等議題。該研究指出，翻譯產業符合 Dickens (1996)、Rodie 與 Martin (2001) 等所提之服務業四大特性，包括：（1）翻譯呈現方式通常為聲音或文字，具無實體的特性；（2）不同翻譯者提供的翻譯服務不同，而有產品異質的特性；（3）客戶行為與環境對服務品質有極大影響；（4）大型會議或譯作需要大量人力資源，無法事先製造並儲存。因此，由政策面考量時，翻譯產業宜視為專業服務業。

周中天等人（2004）研究結果顯示：（1）政府翻譯業務「中譯外」需求大於「外譯中」；（2）受公務人員現行職系類別限制，並無翻譯職系。政府部門約聘翻譯人員之薪資結構與一般公務人員不同，薪資不高，難留任好譯者是一大隱憂，造成政府專業翻譯人力流動率非常大；（3）政府機關現有翻譯人力無法因應翻譯業務需求；（4）政府翻譯業務委外流程依單位不同，委外翻譯品質亦各異；（5）地方政府在經費、編制問題情況較中央政府嚴重；翻譯案件量亦遠小於中央政府，採購金額較少也連帶影響業者之意願，易產生品質不佳情況，造成招標結果不符合使用者需求。該研究所探討的翻譯相關政策主要為翻譯人員證照制度之可行性，及設立國家專責翻譯機構之可行性評估。為提升翻譯專業品質，研究結果建議應採取能力證書制度，由考試搭配進修，以及實務經驗審查同時進行；至於國家專責翻譯機構應建立翻譯標準，創造翻譯資源。

賴慈芸等人（2006）則探討如何建立臺灣學術著作翻譯機制。提出提高學術著作翻譯稿酬，補助專業翻譯團隊協助學術著作的外譯，建立資訊共享平台，出版譯評期刊、譯者通訊及英文書訊，及建立國家級翻譯中心等建議。該研究關注的範圍主要為翻譯產業中的一小部分，相關

的政府單位也只有當時的國立編譯館及文建會等單位。

林慶隆等人（2011）綜合分析其之前應用焦點團體座談及資料分析方法探討臺灣翻譯發展政策內涵等各項研究成果，歸納中央單位在國家翻譯的理念、專責翻譯機構、政府翻譯經費、營造友善生活環境、引進與推廣新知、翻譯人才培育、翻譯能力評鑑與政府相關研究案等方面業務發展情形，發現國家翻譯發展所面臨的問題，因此，提出制定國家翻譯發展政策、建構翻譯品質保證機制、及積極向外推廣國內學術文化成就等 8 項翻譯發展策略。該文採取政策大方向之觀點，逐一分析政策項目之背景、挑戰及未來發展；所提出之相關策略，已大致涵蓋國內翻譯發展各重點面向，可作為政策分析之參考架構。然而，若有大規模實際調查的數據，以作為政策規劃的支持，將會更週延，因此，亟需進行調查研究。

周中天等人（2004）所提出的許多細部數據與林慶隆等人（2011）的分析雖可互補。就兩文內容交叉參考，可以大致得出我國政府部門在特定時間點的翻譯需求。然而，周中天等人（2004）對臺灣翻譯產業調查，迄今已超過 10 年，另兩項研究，亦都各有其限制。因此，目前政府單位的翻譯人力資源的情形如何？相關問題是否有改善？新興面臨的挑戰為何？有待進一步探究。

參、研究方法

本研究採取問卷調查及訪談法，說明如下。

一、問卷調查

本研究使用之問卷為「政府機關翻譯需求分析問卷」。問卷設計參考「臺灣翻譯產業現況調查研究」問卷（周中天等人，2004），及加入相關新興議題，以瞭解現況。

本研究使用「翻譯」一詞涵蓋口譯及筆譯兩種方式，特別探討口譯

或筆譯時，再以個別名稱標示，以避免混淆。問卷除基本資料外，合計 27 題，分為四大部分，依序為翻譯需求辦理方式、筆譯需求概況、口譯需求概況及翻譯需求管理四大部分。填答方式前三部分大多為區間單選題，搭配部分複選題，第四部分則以五級李克特 (Likert) 量表為主。

根據文獻及問卷設計之前置作業結果評估，發現翻譯業務金額可能無法精確推定，主要原因在於翻譯業務並無專責單位，而是由各承辦機關分別辦理，因此資料來源分散，缺乏較有規模的統計資料。其次，許多翻譯費用並非直接以翻譯項目核銷，而是併入其他科目，也造成無法精確推算的現象。為了盡量釐清政府機關翻譯業務量之多寡，本問卷共有 7 題關於翻譯業務金額，分別由總量、不同性質、口譯筆譯分開估算等方式蒐集資料，進行推估。

調查問卷於本研究小組擬定初稿後，邀請具備實際業務經驗之政府單位代表，及協助政府處理委辦計畫的民間公司代表合計 6 位進行試測，並根據試測結果修正問卷編排與填答方式、問題陳述用語，及增添數項子題。問卷依據專家意見修正後，送請國立臺灣師範大學心理與教育測驗研究發展中心實施確認信效度檢驗；專家效度方面，則請專家訪談之與會者及統計專家審閱修正版之問卷並加以確認。

問卷發放形式包括以紙本寄送及電子公文傳送。五院（行政院、立法院、司法院、考試院、監察院）各寄發紙本問卷 1 份；行政院中央部會 19 個單位各寄發紙本問卷 5 份，包括內政部、外交部、國防部、財政部、教育部、法務部、經濟部、交通部、中央銀行、行政院新聞局、行政院環境保護署、行政院海岸巡防署、國立故宮博物院、行政院大陸委員會、行政院經濟建設委員會、行政院國軍退除役官兵輔導委員會、行政院國家科學委員會、行政院勞工委員會，以及行政院體育委員會等。前揭機構之一級附屬機關及地方縣市政府每單位各 1 份問卷，其中可接收電子公文之單位有 51 個，其餘 191 個單位則以紙本寄送。臺北市、新北市、臺中市、臺南市、高雄市等五個直轄市政府之教育、社會、財政、衛生局處以電子公文寄發問卷各 1 份，共 20 份，直轄市政府所

屬之其他一級局處則以紙本寄送每單位 1 份，總計發放 453 份，參見表 1。因此，本研究之原始立意為實施全查，而不使用抽樣方式，以提升調查結果之品質。問卷中並提供研究團隊聯絡電話、傳真及電郵，於調查期間持續與受訪單位保持聯繫。

表 1

本研究問卷調查對象

單位	份數
中央機關	19 個單位各 5 份紙本問卷
一級單位及地方政府	51 份電子問卷／192 份紙本問卷
五都含一級單位	20 份電子問卷／95 份紙本問卷
政府單位合計	453 份

資料來源：本研究整理。

二、訪談

本研究另進行質性訪談，主要針對 2011 年度翻譯業務量較大之部門，包括內政部入出國移民署、行政院新聞局、外交部、國立臺灣文學館等。另獲得具翻譯需求之 6 個政府單位同意受訪，包括行政院大陸委員會、國防部、司法院、警政署、外貿協會及臺南市文化局，合計 10 個單位 11 位受訪者進行訪談。以深入瞭解公部門翻譯需求辦理方式。訪談內容涉及制度、實務，以及政策面。制度面包括翻譯職系設置、以約聘制雇用專職翻譯人員之利弊；實務面包括對現有翻譯業務外包或招標制度的檢討、預算規劃等；政策面則主要針對中書外譯的提倡、翻譯人才培育等議題。各單位訪談前均詳細說明訪談目的及內容，並取得訪談同意書。訪談結果逐字稿繕打完成後，均再由原受訪單位確認逐字稿內容。後續各節提及受訪單位時，由於各單位業務性質差異明顯，引用訪談結果時必須小心篩選，以免造成個別受訪者身分及所屬單位曝光之現象。為在保護原單位隱私前提下盡量詳細說明調查結果，爰以隨機英

文字母代號標示受訪者身分。

三、資料分析

問卷回收後，紙本問卷即進行編碼及輸入，並與電子問卷結果彙整。經整理資料，剔除無效問卷後，以統計軟體進行分析。訪談結果則繕打逐字稿，再進行分析。此外，如前所述，由於本問卷同時使用區間勾選、複選，及李克特量表等型式問題，因此，分析及呈現結果時，將三類問題結果分開處理。各題分析時由於填答單位數不同，結果統一以填答數為分母，分項結果再轉為百分比。此外，為求慎重，每一個關於翻譯業務金額業務量的議題，均設計兩個由金額及業務類別詢問的問卷題目，分析時亦透過詳細兩方面交叉比對，以得出較明確之業務量與金額範圍。

肆、結果與討論

本研究對政府發出 453 份問卷，扣除 2 份無效問卷及 37 份未回復，有效回收 414 份，回收率為 91.3%。由於回收率超過 9 成，幾已接近全查規模，因此調查結果具有相當代表性，足以呈現政府機關翻譯業務需求及辦理方式之大致態樣。

一、翻譯為政府部門普遍業務，超過六成機關均具有翻譯需求

在回收問卷中回復 2011 年度有翻譯需求者共 257 個，占全體回復數之 62.4%；回復無需求者共 156 個，占 37.6%。具有翻譯需求之單位，中央部會占 44%，一級附屬機構占 33%，五都一級局處占 23%。

按依產業分類標準（行政院主計處，2011），具翻譯需求的公部門單位，以屬公共行政及國防類別占最多數；其次是其他服務、教育服務、醫療保健社會工作服務，以及藝術、娛樂及休閒服務。具有翻譯需求的

公部門單位，管轄產業除公共行政及國防外，似乎以服務類別居多。

**（一）多數單位普遍具有翻譯需求，但業務量及金額相對較小；
另有部分機關翻譯業務量及經費需求皆大**

回復本項調查問題的 235 個填答單位中，共有 72.3% 表示 2011 年度口筆譯金額占業務比例 1% 以下，24.6% 表示在 2%-10%；另有 2.9% 口筆譯金額占業務比例 51%-100%，如圖 1。

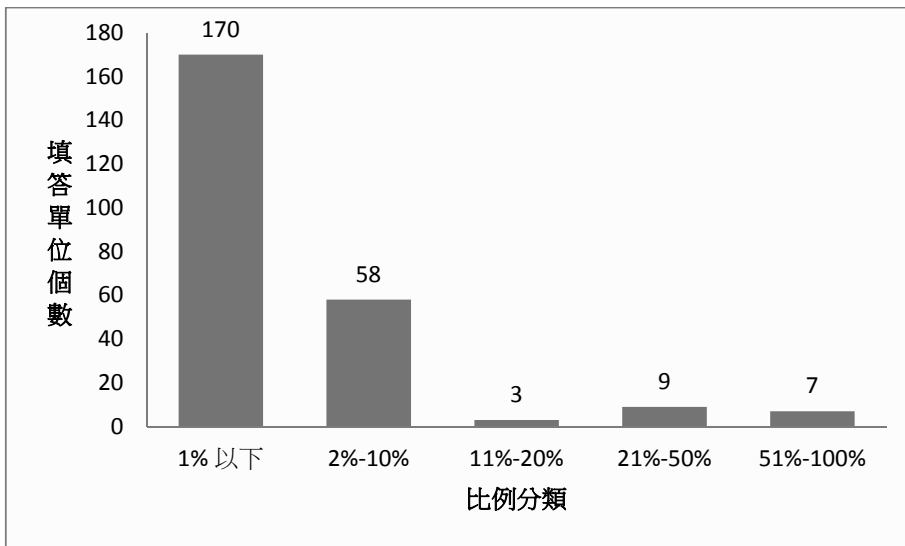


圖 1 政府填答單位翻譯需求一以佔該單位整體業務量金額之比例分類

資料來源：本研究整理。

翻譯業務較大的單位，包括內政部入出國移民署、行政院新聞局、國家教育研究院以及國立臺灣文學館等。內政部入出國移民署翻譯業務集中在移民輔導業務，包括服務站、專勤隊、收容所、0800 外籍配偶／外國人諮詢專線、防制人口販運國際工作坊、管理通譯人才資料庫等。行政院新聞局的翻譯業務，則包括編輯發行雙語的《光華雜誌》、拍攝紀錄片等，該單位已於 2012 年 5 月中旬裁撤改組。國家教育研究院則是從事學術名詞、工具用書及重要圖書之編譯及翻譯發展研究等。國立臺灣文學館 2011 年度起承接文化建設委員會移撥之臺灣文學外譯

業務，以固定年度預算補助文學翻譯工作。

（二）翻譯業務總金額推估達 1 億元以上，且業務量穩定無明顯變化

回復具有翻譯需求的公部門單位有 257 個，但詳細勾選翻譯業務金額的單位有 232 個。2011 年度公部門翻譯需求的業務金額，以單位計，一半以上低於臺幣 10 萬元，占 57%，其次是 10-50 萬元，占 28%，近 85% 具翻譯需求的公部門單位，其翻譯業務總金額少於 50 萬，參見圖 2。若將選項金額平均，乘上勾選該選項的單位數，加總後可推估辦理翻譯業務的總金額。依序計算，加總後翻譯業務金額保守推估約為 1 億 321 萬元，受訪單位每機構平均翻譯業務金額約為 44.48 萬元。相較於 2010 年度，74 個單位認為口筆譯業務量增加，16 個單位認為減少，另有 159 個單位認為無明顯差異。

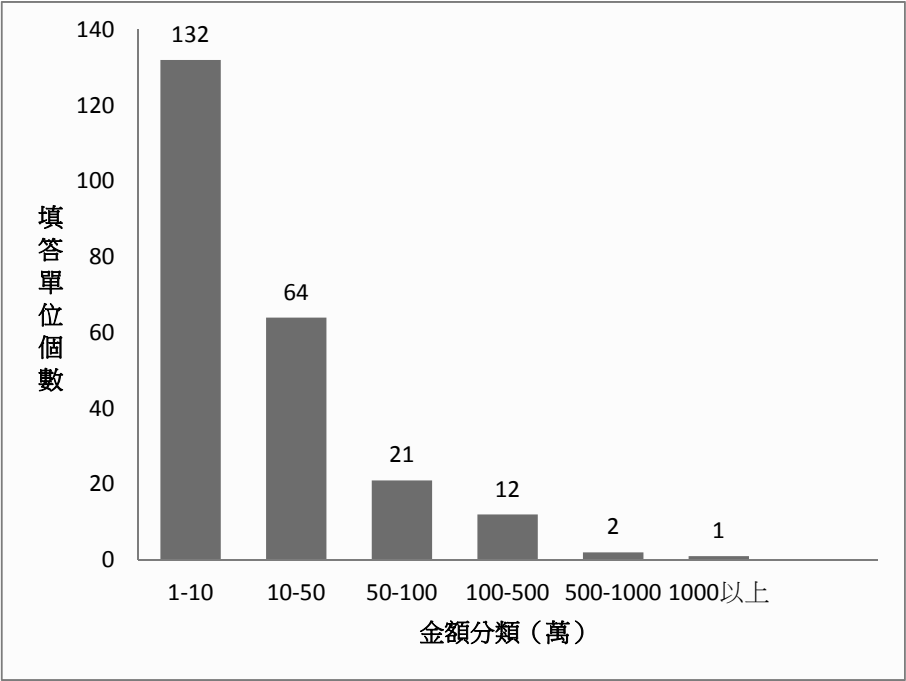


圖 2 政府填答單位翻譯需求一以金額分類

資料來源：本研究整理。

於此必須特別說明，調查及訪談結果顯示，翻譯多附屬併同於其他業務之內編列預算，部分翻譯相關經費支出可能不易拆解或取得，所以對於翻譯業務金額估計無法十分精確。依前文所述，若以填答數最多之總金額分類勾選題為推估標準，取各金額區間之平均值乘以填答個數，則 2011 年度加總的翻譯業務推估金額為 1 億 321 萬元。其中筆譯業務推估金額總計約為 8,110 萬元；口譯業務金額總計約為 2,345 萬元。反之，若以筆譯之語言別為分類方式，再按照完全相同的方式推估筆譯業務金額規模，則可以得到譯入外文筆譯業務量約為 3,217 萬 5 千元、外文譯中文筆譯業務量約為 3,611 萬元，合計約 6,828 萬元，兩者之間差距達 1,272 萬元。究其原因，不論筆譯或口譯，除了許多翻譯業務併入委辦計畫辦理，會計名目也經常不是以翻譯申報，因此以上業務金額可能都是保守估計。

二、筆譯業務需求

（一）將近 6 成機關具有常態筆譯需求；常態筆譯需求與非常態筆譯需求經費約各占一半；業務量集中於部分機關

筆譯業務項目方面，具有例行性翻譯業務之單位共有 145 個，沒有例行性業務者為 101 個，比例大約為 3：2；另有 9 個單位有翻譯需求的單位未填答。例行性業務泛指需求頻率較為固定之翻譯業務，多為首長發言或年報、公報、研究報告、輿情等定期出版品及新聞稿等。以金額計，各項筆譯業務金額總計約為 8,110 萬元，其中例行性筆譯業務金額約 3,765 萬元，約為 46.4%，非例行性業務金額約 4,345 萬元，約占 53.6%，由總金額可以發現，例行性翻譯業務及非例行翻譯業務約各占一半，參見圖 3。如果再詳細分析金額，則結果為填答有例行性翻譯業務的單位中，接近 7 成年度翻譯業務量都不到 10 萬元。根據所有填答機關之選項加總，可以推估例行性筆譯業務金額約 3,765 萬元，而 10 萬元以下的筆譯例行性業務總額約為 495 萬元。易言之，超過 80% 的例行性翻譯經費均集中於 30% 受訪機構。為求交叉驗證，後續關於每月

常態翻譯需求件數，結果顯示共有 124 個單位每月都有翻譯業務，惟每月常態翻譯業務件數 5 件以下者共有 83 個單位，占總填答數之 66.9%，結果與由金額推估一致。由此可見，受訪政府機關雖然 6 成以上有例行性的翻譯業務，但是無論件數或金額都不大，件數及金額較大的則為部分特定單位，此結果與前述包含口譯及筆譯之整體翻譯需求相同。

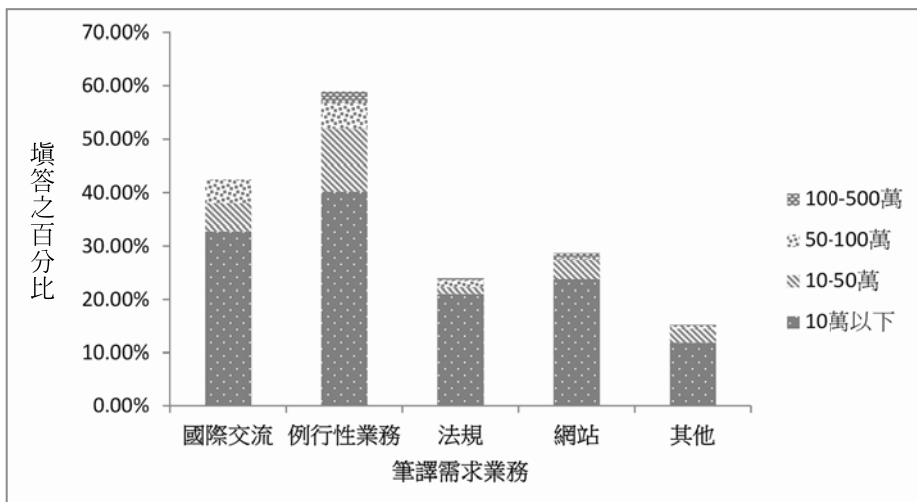


圖 3 筆譯需求業務金額

資料來源：本研究整理。

綜合前述例行性業務與非常態業務之分析可以得知，推論政府機關的翻譯業務可分為例行與非常態兩類，各機關雖然普遍有例行性翻譯需求，但業務量不大；另外還有大約 5 成是非常態需求。此結果對於翻譯人力之配置具有重要意義，後續另行討論。

關於非常態性較普遍的筆譯需求業務主要以「國際交流」為最多，推估國際交流總需求經費約 1,920 萬元，其他主要項目包括網站 995 萬元、法規 870 萬元、其他約 560 萬元。若深入以金額分析需求分布狀況，「國際交流」的單位，其中 76.4% 筆譯需求業務金額在 10 萬元以下，12.2% 金額在 10-50 萬元之間，10.3% 在 50-100 萬元之間，另有 1 個單位業務金額在 100-500 萬元。整體需求分布仍為普遍有小額需求，大額

需求則集中於特定機關之現象。除國際交流業務外，「網站」、「法規」及「其他」之需求分布狀況大致相同。

以「法規」為例，需求較大單位之一為直轄市一級局處。受訪單位表示，非常態筆譯需求集中在彙編多語資料，協助不諳中文之外籍人士或僑民辦理稅務；或者近年因長期與環保性質之非政府組織合作，多次舉辦國際交流活動，故筆譯業務金額漸增。另有 1 個政府單位業務金額為 100-500 萬元，其筆譯內容為國家標準及國外標準筆譯等。其他類業務筆譯內容包括出版品、出國考察報告、不可預見之判決內容、資料蒐集、外國政策、電子郵件、信函等。

（二）筆譯語言組合分析：中譯外筆譯需求大於外譯中，中譯外需求以英文、日文、越南文居多，外譯中則是英文、日文、韓文

以中文筆譯為外文時，前 3 大需求單位數最多的語文分別是：英文、日文、越南文。200 個單位勾選中譯英需求，52 個單位有中譯日需求，18 個單位有中文譯為越南文需求，14 個單位具有中文譯為韓文需求，10 個單位有中文譯為法文需求，7 個單位有中文譯為西班牙文需求，6 個單位有中文譯為德文需求；具有中文譯為越南文以外其他東南語文需求（印尼文、菲律賓文、泰文、緬甸文、柬埔寨文）的單位有 37 個，另外有 6 個單位具有中文譯為其他語言需求，包括蒙古文、藏文、捷克文、尼泊爾文、葡萄牙文等。由於本題為複選題，因此勾選總次數達 350 次，遠高於具有翻譯需求之單位數。由此可以間接推論政府翻譯需求並非單一語種，而是需要多語翻譯服務。平均而言，257 個具有翻譯需求的單位，每一個單位需要 1.36 種語種。

以外文筆譯為中文時，前 3 個需求單位數最多的語文分別是：英文、日文、韓文。89 個單位有英文譯入中文需求，41 個單位有日文譯入中文需求，10 個單位有韓文譯入中文需求，9 個單位有法文譯入中文需求，6 個單位有德文譯入中文需求，3 個單位有西班牙文譯入中文需求；具有其他語言譯入中文需求（包括藏文、捷克文、菲律賓文）的單位有 2

個，具有中文譯為五大東南語文需求（越南文、印尼文、泰文、緬甸文、柬埔寨文）的單位有 22 個。

若以金額加總，可得各單位 1 萬元以下的中譯英筆譯業務總額約為 21 萬 5 千元。業務金額達 50 萬元以上者，則保守估計以 50 萬元計算。以此推估，中文譯入外文筆譯需求之業務量，約略為 3,217 萬 5 千元；外文譯入中文筆譯需求之業務量，約略為 3,611 萬元。

綜合前述，以具有筆譯需求的單位數而言，則可以發現中譯外需求的單位數較多，但總業務金額兩者相差不大，顯示中譯外的需求更加分散。以互譯語言來看，中文譯入英文的筆譯需求最多（200 個單位），其次是英文譯入中文（89 個單位），中文譯為日文（52 個單位）、其他依序是日文譯入中文（41 個單位）。東南亞語系中，前 3 個筆譯需求較高的語言依序是越南文、印尼文、泰文；中文譯為此 3 個語言的需求，也大於此 3 個語言譯為中文的需求。

三、口譯業務需求

（一）約半數機關有口譯業務需求；業務量集中於部分機關

口譯業務需求調查分為 3 類，有「逐步口譯」需求項目的單位有 52 個，「同步口譯」項目的單位 46 個，「隨行口譯」項目的單位 36 個。根據選項勾選次數合併推估，則可以得到有口譯需求之機關占填答總數之 48.4%。例行性業務的口譯需求件數，22 個單位表示少於 5 件，5 個單位表示有 6-15 件，6 個單位表示有 16-30 件，另有 5 個單位表示需求達 31 件以上。非例行業務方面，總勾選次數為 228 次，其中業務數量在 5 件以下，占 81.5%。細項口譯業務類別的件數分配也類似或更高，5 件以下的比例協商談判為 95%，專題演講及拜會參觀 5 件以下皆為 88.2%，國際賽會為 89.4%，其他口譯需求件數少於 5 件者占 68.7%。然而，參訪及其他口譯業務也有 2 個單位表示有 6-15 件，另有 3 個單位需求達 31 件以上。若分析口譯業務費用分布狀況，可以得知需求仍以 10 萬元以下居多，但也有一個單位口譯業務費用金額超過 5 百萬，

參見圖 4。整體而言，政府機關口譯業務需求分布狀況與筆譯及口筆譯綜合計算類似，即普遍有小額需求，而大部分口譯需求量集中於少數機關。若以 3 類口譯業務分開估算，則隨行口譯業務金額約 515 萬元、逐步口譯約 1,090 萬元、同步口譯約 740 萬元，各項口譯業務金額總計約為 2,345 萬元。若依需求性質分析，最多的是拜會參訪、國際會議、專題演講、例行性業務、協商談判、國際賽會。另有其他類型口譯需求，包括法庭口譯、訪查及協調糾紛等。

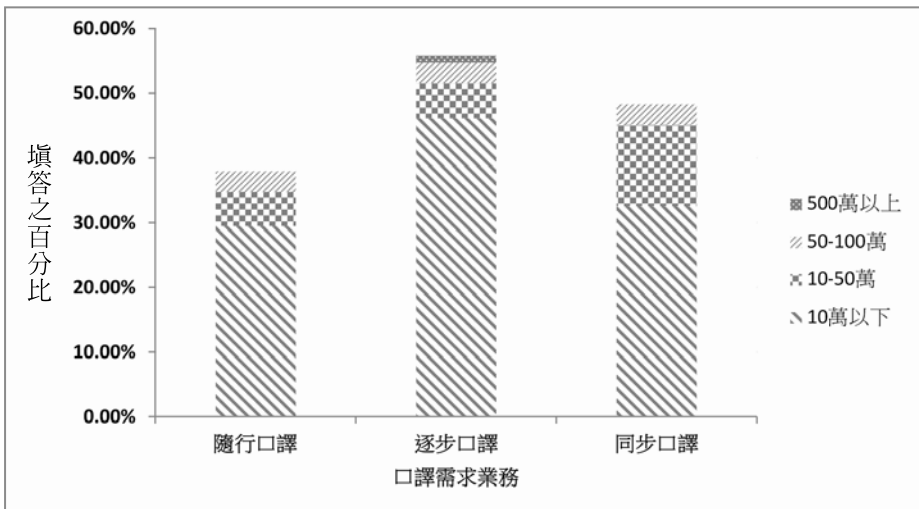


圖 4 口譯需求業務金額
資料來源：本研究整理。

(二) 口譯語言需求以英文、日文、越南文最多

填答者回復不同語言口譯需求的業務金額時，每個語言別項目下有 5 個業務金額區間，分別是 1 萬元以下、1-5 萬元、5-10 萬元、10-50 萬元、50 萬元以上，各單位口譯需求之語言業務金額統計如圖 5，需求最多依序為英文、日文、越南及韓文等。若將各單位勾選的類別項目及金額加總，可得各單位 1 萬元以下的中譯英口譯業務總額約為 11 萬元。業務金額達 50 萬元以上者，則保守估計以 50 萬元計算，以此推估，有口譯需求之單位的業務量，約為 1,429 萬元。

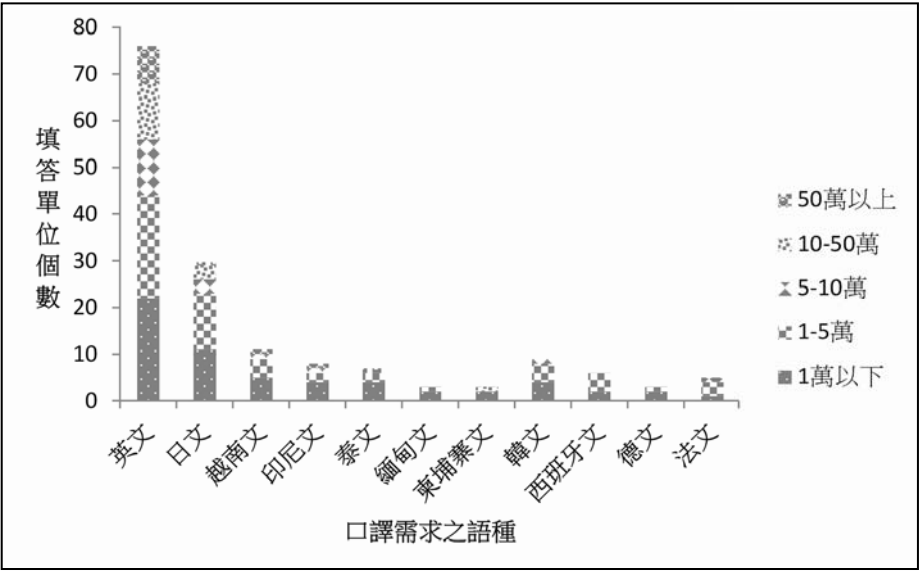


圖 5 口譯需求之語言業務金額

資料來源：本研究整理。

四、翻譯業務辦理方式及品質管理機制

辦理翻譯業務的方式包括以單位內部自行翻譯、單位逕洽翻譯社、單位逕洽固定譯者、併入委辦計畫辦理、翻譯案專案招標及其他方式等途徑，參見圖 6。其中以「單位內部自行翻譯」之單位最多，占 62.9%，未以「單位內部自行翻譯」的單位占 38.1%。填答內部自行翻譯的單位，25.7% 以「單位內部自行翻譯」方式辦理之翻譯需求占 75% 以上，另有 22.1% 占 1%-25%。其餘 51.8% 自行翻譯比例介於 20%-74% 之間。

以「單位逕洽翻譯社」辦理翻譯需求者的單位占 45.1%，未以「單位逕洽翻譯社」占 54.9%。剔除無逕洽翻譯社之單位後，有 20% 以「單位逕洽翻譯社」方式辦理之翻譯需求占 1%-25%；另有 13.4% 占 75% 以上。其餘 66.5% 逕洽翻譯社比例介於 20%-74% 之間。

以「單位逕洽固定譯者」辦理翻譯需求者的單位占 35.4%，未以「單

位逕洽固定譯者」辦理的單位占 64.6%。剔除無逕洽固定譯者之單位後，17.5% 以「單位逕洽固定譯者」方式辦理之翻譯需求占 1%-25%；另有 9% 占 75 % 以上。其餘 73.1% 逕洽固定譯者比例介於 20%-74% 之間。

以「併入委辦計畫辦理」辦理翻譯需求者占 29.8%，未以「併入委辦計畫辦理」的單位有 70.2%。其中，於採用此方式辦理的單位中，有 12.4% 以「併入委辦計畫辦理」方式辦理之翻譯需求占 75 % 以上；另有 11% 占 1%-25%。其餘 76.9% 併入委辦計畫辦理比例介於 20%-74% 之間。於此必須特別說明，當翻譯需求併入委辦計畫處理，由於委辦計畫的預算中不一定會出現翻譯相關科目，通常將更難估計確實的翻譯業務金額。

以「翻譯案專案招標」辦理翻譯需求者占 9%，未以「翻譯案專案招標」的單位有 91%。由此可見，以專案招標方式辦理，仍為處理翻譯業務較少採用的方式。究其原因，依據政府採購法，金額未達新台幣 10 萬元之採購適用小額採購程序，即可逕洽廠商。比照前述各單位翻譯需求的分布狀況，由於大部分機關翻譯需求不大，而且有些併入委辦計畫辦理，所以大部分政府機關之翻譯需求如要委外，就逕洽翻譯社或固定譯者，因此上述結果應屬合理。

若針對翻譯需求較大的單位進行分析，則可以發現超過新臺幣 50 萬元的單位中，針對翻譯需求辦理招標時，較常見的是限制性招標及最有利標，最低標則有 2 個單位採用。招標方面，越來越多單位採以最有利標處理翻譯業務。

以「其他」方式辦理翻譯需求者，共有 16 個，主要是：「依所需語言及專長，擇具相關留學經驗之專家學者協助翻譯」、「承辦人員逕行處理英文資料」、「共同供應契約廠商」、「併入英文網路維護案辦理」、「依政府採購法辦理」、「請專業口譯導覽」、「洽外交部協助」等。

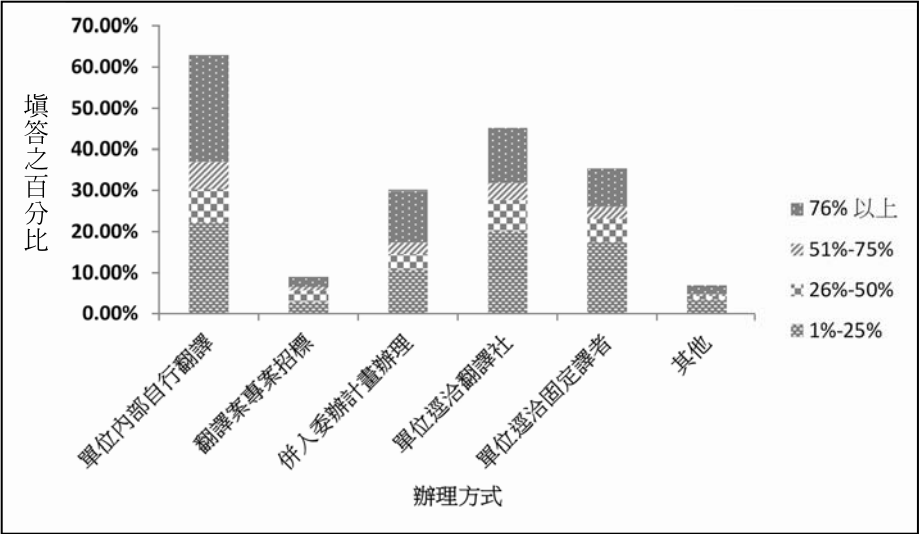


圖 6 各政府單位翻譯需求辦理方式

資料來源：本研究整理。

筆譯業務品質管理方面，有 122 個（50.4%）單位表示筆譯業務品質管理方式是依行政程序簽核，45.0% 填答單位表示業務人員自行負責，24.4% 填答單位表示單位內設有審稿機制，43 個（17.8%）填答單位表示外聘審稿人員，22 個（9.1%）單位表示由使用者評鑑；另有 18 個（7.4%）填答單位表示無審稿機制。其他審理方式包括：由外語替代役協助、洽請外交部翻譯組協助、請新移民個案試閱、依共同契約由翻譯社找人審稿等，參見圖 7。

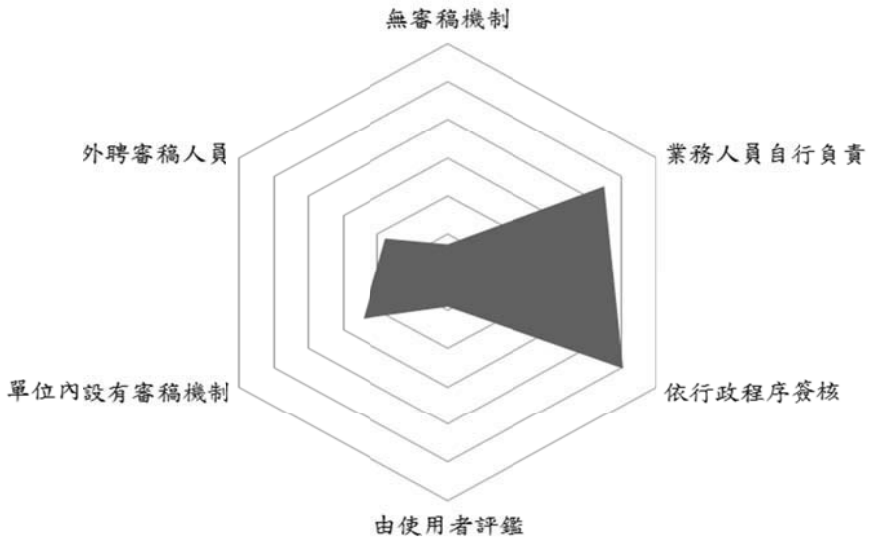


圖 7 筆譯品質管理方式
資料來源：本研究整理。

五、翻譯人才擇選

（一）擇選筆譯人才之重要考量因素

論及擇選筆譯人才之重要考量因素，依次為「筆譯工作經歷」、「筆譯專業訓練」、「學歷及專業背景」、「外語能力檢定」、「翻譯能力相關證照」、「兼具口譯能力」、「機關自辦聘用考試成績」，參見圖 8。其他考量方式包括：工作態度及學習能力、打字速度準確度、由外語替代役協助、由委辦機關負責評選、需為合法設立有案之翻譯社、試譯及作品品質、具外國籍優先加分、委託翻譯社處理、長官口試以了解中文能力、採共同供應契約辦理並未擇定筆譯者、由外交部指派人選等。

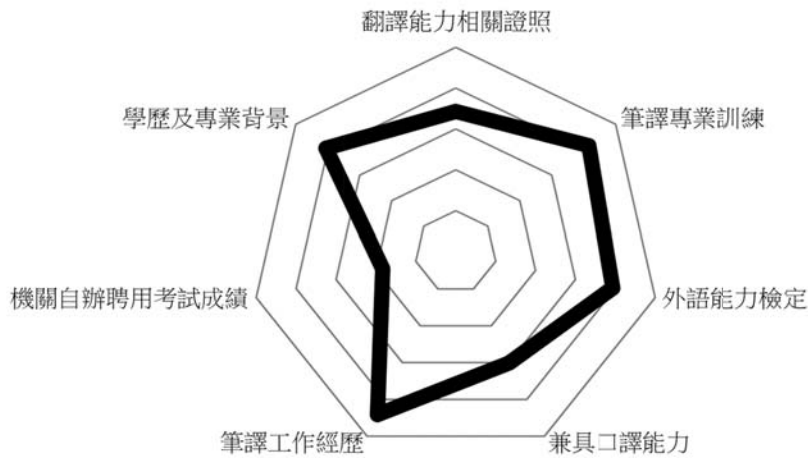


圖 8 筆譯人才考量

資料來源：本研究整理。

(二) 擇選口譯人才之重要考量因素

論及擇選口譯人才之重要考量因素，依次為「口譯工作經歷」、「口譯專業訓練」、「外語能力檢定」、「學歷及專業背景」、「口譯能力相關證照」、「機關自辦聘用考試成績」，參見圖 9。

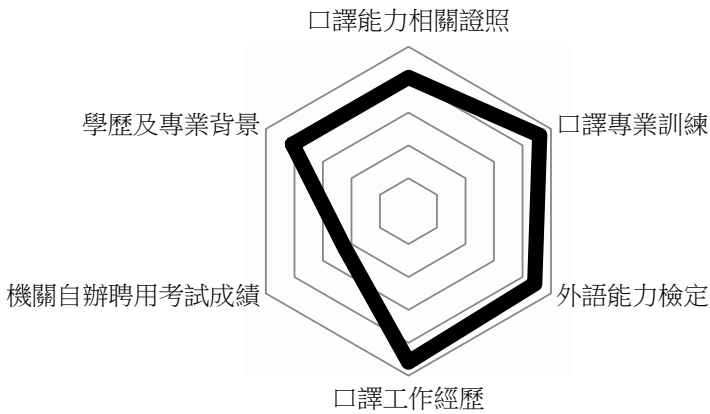


圖 9 口譯人才考量

資料來源：本研究整理。

（三）翻譯人力不足之語種及專業領域

翻譯人力不足的語種依序是英文、東南亞語系、日文、法文、德文等。其中 36.7% 的填答單位勾選英文，參見圖 10。另各單位填答最需培養的專業領域，被提及次數最多的領域依序是法律、英文、農業以及醫療。

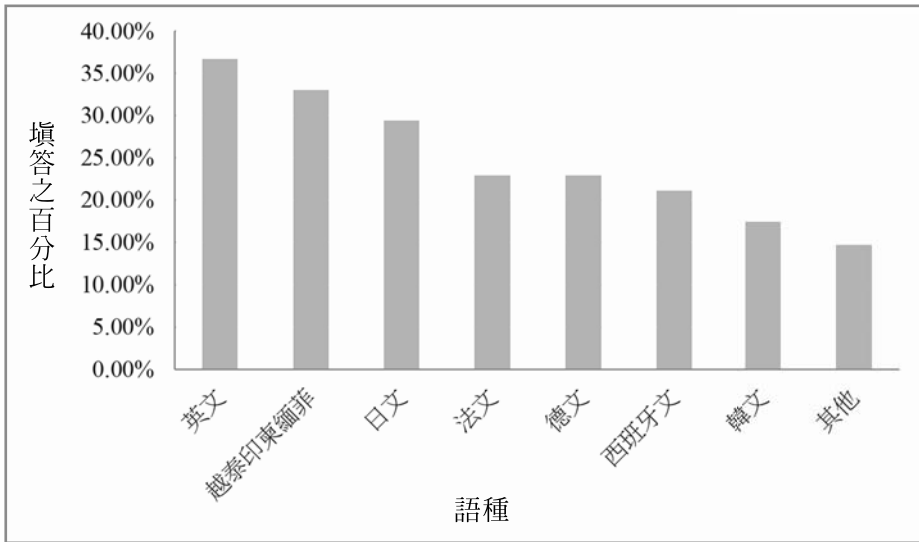


圖 10 政府翻譯人力不足語種

資料來源：本研究整理。

六、國家翻譯政策以多語種翻譯人才培育、媒合平台、中文作品外譯、及建立翻譯服務評鑑機制需求較高

本研究參考不同研究者對國家翻譯發展政策的建議（周中天等人，2004；林慶隆等人，2011；賴慈芸等人，2006），列擬國家翻譯相關政策宜包含之 15 個項目。若將「非常同意」以及「同意」選項的勾選百分率合計，由高至低依次為：持續推動多語種翻譯人才培育（87.8%）、建置媒合平台提供轉介諮詢（84.8%）、推動中文作品外譯（80.3%）、

建立翻譯服務提供者專業規範（79.5%）、推廣翻譯品質評鑑機制（78.9%）、設置翻譯人力資料庫供登錄查詢（75.5%）、建立遠距多語種口譯服務機制（75.5%）、於公務人力體系內設置翻譯職系（74.5%）、建置「國際動態新知即時中文化平台」（66.9%）、發展翻譯工具類資料庫／語料庫（66.8%）、推廣翻譯之能力或證照考試（64.7%）、將翻譯品質納入政府機關績效評比項目（58.3%）、推動翻譯著作列入學術升等／評鑑項目（55.3%）、成立國家級翻譯政策發展機構（52.6%）、規範翻譯費用支付標準（42.8%）；圖 11 羅列同意比例超過 60% 之項目。

前述 15 項問卷政策選項共有 8 項有多達 75% 的填答單位勾選「同意」以上，可見是很普遍的需求。就各政府單位推動翻譯業務而言，最關切的應是如期如質的完成，所以諸如充足的各語種譯者、可快速找到譯者的媒合平台、優良的翻譯品質或是單位內有翻譯人員等，才是各單位最需求的事。至於翻譯考試及國家專責翻譯機構，周中天等人（2004）所進行之臺灣翻譯產業調查，發現受訪對象大都贊成設置國家專責翻譯機構及建立翻譯證照制度，惟此次各單位對成立機構的意見僅為 52.6%。15 個項目的意見僅規範翻譯費用支付標準這項未達 50%，這可能是行政院主計處「中央政府各機關學校稿費支給基準數額表」原就有規範標準，近年來因翻譯案件具異質性，規範如依政府採購法辦理，得不依該基準辦理。

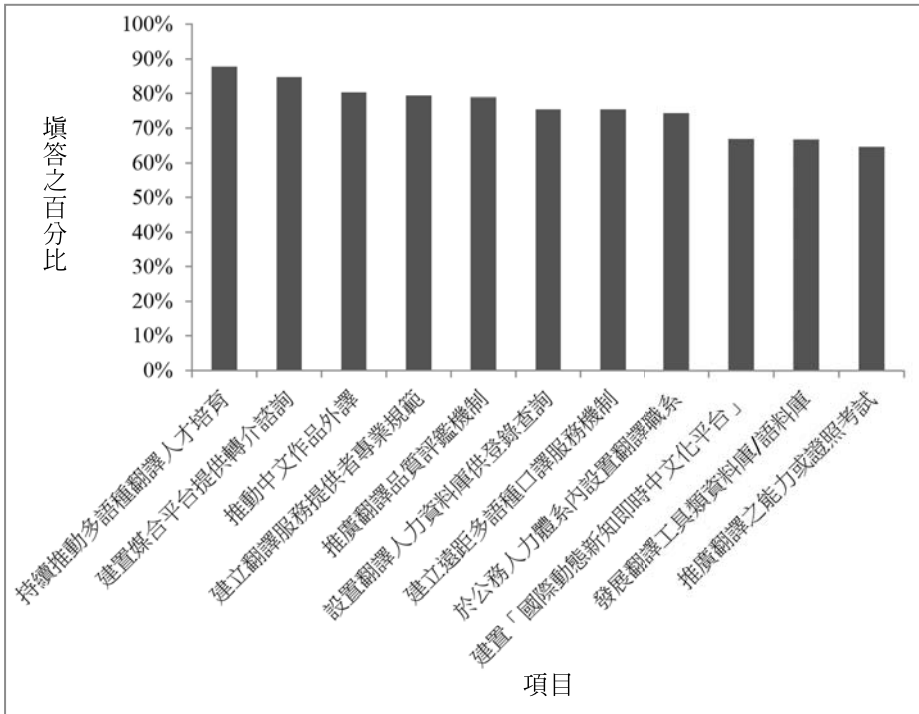


圖 11 同意比例超過 60% 之國家翻譯發展政策項目

資料來源：本研究整理。

七、各單位面臨的問題

關於翻譯需求管理，將各填答單位「非常同意」以及「同意」兩個選項的勾選次數合計，大於 50% 的有 6 項，依次是「其他單位不了解翻譯專業、溝通不易」、「找不到合適的外聘翻譯人力」、「翻譯人力流動過於頻繁」、「翻譯品質不穩定」，「譯者缺乏所需專業領域知識」及「編制內具翻譯專長之人力不足」等。進一步透過訪談，本研究將政府部門面臨的問題，分述如下：

（一）翻譯人力不足的語種依序是英文、東南亞語系、日文

訪談結果中，有 3 個單位提到翻譯業務量超過專職翻譯人員或秘書處室負荷，造成工作執行困難。其解決方案包括限制使用翻譯服務對象

及範圍、請其他部會支援或與自由口譯員固定合作。然而，受訪者所提之解決方案都仍有不盡完備之處，例如固定合作的自由口譯員雖然翻譯品質可以接受，但因無公務人員身份，機密業務交付會有困難，仍須由內部處理。針對此問題，未來若無法擴大公務體系翻譯專業人才之晉用，恐怕仍是無法解決。

在非中央部會或一級附屬機關的單位中，例如地方政府單位，翻譯業務量波動很大，若設置專職翻譯人力長期而言不符所需，但若完全交由業務承辦人處理，又經常因欠缺規劃而使翻譯品質欠佳。另一方面，近來政府內部組織改造促進公務體系內翻譯專業人才的流通。行政院新聞局自 2012 年 5 月整併之後，過去局內通過國際新聞特考、具備外語翻譯及審稿能力的專才，重新分配到各部會。受訪者 J 指出，約有四、五成原新聞局人力已編入文化部，也有數位資深外語顧問轉任外交部翻譯組顧問，使得人力較為充裕，但英語以外的其他語言，翻譯專業人才仍舊難覓。

對於英語以外專業翻譯人才需求量較大的政府單位，除了外交部翻譯組之外，其中一個是內政部入出國移民署。因東南亞外籍配偶人數逐年增加，相關生活輔導之翻譯需求也大幅增加。2012 年起開辦之移民行政特考，已招募相當數量之東南亞語系專才，錄取後進行培訓。然而東南亞外籍人口在臺迅速增加，翻譯需求也急遽成長，遠超過公務體系培養具東南亞語系專才的速度，因此需要大量臨時人力支援。但受限於政府相關人事規定，目前能夠提供給臨時人力的補貼福利都十分有限，甚至員額也過於稀少。

訪談結果發現，多個內部設有專職翻譯人員的受訪單位都提到，現有的約聘僱制度很難留住翻譯專才，原因包括薪資福利不足、業務內容經常隨長官風格變動、翻譯業務難獲重視業務量卻持續增長。約聘僱制度為一年一聘，薪資福利通常只在公務人員調薪時一併微幅增加，而業務補貼、加班費、公假規定方面，通常只有編制內公務員可以利用。長官風格經常主導翻譯業務量及翻譯專才的工作內容，譬如有的長官會因

人情攬下翻譯業務，或主導翻譯業務外包以免翻譯出錯時單位需負責，或要求翻譯專才兼任新聞稿撰寫、媒體聯繫工作。

針對翻譯人才能力之考核一事，政府相關單位曾經研議專業翻譯資格議題。法務部曾在 1996 年草擬翻譯師法草案，但由於公證法的修法與開放民間公證人、法院公證人雙軌新制的實施，當時翻譯業務主要項目的公證文書需求獲得紓解，翻譯師法之研議即長期被擱置。2006 年立法委員蕭美琴辦公室曾舉辦「建立我國翻譯師制度」公聽會。與會者多表贊同，但公聽會後亦無後續發展（監察院，2012）。

受訪者 A 指出，翻譯業務經常被認為具外語能力人員即可兼任，對於口筆譯的專業度不夠瞭解，因此單位內專職翻譯人力經常被認為是可有可無，缺乏從長計議。相對的，受訪者 H 認為，在某些擁有大量專業外語人才的單位，對於口筆譯的專業程度則較有清楚認知，瞭解外語能力並不同於翻譯能力，因而在國際會議展覽需要口譯時，都會外聘口譯員，鮮少由業務承辦人或內部人員兼任。

另外，許多東南亞語系專才來源為外籍配偶新住民，在學經歷以及專業翻譯訓練方面較為缺乏，從事通譯工作時薪通常只有百餘元，在缺乏專業又缺乏市場誘因的情況下，翻譯工作條件也難以提升。雖然目前有許多公私部門單位持續培養翻譯人才，但是多半屬於移民、司法及醫療通譯性質。短期內恐無法滿足政府部門交多樣化的需求。即便長期持續培育東南亞語翻譯人才，訪談結果也顯示通譯人員於培訓後，因照顧家庭因素而無法持續提供服務，造成通譯人員流失。

有鑑於此，受訪者 D 表示越南駐臺辦事處有意考慮引進越南語能力檢定，推動越語學習。此類外語檢定若開辦，其他東南亞語系可能會群起效尤，將大大有助於臺灣東南亞語系翻譯人才的培育。

（二）各單位對翻譯服務本質的認知不一

各單位支付標準難於配合翻譯服務內涵，肇因於各單位對於翻譯服務的解讀不一；有的單位能配合翻譯服務實務，有的單位則一定要壓低單價。以筆譯費用為例，中文翻英文、以中文原文計算，每字 2 元已

經是很多單位的上限，但當題材牽涉到專業技術，此一支付標準其實不易找到合適之專才。預算不足時，請求活動協辦單位協助是可行的解決之道，尤其當協辦單位為民間企業時，翻譯預算的規劃方面通常比公部門有彈性，也較能理解翻譯的專業，願意協助以市場價格聘用口筆譯專才。

前述政府機關進行翻譯業務招標時仍有許多困難，雖然越來越多單位以最有利標來處理翻譯業務，仍然有待與會計部門持續溝通。最低標結果常造成翻譯品質低劣，徒增承辦人員負擔的狀況。然而，政府機關翻譯業務採購究竟應該採用最低標或最有利標一事，其實應該適度釐清其原理。雖然實施翻譯專案採購的機關數量不多，但是究竟適用何種投標程序的議題，對於翻譯產業的長遠發展，卻具有重大的意涵。

目前政府採購翻譯服務面臨兩項挑戰：第一、採購機關對於翻譯服務本質的認知；第二、完備採購條件的人力與資源。依照政府採購法第 52 條規定，最低標係指「訂有底價之採購，以合於招標文件規定，且在底價以內之最低標為得標廠商」。另依照政府採購法第 66 條規定，最有利標決標過程「應依招標文件所規定之評審標準，就廠商投標標的之技術、品質、功能、商業條款或價格等項目，作序位或計數之綜合評選，評定最有利標」。另外，政府採購法施行細則第 66 條規定，所謂異質採購，係指「不同廠商所供應之工程、財物或勞務，於技術、品質、功能、效益、特性或商業條款等，有差異者」。行政院公共工程委員會民國 101 年 5 月 24 日修正之「機關異質採購最低標作業須知」第 2 條規定，「機關辦理異質採購，得於招標文件訂定審查標準，並成立審查委員會及工作小組，審查投標廠商之資格及規格後，就合於標準之廠商開價格標，採最低標決標」。比較前述 3 項規定可以發現，最低標在同一個採購需求規格下，唯一的評比標準是價格。因此，最低標的前提是投標廠商所提供的勞務或服務完全相同。對照翻譯服務實務，由於翻譯服務的異質性，口譯、筆譯的譯文及服務流程幾乎不可能完全相同，因此最低標顯然不是理想的方式。然而，如果採購單位不認為翻譯服務具

有異質性，則當然會傾向以最低標方式進行。因此，其最基本的癥結在於採購單位對於翻譯服務的認知。對於能夠接受翻譯服務具有異質性的單位而言，最有利標或異質採購才較符合實際狀況。但是，最有利標或異質採購的要件是，必須於招標公告之前事先訂定規格評審標準。對照目前政府翻譯業務人力的配置及運用，是否能夠在現有資源之下完成事前所有的規格及評選要件，則還需要進一步探究。

然而，翻譯費用支給標準已經開始出現彈性，亦即認可異質性之存在。過去各機關採用統一的翻譯費用支給標準，規範詳細至每一字單價；翻譯服務也曾包含於共同採購契約，由廠商事先報價，政府機關採購時即無須另行議價。此類辦法都將所有翻譯服務視為完全相同，不論法律條文、網站資訊或新聞稿皆一視同仁。由翻譯實務角度看來，確實有不盡合理之處，直至最近狀況才有所不同。行政院主計總處民國 104 年 7 月 15 日院授主預字第 1040101385A 號函「中央政府各機關學校出席費及稿費支給要點」附件「中央政府各機關學校稿費支給基準數額表」規定，譯稿因已有公開市場機制，不另訂基準。另外，潤稿之支給，僅限於極為專業之譯稿，至其是否屬極為專業之譯稿及其支給基準，由各機關學校本於權責自行衡酌辦理。

（三）公務單位對於翻譯專業普遍不夠瞭解及翻譯人力流動過於頻繁

調查結果顯示四分之三填答單位贊成公務人力體系內設置翻譯職系，訪談時受訪者進一步提出的問題包括：若政府內部成立翻譯職系，翻譯人員應是通才還是專才？當編制內翻譯人力不足，應如何規劃臨時人力？公務人員即使有職系之分，當職級越往上通常職系之分也就越模糊。受訪者 I 指出，跨越職系之分才能為組織帶來創意與新意，組織才能革新進步，而翻譯職系若只自限於翻譯業務，可能會影響升遷管道。對業務單位而言，除非翻譯業務量大到一個程度，否則很難雇用只會翻譯的人力，因此建議翻譯職系可以和新聞職系合併，成立翻譯新聞職系。或如移民署，移民行政職系加考語文專業，但本質上並非翻譯人

力，而是具有外語專長的行政人力。

相對的，受過專業口筆譯訓練、目前任職於公部門擔任專職翻譯人員的受訪者，則認為翻譯十分專業，光是要做好翻譯就不容易，遑論兼任其他業務。受訪者 E 指出，公部門內部對於翻譯專業普遍不夠瞭解，約聘僱制度造成翻譯人力流動頻繁，譬如 3 年內有超過 20 人次的流動，經驗難以累積傳承，造成惡性循環。

綜合訪談結果可以得出，受訪者認為公務員一般來說應該是通才，較為專業的職系，例如會計以及人事行政自成一格，工作內容、升遷管道與一般公務員不同，而警政、司法人員也同樣自行舉辦特考，體系獨立。翻譯職系成立與否，除了翻譯的專業地位，和翻譯業務量以及翻譯需求是否穩定也有很大的關係。假使翻譯需求只集中在某些單位，或翻譯業務波動極大，則成立翻譯職系似實際作用不大。

然而在沒有翻譯相關職系、約聘僱人力留才困難的情況下，某些單位具有長期穩定的翻譯需求，長期依賴外包的結果是成本過高，難以控管品質。以外語諮詢熱線為例，年度預算合計有數百萬，若以此預算在單位內設置新單位綽綽有餘，管理也更直接明確，然而受限於政府精簡人力之走向，短期內可能還是以委外方式處理。

伍、結論與建議

本研究結果有助於了解我國翻譯產業之樣貌，並據以提出對於翻譯政策之具體建議。與周中天等人（2004）相較，本研究調查政府單位對象更廣，且更新結果，足以反映最新政府需求，並得以進行跨期比較。以下謹就調查成果綜合總結。

一、正視翻譯需求增加趨勢並妥善因應

本研究有效回收 414 份問卷，回復 2011 年度有翻譯需求者為 62.1%。若依據行政院主計處 2011 年公布之產業分類標準界定管轄範

圍，則以公共行政及國防類別占最多數。本研究依照問卷結果估算該年度翻譯業務金額為 1 億 321 萬元，政府受訪單位每單位平均翻譯業務金額為 44.48 萬元，保守推估政府翻譯需求之規模超過 1 億元以上。此數字約為周中天等人（2004）推估規模之 2 倍，符合林慶隆等人（2011）對於周中天等人（2004）研究結果之評論。隨著全球化和國際化與日俱增，翻譯的需求較諸以往有增加之趨勢，如何健全翻譯產業環境及人力資源，涉及政府政策推展效能，當須正視。翻譯需求快速增加對於政府單位也產生一定壓力，政府單位訪談結果認為重要之前 8 個項目中，包括持續推動多語種翻譯人才培育、建置媒合平台提供轉介諮詢、建立翻譯服務提供者專業規範、推廣翻譯品質評鑑機制、設置翻譯人力資料庫供登錄查詢、建立遠距多語種口譯服務機制、於公務人力體系內設置翻譯職系及發展翻譯工具類資料庫／語料庫等，都與政府翻譯業務量增加息息相關。顯示翻譯需求之趨勢必須早妥善因應。

二、加強翻譯人力資源運用及管理改善任用制度、健全翻譯人才媒合機制

根據研究結果顯示，政府部門翻譯需求，除少數單位外，大部分皆屬於不定期且需求量變化極大之型態，且多語種口筆譯需求皆存在。然目前尚無任何機制以整體因應此種不定期且數量變化大的翻譯需求。本研究調查結果也發現，翻譯人力不足的語種依序是英文、東南亞語系、日文、法文、德文、西班牙文、韓文及其他；最需培養的專業領域，依次為法律、英文、農業以及醫療等。訪談結果中亦有多個單位提到翻譯業務量超過專職翻譯人員或秘書處室負荷，造成工作執行困難，因此各受訪單位仍在各自尋求解決方案。而各自尋求解決方案之成效，周中天等人（2004）及本研究兩次調查結果皆顯示仍有不盡完備之處，主要因為個別單位翻譯專業相關整備不足，因此無法有效結合外部資源。無論是選擇翻譯人員或評鑑翻譯品質，多呈現力有未逮之現象。審視實際狀況可以發現，未來政府單位個別提升翻譯專業相關整備之可能性不

高，因此或可考量未來相關政策重點聚焦於提升翻譯人力品質資訊透明度及普及度，協助政府需求單位以更有效率之方式取得翻譯人力，執行翻譯相關業務。

由此可見，未來推動政府翻譯效率及品質提升之關鍵在於彈性人力之運用，因此媒合機制尤為重要。此媒合機制必須透明且能於翻譯需求低時維持基本翻譯人力資源；翻譯需求短期間快速大幅增加時，亦能及時整合需求，搜尋並取得資源以滿足需求。目前已逐步成形之各類翻譯人才資料庫，應不失為可行方法之一。

目前雖然政府機關已建置各種人才資料庫，但是媒合機制之功能並不止於被動提供服務提供者之資訊，而是提供供需雙方能以最有效率方式達成協議，將搜尋成本及交易成本降至最低。然而，此項機制牽涉較為複雜，未來該機制應如何定位，是否應由政府主導，或者輔導非政府單位執行，都需要就法規及實務面逐一檢討，方能有效提升翻譯產業之整體發展，建議列為後續研究課題，並進行中長期政策規劃。

再者，如調查結果顯示，目前政府各單位建置之各人力資料庫由於建置時間仍短，無法看出明顯成效（楊金滿、葉念雲、沙信輝，2010）。亦有研究顯示（蔡依舫，2011），資料庫於建置初期尚未達成預期目標，主要原因為知名度仍未普及。由此考量，未來短期後續工作項目宜以推動人才資料庫之普及度為優先。宜研究目前公私部門已有成效之類似機制，釐清其成功原因，並且對照我國政府翻譯需求之現況，強化資料庫之架構、運作方式及使用便利程度。當今國內設有多所翻譯系所培養翻譯人才，且翻譯系所皆多以中英語言組合為主。學校每年所培養之畢業生是否能妥善滿足政府翻譯需求，實為值得研究之後續課題。

總而言之，翻譯人力缺口短期內仍需另覓補充來源，但研究顯示目前並沒有任何立即可行的解決方案。再加上公部門翻譯需求內容較專業，擔任翻譯作之譯者將需要對於專業領域有所涉獵方能勝任，更令短期翻譯人力補充更顯困難。

長期而言，就如部份受訪者認為，未來政府翻譯業務只會越來越多，難度和專業度越來越高；與其建立公務員翻譯職系，不妨考慮或許在行政院下整合各單位翻譯人力，將翻譯單位擴編成為常設機構例如翻譯司。舉例來說，若擴編之後能有 40 名英文傳譯，就應該可以統籌調配所有公部門的口筆譯需求，支援相關涉外業務。

三、長期觀察翻譯活動供需動態變化

目前政府單位處理翻譯業務之困難包括其他單位不了解翻譯專業、溝通不易，找不到合適的外聘翻譯人力，翻譯人力流動過於頻繁，翻譯品質不穩定，譯者缺乏所需專業領域知識及編制內具翻譯專長之人力不足等。由於本研究為首次明確列出政府翻譯活動之現況與挑戰，因此需要後續長期觀察其變化，訂定前檢討，才能夠對於國家翻譯發展方向及目標有實質助益。

翻譯人力攸關國家文明及永續發展，翻譯政策制度之建立、引導有助於翻譯產業健全發展，值得投入更多的關注。本研究調查期間適逢政府組織再造，許多公部門於 2012 年後多有所調整，負責推動翻譯業務項目勢有所變動影響，例如前行政院新聞局執掌政策宣傳、形象推廣等工作，因應行政院組織調整，於 2012 年整併，納入行政院內部發言單位；前行政院研究發展考核委員會掌理國家政策規劃執行考核，例如推動整合「挑戰 2008：國家發展重點計畫」，帶動翻譯業務與人才培育之發展，該單位於 2014 年 1 月整併入國家發展委員會，未來跨部會翻譯政策制度之協調機制將如何運作，有待觀察。

進一步而言，決策品質植基於充分之資訊，未來國家翻譯發展政策項目應優先考量長期觀察翻譯活動之變化，蒐集正確完整之資訊。目前僅有少數研究對於市場之觀察歧異甚大。例如，比較本研究與周中天等人（2004）之結果可以發現，兩者對於翻譯市場規模之推估差異將近一倍；其他較小型之研究也僅能就翻譯活動的某一區塊進行分析，無法獲得全貌。翻譯活動由於其分散於許多部門之特性，參與者背景多元，且

缺乏有組織的專業團體，因此較難掌握市場樣貌。然而，長期持續觀察與研究必定能提升對於翻譯活動之瞭解。唯有如此，才能於政策對話與溝通時提供正確之資料供分析使用，提升翻譯發展政策決策品質與政策成效。

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清－朝鮮時期漢・滿・韓互譯中的文字對音 ——以《漢清文鑑》滿文的韓文表記法為例

邵 磊

中國清朝、也即韓國朝鮮朝中後期，中韓兩國在各方面往來甚密。這一點在語言文字的交流上也可以體現。司譯院，起源於高麗朝，興盛於朝鮮朝，是負責朝鮮外事翻譯和外國語教育的國家機關。司譯院中設有四學，分別是負責漢語翻譯與教學的漢學、負責蒙語的蒙學、負責日語的倭學和負責滿語的清學。同時也擔當了這些語言文字互通的重要角色。

漢滿韓對音書籍甚多，其中保存最完整、體系最完善、種類最豐富、詞例量最大、最具有代表性的當屬《漢清文鑑》。本文將以此為切入點，對這些滿文的韓文表記一一考察，尤其對這些特殊的韓文字所表記的音值及其原理做深入研究。這些特殊韓文的音值，因其所表之音為被表滿文之音，故可通過被表滿文的音值來被推定。而滿文所代表之音，未必均為滿語之音，也有表記漢語的滿文之音。為了明確這些特殊韓文的音值，首先需確定被表滿文的音值。為盡詳實，本文將“漢語－滿文”與“滿語－滿文”分為兩部份分別論述。

關鍵詞：《漢清文鑑》、滿文、韓文表記法、轉寫、轉字

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Transliteration of Chinese, Manchu and Korean in the Qing/Joseon Dynasty—Using the Transliteration of Manchu into the Korean “*Han-cheong-mun-gam*” Notational System as an Example

Shao Lei

The relations between the Qing and late Joseon dynasty were very close, as we can see, among other ways, with regard to the exchange of scripts. The Sa-yeok Academy (司譯院), which was founded in the Korean Goryeo dynasty and prospered in the Joseon dynasty, was the official state office for foreign languages and was responsible for translating foreign texts. This academy had four sections: a Qing Chinese Department, a Mongolian Department, a Japanese Department and a Manchurian Department. Its scholars could therefore see the vital role played by Chinese, Manchu and Korean in the Korean notational system.

There are many books with transliteration tables for Chinese characters, Manchu and Korean. The best preserved, most systematic and varied of these, with the greatest number of examples, is the “*Han-cheong-mun-gam*” (漢清文鑑). This article explores the latter further, looking closely at the Korean notational system from Manchu and especially at the sound values of the special Korean notational signs. Since these were used to signify Manchu sound values, we could use them to infer the sound values of these special Korean notational signs. Not all the sounds represented by Manchu signs may be Manchu sounds; some may (also) be Chinese sounds. In order to clarify the sound value of these special Korean notational signs, we first need to verify the sound value of the signs used in Manchu. This study therefore comprises two sections: “Chinese language – Manchu script” and “Manchu language – Manchu script”.

Keywords: “*Han-cheong-mun-gam*”, Manchu Script, Korean notational system, transcription, transliteration

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壹、前言

司譯院，起源於高麗朝，興盛於朝鮮朝，是負責朝鮮外事翻譯和外國語教育的國家機關。司譯院中設有四學，分別是負責漢語翻譯與教學的漢學、負責蒙語的蒙學、負責日語的倭學和負責滿語的清學。滿清時期，擔當了漢、滿、韓三者語言文字互通的重要角色（鄭丞惠，2003，頁31）。

漢韓對音書籍甚多，但以韓文對滿文讀音進行表記的清學書籍，流傳至今的僅剩六種。它們分別是《八歲兒》、《小兒論》、《三譯總解》、《清語老乞大》等讀書類書籍和《同文類解》、《漢清文鑑》等辭典類書籍（조규태, 1981, 頁27-28）。這些流傳下來的清學書均已影印並出版，對韓國的清學研究以及中韓交流史研究具有重要的意義。這些表記滿文的韓文中，有許多韓文不但與現代韓國語中所使用的固有韓文大相逕庭，甚至連造字方法也與傳統造字法截然不同。其中保存最完整、體系最完善、種類最豐富、詞例量最大、最具有代表性的當屬《漢清文鑑》。

朝鮮正祖朝，學者李湛和譯官金振夏等人根據清朝漢滿辭典《御製增訂清文鑑》編纂了韓滿詞典《漢清文鑑》。該書為木版本，共十五卷十五冊。其中凡例四章，目錄十章，正文（卷一～十五）九百二十四章，編纂關與者名單三章等，總計九百四十一章。每章以滿語的天部、時令部、地部等作為章節題目來記錄，共分三十六部八十七類，每個詞條以中文詞條開頭，其下用韓文標注漢音。漢字標音下是詞義的韓語註釋，再下則是相對應的滿文詞條，其右為該滿文的韓文標音。滿文之下是用韓文書寫的滿語說明，該處在《御製增訂清文鑑》中本是以滿文書寫，但本處省略滿文，直接用韓文將其音譯。每詞條間用「○」相隔。該書詞目豐富，對研究近代韓國語、近代滿語以及近代漢語有著重要的價值（김영환, 1996, 頁214-218）。《漢清文鑑》全文由延禧大學（今

延世大學前身)東方學研究所影印,題為《韓漢清文鑑》(閔泳珪,1956)。<《御製增訂清文鑑》在韓國國立漢城大學(今譯國立首爾大學)古文獻資料室有藏本一套。

滿文作為清朝的國字,不僅擔負著表記滿語的功能,為了更有效的統治漢地,也擔負起了表記漢語的作用。由於滿漢兩語的音韻體系不盡相同,表記不同語音的文字體系也會有出入。為了使研究更加清晰明確,有必要將滿文分為表記滿語的「滿語—滿文」和表記漢語的「漢語—滿文」兩種,這對研究滿文的韓文再次轉記也起到區分的作用。

為使研究方法更加科學,還需注意文字表記時的兩個重要標準——「轉字」(transliteration)和「轉寫」(transcription) (Trask, 1996)。其區分是以表記其他語言或文字時,是否注重被表記文字的形態為依據,注重被表記文字形態的稱為轉字,忽視被表記文字形態的稱為轉寫。其中,再以是否注重文字發音為基準,還可以將轉字分為注重文字發音和忽視文字發音的兩種;而轉寫無條件都是注重文字發音的。有時轉字和轉寫的界限並不明確,對此類表記也並無追究的必要(成百仁,1984)。

本文將這些滿文的韓文表記一一考察,尤其對這些特殊的韓文字所表記的音值及其原理做深入研究。這些特殊韓文的音值,因其所表之音為被表滿文之音,故可通過被表滿文的音值來被推定。而滿文所代表之音,未必均為滿語之音,也有表記漢語的滿文之音。為了明確這些特殊韓文的音值,首先需確定被表滿文的音值。為盡詳實,本文將「漢語—滿文」與「滿語—滿文」分為兩部份分別論述。這些特殊文字的造字原理,或者說其特殊符號的添加依據,或因滿文音值而表,或因滿文外形而記,因此需要以轉寫和轉字來區別論述。

貳、《漢清文鑑》中滿語—滿文之韓文表記的特徵

金代,女真人參照漢字創制了女真文,但隨著金朝的衰落與女真文的不實用,至明末,女真人已經完全丟棄了女真文字。努爾哈齊興起後,

女真人雖講女真語，但卻書寫蒙古文，隨著軍事形勢的飛速發展，這種語言與文字不相符的矛盾已經不能滿足女真社會發展的需要。於是努爾哈赤命噶蓋和額爾德尼創制滿文。這種草創的滿文仿照蒙古文字母，來標記滿語發音，相較於後來的新滿文沒有加圈點，故後人稱之為「無圈點滿文」或「老滿文」。老滿文在女真地區推行 33 年，發揮了巨大的作用。但老滿文一字多音，且無法準確標記漢語藉詞，故時常出現混亂或不足，亟需改進。天聰年間，皇太極命達海和庫爾纏對其加以改進。經過改進的滿文增添了圈點，使滿文一字一音，固定字形，並創製了藉詞專用字母，較老滿文更為完備，被稱為「有圈點滿文」或「新滿文」。（閻崇年，2002，頁 42、46）圈點的添加對於滿文來說有著非常重要的意義。

本節將對滿語－滿文的韓文表記、尤其是特殊韓文表記的特徵、音值等進行考察。為此，筆者將《漢清文鑑》全文調查，將例字和頁數列表展示，表格以發音為項列出。滿文同其母源文字蒙文一樣，每個字母有獨字、語頭、語中、語末四種形態，但字母不因字形的不同而影響發音，因此筆者會以國際音標為基準為其添注羅馬字表記，以使讀者方便理解。另外，滿文不同於漢字和韓文，是以字節為單位書寫，而是像英語一樣以詞節為單位書寫，因此表格中會將例舉音節塗黑，將無關音節以灰色標示出來。《漢清文鑑》滿文的韓文表記分為兩種，即表記滿文詞條的正文部份和表記詞條說明的註釋部份，本文將其分別例舉，並將註釋部份以括弧圈之。

表1
《漢清文鑑》滿語—滿文基本字母 韓文表記 例字表（一）

자음 모음	牙-喉音					舌音				
	φ	k ^h	k	x	ŋ	n	l ^h	t	l	r
	ㅏ	ㅑ ㅓ	ㅕ ㅗ	ㅛ ㅜ	ㅟ	ㅓ	ㅕ ㅗ	ㅛ ㅜ	ㅟ	ㅓ
a ⁺	아린 1:1b	압카 1:1a	가훈 1:2a	압지하 1:1b		나단 1:4b	비키타 1:6b	김다 1:5b	타라(랑) 1:35a	쿼라하 1:3b
a ⁻	어리쿠 1:8a	투치커 1:1b	거러커 1:1b	니러허 1:6a		너너허 1:20b	허타허 1:9b	입타커 1:2a	베러(단) 2:3a	거러커 1:1b
i ⁰	이거리 1:7b	키루 2:6b	델기 1:1a	올허부러 2:7b		니러허 1:6a		델비허 1:5b	아리(단)비 2:21b	시모리 1:7a
o ⁺	오호 1:2a	보소코 1:2a	보웅고 1:9b	오호 1:2a		보노 1:13a	혼토호 1:4a	도시카 1:3b	옹고토(로) 1:1b	보쇼로 1:12b
u ⁻	우시하 1:4b	쿠쿠(부)허 2:14b	구구(부)허 2:14b	후훈(부)허 6:2a		누하란 1:35b	투치커 1:3a	두린 1:3a	무투(부) 1:37b	부루훈 1:3b
u ⁺	위린(위) 9:67b	구라쿠 1:39a	구라쿠 1:39a	내후 1:4b		두쿠(두) 10:7b				
ㅁ/ㅂ/ㅅ/ㅈ/ㅊ/ㅌ/ㅎ/ㅓ/ㅕ/ㅗ/ㅛ/ㅜ/ㅟ		(ㅁ/ㅂ/ㅅ/ㅈ/ㅊ/ㅌ/ㅎ/ㅓ/ㅕ/ㅗ/ㅛ/ㅜ/ㅟ) 1:5b 1:45b			닝거 8:67b	부런 1:2a	빈허 2:56a		올(후)딘 1:1b	델기 1:1a

資料來源：作者自行整理。

表 2

《漢清文鑑》滿語－滿文基本字母 韓文表記 例字表（二）

자음 모음	唇 音					齒 音				
	p	p ^h	m	f	w	s	ʃ	tʃ ^h	tʃ	j
a ⁺	보소바	숨파	탈마한	자바하	와시훈	복사	샤후른	난차머	순차	하야하
	1:2b	5:43b	1:15b	1:29b	1:4a	1:35b	1:14a	1:2b	1:18a	1:7a
a ⁻	버셔머	허퍼라커비	스머	버분비	위시훈	스머서리	버셔머	이저	적턴	어여러
	1:12a	5:44a	1:10b	1:17a	1:4a	1:10b 1:8a	1:12a	1:24b	1:7a	1:8a
i ⁰	검비	음피	토미란비	비셔머		답시하		투치커	압지하	
	1:3b	8:18a	3:1b	1:12b		1:3a		1:3a	1:1b	
o ⁺	보웅고	포로리	모코	보손		보소코	보소로	초코	조들간	요호른
	1:9b	11:44b	1:6b	1:2a		1:2a	1:12b	1:19b	1:8a	1:39b
u ⁻	부런	푸들	무허런	하부카		부수	수연	분유훈	주투	술
	1:2a	7:5a	1:4a	1:12b		1:11b	1:30b	1:3b	1:24b	1:9b
v ⁺										
반침이표	압카		검비		부러	엿하				네건
	1:1a		1:3b		1:9b	1:6a				1:9a

資料來源：作者自行整理。

一、滿語—滿文元音字母的韓文表記

滿文 a^1 的音值為 /a/。《漢清文鑑》中以韓文「ㅏ /a/」來表記。

滿文 aj 的音值為 /aj/，字頭字中形為 ajj。韓文以「ㅑ /aj/」表記。此處將現代韓文的單元音「ㅑ」認定為二重元音。

滿文 ao 的音值為 /aw/。該滿文字母是爲了表記漢語外來語而製的二重元音，並不用其表記純滿語。

滿文 o 的音值為 /o/。韓文以「ㅗ /o/」表記。

滿文 oj 的音值為 /oj/，字頭字中形為 oj ㄱ。韓文以「ㅛ /oj/」表記。此處也是將現代韓文的單元音「ㅛ」認定為二重元音。

滿文 oo 的音值為 /o:/。成百仁（1984，頁 41）指出，oo 在滿語—滿文中讀長元音 /o:/，但在漢語—滿文中讀雙元音 /aw/。此處為純滿語字母，故其音值為長元音 /o:/。《漢清文鑑》中以韓文「ㅜ (oo)」來表記。但「ㅜ」並非韓國語中通常所使用的固有文字，通過滿文 oo 的文字形態可知，該韓文字是仿造滿文字形而新製的字母。而且，韓國語中沒有長元音，韓文也無法表記長元音，故只能用此方法來區分於此不同的短元音 o。

滿文 oo ㄱ 的音值為 /o:j/，字頭字中形為 oo ㄱ。以韓文「ㅟ (ooj)」表記。該滿文字是在以 oo 為語尾的名詞末尾添加屬格助詞「ㅟ (-i)」形成的複元音，音值推測為 /o:j/。而轉記它的韓文字也是十分罕見的，目前僅在清學書和蒙學書中可以看到。該韓文表記更是違反韓文造字常理的，其字形可推測是根據滿文字形將字母羅列成「ㅗ + ㅗ + ㅣ (o+o+i)」的形態轉字而來。

¹ 滿文的羅馬字標注以國際音標為基準，音價根據成百仁（1981）標注，滿文拼寫法則以高娃（2005）為準。

² 該處標注的韓文音價係根據韓國學者許雄（1985）和洪允杓（1994）整理的前期近代韓國語（17 世紀～18 世紀中葉）之音價。而現代韓國語與近代以前韓國語在元音上的主要差異為，「ㅑ、ㅛ」等字母的現代音價是單元音 /ε/、/e/，近代音價是複元音 /aj/、/oj/。本文將韓文注音區分為「固有韓文」和「新製韓文」兩種，前者在斜線「/…/」內標注國際音標，後者在括弧「(…)」內標注一般羅馬字注音。

滿文 ə 的音值為 /ə/。韓文有「ㅏ /ə/」和「ㅡ /u/」兩種表記。因為韓文「ㅏ」的發音更接近於滿文 ə 音，因此主要以此來表記，但偶爾也以發音略微相似的「ㅡ」來表記。成百仁（1984，頁 37）對此進行了猜測，他發現用「ㅡ」轉寫的滿語只有助詞等虛詞，或者弱化了的第二音節元音，而滿人確實有將詞尾輕讀的習慣。³ 因此韓文用了一個聽覺上相對較弱的元音記之。

滿文 əj 的音值為 /əj/，字頭字中形為 əjj。韓文有「ㅏ /əj/」和「ㅏ /uj/」兩種表記。原因同上，且將現代韓文的單元音「ㅏ」認定為二重元音。

滿文 əu 的音值為 /əw/。《漢清文鑑》正文中有「ㅑ (əu)」，註釋中有「ㅑ (əo)」和「ㅑ (uu)」三種韓文表記。正文與註釋轉記方法不同的現象很多，註釋的表記相對較隨意。《同文類解》等其他清學書均以「ㅑ (uo)」表記，但《漢清文鑑》卻無此例。通過整理可知，韓文表記有「ㅑ ㅑ ㅑ ㅑ」四種。「ㅑ ㅑ」與「ㅑ」的差異同上，是「ㅏ」和「ㅡ」的差異；「ㅑ ㅑ」與「ㅑ ㅑ」的差異則是轉字與轉寫之間的不同。滿文 əu 的語末元音形態雖為 -o，但其實際音值為 /-w/。因此「ㅑ ㅑ」是轉記了形態的轉字，而「ㅑ ㅑ」則是轉記了發音的轉寫。

滿文 u 的音值是 /u/，o 的音值是 /o/，兩者互為陰陽。《漢清文鑑》正文中，u 與 o 均以韓文「ㅓ /u/」表記。而註釋中則有加圈的和無圈的「ㅓ」兩種。韓國語的元音體系中，圓脣·後舌·高元音的位置上只有 /u/ 音，而滿語的元音體系中不僅有 /u/，還有圓脣·中舌·高元音 /o/。但是，與 o 相連的輔音是有限製的。只有陽性輔音 k^+ 、 k^{h+} 、 x^+ 、 t^+ 和零聲母可以與其相連。因為滿語有元音和諧規則，因此陽性元音 o 要連接在陽性輔音 k^+ 、 k^{h+} 、 x^+ 、 t^+ 之後，而陰性元音 u 則要連接在陰性輔音 k^- 、 k^{h-} 、 x^- 、 t^- 以及不區分陰陽性的輔音之後（成百仁，1978，頁 70-71）。但在韓國語語音中並沒有如此的音韻規則，因此無法區分

³ 趙杰（1996）認為詞末輕讀的現象還普遍存在於北京話等漢語北方方言中，這也是因為受到滿蒙等北方少數民族語言的影響所導致的。例詞如：姑娘 (gū niang)，老爺 (lǎo ye)，兒子 (ér zi) 等。

/ʊ/ 與 /u/ 的區別。爲了在形態上區分兩者，韓文轉記的過程中以滿文的陽性發音—— u 與 k^+ 、 k^{h+} 、 x^+ 的結合作爲基本表記，不添加任何符號，但轉記陰性發音 u 與 k^- 、 k^{h-} 、 x^- 的結合時，則作爲特殊表記，在前者的基礎之上添加小圈，以示區別。於此相反的是， u 與陽性子音 t^+ 以及零聲母的結合非常稀少，因此 u 與陽性子音 t^+ 及零聲母的結合反而成了有圈字。另外，以 u 作開頭的零聲元音節的發音讀似 /wə/ 音，但又要同滿文 wə 字相區別，因此用加圈的韓文「워 /wə/」來表記前者，用不加圈的「위」表記後者。

表 3
《漢清文鑑》滿語—滿文複合元音 韓文表記 例字表

長 母 音	ii /i/	ᠠᠠ /a:/ 1:5a	ᠤᠤ /u:/	ᠤᠤ /u:/	
二 重 母 音 及 三 重 母 音	aj /aj/ 1:4b ᠠᠵᠤ 내후	aj /aj/ 1:9a ᠠᠵᠤ 네건	uj /uj/ 1:5a ᠤᠵᠤ 뵤혼	aj /aj/ 2:55a ᠠᠵᠤ 부	uj /uj/ 1:5a ᠠᠵᠤ 우쥬
	uj /uj/ ᠤᠵᠤ	aw /aw/ 6:37a ᠠᠤᠤ (와칸)	uj /uj/ 1:9b 8:67b ᠠᠵᠤ 뵤러 (스뵤혼)	iw /iw/ 9:14b 2:3b ᠠᠵᠤ (와)칸뵤로	iw /iw/ 8:48a 9:3b ᠠᠵᠤ (와)시혼 갸건
					iw /iw/ 10:65b 6:37a ᠠᠵᠤ 뵤훈 (뵤훈) 부

資料來源：作者自行整理。

滿文 uj 的音值是 /uj/，字頭字中形為 ujj。韓文以「ㄱ /uj/」表記。
滿文 uj 的音值是 /uj/，字頭字中形為 ujj。《漢清文鑑》的滿語—滿文中無此例。
滿文 i 的音值是 /i/。韓文以「ㅣ /i/」表記。
滿文 ii 的音值是長元音 /i:/。《漢清文鑑》的滿語—滿文中無此例。
滿文 io 的音值是 /iw/。《漢清文鑑》正文中以沒有加圈的「ㅍ /jo/ ㅍ /ju/」來表記，但註釋中，滿文 nio 則是以加圈字「ㄴㅍ ㄴㅍ ㄴㅍ

「ㄴ」來轉記；有少量 *miɔ* 以「°ㄹ」來轉記，但多數以「ㄹ (iu)」來表記。《清語老乞大》等清學書也有以「ㄱ (io)」表記的例子。滿文 *io* 的音值並非是 /io/，而是 /iw/。因此「ㄱ ㄹ ㅍ ㅍ」的轉記都是可行的。但是，在「ㅍ」旁加圈的理由是什麼？「ㅍ」只有在與「ㄱ ㄴ ㄹ」相連接時才加圈。成百仁（1984，頁 44）認為，這應該是為了將其與真正的 /io/ 音作區分。滿語中有 /kiw//niw//miw/ 這樣三種音節，也有 /kjo//njo//mjo/ 這樣三種音節。而 /kiw//niw//miw/ 的滿文字形其實是「kjo、njo、mjo」，而 /kjo//njo//mjo/ 的滿文字形並不是「kjo、njo、mjo」，而是「kijo、nijo、mijo」。但韓文無法區分這兩者的字形，因此在前者加圈以區別後者。另外，「ㄱ ㄹ」的轉記方法通常用在滿語中的擬聲語、疑問句或漢語借用語，而純滿語單詞則是以「ㅍ ㅍ」來轉記。另外，同樣是滿文的 *niɔ*，也有「ㄴ° ㄴ°」兩種轉記方式，產生其差異的原因，有轉寫和轉字的差別，也有元音和諧陰陽性的原因。

ᡤᡠᡵᡠ	ᡤᡠᡵᡠ	ᡤᡠᡵᡠ	ᡤᡠᡵᡠ	ᡤᡠᡵᡠ	ᡤᡠᡵᡠ
kjo/kjo/	njo/njo/	mjo/mjo/	kjo/kjo/	njo/njo/	mjo/mjo/

圖 1 音值為 /-jo/ 和字形為「-jo」的滿文表記之差異

資料來源：作者自行整理。

二、滿語—滿文輔音字母的韓文表記

滿文 *j* 的音值為 /j/，*w* 的音值為 /w/。《漢清文鑑》中滿文 *j* 的韓文轉記以 *j*(ㅈ)- 系複元音表記，*w* 以 *w*(ㅊ / ㅍ)- 系複元音表記，輔音以零聲母「ㅇ」記。

滿文 *k*、*k^h*、*x* 的音值根據陰陽性的不同，分為陽性的 /q//q^h//χ/ 與陰性的 /k//k^h//x/ 兩種變異音。《漢清文鑑》正文中均以韓文「ㄱ / k/ ㅋ / k^h/ ㅎ / h/」表記，但註釋中則有加圈與無圈之區別。如前文所

提及，仿造回鶻蒙文而創製的滿文同蒙文一樣，元音以陰陽性分類，相連接的輔音也會因後接元音的陰陽性的不同而產生變異音，且字形也會有所變化。會產生這種變化的輔音有 k 、 k^h 、 x 與 t 、 t^h 。 k 、 k^h 、 x 與陽性元音相連接時，其發音和字形如右「   /q//q^h//χ/」；與陰性元音相連接時，其發音和字形如右「   /k//k^h//x/」。經觀察可知，「  」是否加圈，與其陰陽性無關。如前文所述，其加圈原因是爲了區分元音 u 與 o 還有 $-io$ 與 $-ijə$ 。加圈位置是在左上還是右上，並無差異。

滿文 p 、 p^h 、 m 、 f 的音值為 /p//p^h//m//f/。韓文分別以「 /p/  /p^h/  /m/  /β/」表記。其中，「」是中世韓國語時期的古字，在現代韓國語文字體系中已經消失，語音中也並無此音。滿文 ϕ 為零聲母。韓文也以零聲母「」來表記。

滿文 t^h 的音值為 /t^h/。韓文以「 /t^h/」表記。

滿文 t 的音值為 /t/。《漢清文鑑》正文均以「 /t/」表記，但註釋中則有加圈字出現。此處也是為區分 o 和 u 而加圈。

滿文 l 的音值為 /l/。《漢清文鑑》正文均以「 /r/」表記，但註釋中則以加撇字「」表記。滿語的流音有 l 和 r 兩種，但韓國語僅有「 /r/」一種。韓文在表記其他語言中的流音 r 時，通常也用「」來轉記。此處註釋中，滿文 r 正是以「」來表記，為作區分， l 則以「」來轉記。加撇的方式也是與韓文的造字法相違背的。那麼添加「」的方式從何而來？若觀察滿文 l 的字形「」就可以很容易的得知，這個「」的添加其實就是模仿滿文 l 的字形而來。滿文 l 的字形就是在零聲母「」基礎之上添加「」而來。

滿文 r 的音值為 /r/。韓文以「 /r/」表記。如上述可知，《漢清文鑑》正文中無法區分滿文 l 與 r 的韓文轉記。

滿文 s 的音值為 /s/。韓文以「 /s/」表記。

滿文 $tʃ$ 、 $tʃ^h$ 、 $ʃ$ 的音值為 /tʃ//tʃ^h//ʃ/。韓文以「 /tsi/  /ts^hi/  /si/」表記。由於近代韓國語的音韻體系中，並沒有如漢語的捲舌

異，不過可以看做是同一個發音的不同變異音。位於語頭的 k 系輔音的韓文轉記雖然不區分陰陽性字形的差異，但在語末的輔音 k 則通過加圈做了區分。滿文語末的輔音 k 的陽性字形為「」，韓文表記為無圈字「ㄱ」；陰性字形為「」，韓文表記為加圈字「」。

滿文語末輔音 -s 的音值為 /-s/。韓文以收音「ㄷ [-sʰ]」表記。現代韓國語中，發音為 [-sʰ] 的收音已消失，而以「ㄷ」來表記的收音發音為 [-tʰ]。

參、《漢清文鑑》中漢語—滿文之韓文表記的特徵

隨著滿清王朝對中原的統治，滿漢在文化和語言上的融合以不可避免。因此，滿語中大量融入了漢語借用語（也可以說是外來語），也使得滿文不僅要單純表記滿語固有語言，同時也要表記漢語借用語。尤其漢滿詞典中，滿語還要給純漢語（也可以說是外國語）做標音，更加大了滿文需要適應漢語言語音的要求。筆者通過考察《漢清文鑑》及其底本《御製增訂清文鑑》全部內容，將漢語—滿文部份單獨歸納，並將例字列表研究。由於《漢清文鑑》註釋部份全為滿語—滿文，因此本節考察僅限正文部份。

在此，首先扼要介紹一下滿文表記漢語的方式方法。《國朝耄獻類徵》卷一〈達海傳〉中記載：「……三月⁷詳定國書字體……又以國書與漢字對音未全者，於十二字頭正字外，增添外字。猶不能盡協者，則以兩字連寫切成，其切音較漢字更為精富，由是國書之用益備。……」（成百仁，1984，頁36）。由此可知，滿文表記漢語的方法有兩種，即「對音」與「切音」。所謂對音，就是在滿文已有文字或單音節拼寫中尋找相同或相似的字節來表記一個漢字；而切音是指，在無法用滿文的單音節拼寫一個漢字時，用兩到三個音節連讀合聲來使其對應的方法。而在

⁷ 此處年份為清太宗天聰六年（西元1632年）。

對音中，有些發音不能完全吻合的，就在滿文現有字母⁸之外，專門再造字母來拼寫漢字，被稱為「外字」（成百仁，1984，頁 36）。

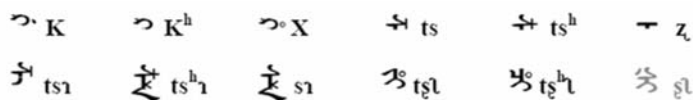


圖 2 用來表記漢語的滿文外字

資料來源：作者自行整理。

滿文外字由六個輔音字母和五個特殊單獨文字組成。其中，滿文 k 系輔音因為區分陰陽性，在與不同元音結合的時候會產生 [q][q^h][χ] 和 [k][k^h][x] 兩種變異音，而漢語中僅有 [k][k^h][x] 的發音，因此滿文中替代陽性字母「   (k⁺/q/、k^h+/q^h/、x⁺/χ/)」，另外新製可以表記漢語的陽性「   (K⁺/k/、K^h+/k^h/、X⁺/x/)」三字。不過「   /k//k^h//x/」與「   /k//k^h//x/」音值完全相同。

「切音」的全稱為「合聲切法」，就是將兩或三個音節快速拼讀合為一聲。因此，切音法還可以分為「二合切音」與「三合切音」。以《御製增訂清文鑑》(3:7b) 中的詞條為例，「王福晉」三個字的滿文表記法是以一個音節來拼寫的，因此屬於對音法；而「郡」的滿文表記法則為切音法。「郡 /kyn/」的滿文表記為「kijoin」，拆分下來就是 ki、join 兩個音節合聲的二合切音。由於滿文以詞節為單位，因此一個「字」可以寫下多個音節，可以與漢字一一對應。

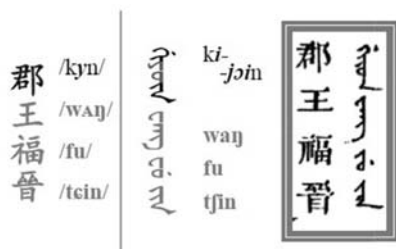


圖 3 漢語的滿文對字法及二合切音例

資料來源：作者自行整理。

⁸ 「十二字頭」本指老滿文中的零聲母及所有基本輔音字母，新滿文中泛指包括元音在內的滿文所有的基本音節。

一、漢語—滿文韻母的韓文表記

漢語 /a/ 以滿文 a 表記。《漢清文鑑》中以韓文「ㅏ /a/」來表記。

漢語 /aj/ 以滿文 aj 表記。韓文以「ㅑ /aj/」表記。此處將現代韓文的單元音「ㅑ」認定為二重元音。

漢語 /aw/ 以滿文 a᠎ 或 ᠠᠠ 表記。韓文也相應的有「ㅓ (ao)」和「ㅜ (oo)」兩種表記。滿文 a᠎ 僅用於部份漢語借用語和擬聲語，純滿語中不使用該字。根據滿文的表記原則，-w 系複元音的表記均以 -ᠠ 來表示 -w，並無 -w 的寫法。《清文啟蒙》的〈異施清字〉一節中規定，漢語借用語中的 /aw/ 音均應以 ᠠᠠ 表記⁹。由此可知，滿文 a᠎ 的表記是爲了盡可能的貼近原發音，而 ᠠᠠ 的表記是將漢語滿語化了的表記方法。韓文轉記不因漢字的發音一樣而表記一樣，反而因為滿文的表記不同而分別表記，可以說明《漢清文鑑》的韓文轉記更重視滿文的字形而相較不太重視漢字的字音。

漢語 /an/ 以滿文 an 或加點的 an 表記。韓文也相應的有「ㅗ /an/」和「ㅜ (an)」兩種表記。語末輔音 -n 多以韓文收音「ㄴ (-n)」轉記，但偶爾也有加點的「ㅗ (-n)」。¹⁰《漢清文鑑》凡例第十八條後半部份中提到：「文鑑中한 산 잔 잔 전 안 은七字皆有傍小點故亦從之」，由此可知，韓文是否加點，是根據《御製增訂清文鑑》中滿文字形是否加點而決定。但實際上 -n 加點的字還有「안」，共八個字。滿文語末輔音 -n 的兩種字形為「ᠠᠨ」和「ᠠᠨ」。以上八字所對應的漢字中，有些滿文加點了，但有些卻沒加點。而韓文的轉記卻完全忠實於滿文，滿文加點韓文就加點，滿文無點韓文就也無點。因此，韓文所加的点與音值無關。

⁹ 本文明清時期的近代漢語音韻體系依據王力（1985）整理而成。

¹⁰ 不過《漢清文鑑》中也有一個特例。「寶」字在多處地方均用滿文「paᠠ」表記，但在第十卷有四處（10:40a、10:41a、10:42a、10:43a）以「paᠠᠠ」表記。十卷屬於「貨財類」，其中所出現的「寶」字詞條均以「寶貝」之意出現，又恰好滿語中寶貝之詞是漢語借用語，且以「paᠠᠠ」表記，因此推測此處的漢語—滿文表記可能是因為與滿語—滿文表記相混淆造成的。

韓國學者成百仁（1984，頁 53）認為，滿文是否加點，多局限於漢語 /xan/、/ʃan/、/an/ 等音，而這些音又恰與滿語 xan（汗）、ʃan（耳）、an（常）等詞發音相似。爲了區分漢語詞與滿語詞，在漢語－滿文上加點以別之。但這樣的解釋不足以說明那些不以「an」為韻母的字為何也有加點的狀況，如「 tsən」，本文將在本章第三節中作以說明。

漢語 /aŋ/ 以滿文 aŋ 表記。韓文以「 /aŋ/」表記。

漢語 /ə/ 以滿文 ə 表記。韓文以「 /ə/」表記。

漢語 /əj/ 以滿文 əj 表記。韓文以「 /əj/」表記。

漢語 /əw/ 以滿文 əw 表記。韓文以「 (əu)」和「 /uu/」兩種方式表記。原因同滿語－滿文。

漢語 /ən/ 以滿文 ən 表記。韓文以「 /ən/」和「 /un/」兩種方式表記。漢語 ə- 系複韻母的韓文表記通常以「一 /u/」轉記。但與捲舌音聲母相拼時，沒有捲舌音的韓文需要以「지 /tsi/ 치 /tshi/ 시 /si/」轉記，而韓文 i/- 系元音又沒有與「一」相結合的複元音搭配，因此只能用與「一」音相似的「 /ə/」來代替，拼寫成「 /jə/」。

漢語 /əŋ/ 以滿文 əŋ 表記。韓文以「 /əŋ/」和「 /uŋ/」兩種方式表記。原因同上。

漢語 /ɯ/ 以漢語－滿文專用字（即外字） 表記。/ɯ/ 即「 /tsɯ//tshɯ//sɯ/」的韻母，發音近似 /u/。韓文以「一 /u/」表記，但也有加圈的特例「」。成百仁（1984，頁 39）推測，「」是滿語中的常用虛詞 sə 的韓文轉記，因此漢語－滿文中則加圈以示區分。

漢語 /ɤ/ 以漢語－滿文專用字 表記。韓文以加圈的「 /i/」表記。漢語 /ɤ/ 音，又被看成是受捲舌輔音影響而捲舌化了的 /i/ 音。因此漢語中的 /ɤ/ 音僅存在於「   /tɕɤ//tɕhɤ//ɕɤ/」之中。因滿語中無捲舌音，故使用近似的 tɕi、tɕhi、ɕi 三字來轉記。但隨著漢語借用語的增多，爲了尋求更加貼切的表記，滿文中新製了「  /tɕɤ//tɕhɤ/」兩字，原有的「 /ɕi/」代 /ɕɤ/。而「 」兩字是在原有的「  /tɕi//tɕhi/」兩字基礎之上加圈而成，因此漢語－滿文 tɕɤ、tɕhɤ 的韓文

轉記也仿之為「지° 치°」。但為何漢語—滿文 $\mathfrak{z}$ (fi) 的韓文轉記「°시」的加圈位置有所不同？雖然滿文「 $\mathfrak{z}$ /fi/」也屬原有之字，但其字形也是自「 $\mathfrak{z}$ /si/」加點而來，而且加點位置為左上，因此筆者認為其韓文轉記也依滿文字形仿之。而韓文「지 치 시」三字則用於轉記漢語的尖音 /tsi//tshi//si/。

漢語 /ɤ/ 以滿文 $\mathfrak{a}$ ¹¹ 表記。韓文以「을 /ul/」表記。韓文收音「ㄷ [l]」是對漢語兒化音的表記。

漢語 /i/ 以滿文 i 表記，其中 /li/ 以滿文 lii 表記。韓文也與其相對應，轉記成「ㅣ /i/」和「리 (rii)」。*《欽定清漢對音字式》* 是漢語—滿文的拼寫規範，其中規定漢語的 /li/ 音不用滿文的 li 拼寫，而要拼寫成 lii。雖然發音上沒有差別，但滿文為何要如此拼寫，長期以來在韓國學界未能得到很好的答案。本文將在本章第 3 節中進行說明。

漢語 /ja/ 以滿文 -ija 表記。韓文以「ㅣ (ija)」表記。*《漢清文鑑》* 中轉記漢語 i- 系複韻母的韓文字形非常特別。雖然這種「-ij-」疊加的表記方式是有反於韓文常規造字法的，但在*《漢清文鑑》* 中卻毫無混亂、井然有序，無一例外的如此表記。韓文中也有 j- 系複元音可以表記漢語的 i- 系複韻母，而且歷來也均以此轉記。但如此奇特的表記方法又是從何而來？觀察滿文的表記可知，滿文正是如此所記。而這種「-ij-」疊加的方式是滿蒙文所特有的，*《漢清文鑑》* 的韓文轉記完全忠實於了這種特殊表記。那麼滿蒙文的「-ij-」疊加表記又是如何產生的？前文提到，滿文在表記漢語時有「切音」之法。而「-ij-」疊加的方式恰是二合切音的表記方法。因滿蒙文中並無 j- 系複元音，而是將半元音 j 作為輔音來看待，因此在轉記漢語的 i- 系複韻母時，將漢語的一個音節（即一個字的發音）拆成兩個音節並連寫在一起。如，用滿文表記漢字「下 /xia/」時，就要將其拆分為「xi」和「ja」兩個音節，再將其連寫、合聲為一體，即成「xija」。而此處的 j- 並無實際音值，只是拼寫問題而已（李

¹¹ *《御製增訂清文鑑》* (2:7) 中有一處以滿文 $\mathfrak{a}$ 表記，但*《漢清文鑑》* 的韓文轉記依舊與滿文 $\mathfrak{a}$ 相同。該處可確認為是誤寫。

得春，1999，頁 26）。韓文再次轉記時，雖可以直接用韓文本有的字「하/hja/」來表記，沒有必要如滿文一樣使用二合切音法。《漢清文鑑》凡例十中說道：「…ㅈ /ja/ 類琺 (nija) 字卽니야 /ni//ja/ 之二合切音，讀如냐 /nja/ 字，까까하倣此…」。

由此可知，《漢清文鑑》的韓文還是完全依照滿文的拼寫習慣而轉記的。另外，若 i- 系複韻母前為零聲母的話，滿文將 j 視為輔音字頭，僅以「j+ 元音」的形式相拼，不拼作「零聲母 +ij+ 元音」的形式。韓文也隨之轉記為「零聲母 +j- 系複元音」，不再使用「-ij-」疊加的方式。因此滿文 ja 作「야 (ja/ja/)」。

漢語 /jai/ 以滿文 -ijai 表記。韓文以「ㅉ (ijai)」表記，零聲母 jai 以「애 (jai/jai/)」表記，原因同上。此處將現代韓文的二重元音「ㅉ」認定為三重元音。「-ij-」疊加原因也同上。

漢語 /jan/ 以滿文 -ijan 表記。韓文以「ㅊ (ijan)」表記，零聲母 jai 以「얀 (jan/jan/)」表記，原因同上。「-ij-」疊加原因也同上。

漢語 /jaŋ/ 以滿文 -ijaŋ 表記。韓文以「ㅊ (ijaŋ)」表記，零聲母 ja ŋ 以「양 (jaŋ/jaŋ/)」表記，原因同上。「-ij-」疊加原因也同上。漢語 /jej/ 以滿文 -ijej 表記。韓文以「ㅉ (ijej)」表記。此處將現代韓文的二重元音「ㅉ」認定為三重元音。「-ij-」疊加原因也同上。

漢語 /jəw/ 以滿文 iɔ 表記。韓文以「ㅑ (iu)」表記。如前文所述，滿文 iɔ 的發音並非 /iɔ/ 音，實為 /iw/ 音。而漢語 /jəw/ 音中的 /ə/，可以看做是一種發音很輕的過度音，且中國人無論是說是聽，均不區分 /jəw/ 與 /ju/ 或 /iu/ 的區別，因此滿文略記之，韓文從之。

漢語 /in/ 以滿文 in 表記。韓文以「ㅓ (in)」表記。

漢語 /iŋ/ 以滿文 iŋ 表記。韓文以「ㅇ (iŋ)」表記。

漢語 /io/ 以滿文 -ijo 表記。韓文以「ㅓ (ijo)」表記，零聲母 jaŋ 以「요 (jo/jo/)」表記，原因同上。「-ij-」疊加原因也同上。

表 4

《漢清文鑑》漢語—滿文 韓文表記 例字表 (一)

모음	자음	唇 音					舌 音				
		/p/	/pʰ/	/m/	/f/	o(w)	/t/	/tʰ/	/n/	/l/	o(j)
開 口 呼	ㄴ	ᄇ 바	ᄇ 파	ᄃ 마	ᄃ 바		ᄃ 다	ᄃ 타	ᄃ 나	ᄃ 라	
	/a/	壩 1:48	耙 10:3	馬 1:48	發 1:36		大 1:1	他 6:58	那 1:15	喇 2:15	
	ㄷ	ᄇ 배	ᄇ 패	ᄃ 대		ᄃ 애	ᄃ 대	ᄃ 태	ᄃ 내	ᄃ 래	
	/aj/	拜 3:40	牌 2:6	埋 4:34		埃 1:34	帶 1:9	太 1:4	耐 4:51	來 1:21	
	ᄃ	ᄃ 반 ᄃ 보	ᄃ 판	ᄃ 만		ᄃ 완	ᄃ 단	ᄃ 탄	ᄃ 난	ᄃ 란	
	/aw/	寶 12:7 寶 10:40	泡 1:33	毛 1:34		塵 4:35	倒 1:16	討 2:45	鬧 3:4	牢 9:39	
	ᄃ	ᄃ 반	ᄃ 판	ᄃ 만	ᄃ 반	ᄃ 안 ᄃ 안	ᄃ 단	ᄃ 탄	ᄃ 난	ᄃ 란	
	/an/	班 3:3	盤 1:40	滿 1:9	泛 1:46	暗 5:2 暗 1:3	單 1:3	潭 1:43	難 1:36	爛 1:36	
	ᄃ	ᄃ 방	ᄃ 광	ᄃ 망	ᄃ 방	ᄃ 앙	ᄃ 당	ᄃ 탕	ᄃ 낭	ᄃ 랑	
	/aj/	鄉 3:8	旁 2:47	茫 6:40	方 1:1	昂 6:9	蕩 1:2	邊 4:1	囊 5:52	郎 1:3	
	ㄷ	ᄃ 비	ᄃ 피	ᄃ 미		ᄃ 어	ᄃ 더	ᄃ 터		ᄃ 러	
	/e/	北 1:2	迫 8:33	默 2:17		扼 4:33	德 2:9	特 2:17		肋 1:37	
呼	ᄃ	ᄃ 비	ᄃ 피	ᄃ 미	ᄃ 비				ᄃ 니	ᄃ 희	
	/aj/	背 1:2	陪 2:47	每 1:22	飛 1:34				內 5:12	誅 4:5	
	ᄃ		ᄃ 푸	ᄃ 무	ᄃ 부	ᄃ 우	ᄃ 두	ᄃ 투		ᄃ 루	
	/aw/		剖 12:15	某	否	歐 3:3	斗 1:4	頭 1:12		婁 1:6	
	ᄃ	ᄃ 본	ᄃ 폰	ᄃ 문	ᄃ 분	ᄃ 운					
	/ən/	本 1:22	盆 1:12	門 2:20	分 2:2	恩 2:2					
呼	ᄃ	ᄃ 봉	ᄃ 풍	ᄃ 몽			ᄃ 등	ᄃ 등	ᄃ 능	ᄃ 땡	
	/əŋ/	駢 4:45	碰 4:42	蒙 4:29			登 2:10	騰 1:7	能 3:11	冷 1:29	

資料來源：作者自行整理。

表 5

《漢清文鑑》漢語—滿文 韓文表記 例字表(二)

자음 모음	牙-喉音			正齒音				齒頭音			
	/k/	/kʰ/	/x/	/t͡ɕ/	/t͡ɕʰ/	/ɕ/	/z/	/t͡s/	/t͡sʰ/	/s/	
開 口 呼	ㄱ			ㄱ 자	ㅋ 차	ㅅ 사		ㄷ 자	ㅌ 차	ㅅ 사	
	/a/			扎 1:49	察 2:17	沙 1:17		離 1:60	擦 3:45	灑 12:62	
	ㄴ	ㄴ 개	ㄴ 캐	ㄴ 해	ㄴ 재	ㄴ 채	ㄴ 새		ㄴ 재	ㄴ 채	ㄴ 새
	/aŋ/	垓 4:26	開 3:11	亥 1:19	齊 3:40	柴 1:45	晒 8:52		災 3:42	才 7:54	腮 5:25
	ㅈ	ㅈ 간	ㅈ 칸	ㅈ 한	ㅈ 잔	ㅈ 찬	ㅈ 산	ㅈ 산	ㅈ 잔	ㅈ 찬	ㅈ 산
	/aW/	高 1:35	考 2:36	好 1:21	照 1:2	朝 1:24	燒 1:9	繞 4:57	早 1:26	草 1:14	掃 1:48
	ㄷ	ㄷ 간	ㄷ 칸	ㄷ 한	ㄷ 잔	ㄷ 찬	ㄷ 산	ㄷ 산	ㄷ 잔	ㄷ 찬	ㄷ 산
	/aŋ/	甘 1:11	坎 1:48	邨 1:9	占 1:22 霧 4:8	產 1:33	珊 10:42 悶 1:8	然 1:9	贊 2:23	參 2:23	散 1:9
	ㅊ	ㅊ 강	ㅊ 캉	ㅊ 항	ㅊ 장	ㅊ 창	ㅊ 상	ㅊ 상	ㅊ 장	ㅊ 창	ㅊ 상
	/aŋ/	岡 1:35	亢 15	夯 10:37	張 1:7	廠 1:35	上 1:1	嚷 3:3	藏 2:18	蒼 1:1	喪 3:42
閉 口 呼	ㄷ	ㄷ 거	ㄷ 커	ㄷ 허	ㄷ 저	ㄷ 처	ㄷ 서	ㄷ 서	ㄷ 저	ㄷ 처	ㄷ 서
	/e/	歌 3:47	可 6:57	黑 1:2	遮 2:12	車 2:12	射 1:2	熱 2:13	責 7:15	冊 2:7	塞 13:30
	ㄹ			ㄹ 희					ㄹ 희		
	/əj/			黑 8:44					賊 4:38		
	ㅁ	ㅁ 구	ㅁ 구	ㅁ 후	ㅁ 구	ㅁ 구	ㅁ 구	ㅁ 구	ㅁ 구	ㅁ 구	ㅁ 구
	/əw/	勾 1:7	口 1:48	候 1:19	週 1:22	丑 1:19	收 1:9	柔 8:27	奏 2:20	湊 3:1	搜 2:37
	ㄷ	ㄷ 근	ㄷ 근	ㄷ 혼	ㄷ 권	ㄷ 권	ㄷ 선	ㄷ 선	ㄷ 근	ㄷ 근	ㄷ 선
	/əŋ/	根 10:4	肯 4:55	痕 1:46	軫 1:7	展 1:1	參 1:6	人 1:7	怎 1:12	岑	森
	ㅍ	ㅍ 금	ㅍ 금	ㅍ 흥	ㅍ 경	ㅍ 정	ㅍ 성	ㅍ 성	ㅍ 금	ㅍ 금	ㅍ 흥
	/əŋ/	庚 1:18	坑 1:40	亨 4:7	爭 4:47 爭 8:45	成 1:29	升 1:3	仍	憎 7:49	削 4:54	僧 2:34

資料來源：作者自行整理。

表 6
《漢清文鑑》漢語—滿文 韓文表記 例字表（三）

모음	자음	唇 音					舌 音				
		/p/	/pʰ/	/m/	/f/	o(w/)	/t/	/tʰ/	/n/	/l/	o(j/)
		ㅍ	ㅍ	ㅁ	ㅍ	ㅍ	ㅌ	ㅌ	ㄴ	ㄹ	ㅇ
齊齒呼	ㅏ	ㅍ 비	ㅍ 피	ㅁ 미			ㅌ 디	ㅌ 티	ㄴ 니	ㄹ 레	ㅇ 이
	/i/	壁 1:6	坯 1:34	述 3:11			帝 1:4	題 2:53	覓 1:13	黎 1:1	疑 3:12
	ㅓ										ㅇ 야
	/ja/										芽 1:3
	ㅕ										ㅇ 애
	/jaɲ/										隘 9:21
	ㅗ	ㅍ ㅁ	ㅍ ㅁ	ㅁ ㅁ			ㅌ ㅁ	ㅌ ㅁ	ㄴ ㅁ	ㄹ ㅁ	ㅇ 양
	/jaw/	表 2:7	瓢 1:14	苗 4:51			調 2:47	條 1:17	虛 8:33	了 1:13	腰 1:38
	ㅛ	ㅍ ㅁ	ㅍ ㅁ	ㅁ ㅁ			ㅌ ㅁ	ㅌ ㅁ	ㄴ ㅁ	ㄹ ㅁ	ㅇ 양
	/jan/	變 1:41	篇 4:5	鉤 1:41			點 1:11	天 1:1	年 3:37	連 1:12	簷 1:14 簷 9:69
	ㅜ								ㅌ ㅁ	ㄹ ㅁ	ㅇ 양
	/jaŋ/								釀 1:1	亮 1:1	漾 1:2
	ㅟ	ㅍ ㅁ	ㅍ ㅁ	ㅁ ㅁ			ㅌ ㅁ	ㅌ ㅁ	ㄴ ㅁ	ㄹ ㅁ	ㅇ 여
	/je/	別 1:60	撇 6:59	減 3:12			迭 1:20	鐵 1:40	攝 15:1	裂 1:29	野 1:33
	ㅢ			ㅁ 무			ㅌ 무		ㅁ 무	ㅁ 무	ㅁ 무
	/jaw/			謬 1:28			丟 1:29		牛 1:6	柳 1:7	憂 3:42
齊齒呼	ㅚ	ㅍ 빈	ㅍ 핀	ㅁ 민					ㄴ 닌	ㄹ 린	ㅇ 인
	/in/	賓 3:33	墳 2:3	憫 6:20					您	鱗 1:9	引 4:3
	ㅝ	ㅍ 빙	ㅍ 핑	ㅁ 밍			ㅌ 딩	ㅌ 텅	ㄴ 닝	ㄹ 링	ㅇ 잉
	/iŋ/	丙 1:18	平 1:3	明 1:1			頂 1:17	停 1:12	凝 1:10	凌 1:14	英 1:3

資料來源：作者自行整理。

表 7

《漢清文鑑》漢語—滿文 韓文表記 例字表（四）

모음	자음	牙-喉音			正齒音				齒頭音		
		/k/	/kʰ/	/x/	/t͡ʃ/	/t͡ʃʰ/	/ʃ/	/ʒ/	/t͡s/	/t͡sʰ/	/s/
		ㄱ ㄲ	ㅋ	ㆁ	ㅈ ㅊ	ㅊ ㅌ	ㅅ ㅆ	ㅈ ㅊ	ㅈ ㅊ	ㅈ ㅊ	ㅈ ㅊ
齊齒呼	ㅈ	子 기	子 키	子 히				ㄱ ㄴ	ㄱ ㄴ	ㄱ ㄴ	ㄱ ㄴ
	/i/	極 1:4	氣 1:1	稀 1:8				日 1:2	即 1:21	七 1:3	隙 1:3
	ㅊ	子 개	子 开	子 排							
	/jA/	假 1:12	摘 2:57	霞 1:9							
	ㅌ	子 개	子 开	子 排							
	/jA/	戒 3:40	楷 15:27	鞋 11:12							
	ㅍ	子 强	子 强	子 强					ㅍ ㅍ	ㅍ ㅍ	ㅍ ㅍ
	/jAw/	膠 1:34	巧 2:62	孝 2:12					焦 1:10	雀 3:22	滿 1:12
	ㅍ	子 强	子 强	子 强					ㅍ ㅍ	ㅍ ㅍ	ㅍ ㅍ
	/jAn/	鑑 1:1	牽 1:7	現 1:1					澣 1:42	前 1:20	先 1:20
	ㅍ	子 强	子 强	子 强					ㅍ ㅍ	ㅍ ㅍ	ㅍ ㅍ
	/jAŋ/	江 1:43	强 6:32	響 1:9					將 1:24	槍 4:36	鑲 2:15
	ㅍ	子 开	子 开	子 排					ㅍ ㅍ	ㅍ ㅍ	ㅍ ㅍ
	/je/	結 1:29	挈 2:33	協 2:33					節 1:25	切 4:13	斜 1:3
	ㅍ	子 开	子 开	子 排					ㅍ ㅍ	ㅍ ㅍ	ㅍ ㅍ
	/jəw/	舊 2:16	秋 4:22	休					酒 2:27	秋 1:23	鏤 1:45
齊齒呼	ㅈ	子 金	子 金	子 金				ㅈ ㅊ	ㅈ ㅊ	ㅈ ㅊ	ㅈ ㅊ
	/in/	金 1:5	飲 2:32	欣				人 5:30	浸 1:12	沁 2:19	心 1:5
	ㅈ	子 金	子 金	子 金					ㅈ ㅊ	ㅈ ㅊ	ㅈ ㅊ
齊齒呼	/iŋ/	經 1:22	傾 1:12	行 1:18					井 1:7	青 1:1	星 1:4

資料來源：作者自行整理。

表 8
《漢清文鑑》漢語—滿文 韓文表記 例字表（五）

모음		자음					唇 音					舌 音				
		/p/	/pʰ/	/m/	/t/	ø(w/)	/t/	/tʰ/	/n/	/l/	ø(j/)					
齊	ㅈ										ㅈ 烈	ㅈ 耀				
	/jo/										略 2:11	耀 1:2				
撮	ㅊ									ㅊ 女	ㅊ 縷	ㅊ 魚				
	/y/										女 1:6	縷 1:29 魚 1:9				
	ㅊ										ㅊ 學	ㅊ 懸				
	/qan/										學 8:17 懸 6:58	圓 1:4				
	ㅊ											ㅊ 月				
	/qe/											月 1:4				
	ㅊ											ㅊ 暈				
口	/yn/											暈 1:4				
	ㅊ											ㅊ 用				
	/yŋ/											用 1:20				
	開	ㅊ														
		/ɔ/														
		ㅊ														
		/ɪ/														
呼	ㅊ															
	/o/	ㅊ 薄	ㅊ 坡	ㅊ 脈	ㅊ 佛	ㅊ 俄	ㅊ 多	ㅊ 脫	ㅊ 挪	ㅊ 羅						
	/o/	薄 1:29	坡 1:47	脈 1:37	佛 3:44	俄 2:16	多 2:2	脫 3:11	挪 6:47	羅 1:5						

資料來源：作者自行整理。

表 9

《漢清文鑑》漢語—滿文 韓文表記 例字表（六）

모음	자음	牙-喉音			正齒音				齒頭音		
		/k/	/kʰ/	/x/	/t͡ʃ/	/t͡ʃʰ/	/ʃ/	/ʒ/	/ts/	/tsʰ/	/s/
齊		ᄀ	ᄁ	ᄂ					ᄃ	ᄄ	ᄅ
	/jo/	角 1:5	殼 14:15	學 2:22					爵 3:40	鶴 13:54	削 12:4
		ᄆ	ᄇ	ᄈ					ᄉ	ᄊ	ᄋ
	/y/	句 4:14	曲 4:15	許 4:25					疽 8:9	趨 7:29	序 4:3
撮		ᄌ	ᄍ	ᄎ					ᄏ	ᄐ	ᄑ
	/qan/	卷 1:1	權 2:50	銷 11:38 軒 6:2					鍋	泉 1:44	宣 2:11
口		ᄒ	ᄓ	ᄔ					ᄕ	ᄌ	ᄍ
	/qe/	掀 4:46	缺 2:46	穴 1:40					絕 7:37	病	雪 1:14
呼		ᄖ	ᄗ	ᄘ					ᄙ	ᄚ	ᄛ
	/yn/	君 1:52	裙 5:3	薰 1:16					俊 1:38		巡 2:41
		ᄜ	ᄝ	ᄞ							
	/yŋ/		窮 6:38	凶 4:8							
		ᄟ						ᄠ	ᄡ		
	/o/							二 3:55 爾 2:7			
		ᄢ							ᄣ	ᄤ	ᄥ
	/u/								子 1:4	此 1:49	巳 1:19
開口呼		ᄦ			ᄧ	ᄨ	ᄩ				
	/u/				直 1:21	連 1:21	食 1:36				
		ᄰ	ᄱ	ᄲ	ᄳ	ᄴ	ᄵ	ᄶ	ᄷ	ᄸ	ᄹ
	/o/	過 1:36	科 8:30	火 1:5	着 1:24	戰 10:48	灼 1:8	弱 8:6	左 1:51	挫 4:47	索 3:7

資料來源：作者自行整理。

表 10

《漢清文鑑》漢語—滿文 韓文表記 例字表（七）

자음 모음		唇 音					舌 音				
		/p/	/p ^h /	/m/	/f/	o(w/)	/t/	/t ^h /	/n/	/l/	o(y/)
合 口 呼	ㅁ	ㅁ 부	ㅁ 평	ㅁ 무	ㅁ 부	ㅁ 우	ㅁ 두	ㅁ 투	ㅁ 누	ㅁ 루	
	/u/	部 1:1	璞 1:40	暮 1:1	浮 1:9	五 3:47	都 1:5	土 1:5	怒 3:3	露 1:13	
	ㅅ					ㅅ 와					
	/wa/					洼 1:35					
	ㅅ					ㅅ 왜					
	/waj/					外 1:34					
	ㅅ					ㅅ 완	ㅅ 뮌	ㅅ 뮌	ㅅ 난	ㅅ 뮌	
	/wan/					晚 1:1	端 1:26	滿 1:3	暖 1:3	樂 1:4	
	ㅅ					ㅅ 왕					
	/waj/					望 1:26					
	ㅅ										
	/wa/					ㅅ 위					
	ㅅ										
	/wo/					卧 11:31					
	ㅅ					ㅅ 위 ㅅ 위	ㅅ 뮌	ㅅ 뮌	ㅅ 뮌	ㅅ 뮌	
	/waj/					尾 14:7 尾 4:35	隊 1:34	推 2:23	餽 2:23	類 1:1	
	ㅅ			ㅅ 문	ㅅ 문	ㅅ 운	ㅅ 뮌	ㅅ 뮌	ㅅ 뮌	ㅅ 뮌	
	/un/			問 1:28	分 1:27	文 1:1	蹲 4:56	屯 1:9	嫩 14:15 嫩 12:50	倫 2:3 倫 6:21	
	ㅅ		ㅅ 품	ㅅ 뮌	ㅅ 뮌	ㅅ 음	ㅅ 뮌	ㅅ 뮌	ㅅ 뮌	ㅅ 뮌	
	/uy/		碰 7:48	蒙	風 1:4	甕 9:21	東 1:1	通 2:9	濃 1:10	膿 1:1	

資料來源：作者自行整理。

表 11

《漢清文鑑》漢語—滿文 韓文表記 例字表（八）

자음 모음	牙-喉音			正齒音						齒頭音		
	/k/	/kʰ/	/x/	/t͡ʃ/	/t͡ʃʰ/	/ʃ/	/ʒ/	/ts/	/tsʰ/	/s/		
合 口 呼	ㄱ	ㄱ 古	ㄱ 古	ㄱ 辛	ㄱ 辛	ㄱ 辛	ㄱ 辛	ㄱ 辛	ㄱ 辛	ㄱ 辛	ㄱ 辛	ㄱ 辛
	/u/	鼓 1:8	庫 2:29	忽 1:29	注 1:12	出 1:3	屬 1:22	入 1:3	足 1:12	猝 1:12	肅 1:1	
	ㄲ	刮 1:16	胯 7:40	花 1:9	抓 9:13		刷 8:52					
	ㄳ	刮 1:16	胯 7:40	花 1:9	抓 9:13		刷 8:52					
	/waj/	恠 3:7	快 1:28	淮 3:24		搗 10:10	率 2:61					
	ㄴ	闊 2:6	寬 1:35	宦 2:13	穿 3:42	刷 1:46	軟 3:31	纂 2:35	攢 11:8	酸 8:5		
	/wan/	闊 2:6	寬 1:35	宦 2:13	穿 3:42	刷 1:46	軟 3:31	纂 2:35	攢 11:8	酸 8:5		
	ㄷ	光 1:1	狂 1:16	黃 1:1	狀 2:38	幢 3:20	雙 1:24					
	/waj/	光 1:1	狂 1:16	黃 1:1	狀 2:38	幢 3:20	雙 1:24					
	ㄸ	鬼 1:7	奎 1:6	回 1:2	追 4:38	垂 1:14	水 1:11	純 8:73	純 26:36	順 2:12	順 10:24	潤 1:12
	/waj/	鬼 1:7	奎 1:6	回 1:2	追 4:38	垂 1:14	水 1:11	純 8:73	純 26:36	順 2:12	順 10:24	潤 1:12
	ㄹ	棍 3:8	坤 4:7	昏 1:1	準 2:51	純 8:73	純 26:36	順 2:12	順 10:24	潤 1:12	遵 4:15	村 7:14
	/un/	棍 3:8	坤 4:7	昏 1:1	準 2:51	純 8:73	純 26:36	順 2:12	順 10:24	潤 1:12	遵 4:15	村 7:14
	ㄺ	宮 1:8	空 1:20	鼻 1:10	中 1:44	沖 1:46		榮 2:9	宗 2:21	從 1:47	頌 4:3	
	/uŋ/	宮 1:8	空 1:20	鼻 1:10	中 1:44	沖 1:46		榮 2:9	宗 2:21	從 1:47	頌 4:3	

資料來源：作者自行整理。

漢語 /y/ 以滿文 **ioi** 表記。韓文以「ㅟ /juj/」表記。「ㅟ」是中世韓文中所使用過的古字，為三重元音，現其發音與文字均已消失。而此類韓文表記雖與滿文稍有異樣，但也基本吻合了三元音組合式的拼寫方法。此外，與齒音相拼者如「ㄱㅟ」等需加圈表記。《漢清文鑑》凡例七中說：「…**ㅟ**字之시 **ㅟ**…合音者並傍圈之^{ㄱㅟ}…是也…」。原本「**ㅟ** (sjuj)」等字是「시 (si)」與「위 (ui)」的組合，用以表記滿文「ʃ」與「ui」結合而成的「**jui**」，指代漢語 /ɕui/ 音；而「**ㅟ** (sjuj)」字又可以被分析為「入 (s)」與「**ㅟ** (juj)」的組合，用以表記滿文「s」與「ioi」結合而成的「**sioi**」，指代漢語 /ɕy/ 音。為區分兩者，故在後者加圈以別之。

漢語 /qan/ 以滿文 -ijowan 表記。韓文以「**ㄱ** (juan)」表記。滿文在表記漢語 q- 系複韻母時，採用的是三合切音法。如《漢清文鑑》例十八中舉例「…泉 /tɕʰqan/ 以치유완切…」可知，漢字「泉 /tɕʰqan/」在滿文中被切音為「tʃʰi」「jo」「wan」三個音節，韓文與之一一相對。此外，與齒音相拼者如「**°**찬」等需加圈表記。《漢清文鑑》例十八中說：「…如川泉之**°**찬，則川 /tɕʰwan/ 以유완切，泉 /tɕʰqan/ 以치유완切…同音異切者如此，故**°**찬之三合切音者圈之清字中一字」。也就是說，韓文轉記時，同樣一個「**°**찬」字，既可以看做是「치 (tshi)」與「**ㄱ** (uan)」的組合，用以表記滿文「tʃʰi」與「uwan」結合而成的「tʃʰuwan」，指代漢語 /tɕʰwan/ 音；也可以看做是「**ㅈ** (tsʰ)」與「**ㄱ** (juan)」的組合，用以表記滿文「tʃʰi」與「ijowan」結合而成的「tʃʰijowan」，指代漢語 /tɕʰqan/ 音。因此，為區分兩者，在後者加圈以別之。

漢語 /ɣe/ 以滿文 -ijowəj 表記。韓文以 「^ㅇᄢᆞᆫ (juəŋ)」 表記。加圈原因同上。

漢語 /yn/ 以滿文 -ijoin 表記。韓文以「 (ijun)」表記，零聲母 jun 以「 (jun/jun/)」表記，原因同上。「-ij-」疊加原因也同上。

漢語 /yŋ/ 以滿文 -ijŋ 表記。韓文以「ㅇ (ijŋ)」表記，零聲母 juŋ 以「ㅇ (juŋ/juŋ/)」表記，原因同上。「-ij-」疊加原因也同上。

漢語 /u/ 以滿文 u 表記，其中 /xu/ 以滿文 xU 表記。其實，漢語的

音韻體系中並無 /ʊ/ 音，但惟有 /xu/ 音以滿文 xʊ 表記。《漢清文鑑》的〈異施清字〉中說道，用滿文轉記漢語時，漢語 /xu/ 音要用滿文 xʊ/χʊ/ 表記。如此表記的原因可能是滿語和滿文中都不常使用 xu/xu/ 的緣故。如同《漢清文鑑》正文部份滿語－滿文的韓文轉記一樣，漢語－滿文的韓文轉記也不區分 u 與 ʊ 的區別，均以「ㅓ」表記。雖然滿文表記因 u 與 ʊ 陰陽性的不同，會產生不同變異音、不同字形的情況，但正文部份滿文的韓文轉記並不因此而產生變化，因此滿文 xʊ 的韓文表記不加圈。

漢語 /wa/ 以滿文 -uwa 表記。韓文以「ㅑ (ua)」表記。滿文在表記漢語 u- 系複韻母時，也使用「-uw-」的疊加表記方式。這種表記方法也同「-ij-」一樣，是二合切音法的一種。比如漢語 /kwa/ 音，以滿文「ku」和「wa」兩個音節連記。但此時韓文卻無法同滿文一樣，像「-ij-」一樣將「-uw-」疊加表記。韓文 w- 系複元音字母「ㅑ (ua) ㅓ (uə/wə/)

(固有韓文作ㅑ (oa/wa/) ㅓ (/wə/))」等中，表示 w(u) 的字母「ㅓ」清晰可見；但 j- 系複元音字母「ㅓ ㅓ ㅓ ㅓ」等中，表示 j(i) 的字母「ㅓ」卻看不出來。因此可推測，韓文疊加「-ij-」來表記是為了凸顯半元音 j(i)，而沒有疊加「-uw-」表記的原因則是韓文中已經能夠展現半元音 w(u) 的字形。另外，轉記滿文的韓文 w- 系複元音字母「ㅑ ㅑ」等字的固有韓文本作「ㅑ ㅑ」，這是根據韓文的元音和諧原則而拼寫的，但故意將表達半元音 w(u) 的「ㅓ (o)」改成「ㅓ (u)」，很可能也是為了凸顯半元音 w(u) 的文字形態。不過，在轉記零聲母 wa 時，則使用韓文「와 /wa/」，可能是將改字視為整體而表記的。

漢語 /waj/ 以滿文 -uwaj 表記。韓文以「ㅑ (uaj)」表記，零聲母 waj 以「와 (oaj/waj/)」表記，原因同上。

漢語 /wan/ 以滿文 -uwan 表記。韓文以「ㅑ (uan)」表記，零聲母 wan 以「완 (oan/wan/)」表記，原因同上。

漢語 /waŋ/ 以滿文 -uwaŋ 表記。韓文以「ㅑ (uaŋ)」表記，零聲母 waŋ 以「왕 (oaŋ/waŋ/)」表記，原因同上。

漢語 /wə(wo)/ 以滿文 -uwə 表記。韓文以「ㅜ (uə/wə/)」表記。該詞條僅有「워」「꺄」兩字。根據王力（1985），近代漢語韻母中雖有 /wə/ 與 /wo/ 之別，但《漢清文鑒》的實際標音中並未明確區分兩者之別。

漢語 /wəj/ 以滿文 ui 表記，零聲母時以滿文 wəj 表記。韓文以「ㅟ (ui/uj/)」表記，偶爾有「ㅟ (uəi/wəj/)」的特例。王力（1991，頁22）提到，漢語的三重複韻母 /jəw//in//iŋ//yn//yŋ//wəj//un//uŋ/ 的發音中，有發音微弱的過度音 /ə/，因此，其發音實際為 [iəw][iən][iəŋ][yən][yəŋ][uəj][uən][uəŋ]。而滿文表記漢語該類發音時，常有是否添加 ə 的混亂便源於此。而韓文轉記是根據滿文而記。《漢清文鑒》第四卷第 35 頁有一處帶有圈點的特殊表記「°워（尾）」。然而全書僅此一處標有圈點，究其原因很可能是誤置。回查該字原文出處《御製增訂清文鑑》(8:19b) 發現，該字左側之滿文「untʂʰəxən」有一圈點，譯者很有可能因為該處之圈點誤將其置於「wəj」字之上。



圖 4 《清文鑑》原文 8:19b

資料來源：作者自行整理。

漢語 /un/ 以滿文 un 表記。韓文以「ㅓ (un/un/)」表記，偶爾有「ㅓ (uən/wən/)」的特例，原因同上。

漢語 /uŋ/ 以滿文 uŋ 表記。韓文以「ㅇ (uŋ/uŋ/)」表記。

二、漢語—滿文聲母的韓文表記

漢語 /p//pʰ//m//f/ 以滿文 p、pʰ、m、f 表記。《漢清文鑑》中分

別以韓文「ㅍ /p/ ㅑ /p^h/ ㅓ /m/ ㅕ /β/」表記。其中「ㅕ」是中世韓國語時期的古字，在現代韓國語文字體系中已經消失，語音中也並無此音。

漢語 /w/ 以滿文 w 表記。韓文以 w(ㅜ / ㅗ)-系複元音字母表記，輔音以零聲母「ㅇ」記。

漢語 /t//t^h//n//l/ 以滿文 t、t^h、n、l 表記。韓文以「ㄷ /t/ ㅌ /t^h/ ㄴ /n/ ㄹ /l/」表記。

漢語 /j/ 以滿文 j 表記。韓文以 j(ㅣ)-系複元音字母表記，輔音以零聲母「ㅇ」記。

漢語 /k//k^h//x/ 以滿文根據連接元音的陰陽性，以陰性輔音 k⁻、k^{h-}、x⁻和漢語—滿文專用陽性輔音字 K、K^h、x⁺¹² 表記。韓文不區分陰陽性，均分別以「ㄱ /k/ ㅋ /k^h/ ㅎ /h/」表記。

漢語 /tʂ//tʂ^h//ʃ//ʒ/ 以滿語—滿文固有輔音字 tʂ、tʂ^h、ʃ和漢語—滿文專用輔音字 ʒ 表記。韓文分別以「지 /tʂi/ 치 /tʂhi/ 시 /si/ ㄷㅣ /ʒi/」表記。韓國語中本無捲舌音，但在韓文創製初期，曾為漢語的捲舌音專門創製了「ㄸ ㅌ ㅎ」等字，但該字僅用於中世韓國語時期的韓國漢語韻書中，不見於近代的其他書籍。《漢清文鑑》凡例十八中指出：「…ㄸ /ʃwan/ 以시완切…」，由此可知，韓文中將「시」看做整體來轉記滿文的 ʃ。另外，「ㄷ /ʒ/」¹³ 是中世韓國語時期的古字，在現代韓國語文字體系中已經消失，語音中也並無此音。其音值一直爭議不斷，或為 /z/，或為 /ʒ/。後世常用該字轉記漢語日母。

漢語 /ts//ts^h//s/ 以漢語—滿文專用輔音字 ts、ts^h 和滿語—滿文固有輔音字 s 表記。韓文分別以「ㅈ /ts/ ㅊ /tʂh/ ㅅ /s/」表記，偶爾有加圈的特例。如前文所及，爲了區分漢語 ʈ-系複韻母和平舌音相拼的組合與 w-系複韻母和捲舌音相拼的組合，如 /tɕ^hʌn/ 與 /tʂ^hʌn/ 之別，特在後者的韓文轉記上加圈作區分。

¹² 雖然滿文外字中，為漢語專門新製了陽性輔音 X，但並無實際用例，而是繼續使用滿語—滿文的固有字母 x⁺。

¹³ 關於該音的音價推定，詳見邵磊（2015，頁 22-24）。

三、漢語—滿文「諱」的韓文表記

在清朝—朝鮮時期的所有八種清學書籍中，《漢清文鑑》的漢語—滿文表記最為規範。但如上文所述，其中仍有各別字符出現特殊寫法。除前文提到過的不規律漢語—滿文拼寫法以外，仍有幾個特殊的拼寫法值得我們高度注意。

有如下六個漢語—滿文字不符合常規的拼寫方法：

漢字發音	/xqan/	/je/	/in/	/tʂən/	/xuŋ/	/li/
《漢清文鑑》 不規律拼寫	 eiowan	 jə	 jən	 tʂən	 xuŋ	 lii
滿文常規表記	 xiowan	 jəj	 in	 tʂən	 xuŋ	 li

圖 5 《漢清文鑑》漢語—滿文表記中的不規律拼寫

資料來源：作者自行整理。

以上六字的不規律拼寫，雖然發音相似，但為何這幾個要特殊拼寫、且改寫形態不一的原因則一直不得而知。韓國學界如成百仁（1984，頁 58）、閔泳珪（1956），日本學界如今西春秋（1958，頁 41），中國學界如黃俊泰（1985，頁 46）等學者，對此作出多種猜想和討論，但多局限於語音或字形習慣問題。筆者在中央民族大學圖書館偶然看到一本名為《初學滿文指蒙歌》的手抄本古籍，根據內容推測流傳於同治年間。根據這本書（如圖 6），筆者得知原來滿文也有「避諱」之說，其實現形式則是以相近發音的拼寫來代替原本的常規拼法。臺灣清華大學歷史所的羅盛吉老師不久前才剛在《滿語研究》雜誌中刊登了名為〈清朝滿文避諱漫議〉的文章，初步介紹了滿文中的避諱形式（羅盛吉，2014）。



圖 6 《初學滿文指蒙歌》原文 頁 1

資料來源：作者自行整理。

據此可知，《御製增訂清文鑑》中的不規律拼寫，大多數是就是滿文中為避諱而改寫的字。圖 5 列舉的六個漢字音，從左至右依次是「玄燁」、「胤禛」、「弘曆」之發音，即避「康熙」、「雍正」、「乾隆」皇帝滿文用字之諱。

不過這當中，也有一個例外，就是表 9 中所示的 /xqan/ 的標音。依避諱要求，原本漢語 /xqan/ 應用滿文表記成「 eiowan」以避康熙帝「玄（ xiowan）燁」之諱，但《御製增訂清文鑑》中卻有一處例外，就是第十一卷第 38 頁處的「鋬」字（本文表 9 標 * 號處），被表記成了「 xiowan」。通過全文考察，發現清代漢語讀 /xqan/ 的漢字，如「懸」、「軒」等，均被表記成「 eiowan」¹⁴，可見《御製增訂清文鑑》有在遵守「避諱」規則，「鋬」字的滿文表記應是表記失誤。

而《漢清文鑑》中的韓文則完全依照滿文的拼寫方法進行轉字，未考慮漢語的實際發音。包括「鋬」字的誤記，韓文也將錯就錯，未做修正。

滿文避諱的特殊拼寫法，為韓文中的許多特殊表記提供了一種重要的解釋思路。除以上六字以外，韓文、滿文尚有幾個特殊表記，如之前提到的「加點 n」沒能得到很好的解釋。不知其中是否有些也與「避諱」有關。

¹⁴ 字例「懸」、「軒」參見《御製增訂清文鑑》2:44、25:14，以及《漢清文鑑》1:38、6:2。

肆、結論

本文將《漢清文鑑》中出現的所有滿文之韓文轉記均做了詳細的考察。《漢清文鑑》分為正文和註釋兩部份。註釋部份僅出現滿語－滿文，而正文部份則滿語－滿文和漢語－滿文兩者皆有。以下對《漢清文鑑》的滿文之韓文轉記特徵做以總結。

第一，「      」等字是根據滿文 -w 系複元音的字形  而無視其 /-w/ 的發音而表記的轉字法。

第二，「         」等字是根據滿文 j- 系複元音疊加 -ij- 的字形而表記的轉字法。韓文在 j- 系複元音中重複疊加「ㅣ」的表記是依照滿文 -ij- 的二合切音方式而轉記的。

第三，「       」的圈是爲了區分滿語 /u/ 與 /o/ 發音的轉字。「 」的圈是爲了區分滿語 /wə/ 與 /o/ 發音的轉字。「       」的圈很可能是誤置。「       」的圈是爲了區分滿語 /io/ 發音與 io 字形的轉字。「       」的鉤撇是爲了區分滿語 /l/ 與 /r/ 字形的轉字。

第四，「       」的圈是爲了區分漢語平捲舌音發音的轉字。

第五，「       」的圈是爲了區分滿語虛詞與漢語同音詞的轉字。

第六，「       」的點是完全根據滿文拼寫形態、而發音毫無差異的轉字。

第七，遇到滿文避諱的特殊拼寫時，韓文忠實呈獻滿文的拼寫樣貌，未考慮漢語的實際發音進行轉字。

由以上可知，在轉字和轉寫的差異中，《漢清文鑑》的滿文之韓文表記，更注重對被轉文字滿文的字形進行轉記，而不重視其所轉記的發音。因此《漢清文鑑》的滿文之韓文表記屬於典型的轉字法，而非轉寫。另外，《漢清文鑑》正文與註釋的韓文表記也不盡一致。這可能是因為正文中記錄有滿文原文，因此無需韓文轉記上再細作區分；而註釋並未記錄滿文原文，爲避免造成混淆，才故意在韓文的轉寫上添加各種符號，以便準確識別。

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Needs Analysis for the Training of Court Interpreters

Karen Chung-chien Chang

In Taiwan, court interpreting became a formal practice recognized by the judicial system in 2006. Although certified interpreters are required to meet a certain level of proficiency in their chosen target languages (TL) and are provided with basic training regarding the legal system(s) in Taiwan, the actual practice of court interpreting in the past nine years has been plagued by many internal and external factors. The internal factors stem from the issue of competence. Meeting the language requirement thresholds set by the governing authorities does not mean a certified interpreter has the ability to handle different case scenarios or work in different interpreting formats. The external factors are related to the expectations of the legal professionals who are involved and to their possible lack of knowledge regarding how an interpreter should perform in court (Hale, 2004).

In an attempt to address the issue of the deficiencies in court interpreters' training, this study investigated the learning needs of current, in-service court interpreters through a needs analysis, taking an English for Specific Purposes (ESP) approach. The learning needs of both the interpreters themselves and the legal professionals were examined. The input from in-service interpreters provided insight into their perceived training/learning needs, whereas the interview results from judges, prosecutors, administrative staff and lawyers shed light on the most important qualities and skills needed by a court interpreter. Surveys and interviews were thus used as data collection tools.

The findings indicated that future training should focus on cultivating interpreters' language competence (the acquisition of legal jargon, vocabulary words related to different cases, and formulaic expressions used in court), providing interpreters with actual practice in the courtroom (to acquaint them with court procedures/protocols and the roles of different parties involved), and allowing them to practice with different working formats. Moreover, a task-based approach is suggested for training court interpreters to complete different interpreting tasks.

Keywords: court interpreting, court-interpretation training, needs analysis

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法庭通譯訓練之需求分析

張中倩

法庭通譯在臺灣是一個新領域，2006 年時，司法院正式針對法庭通譯人才的招募、訓練，進行相關規則的設定及實施。迄今已有九年，惟實務界與教學界之間差距甚大，通譯人員在實務上常常遇到困難，顯示出實務訓練的必要性、教材相關資料的缺乏 (Chang, 2013)。本研究對象為已經通過司法院認證資格的法庭特約通譯、法務人員（法官、檢察官、書記官、律師），透過訪談，進行資料收集，前者為現職之法庭特約通譯，他們就其經驗，提供通譯應該接收的訓練內容，分享他們最常處理的案件類型，後者則根據他們與通譯人員合作經驗，認為法庭通譯應該具備哪些能力，並提供在過往處理的案件中，需要法庭通譯協助的案件類型。透過這些資料分析，列出法庭通譯需要加強的訓練內容、項目，並建議課程可採取任務型導向教學 (task-based approach)，設計課程的內容與實施方式。希望透過此課程的設計與實施建議，能夠對目前從事法庭通譯、未來有志投入此領域的口譯學生，提供更具體的學習方向。

關鍵詞：法庭翻譯、需求分析、課程設計

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Introduction

Court interpreting became a formal practice of Taiwan's judicial system in 2006. In the same year, the first recruitment of court interpreters was administered, followed by periodic follow-up training and new recruitment endeavors. However, even with the requirement for language competence and the mandatory training program in place, the practice of court interpreting has faced some criticism and problems, including issues related to the interaction between the involved parties in a court case and interpreters, the insufficient number of certified interpreters, the lack of related training, and irregular remuneration and working hours (Chang, 2008; Chang, 2013; 吳東牧, 2014; 楊金滿、葉念雲、沙信輝, 2010). With the trend of globalization and the increasing number of foreigners visiting or settling down in Taiwan, the inevitability of legal matters has already become a reality, challenging the court interpreting practice.

As the lack of training has long been recognized as a major issue in court interpreting, a reasonable move is to provide those working in this field with sound training to meet their needs in task performance and career development. In Taiwan, those who want to become court interpreters can send in their applications. When meeting the requirements set by the courts, these candidates then receive a maximum of 22 hours of mandatory training. Once these procedures are completed, these candidates will receive their certification and become registered court interpreters. Then these certified interpreters are offered one-day or two-day in-service training held once every two years. However, since this practice became official in 2006, in the contract-renewal training sessions held once every two years, certified court interpreters constantly have requested more training to facilitate their service to court.

Employing an ESP study approach of needs analysis, this study aims to examine and investigate the learning needs perceived by the in-service interpreters and identified as important by legal professionals (judges, prosecutors, administrative staff, and lawyers alike). The goal is to design a course of Court Interpreting for training current and future court interpreters.

Literature Review

This literature review covers two parts: important principles in ESP studies and major ESP studies conducted in different countries as well as in Taiwan in the past 15 years and problematic issues found in the practice of court interpreting. In the first part, it is hoped that the review of past ESP studies can help establish the importance of needs analysis as the research framework. In the second part, the review of problematic issues in court interpreting as a practice provides background information for understanding the surveys designed for and used in this study.

ESP Studies in the Past 15 Years

In recent years, English for Specific Purposes (ESP) has received much attention in Taiwan, for this approach emphasizes teaching English to meet learners' needs in achieving specific goals. While English for General Purposes (EGP) continues to be the focus of many universities, some have shifted their curricular emphasis to teach students the English skills required for their future careers. This shift can be witnessed in both research trends and courses offered.

Most ESP studies and material development are guided by the concepts put forth by Hutchinson and Waters (1987) and Dudley-Evans and St. John (1998). Hutchinson and Waters (1987) have emphasized, "ESP does not involve a particular kind of language, teaching materials or methodology" (p. 19).

Consequently, the foundation of ESP rests on the question of why learners need to learn English. Therefore, three elements must be considered in ESP course development and teaching: the learner, the language chosen, and the learning context. Similarly, Dudley-Evans and St. John (1998) have pinpointed that “much ESP teaching, especially where it is specifically linked to a particular profession or discipline, makes use of a methodology that differs from that used in General English” (p. 4). This emphasis explains why a needs analysis in which learners provide input about their learning goals and acquired skills plays a vital role in the development and implementation of an ESP course.

In the past 15 years, many studies have been carried out to investigate the language needs of different learner groups at their current or future workplaces. This section gives a brief review of the studies conducted on different disciplines to highlight the importance of needs analysis. As the studies cover a wide range, the studies are reviewed in chronological order. For example, So-mui and Mead (2000) explored the communication needs of textile and clothing merchandisers. Louhiala-Salminen’s study (2002) focused on the discourse of one business manager in his daily communication. Sullivan and Girginer (2002) conducted their research on aviation English, in particular the communication between pilots and air traffic controllers. In addition, Brown and Lewis (2003) analyzed workplace conversations between bookkeepers and other employees in a New Zealand factory. Chew (2005) looked into the language skills of new employees in Hong Kong banks. Cheng and Mok (2008) observed the working conditions and the use of English among land surveyors. Medlin (2009) examined the aspect of nursing English in US hospitals and put forth suggestions for improvement. Kassim and Ali (2010) then examined the language and skill needs of engineers in multinational chemical companies. Freihat and Al-Makhzoomi (2012) also studied and identified the learning needs among their Jordanian students and drew the necessary ESP materials from

health-care communication resources. All these studies placed their emphases on how English assisted the learners in those specific contexts to communicate with others.

Within Taiwan, ESP studies have witnessed a growth in the past two decades. Researchers have attempted to study the English needs of different lines of work. A closer look at past research reveals that many efforts have been made in needs analysis, course instruction, and material development. To understand the learning needs of learners with different backgrounds of knowledge, several studies were carried out. For instance, Huang (2000) and Katchen and Leung (2000) examined the language needs for business English among working students and the materials used for teaching business English. In recent years, more attention has been paid to tourism English, and studies have been conducted to examine the use/training of English for hotel management, food/beverage management, culinary arts, and airport/aviation management. Hu (2009) analyzed her students' learning needs in tourism English. Hou and Li (2009) and Hou (2013) conducted two needs analyses on ESP learning needs of Taiwanese students majoring in food/beverage management and culinary arts separately. Furthermore, Chang (2009) analyzed the working conditions of the staff at a hotel in Kenting (southern Taiwan) for training material development.

In other fields, needs analyses have been conducted to gain more insight into existing language training of different fields and the needs of the learners. In Chang's (2011a) study, attention was given to the critical examination of the possible gap between the needs in foreign languages of Taiwanese enterprises and the curricula offered by foreign language departments in Taiwan. Also, the same researcher (2011b) investigated the English needs of police officers working in aviation security and examination. Most recently, You, Su and Chen (2012) studied the likelihood of establishing a scale for evaluating nursing notes

taken by nursing students in their practicum when they handled different cases as part of ESP instruction for future nurses.

What is evident from this review on past studies is that although many efforts have been made to bring about changes and development in ESP instruction, some fields are still left untouched. This study aims at identifying the components of a course in Court Interpreting through the examination of the learning needs of current, in-service court interpreters for future training.

Problematic Issues in the Practice of Court Interpreting

This section synthesizes the problematic issues identified in the practice of court interpreting in different countries. In some countries, such as the US, Canada, Austria, Australia, South Africa, and other European countries, court interpreting has been in place for a long time. Despite its long history, the practice of court interpreting in these countries has been plagued by some similar problems like the lack of training, the lack of respect from other parties involved in legal cases, an interpreter's self-awareness of his/her role in court, the understanding of an interpreter's role from legal professionals, a lack of commitment from court interpreters, and non-standardized remuneration (Anderson, 1976; Barsky, 1996; Brown, 1993; Duénas Gonzales, Vásquez & Mikkelsen, 1991; Fenton, 1997; Gentile, Ozolins & Vasilakakos, 1996; Hale, 2004, 2008; Mikkelsen, 2000; Moeketsi, 1999; Ozolins, 1998; Roy, 1990; Wadensjö, 1998).

Often, these problems are intertwined and their effects compounded. For example, when an interpreter who lacks training renders his/her interpretation, the rendition could potentially be problematic. Wadensjö (1998) and Hale (2004, 2008) have highlighted that “fidelity” frequently surfaces as a problem in court interpreting sessions, leading other parties in court to question or doubt the accuracy of the rendition. Worse yet, this problem can compound into issues of

disrespect, frustration, or poor remuneration (Chang, 2013). Moreover, without formal training, court interpreters may have different beliefs about their roles (Anderson, 1976; Brown, 1993; Duñas Gonzales et al., 1991; Fenton, 1997; Gentile et al., 1996; Mikkelsen, 2000; Moeketsi, 1999; Roy, 1990), another factor that could affect how a message is rendered from a source language to a target language.

Among the difficulties encountered in the practice of court interpreting, interpreters' competence often surfaces as one of the major issues. California Rules of Court clearly stipulate the scope of professional conduct for interpreters in Rule 984.4 (AIJIC, 1999). An interpreter is expected to demonstrate compliance to the following code of conduct. An interpreter shall

- a. accurately and completely represent his or her certifications, training, and relevant experience,
- b. use his or her best skills and judgment to interpret accurately without embellishing, omitting, or editing,
- c. be impartial and unbiased,... refrain from conduct that may give an appearance of bias,...and disclose to the judge and to all parties any actual or apparent conflicts of interest,
- d. not disclose any privileged communications between counsel and client,
- e. not give legal advice to parties, witnesses, nor recommend specific attorneys or law firms,
- f. maintain an impartial, professional relationship with all court officers, attorneys, jurors, parties, and witnesses,
- g. maintain and improve his or her interpreting skills and knowledge of procedures used by the courts,
- h. assess at all times his or her ability to perform interpreting services,
- i. report to the court or other appropriate authority any effort to impede the interpreter's compliance with the law, this rule or any other official

policy governing court interpreting and legal translating. (pp. 38-39)

Moreover, an interpreter should maintain his/her professionalism by paying attention to the aspects of accuracy, impartiality, confidentiality, proficiency, demeanor, and case preparation (鄭家捷、戴羽君, 2006). Since these qualities delineated the qualities expected of an interpreter, they are used as the guidelines for examining the prescribed needs placed on a competent court interpreter.

Significance of This Study

Since 2006, court interpreting has become a regulated practice in Taiwan, meaning that a talent pool has been formed, basic training held and court-interpreting service provided. When foreigners find themselves facing legal issues that involve the court system, they have the right to request interpreting services not only to facilitate the communication process but also to minimize the possibility of language-induced misunderstandings. Although the role and importance of court interpreters seem to be understood by the field and those in the court system, insufficient training and the low threshold for language proficiency requirements remain problematic at the heart of this practice (Chang, 2013). The first formal recruitment for court interpreters took place in 2006. Since then, the court system has regularly held recruitments for new interpreters specialized in different language combinations. Yet, despite these efforts, the number of certified interpreters has been dwindling, a conclusion obtained from the certificate-renewal training held every two years (Chang, 2013). Several reasons are found to account for such a decline. A lack of commitment to this position is often found to be the leading culprit, a phenomenon commonly present in other countries' practices of court interpreting as well (Hale, 2004, 2008; Mikkelsen, 2000; Moeketsi, 1999;

Wadensjö, 1998). Other reasons include insufficient formal training, the issue of fidelity and distrust, a lack of understanding in the demanding nature of interpreting, poor time management, insufficient information for beforehand preparation, and non-standardized remuneration (Chang, 2013; Hale, 2004; Mocketsi, 1998; Wadensjö, 1998). As a measure to prevent further loss of certified court interpreters and improve the quality of current court interpreting practices, identifying the training needs for course development is a must.

In the US, most court interpreting training is provided by universities/colleges and court-interpreter associations. Many states provide short-term or year-round training for court interpreters. To name just a few, Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey, California (the former Monterey Institute of International Studies) held two summer sessions in court interpreting in 1984. In the same year, the University of Arizona provided a four-week intensive summer program for court interpreting. Other universities, including Florida International University, San Diego State University, and the Center for Legal Studies of Montclair State College, provide longer, year-round programs. Apart from the university-held training programs, court interpreters' associations in different states, such as New York, Arizona, California and Texas, also regularly offer workshops for their members to share experiences and cultivate growth (Berk-Seligson, 1990). At present, many more institutes and universities have offered court interpreting training programs. Based on the press release of the European Commission, among its 21 member states, formal legal translation/interpretation programs are offered by University Pontificia Comillas in Spain and Ventspils University College in Latvia (European Commission, 2014). In Australia, similar programs are available in Monash University, Macquaire University, University of West Sydney, and Victoria University, to name just a few. In addition, for the programs and

universities in the US, the details can be found in the attachments of *Professional Ethics and the Role of the Court Interpreter* (AIJIC, 1999, pp. 65-68) and via the website of National Association of Judiciary Interpreters & Translators (NAJIT, n. d.).

In Taiwan, training for court interpreters is limited to only those short-term seminars offered by the court system. Since training programs at the university level and in professional associations are not available, the current study aims to fill that gap by providing the field of court interpreting with specifics as to what future training material should cover and what the training scope should be.

The Study

Background of the Study

Although court interpreting became an organized practice in Taiwan in 2006, a professional association has not yet materialized. For those in the court system, the compiled name lists of court interpreters provide the only channel to locate a court interpreter for a certain language when the need arises. Yet, most certified court-interpreters work as freelancers and provide services to the court on an irregular basis. Consequently, most of them rarely stay in contact with one another. In addition, while many have kept expressing the desire for receiving more training, such a call has been heard but not answered. For many in-service and newly-recruited interpreters, it has become more evident that the training content must be tailor-made for them to develop interpreting competence rather than simply to acquire knowledge about rules and regulations. Such a suggestion has long been proposed by Hale (2004), a court interpreter as well as interpreting researcher in Australia. Furthermore, Chang (2013) has urged court-interpreting training to be provided through either

short-term programs or regular university courses. As an extended effort to strengthen the court interpreting practices in Taiwan, this study aims to gather and scrutinize necessary information for designing training material that can be used at the university level or in a short-term training program.

Research Design

Scopes of analyses. Three frequently-discussed elements in ESP research are needs analysis, text/discourse analysis, and a teaching approach focusing on learners' needs. Moreover, needs analysis is regarded as the first step in designing an ESP course (Dudley-Evans & St. John, 1998). In more detailed terms, four types of analyses should be conducted. First, a target situation analysis examines target situation needs to find out what English skills are needed to complete the required tasks. Such skills can be objectively concluded even by outsiders. Second, a learning situation analysis places its emphasis on different aspects of a learning process, including the learning styles and habits of learners. Third, a present situation analysis evaluates the learners' already-equipped knowledge and skill bases, weaknesses/strengths, and learning experiences. Finally, a means analysis examines the environment for course implementation, covering factors such as classroom culture, institutional culture, and related management systems.

This current research has taken all four aspects into consideration. First, certified court-interpreters of different language combinations were surveyed to investigate what language skills are required to complete a court-interpreting assignment (target situation analysis) successfully. Court interpreters, as a whole, do not constitute a large talent pool. Aiming at investigating the perceived needs for training of all certified interpreters, the survey covered those whose names were on the list compiled by the courts in 2014. Second, a learning situation analysis examines the working formats of court-interpreters, including

sight translation, consecutive interpretation, and simultaneous interpretation. Third, a present situation analysis investigates the scopes of knowledge and skills evaluated by the participants as highly needed for court interpreters. Finally, a means analysis focuses on how a Court Interpreting course should be taught for interpreters to provide their services more efficiently to the court systems in Taiwan.

Participants. The study covered 112 court-certified interpreters whose names were secured from the name lists compiled by the Judicial Yuan. Although the years of service to the court varied among these interpreters, they had all completed the initial 22-hour mandatory training offered by the court, and those Chinese-English interpreters met the competence requirement of either TOEIC 550 points or intermediate level of GEPT. As for interpreters of other languages, they all reached at least an intermediate level of proficiency in their respective target languages (司法院, 2015).

Among the 112 participants, 64 have been certified for more than four years, and the other 48 interpreters have been certified for more than two years. This difference comes from the fact that different regions in Taiwan hold separate recruitments for court interpreters. One special note regarding the learning backgrounds of these interpreters is that, after they became certified, they did not receive any further court interpretation training from the Judicial Yuan. The lack of training continues because such materials are not available, and it is difficult to find capable instructors. In addition, the diverse language backgrounds of these interpreters make it hard for the development of training material and content. Nonetheless, over the years, in the on-the-job training sessions held every two years by the court, many certified interpreters have called for further training through case simulation conducted even in other languages (S-L. Kao, personal communication, July, 28, 2014).

Research questions. This study set out to explore the knowledge and

skill scopes that certified court interpreters and legal professionals deemed necessary for completing an interpreting task and facilitating to the legal proceeding. The identified knowledge and skill scopes are essential, for they formulate the course components of Court Interpreting. This research was carried out to explore the following two questions.

1. What scopes of skills and knowledge are perceived as much needed or lacking by in-service court interpreters and legal professionals? On what points do the perceived needs and the prescribed needs converge?
2. What types of legal cases require court interpreters' assistance most frequently?

Material and Methods

For data collection, this study made use of different tools, including surveys and interviews to collect and analyze the information gathered. First, two surveys (Appendix A and Appendix B) were sent to the in-service interpreters. This target group is important because some researchers (Chang, 2011b; Forey, 2004; Northcott & Brown, 2006; Stapp, 1998) have emphasized the importance of working with field professionals (in this case, seasoned court interpreters) to cooperate on the development of course materials. Moreover, interviews involving 18 judges, 15 prosecutors, 10 administrative staff, and 10 lawyers were conducted. This section is divided into two parts to explain the design and the implementation process of the two surveys.

Design Procedures of the Two Surveys

To prepare for the two surveys used in this research, a separate study was carried out among 144 certified court interpreters. Its main purpose was to seek the input of the certified court interpreters regarding the difficulties

and challenges they encountered in handling court-assigned cases (especially the skills) and the training they hoped to receive. According to Chang's study (2013), in the talent pool organized by the Judicial Yuan, the governing body of court interpreters' recruitment and training, there are interpreters for 13 foreign languages (p. 141). Although it is true that the interpreters working with different language combinations may encounter different issues at work, that study aimed at investigating the common concerns shared by most, if not all, certified interpreters.

An open-ended survey was sent to all 144 interpreters whose names were on the list obtained from the Judicial Yuan. Only two questions were asked, mainly to avoid intimidating or burdening the respondents. The first question asked the respondents what skills they found themselves lacking when performing court interpreting tasks. The second question surveyed the respondents about what they hoped to learn and acquire in further training sessions/programs. Both questions were open-ended, and the respondents were encouraged to provide their opinions in either paragraph writing or itemized answers.

Among the distributed 144 surveys, 102 copies were returned (71% return rate). Although the return rate was satisfactory, the responses varied a great deal. More specifically, 55 copies were returned with limited information revealing mainly the skills the respondents hoped to acquire in future training,¹ leaving another 47 copies supplying the researcher with more information for designing the surveys to be used in this current research. When the responses were collected and sorted, a coding procedure was adopted to identify the key areas (or weaknesses) perceived by the respondents. The two coders read through all responses and highlighted the difficulties, problems, weaknesses

¹ This result echoed one of the findings listed in the report produced for the Judicial Council of California / Administrative Office of the Courts (2007).

and troubles expressed in the surveys. The inter-coder reliability level was .84. A total of 13 items were identified for the design of the first survey used in the current study (Appendix A). Since one aim of this study was to determine the instructional scope of a course in Court Interpreting, the main focus of the second survey was to pinpoint the most frequently-encountered cases of the respondents.

According to the court records collected from three major districts in northern Taiwan, a total of 21 types of cases were compiled to create the second survey used in the current study (Appendix B). This information was gathered over a period of eight months with help from the courts in the three districts. The main reason for designing two separate surveys rather than combining two of them into one was for extended studies in the future. As this course is designed for implementation in a university curriculum as well as for the training of seasoned court interpreters, separating them into two surveys will facilitate future studies.

Implementation of the Two Surveys

Both surveys were again distributed to 144 court-listed interpreters to seek their input and assistance. The reasons for sending the two surveys to the same group of respondents are twofold. First, the pool of court interpreters is very small, making every one of them a valuable asset for gaining insight into this field. Second, only 47 copies from the previous study came back with a relatively fuller scope of responses. It was hoped, through these two surveys, more respondents would share their experiences. Among the 144 surveys, 112 copies were returned (a return rate of 78%). Moreover, 21 in-service court interpreters were interviewed for their insight about the most frequently handled cases and what they viewed as vital components in the course to be designed. Although their language combinations varied, the common

experiences, especially the cases handled and the difficulties encountered, were their major contributions.

Between the two surveys sent to the participating interpreters, the first survey intended to identify the training needs (the skills and knowledge scope), and a total of 13 categories were identified. Then the second survey asked the respondents to check the items which they viewed as vital for the training of both in-service and future court interpreters (see Appendix A and Appendix B). To help the respondents with different working languages to answer the surveys, the surveys were phrased in both Chinese and English.

Implementation of Interviews

In this study, the data collection is divided into two major parts covering the in-service court interpreters and the legal professionals (judges, prosecutors, administrative staff, and lawyers). As the survey part has been introduced in the last section, this section focuses on the interview details. For the in-service court interpreters, 21 of them agreed to participate in the interviews. Among these 21 interviewees were two Spanish-Chinese interpreters, two French-Chinese interpreters, four Japanese-Chinese interpreters, six Indonesian-Chinese interpreters, and seven English-Chinese interpreters. They all have been certified by the Taiwanese court system for five to seven years. In terms of their training backgrounds, nine only received training provided by the court and did not have any additional training. Another 12 certified interpreters either had received formal interpreting training (in the form of university courses) or had earned language-teaching degrees or hold teaching jobs. The interviews were conducted in Mandarin Chinese, for that is the shared language of the participants. The interviews were first recorded and later transcribed. For more details of the interview questions, please refer to Appendix C. Although the questions were different, some answers overlapped. The answers were first

sorted out based on their sequences. Also, for the purpose of tallying, keywords were extracted and similar expressions were classified in the same categories.

In the second part, to gather insight from other parties involved in the handling of a legal case, this researcher directly approached the legal professionals who had the experience working with court interpreters. As these legal professionals witness the progression and development of a case with the assistance of a court interpreter, they can provide very specific insight regarding what abilities within an interpreter they deem as indispensable for the smooth development of a court session. Although defendants, plaintiffs, and witnesses are equally important figures involved in a case, it is extremely difficult to obtain their cooperation in such a study. The courts in Taiwan regulate that all legal information pertinent to a case must be retained in the court and cannot be released to any third party. Moreover, all personal information of those involved in a case must be kept confidential. These circumstances have made these parties unapproachable.

Yet, since court interpreters are viewed as part of the court systems, the legal professionals are relatively more willing to participate in a study of this nature. Therefore, they were interviewed and their feedback was taken into consideration in identifying the must-have qualities for a court interpreter and the cases frequently assisted by court interpreters. However, because of two constraints, the total of legal professionals interviewed for this study only covered 18 judges, 15 prosecutors, 10 administrative staff, and 10 lawyers. The first constraint is the availability and willingness of legal professionals to participate in this study. More than 30 judges, prosecutors, administrative staff, and lawyers respectively were approached for this interview, but many of them declined. The reasons given were related to their heavy workload or insufficient experience in working with court interpreters, resulting in the final pool of 53 interviewees. The interviews were conducted on an individual basis (for

interview questions, please refer to Appendix D). All interviewees agreed to the recording of their interviews. After the interviews, the content was transcribed by the researcher's assistants. The transcripts were read, sorted and coded by the researcher and another colleague. However, because of the nature of the questions, the coding process was less complicated, leading to a much higher inter-coder reliability reading at .91.

Results and Discussion

This study aimed to investigate the training needs of court interpreters from the angles of in-service court interpreters and legal professionals. The findings are organized in the sequence of the posed research questions: the scopes of needed skills and knowledge in court interpreter training and the necessary content (most frequently handled cases) for the training. As this study involves two groups of participants, the findings are presented in the sequence of input from the in-service interpreters first and the legal professionals second.

Scopes of Needed Skills and Knowledge

This section covers the input gathered from the in-service court interpreters and the legal professionals. In the first part, the in-service court interpreters provided their input through the two surveys and the interview. In the second part, the interview results with legal professionals were provided.

In-service court interpreters' perceived needs. From the 112 returned surveys, the following skills and issues were confirmed by the respondents to be vital for future training. The results have been compiled into Figure 1. For these seasoned court interpreters, their immediate interests in training were related to linguistic competence and actual court practices. The elements such

as remuneration, expectations from court, procedures for case assignments, and roles of legal parties received less attention.

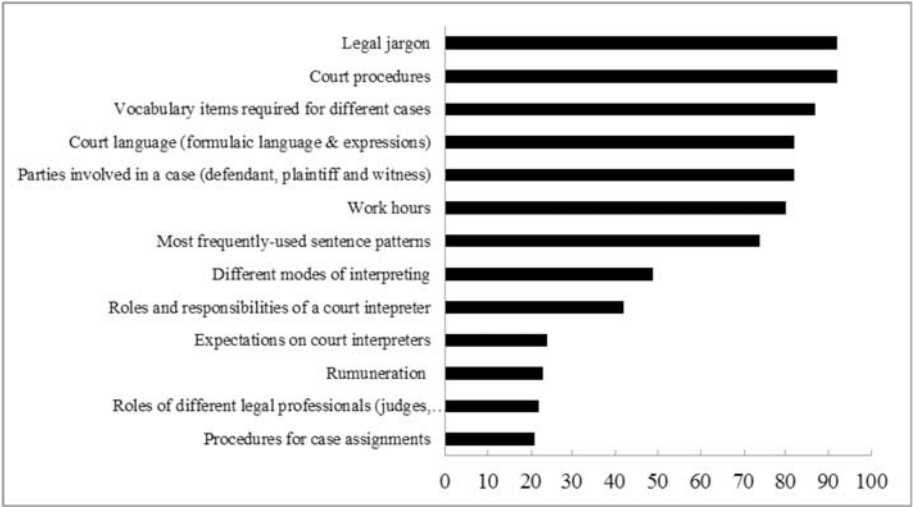


Fig. 1 Knowledge and skill scopes: interpreters' concerns (compiled by the author from the survey results).

A closer look at the most-checked items revealed the surveyed interpreters were most concerned with issues related to linguistic competence. First, out of the 112 returned surveys, an overwhelming 92 respondents chose “Legal Jargon,” indicating that these certified court-interpreters were keenly aware of their needs in acquiring as well as understanding legal jargon. Second, 87 respondents ranked “Vocabulary Items Required for Different Cases” as their concern. This response highlighted the importance of case-specific words, phrases, and expressions. Third, 82 of the participating interpreters desired to strengthen their acquisition of formulaic expressions commonly used in court. For instance, all defendants are informed of their rights in court before their sessions start. As part of the procedural language, the reading of these rights has become a routine and the expressions formulaic. Next, 74

respondents expressed the interest in learning the sentence patterns frequently used in different cases. Evidently, advancing their language skills is perceived as essential for these court interpreters, further confirming that the current threshold for language competence is too low.

The second aspect that warrants more attention is the actual practices in a courtroom. In the 22-hour pre-service training, the training content includes two hours of introduction of court services, six hours of basic knowledge of laws and regulations, 12 hours of court proceedings and procedures of different cases, and two hours on an interpreter's responsibility and ethics (司法院, 2015). Although all court interpreters are shown the layout of a courtroom, they are not given the opportunity to observe a court in session. This deficiency might explain why 92 out of 112 returned surveys indicated a need to better understand "Court Procedures and Protocols."² Moreover, 82 respondents expressed the desire to learn more about the different parties (defendant, plaintiff, and witness) involved in a legal case. In addition, a high number of respondents (80/112) were curious about "Work Hours." According to Chang's study (2013), when court interpreters are contacted for case assignments, the court often fails to inform interpreters how long a certain session is expected to last.

What may come as a surprise from the tallied results is the respondents' attitudes about the basic elements of interpreting as a career. First of all, only 49 respondents (44%) were interested in learning about different interpreting formats, such as sight translation, consecutive interpretation, or simultaneous interpretation. One explanation for this lack of interest may be related to their past training and their commitment to court interpreting, for the interviewed interpreters showed different stances. Among the 21 interviewed interpreters,

² This finding was also listed in the report produced for Judicial Council of California/ Administrative Office of the Courts (2007, p. 7).

18 of them indicated that they would like to have the opportunity to learn to interpret in different formats. Only four interpreters said they were comfortable with simultaneous interpretation. Most interviewees still preferred consecutive interpreting, and only three of them received training of sight translation.

In addition, only 42 respondents (38%) wanted to know more about the roles and responsibilities of a court interpreter. Most strikingly, only 24 respondents (21%) were interested in learning about the expectations that other involved parties had on court interpreters. These statistics have pinpointed a potentially worrying phenomenon, a lack of commitment to interpreting as a career and the awareness of their role in court. This attitude echoes the findings of Hale (2004) in her research conducted among Australian court interpreters. If left unaddressed, this attitude may hinder the development of court interpreting as a field, for without the involvement of professionals, it would be difficult for this field to make improvements.

Training needs identified by legal professionals. The questions posed to legal professionals asked their input about the qualities (including skills) that a capable court interpreter must have. When asked how they measured the competence of a court interpreter, the interviewees' answers were quite unanimous. For them, a court interpreter's job is to assist the foreign parties to understand the court proceeding and to help the entire communication process. Therefore, when an interpreter could facilitate the progression of a court session to go smoothly from the beginning to the end, the interpreter then is viewed capable. In other words, when the communication breaks down, often the blame is placed on the interpreter. As for their views on the important prescribed needs placed on a court interpreter, these 53 legal professionals' responses are compiled in Table 1.

Table 1

Essential Qualities of a Court Interpreter

Essential Qualities	Tallied Totals of Responses
Demonstrating language proficiency	53
Providing complete and accurate interpretation	53
Maintaining impartiality and avoiding conflicts of interest	53
Preparing for cases	50
Maintaining a good demeanor	35
Maintaining a good representation of qualifications	32
Assessing and reporting impediments to performance	17

Note. Compiled by the author from the survey results.

Evidently, all interviewees regarded a court interpreter's language competence, his/her ability to provide accurate and complete interpretation and his/her awareness in keeping an impartial stance as well as avoiding conflicts of interest as the most essential qualities. In addition, the interviewees highlighted the necessity of an interpreter's preparation for a case. However, when they were reminded of the fact that most interpreters, at the time of being contacted for an assignment, were not provided any information about the case, the legal professionals further elaborated their answers by emphasizing the importance for a court interpreter to be equipped with comprehensive ability in handling most legal cases.

Apart from the criteria related to a court interpreter's linguistic competence and interpreting ability, other details in the code of conduct seem less important. Only 35 of 53 interviewees considered good demeanor important; 32 out of 53 interviewees expressed the importance of an interpreter's qualifications; 17 out of 53 interviewees paid attention to an interpreter's assessment and reporting of any impediments to his/her

performance.

Even though a total of 11 items were listed as the necessary qualities for a court interpreter, the aspects of maintaining confidentiality, avoiding giving legal advice, maintaining professional relationships with court officers and authority, and reporting ethical violations failed to receive any attention from the interviewees (meaning no interviewees checked these items). When asked about the lack of emphasis on these qualities, most interviewees (43 out of 53) pointed out that they believed that court interpreters already knew the importance of not talking outside of the court about the cases they assisted. The interviewees (37 out of 53) did not believe any interpreter would attempt to provide legal advice to those involved in a case. Besides, since the interpreters provide their service to the court on a contract basis, there is no need to maintain any relationship, according to 35 out of 53 interviewees. Finally, 17 interviewees said that, without a corresponding window of contact to handle the report of violations of ethics, the act of reporting such violations was never encouraged. Clearly, these qualities do not weigh equally in the eyes of those working in the court systems.

From the above responses collected from in-service court interpreters and legal professionals, it is clear that both parties converge on the key points: linguistic competence and knowledge about laws and regulations (for case preparation). However, other elements, such as raising their role awareness as court interpreters and improving their ability to work in different interpreting formats, should still receive attention in the planned training details.

Cases Frequently Requiring Court Interpreters' Assistance

The second research question asked the interviewees from both groups (in-service interpreters and legal professionals) to reflect on the cases in which court interpreting service was required, aiming at pinpointing the training focus

in the course of Court Interpreting.

Input from the In-service Interpreters. In the first survey (Appendix B), the respondents were asked to mark the types of cases that frequently required their assistance. The respondents were informed that they could mark all applicable answers. Then their answers were sorted into Figure 2.

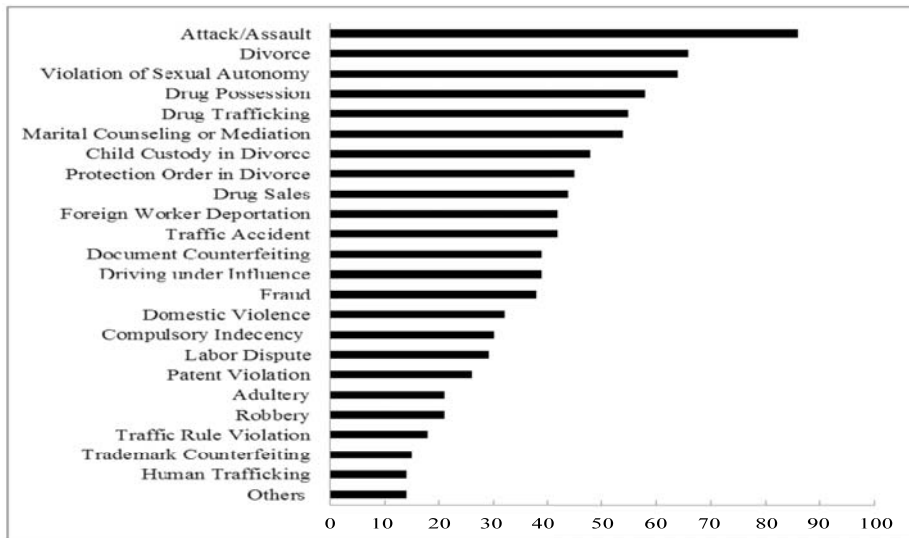


Fig. 2 Legal cases frequently requiring interpreting assistance (compiled by the author from the survey results).

Based on the 112 returned surveys, the top 10 most frequently encountered types of court cases included attack/assault (86/112), divorce (66/112), violation of sexual autonomy (64/112), drug possession (58/112), drug trafficking (55/112), marital counseling or mediation (54/112), child custody in divorce (48/112), protection order in divorce (45/112), drug sales (44/112), foreign worker deportation (42/112), and traffic accident (42/112). Although this information was gathered based on the recollection of the surveyed respondents, it helped point out a tentative direction for organizing the content of a course in Court Interpreting.

Insight from Legal Professionals. Based on the types of cases marked by the 53 interviewed legal professionals, the results were compiled into Figure 3. What should be noted in these compiled results is that the list is not exhaustive because of the total of interviewees, but their input helped point out the direction of the course material to be collected.

From the experiences of these participants, the top ten types of cases requiring court interpreters' assistance most frequently were traffic accident and/or violation (48/53), driving under influence (47/53), fraud (45/53), assault (45/53), drug trafficking/sales/distribution (43/53), divorce (42/53), child custody in divorce (40/53), labor dispute (34/53), domestic violence (34/53), drug possession (33/53), and violation of sexual autonomy (28/53). One judge did point out that some cases, especially those related to trademarks, patent, and foreign worker deportation, may be more specifically handled by certain judges. For more information on those cases, further interviews with specified participants are needed.

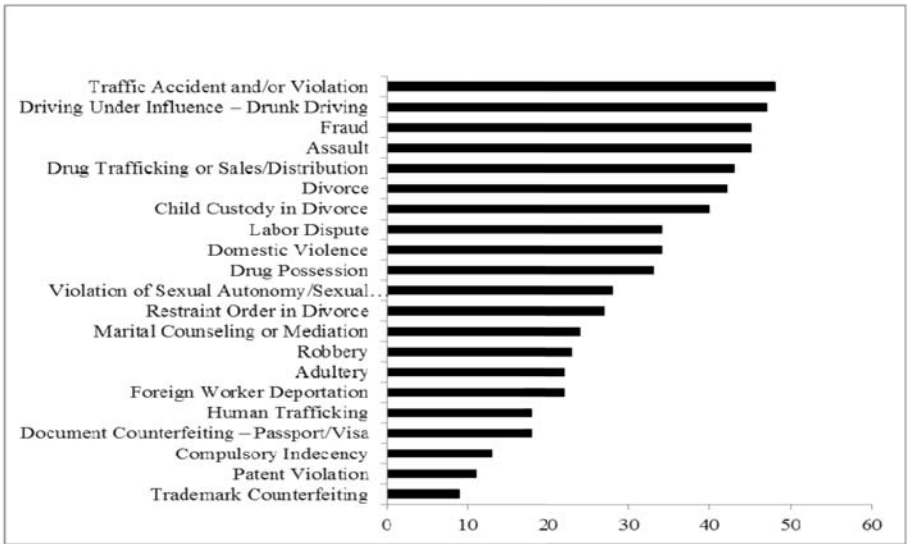


Fig. 3 Types of cases frequently assisted by court interpreters (compiled by the author from the survey results).

Based on the results collected from the in-service court interpreters and the legal professionals, a tentative list of court cases can be drawn to serve as the pool for material collection. That is, actual cases of assault/attack, divorce, drug trafficking, drug possession and violation of sexual autonomy (the overlapped top five categories of cases) can be observed so that real case scenarios can be collected, modified, and drafted to be used as authentic course material.

Conclusions

This study has generated helpful results that can be used to shape future training content for in-service or newly-recruited court interpreters. The insight provided by the two groups of participants can further point the directions for course material, time allotment for instruction, and format for a training course in court interpreting. First, to address the learning needs of the target learners (those receiving court interpreting training), different vocabulary lists should be compiled to meet the nature of specific cases. For instance, the vocabulary items involved in a theft case are different from those used in a drug sales case. Similarly, the foci of a criminal case will be different from those of a civil case. In addition to vocabulary items, formulaic expressions should be presented as stock language that all learners need to memorize by heart, for these expressions appear routinely in all criminal cases. In some cases, when an indictment is available, learners should be supplied with this document.

Second, when Court Interpreting is offered as part of a training program, the length of a case will inevitably be limited due to the institutionally-regulated instruction time. In both court-organized training and university courses, most sessions or classes are two hours long. When two-hour instruction time is played out, each class period should ideally cover two parts: case simulation and

performance review. Since, in the field of court interpreting, the occurrences of certain cases outweigh others, it is suggested the course content focus on the more frequently-encountered cases. Figure 2 and Figure 3 have provided the types of cases that should be included in the course syllabus of Court Interpreting. Therefore, for a two-hour session, one suggestion is to allot one hour for case simulation and the other hour for performance review. During the performance review, the instructor will be able to focus on the strengths and weaknesses of learners. In the review, some frequently-used sentence patterns can be emphasized, so learners can use them as reminders.

Last, the most important part is how such a course should be delivered. Previously, in the implementation of other ESP courses, researchers in Taiwan have made the attempt to provide ESP instructions through a task-based approach (Chang, 2012; Kang, 2010; Kang & Chen, 2007, 2011; Tsai, 2005) or a project-based approach (Chen & Lee, 1996). Likewise, the findings in this study have pointed to the same direction. As the in-service interpreters participating in this study have highlighted the urgency of knowing how to handle different cases, it is recommended that a task-based approach be adopted for the implementation of Court Interpreting. Ellis (2003) states that task-based learning and teaching is “a form of teaching that treats language primarily as a tool for communicating rather than as an object for study or manipulation” (p. ix). When this notion is applied to court interpreting assignments, each “task” (court assignment) serves as the most obvious means for organizing teaching along the lines of enabling learners to “use a second language easily and effectively in the kinds of situations they meet outside the classroom” and helping learners understand “how language is used as a tool for communicating” in the real world (p. ix). In each training session, learners will be informed of the case that requires their interpreting service in the ensuing session. With the furnished vocabulary list, learners are encouraged

to brainstorm and predict the case scenario. To simulate a court case, all participants will take turns playing the different roles involved.

Case simulation can be carried out in two ways. First, the entire case can be divided into parts, and participating interpreters will collaboratively interpret for the entire case, with each participant taking up one portion of the case. Second, while some participants are assigned to play various roles involved in a case, other participants will interpret for the case altogether in a simultaneous manner. In this condition, a classroom equipped with special recording equipment is required. All interpreters will be required to wear headsets, so their performances can be recorded at the same time. The first approach allows the instructor to take notes of participants' strengths and weaknesses along with the progression of a case. The second approach gives each learner the chance to interpret the whole case but poses difficulty in performance review. Both formats are feasible, but the actual implementation will depend on the size of the training program and instructional time.

In addition to course preparation and delivery format, the element of "instructor" is of great importance, too. In the existing pre-service 22-hour training, most instructors (or speakers) are either court officers or legal professionals (judges and prosecutors). As these instructor candidates have neither linguistic training nor interpreting experience, they will not be able to lead the trainees to develop the skills needed for successful performance of a given task. Therefore, the most suitable instructor candidates for the course of Court Interpreting naturally are either the professional interpreters who have accumulated years of field experiences or the interpreting teachers who are trained in the capacity as both a teacher and an interpreter.

One more reminder for course content is that future training should pay attention to the elements that received less attention in this study. Even though these elements were not valued by the participants in this study,

these elements, if left unaddressed, may negatively impact the development of court interpreting as a practice. For instance, in the feedback provided by both parties, the participants failed to recognize the importance of the understanding for court interpreters' roles and responsibilities. According to previous studies, how an interpreter behaves in a court in his/her handling of received information is highly related to what he/she believes the role of an interpreter is. Some view interpreters as a conduit via which information is conveyed from one language to another. Some view interpreters as helpers to the underprivileged parties in court. Some regard interpreters as cross-cultural liaisons. Each stance bears a certain potential to impact how heard information is processed into the target language. Consequently, future training should allow time allotment to cover this element.

In addition, in the interviews with the in-service interpreters, the issue of respect was often mentioned as a frustrating factor to impede interpreters' performances. When some legal professionals do not understand the demanding nature of an interpreter's job, they may simply treat an interpreter as "a translation machine" (in-service interpreter 3). The failure to recognize how demanding an interpreting task is may lead a judge to expect an interpreter to work for unreasonably long hours (in-service interpreter 6). Clearly, communication between interpreters and legal professionals has to be improved. Court interpreters need to assess their own abilities and report any factor that may impede their performances (AIJIC, 1999). In other words, more awareness related to this profession, court interpreting, should be cultivated.

Directions for Future Studies

This study has identified the scope and components for a course in Court Interpreting. For the preparation of course materials, field observation

to courtrooms where interpreting takes place is a must. In this preparation, several obstacles may surface. For example, the information-collection process for the preparation of course material will definitely require much investment in both time and effort. Initial resistance from those in the court system might be expected for the concern of protecting the privacy of those involved in legal cases. In addition, since the in-service court interpreters have different combinations of working languages, the collected case scenarios will need to be modified accordingly to suit their needs.

Once the course materials for Court Interpreting are developed, this course can be offered at two levels. First, such a training program with a task-based orientation can be offered to the currently-certified court interpreters for solving the problem of insufficient training. Second, this course can be offered regularly at the university level to strengthen the existing interpreting training of student interpreters. When student interpreters develop an interest in this specific type of interpreting, their learning and acquisition of discipline-specific knowledge can be encouraged. In turn, these students can potentially enhance the talent pool for court interpreters in the future.

In both situations, the results of course/program implementation have to be critically reviewed to ensure the appropriateness of the course content and training. This suggestion is in line with the concept advocated by Dudley-Evans and St. John (1998) and Hutchinson and Waters (1987). The needs analysis and course design of all ESP courses are never an “on-off” activity. Rather, on-going analyses should be carried out so that the changes in time, learning contexts and learners can be closely monitored and necessary modifications be made. The quality of ESP teaching can only be enhanced with continuous needs analyses and course modification.

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Appendix A

Needs Analysis of Learners

1. Gender 性別：_____
2. Years of Service in Court 法庭通譯年資：_____
3. Number of Court Visits 造訪法庭次數：_____
4. Based on your observation of court sessions, what do you think you need to learn and acquire in order to become a court interpreter? (select those applicable to you)
就你觀察過的法庭庭訊，你認為要成為法庭通譯應該接受什麼訓練、具備哪些方面的了解？(可複選)
 - _____ court language (formulaic language & expressions) 法庭制式語言與表達
 - _____ court procedures and protocols 法庭程序
 - _____ roles of different legal professionals (such as judges, prosecutors, and lawyers)
法界人士(如法官、檢察官、律師等)不同角色
 - _____ vocabulary items required for different cases 不同案件需要的字彙
 - _____ roles and responsibilities of a court interpreter 法庭通譯的角色
 - _____ those involved in a case (defendant, plaintiff and/or witness) 涉案各方(如被告、原告或證人)
 - _____ legal jargon 法律專業用語
 - _____ expectations on court interpreters 對通譯的期待
 - _____ different modes of interpreting, such as consecutive, sight or simultaneous interpreting 不同形式的通譯方式，如逐步口譯、視譯、同步口譯
 - _____ remuneration 報酬
 - _____ work hours 工作時數
 - _____ procedures for case assignments 接案程序
 - _____ most frequently-used sentence patterns 常用英文句型
 - _____ others 其他 _____
 - _____
 - _____
 - _____

APPENDIX B

Background Information and Experience in Court Interpreting (Cases Handled)

個人資料 (Personal Information):

1 教育程度 (Education Background) :

- _____ 研究所 (Graduate School)
_____ 大專 / 大學 (College/University)
_____ 高中 (High School)

2 年齡 (Age) :

- _____ 50 歲以上 (50 years +)
_____ 40- 49 歲 (40 - 49 years)
_____ 30- 39 歲 (30 - 39 years)
_____ 20- 29 歲 (20 - 29 years)

3 翻譯經驗 (Translating/Interpreting Experience) :

- _____ 1-5 年 (1 - 5 years) _____ 6-10 年 (6 - 10 years)
_____ 11-15 年 (11 - 15 years) _____ 16-20 年 (16 - 20 years)
_____ 20 年以上 (20 + years)

4 法翻經驗 (Court Interpreting Experience) :

- _____ 1-5 年 (1 - 5 years) _____ 6-10 年 (6 - 10 years)
_____ 11-15 年 (11 - 15 years) _____ 16 - 20 年 (16 - 20 years)
_____ 20 年以上 (20 + years)

5 出庭頻率 (Frequency of Court Interpreting) :

- _____ 2 個月 0-1 次 (0-1 time/2 months)
_____ 2 個月 2-3 次 (2-3 times/2 months)
_____ 2 個月 4-5 次 (4-5 times/2 months)
_____ 2 個月 6-7 次 (6-7 times/2 months)
_____ 更多 (More often)
_____ 更少 (Less often)

6 法翻訓練時數 (Total Hours in Court Interpreting) :

- _____ 5 -10 小時 (5-10 hours) _____ 11 -20 小時 (11-20 hours)
_____ 21 -30 小時 (21-30 hours) _____ 31 - 40 小時 (31-40 hours)

_____ 41 -50 小時 (41-50 hours) _____ 51- 60 小時 (51-60 hours)
 _____ 61-70 小時 (61-70 hours)

- 7 最常碰到的法律案件類型，可複選 (Most Frequently-encountered Legal Issues, please check those applicable to you)：

- 7.1 _____ 交通意外及違規事件 (Traffic Accident and/or Violation)
 7.2 _____ 飲酒駕車 (Driving Under Influence – Drunk Driving)
 7.3 _____ 家庭暴力 (Domestic Violence)
 7.4 _____ 離婚之保護令 (Protection Order in Divorce)
 7.5 _____ 離婚之子女撫養權 (Child Custody in Divorce)
 7.6 _____ 離婚 (Divorce)
 7.7 _____ 通姦或外遇 (Adultery)
 7.8 _____ 毒品運送或販賣 (Drug Trafficking or Sales/Distribution)
 7.9 _____ 持有毒品 (Drug Possession)
 7.10 _____ 攻擊 (Assault)
 7.11 _____ 搶劫 (Robbery)
 7.12 _____ 妨害性自主案件 (Violation of Sexual Autonomy/Sexual Harassment)
 7.13 _____ 強制猥褻 (Compulsory Indecency)
 7.14 _____ 人口販運 (Human Trafficking)
 7.15 _____ 違反專利權 (Patent Violation)
 7.16 _____ 商標仿冒 (Trademark Counterfeiting)
 7.17 _____ 仿冒文件 (Document Counterfeiting – Passport or Visa)
 7.18 _____ 婚姻諮商 (調解案件) (Marital Counseling or Mediation)
 7.19 _____ 外勞遣返 (Foreign Worker Deportation)
 7.20 _____ 勞資糾紛 (Labor Dispute)
 7.21 _____ 詐欺 (Fraud)
 7.22 _____ Others

(請列舉 Please provide details)

- 8 你個人認為擔任法庭通譯一職，最希望接受的訓練內容為何？As a court interpreter, what is the training content you need the most?

Appendix C

Interview Questions

1. In your experience, what issues have bothered you the most in assisting the court with interpreting assignments?
2. Please share the most frustrating experience you have had in court interpreting.
3. Do you feel your training as a court interpreter is sufficient? If yes, what training is most helpful? If no, what more training is needed for you to perform the role as a court interpreter?
4. In your view, what are some urgent changes that should be made in the field of court interpreting?
5. What are some skills you would advise future court interpreters to acquire before they step into a court?
6. What are some examples of advice or suggestions you would like to give to future court interpreters?

Appendix D

Interview Questions for Legal Professionals

1. As a legal professional or a part of the court system, how do you measure the competence of a court interpreter?
2. The following list includes the codes of ethics or conducts identified as crucial for a court interpreter by researchers and practitioners. Please mark the qualities you regard as important in/for a court interpreter.
 - a. Providing complete and accurate interpretation _____
 - b. Maintaining impartiality and avoiding conflicts of interest _____
 - c. Maintaining confidentiality _____
 - d. Demonstrating language proficiency _____
 - e. Maintaining a good demeanor _____
 - f. Preparing for cases _____
 - g. Maintaining a good representation of qualifications _____
 - h. Avoiding giving legal advice _____
 - i. Maintaining professional relationships with court officers and authority

 - j. Seeking continuing education _____
 - k. Assessing and reporting impediments to performance _____
 - l. Reporting ethical violations _____
 - m. Others: _____
3. Among the legal cases you have handled, in what types of cases have you worked with court interpreters? (please check those applicable to you)

	Types of Cases		Types of Cases
	Traffic Accident and/or Violation		Drug Trafficking or Sales/Distribution
	Driving Under Influence – Drunk Driving		Drug Possession
	Domestic Violence		Assault
	Protection Order in Divorce		Robbery
	Child Custody in Divorce		Violation of Sexual Autonomy/Sexual Harassment
	Divorce		Compulsory Indecency
	Adultery		Human Trafficking
	Patent Violation		Foreign Worker Deportation
	Trademark Counterfeiting		Labor Dispute
	Document Counterfeiting – Passport/Visa		Fraud
	Marital Counseling or Mediation		Others (please specify)

A Revised Model for the Professionalization of Court Interpreting in Taiwan

Yaling Chen Posen Liao

In April, 2012, the Control Yuan of Taiwan published a report on court interpreting in Taiwan. The appearance of this report can be taken as indicating that court interpreting is beginning to be seen as a profession in Taiwan. However, thus far little research has been done on this field (e.g., Chang, 2013; Chen & Chen, 2013; Ho & Chen 2014; 陳雅齡、廖柏森, 2013), particularly in terms of the process of its professionalization. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to examine the development of court interpreting in Taiwan based on a model for the professionalization of interpreting proposed by Tseng in 1992. In Tseng's model, the professionalization of interpreting has four phases. The first phase features disorder in the markets; the second, increasing consensus and commitment; the third, the establishment of professional associations; and the fourth, a concern with legal authority and political persuasion.

Research into the history of a profession entails tracing its origins and development. The recorded history of court interpreting in Taiwan goes back to the Dutch-Spanish colonial period, when court interpreters had a semi-official status: they were recruited, trained and appointed by one branch of the government, and the same holds true for this profession today. Recently, the newly-established Taiwan Judicial Interpreters Association (TJIA)¹ has formulated a set of ethical standards and conducted training workshops, and is actively recruiting both novice and experienced practitioners. Both the government sector and the TJIA therefore play an important role in Phase III of Tseng's model. This study looks at this professionalization process, presents a revised version of Tseng's model of conference interpreting, and uses its findings to make suggestions regarding the professionalization of court interpreting in Taiwan.

Keywords: court interpreting, Taiwan Judicial Interpreters Association, professionalization model

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¹ Information regarding Taiwan Judicial Interpreter Association is obtained from its website on Facebook 臺灣司法通譯互助組織 <https://www.facebook.com/groups/peterchen/>

臺灣法庭口譯專業化模型之修正

陳雅齡 廖柏森

2012年4月臺灣監察院完成且公佈了《司法通譯案調查報告》，此報告具有指標性的意義，顯示臺灣法庭口譯從臨時性的社區服務轉變成一種對司法審判具影響力的專業性工作。然而國內目前對於法庭口譯的研究仍屬相對少數（如陳雅齡、廖柏森，2013；Chang, 2013；Chen & Chen, 2013; Ho & Chen, 2014），特別是對法庭口譯專業化過程的研究更是缺乏。因此本研究嘗試探討臺灣法庭口譯近年來的專業化發展，並以 Tseng (1992) 所提出的臺灣會議口譯專業化模型為基礎加以修正。Tseng 檢視口譯專業化過程，一般會經歷四個階段。第一階段是市場秩序混亂，第二階段是逐漸產生共識與承諾，第三階段則是專業協會的成立，第四階段是經由政治遊說及立法機構，形成最終的保護及認證。

討論某一行業的專業化過程，必須對這行業的起源及發展過程有所瞭解。回顧臺灣法庭口譯的發展史，自荷西據臺至今很長一段時間都是處於半官方的地位，招聘和任命都掌握在政府部門手中。另外，甫於 2014 年成立的臺灣司法通譯協會也招募成員，制定會員工作守則，開辦培訓講習。這些情況顯示近年來臺灣政府部門及臺灣司法通譯協會對臺灣法庭口譯的專業化發展，同時扮演著重要角色。本研究論述臺灣法庭口譯的發展過程，修訂 Tseng 模式並提出法庭口譯的專業化發展模式，並根據研究結果提出對臺灣法庭口譯專業化的建議。

關鍵詞：法庭口譯、臺灣司法通譯協會、專業化模型

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Introduction

The development of court interpreting in Taiwan has come to a point where its level of professionalization is worth examining. Spurred by globalization and increasing awareness of human rights, court interpreting has attracted much attention over the past few decades. Under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (人民權利與政治權利國際公約) passed in 1966 by the United Nations, a defendant is entitled to have an interpreter present during legal proceedings. Following the ratification of this covenant by Taiwan in 2009, both the criminal and the civil codes have undergone several revisions reflecting an increased emphasis on human rights, including the right to the services of a court interpreter.

According to statistics compiled by the Ministry of the Interior, at the end of 2013 the total number of foreigners residing in Taiwan, not including people from mainland China, was 650,000. Among these, Indonesians accounted for the biggest part (33.48%), followed by Vietnamese (146,544, 22.55%) and Filipinos (92,444, 14.22%). In addition, there are a fair number of Thais, Americans, and Japanese residing in Taiwan. Moreover, the number of foreigners named as suspects in criminal cases has steadily increased during past ten years (沈美真、李炳南、楊美鈴, 2012, 頁4). In 2010, for example, the largest number of foreign suspects were Vietnamese, followed by Thais, Indonesians, Filipinos, Americans, Malaysians, and Japanese. With more and more foreigners working or residing in Taiwan, their right to an interpreter for various legal disputes or services has become an important issue worthy of further examination.

In April 2012 the Control Yuan completed and published its *Survey of Court Interpreting in Taiwan* (《司法通譯案調查報告》) a comprehensive

investigative report covering the right to an interpreter and the employment of court interpreters in Taiwan, including their recruitment, remuneration, and training. The publication of this report indicates that in Taiwan court interpreting is beginning to be seen as a profession, rather than a contingent type of community service requiring only scanty knowledge and low-level skills. However, there has thus far been relatively little research into the area of court interpreting in Taiwan (e.g., Chang, 2013; Chen & Chen, 2013; Ho & Chen, 2014; 陳雅齡、廖柏森, 2013), particularly in terms of its professionalization process. Amongst the previous research, Ho and Chen (2014) made a preliminary study of professionalization of community interpreting in Taiwan (before the appearance of the Taiwan Judicial Interpreters Association) and revised Tseng's model based on their findings. They included in their discussions the training programs and mediation provided by Taiwan High Court, National Immigration Agency, and many NGOs such as Trans-Asia Sisters Association (南洋臺灣姐妹會), Good Shepherd Social Welfare Services (天主教善牧基金會) and the YWCA in Taiwan. Unlike Ho and Chen's study, this study zooms in on one important type of community interpreting activities - court interpreting in Taiwan. And Tseng's model of professionalization is revised under such a perspective.

Moreover, in light of the rapid increase in the number of court cases involving foreign nationals, there is an urgent need to examine the current state of court interpreting in Taiwan and to present an up-to-date model of its professionalization. The professionalization of a particular line of work is important in that it reflects recognition of a growing dependence upon the credentials, special skills, experience, and education required to gain entry into a special field of work, either paid or unpaid (Bosanac & Jacobs, 2006, pp. 2-10). Over two decades ago, Tseng (1992) presented a model of the professionalization of conference interpreting in Taiwan. Later, Mikkelsen

(1996) adopted Tseng's model in his analysis of the development of community interpreting, including court interpreting on a global level.

Tracing the developmental process of court interpreting in Taiwan, for a long time court interpreters have had a semi-official status. Currently, they are mainly managed by the government, with their recruitment, admission, and required training in the hands of the judicial system, such as the Taiwan High Court (臺灣高等法院). In addition, there are the Judge's Academy of Ministry of Justice (法務部法官學院) and the National Immigration Agency (移民署) as two major public sectors providing training for practicing court interpreters. In this paper we mainly place our focus on the services and functions of the Taiwan High Court.

On the other hand, the newly-established Taiwan Judicial Interpreters Association (TJIA, 臺灣司法通譯協會) has recently begun to recruit members (approximately 400 members at present), has established ten branch offices island wide and held training workshops on a regular basis. In terms of the professionalization of court interpreting, both the judicial sectors and the TJIA play an important role in Phase III of Tseng's model. Based on the above observations, in this paper we first review the literature related to professionalization, then analyze Tseng's model of the development of conference interpreting, followed by a historical review of Taiwan's court interpreting development, and finally present a revised version of Tseng's model to illustrate the current stage of court interpreting in Taiwan.

Literature Review

Definition of Professionalization and Relevant Studies

"Profession" is derived from the Latin word *professio*, meaning a "declaration" or "assertion" sworn in front of God. Cited by Mikkelsen

(1996, p. 2), the *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* defines the term “profession” as (1) an occupation or vocation requiring training in the liberal arts or the sciences and advanced study in a specialized field, and (2) the body of qualified persons of one specific occupation or field. Carter, Grebner, Seaman & Foret (1990, pp. 106–109) present a list of traits that characterize a profession: (1) theoretical knowledge, (2) autonomy, (3) service mission, (4) ethical code, (5) public sanction (legal restrictions on who can practice), (6) professional association, (7) formal training, (8) credentialing, (9) sense of community, and (10) singular occupation choice (practitioners remain in the same occupation throughout their careers). Medicine and law are therefore typical professions according to the above definition. According to Bosanac & Jacobs (2006, p. 3), any form of work or employment, recognition of professional status gives an individual a sense of pride, achievement, and security; effective and fair professionalization practices ensure adequate services while preserving integrity and viability of a field or expert knowledge. An occupation differs from a profession in that it generally requires less advanced training, fewer credentials, and tends to offer lower wages and benefits. Referring specifically to the interpreting profession, Witter-Merithew (1990, pp. 71–77) identifies the following standards that must be met for a line of work to be considered a profession:

- (1) A profession is an established field of expertise governed by standards of performance and behavior to which practitioners comply.
- (2) A profession is a field of expertise that consists of a body of knowledge and skills that require academic pursuit to master.
- (3) A profession has a mechanism for testing and determining who is qualified to function as a practitioner and assumes responsibility for monitoring conformance to standards.
- (4) A profession has a mechanism for self-examination, evolution of theory and

practice, and a system for publishing and disseminating this information.

Research on the professionalization of a line of work is therefore important because it documents the long-term commitment of its practitioners to their field of work, and demonstrates how the profession has gained recognition of the wider society by making entry into that field contingent on credentials gained through the acquisition of specialized skills and education.

Tseng's Model of Professionalization

Studies of professionalization have long put forth a “trait theory,” which states that an occupation becomes a profession by attaining such characteristics as adherence to a code of ethics, a body of knowledge, licensure or registration, and loyalty to colleagues, as indicated by Tseng (1992) and 汝明麗 (2009). Freidson (1986) and Larson (1997) both proposed a “control theory” which looks at how an occupation exerts both internal control (e.g., over the body of knowledge, the training required for entry into the field, and the ethics of its practitioners) and external control (e.g., over working relations and relations with clients). Tseng (1992) developed his model of professionalization of conference interpreting in Taiwan based on the above two theories. In general, Tseng asserts that an occupation becomes a profession by attaining such characteristics as adherence to a code of ethics, a body of knowledge, licensure or registration, and loyalty to colleagues, as shown in his model below:

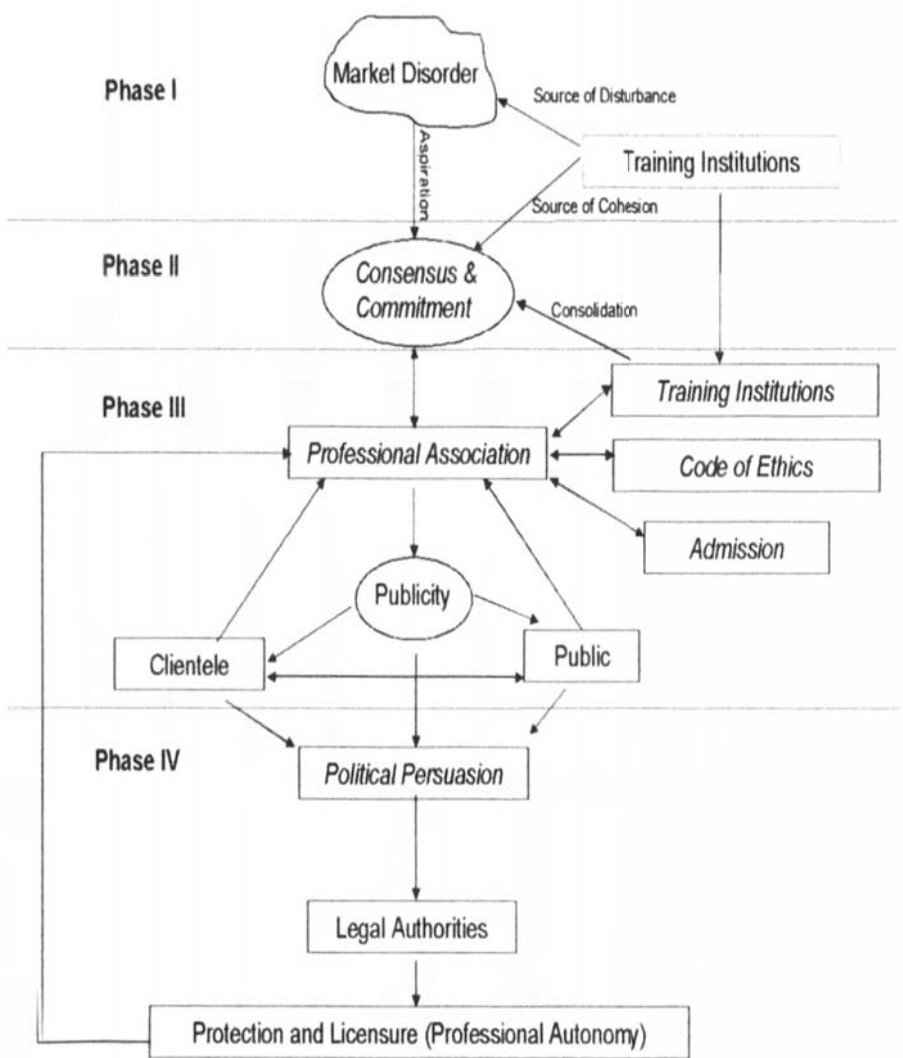


Fig. 1 Tseng's model of interpreting professionalization (Source: Tseng, 1992, p. 46).

In the figure above, “market disorder” occurs before consensus and commitment emerges amongst practitioners or recognition is achieved in the wider society. According to Tseng, training institutions appear during the first phase of professionalization. However, if these training institutions vary widely in standards of admission, training, and examination, then sub-standard

training institutions (without strict admission or rigid tests upon completion of training) will produce ill-qualified practitioners who are likely to become a source of disturbance to the market, while institutions with high standards will produce practitioners who make a positive contribution to the development and consolidation of the profession. As high-quality practitioners gradually provide more and more services, society comes to regard them as providing an indispensable service to the relevant sectors. In turn, well-qualified practitioners come to feel a sense of commitment to promoting their own abilities and status.

In the U.S. for example, as of 2015 the U.S. federal court system certifies interpreters in three languages (Spanish, Navajo, and Haitian-Creole). In addition to conducting certification exams, the federal court maintains a nationwide database of court-certified interpreters which it uses to arrange court interpreting services. At the state level, 18 states have certification requirements, and tests are being developed in a growing number of languages. This phenomenon reflects the consensus and agreement in the society and characterizes the second phase of Tseng's model, when interpreters come to be recognized as professionals who provide an indispensable service to the judicial system.

The factors of consensus and agreement in the society help facilitate the formulation and establishment of a professional association, an important indicator of the third phase in the process of professionalization. The members of such an association work collectively to exert their influence on the job market. The association may move further by attempting to control admission into the profession. However, if the code of ethics is not sophisticated enough or enforcement is lax, the association will lack power and will not function properly. When the association is strong enough, it may also control accreditation of practitioners. In the United States, for example, the American

Translators Association (ATA) accredits its members, and in the United Kingdom the Institute of Translators and Interpreters (ITI), which represents courts, businesses, and conference interpreters, administers proficiency exams to its members in various fields of specialization.

Once an association representing the majority of practitioners is perceived as providing a reputable service beneficial to society, the government will usually grant it special privileges. Mikkelson (2000) also indicates that professional associations in different countries work closely with government agencies and accrediting bodies to guarantee the quality of interpreting exams and training. This in turn enhances people's trust in the profession as a whole. Professionalization then gradually moves to Phase IV.

The process of professionalization is often circular. When the profession is seen to contribute to the well-being of society as a whole, the profession gains more strength. But if the services provided by a profession are not in demand, the public is not likely to recognize its importance. Describing the process of the professionalization of court interpreting, Mikkelson (1996) cites Tseng's advice that a strong professional association should represent the majority of practitioners. Limited representation is the major problem to fully realizing the potential of a professional association (Tseng, 1992, p. 81). Mikkelson further points out that whereas court interpreting is now beginning to emerge as a recognized profession, many other types of public service interpreting, such as medical interpreting, are still lagging behind. This then justifies why she examines Tseng's model from the perspective of court interpreting. In this paper, we focus on court interpreting as a profession as Mikkelson does. Other types of community interpreting activities are excluded from our discussions.

The Development of Court Interpreting in Taiwan

In examining the professionalization of a line of work, it is necessary to trace its origins and development. In accordance with the political and legal development of Taiwan, we divide the professionalization process of court interpreting into five historical periods: (1) The early period (including indigenous self-governance and the Dutch-Spanish period), (2) the Qing dynasty, (3) Japanese colonial era (1895–1945), (4) Kuomintang (KMT) dominance (1945–2000), and (5) modern times. When much of Taiwan was ruled by the Dutch and Spanish during the 17th century, judicial interpreting in a broad sense was required for making treaties (李朝成, 2010, 頁 63) and publicizing local orders enacted by the foreign rulers (王泰升、薛化元、黃世杰, 2006, 頁 13). During the Qing dynasty (1644–1912) local semi-official interpreters would be summoned to provide their services at the local yamen (衙門) on an as-needed basis and who played a mediating role between the government and the ordinary people (王泰升, 1998).

The earliest record mentioning the court interpreter as a formal judicial position is a document issued by the Taiwan Governor-general's Office (臺灣總督府) during Japanese colonial era. During this period, the colonial authorities appointed interpreters as regular judicial personnel, and the number of interpreters steadily increased.

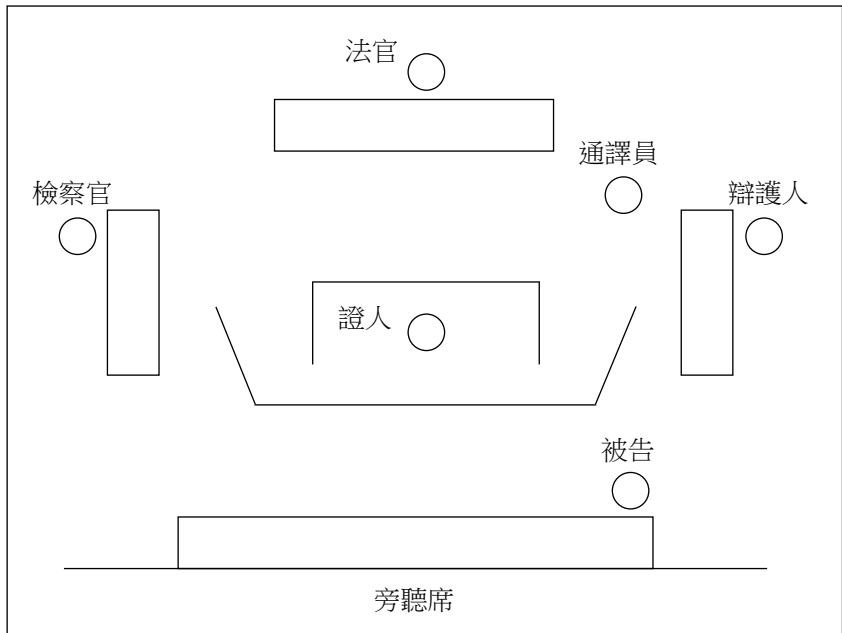


Fig. 2 Seating arrangement in a typical Japanese courtroom. (Source: 渡辺修、長尾ひろみ、水野真目子，2006，頁 63。Cited by 梁文營，2010，頁 74)

During the early phase of their rule, the Japanese authorities deliberately created a distance between themselves and the local people in the courtroom. In cases involving a local person, two types of interpreters were present in the courtroom—the main interpreter, who spoke Japanese and Mandarin, and the assisting interpreter, who spoke Mandarin, Hoklo, and/or one of the indigenous languages. The Japanese government in particular gave out subsidies to police officers who could communicate between Japanese and local Taiwan dialects.

When the KMT took control of Taiwan at the end of World War Two, mainlanders (few of whom knew any of the local dialects) were appointed to most of the judicial posts, requiring the government to step up its recruitment

of court interpreters. However, there was no training courses during this period, and this contributed to the slow development of court interpreting in comparison with other countries. Towards the end of the 20th century, the abilities of interpreting personnel weakened, and the staff gradually took on more administrative jobs, for example, passing documents, asking for signatures from the witness or the litigant, or even operating the court recording equipment.

To turn the above situation around, in 2006 the Taiwan High Court of the Judicial Yuan began holding formal training courses for contracted interpreters to meet the growing demand for increasingly challenging jobs of public service interpreting. In 2009 the government ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), which significantly increased awareness of the importance of the qualifications of a good court interpreter. Further, in 2013 the Judicial Yuan formulated a set of ethical standards for court interpreters. Summing up, court interpreting in Taiwan has a long history of being managed by the government. All these factors helped stimulate the consensus in Phase II of Tseng's model.

Stimulated by the growing demand for court interpreters working in various languages, training programs, both public and private, have flourished. According to the Judicial Yuan's Provisions for Hiring Contract Court Interpreters (法院特約通譯約聘辦法)², applicants need to meet certain qualifications, such as a certain level of language proficiency and at least five years living in a country where the language to be interpreted is spoken. Those who meet these qualifications are further required to undergo a training program including judicial affairs, legal procedures, and interpreting ethics (see

² Please refer to <http://www.rootlaw.com.tw/LawArticle.aspx?LawID=A060020000008600-1040508>

Appendixes A and B). Those who successfully complete the training receive accreditation, must renew their license every two years upon completion of additional training. The training programs organized by the Judicial Yuan have also been extended from a one-day session (8 hours) to a two-day session (16 hours) that is balanced between theory and practice.

The TJIA was established in October of 2014; anyone who is proficient in a foreign language and interested in becoming a court interpreter can apply to become a member. At present, the TJIA has approximately 400 members and ten branch offices in such municipalities such as Taoyuan, Hsinchu, Yulin, and Tainan. After some internal workshop training, mostly led by its founding director, Mr. Peter Chen, members are eligible to be appointed to a court case. The membership of the TJIA includes interpreters of a range of diverse languages. A majority of its members (85%) are newly-arrived immigrants from Southeast Asian countries. This is in sharp contrast with the demographics of the court interpreters listed in the database maintained by the Taiwan High Court. In this database, the members who interpret for southeast Asian languages account for 45%; sign language or aboriginal languages 21%; the rest 36% (e.g. Japanese, English, French, Spanish, Russian, etc.). Some interpreters receive training from both the Taiwan High Court and the TJIA on a regular basis, and therefore their abilities are presumed to be more strengthened.

The TJIA has also set up a smart phone application (APP) for arranging interpreting jobs. Its goal is to become the only agency representing court interpreters in Taiwan. Any public or private agency requiring a court interpreter can contact the TJIA for a referral. The TJIA's main argument for implementing its own job appointment system is that the judicial system should play an independent role and therefore refrain from appointing court interpreters. In a broad sense, we may classify the TJIA to be a type of professional association as depicted in phase III of Tseng's model.

In comparison, in the U.S. there is “National Court Interpreter Database” (NCID) used by federal and district courts to obtain the contact information of contract court interpreters, and that all interpreters are welcome to log in to update their information. Further, in the U.K. “National Register of Public Service Interpreter” (NRPSI) is an independent voluntary regulator of professional interpreters specialising in public service. NPRSI maintains a public register of professional, qualified and accountable interpreters. This national register is accessible and searchable online to any private or public institutions, free of charge. Both NCID and NRPSI as interpreter recruitment systems are somewhat similar to the database maintained and used by the Taiwan High Court or National Immigration Agency. Thus the TJIA’s assertion that the judicial sectors should not search and appoint an interpreter based on a national database may be unrealistic in current situation.

A Revised Model of Court Interpreting in Taiwan

After setting up a contract interpreter system in 2007, the court unit engaging the case became responsible for appointing an interpreter listed in a government database of contract interpreters. Currently, the selection of a court interpreter for a criminal or civil trial is done by the clerk, frequently through consultation with the judge. Moreover, there is now an evaluation sheet filled out by the presiding judge to assess the performance of his or her interpreters.

On the other hand, the newly established TJIA is rapidly recruiting members, opening training programs, and implementing its APP appointment system in an attempt to control admission to the market of court interpreting. The following table sums up the discussions above and compares the current functions of the judicial sector (mainly the Taiwan High Court) relating to

contract court interpreters with those of the TJIA:

Table 1
Comparison between the Judicial Sector and TJIA on Professionalization of Court Interpreters

	Judicial Sector	TJIA
Ethical Standards	Yes	Yes
Training	Yes	Yes
Credentials upon completion	Yes	Yes
Instructors	Yes	Single instructor
Language Interpreted	Various (57% non-southeast Asian languages)	Various (85% Southeast Asian languages)
Training Evaluation	By a panel of judicial professionals	By the same instructor
Recruitment procedures	Meet qualifications stated in “Hiring Procedures for Contract Court Interpreters”	Open to all
On-site evaluation	Yes	Not Clear
Status Renewal	Every two years	Not Specified

Note. Compiled by the authors

As shown above, the judicial sector seems to have better resources and provides a more complete and rigorous system for the recruitment, training, and renewal of court interpreters. The schedule of the judicial sector course (see Appendix B) shows that the instructors come from a variety of backgrounds, including prosecutors, judges, professors, and practitioners, who cover a wide range of topics, including law, criminal and civil procedures, court interpreting theory and practice, and ethics. The TJIA is said to give more

emphasis to training and practice in the interpretation of Southeast Asian languages, and the workshops are mostly organized and led by the founder of the association, Peter Chen. The official website of TJIA³ indicates that the organization provides a lot of practical materials in such topics as criminal procedures, linguistic rights, and ethical standards. Although Mr. Chen has extensive experience as a police and immigration officer, his approach to court interpreting may seem to be mainly on the practical side of his working as a civil servant in a local immigration agency. Given the fact that both the judicial sector and the TJIA recruit interpreters, implement training programs, formulate codes of ethics, and issue credentials, we would like to revise Tseng's model by putting the Judicial Sectors and Professional Association (TJIA) together in Phase III in order to better reflect the current situation happening in Taiwan (see Fig. 2). In the revised model, we use a dotted line to connect Judicial Sectors to Publicity, and a solid line to connect the TJIA to Publicity. The dotted line represents the problematic assertion that the judicial sector should resolve legal disputes in the court and at the same time hold training workshops, gain publicity, establish legal authority, and finally achieve a professional autonomy for court interpreters. The revised model to reflect the current situation of court interpreting in Taiwan is shown below:

³ For more information of TJIA, please check: <https://www.facebook.com/臺灣司法通譯協會-683559408364092/?fref=ts>

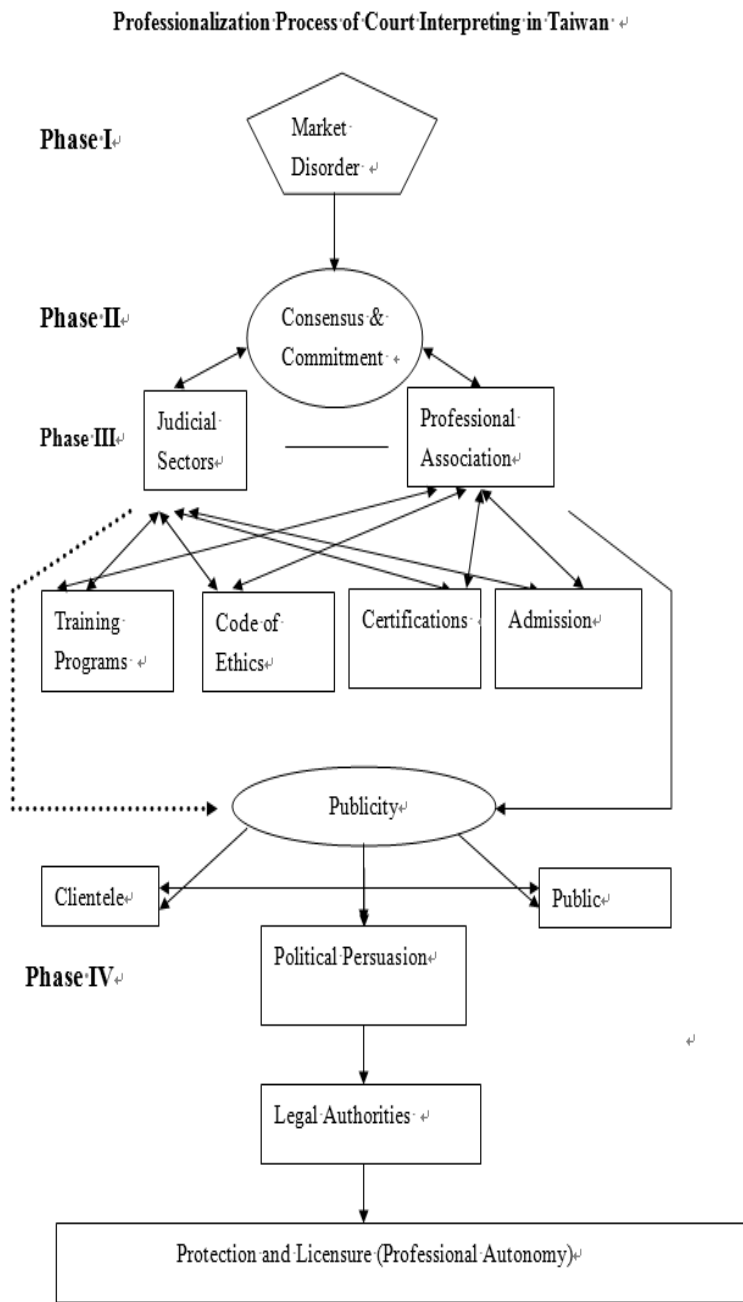


Fig. 3 Revised version of Tseng's model to reflect current situation of court interpreting in Taiwan. (Source: Compiled by the authors)

Regardless of their professional affiliation, all interpreters should strive to push forward the professionalism of the field by adhering to ethical standards and providing high-quality services, for doing so will help both the judicial sector and the TJIA to win positive publicity (e.g., political persuasion and legal authority) in Phase IV. In turn, winning political persuasion and legal authority is likely to motivate court interpreters to upgrade their skills by participating in training programs. The public image and status of the profession will be enhanced when society finds it to be connected to the well-being of society as a whole.

Bosanac and Jacobs (2006, p. 3) propose three guiding principles of professionalization. First, professionalization must be led and controlled by a legitimate organization that works for the benefit of practitioners and clients. Secondly, professionalization must be developed on a reflexive, relational basis to reflect the needs and beliefs of differing cultures, races, genders, and classes. Third, the knowledge, experience, and expertise of laypersons must be recognized by professionalization and certification systems. Based on these three guidelines, it is preferable to wait for some time and then examine how the judicial sector and the TJIA function in Phase IV, in terms of winning political persuasion and legal authority, and establishing professional autonomy and a licensure system, as depicted in our revised model.

Conclusion

Court interpreting in Taiwan has come a long way over the past few centuries. On the one hand, court interpreters have long been seen as employees of the judicial system without their professional autonomy. On the other hand, it is encouraging to see that the newly-established TJIA has rapidly recruited a sizable membership and opened training programs. At present,

both the judicial sector and the TJIA are very actively recruiting language professionals, conducting training, and issuing certificates after completion of training courses. So far there has been no collaboration between of the Taiwan High Court and the TJIA, with each developing its own recruitment procedures, code of ethics, training programs, and accreditation tests. It indeed looks strange in the revised model to see the judicial sector also organizing and providing training programs. As stated above, the training of court interpreters in Western countries lies in the hands of professional associations. On the other hand, as a professional association the TJIA is still in its infancy, with most tasks being handled by the founding director, Peter Chen, including instruction, collecting membership fees, and soliciting donations, as shown by the announcements on its official website. To win consensus and public approval of its efforts in the area of interpreting professionalization, the judicial sector needs to overhaul its procedures for recruiting language professionals by setting higher standards, periodically changing the content of the training programs and accreditation tests, and increasing cooperation with academia. Only by making such major overhauls can the judicial sector be justified in playing the dual role of conducting judicial cases and also appointing court interpreters. Based on the three guidelines proposed by Bosanac and Jacobs (2006, p. 3), further examination is then required to determine which body—the judicial sector or the TJIA—should take the lead or even work together in the professionalization of court interpreting in Taiwan.

To conclude our paper, we want to emphasize that regardless of the professional affiliation (Taiwan High Court or the TJIA), all interpreters should strive to push forward the professionalism of the field by seriously adhering to ethical standards (the two organization differ little in this respect), thereby rendering an impartial and faithful delivery of professional services, for doing so will help both the judicial sector and the TJIA to win positive

publicity, followed by gaining political persuasion, legal authority, and eventually professional autonomy. As the phases of the professionalization go circular, winning political persuasion and legal authority is also likely to motivate court interpreters to upgrade their skills and enhance the consensus of the society when the society finds the profession indispensable to the well-being of society as a whole.

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Appendix A

法院通譯倫理規範

Code of Conduct for Court Interpreters

中華民國 102 年 10 月 25 日院臺廳司一字第 1020028257 函訂定

Ratified pursuant to Yuan-Tai-Ting-Si-Yi-Zi Letter No. 1020028257 on Oct. 25, 2013

一、為提升法院傳譯品質，建立通譯行為基準，特訂定本規範。

1. The Code of Conduct for Court Interpreters (hereinafter as this Code) is drafted and ratified to improve the interpretation quality in courts and to establish behavioral standards for interpreters.

二、通譯應遵守法令及本規範，秉持熱誠及耐心，以公正、誠實之態度執行傳譯職務。

2. An interpreter shall be subject to laws and this Code and shall perform interpretation duties impartially and honestly based on the principle of enthusiasm and patience.

三、通譯應謹言慎行，避免有不當或易被認為損及司法形象之行為。

3. An interpreter shall be shrewd in words and behaviors and shall avoid all behaviors which are inappropriate or may be deemed as detrimental to the country's judiciary image.

四、通譯執行職務時，不得因性別、種族、地域、宗教、國籍、年齡、身體、性傾向、婚姻狀態、社會經濟地位、政治關係、文化背景或其他因素，而有偏見、歧視、差別待遇或其他不當行為。

4. An interpreter performing duties shall not exhibit prejudice, discrimination, preferential treatment or other inappropriate deeds against those involved in cases based on their gender, ethnicity, region, religion,

nationality, age, physical condition, sexual orientation, marital status, socioeconomic status, political relations, cultural background or other factors.

五、通譯執行職務時，應忠實傳譯當事人、證人、鑑定人及其他關係人之陳述內容，不得有擅自增減、潤飾、修改、曲解原意或隱匿欺罔之行為。

通譯執行職務時，如發現誤譯，應即主動告知法院，並協助更正。

5. An interpreter performing duties shall accurately interpret statements made by parties, witnesses, expert witnesses and other related parties without adding, omitting, embellishing, editing, distorting or hiding the original meaning of the statement. When realizing any misinterpretation during the performing of duties, an interpreter shall take the initiative to report such a condition to the court and provide assistance in clarification or correction.

六、通譯就傳譯案件所涉之法律、訴訟程序、專業知識或其他陳述用語不明瞭時，應主動告知法院協助釐清。

6. If an interpreter does not understand the laws, proceedings, professional knowledge, or other dictums in the statements involved in a case, he or she shall take the initiative to report such a condition to the court and ask for clarification.

七、通譯就傳譯案件如有法定應自行迴避事由，不得執行職務。

7. An interpreter shall not perform the duties if there is any legal recusal cause in the case.

八、通譯就傳譯案件如有拒絕通譯原因、利益衝突或其他影響其忠實、中立執行職務之情形，應主動告知法院。

8. An interpreter shall take the initiative to report to the court if there is any cause of refusal of interpretation or a conflict of interest as well as any reason that may potentially affect the faithfulness or neutrality of an

interpreter performing duties.

九、通譯執行職務時，不得就案情提供任何法律意見或陳述個人意見。

9. An interpreter performing duties shall not give any legal advice or any personal opinion related to the case.

十、通譯不得接受請託關說或收受不正利益，並應避免與傳譯案件之當事人、證人、鑑定人或其他關係人有案件外之接觸。

10. An interpreter shall not accept solicitation or others asking favors for cases or receive improper benefits, and shall avoid making any unnecessary contact with parties, witnesses, expert witnesses or other relevant parties.

十一、通譯不得揭露或利用因職務所知悉之秘密、個人隱私或非公開訊息。

11. An interpreter shall not disclose or make use of the confidential, personal or nonpublic information acquired during their performance of court duties.

十二、通譯應善用教育訓練課程，保持並充實職務所需智識及傳譯技能。

12. An interpreter shall make good use of the educational and training courses to maintain and improve his or her knowledge and interpreting skills.

Appendix B

Course Schedule of 2016 by Taiwan High Court

105 年第 1 期特約通譯備選人教育訓練（北區）課程表

研習時間：105 年 7 月 14 日至 7 月 15 日

日期	7月11日	7月12日	7月13日	7月14日	7月15日
星期	星期一	星期二	星期三	星期四	星期五
時間	※	※	※	8：30～8：50報到	7：30～8：30早餐
9：00 9：50	※	※	※	民事法律常識 （含法律專業術語及專 有名詞解釋） 講座：陳院長邦豪 桃園地方法院	法庭傳譯經驗交流 〈含法院交流〉 講座：待聘
10：05 10：55				法庭傳譯技巧 與實務演練 講座：陳教授子偉 臺灣師範大學翻譯研究所	通譯之角色功能 與社會責任 講座：鄭教授家捷 雲科大應用外語
11：10 12：00					
12：00 14：00				午餐及午休	
14：00 14：50	※	※	※	刑事法律常識 （含法律專業術語及專 有名詞解釋） 講座：張升星法官 臺中高等行政法院	人權系列講座- 多元文化 與性別意識 講座：廖教授美蓮 東吳大學社工系
15：05 15：55				行政訴訟法律常識 （含法律專業術語及專 有名詞解釋） 講座：張升星法官 臺中高等行政法院	業務講座 講座：林廳長瑞斌 司法院司法行政廳
16：10 17：00					
17：00	※	※	※	晚餐及自由活動	賦歸（餐盒）
備註	一、研習地點：法官學院 4 樓 401 教室。 二、住宿地點：法官學院（台北市士林區文林路 723 號） 三、本學院承辦人：教務組鍾幸如組員。電話 02-88664433#635				

讓「文化他者」發聲： 西方文學方言翻譯研究述評

汪寶榮

文學方言是指作家用書面語再現限於一地或在某個社會階層內部使用或在這兩方面均受限的一種口語。由於非標準語言變體轉換上的不對等，以及方言蘊含的地方色彩和社會文化意義很難移植到目標語言文化中，文學方言是中外翻譯界公認的難題，也是目前研究相當缺失的一個重要課題。本文基於相關研究文獻，重點對西方關於文學方言的運作機制及其可譯性和翻譯策略的研究現狀進行述評，結果顯示：一、早期西方研究者主要從語言學和方言學角度分析文學方言的運作機制，當代學者則大多採用社會語言學、結構主義文學理論或後現代主義、後殖民翻譯理論進行考察；二、西方譯者和翻譯學者普遍認為文學方言難譯，甚至不可譯，歸根結底是譯文做不到「忠實」或「對等」；三、當下西方學界逐漸達成共識，認為方言標準化譯法和方言對譯法的效果不甚理想，文學方言自創譯法和方言特徵淡化譯法則比較可取、可行；四、有關研究顯示，文學方言翻譯策略隨歷史情境而變，說明文學方言並無絕對正確或適當的譯法；五、如果譯者放棄對「忠實」或「對等」這種不切實際的追求，採取適當的補償性翻譯策略，就能讓「文化他者」發聲，推動中西文化對話。論文最後指出未來研究路徑供國內研究者參考。

關鍵詞：文學方言、運作機制、可譯性、翻譯策略、文化他者

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Giving a Voice to the “Cultural Other” —A Critical Review of Western Studies on Literary Dialect Translation

Baorong Wang

As a generally recognized and somewhat vexing problem for the translator, literary dialect translation is largely under-researched. This article provides a critical review of current Western studies on literary dialect and its translation, focusing on its mechanism, its translatability, and four strategies the translator may opt for. It is concluded that literary dialect is generally deemed untranslatable in both China and the West, simply because in this case the traditional goal of fidelity or equivalence is virtually unattainable. The difficulty of translating literary dialect lies more in the need to transplant its regional and socio-cultural connotations to the target language and culture than in the need to find a nonstandard target-language equivalent. Of the four basic dialect translation strategies, dialectal standardization and dialect-for-dialect translation are now generally held to be unsatisfactory, while creating an ad hoc literary dialect and making sparing use of target language dialectal features are thought to be more feasible and more desirable. On the other hand, it has been found that the translator's adoption of a translation strategy is subject to the changing historical context, suggesting that there is no absolutely “correct” or “appropriate” solution to the problem of literary dialect translation. Nonetheless, here it is argued that the target text can give a voice to the “cultural other”—and thereby contribute to the China-West cultural dialogue—if the translator opts for a proper compensatory strategy. The article concludes by suggesting several possible avenues of further research which could improve the *status quo* in this field.

Keywords: literary dialect, working mechanism, translatability, translation strategy,
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壹、緒論

許多中外作家喜歡在小說或戲劇作品（尤其人物話語）中運用方言，但很少未經加工提煉就直接取用真實口語，無論是地域方言 (geographical or regional dialect) 還是社會方言 (sociolect)。因此，對文學作品中運用的方言（社會語言學稱之為「非標準語言變體」—— non-standard language variety）的準確表述是「文學方言」(literary dialect)。¹ 美國語言學家克拉普 (G. P. Krapp) 在 1925 年出版的專著《英語在美國》和翌年發表的論文〈方言寫作心理〉中，首次提出「文學方言」這個重要概念，認為「運用文學方言的作家對準確描寫民間口語並不關心。作為藝術家，他們總是關注意文學方言的效果，因而必須根據其寫作目的對基於科學觀察的口語材料進行選擇和剔除」(Krapp, 1971, p. 24)。² 1950 年，美國方言學家艾夫斯 (S. Ives) 在影響深遠的〈文學方言理論〉一文中將「文學方言」定義為：

文學方言是指一位作家試圖用書面語再現限於一地或在某個社會階層內部使用或在這兩方面均受限的一種口語。其再現手法可能只是偶爾改換一個單詞的拼寫形式，……也可能把他觀察到的一種方言的全部語法、辭彙和語音特徵表現在作品中，以便儘量接近科學意義上的準確性。(Ives, 1971, p. 146)³

由以上定義可知，文學方言帶有鮮明的地域色彩和獨特的社會文化內涵，很難移植到目標語言文化中，是公認的小說、戲劇翻譯難題，因此國內外學界及翻譯界對「文學方言是否可譯」、「哪一種譯法較可取」等焦點問題長期爭論不休，至今沒有定論。由於作為非標準語言標記

¹ 由於文學方言研究在中國還不成熟，不少國內論者往往把它與「方言」混同起來。

² 本文所引全部外文文獻均由筆者譯成中文。

³ 此處引用的是略有修訂的 1971 年重版本。

的方言往往被視為「地位低下」(low-prestige) 或「帶有負面的社會符號價值」(negative socio-semiotic value) (Rosa, 2012, p. 88)，方言寫作在中西文學傳統中都屬於邊緣的「另類」，這直接導致了方言翻譯實踐量的有限。⁴ 另一方面，方言標準化譯法一直是「應用最普遍的翻譯策略」(Rosa, 2012, p. 87)，造成「標準語與方言的區別往往在翻譯中反映不出來」(Anderman, 2007, p. 57)，因此，中西翻譯理論都聚焦於用標準語寫成的文學文本，「對（文學）方言翻譯的研究很少見」（陳吉榮，2010，頁 67）。國內學者較早關注文學方言翻譯問題，例如，茅盾在 1921 年就提到方言詞翻譯之難（參見陳福康，2000，頁 238）；傅雷（1984，頁 83）在 1951 年指出，採用方言對譯法會「把原文的地方性抹煞」，但翻譯時如把原文的方言特徵抹去，「譯文（又會）變得生氣全無」。近十幾年來，國內的文學方言翻譯研究日趨活躍，一些學者對該論題進行了理論思考（朱達秋，2001；郭著章，1994；陳國華，2007；黃忠廉，2012；劉全福，1998；Wu, 2009），或基於個案研究的思辨分析（王豔紅，2008，2009a；李穎玉、郭繼榮、袁笠菱，2008；韓子滿，2002；Wu & Chang, 2008），還出版了兩本專著（王豔紅，2012；Han, 2004），但總體上這方面研究尚「不多見」，且「缺乏系統性」（王豔紅，2009b，頁 77）。筆者在研讀相關英語文獻的過程中發現，過去二十多年，西方的文學方言翻譯研究相當活躍，理論視角趨向多元化，有方言學、社會語言學、文學理論、描述翻譯學、後現代主義、後殖民理論等，很值得我們參考，但這些成果的很大一部分尚未引起國內研究者足夠關注。因篇幅所限，本文主要圍繞文學方言的運作機制及其可譯性和常用翻譯策略這兩個核心問題進行述評，最後指出未來研究路徑供國內研究者參考。

⁴ 誠然，著名翻譯家傅東華、張穀若、董燕山等都運用過不同的策略處理西方文學作品中的文學方言，但方言翻譯實踐總量不多顯然是方言翻譯研究不足的一個重要原因。

貳、文學方言的運作機制及其可譯性

一、文學方言的運作機制與翻譯

文學方言的翻譯與其運作機制密切相關，因此西方學者對此進行了多角度的論述。克拉普 (Krapp, 1971, p. 24) 以美國作家哈裏斯 (J. C. Harris) 的方言小說為例指出，「語言與這些故事內容的關係是如此的緊密，就像在同一串常青藤和同一棵無花果樹下長大的雙胞胎，任何人如果試圖把它們譯成一套較簡單、較規範的用語，就會立即發現故事的大部分魅力在翻譯過程中被毀掉了」。艾夫斯 (Ives, 1971, p. 146) 指出：「說『方言』的那些作品人物，要麼在社會階層上，要麼在地域上，與說標準語的大部分人物形成對比。這種方言所暗示的差異通常帶有說方言者地位較低的涵義，但並非總是如此」。艾夫斯關注的是語言內部變異如何被用於再現社會方言或地域方言，沒有提及文學方言的翻譯問題。克拉普和艾夫斯各自從語言學和方言學角度分析文學方言的運作機制，當代西方學者則大多採用社會語言學、結構主義文學理論或後現代主義、後殖民翻譯理論進行考察。例如，美國學者阿澤維多 (M. M. Azevedo) 指出：

文學方言將口語陌生化 (defamiliarization)，⁵ 使我們注意到某些作品人物不標準的說話方式如何形成蘊含社會語言和文化意義的語言內部差異。這種差異不僅表現在作品人物之間，還表現在作品人物和讀者之間。從這個角度看，一篇成功的譯文須儘量抓住作品人物間語言差異蘊含的意義。(Azevedo, 2009, pp. 198-199)

阿澤維多 (Azevedo, 2009, pp. 193-194) 還認為，文學方言是作家對真實口語的模仿，即把口語中數量有限的顯著特徵組合起來加以運

⁵ 什克洛夫斯基 (Shklovskij, 1998, p. 19) 指出，20 世紀初，一些俄國作家（如托爾斯泰）「開始傾向於在作品中使用方言和不規範的語言形式」，這是取得他所說的「陌生化」效果的手段之一。

用，「如此一來，作品中某個人物的聲音就與其他人物或敘事人的聲音形成了反差」，也就是穆卡洛夫斯基 (J. Mukařovský) 說的「前景化」(foregrounding)。⁶ 作家基於他以為讀者熟悉的語言原型 (linguistic stereotypes) 創造一種文學方言，「以便增加人物語言的逼真感或注入幽默感」(Crystal, 1995, p. 410)。阿澤維多 (Azevedo, 2009, p. 196) 指出，「透過與標準語形成反差，文學方言有效地使一個在語言和社會地位上有別於作品中的主流人物及讀者的他者發出聲音」，而要讓譯本讀者感覺到這個「文化他者」(the cultural Other) 的存在，辦法之一是借用一種現成的文學方言（即下文所稱的「文學方言自創譯法」）。

加拿大學者拉內一梅西耶 (G. Lane-Mercier) 主要從社會語言學角度分析文學社會方言 (literary sociolect) 的運作機制：

文學社會方言一般出現在作品人物的直接引語中，其語音、句法、辭彙和語義配置通常（但並不總是）被置於負面或貶損模式中，因而與社會涵義上「中性」、語言上「正確」的敘事人或其他人物的話語形成反襯。……然而，文學社會方言不能被定性為是對現實生活中使用的社會方言的真實、未經作家干預的複製。傳統上，小說家們運用非標準語言模式是為了取得喜劇性穿插 (comic relief)、栩栩如生或社會語言和文化上的寫實假像等效果，因此他們對文學方言的文體作用、主題意義和敘事功能的考慮大於對其模仿、忠實和真實程度的考慮。(Lane-Mercier, 1997, p. 46)

針對文學社會方言的翻譯，拉內一梅西耶借用美國學者韋努蒂 (L. Venuti) 的後殖民翻譯理論和法國學者貝爾曼 (A. Berman) 的翻譯倫理理論指出：

考慮到文學社會方言反映並折射文化原型、身份建構和權力關

⁶ 「一個語言單位與留在背景的另一個語言單位形成反差」，就會產生文學語言的「前景化」效果 (Mukařovský, 1970, p. 44)。

係，其翻譯方式可理解為要求譯者承擔起用「暴力」手段生成審美、意識形態及政治意義的義務；只要譯者對自己的翻譯決策和翻譯策略確立的文化他者及文化自我的關係和形象負起責任，那麼這種義務就根植於翻譯倫理，也隱含著某種譯者的顯身。……文學社會方言翻譯蘊含著雙重暴力，第一種暴力存在於作家對有社會地位標誌的語言配置的再現，另一種存在於翻譯過程中。從這個觀點看，文學社會方言的典型翻譯方式是譯者採用特定的翻譯策略對原作意義進行增刪、改變、破壞、仿擬。(Lane-Mercier, 1997, pp. 45, 48)

在拉內一梅西耶看來，不僅翻譯過程中充滿了「暴力」，而且譯者的翻譯立場也不可避免地體現於譯本之中。

二、文學方言是否可譯？

很多西方著名翻譯家認為文學方言不可譯，其中難免有為自己開脫責任之嫌，但其翻譯之難由此可見一斑。⁷ 例如，1982年諾貝爾文學獎得主加西亞·馬奎斯 (G. G. Márquez) 的主要英譯者、美國翻譯家拉巴薩 (G. Rabassa) 認為：

有的書很難翻譯成另一種語言，就像一頭倔驢「牽不過去」一樣。鄉土文學有一種地方風味，在原作語言中一下子就能感受到。……然而，正如一種語言的辭彙在其他語言中沒有真正的對應詞一樣，方言或地方口語在其他語言中也沒有真正的對應物。全世界都有鄉下人，但是讓一個巴西牛仔像美國阿巴拉契亞山民一樣說話，顯得既荒謬又古怪。因此，將地方土話搬到另一種語言必須被列為又一種不可譯之例。(Rabassa, 1974-75, p. 33)

⁷ 「可譯性」是西方學界和翻譯界喜歡探討的一個傳統話題，與之相關的另一個老話題是「翻譯中的流失」(loss in translation)。

翻譯了魯迅小說全集的英國年輕漢學家藍詩玲 (J. Lovell) 也指出：

方言很難翻譯，……因為幾乎不可能找到一種對等的目標語方言。……處理方言時譯者有多種選擇，比如說試著把它譯成一種英語方言，例如威爾士語或倫敦土話。不過我認為那樣做是有問題的，因為你在向譯文讀者暗示這些故事人物不是中國人，而是來自倫敦、威爾士或約克郡。（參見汪寶榮，2013，頁 159-160；Wang, 2014, p. 8）

被夏志清（1996，頁 21）譽為「公認的中國現代、當代文學之首席翻譯家」的葛浩文 (H. Goldblatt) 也表示，「在賈平凹的作品裏面，西安方言或陝西山裏人的土話俯拾皆是，時常把我搞糊塗。對譯者來說，方言是一個難題；也許這是一個世界性的難題，小說翻譯面臨的普遍性難題？」（參見 Stalling, 2014, p. 8）。

持類似觀點的西方譯者還可以舉出很多，此處不贅。總之，西方譯者普遍認為文學方言不可譯、不易譯或不值得翻譯。皮姆 (Pym, 2000, p. 75) 分析了這種消極觀點背後的原因：「一般情況下，委託人不會因為譯者設法翻譯了作品中的方言而額外付錢，讀者也不知道譯本中丟失了什麼，而國際翻譯界迄今沒有就方言翻譯給出明確的指令」，「以上種種都跟譯者高尚的生存危機不相干」。換言之，當今西方主流翻譯規範對文學方言翻譯較為寬鬆，即使譯者不把文學方言譯好，也不會丟掉飯碗。

以上所述可說是西方譯者的普遍看法，那麼西方翻譯學者的觀點又如何呢？以下引用的是較有代表性的論述：

語言內部差異幾乎不可能令人滿意地翻譯出來。(House, 1973, p. 167)

對譯者來說，最糟的情形是，文學社會方言是一個界限明確的不

可譯區域；最好的情形是，方言屬於不透明的、阻抗性文本成分，翻譯過程中伴隨著過多的意義流失和增益，對此人們應該不足為怪。在方言翻譯領域裏，「忠於原文」這個概念及其可能性都作了廢，而使翻譯行為成為可能的各種條件也受到質疑。(Lane-Mercier, 1997, p. 49)

文學作品中使用的方言很難處理，儘管譯者有幾種辦法去對付這個難題，但是可以說沒有一種辦法是令人滿意的。(Sánchez, 1999, p. 308)

眾所周知，方言和社會方言這些非標準語言變體令譯者大傷腦筋。由於目標語中很可能不存在具有相同情景特徵的語言變體，方言在原文中的功能會在譯本中減弱或丟失，而用標準語翻譯用方言寫成的對話這種常用翻譯策略會導致原作及其作者的語言身份的丟失。(Leppihalme, 2000, p. 247)

把用標準語寫成的文本譯成另一種標準語相對簡單，因為兩種標準語……的指示意義和內涵意義總有一些對應，因而可譯程度較高。然而，文學方言依靠一種語言內部的特定差別運作，而這種差異在其他語言中不一定存在一對一的對應。(Azevedo, 2000, pp. 30-31)

文學方言的存在給文本增添了交際和符號價值，在翻譯語境中給譯者造成了額外的困難。……由於語言因素受到文化和社會的制約，從而給譯者帶來焦慮時刻和「文化碰撞」，使得一些論者認為方言不可譯。(Ramos Pinto, 2009, pp. 290-291)

上引文字中被聚焦的主題詞有「困難」、「不可譯」、「無對應或對等方言」等，在在指向「不可譯」這個核心命題。從這些學者的論述可知，文學方言之所以被認為難譯甚至不可譯，不只是因為語言變體轉

換上的不對等，更是因為方言蘊含的社會文化意義很難移植到目標語言文化中；即便勉強移植過去，也往往被扭曲或丟失。然而，儘管如此多的西方譯者及學者認為文學方言難譯，甚至不可譯，難以做到「忠實」或「對等」，文學方言還是在被翻譯，且不乏相對成功的案例。俄國學者布羅多維奇 (Brodovich, 1992, p. 355) 指出，含有方言成分的文本經過翻譯會遭受大量的意義流失，因此有些學者提出方言是「抗譯的」；然而，塞林格 (J. D. Salinger) 的《麥田捕手》(*The Catcher in the Rye*)、奧尼爾 (E. O'Neill) 的《榆樹下的欲望》(*Desire under the Elms*)、蕭伯納 (G. B. Shaw) 的名劇《賣花女》(*Pygmalion*) 等作品都已被譯成俄語，且這些譯本「被廣泛閱讀，得到很多讀者的讚美」，說明「方言是『抗譯的』這種極端觀點沒有事實依據」。有鑒於此，我們大可不必糾纏於「文學方言是否可譯」這個難有定論的論題，而應重點考察「哪一種譯法較可取」這個更有意義的問題。

參、常用的四種文學方言翻譯策略

本文所稱的「翻譯策略」指「譯者在把一個文本段譯成另一種語言的過程中遇到一個難題，為解決該難題而有意識採用的一種翻譯方法」(Lörscher, 1991, p. 76)。過去二十多年，西方學者集中討論的文學方言翻譯策略主要有四種：方言標準化譯法、方言對譯法、文學方言自創譯法和方言特徵淡化譯法。其中後兩種可歸入圖裏 (Toury, 1995, pp. 273-274) 所稱的「有意識補償」(conscious compensation) 類翻譯策略。以下述評西方學者對這四種翻譯策略的研究和論述，包括理論基礎、優劣、特點和實際效果等。⁸

一、方言標準化譯法 (Dialect Normalizing/Standardizing)

這種翻譯策略是指「將原文方言特徵譯成平淡無味的標準目標

⁸ 目前國內學者主要關注方言對譯法和方言特徵淡化譯法。為便於讀者進一步研讀，本文在評述西方研究時會提及國內相關研究。

語，令譯文中沒有明顯的方言痕跡」(Hervey, Higgins & Haywood, 1995, p. 112)。其理論基礎可歸結到圖裏提出的「更大標準化法則」(law of growing standardization)，即「在翻譯過程中，存在於原文中的文本關係往往被改變，有時甚至被完全忽略，代之以從目標語形式庫 (repertoire) 中選擇更常用的語言形式」(Toury, 1995, p. 268)。⁹筆者認為，「存在於原文中的文本關係」應包括標準語與方言之間的語言內部差異，因此圖裏所說的「從目標語形式庫中選擇更常用的語言形式」，可理解為譯者選用目標語規範形式處理原文方言特徵，其結果是「譯文往往表現出比原文更大的標準化傾向」(Toury, 1995, p. 268)。萊皮哈爾梅 (Leppihalme, 2000, pp. 259-260) 認為，圖裏的「更大標準化法則」即指標準化翻譯策略，可用於處理隱喻、功能歧義、文字遊戲、方言等翻譯難題。

皮姆借用管理學術語「風險管理」(risk management)，試圖修正圖裏提出的標準化法則。他認為，「譯者傾向於將原文語言標準化或化解原文的干擾，因為這是降低或轉移交際風險的兩個主要辦法」；標準化本質上是一種「規避風險的策略」，其根源是「譯者的活動不受獎勵結構的支配，因此譯者一般不會有冒險的意向」；「如果願意冒險的譯者會被獎賞（無論經濟上的、象徵性的還是社會獎賞），那麼他們就會去冒險，而不是設法轉移風險」(Pym, 2008, pp. 325-326)。顯然，圖裏對翻譯標準化現象提出了理論假設，皮姆則從經濟學和管理學視角對其進行分析，其中不乏為譯者辯護的意味（又見 Pym, 2015）。拉莫斯·平托 (Ramos Pinto, 2012, p. 159) 指出：促使譯者採用標準化譯法的外部制約因素有審查制度 (censorship)、機構施壓、翻譯職業地位低下、對語言準確性的理念等；語料庫資料分析顯示，標準化在譯本中是一個「反復出現的現象」，因而目前「已被視為一種翻譯共性 (translation universal)」。羅薩 (Rosa, 2012, p. 93) 進一步指出：「譯者不把地位較低、非標準的文學變體在譯文中再現出來，而是將其標準化，從而造成一個單聲 (monoglossic) 譯本，是因為其翻譯決策可能受制於各種動機和制約

⁹ 本文參照張南峰（2004，頁 54）的譯法，把 repertoire 譯為「形式庫」。

因素」，包括：

- (一) 給譯者的任務書中載明的編輯指導方針。
- (二) 目標文化中有約束力的翻譯規範。
- (三) 目標讀者以及譯者對目標讀者閱讀期待的推測。
- (四) 譯者難以確定一種既與原文方言對等又能為目標讀者接受的目標語方言。
- (五) 譯者試圖避免方言對譯法可能產生的並非出於作者本意的效果。
- (六) 委託人給譯者的時間緊、酬金低、翻譯工具和資源缺乏。

以上第三點及第五點屬於譯者的「動機」，其他都是外部「制約因素」。不難看出，皮姆、拉莫斯·平托和羅薩均強調經濟因素和職業地位對譯者選擇文學方言翻譯策略的潛在影響。

儘管譯者往往由於社會經濟因素的制約而採用方言標準化譯法，這種做法本身卻頗受翻譯學者的質疑或批評。埃爾維等人 (Hervey et al, 1995, p. 112) 認為，如果方言特徵只是偶然出現在原文中，譯者可採用標準化譯法；如果小說情節或人物形象塑造依賴方言，那麼「譯者就須設法向讀者指出原文中含有方言特徵」。桑切斯 (Sánchez, 1999, p. 308; 2009, pp. 221-228) 對《咆哮山莊》(*Wuthering Heights*) 幾種西班牙語譯文的考察發現，很多譯者用標準語翻譯方言，因為該譯法「儘管效果不盡如人意，卻是最不費力的」。阿澤維多 (Azevedo, 2009, p. 195) 考察了《唐吉訶德》(*The Ingenious Gentleman Don Quixote of La Mancha*) 第八章中比斯蓋紳士所說的蹩腳西班牙語的 12 種英譯文 (1612—2000 年間出版)，發現三位譯者採用了方言標準化譯法。¹⁰ 阿澤維多指出：對譯者來說，「最便利的辦法是全然忽略原文含有的非標準語言特徵，改用標準英語重寫」；但是，「用標準目標語翻譯原文方言簡化了譯者的工作，也使讀者的閱讀變得輕鬆，卻丟失了比斯蓋紳士這個人物形象塑造中的一個

¹⁰ 該段情節的中譯文參見楊絳譯《唐吉訶德》(上)(2011, 頁 50)。楊絳故意使用不規範的漢語語法，或顛倒中文詞序，例如「我不紳士？對上帝我發誓：你很撒謊！」，把比斯蓋人所說的蹩腳西班牙語譯得活靈活現。這種方法可算是方言特徵淡化譯法。當然，文學方言翻譯策略各有其優劣，不同的譯者會選用不同的譯法。

要素，即他說話的方式讓人覺得他是一個丑角」。阿澤維多的結論是：方言標準化譯法會扭曲人物形象，竄改原文風格，刪去文化涵義，因此應儘量避免採用。事實上，一些西方譯者意識到該譯法的不足，會在譯文相應位置添加「某人用某方言說道」之類的提示性詞語。桑切斯(Sánchez, 1999, p. 307)認為，「這些附加短語顯然能幫助讀者明白原作中用了方言」。

與以上學者不同，萊皮哈爾梅提出了辯證的觀點。她對一部當代芬蘭語小說英譯文的研究表明，把用方言寫成的人物對話譯成標準英語「會導致原作及作者的語言身份的丟失」，尤其是削弱方言「營造社會文化語境，賦予人物鮮明個性，增加幽默感」等功能，但「其結果未必只是負面的，因為比起語言身份，目標語讀者可能對譯文的其他方面（指小說的主題內容——引者注）更感興趣」（Leppihalme, 2000, pp. 247, 266）。萊皮哈爾梅(Leppihalme, 2000, p. 267)的結論是：「譯者只有在他們覺得值得做的情況下才會設法表現方言特徵，但那是要付出代價的」，「由於大多數英文讀者不注重原作的語言個性，其代價之一就是讀者數量的減少」。萊皮哈爾梅的辯證分析基於對文學方言的文學功能和譯文讀者接受的雙重考量，即方言標準化譯法會損害文學方言的文學功能，但從英文讀者接受的角度看卻是可以接受的。該個案研究表明，來自弱勢文化的文學作品想要進入強勢文化，並被目標讀者廣泛閱讀和接受，譯者往往被迫在翻譯策略上做出妥協，方言標準化譯法是對強勢目標文化的主流翻譯規範和讀者閱讀期待做出妥協的必然結果。

二、方言對譯法 (Dialect-for-Dialect Translation)

方言對譯法一般指選用某種目標語地域方言翻譯原文中的地域方言，其理論基礎出自英國學者卡特福德(J. C. Catford)。卡氏指出：「如果原文中某些片段（如小說對話）用一種不同於無標記方言(unmarked dialect)的方言寫成，譯者也許不得不選擇一種對等的目標語方言」；一個重要的選擇標準不是純地理位置上的對應，而是「人文地理或社會地

理上的對應」，例如，把用英格蘭東南部的倫敦東區方言 (Cockney) 寫成的人物對話譯成法文，「大多數譯者會選擇巴黎俚語 (Parigot) 作為對等的目標語方言，儘管這是一種法國北部的方言」。卡特福德承認，「這種翻譯對等是建立在語言變體（即倫敦東區方言與巴黎俚語）之間的：因為前者的方言標記主要體現在語音上，後者則主要體現在辭彙上，兩者的語音或辭彙特徵並不存在對應」(Catford, 1965, pp. 87-88)。依據卡氏的理論，一些西方翻譯學者認為特定情形下對等方言是存在的。維克與維克 (Wekker & Wekker, 1991) 指出，愛麗絲·沃克 (A. Walker) 的著名小說《紫色姐妹花》(*The Color Purple*) 中的美國黑人英語可以譯成非洲裔蘇里南人說的荷蘭語 (Surinamese Dutch)，因為兩者「在語言和社會文化涵義上是充分對等的」。桑切斯 (Sánchez, 1999, p. 308; 2009, pp. 206-210) 認為，用西班牙安達盧西亞方言 (Andalusian) 翻譯蕭伯納名劇《賣花女》中 Eliza 說的倫敦東區方言「相當有效」，因為該方言與倫敦東區方言的「社會、文化涵義相近」。不過，桑切斯 (Sánchez, 1999, p. 308) 也承認：「不管譯者處理得有多巧妙，這種譯法仍有其負面性，其中之一是譯文缺少自然的背景氛圍」。

與國內情況相似（參見王豔紅，2009a；朱達秋，2001；劉全福，1998；韓子滿，2002），很多西方學者質疑方言對譯法的理論基礎及實際效果，因此這種譯法的反對者遠遠多於支持者。紐馬克 (Newmark, 1988, p. 195) 認為，除非譯者精通威爾士方言，否則不必把法國作家左拉 (É. Zola) 筆下礦工說的方言替換成威爾士礦工說的土語，那樣做很不恰當；「鑒於當代英語方言日漸衰落，一篇譯成英語方言的譯文會顯得陳舊過時」。埃爾維等人 (Hervey et al, 1995, p. 113) 指出，方言對譯法「與所有的文化移植譯法一樣，冒著譯本顯得不協調的風險」；「把英格蘭東部諾福克郡土語掛在來自西班牙東部瓦倫西亞的鄉下人嘴上，會對整個譯本的真實性造成極壞的影響」。蘇格特 (Schogt, 1988, p. 116) 也認為，原文的地域方言特徵往往難以在目標語中匹配；蘇格蘭高地 (Scottish Highlands) 在很多方面與法國中央高原 (Massif Central) 對應，

但是用蘇格蘭高地土語對譯來自法國中央高原的農民所說的方言是「有風險的」，因為前者「在英文讀者心目中引起的聯想與原作的法國場景有衝突」。卡季什 (Kadish, 1994, p. 59) 發現，《湯姆叔叔的小屋》(*Uncle Tom's Cabin*) 的一個法譯本試圖尊重原作中的美國黑人英語以及廢奴主義的弦外之音，但由於譯者把黑人英語譯成比原文更加「不合語法」、「程式化」的法語，「實際上卻強化了原文中隱含的種族歧視的弦外之音」。

在「操縱學派」旗手勒菲維爾看來，選擇目標語地域方言對譯原作方言反映了譯者的意識形態，如選擇不當會引起文化排斥，影響譯本在該地域方言區的接受。勒菲維爾 (Lefevre, 1992, pp. 48-49) 發現，古希臘喜劇作家阿裏斯托芬 (Aristophanes) 在劇作《利西翠妲》(*Lysistrata*) 中把斯巴達人搬上雅典舞臺，他們說的蹩腳希臘語「造成一種喜劇效果」，而琳賽 (J. Lindsay) 的英譯本（1950 年初版）用蘇格蘭方言對譯，薩瑟蘭 (D. Sutherland)（1961 年初版）則用美國德克薩斯土語對譯。勒菲維爾指出：「兩位譯者都沒有考慮過思維定勢的『正確性』問題，也即認定一個亞群的文化比另一個優越的文化機制，也沒有想過把蘇格蘭方言或德克薩斯土語用在古雅典很可能產生年代混亂的後果 (anachronistic effect)」，因此，「琳賽譯本在蘇格蘭可能不會大受歡迎」，「薩瑟蘭譯本在美國南部可能不會產生太好的反響」。

瑪塔 (Määttä, 2004, pp. 321, 335-336) 認為，「語言的社會、種族和地域階層劃分各異，語言社團對書面化方言的容忍程度也有高低之分」，「因此原文準確的社會語言階層劃分是不可譯的」，也即方言對譯法難以準確再現方言的社會文化內涵。阿澤維多 (Azevedo, 2009, p. 194) 則指出，目標語中往往缺乏一種與原文方言對應的、能傳達其地域和社會文化內涵的非標準語言變體。因此，「學界對文學方言能否被成功譯成一種目標語方言頗有爭議」(Azevedo, 2000, p. 31)。

筆者注意到，對方言標準化譯法和方言對譯法的缺陷，以下三位學者的論述頗為精闢：克雷格 (Craig, 2006) 指出，它們都會引起「不可避免的翻譯流失」，「前者壓制敘事話語中的語言差異，對人物形象塑

造產生不利影響，後者導致內涵意義脫節 (connotative disjuncture)，有些讀者會覺得（故事場景）難以置信」；哈蒂姆與梅森 (Hatim & Mason, 1990, pp. 41, 45) 認為，標準化譯法會使原作者想要獲得的間離（或陌生化）效果 (alienating effect) 蕩然無存，方言對譯法則會產生「並非出於作者本意的效果」，即目標語方言在文本中會顯得「不自然」。

三、文學方言自創譯法

這是補償性翻譯策略之一，指譯者為處理作者運用的文學方言，「臨時創造一種不明確指涉目標語中某種語言變體的文學方言」(Azevedo, 2009, p. 196)。阿澤維多 (Azevedo, 2009, p. 194) 認為，這種譯者自創的文學方言具有的目標語特徵「能夠傳達——即使只是大致上傳達——原作中有助於人物性格刻畫的那些（方言具有的）地域、社會或文化內涵」。事實上，我們可在圖裏提出的「文本素譯法」(textemic translation) 中找到這種譯法的理論依據。圖裏建議譯者可用「文本素譯法」處理隱喻、方言等翻譯難題，也即「把與出發語文本中發現的文本關係對等的文本關係和能夠實現這些文本關係功能的目標語詞項臨時組合起來，將出發語文本素替換掉」(Toury, 1995, p. 274)。就文學方言運作機制而言，圖裏所稱的「出發語文本素」是指原作中使用的文學方言，「出發語文本中發現的文本關係」是指標準語與方言之間的語言內部差異，因此譯者把這種語言內部差異與能夠表現這種差異的目標語詞項臨時組合，其結果就是創造了一種用來替換原作所用文學方言的特殊文學方言。圖裏 (Toury, 1995, p. 274) 指出，採用文本素譯法的譯文「會偏離目標語形式庫，從而可能影響譯本的可接受性」，因此認為該譯法「在翻譯實踐中是一種邊緣的翻譯策略，是規則之外的例外」。

阿澤維多 (Azevedo, 2009, p. 196) 的案例研究顯示：1755 年出版的一種英譯本用英國西南部方言的某些語言特徵翻譯比斯蓋紳士說的蹩腳西班牙語，這是包括亨利·菲爾丁 (H. Fielding) 在內的幾位 18 世紀英國小說家用來描寫鄉村人物的一種文學方言。換言之，該譯者採用了基於

某種現成文學方言的自創譯法。阿澤維多 (Azevedo, 2009, p. 196) 認為，「（譯文的）這些地域特徵足以使人感受到一種土俗的口語，當代英文讀者也能看出來，從而聯想到敘事人提到此人說話『既算不得西班牙語，更算不得比斯蓋語』」。顯然，這種自創譯法對譯者的文學修養和方言敏感度要求極高，另一方面，選擇目標語作家用過的某種與原作相匹配的文學方言，也殊非易事。

阿澤維多 (Azevedo, 2009, p. 196) 還發現，為翻譯比斯蓋紳士說的拙劣西班牙語，《唐吉訶德》的一個早期英譯者莫托 (P. A. Motteux)（其譯本初版於 1701 年）「沒有嘗試模仿某種英語方言，而是編造了一種與原文方言相匹配的蹩腳英語」。莫托在譯本腳註中解釋：「比斯蓋人通常都操一口蹩腳的西班牙語，因此英譯本做了相應的處理」（參見 Azevedo, 2009, p. 196）。有趣的是，1873 年出版的一種譯本吸收了莫托的方言自創譯文；1885 年出版的另一種譯本同樣採用了蹩腳英語，而該譯本的 1981 年再版本（經他人修訂）僅對原譯者編造的蹩腳英語「稍作修改」（參見 Azevedo, 2009, pp. 196-197）。也就是說，在阿澤維多考察的《唐吉訶德》的 12 種英譯本中，採用文學方言自創譯法的占到三分之一，說明這是西方譯者常用的一種翻譯策略，可見圖裏關於文本素譯法是「一種邊緣的翻譯策略」的論斷並不確切。筆者相信，一些有創作才華的國內翻譯家也用過這種譯法，但因目前相關研究缺失而尚未被發掘，著實令人遺憾。

上文提到，選擇目標語文學方言很不易，西班牙學者桑切斯·加爾維斯 (Sánchez Galvis, 2012) 提出的「方言重構模式」(model of dialect reconstruction) 似乎有助於解決這個難題。該學者指出，方言重構模式旨在修復方言這種語言變異標記在文學作品中的特殊意義，具體做法是：收集有語言變異標記的文學作品，創建一個語料庫，並進行標注；標注集可幫助我們析出語言變異標記機制，因此譯者可利用該語料庫鎖定方言標記，並將它們用於譯文中，譯本就能顯示語言變異，也即重構方言的意義和功能。然而，創建一個足夠大的語料庫不僅耗時費力費

錢，而且研究者必須熟練掌握軟體應用技術和數學統計手段，因此，這種做法個體譯者一般不會去嘗試，一般只有大型翻譯機構才有可能做到。

四、方言特徵淡化譯法

這是另一種常用的補償性翻譯策略。上文提到的阿澤維多 (Azevedo, 2009, pp. 197-198) 的研究顯示，四種英譯本採用「不正規程度較淺的英語形式」處理原作方言，且都是較近期的譯本（出版於 1949、1950、1995、2000 年），說明該譯法為當代西方譯者所常用。同時，這種折中的做法也為不少中外學者所贊成。¹¹ 鑒於在翻譯過程中不可能完全保留文學方言的語言特徵以及準確傳達其社會文化內涵，一些學者提出「方言功能保留論」作為方言特徵淡化譯法的理論基礎。例如，紐馬克 (Newmark, 1988, pp. 194-195) 認為，「在翻譯過程中，方言必然遭受某種程度的意義流失，但這並不意味著方言不適合翻譯」；譯者的任務首先是確定方言在原作中的功能，包括「指示語言的俚俗用法，強調社會地位差異，標明地方文化特色」，「然後把原作方言有節制地譯成能暗示方言特徵的自然俚俗、可能沒有階級差別的口語」。¹²

紐馬克的理論主張為不少西方學者和譯者所認同，但對於如何「淡化」方言特徵及「淡化」到什麼程度，各人的理解和界定各異。例如，英國漢學家詹納爾 (W. J. F. Jenner) 針對他翻譯老舍小說《我這一輩子》時遇到的北京方言指出：譯者在處理出發語文化特有的方言語彙時，不能把上海人換成紐約人或倫敦人，就像不能把老舍筆下的老巡警變成一個假冒的倫敦員警一樣。對於文學方言賦予作品的地方色彩，詹納爾建議用「淡化原色彩」的辦法處理，即用通俗、口語化的英語翻譯，而不是使用「鮮豔卻對不上號的色彩」（即用某種英語地域方言對譯），因

¹¹ 國內相關論述參見王豔紅（2008）；卞之琳（2002，頁 132）；朱達秋（2001）；陳勝利（2013）；韓子滿（2002）；Han（2004）。

¹² 需要指出的是，方言特徵淡化譯法基於方言功能保留論，因此這種淡化必須有個度，即譯文中有明顯的方言痕跡，否則就是標準化譯法了。

為「一張拍得好的黑白照比一張俗豔的彩照更能真實反映一個人的容貌」(Jenner, 1990, p. 194)。

埃爾維等人 (Hervey et al, 1995, p. 113) 認為，方言對譯法屬於「極端做法」，「最穩妥的方法可能是有節制地運用讀者能辨認出是方言的目標語特徵，同時這些特徵不會被讀者清晰無誤地看出屬於某種方言」。哈蒂姆與梅森 (Hatim & Mason, 1997, pp. 97-109) 則認為，譯者可用經過簡化的標準目標語再現方言的特定功能，而無須在目標語中尋找所謂的「最佳地域方言」。布羅多維奇 (Brodovich, 1997, p. 25) 指出，在俄羅斯，譯者通常用一種「通用的非標準俄語」翻譯原文中的文學方言；這種特殊俄語的「語言形式不符合公認的文學標準，但又不屬於某種地域方言」。英葛蘭德—迪米特洛娃 (Englund Dimitrova, 1997, pp. 50, 62-64) 考察了一部瑞典語小說的英、俄譯本，發現譯者「把小說人物說的方言譯成一種明顯的通俗口語」。她認為，譯者那樣做可能有兩個原因，一是英語、俄語的標準化程度較高，「譯者認為有責任遵循、維護目標語書面形式的規範」，二是譯者認為不同語言的地域方言之間不存在「內涵意義上的對等」，而且方言對譯法把故事從出發語文化移出，植入目標語文化，「違背了許多現代社會中有關嚴肅文學的翻譯規範」。

皮姆也主張方言特徵淡化譯法。他指出：「譯者要翻譯的不是語言變體本身，……而是語言內部的差異，橫組合關係上距離的改變，對語言規範的相對偏離。如能把這種偏離翻譯出來，那麼可以說語言變體標記已經譯好了」(Pym, 2000, p. 72)。皮姆認為，任何目標語方言標記詞，包括從出發語文化或其他文化譯借的詞 (calque)，都可用於翻譯這種語言偏離，但是譯者須注意「作者對方言的仿擬 (parody) 和真實性 (authenticity) 所作的調整，以及尊重兩者差異本身攜帶的相對價值」(Pym, 2000, p. 72)。根據皮姆的觀點，譯者無需選定一種對應的目標語方言，只需確定原文中仿擬之所在，例如《哈克貝利·芬歷險記》(*Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*) 中吉姆說的美國黑人英語，然後在譯文相應位置或補償位置引入標誌仿擬的語言成分（如從美國黑人英語譯借的詞語）即

可。針對趨近真實性的語言變體，皮姆認為，「明智的譯者只需把目標語讀者感覺相對陌生的語言成分散置在譯本中，因為任何一種文化都有陌生未知的東西」(Pym, 2000, pp. 73-74)。

肆、結語

本文主要結論及筆者就此論題和未來研究路徑的若干思考如下：

- 一、文學方言之所以對譯者是一大挑戰，不只是因為語言變體轉換上的不對等，更是因為方言的社會文化意義很難移植到目標語言文化中。這決定了其相對不可譯性，而中西文化迥異的事實更加劇了這種不可譯性。面對這一難題，譯者都會尋求應對之策，但從另一個角度看，這種不可譯性不完全是負面的，它可能是各國語言文化在翻譯之後不被全部化約的保障。
- 二、方言標準化譯法最省事便利，但容易抹去「文化他者」之聲，因此理論上最不可取。方言對譯法看似合情合理，為不少譯者採用，但對於譯者應以何種標準選擇「對等」的目標語地域方言，目前學界尚無定論，且該譯法容易造成作品內容與形式的不協調，甚至引起讀者的文化排斥心理，從而影響譯本在目標地域方言區的接受。當下西方學界逐漸達成共識，認為作為折中的補償譯法，文學方言自創譯法和方言特徵淡化譯法比較可取、可行。前者大體上能夠傳達方言的地域及社會文化內涵意義，再現方言的文學文體功能，但可能影響譯本的可接受性；後者一定程度上可以保留、再現原作方言的文學文體功能，幾乎不影響譯本的可接受性。文學方言自創譯法對譯者的要求極高，而方言特徵淡化譯法的可操作性較高。
- 三、目前國內翻譯學界對方言標準化譯法和文學方言自創譯法關注不足，既表明國內文學方言翻譯實踐不足，更說明研究嚴重缺失。文學方言寫作是一種普遍現象，無論中譯外還是外譯中，都避不開文學方言翻譯這個難題。在當下提倡中國文學對外推介的大背景下，

如何處理中國文學作品（如擅長方言寫作的莫言、賈平凹、閻連科、韓少功、王禎和、黃春明等當代作家）中的文學方言，使譯本既能被海外讀者閱讀、接受，又能讓說方言的中國「文化他者」發聲，保留一點「中國鄉土的味道」，是擺在國內研究者面前的一個重要課題。

四、正如陳吉榮（2010）所指出，方言翻譯研究在當今中西翻譯理論研究中都「處於邊緣化地位」，「需從根本上解決基礎理論建設問題」。如上所述，西方學者透過理論思考或個案研究，對文學方言的運作機制、可譯性及其翻譯策略的理論基礎、特點、效果等進行了切實有效的探索，比國內研究全面深入得多，但尚缺乏系統性，更缺乏實證研究。筆者認為，今後須開展的重要課題包括：

- （一）採用語料庫手段，找出譯者實際使用的所有文學方言翻譯策略（包括常規與非常規，主流與非主流），對譯者處理文學方言的風格進行個案研究，以及量化分析各種翻譯策略的特點和效果。
- （二）採用問卷調查、訪談等方法，瞭解目標讀者對文學方言翻譯現狀的回饋以及對翻譯策略的期待、偏好等。
- （三）採用描述性翻譯研究法 (Descriptive Translation Studies)，析出影響譯者翻譯策略選擇的各種社會文化因素和主觀因素。
- （四）採用翻譯過程研究法，包括有聲思維法 (TAPS--Think-aloud Protocols)、按鍵記錄法 (keyboard logging)、眼球追蹤法 (eyeball tracking) 等，考察譯者翻譯文學方言的全過程。
- （五）採用翻譯社會學研究法 (sociology of translation)，比較分析權力關係、資本結構不對稱（從弱勢文學場域翻譯到強勢文學場域還是相反）以及語言地位差異（從中心語言翻譯到邊緣語言還是相反）對譯者選擇文學方言翻譯策略的影響。

五、在筆者所見的文學方言翻譯研究中，貝爾特勒 (Berthele, 2000) 對《哈克貝利·芬歷險記》中吉姆說的黑人英語的案例分析可謂獨樹一幟：其目的不是評價哪一種翻譯策略可取、可行，而是透過考察目標社

會文化對美國黑人英語態度的歷史變遷，描述、解釋翻譯策略的歷時變化及其動因。貝爾特勒對 1890 – 1997 年間出版的 13 種德譯本的語言特徵分析表明，1960 年代前出版的譯本大多把吉姆的口語譯成一種「語法被簡化的洋涇浜德語 (pidgin)」(即文學方言自創譯法)，「貶低了吉姆的語言、認知能力」，晚出譯本則將其譯成「不再背負社會語言汙名的通俗德語口語」(即方言特徵淡化譯法)。貝爾特勒透過譯者序或譯後記對黑人英語的評價文字發現：1960 年代前吉姆被描述為「愚蠢的小黑鬼」，到了 70 年代，德國讀者被告知這本小說「控訴了奴隸制和對美國黑人的蔑視」；對原作的這種「反種族歧視性質的解讀」使得譯者「讓吉姆說一種接近標準德語的語言」(Berthele, 2000, pp. 588, 605)。該研究表明：目標社會文化對原作文學方言（尤其社會方言）態度的改變，會影響譯者的翻譯策略選擇，也反映了目標文化翻譯規範的變遷。貝爾特勒採用的正是描述性翻譯研究法，值得我們仿效。該項研究也說明，文學方言並無絕對正確或適當的譯法，強力主張特定譯法只不過是反映了社會在歷史進程中不同的價值觀，而此價值觀之形成又反映了翻譯政治下的權力關係。

最後須指出的是，當下不少西方翻譯學者熱衷於研究視聽翻譯 (Audio-Visual Translation) 中方言成分的處理問題（參見 Ranzato, 2010; Rosa, 2012; Zabalbeascoa, 2011），而傳播媒介、翻譯方式和受眾的改變，要求視聽譯者採用有別於文學作品的翻譯策略。這自然不在本文範圍內，而是另一篇論文探討的話題。

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The Translation of Puns and Allusions: A Case Study of the Chinese Translation of Shakespeare's Play Script on *Hamlet*

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Introduction

Translation can be viewed as a communicative device that brings together aspects from a variety of relevant fields, including literary and cultural studies, psychology and linguistics (Gutknecht, 2002). For literary translation, translators need to deal with figure of speech, puns, wordplay, and cultural expressions that involve multiplicity of meanings. Drama translation is a specific area in translation studies. Among other genres of literature, drama is not only written to be read but also to be staged. In translating Shakespeare's play, translators may face the challenge of conveying the playful effects of puns and allusions.

Puns and allusions play an extremely important role since they are intended for dramatic effects, and are expected to evoke immediate responses among the audiences. Due to the asymmetry of language systems, Chinese and English, and cultures (western and eastern), it occurs some linguistic difficulties (e.g. the semantic or pragmatic effects) in shifting one language into another language to achieve the equivalent dramatic effects in translation. An effective translation depends on whether the target readers can make sense of the dramatic effects of pun and allusion conveyed in the translations. The translation strategies that translators used also influence target readers' understanding of the text.

This paper adopts Delabastita's model of translation techniques for pun and Leppihalme's approaches for rendering allusions to discuss the translation of Shakespeare's play script on *Hamlet* by Bian Zhi-lin (卞之琳). This paper pays particular attention to the analyses of the specific linguistic art works of pun and allusion, and what their possible effects are in the Chinese translation.

Analysis and Discussion

Pun

Puns are one form of rhetoric employed to attain a humorous effect by exploiting the multiple meanings of words or phrases, and it can reflect an essential characteristic of the linguistic system. McMillan Dictionary (2015) explains that pun is “a humorous use of a word that has two meanings, or of words with the same sound but different meanings.” To put it more plainly, pun is a means of creating a strong rhetorical effect by the confrontation of two meanings. The main purpose of using puns is for the intended humorous or rhetorical effects of the texts. The effect of a pun should be communicatively significant; it can be humorous, attention getting, or persuasive.

In categorizing puns, one should consider the textual phenomena for how the effects of a pun are exploited. Delabastita (1993) linguistically categorized wordplay in English into four types: homonymy, homophony, homography, and paronymy. Homonymy refers to the situation where two words have the same sound and spelling but different meanings (e.g. “present”). Homophony occurs when two words, which have different meanings, have identical sounds but are spelled in a different way (e.g. “bear” and “bare”). Homography indicates that words are different in pronunciation but identical in writing (e.g. “record”). Paronymy are words slightly different in both sounds and spelling, and the ambiguities arise from the graphemic and phonemic similarities (e.g. “fig” and “pig”).

Furthermore, on the aspect of syntactic relationship, he suggested that a pun can be either vertical or horizontal. The vertical puns carry at least two levels of meaning, the surface meaning and the underlying meaning, which are layered in the single expression of the ambiguity of words or phrases. While a

vertical pun holds one pivot term that creates double meanings, the horizontal pun has two. That means the two similar linguistic components occur one after another in the text, and the second meaning is created by the repetition of the words.

According to Delabastita's studies (1993 & 1997), he found that the usual translation techniques could not entirely apply to the linguistic- and cultural-specificity of puns; therefore, he presented the following possible translation strategies for wordplay:

1. PUN→PUN: transferring the source text (in the following referred to as ST) pun into target text (in the following referred to as TT) pun
2. PUN→NON-PUN: transforming an ST pun into non-punning manner in the TT
3. PUN→RELATED RHETORICAL DEVICE: substituting the ST pun with other related rhetorical devices such as repetition or metaphor in the TT
4. PUN→ZERO: omission of the ST pun in the TT
5. PUN ST = PUN TT: direct copying the ST pun in its translation
6. NON-PUN→PUN: compensating the loss of the ST pun by adding a new TT pun
7. ZERO→PUN: creating a totally new pun in the TT
8. EDITORIAL TECHNIQUES: providing greater description of the ST pun by editorial techniques such as footnote and commentary

In the field of drama translation, the discussion of translating wordplay from one language to another language is of great value since wordplay vehicles dramatic effects. With the criterion of Delabastita's model of translation puns, the following examples are given to show how the translator manages to render the diverse types of pun in *Hamlet*.

Example 1

[William Shakespeare: Act 1 Scene 2]

POLONIUS: He hath, my lord, wrung from me my slow leave by laborsome petition, and at last upon his will I sealed my hard consent:

[Bian's translation]

波：陛下，他苦苦哀求，舌敝唇焦，好容易挖出我嘴裡「可以」兩個字，我在他決心上蓋下了生硬的「同意」。

Example 1 shows the wordplays on vertical homonymic: will and hard. For the vertical homonymic puns, according to the context, the words “will” and “hard” involves double meanings. For the first layer of meaning, “will” refers to wish or desire, and “hard” means reluctant and unwilling. Based on the word “sealed,” the two words also bring another meaning, “will” can also refer to legal document or testament, and “hard” is implied as physically hard since signet-ring is used in sealing document.

In Bian's translation, the ST pun “will” was translated as “決心” and kept the similar textual effect of the ST. The phrase “在決心上蓋下……” turned the abstract idea “決心” into a concrete object like a document. For the second ST pun “hard,” Bian rendered them in a non-punning manner, whereas the double meanings of the ST pun “hard” remained in the translation. In the technique of “Pun to Non-pun,” as Delabastita (1993) mentioned, it could be divided into two subtypes: selective non-pun and non-selective non-pun. In the former case, one of the two linguistic meanings was selected depending on the coherence of the context. For non-selective non-pun, the two layers of meaning were reserved in the TT. When the ST pun was vertical type, Delabastita (1993) suggested that the translator had the possibility of rendering both meanings syntactically as shown in Bian's translation. Bian tried to keep the double meaning of “hard” by distributing the ambiguous senses of lexical item over

two or more lexical units. In Bian’s translation, the phrase “生硬的同意” (a reluctant permission) showed the permission from Polonius is not easily granted as the surface meaning of “hard,” and the word “生硬的” (firm) could refer to the second meaning of “hard” as the ST does.

Furthermore, in order to compensate the loss of the ST puns, Bian integrated another translation technique to recreate the dramatic effect of the context. Bian adopted the technique of “Non-pun to Pun” by adding a new TT pun of “可以” (agreement) and “同意” (consent), which the punning effect arose from the phonemic similarity of the sound “以” (yǐ) and “意” (yì). Then Bian reproduced a similar playful effect as the ST pun. For target readers, they could easily recognize the playful effect of the new punning words in the translation by the hint of the quotation marks of the two words “以” (yǐ) and “意” (yì).

Example 2

[William Shakespeare: Act 1 Scene 2] KING: But now, my cousin Hamlet, and my <u>son</u>,— HAMLET: Not so, my lord; I am too much i’ the <u>sun</u>
[Bian’s translation] 王：得，哈姆雷特，我的侄兒，我的兒— 哈：陛下，太陽大，受不了這個熱勁「兒」。 註「太陽」也指滿廷的光輝，原文中「晒太阳」還有被逐出戶、享受不到合法權利的寓意。

Example 2 illustrates the wordplays on horizontal homophonic pun: son and sun and vertical homonymic: sun. This horizontal pun is based on the phonemic similarities between “son” and “sun” that Hamlet uses to mock at what King said to him. The phrase “in the son” implies that the relationship

between Hamlet and the King from uncle and nephew to stepfather and son. The phrase “in the sun” refers to all Hamlet’s behaviours are in the glare of publicity, moreover, it is used as an irony by Hamlet to satirize the King is hypocritical.

Bian’s translation showed how the TT contained a pun that could be identified as one translation approach to the ST pun. The horizontal homophonic pun (sun and son) was turned into horizontal homonymic pun “兒” (ér) in the translation that had both same phonic and spelling forms but differed in meaning. For the first word “兒” (ér), it referred to the son, and the second one worked as function word for describing the heat of sun. By doing so, the translation was achieved the similar dramatic effect as the original had. However, it needed to spend some time to figure out the intended playful effect of the translation, therefore, the translation might not evoke the strong readers’ response as the original.

Moreover, Bian offered extra information about the ST pun by using footnote, and it was one types of what Delabastita (1993) called editorial techniques. According to the footnote in Bian’s translation, the “sun” in the ST could reflect to the idiom “out of heaven’s blessing into the warm sun” that meant someone was stepping into much rough life from a good condition of life. It was used to infer that Hamlet was out of home and disinherited from the Crown. In this case, the phrase “in the sun” also belonged to vertical homonymic pun, yet Bian’s translation lost the implied meaning of “in the sun” for describing Hamlet’s rough condition. Footnote could offer greater information about the ST to readers, but this kind of translation technique might decrease the performability of the play. Moreover, the target readers would respond to the TT until they read the footnote.

Example 3

[William Shakespeare: Act 1 Scene 2]
HAMLET: [Aside.] A little more than <u>kin</u> , and less than <u>kind</u> .
[Bian's translation]
哈：親上加親，越親越不相親！

Example 3 plays on horizontal paronymic pun: “kin” and “kind.” As the horizontal paronymic pun, the “kin” and “kind” are nearly but with different in spelling and pronunciation, and the ambiguity of the meaning arises from the graphemic and phonemic similarity of two words. In the source text, the word “kin” signifies that Hamlet and his uncle, the King, become closer relatives through incestuous marriage between his mother and the King. But they still do not belong to the natural paternity as Hamlet and his father, the previous King.

Bain had succeeded in creating a TT pun by exploiting the phonemic and graphemic similarity of word “親” (qīn). In the line “親上加親，越親越不相親” (qīn shàng jiā qīn yuè qīn yuè bù xiāng qīn), the use of words “親” (qīn) was classified as horizontal homonymic pun with slightly semantic change to meet its immediate context. The first “親” (qīn) referred to the relation of Hamlet and his uncle, and the second one implied the incestuous relationship between Hamlet’s uncle and his mother. For the third word, “親” (qīn) meant their relationship become much closer through the marriage between his uncle and his mother. The last “親” (qīn) became the verb describing that they were not deeply attached to each other.

The translation not only produced the similar dramatic effect as “kin” and “kind” did in the ST, but also increased another playful effect of the text by the repetition of the word “親” (qīn). Apparently, the target readers could notice the ironic effect of the translated phrases “親上加親” and “越親越不相親” since the implied meanings of these two phrases are contradictory to each other overtly. The former one always refers to good thing, whereas, the later is

used for describing something negative. Therefore, by adopting the technique of “ST pun to TT pun,” Bian had achieved to render the horizontal paronymic pun in the ST as horizontal homonymic pun in the TT.

Example 4

[William Shakespeare: Act 5 Scene1]

FIRST CLOWN: A' was the first that ever bore arms.

SECOND CLOWN: Why, he had none.

FIRST CLOWN: What art a heathen? How dost thou understand the Scripture? The Scripture says Adam digged: could he dig without arms? I'll put another question to thee: if thou answerest me not to the purpose, confess thyself—

[Bian's translation]

甲：他是開天闢地第一個裝起門面、掛起「家徽」來的。

乙：啊，他連衣服都不穿，還講究什麼「家灰」「家火」的！

甲：怎麼，你是個邪教徒嗎？你連聖經都不懂嗎？聖經上說亞當掘地：掘地不用「傢伙」嗎？他的「傢伙」就是他的「家徽」。
我再考你一個問題。要是你回答不上來，乾脆認招

Example 4 displays Shakespeare's wit in playing with words. In the ST pun the horizontal homonymic relation of the word “arm” is exploited. In the original context, the first occurrence of the word “arm” refers to heraldry that represents one's status as a gentleman, but the second one is intended as the upper limbs of the body. According to Zuber (1980, as cited in Chung, 2008, p. 46), “a play is dependent on the immediacy of the impact of the audience.” Therefore, the language of drama should be translated in a way that carries the dramatic effects to evoke the immediate responses among the audience.

In order to recreate the humorous effect occurring in the ST, the technique of “Non-pun to Pun” was used by Bain. Bian added two more sound punning words “家灰” (jiāhūi) and “家火” (jiāhǔo) to echo the translation

of “arm,” “家徽” (heraldry; jiāhūi) and “傢伙” (tools; jiāhǔo) in Chinese. The new TT puns “家灰” (jiāhūi) and “家火” (jiāhǔo) were added right after the sentence “why, he had none.” Bain made the semantic shift of “手臂” (arm) into “傢伙” (tool; jiāhǔo) to rise the phonemic similarity with “家火” (jiāhǔo). The horizontal puns, based on the phonemic similarities between “家徽” (jiāhūi), “家灰” (jiāhūi), “家火” (jiāhǔo), and “傢伙” (jiāhǔo), were exploited in the TT to echo with the dramatic effect of the ST pun. Moreover, the sentence “他的「傢伙」就是他的「家徽」” (the tool is his heraldry) was added for highlighting the punning effect of words.

In this case, Bian’s translation showed the analogue effect of the ST by way of the tongue twister-like texts. It was humorous that could make readers laugh, whereas, the overuse of punning words in the translation might make the whole text become verbose. Therefore, some readers might think the effect of the translated text was not effective enough.

Allusions

Allusion is an implied reference especially used in literary works. It is based on the common belief, historical or cultural events, and literary heritages that are shared with the writer and the readers. In literary works, the allusions can not only help to explain the meaning of the text, but also to intend the conventions that the author works (Ruokonen, 2010). Moreover, Chris Baldick (as cited in Chung, 2008, p. 108) mentions that “the technique of allusion is an economical means of calling upon the history or the literary tradition that author and readers are assumed to share” since it can enrich the works without redundant explanation for the implication to be inferred.

Leppihalme (1992 & 1997) classified allusions into two main types: proper name (PN) and key-phrase (KP) allusions. Proper name allusions can be real-life or fictional figures, names of well-known people such as writers, artists,

or celebrities, and name of the places, and so on. This type of allusions is sometimes borrowed from myths or Bible. For key-phrase allusions, it is usually originated from the slogans of advertisements, the lines of movies, cliché or proverb, popular beliefs, and the stories.

In addition, Kirillov (2003) and Sahebbonar (2006, as cited in Khadem & Vahid Dastjerdi, 2012) proposed that allusions could also be divided into diverse thematic groups, such as religion allusions, literary allusions, mythological allusions, and historical allusions. For religion allusions, it can refer to the verse from Holy Scripture, or the proper names related with specific religion such as the name of holy places. Literary allusions intend to the indirect references to another literary works that it can overtly understand by the readers. Mythological allusions are borrowed from the myths which contain large tales of gods, goddesses, and heroes, their births and spirit. Applying names or events from social customs, history, well-known places or celebrities form a group of cultural and historical allusions.

Since allusions seems to be culture-bound items and be understood by people who belong to that culture, for translators and readers, without being aware of the implicit reference, it will be hard for them to figure out the implied meaning here, then, the effect of allusion will be lost. Leppihalme (1997) proposed several potential translation strategies for allusions and those were summarized below. She made the distinction between proper name allusions and key-phrase allusions since the two groups of allusions required slightly different approaches for rendering it.

Strategies for translating proper name allusions:

1. Retention of name: remaining the PN allusion in the TT, it can be either in its original form nor in conventional TT form; furthermore, it includes two subcategories as follows:

- A. only use the PN allusion without any explanation

- B. providing greater information about the PN allusion by additional guidance or editorial devices such as footnote
- 2. Replacement of PN allusion with another ST name or TT name that are more familiar to the TT readers
- 3. Omission of PN allusion in the TT: it can be either completely omitted the allusive name in the TT nor transfer the sense of the allusion by other means such as a common noun

Possible strategies for translating key-phrase allusions:

- 1. Use of a standard translation, if it is available
- 2. Literal translation: rendering the meaning of KP allusion without regarding the contextual or connotative meaning
- 3. Providing further information of the KP allusion by extra-allusive guidance in the text, or by footnotes , endnotes, or other additional explanation outside the text
- 4. Simulated familiarity or internal marking the allusion: introducing the textual features that indicates the presence of the KP allusion in the text
- 5. Replacement by a preformed TT item
- 6. Rephrasing the allusion with an overt explanation of its meaning
- 7. Recreating the effect of the KP allusion by the creative construction of a passage that implies the connotation of the allusion
- 8. Omitting the KP allusions in the TT

Based on the principles of rendering allusions by Leppihalme (1997), the following examples are shown to analyze how Bain dealing with such specific linguistic items.

Example 5

[William Shakespeare: Act 1 Scene 2]

HAMLET: [...] Or that the Everlasting had not fixed his cannon 'gainst
self-slaughter! O God! O God!

[Bian's translation]

哈：[...] 但願天經地義並沒有一條嚴禁自殺的戒律！上帝啊！上帝
啊！

Example 5 serves as an example of religion KP allusion. The phrase “against self-slaughter” originates from the Ten Commandments in Holy Scripture. The Ten Commandments has been a set of disciplines for Christians to follow in their lives. And the main concept of the Ten Commandments is widely spread around the world that even non-Christians can get the ideas. Moreover, the discipline of “against self-slaughter” can be also found in other religious doctrines.

In this case, the concept of the KP allusion was familiar to both western and eastern culture. Bain tried to render the KP allusion “against self-slaughter” (自殺的戒律) in a standard translation manner which what Leppihalme (1997, p. 127) mentioned “a preformed T^T version of a common ST.” Furthermore, Bian used the technique of recreation to increase the effect of the allusive phrase. Bian translated the word “everlasting” into “天經地義” (unalterable principle) as an internal marking in the T^T to confirm the absolute standard of the Ten Commandments. By doing so, the target readers could easily gain the idea of the T^T.

Example 6

[William Shakespeare: Act 1 Scene 2] HAMLET: [...] So excellent a king; that was, to this, <u>Hyperion</u> to <u>a satyr</u> [...] A little mont, or ere those shoes were old with which she followed my poor father's body, like <u>Niobe</u>, all tears [...] My father's brother, but no more like my father than I to <u>Hercules</u> [...]
[Bian's translation] 哈：[...] 這樣好的一位國王，比起這一位簡直是<u>海底亮</u>比<u>薩徒</u>；[...] 短短一個月，她像<u>淚人兒</u>一樣給我父親送葬去穿的鞋子還一點都沒有穿舊呢 [...] 我這個叔父可絕不像他的哥哥，正如我不像<u>赫勾列</u>啊！ [...] 註1 海底亮，希臘神話中的太陽神，號稱最美的男性神祇；薩徒，山精，形狀是半人半馬，以淫佚著名，因此後世也常以此名稱色鬼。 註2 這裡並非表明哈姆雷特是文弱的；他也武藝高強，只是並非赫勾列（希臘神話中的大力士英雄）型的大漢。

Example 6 displays mythological PN allusions: Hyperion, a satyr, Niobe and Hercules. “Hyperion,” “a satyr,” “Niobe,” and “Hercules” are the names from mythology. All these belong to proper name of mythological allusions. In Greek literature, “Hyperion” is one of the twelve Titans and is ascribed as “God of watchfulness, wisdom, and light.” “Satyr” is most commonly described in Greek Mythology as having the upper half of a man and the lower half of a goat creature living in the mountain, including a goat-tail and goat-like ears. And it is always with the features of licentiousness, loving wine and woman. Hamlet uses such two opposite expressions of two characters to build the images of his father, the dead King, and his uncle, the present King.

In Bian's translation, the two ST allusive proper names “Hyperion”

(hǎibìliàng, 海底亮) and “Satyr” (sàtú, 薩徒) were retained via transliteration in the TT with the detailed explanation of the characters in Greek Mythology outside the text by footnote. By using the technique of footnoting, the TT readers could gain more knowledge of the unfamiliar culture-bound items that might help them to comprehend the whole context. The same technique was used for translating the following proper name of mythological allusion, Hercules. Hercules is the Roman name for the Greek divine hero Heracles. He is famous for his strength and the far-ranging adventures. Here, Bian rendered it as “赫勾列” (hègōuliè) through transliteration. In the footnote, Bain not only provided the information of the Greek mythological hero, but also explained the reason for comparing Hamlet and Hercules.

Niobe is another female character in Greek Mythology, who is punished for her hubris by Leto, who sent Apollo and Artemis to kill her children. With the sorrow of loss all her children, she turns into stone and, as she tears unceasingly, water starts to come from her petrified figure. In the ST, the image of Niobe’s iconic tear corresponded to the Queen’s sorrow of for the dead King. Here, Bian used another technique to deal with the PN allusion. The mythological allusion was omitted in the TT but he translated the sense of the allusion, Niobe, into the common noun “淚人兒” (a person was in floods of tears).

In this example, Bian used two different kinds of techniques in dealing with the mythological PN allusions. For the technique of retention ST allusion with detailed explanation outside the text, readers could gain greater information of the allusion. However, in some way, footnotes might distract readers’ attention from reading and the intended playful effect of the allusion may be decreased. In contrast, replacing the ST allusion with another TT name may not be fidelity to the ST but efficacy that the implicit sense of allusion can be easily recognized by the TT readers.

Example 7

[William Shakespeare: Act 4 Scene 5] OPHELIA: There's <u>rosemary, that's for remembrance</u>: pray you, love, remember: and there is <u>pansies, that's for thoughts</u>. LAERTES: A document in madness; thoughts and remembrance fitted. OPHELIA: There's <u>fennel</u> for you, and <u>columbines</u>: there's <u>rue</u> for you: and here's some for me: we may call it herbs of grace o' Sundays: O, you must wear your rue with a difference. There's a <u>daisy</u>: I would give you some <u>violets</u>, but they withered all when my father died: they say he made a end	[Bian's translation] 莪：這點花是<u>迷迭香</u>，<u>表示記憶的</u>。愛人，你要記好。這是<u>三色堇</u>，<u>表示相思的</u>。 萊：瘋話裡有教訓！相思和記憶恰好合適。 莪：這點<u>巧嘴茴香花</u>給你，還有這點<u>邪眼漏斗花</u>。這點<u>苦芸香花</u>給你，留一點給我自己。我們到禮拜天可以叫它慈悲草。噢，你戴起來跟我的戴法不同！這是<u>騙人精雛菊</u>。我本想給你們一點<u>堅貞的紫羅蘭</u>，可是我父親一死，全枯了。人家說他得了一個好收場 註1 迷迭香和三色堇一般解釋是給萊阿替斯的，因此莪菲麗亞誤認為他是情人了。 註2 茴香花據說代表諂媚，漏斗花代表忘恩或私通，一般解釋都是給克羅迪斯的；芸香花代表愁苦與悔恨，給王后，也給她自己，兩人同苦而各有「不同」。雛菊代表欺騙，威爾孫解釋是給她自己的（與三色堇一起），以誌警惕。紫羅蘭代表堅貞，威爾孫解釋她覺得都完了，沒人可給了。
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Example 7 is related to the cultural and historical KP allusions, the language of flowers. The language of flowers, so called floriography, is the means of communication via the use of flower. The use of the language of

flowers has been practiced in some traditional cultures throughout Europe, Asia, and the Middle East. The symbol for each type of flowers is varied from cultures to cultures. The sentiment of flowers spreads widely in Britain during the Victorian Era. Some specific floral arrangements are used as the means of cryptological communication that allow people to express their feeling that cannot speak aloud in public. In western culture, many writers, poets, and artists use lots of emblematic meanings of flowers in their works for carrying themes as shown in this example.

The first two kinds of flower, rosemary and pansies, the symbolized meanings were already shown in the original lines, remembrance and thoughts; thus, the translation was in the standard TT form manner. In addition, Bian provided more detailed information about the reason why Ophelia said that to Laertes.

Contrasts to the former two alluded words, the following languages of flowers, fennel, columbines, rue, daisy, and violets, were not shown overtly in the ST. If the translation of those names was in the same technique mentioned above, then it would lose the function of allusion, moreover, for some TT readers might not truly understand the words by Ophelia. Bain had achieved the effect of the ST allusions by translating them with the additional guidance, the brief phrase suggesting connotations, to meet its immediate context. Also, with the additional explanation outside the text (i.e. footnote), the TT readers got greater information about the implied meaning of what Ophelia said.

Bian put “fennel” into “巧嘴茴香花” (adulatory fennel) in Chinese, which brought about the implied meaning of fennel, obsequiousness. “Columbines” was turned into “邪眼漏斗花” showing the symbolic meaning of columbine as ingratitude. In Chinese, the word “邪眼” was used to describe a person treating others with a devilish mind. These two meanings of flowers were used to represent the betrayal that the King Claudius did to the previous King of

Denmark. “Rue,” a bitter-taste herb, could symbolize regret in literary works. Here Bain added the adjective “苦” (bitter) to refer the regretful feeling of the Queen and Ophelia. The common sentiments of “daisy” were related to positive thoughts such as loyal love or purity, but in this play, based on the story, the meaning was changed. Here, “daisy” referred to cheat, in this case, Bain used “騙人精” (a swindler) to carry the implied meaning of cheating. In the TT, the word “堅貞的” (faithful) is used to present Ophelia remaining consent to Hamlet till death.

By using the technique of providing extra-allusive guidance in the text, the translation not only offered clearer information to the TT readers, but also increased more dramatic effect than the ST. For instance, in the last sentence, the word “堅貞的” (faithful) and “全枯了” (wither) overtly showed the contradictory images of Ophelia’s belief and love to Hamlet and other people, therefore, the ironic effect of text was exploited.

When it comes to the effectiveness of the translation techniques, the extra-allusive guidance in the text would get more immediate responses from the target readers since they could notice the implied meaning of the ST allusion of the language of flowers instantly. For another extra-allusive guidance outside the text such as footnote, even it offers further information for better understanding the translated texts, readers need to be tolerant of the interruptions in reading.

Conclusion

The paper sheds light on the study on the play translation in the rhetorical aspects of linguistic reference, pun and allusion. As a language-specific rhetorical form, pun and allusion can reflect an essential feature of a linguistic system. The difficulties in translating puns and allusions may result from the

interlingual asymmetry of two different language systems and culture barriers. According to the analyses, it shows that integrating two or more translation strategies could increase the possibility of recreating the poetic effects of pun and allusion in the translation.

In translating puns and allusions, the effects of pun and allusions should be considered in relation to another extralinguistic aspect, that language not only has a structure of its own, but also is linked to the way people understand and shape the world. Therefore, the translation of puns and allusions should carry an image that the TT readers are familiar with. An effective translation depends on whether the target readers can make sense of the dramatic effects of pun or allusion conveyed in the translations.

Based on the previous analyses, it is hoped that this paper could offer help information for play translators in dealing with the challenging task of reproducing a cultural- and linguistic-specific art form in the translation of play.

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國家教育研究院編譯論叢徵稿辦法

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研究倫理	☐ 作者確認本稿件符合科技部研究人員學術倫理規範，並且遵守相關法律規定
☐ 作者確認本稿件無一稿多投（請勾選） 簽名：_____ 日期：_____	

說明：1. 以上欄位請詳實填寫，其中「姓名」、「服務單位」、「職稱」、「通訊處」及「E-mail」等資料均將於著作接受刊登時同時刊載於篇中之用。

2. 每位共同著作人皆須填寫本表，「共同著作人」欄並請依序編號填寫共同著作人的姓名。

《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、註腳和和參考文獻一律採用APA 格式第六版手冊 (Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association, 6th edition, 2010)。

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3~5組、中英關鍵詞互相對應。

二、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，如以下表格：

	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）。數字的使用請用阿拉伯數字表示。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台。……

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、文中使用之圖、表

標題皆須置於上方，靠左對齊，且與內文前後各空一行，均須註明如參考文獻般詳細的資料來源（含作者，篇名或書名，頁

碼，年代，等）。自行製作圖表者須註明來源為「作者自行整理」（置於圖表下方左側）。表格若跨頁需在跨頁前註明「續下頁」，跨頁表頭需再註明「表名（續）」。中英文圖表之格式見以下表格：

	表	圖
中文	表號用新細明體12號字、粗體；表名另起一行，新細明體12號字且需粗體。	圖號與圖名同一行，圖號需粗體，圖號與圖名皆用新細明體12號字。
英文	表號用Times New Roman 12號字、不粗體；表名另起一行，Times New Roman 12號字且需斜體。	圖號與圖名同一行，圖號需斜體，圖號與圖名皆用Times New Roman 12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
3	坂井鈇五郎	《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

（續下頁）

表1
日治初期出版的臺語教本（續）

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

資料來源：作者自行整理。

圖範例

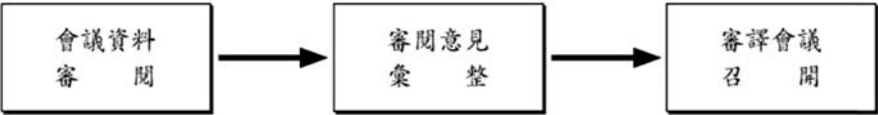


圖2 學術名詞審譯委員會加開之作法

資料來源：作者自行整理。

英文稿件範例：

表範例

Table 1

Languages and Interpreters (continue)

Specified Languages	Sub-totals for Interpreters of Different Languages
Malay	1
Indonesian	11
Vietnamese	23
Filipino	2
Japanese	12
Khmer (Cambodian)	2
Thai	9
Sign language	21
Hakka	14
Cantonese	4
Tribal languages (Lukai, Bunong, Amei, Paiwan, Taiya)	17
Grand Total of Interpreters	161

Note. Compiled by the author.

圖範例

Perspectives on quality in interpreting

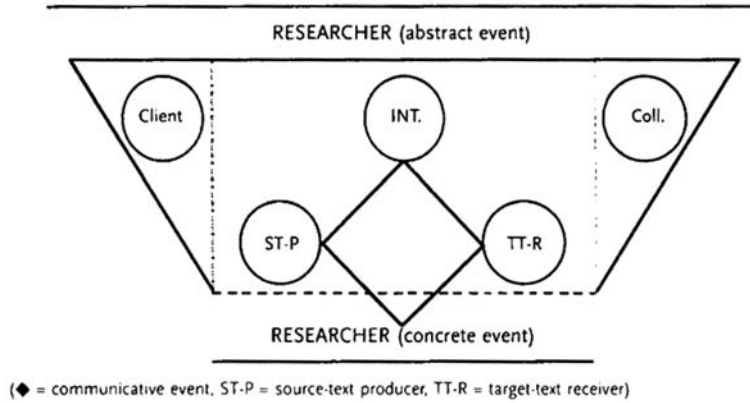


Fig. 11 Perspectives on quality assessment in interpretation (Pöchhacker, 2001, p. 412)

五、文中引用其他說明

佐證或直接引用超過40字時，均須將前引文內縮6個位元，並以「標楷體」11號字體呈現，該引言與內文前後各空一行。中文年代後用「，」，以「頁」帶出頁碼；英文年代後用逗點「，」以「p.」帶出頁碼。年代無論中、西文，一律統一以西元呈現。

中文稿件範例：

……兩人發生激烈爭吵，她在盛怒中斥責武男：

汝止勿言，汝重若妻，乃逾於爾父爾母耶？汝可謂愚悖已極。乃聲聲言其妻，而並不言爾父爾母，汝直狗彘。乃專寵浪子，而不知爾母，爾今不為吾子矣！（林紓、魏易譯，卷上，1914，頁79）

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：

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

中文	作者一與作者二（年代）或（作者一、作者二，年代） 範例一 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)
英文	Author 1 and Author 2 (Year) 或 (Author 1 & Author 2, Year) 範例 Hayati and Jalilifar (2009) 或 (Hayati & Jalilifar, 2009)

（三）正文引註之作者為三至五人時，第一次於文中出現格式如（二）；第二次以後則寫出第一位作者並加「等人」（中文）和「et al.」（英文）即可。作者為六人以上時，每次僅列第一位作者並加「等人」（中文）和「et al.」（英文）即可。

中文	1. 作者一、作者二與作者三（年代）或（作者一、作者二、作者三，年代） 2. 作者一等人（年代）或（作者一等人，年代） 範例 1. 謝文全、林新發、張德銳、張明輝（1985）或（謝文全、林新發、張德銳、張明輝，1985） 2. 謝文全等人（1985）或（謝文全等人，1985）
英文	1. Author 1, Author 2 and Author 3 (Year) 或 (Author 1, Author 2, & Author 3, Year) 2. Author 1 et al. (Year) 或 (Author 1 et al., Year) 範例 1. Piolat, Olive and Kellogg (2005) 或 (Piolat, Olive, & Kellogg, 2005) 2. 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，若引用原文獻語句四十
字以內，要加註頁碼。所引用文字需加雙引號（「」與“”）。

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

八、參考文獻

「參考文獻」之括號，中文以全形（）、西文以半形()為之：第二
行起縮排4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、篇名、期刊名、卷期數、起迄頁碼等均須
齊全，且中文期刊刊名、卷期數為粗體，西文為斜體，僅有期數
者則僅列明期數，無須加括號，並自第二行起空4個字元。亦即：

中文期刊格式：

作者一、作者二、作者三（年代）。文章名稱。期刊名稱，卷別（期
別），頁碼。

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。

英文期刊格式：

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

範例

Lunt, P., & Livingstone, S. (1996). Rethinking the focus group in media and communications research. *Journal of Communication*, 46(2), 79-98.

(二) 書籍類格式包括作者、出版年、書名、出版地、出版單位等均須齊全，且中文書名為粗體，西文為斜體，並自第二行起空4個位元。

中文書籍格式：

作者（年代）。書名。出版地點：出版商。

範例

陳定安（1997）。**英漢比較與翻譯**。臺北：書林出版有限公司。

英文書籍格式：

Author, A.A. (Year). *Book title*. Location: Publisher.

範例

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

(三) 書籍篇章格式包括作者、出版年、篇章名、編著者、書名、起迄頁碼、出版地、出版單位等均須齊全，且中文的書名為粗體，西文為斜體，並自第二行起空4個位元。

中文書籍篇章格式：

作者（年代）。章名。載於編者（主編），書名（頁碼）。出版地點：出版商。

範例

童元方（1998）。丹青難寫是精神。載於金聖華（主編），外文中譯研究與探討（頁241-253）。沙田：香港中文大學。

英文書籍篇章格式：

Author, A. A. (Year). Chapter title. In B. B. Author & C. C. Author (Eds.), *Book title* (pp. xx-xx). Location: Publisher.

範例

Fenton, S. (1997). The role of the interpreter in the adversarial courtroom. In S. Carr, R. Roberts, A. Dufour & D. Steyn (Eds.), *The critical link: Interpreters in the community* (pp. 29-34). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

（四）翻譯書籍格式包括譯者、出版年、原作者、書名、出版地、出版單位等均須齊全，且中文書名為粗體，西文為斜體，並自第二行起空4個位元。

中文翻譯書格式：

譯者（譯）（譯本出版年代）。書名（原作者：姓名）。譯本出版地點：譯本出版商。（原著出版年：xxxx）

範例

屠珍（譯）（1996）。重返咆哮山莊（原作者：Lin Haire-Sargeant）。臺北：時報。（原著出版年：1992）

英文翻譯書格式：

Author, A. A. (Year). *Book title* (B. Author, Trans.). Location: Publisher. (Original work published year)

範例

Laplace, P. S. (1951). *A philosophical essay on probabilities* (F. W. Truscott & F. L. Emory, Trans.). New York: Dover. (Original work published 1814)

(五) 國內、外會議之研討會論文皆須列出作者、會議舉辦年及月份、發表文章篇名、會議名稱及會議地點等，若有主持人須加註「(主持)」，且自第二行起空4個位元。

中文研討會論文格式：

作者(年月)。論文名稱。研討會主持人(主持人)，**研討會主題**。研討會名稱，舉行地點。

範例

蔡錦玲(2007年10月)。臺灣的海洋教育：推動海洋科技教育與產業的連結。賴義雄(主持)，日本、美國、及臺灣的海洋教育。**海洋教育國際研討會**，國立科學工藝博物館，高雄市。

英文研討會論文格式：

Author, A. A. (Year, Month). Title of contribution. In B. B. Chairperson (Chair), *Title of Symposium*. Symposium conducted at the meeting of Organization Name, Location.

範例

Muellbauer, J. (2007, September). Housing credit and consumer expenditure. In S. S. Ludvigson (Chair), *Housing and consumer behavior*. Symposium conducted at the meeting of the Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City, Jackson Hole, WY.

(六) 網路資料的格式包括作者、出版年、書名或期刊名稱(中文粗體，西文斜體)、網址等均須齊全；若為電子郵件或部落格資料等，則需加註日期，名稱不需粗體。第二行起空4個位元。

中文網路訊息格式：

作者(年月日)。訊息名稱。**群組名稱**。取自<http://xxx.xxx.xxx>

範例

黃維樑(2012年5月29日)。文學紀念冊／一言難盡喬志高。**聯副電子報**。取自<http://paper.udn.com/udnpaper/PIC0004/217123/web/>

英文網路訊息格式：

Author, A. A. (Year, Month Day). Title of post [Description of form]. Retrieved from <http://xxx.xxx.xxx>

範例

Smith, S. (2006, January 5). Re: Disputed estimates of IQ [Electronic mailing list message]. Retrieved from <http://tech.groups.yahoo.com/group/ForensicNetwork/message/670>

(七) 學位論文格式包括論文作者、年份、論文名稱(中文為粗體，西文為斜體)、學校及系所名稱、學位類型、出版狀況、學校所在縣市、鄉鎮等均須齊全且自第二行起空4個位元。

中文學位論文格式：

作者(年)。**論文名稱**(已／未出版之博／碩士論文)。校名，學校所在地。

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**(未出版之博士論文)。香港中文大學，香港。

英文學位論文格式：

Author, A. A. (Year). *Title of doctoral dissertation or Master's thesis* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation or Master's thesis). Name of Institution, Location.

範例

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

Journal of Modern Literature in Chinese (JMLC)

Journal of Modern Literature in Chinese (JMLC) was founded in 1997 and published twice a year by the Centre for Humanities Research (formally the Centre for Literature and Translation), Lingnan University, Hong Kong. In view of the increasingly globalized nature of scholarship and in order to further strengthen the mission of JMLC to promote exchange between and fusion of Chinese and Western scholarship, it has been decided, starting from 2016, to turn the journal into an all-English publication. We believe that “face-to-face” dialogue between scholars is not only preferable but also necessary in the present globalizing context.

JMLC insists on the necessity to foster a cross-cultural, interdisciplinary and comparative perspective on and approach to modern literature in Chinese in its broad sense. Any aspects of Chinese culture are within the scope of investigation. The journal provides a forum to communicate research and to address matters of scholarly importance and of interest to a broader audience. The journal encourages submissions from a wide range of contributors who are interested in modern Chinese culture, and creates opportunities for interdisciplinary and intercultural dialogue between Chinese and Western scholars.

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